The No. 2 Stockade Cox's River - it's Life and Times

An Historical and Archaeological Investigation

by

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and

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DRAFT

Prepared for

Pacific Power

1997
The No. 2 Stockade Cox's River - it's Life and Times

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1.0 Executive Summary

This report draws on documentary research and an archaeological investigation and salvage at the site of the No.2 Stockade, Cox’s River to provide a history of the No.2 Stockade in the context of the convict system and specifically the construction of the western road to Bathurst in the 1820s and 1830s.

The structure, length of establishment and function of the Cox’s River Stockade reflected changes in the convict system and the complexities and conflict inherent in the road making system. There was tension between the Surveyor General’s desire to build lasting roads and the pressure for roads to be finished; the problem of forced labour and of not having control because of the military’s concern with security. The documentary and physical evidence all reflect on this situation.

The detailed documentary research undertaken as part of this study has enabled revisions of our knowledge of the logistics of the construction of the Western Road. Further, the reports examined shed light on the existence (or otherwise) of other convict work sites; on the accommodation, living conditions and sequence of construction.

Between 1832 and 1840 the study area was the site of a large convict stockade known as the No.2 Stockade Cox’s River. The site for the stockade was proposed by Surveyor General Major Thomas Mitchell in 1830 to house convicts in irons working on the latter part of his new route across the Blue Mountains to Bathurst. Work began on the stockade in early 1832 under the direction of Assistant Surveyors Lambie and Nicholson. The stockade was based on directions issued by Governor Darling in 1830 and was square in shape and surrounded by a high fence. The convicts’ huts were arranged within the fence and auxiliary buildings for the hospital, military and superintendents were outside its perimeter.

Four iron gangs were accommodated in the stockade. Estimates of the numbers housed vary between 500 and 800. The stockade was the focus of many bitter battles between the Surveyor-General’s department and the Governor and military over how the convicts’ labour was to be used and supervised. Work on the road over the Cox’s River proceeded slowly and the stockade remained in use probably until 1839.

Descriptions of the stockade exist in several contemporary accounts and include a rare account of living and working conditions by a convict, who was in one of the iron gangs. There are also several graphic representations, including an important painting of the stockade showing many details.

It is concluded that in view of the documentary and archaeological evidence and relatively intact nature of the site of the No. 2 Stockade Cox’s River that it is a place of high historic, social and scientific significance. The site featured a variety of buildings, from convict huts to a hospital and commissariat store: it demonstrates characteristics of life in the convict era. Because of its size and relatively long use and intact nature the site has the potential to illuminate the state of historical knowledge about the convict system which dominated New South Wales in the 1830s, including convict and military lifestyles, working conditions and discipline. The site of the No. 2 Stockade Cox’s River is a place of high cultural significance because of its rarity, its associative and representative qualities relative to the convict era and because of its historic, social and
scientific significance.

In terms of management of the site the remains of the No. 2 Stockade Cox's River are quite widespread. The core areas (the 'heritage boundary') are the entire eastern peninsula extending from within the existing tree line down to the waters edge (the Military/Stockade Area), the toe and central areas of the western peninsula (the Commissariat and Deedes Grant Areas), and the Mitchell's road cuttings on the north-western bank of the dam, as far back as the northern end of the 'Blue Cutting', the deep and narrow cutting where the road rising from the Cox's River crossing turns sharply northwards before turning westward. (c.f. Figure 1)

The management boundaries which are necessary to guide the management of these areas are as follows:

- **The Military/Stockade Area-eastern peninsula.**

The possible presence of graves as far eastwards as the last saddle on the ridge rising south-eastwards from the stockade site indicates that the management boundary should be a line drawn north-south across the entire peninsula at the eastern rise of the eastern-most saddle on the ridge, about 300 metres south-east of the tip of the peninsula. Cultural material might be expected to be located anywhere between this line and the waters edge on all sides. The water edge is the other boundary.

- **The Commissariat and Deedes Grant Areas - western peninsula.**

Most of the Commissariat Area will be flooded by the increase in the capacity of Lyell Dam. However, it might be expected that cultural evidence will extend from the Commissariat Area southwards to Areas D and E, and across the ridge to the waters edge east of those areas. No substantial evidence of European cultural material was located further south than the boundary between Portion 11 and the adjoining property, though Aboriginal sites do exist further south.

The recommended management boundary is therefore the line of the fence line separating Portion 11 from the property to the south, extending from the creek line in the west to the dam edge in the east. The water edge is the other boundary.

- **Mitchell's road - the road cutting rising from the dam eastward then north through the 'blue cutting'.**

This area should be managed as part of the site, as the road is the very reason for the convict stockade and support structures existing. Medium-level public access to this area from Rydal makes its active management as part of the stockade complex important, and offers opportunities for interpretation which would not directly threaten (or require added management) of the archaeological sites on the opposite sides of the lake. The management boundary should be the top of the slope extending from the Blue Cutting westward to the dam waters opposite the Commissariat Area. The boundary from the Blue Cutting runs down the gully from the road at the southern exit of the cutting to the dam edge. The water edge is the final boundary.

A range of management options and their rationale are discussed in Section 6 of this report. In the **Military/Stockade area** it is critical that vehicle movements are formalised and that vehicles
are excluded from the eastern peninsular. Works should be undertaken that directly and indirectly protect convict remains with low key interpretation, such as signs telling visitors about the general history of the place, and encouraging responsible behaviour towards it. In summary:

- formalise vehicle movement - exclude vehicles from the eastern peninsula
- retain tussock grass
- prevent blackberry/woody weed infestation
- fence or bollard specific sites if other management actions fail to protect them
- install an interpretative sign
- ensure archaeological supervision of works in close proximity to identified sites
- undertake further research, especially archaeological investigations, as opportunity and funds allow.

While the Commissariat Area remains will be submerged, there will be a period during which the sites will be in the wash zone (the area effected by waves) at the lake edge. Slow speed signs should be retained at the entrances to the arm of the lake which will cover the sites, and during the lake-filling period, ‘No landing’ signs should be placed on the peninsula, to prevent boats landing on and disturbing even further the building remains. This will cease to be a problem when the new lake level has been achieved, as the building remains will then be deeply submerged. The placement of an interpretive sign on the new, reduced, picnic/landing area would be worthwhile, but not essential, as reference to the now submerged (and therefore beyond disturbance) commissariat site could be made in the interpretive sign on the Military/Stockade Area. In summary:

- maintain boat speed restrictions in the Commissariat Area arm of the lake
- place ‘No landing’ signs on the Commissariat Area peninsula during the filling of the lake.
- consider locating an interpretive sign in the area.

Further research, both historical and archaeological, is required at the Deedes Grant Area to clarify the history of the site and identify significant physical remains, and to develop a better directed management program.

Until such research clarifies the historical context of the remains, the known sites should be protected from further damage. Blackberry and any other woody weed infestations on the main sites (D1, D2, D3, D4) should be prevented by at least annual spraying. An interpretative sign should be placed at the site, to inform visitors of the known history of the site and to seek their assistance in protecting it. Any works in the vicinity of the sites in the Deedes Grant Area which might disturb the ground should be undertaken with archaeological supervision, as there may be substantial archaeological remains not yet identified. Major archaeological work on any of the sites should, however, be undertaken in conjunction with a research design that poses specific research objectives based on the background information provided in this report and on developments in research topics current at the time. The Deedes Grant Area, and the Military/Stockade Area, might attract external funding or assistance for their archaeological investigation, for example, State Heritage Fund funding through the Department of Urban Affairs and Planning. In summary:

- prevent blackberry/woody weed infestation
• install an interpretative sign
• ensure archaeological supervision of works over the whole area
• undertake further research, especially archaeological investigations, as opportunity and funds allow. Investigate funding options.
• nominate the areas for the Register of the National Estate.

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2.0 The Report

2.1 Background

This report is the outcome of historical and archaeological research on the No. 2 Stockade Cox's River site undertaken, in stages, for Pacific Power since 1992. Appendices to the report include the artefact catalogue and collection, photographic record of the excavation, and videoed interviews and record of the excavation.

Stage One, undertaken in April 1992, consisted of a heritage assessment of the sites of a reputed convict stockade and associated graves that would be affected by the then proposed upgrading of Lyell Dam. That assessment concluded that the site of a major convict stockade associated with the construction of the road to Bathurst in the 1830s existed in the designated study area.

Stage Two was submitted in February 1994, this included additional archival work to determine the scope and nature of the stockade. The objectives of the documentary research were to

- carry out further archival research into the history of the stockade site and extract and analyse information which would assist in the determination of the site's cultural significance;
- provide information about the physical appearance of the site where possible;
- carry out a survey of similar known sites in order to determine the comparative significance of the study site; and
- prepare a statement of significance for the site.

Stage Three consisted of a detailed survey of surface features of the study area followed by a magnetometry survey to assist in the identification of the most likely location of archaeological deposits. This work was undertaken in the first half of 1994. The priority was to be those areas to be flooded after the augmentation of Lyell Dam.

Stage Four consisted of an archaeological investigation that was to

- Record the physical remains of the stockade.
- Determine the proportion of the site to be destroyed.

This was partially completed in June 1994. In January 1995 Stage Five was undertaken. The project objectives for the Commissariat Area and Deedes Grant Area work were to

- Record all surface features at the site, including any features exposed by the unusually low water levels currently prevailing;
- Salvage cultural material from within the area to be inundated by the augmented dam;
Investigate magnetic sub-surface anomalies and questionable site features to determine the extent of the site;

- Provide management recommendations for the site based on the nature of the archaeological resource.

Detailed objectives within these included the scaled drawing of all surface features, surface survey of Military/Stockade Area, excavation of major features in the inundation area, analysis and cataloguing of excavated material, attempt to locate reputed graves, and definition of site boundaries.

The project objectives for the Military/Stockade Area work, carried out subsequent to the above-ground survey of the area, were to

- Excavate sites tentatively identified in the first survey as being the Military Barracks,
- Use the excavation results to better correlate the 1832 Nicholson Plan with ground features, and define the location of the stockaded convict huts,
- Test the survival of evidence within the stockaded area by a limited test trench.

After damage to the site by contractors preparing the area for inundation Stage Six involving further survey, excavation and assessment was undertaken in November 1995.

At all stages interested representatives from both the European and Aboriginal communities were consulted and during the excavations were employed on the project. Historical research also continued across the many phases of the study.

This report presents the findings of all previous work on the site of No.2 Stockade, Cox’s River. Earlier reports arising from this project should be disregarded as the accretion of work presented here corrects a number of misunderstandings contained in earlier studies.

2.2 Authorship

Historian, Sue Rosen and Dr. Michael Pearson - archaeologist of Heritage Management Consultants, are the authors of this report. The report is the culmination of the work of many specialist consultants and informed locals from the Lithgow area since the potential of the site came to the attention of Pacific Power in 1992. Across this time there has been a great deal of discussion between all parties concerning the findings and the emerging picture of the No 2 Stockade, Cox’s River in the 1830s. Project management throughout has been the responsibility of Sue Rosen Pty Ltd, Historians and Heritage Consultants.
Recognition for work and/or assistance on this project (1992-1996) is also due to:

Stage One

David Bell, Pacific Power, archaeologist.
Siobhan Lavelle, consulting archaeologist
Greg Featherstone, Rydal, local resident
Yvonne Jenkins, Lithgow Family History Society
Lithgow Mercury

Stage Two

Christa Ludlow, consulting historian.
Beverley Johnson, consulting historian.
Judy Wing, consulting historian.

Stage Three

Sue MacIntyre, Pacific Power, archaeologist.
Survey Section Pacific Power
Geophysical Research Institute, UNE

Stage Four

Sue MacIntyre, Pacific Power archaeologist
Bruce Ryan, Pacific Power
Damaris Bairstow, consulting archaeologist
Gavin Andrews and Francis Bodkin, specialist botanical advice
Lester Batcheldor and Olaf Leckbandt, local fossickers familiar with the site.
Yvonne Jenkins, Lithgow Family History Society
Eric Arnold, Lithgow Historical Society
Len Ashworth, Editor, Lithgow Mercury
Bishop Doggett, former local familiar with the site early this century.
Jocelyn Rosen, camera

Stage Five

Sue MacIntyre, Pacific Power archaeologist
Warwick Pearson, Pacific Power archaeologist who assisted with the excavation and undertook the artefact cataloguing
Bruce Ryan, Pacific Power
Andrew Wilson, Centre for Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney
Lester Batcheldor and Olaf Leckbandt, local fossickers familiar with the site. Employed to assist with excavation.
Mary Sparke, consulting historian
Graham Wilson, archaeologist
Jim Champion, local with knowledge of the site
Bill McDonald, President Lithgow Historical Society
Stage Six

Jo McDonald, Pacific Power archaeologist
Warwick Pearson, Pacific Power archaeologist
Bruce Ryan, Pacific Power
Lester Batcheldor and Olaf Leckbandt local fossickers familiar with the site. Employed to assist with excavation.
Trevor Maranda, Gundungurra Tribal Council employed as a field assistant.
Mark Piggott, Troy Young, Alan Rayment, Paul Norman employed to assist with the excavation.
Jocelyn Rosen, camera.

We also wish to acknowledge the assistance of the staff of the Archives Office of NSW, particularly, Fabian Lo Schiavo and Christine Yeats; Col King in the plan room at CALM; the staff of the Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW; and the staff of the map reading room at the National Library of Australia. Thank you.

2.3 The Site

The study area is situated adjacent to the shoreline of, and partly submerged beneath, the Lyell Lake created by the construction of Lyell Dam owned by Pacific Power. The site has been recognised by local historians and residents as that of a former convict stockade during the first half of the nineteenth century. Associated elements in the vicinity of the stockade area include the early line of the Western Road between Old Bowenfels, Rydal and Bathurst; a grave site/former burial ground; and prior to the creation of Lyell Lake, included an old bridge and river crossing.
Figure 2.3.1 General location of the No.2 Stockade, Cox's River. CMA, Wollemi National Park, 1987.
This photograph of part of the study area shows Mitchell's Road on the left ascending toward Bathurst, from the site of the former bridge across the Cox's River and on the right is the stockade peninsula. View from the south. [M. Pearson, 1995.]
Figure 2.3.4  Stockade peninsula on Sydney side of the Cox's River. Mitchell's road on the right near water line. View from west [M. Pearson, 1995]
Key to Figure 2.3.6

From the surface evidence (augmented as indicated by documentary and excavation evidence) the following interpretations of the surface remains are proposed:

A1 A low stone mound and rubble scatter showing above-ground, shown by excavation to have been a chimney at the southern end of a building approximately 5 x 6 metres with scattered rubble from the building. This building is adjacent to A11, a barracks building, and is interpreted as a kitchen servicing the barracks. [See Fig. 4.4.1.2 and Section 4.5]

A2 A low stone mound shown by excavation to have been a chimney at the eastern side of a 5 x 3.5 metre building site. A stone retaining wall extends 12 metres to the north, only a few of the top stones of which were evident at ground level. [See Fig. 4.4.1.3 and Section 4.5]

A3 The most clearly defined building site in terms of above ground evidence, with a shallow bench cut into the ridge slope and a stone foundation wall line across the open face of the cutting, defining a building site of approximately 11 x 4 metres. The site also has a thin scatter of artefact material associated with it (blue and white transfer printed ware, creamware, and glass). Possibly the site of the hospital building, listed by Nicholson in 1832 as still to be built. [See Fig. 4.4.1.4]

A4 A stone scatter of approximately 2.5 metres diameter, including flaked quartzite cores, presumed to be of Aboriginal origin, but possibly re-located during the convict period. The Nicholson plan of 1832 indicates that Military Quarters had been constructed in close proximity to this location, and A4 or A5 could be the site of this building. [See Fig. 4.4.1.5]

A5 A mound of stone approximately 2.5 metres in diameter and 40 cm high, at the western edge of a level area approximately 3.4 x 4.8 metres in extent, with an area of stone approx. 1.6 metres square at its eastern end. This is interpreted as a building site with a chimney at the western end and either a second fireplace or a stone entry step/threshold at its eastern end. [See Fig. 4.4.1.6]

A6 A mound of stone and clay approximately 2 x 2.5 metres and 50 cm high. A level area extends approximately 20 metres eastward from the mound, and may be the second barracks building site, displaced some 30 metres from where the Nicholson plan indicated it was intended to be built. [See Fig. 4.4.1.7]

A7 & A9 A mound of stone and clay approximately 4 metres in diameter and 60 cm high (A7) appears to be a chimney site at the western end of a flat area, now largely disturbed by a vehicle track. An area of embedded stones and a rubble mound, approximately 2 metres in diameter (A9) is located 8 metres to the east of mound A7, and the embedded stones could be interpreted as being a chimney base of 2.5 x 1.7 metres. These two mounds could be chimneys at each end of an 8 metre long building, slightly longer than that excavated at C2 in the Commissariat Area. The Nicholson plan indicates the intention to build a Military Officer’s Quarters in this vicinity. [See Fig 4.4.1.8 & 4.4.1.10]

A8 A low (10 cm) high mound of clay with a small amount of stone rubble protruding. A shallow depression ran down slope from the mound. While the mound was not as distinct as most of the others identified in the area, the depression might have been associated with the stockade around the convict huts, which is now interpreted as lying at about this location. The site was disturbed by bulldozing that took place after the first survey, and is now covered by a thick layer of clay. [See Fig. 4.4.1.9]

A10 A stone mound approximately 5 metres in diameter. This might be an eroded building platform for a support building associated with the barracks building interpreted as extending towards it from site A6. Such a building would have a similar physical relationship to such a barracks building as has the building excavated at site A1 with the barracks building site at A11.
A11 A 20 x 4.97 metre building platform/levelled area, oriented on a NW-SE axis, with low stone foundation walls to support the edges of the mound on each side of the platform. A clay and stone rubble mound approximately 3 metres in diameter is centrally located at the western end of the platform. A 1.5 x 1.66 metre square of embedded stones is located centrally at the eastern end of the platform. Both of these features are taken to be chimney bases. A stone structure midway along the southern side of the platform is interpreted as the site of another chimney. It appears that the collapsed chimney was misinterpreted by interested locals as a convict grave, and when it was bulldozed in 1981 during preparation for the damming of the valley, it was reconstructed by the NSW Electricity Commission. The 1.12 x 1.84 metre reconstructed masonry structure is similar in size to other chimney bases at the stockade site. A11 is interpreted as the site of the military barracks shown as completed in the Nicholson plan.

A12 A mound of stone approximately 2 metres in diameter, and a levelled area. This has the appearance of a building site, and might be the Assistant Overseers' hut shown on the Nicholson plan of 1832, which is shown as being in this location.

Mitchell's Road, which runs along the current southern shore of the eastern peninsula, is almost entirely under water-level already. A short section is a few centimetres above water-level at its extreme western end.

Area B is to the west of the Cox's River and the crossing point of Mitchell's Road, and to the north of the Commissariat area and the tributary creek. The area is now largely under water, and no cultural remains were located.

C1 An area with stones on the surface, and artefacts mixed in the top-soil. Test trenching failed to locate a definite building site, though one may have existed in the vicinity.

C2 A series of mounds and a line of disturbed stone indicated a site that was shown by excavation to be a building approximately 3.5 x 7 metres, with a chimney at each end. [See Fig. 4.4.2.1]

C3 A mound was shown by excavation to be a 2 x 1.4 metre chimney base, indicating a building existed to its south.

C4 An alignment of stone on the surface was excavated to show a building aligned with the others in Area C. The building had a chimney base at the southern end, and had maximum dimensions of 5 x 5 metres.

C5 A stone mound was excavated to show a building 3.5 x 4.5 metres, with stone foundations but no chimney. The building was interpreted as a store house. [See Fig. 4.4.2.2]

D1 A scatter of stones and a levelled area 7 x 5 metres is interpreted as a hut site. [See Fig.4.4.3.1]

D2 A large mound of stone and clay 6 x 6 metres is interpreted as a building site. [See Fig. 4.4.3.2]

D3 A large mound of stone and clay 5.5 x 6 metres is interpreted as a building site. [See Fig.4.4.3.3]

D4 A shallow depression 5.5 x 3 metres and an alignment of brick fragments is interpreted as a possible building site. [See Fig. 4.4.3.4]

E1-E4 Four mounds of rubble, stone blocks and depressions. While not able to be clearly interpreted as buildings, site E2 corresponds roughly with a building shown in the 1834 Deedes Plan. [See Figs. 4.4.3.5; 4.4.3.6; 4.4.3.7; and 4.4.3.8]
3.0 History

3.1 Introduction

Research for the original heritage assessment of the study site indicated that there has been confusion among the authorities regarding the stockade sites on the Cox's River. A copy of a painting of the stockade by Major General James Pattison Cockburn is filed at the Mitchell Library under ‘NSW Defences - Hartley Stockade’ and Kerr has also described the painting as being that of the ‘stockade at Cox’s River, probably near Hartley’. It is probable that this No. 2 Stockade, has been confused with an earlier stockade on the Cox’s River near Hartley which dated from c.1815 and was known as the Glenroy Stockade. Lieutenant Breton probably refers to this stockade c.1830

Five miles from the vale there is a military station, on Cox’s River, and a government reserve of 200 acres, not far from whence are sundry grants used as stock stations ...

The major survey of convict work sites, Wendy Thorp’s Non Institutional Convict Sites: A Study On Work Gang Accommodation, produced in 1987, mentions a stockade at Cox’s River, but does not include it in the Gazetteer of sites. The confusion and lack of recognition means that the potential significance of the site has been overlooked until now by all but local historians.

The No. 2 Stockade Cox’s River and its associated outstations formed part of the deterrence and punishment network for second offenders developed in New South Wales in the 1820s and fine tuned in the 1830s. By this time British opponents of the transportation of convicts to New South Wales argued that transportation had lost its deterrent value and that some criminals saw transportation as “a passport to opportunity and a better life”. Despite the 1825 re-establishment of the isolated and harsh Norfolk Island penal settlement for recidivists the argument that ‘transportation to New South Wales is more one of emigration than of punishment’ became a common criticism in the 1830s. A further argument put forward by abolitionists was that with few women associated with these institutions homosexuality was rife. Thomas Cook’s account of his period of servitude in the area is a classic in the convict victim genre and places the stockade, and the associated outstations, with Norfolk Island in his litany of the horrors of the convict

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1 James Semple Kerr, Out of Sight, Out of Mind, SH Ervin Gallery in association with the Australian Bicentennial Authority, 1988, p.29.
3 Lieut. Breton, Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Dieman’s Land, during the years 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1833, London, Richard Bentley, 1833, p.82.

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In the later half of the 1820s Governor Darling formed the Roads and Bridges Department to administer the establishment of a permanent road system extending from Sydney to the north, west and south. These roads were the major infrastructural developments of the period and were made necessary by the movement of colonists to the Hunter, Bathurst and Goulburn areas and beyond. Such undertakings demanded not only considerable surveying and engineering skills but also a great deal of hard physical labour. Darling was able to dovetail the requirements of the penal system with the demands of an increasingly free society. From 1826, in New South Wales, male convicts who re-offended could be banished to a road gang to work, in irons, on roads and bridges at distant locations. Initially administered by the Roads and Bridges Department at Parramatta under Captain William Dumaresq, convicts were supervised by the Royal Staff Corps. The soldiers soon proved to be ineffective and worse, susceptible to corruption by the gangs they supervised and in 1827 the system was changed. An Assistant Surveyor was appointed to supervise and administer work on each of the three major roads and a convict overseer was allocated to each gang. Further refinements were made when the Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, Edmund Lockyer directed that each iron gang should consist of up to sixty men and be supervised by a principal overseer and three assistants. A ‘Road Party’ on the other hand was to consist of fifty un-ironed men supervised by a principal overseer and two assistants. Bridge Parties were to consist of twenty-five well behaved and skilled men under the supervision of a single overseer. The hierarchical system was designed to both punish and reward via promotion accompanied by privileges and release from irons and demotion and additional sentencing including flogging. Official responsibility for road and bridge works (and the gangs) was transferred to the Surveyor General in 1829.

The establishment of ironed gangs to work on the development of roads served a number of purposes. Firstly, labourers were made available for the creation of important public infrastructure in unattractive locations in a society were there was a shortage of labour. Secondly, felons were kept out of the sight and the minds of the civilian population and thirdly, it provided a deterrent and punishment for recidivists. In 1828, the energetic, but querulous, Sir Thomas Mitchell succeeded Oxley as Surveyor-General. Iron gang policies and the administration of the convict gang and road construction activity that led to the construction of the No.2 Stockade Cox’s River derived from the interaction between Mitchell, Darling and Darling’s successor as Governor, Richard Bourke. Work on the roads and in irons was another layer in a system designed to both punish and reward via transfers to and from situations of varying isolation and adversity. In the 1830s attitudes were becoming increasingly rigid and punitive and while convicts, by their labour, were meant not to be a drain on the public purse the punitive nature of the work, their isolation and vulnerability to the whim of convict overseers meant that this was often counter productive. Progress on the western road was slow and resistance included sabotaging the stockade, absconding, and the application of the ‘government stroke’, i.e., the least amount of work necessary to avoid punishment - such as lifting a pick and merely letting it fall. Further, the security requirements themselves inhibited efficient construction processes.

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An iron gang at Hyde Park Barracks painted by Augustus Earle c.1830. [National Library].

This view of a road gang in the bush near Sydney, c.1838 showing 'pinched and sallow' prisoners is contrasted by Robert Hughes in *The Fatal Shore* with Earle's 'unsympathetic eye' depicting 'sturdy, brutalized Irish stereotypes'. These two contrasting views of iron gangs represent two major arguments in the transportation debate, i.e., the brutalization of prisoners and the cruelty of their situation. [National Library]
It was in the 1830s that convict iron gangs first began to be enclosed in ‘stockades’, the word originally being used to refer to the fence or enclosure surrounding buildings. The Mount Victoria convicts' station was described in 1830 as having ‘a high fence, so as to form a stockade to prevent their escape’. A number of stockades were constructed along the western road, usually at sites of major work such as bridges and cuttings. However by 1834 the word was used to refer to the assemblage of buildings itself rather than just the fence. Stockades grew in size and complexity as regulations for the security and health of the convicts in the gangs were introduced by Governors Darling and Bourke. Un-ironed, Road Parties lived in huts at more distant sites. The construction of the stockades which resembled small villages required more time and labour than previously expended, but reflected an increasing concern with security and an intensification of the transportation debate. As sections of road were completed a stockade or outstation would be gradually abandoned, and gangs were transferred to incomplete sections of the route. Anything portable or useful at the stockade, including slab palings, would be moved to the next site, or sold off, as was the case on the closure of the Blackheath stockade, c. 1850.

The findings of the Molesworth Committee into transportation to the colonies criticised the work gang system, saying that the convicts in them were ‘the most profligate and desperate’ and ‘they perform very little labour and are subject to a very lax superintendence’. Certainly the long delays at Cox’s River and Cook’s account of overseers and prisoners colluding to rob stock and travellers supports this view. Growing anti-convict feeling in the colony led to an abhorrence for the visible signs of forced labour such as stockades and ironed gangs. In 1840 transportation to New South Wales ceased but road gangs survived into the 1840s as convicts worked out their sentence.

Throughout, convicts were, in theory at least, protected from abuses by regulations that codified punishment and living and working conditions. However, isolation and the placement of immediate power in the hands of convict overseers meant that the methodology of the penal system could be subverted and instances of flogging ordered by the magistrate without trial are recorded. Convicts at isolated sites of secondary punishment, such as the road parties linked with the No.2 Stockade Cox’s River and the stockade itself, experienced an existence that fell outside that envisaged by authorities.

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2 Sue Rosen, ‘Historical Overview’ in *Historical Archaeological Assessment Site Of The Blackheath Stockade, Blackheath, NSW*, prepared for the Department of Public Works and the Department of School Education, June 1993, Siobhan Lavelle, Historical Archaeologist - Heritage Consultant, Woodford.

3 Thorp, ‘Directed for the Public Stock’, p.115.
3.2. The Road to Bathurst

By 1827 the existing road across the Blue Mountains to Bathurst which had opened in 1815, was considered dangerous and inconvenient for wheeled transport. It had been constructed by William Cox in six months with thirty convict labourers and had become an important highway as settlement spread westward. With an inclination of one in four, the descent from Mount York in particular was hazardous. After the ascent from Emu Ford the road followed the direction of the range to the highest point - the Kings Table Land, turned northward to Mount York and descended into the Vale of Clwyd, near Collett’s Inn. From there the road proceeded from Collett’s across the plain to a military station on the Cox’s River (near latter day Hartley). Although Archibald Bell had discovered a new line of road from Richmond via Mount Tomah to Cox’s River in 1823, it remained secondary to Cox’s Road.

In September 1827 Hamilton Hume, in response to a reward offered by the Governor, explored and suggested two alternative lines. The first avoided Mount York, passed the Darling Causeway and went in a north-westerly direction passing north of Wallerawang. It would ascend Honeysuckle Hill, continue to the Stony Range and then to the plains at Bathurst. The second alternative deviated from the first at Macleay’s Forest, passed through the Lithgow Valley with Mount Walker on the north, crossed Cox’s River and continued in a relatively straight line until it met the first road under Stony Range. Mitchell, on his first trip to the mountains west of Sydney accompanied Hume to view the area, and generally endorsed his proposals while suggesting a third alternative.1 [See Figure 3.2.2]

It was not however, until January 1830 that action concerning an alternative descent from the mountains was re-initiated. Governor Darling requested Mitchell to survey the new line of road. In June, Mitchell examined the route and decided on an as yet unproposed new deviation 'along the tongue southward of Mt York by which a gently inclined road could be made by lowering a narrow crest of loose rock which joins two parts of the ridge.'2 [See Figure 3.2.3 and 3.2.4] He named the point of the hill Mount Victoria and despite being under instruction from the Governor to mark out the entire line, and seek the Governor’s approval prior to commencing work, Mitchell ordered assistant surveyor Elliot to place iron gangs there to commence work on the descent immediately. Accompanied by assistant-surveyor Robert Dixon, Mitchell continued to mark the line of road.

A bitter dispute arose with the Governor insisting that a new descent of Mount York near Collett’s Inn was to be completed and the work at Mount Victoria discontinued. On the other hand, if the Governor insisted, then Mitchell wanted the matter referred to the authorities in Britain. In defiance of the Governor, Mitchell continued the work at Mount Victoria and in September, 1830 Darling capitulated and gave permission for the Mount Victoria descent.3

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2 Mitchell, Diary entry , 4 June 1830 cited in Foster, p.140.

3 Foster, op. cit., pp.140-142.

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Figure 3.2.1  
August Earle's View from the summit of Mt. York, looking towards Bathurst Plains, convicts breaking stones, c. 1826 clearly shows the perilous drop of the road as it descended the mountains and hence the search for an alternative route. [Source: National Library]
Mitchell's line of road proceeded from Mount Victoria to the River Lett which it reached about one and a half miles above its junction with Cox's River. From there the line continued along a ridge avoiding nearby ravines and proceeded to the Cox's River at the foot of Mount Walker after crossing Farmer's Creek. It crossed Cox's River and passed along another ridge to Solitary Creek. It then traversed Honeysuckle Hill and Stoney Range, descended to Meadow Flat and proceeded west to Bathurst. [See Figure 3.2.2 and 3.2.3]

In January 1831 John Lambie was appointed as an assistant surveyor and travelled to Mount Victoria to take up supervision of the works on the western road now focussed there. With completing Victoria Pass being Mitchell's first priority, work did not begin on the line of road above Cox's River until almost two years later.

Figure 3.2.2 This 1827 Sketch of the Roads to Bathurst shewing the relative situation of the principal heights shows the first station on the Cox's River on the road in use in 1827, it also shows both Hume's and Mitchell's suggestions for alternative routes and the principal landmarks of the region. At this time a descent from Mount Victoria is clearly not under consideration - it is not even on the map. [T.L. Mitchell, Report on the New Line of Road Toward Bathurst, 29 November 1827, in Report upon The Progress Made In Roads and in the Construction of Public Works in New South Wales From the Year 1827 to June 1855 By Colonel Sir T.L. Mitchell, Surveyor General, Government Printer, Sydney, 1856, ff.5.]
Sketch

Of the Roads to Bathurst
showing the relative situation of
the principal heights
Figure 3.2.3

Plan of Major Mitchell's New Line of Road from Mount Victoria to Bathurst, 1830. Drawn by Dixon this plan indicates Mount Walker, the Cox's River and the military station on the River Lett, near the Cox. [AONSW: Map No. 5057]
Figure 3.2.4

This illustration of 31st July 1830 shows the new line of road at Mount Victoria after being cleared of trees. This view should be compared with that in Figure 3.5.4 and 3.5.5 to gain an idea of the extent of cutting and road work required to build the pass. [T.L. Mitchell, Report on the New Line of Road Toward Bathurst, 29 November 1827, in Report upon The Progress Made In Roads and in the Construction of Public Works in New South Wales From the Year 1827 to June 1855 By Colonel Sir T.L. Mitchell, Surveyor General, Government Printer, Sydney, 1856.]
Figure 3.2.5

Sketch showing the different Lines of Road descending from the Blue Mountains towards Bathurst, 1830 indicates Mount Victoria, Major Mitchell’s marked line as far as the River Lett, the old road down Mount York and the current descent from the mountains near Darling’s Causeway. [T.L. Mitchell, Report on the New Line of Road Toward Bathurst, 29 November 1827, in Report upon The Progress Made In Roads and in the Construction of Public Works in New South Wales From the Year 1827 to June 1855 By Colonel Sir T.L. Mitchell, Surveyor General, Government Printer, Sydney, 1856.]
Figure 3.2.6  An October 1831 tracing by Surveyor Rogers showing the various lines of road west of the divide. [AONSW: Surveyor General’s Sketch Books]
This Sketch of the Lines of Road to Bathurst prepared by Surveyor Larmer is yet another plan generated due to the dispute over the lines of road to Bathurst. The main geographical features referred to in the official correspondence concerning the stockade and its associated gangs are indicated. [ADNSW: Map No 5029]
3.3 Establishment of the No 2 Stockade, Cox’s River, 1832.

During Mitchell’s survey of the new line in June 1830 he decided that convict stations should be located at sites where cutting was required, i.e., at the River Lett, under Stoney Range and at Cox’s River near Mount Walker. Such areas were to be given initial priority in the road building program.

... a strong gang should be stationed on Cox’s River, whence a party of about 20 twenty men might be employed under an Assistant Overseer in making the road around Honeysuckle Hill; the distance being short, the Overseer could visit this party three or four times a week; the remainder of the Gang being employed on the road on each side of Cox’s River. ¹

While the River Lett bridge was to be of timber, at Farmer’s Creek and Cox’s River Mitchell wrote that

... I would propose that substantial Stone piers at least should be erected so that wooden beams may be laid across, until mechanics can be spared to this Department for the Construction of Arches ... therefore ... a party of stonecutters, with one or two good setters should also be employed on this road.²

At the end of March 1832, having had the spot for the stockade pointed out to him by Mitchell, Lambie reported that work had begun by the No.20 Road Party, consisting of sixty men under overseer William Bell, on construction of huts for the men.³ A Bridge Party of eighty-three men was at Hassan’s Walls, near the River Lett. West of the stockade site, toward Bathurst, No 45 Road Party consisting of fifty-five men were situated at Stoney Range and No.44 Road Party made up of forty-seven men was at Honeysuckle Hill.⁴ Convicts not in irons working in the vicinity of Honeysuckle Hill on the western side of Cox’s River early in 1832 were merely accommodated in rough timber slab and bark huts. Thomas Cook, a convict joined the ‘gang there in mid 1833 and described a miserable existence

I was according moved to the interior, 100 miles from the seat of Government, and placed on the strength of a Road Gang or Party of prisoners employed in making roads through the Mountains, stationed at Honey Suckle flat, a spot encircled by precipitous ridges, and perfectly Secluded from public view. It was now that my miseries commenced ... With a sheet of Bark for my Bed, the half of a thread bare Blanket for my covering, and Log for my Pillow, the action of the frost was so severe on my limbs that it was with difficulty I could find the use of them, and then only by frequenting the fire at intervals during each night.⁵

Despite the start of construction and initiation of the stockade the focus of activity was still at Mount Victoria where the ironed gangs were located. Of the almost 500 men working on the

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¹ Surveyor General T.L. Mitchell to Colonial Secretary, 23 June 1830, in The Progress Made in Roads ..., pp.9-10.

² Ibid.

³ AONSW: Lambie to Mitchell, Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors, 2/1548. Reel 3072, p.23.


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western road, at Mount Victoria 219 men in irons and twenty-one un-ironed men under three overseers were employed. While Mitchell had requested an escort for 120 convicts which he intended to send from Wiseman's Ferry to Cox's River in March 1832, by the 26th May these were also working at Mount Victoria.1

Meanwhile, work continued at the stockade site through April when the men were engaged in the erection of Huts and in preparations necessary for the new Stockade near Cox's River and have built 9 Huts, 2 Cook houses, and 2 Blacksmiths Shops for which have been provided 1525 Slabs and 90 Sheets of Bark. The work on the road exclusive of the above consists of 200 yards of timber grubbed, 3 Drains made and a Temporary Bridge thrown over a gully.2

The No. 44 Road Party at Honeysuckle Range were

conveying the Materials for the Huts built by No.20 from parts adjacent where the use of the Carts have been found impracticable. The Party has also been employed providing Bark for the completion of the Huts, and slabs for the Stockade ready for carting. 3

The Pattison Cockburn painting shows a stockade of slab construction with skillion roofed huts. [See Figure 3.6.7]. Despite the obvious intent to move on from Mount Victoria, a slab and bark guard house was being constructed 'for the military' there.4 It had been estimated that the Cox’s River Stockade and the buildings for the military guards would be completed by 26 May, the date set for their arrival. Site A11 which was delineated by means of test pits in 1995, may be the site of the military barracks. (See Figure 3.5.3 for the correlation between the surface features at the site and Nicholson’s Plan) However on 16 June the buildings were still not complete, nor was work finalised at Mt. Victoria where the number of gangs had increased from three to five.5

Assistant Surveyor Nicholson replaced Lambie mid year and suggested to Mitchell that upon finishing the work at Mount Victoria

the whole of the men in Irons should be moved to Cox’s River and that No. 20 Road Party [then at Cox’s River] ... should come to Mount Victoria to finish the wall.6

The scheme was recommended as it kept all the Iron Gangs in one place, thus ‘requiring only one military body, one establishment of smiths and affording a greater facility to maintain a system

1 AONSW: Mitchell to Colonial Secretary, Surveyor General Copies of Letters sent to Colonial Secretary, Reel 2839, p.318; ‘Weekly of Iron Gangs and Road Parties up to the 26th of May 1832’, Letters Received from Surveyors, p.118. Reel. 3080.
2 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors, 2/1561, p.112. Reel 3080.
3 ibid.
4 ibid.
5 AONSW: Lambie to Mitchell, Surveyor General - Letters Received from Surveyors, 2/1548 Reel 3072, pp.29, 30; ‘Weekly of Iron Gangs and Road Parties up to the 26th of May 1832’, Letters Received from Surveyors, p.118. Reel. 3080.
6 AONSW: Nicholson to Mitchell, Surveyor General- Letters Received from Surveyors, 2/1561.
of discipline throughout'.

3.4 The Complexities of the Road Building Process

Complaints arising from opposing movements on the transportation issue, either concerning the cruelty of the system or alternatively complaining about the number of convicts employed on public works that could be privately assigned; of bushranging by absconders from the gangs; the conflict between the security demands of the military and the practicalities of road building; and the resultant slow pace of progress, meant that the administration of the system was difficult and controversial.

In a submission to reform work practices Mitchell described in April 1832 the then current situation whereby on average there were 1200 out of irons and 400 in irons working on the roads of New South Wales. The twenty six Road Parties had on average forty three men, the five Bridge Parties fifteen members and the seven Ironed Gangs fifty seven men each. These were supervised by an Overseer, who was rarely there and an assistant overseer with three second assistants. These second assistants were prisoners who in his view used the position to avoid work and acted as sentries to warn the parties and gangs of the arrival of an officer. However, figures from the stations associated with the stockade [cited in the preceding section] clearly indicate that the averages varied and that Mitchell was able to bias the allocation of resources by ignoring discrepancies.

Mitchell recommended increasing the size of Road Parties to sixty six, but reducing their overall number to fifteen; establishing six Bridge Parties of thirty three and five Iron Gangs of eighty. To increase productivity he wished to increase the pay of the overseers and reduce the necessity of their being away from the gangs to get rations and escort prisoners to Court or hospital. He proposed the establishment of hospital huts at camps, more frequent supervisory visits by surveyors, the provision of supplies and tools to all out gangs from a central location by an overseer and bullock driver whose sole responsibility it was. At this time two cooks were part of each gang and delegates from the gang inspected the meat being supplied by the contractor and accepted or refused it, another delegate watched the cooks prepare it. Mitchell recommended that contractors supplying meat should be required to deliver it to the camps, rather than having a constant movement of prisoners on the roads. He recommended incentives for good behaviour, with time off and the issuance of tickets of leave to motivate work.

Mitchell was attempting to more effectively organise supervision in the road gang system and it was within this political and administrative context that the Cox’s River stockade was established. First hand accounts and official records indicate that many of these measures were implemented at the stockade and informed the administration of the facility. But Bourke was in favour of increasing the military’s control of the convicts and to this end empowered the military commandants to hear and determine charges against them. In September 1832, Bourke decided to place the supervision of the gangs in the hands of the Principal Superintendent of Convicts. Bourke complained that it

1 ibid.

2 AONSW: Surveyor General, Copies of Letters sent to the Col. Sec., 21st April 1832. R. 2839.
was a general and well founded complaint that little labour was performed by convicts and that frequent escapes from the gangs filled the roads with robberies.

From Mitchell's point of view difficulties between the demands of the surveying department concerned with road construction and the military concerned with security lengthened and complicated the road building task; relations were often strained.

3.5 Occupation of the Stockade

By August 1832 military and officers' quarters had been established at the foot of Mount Walker and a 12 foot high stockade approximately 155 feet square constructed. A plan by Nicholson [See Figure 3.5.1] indicates that some 25 feet inside the perimeter fence there was housing for the ironed gangs, also in the shape of a square, with a lock up in the inner courtyard and a single entrance to each of the squares. With the exception of the lock-up in the central square, rather than a fire, the stockade at Cox's River resembled the specifications issued by Governor Darling in 1830 which instructed that

The camps or huts of the iron gangs are to be constructed in a square having only one entrance. A fire should be kept in the centre of the square and a lamp similar to those used in the streets of Sydney be burnt at each angle of it.

The Pattison Cockburn painting shows a lantern on a post at each angle of the stockade fence, or in the gap between the fence and huts, as specified by Darling. Huts for the overseer and assistant overseers were on either side of the stockade, outside the fence. The archaeological investigation identified Site A12 as possibly the site of the Assistant Overseers huts as indicated by Nicholson. The guardhouse, barracks and store were also outside the fence immediately opposite the stockade entrance. The military officers' quarters were some distance from these. The plan indicates that a hospital, 30 by 15 feet with a stockade around it, a store and quarters for the Commissariat officer, and kitchens were still to be built. It was located about twelve miles westward from the Mount Victoria stockade and

situated on a long narrow tongue of land, immediately under the above named mountain [Mount Walker], around which, in a sharp angle, flowed a never failing rivulet, one of the tributaries of the Cox's River. The width of the ridge on which the Stockade was built could not much exceed a hundred yards ... High, steep forest ridges, stony, and but thinly clad with verdure, encircled the spot, and frowned like the gigantic walls of a prison all around.

Considered together, Nicholson's Plan, Govett's description, the correspondence between the surveyors and the Surveyor General, Pattison Cockburn's painting and the archaeological evidence create a strong physical picture of the stockade. Pattison Cockburn's painting allows the buildings in the military area to be correlated with the archaeological evidence. The painting

1 Bourke to Goderich, 3rd November 1832, HRA, Vol. xvi, p.788.
3 Cited Thorp, Non-Institutional Convict Sites, p.175.
shows the walls to be of slab construction with skillion roofed huts for the convicts in a continuous range. The huts have windows and doors facing into the courtyard formed within the square. The painting depicts a square that has been subdivided into four areas. In the south west ward there is a triangle and poles with lanterns are located near each corner. The painting also closely conforms to the description provided by Govett [see section 3.6]. The military huts are located to the east of the stockade and this correlates with the findings of the archaeological investigation which found that site A11 correlates with the barracks building shown in the Nicholson Plan as completed at that time. A6 may be the second barracks, not completed by the time of the Nicholson Plan, but foreshadowed on that plan to be placed directly opposite the first barracks. The actual location, as constructed, is further to the east. In this general area a range of fine earthenware tableware pieces and a large number of clay tobacco pipe pieces were recorded. [See figure 3.5.1; figure 3.6.7; figure 3.6.8; figure 4.7.1.1; figure 4.7.1.2; figure 4.7.1.3 and figure 4.7.3.1] Local fossickers, who have named the ridge as it rises from the river, 'officer's hill' have found military buttons, musket balls, coins and eating utensils there.\(^1\)

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\(^1\) Olafleckbandt and Lester Batcheldor.

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Nicholson's Plan of the Stockade at Cox's River, 1832. Indicates major buildings including barracks and military officers quarters. This layout generally conforms with the findings of the archaeological investigation, and with the view held by locals who refer to the area rising toward Mount Walker as "Officer's Hill", because of the nature of the artefacts found in that area by local collectors. [Source: AONSW/Surveyor General Sketch Book Vol.2, Fol.17]
Note on Plan:

'There is yet to add:

- Kitchens to the Military Officers quarters
- A hospital, 30 x 15 feet Stockaded
- A store and quarters for the Commissariat Officer'

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
NICHOLSON'S 1832 PLAN

Source: J. Nicholson, Plan of the Stockade at Cox's River
(AONSW/Surveyor General Sketch Book Vol. 2, Fol. 17)
Redrawn at 1:500, MP 1995
Figure 3.5.3

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
INTERPRETATION OF MILITARY/STOCKADE AREA
Overlay of Nicholson’s 1832 Stockade Plan on the surface and excavated features

An overlay of Nicholson’s Plan on the 1996 surface and excavated features. This interpretation of the position of the stockade has been made by keying the Nicholson Plan to the identification of site A11 as the southern most barracks ("I" on the Nicholson Plan). Such an interpretation places the stockade ‘precisely on the line of road as it would approach the bridge’ as complained of by Mitchell.
George Bennett’s account of his crossing of the Blue Mountains in September 1832 provides a description of the Mount Victoria establishment and his comments reflect on conditions in the area and his reference to ‘plump and thriving’ prisoners contrasts with the later harrowing account of the prisoner Thomas Cook.

The iron gang employed upon this pass was just leaving for dinner when we passed, so we availed ourselves of the opportunity to visit the Barracks, to see them mustered, and the messes passed out. The clothes of these men were in bad condition, from the quarry work, in which most of them were employed; but as far as their personal state was concerned, they appeared plump and thriving. The barrack was a temporary stockade, in which the bark huts were situated, and around these a barricade was erected, outside which sentinels were stationed.1

Victoria Pass was officially opened by Governor Bourke in November 1832. The Currency Lad newspaper described the importance of the new pass to the settlers in the west

... the settlers of that place [Bathurst] now derive the most essential advantage, especially the great wheat-growers, who are at this season busily engaged, pouring their weighty and valuable loads to Sydney for shipment, and whose teams are now enabled to ascend this stupendous mountain with comparative ease to what they had to encounter on the old and dangerous route by Mount York.2

Bourke inspected the Cox’s River stockade on November 5 but was not favourably impressed and complained that it was ‘in an incomplete and wretched state’. It failed to conform to the requirements specified in newly formulated regulations and Bourke instructed Mitchell to have it repaired ‘and particularly to attend to the Guard Beds for the men in irons of which His Excellency personally addressed Mr Nicholson.3 Shortly after the Governor’s visit, Nicholson recorded a flurry of activity at the stockade indicative of its official occupation. On November 17 he ‘attended the movement of iron Gangs to [the] new stockade’ and on the following day he mustered gangs there and held divine service. By that time a temporary hospital had been established. Over the rest of the month gangs moved stores and tools and finally at the end of November, Nicholson spent time at Cox’s River ‘inspecting works and ordering new arrangements’.4

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3 AONSW: Colonial Secretary to Mitchell, 14 December 1832, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters sent to the Surveyor General, Reel 2839, p.327.


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Figure 3.5.4 and 3.5.5

Victoria Pass shortly after its opening in November 1832; both works by Mitchell. Despite its official completion work continued here for a number of years. It was while stationed here that Thomas Cook falsely credited himself with being arrested for slaughtering (and barbecuing) cattle and subsequently being detained in the Cox's River lock-up. [Dixon Library and Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW]
The ironed gangs moved from Mt Victoria were now in more spacious accommodation with approximately 400 feet of hut room which 'seldom had above 360 men in it'. While at Mt Victoria there had been only 330 feet of hut room which 'frequently had upwards of 400 Men in it'. Nevertheless, on arrival the ironed gangs, so damaged the new structure that Nicholson ordered the demolition and removal of the Mount Victoria Stockade to repair the huts after the convicts had 'unroofed' them. The surveyors worked under difficult conditions and the stress of the conflicting pressures of speed, economy and efficiency; this action subsequently resulted in Nicholson being threatened with loss of pay to compensate the government for the cost of restoring the Mount Victoria stockade, which had to be later re-occupied.  

3.6 The Long and Winding Road, 1833 -

Progress on the road was hampered by a shortage of tools, carts, bullocks, stores and the need to maintain the stockade. Nicholson reported in January 1833 that strong temporary bridges needed to be constructed over the Cox’s River and Farmer’s Creek together with other smaller ones along the line of road. The creation of secondary or temporary infrastructure to facilitate the construction process also lengthened it. Site A2 of the archaeological investigation consisted of extensive artificial terraces behind a stone retaining wall [See section 4.9.2]. It’s not surprising that such an investment of labour prompted complaints by Mitchell. To his irritation he found that ‘this stockade has been placed precisely on the line of road as it would approach the bridge to be made over Cox’s River, so that it must be removed before the work there can be completed’. In February, No. 10 and No.11 Road Party at the Mount Walker Stockade were occupied in again carrying slabs for the stockade and huts were being repaired. A bridge party was also stationed there.

Complaints to the Colonial Secretary by the Principal Superintendent of Convicts that Rheumatism and Scrofula (?) were on the increase because

of the wretched state of the huts causing the men to be exposed to heavy night dews and requesting whatever measures may be taken for completing whatever may be wanting to the Stockade ...

added to the tension. Nicholson, clearly bristling in defence, responded that due to

the culpable neglect of duty in the late Superintendent of the Iron Gangs such a state of insubordination and discontent had arisen that the repairs were greatly delayed by the men

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1 AONSW: Nicholson to SG 24 January 1833 Letters Received from Surveyors, p.42. Reel. 3080.
2 AONSW: Nicholson to Mitchell, Letters Received from Surveyors, 2/1561, pp.214-216.
3 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors, June 13, 1833. R. 3080.
4 AONSW: Nicholson to S.G., 10 January 1833; Letters Received from Surveyors, p.42. Reel. 3080.
5 Mitchell, Report Relative to the Road to Bathurst, 21 October 1833, Colonial Secretary Papers Regarding Bathurst and Southern Roads, AONSW COD 207, p.112.

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frequently destroying in the night what was the work of many days ...  

The Bridge Party and No 11 Road Party were entirely engaged rectifying the situation, but because the recent dry season made it impossible to strip trees for bark, he again recommended that any that could be salvaged from Mount Victoria should be utilised. He believed however, that recent changes in the administration meant that ‘the repairs and arrangements had been rapidly progressing as well as a state of quiet and proper discipline’. Although Nicholson was based at Mount Clarence, the Stockade was becoming an administrative centre with a weekly Court conducted by Nicholson. January and February appear to have been relatively peaceful months: four members of the No. 10 Road Party under assistant overseer William Barnes were returned from Newcastle having been re-captured after absconding; an assistant overseer received twenty-five lashes for refusing to work and William Kearnes of the No. 11 Road Party was admonished after being brought before the court by J.J. Walton, the medical attendant, for feigning sickness. William Mitchell, out of irons at the stockade, was admonished for disobedience. William Bond of the No. 9 Road Party had a charge of possession of a stolen military shirt dismissed. Clearly the courts were considering evidence and a conviction was not a foregone conclusion. In March, however, corporal punishment was stepped up with sixteen prisoners receiving floggings.

It was not until the end of March 1833, that Nicholson could report that No 11 Road party was again engaged on the road, building an ascent to the bridge across Farmers Creek. But before long more complaints were again made by the Governor regarding the stockade facilities. This interest in the minutiae of stockade facilities reflects the intensification of interest in the convict system, its security and morality - issues that were prominent in the transportation debate of the time. Clearly, the matter was taken seriously, appropriate instructions were not merely issued and then forgotten, the follow up was intensive. In defence of Nicholson the Surveyor General wrote to the Colonial Secretary on July 16

... in attention to your letter of 6th instant No. 33/623 acquainting me that the Principal Superintendent of Convicts has suggested an alteration in the construction of the Guard Beds at the Stockade at Cox’s River and that the roofs of the Huts at that Station should be made impervious to the weather, that I have instructed the officer of my Department at No. 2 Stockade to act upon the suggestion in both the above respects as soon as possible - at the same time I consider it my duty to point out the propriety of some steps being taken by the Superintendent of Convicts there to prevent the misappropriation of the loose boards proposed for the guard beds, observing that a fire is kept up during the night in the centre of each square and thus a custom has prevailed among some of the prisoners of making private births (sic) for themselves within the Huts, for which purpose the bark which has formed the roofing of the Guard Beds hitherto used has been appropriated and the consequence has been that the roofs which have been repeatedly repaired have always been defective and some of the men exposed to sleep on the ground, and I have further to observe that loose boards of six feet long may offer a powerful auxiliary to the escape of the prisoners. 

1 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors, Nicholson to Mitchell, March 14, 1833, R. 3080.
2 ibid.
3 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors, Daily reports for March 1833, R. 3080.
4 AONSW: Mitchell to Colonial Secretary, 16 July 1833, Reel 2839, p.274.
An increase in discipline may be that referred to by William Govett, a surveyor who worked on the Great Western Road between 1820 and 1833, who reported that the prisoners had initially been allowed fires in the inner square and would sing around these at night, making a 'tremendous uproar', until after mischief this was no longer allowed.

Frequently when they marched out of a morning to their several stations, a company would strike out into a song, which the magistrate on duty (a surveyor of roads) objected to, and gave orders to the overseers to stop them. They could not succeed, however; but one morning the magistrate happened to be present when they were marched out, and, soon after they had passed his tent, one or two prisoners commenced a loud song in defiance. The magistrate immediately halted the whole party - inquired, and found out the man who commenced singing, and had him severely flogged on the spot; this put an end to their singing.¹

So although the Court was sitting and taking evidence and conviction was not a forgone conclusion, in contradiction to the precepts of the administration of justice Nicholson could impose corporal punishment without the formality of a court hearing.

In July the building for the accommodation of the Commissariat Clerk was still under construction and an additional room to the Commissariat Clerk’s quarters for the accommodation of the assistant surgeon was also in preparation, and later in the year it may have been used by an assistant surveyor.² This building may be site C2 of the Commissariat Area excavated in 1995 which revealed the site of a building 7 metres by 3.5 metres wide, with stone chimneys at each end, having timber end and side walls supported on a timber plate let into the ground. The floor was made up of clay, with fragments of brick trampled into it, and paved with flat slate stones in front of each fireplace. The two fire places suggest that the building was divided into at least two rooms by an internal wall and that the building was occupied for residential rather than storage purposes. A small stone room was built onto the western side of the northern chimney, accessed by a door opening to the north. The presence of chimneys in three of the buildings in the Commissariat area (C2, C3 and C4) suggested these were designed as either residential buildings or offices. Building C5 with stone foundations, a level floor and no chimney is likely to have been a store.


² AONSW: Surveyor General: Copies of Letters Sent to the Colonial Secretary, 1 July 1833. R.2839; Surveyor General: Copies of Letters Sent to the Colonial Secretary, 16 July 1833. R.2839; Surveyor General: Copies of Letters Sent to the Colonial Secretary, 3 September 1833. R.2839.
Figure 3.6.1 Commissariat Area - Excavated Remains. 1995. (M. Pearson)
Figure 3.6.2 Surface view of area C2 prior to excavation. This building site is likely to have been that constructed as quarters for the Commissariat Clerk and the Assistant Surgeon in mid 1833. (M. Pearson, 1995. Photo 2/23)

Figure 3.6.3 Commissariat Area, site C2. Southern fireplace looking west. (M. Pearson, 1995 Photo 2/10)
Figure 3.6.4  Commissariat Area, Site C2. Southern fireplace looking north. (M. Pearson, 1995. Photo 2.18)

Figure 3.6.5  Commissariat Area, Site C2, Square J5-o-7 showing clay floor and timber wall plate. (M. Pearson, 1995. Photo 1.10)
Figure 3.6.6 Commissariat Structural Remains, Site C2. (M. Pearson, 1995)
The physical condition of the Stockade however continued to inspire complaints and at the end of the year Nicholson was being threatened with removal because of its poor state. Govett who visited the stockade on a number of occasions described it in the following terms

This Stockade was built, as that at Mount Victoria, nearly in the form of a square, the huts for the prisoners being erected of bark, facing inwards, and joined together, except at the entrance. The inner square is divided into several compartments for the different companies of prisoners, by rail-fencing ... about four yards back from these huts, on the outside, was erected a strong fence of split timber all round, about fourteen or fifteen feet in height, having two great gates at the entrance. Fronting this gateway on either side, were erected the soldiers' barracks, in two rows. These were also built of bark and split wood, with mud chimneys, and some of them were plastered and white-washed inside; and at the head of these barracks stood the officers' quarters, forming a kind of parallelogram with the Stockade. These quarters consisted of a shingle cottage, with two tolerably-sized rooms, back kitchens, &c, having a verandah in front. ... On one side was the hospital and storehouse, and the tents of the commissary; on the other were the cooking shed, and butchers' and bakers' houses, the overseers' and constables' huts, &c. These buildings, all erected in a hurry, and in a very little time, being of course merely temporary, formed as it were, a little town, and contained generally between seven and eight hundred inhabitants.

Here, ...

The prisoners are guarded by day and night. They march out of the Stockade in the morning in companies of twenty-four each, guarded by two soldiers and a constable. Every man receives at the gates the implements he uses when at work, shovels, pickaxes, iron bars, hatchets, and the like, and these are again returned to the proper person when they enter the Stockade at night. A lamp is fixed at each corner of the outer fence, and at the entrance, so that anyone could be seen attempting an escape, and sentinels are placed at night both inside and out, commanding every way, who call the word every half hour, -'No.1. All's well,' - and so on throughout the whole number. Before these lamps were put up, fires were kept burning at the corners, to give light, which was attended with great inconvenience.

Yearly contracts were let for the supply of rations with each man entitled to a pound of fresh beef and a pound of bread per day. There was soup every second day. Govett recorded

At noon, the prisoners are marched in to dinner, for which they are allowed an hour. They often grumble at their mess, and refuse to touch it. In these cases, the commissariat officer, whom they call their 'head cook', is sent for, who decides whether the ration and meat be sufficiently good or not. If his decision be in favour of the ration, the prisoners will commence eating, and laugh at the trouble they have occasioned, for they frequently object, merely to annoy the overseers and others over them.

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1 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors, Dec 28, 1833, R. 3080.
2 ibid.
3 Govett, op. cit., pp. 48-49.
4 Govett, op. cit., p.49.
Figure 3.6.7  ‘The Fort on the Cox’s River near Bathurst, NSW’ attributed to Major General James Pattison Cockburn. Clearly shows the environmental damage caused by the development of infrastructure such as roads, bridges and the stockade referred to by von Hugel. The construction of the stockade itself and the associated buildings conforms to descriptions provided by a variety of sources and to the findings of the archaeological investigation undertaken for this study. [Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales]
A1 — Tentative identification of surveyed sites


**Sketch of Military / Stockade Area**
Based on James Pattison Cockburn's painting
The Fort at Cox's River near Bathurst NSW

- Convict huts and wards
- Lanterns
- Stockade slab fence
- Triangles
- Mitchell's Road or earlier track
In answer to queries from Britain re: the efficacy of the secondary punishment system, Bourke reported that the convicts in irons who were kept in stockades

are for the most part kept hard at work, and upon their return from labour, being immediately confined to their wooden prisons, they have no time for recreation or opportunity for mischief, and their lot is felt by themselves as one of great privation and unhappiness. 1

Despite Governor Richard Bourke's response Govett claimed that entertainment when shut up included scrimshaw on bullocks horns, making saws from bits of iron, reading, writing, and storytelling.

3.7 Life on the Road

Thomas Cook in his *The Exile's Lamentations, or Biographical Sketch of Thomas Cook* 2 provides the most detailed and complete narrative of life in the road gangs on the Bathurst Road and at the stockade. Cook received a 14 year sentence of transportation in 1831 for writing threatening letters. In June 1833 he was convicted of insubordinate conduct and sent to work on the Bathurst Road. Prior to this there had been convictions for drunk and disorderly behaviour and of returning to the barracks in the early hours of the morning. At Honeysuckle Hill, where No.10 Road Party was stationed, he noted

... the wretched and haggard countenances of the men, the Severity of the cold, the want of a second or even one good blanket to save the half frozen man from perishing, the Cruelty of the Overseers in robbing us of our Rations, which when fairly meted out were not more than barely sufficient to sustain nature. And the certainty of a complaint of our grievances to the higher authorities (of whom we could not get a glimpse without the knowledge of our Overseers, excepting the Sub Inspector, who so far from checking, encouraged and supported them in all their acts of cruelty and oppression) being preceded by a lying charge on the part of the Overseers against the complainant of neglect of work, insolence, threatening language or the like, so as to draw down Corporal Punishment upon him ... 3

Cook paints a picture of the brutal situation of the mountains road gangs and the many hardships for the convicts, who were the victims of corrupt overseers. He blames the harshness of the station to its isolation. Reference to court records from this time indicate that the No.10 Road Party, of which Cook was a member, was under Principal Overseer James Pumphrey with assistants William Barnes and Joseph Calvert. In July nine members of this gang were brought before the Court, all for absconding, one received twenty five lashes, the others thirty five. Gangs at this time were to be a maximum size of sixty six but were rarely at full capacity, suggesting that the rate of absconding shortly after Cook's arrival there is quite high and thus lending support to Cook's claims. Presumably if gang members were well treated, they would not have run away, particularly as they were usually caught and punishment was severe. Cook also spent time at the Mount Victoria stockade where he claims that he was implicated in the theft of cattle by some of

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3 ibid., p.18.

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the Mount Victoria convicts and was ‘escorted a distance of 18 miles to the Lockup at No. 2 Stockade ... in this place [we] were manacled on a chain, and Ironed, for the space of 14 days without a Blanket or other covering to preserve us from the Severity of the Frost. The Slabs of which the Building was composed, were so far apart from each other that it was little better than being out of doors ... one of the four had actually lost two of his toes from the severity of the frost’.\textsuperscript{1} Court records from 5 October indicate that four men were charged with slaughtering cattle, but Cook was not one of them, nor is there a mention of Cook coming before the court for any offence in the area in 1833. It appears that Cook co-opted the story of others to add colour to his narrative. Nevertheless, twenty five members of the gang came before the court in October, including four for absconding and ten for being absent from camp. Despite Cook’s liberties with the facts, the number of offences suggests that conditions were less than ideal, however prisoner welfare was clearly a consideration. In 1834 there were two hospitals at Cox’s River, one for the military and another for convicts, and there was a doctor in attendance.\textsuperscript{2}

Figure 3.7.1 Charles Rodius, Convicts Building the Road to Bathurst, 1833. [National Library of Australia]

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{ibid.}, p. 21

\textsuperscript{2} AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 27 Feb 1834, R. 3080.
The following table, which consists of a list of convicts with infirmities that the medical officer, at Cox’s River, considered unfit for continued work in the gangs, indicates that whatever its inadequacies there was a system in place to attend to the welfare of the infirm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prisoner</th>
<th>Infirmity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michael Gillespie</td>
<td>Chronic rheumatism, debility and weak constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Whalens</td>
<td>Lost the toes of the left foot and two on the right due to frost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Craig</td>
<td>Old age and debility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Clarke</td>
<td>Weak constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William McCarthy</td>
<td>Contractions of the muscles of the left leg caused by dislocation of the hip joint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Lemings</td>
<td>Old age, debility and oedema of the liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Morris</td>
<td>Old age and Oedema of the legs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Doyle</td>
<td>Old age and varicose veins of both inferior extremities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Agden</td>
<td>Old age and chronic rheumatism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Conroy</td>
<td>Old age and varicose veins of both inferior extremities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Murdoch</td>
<td>Asthma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Burnd</td>
<td>Varicose veins of the right leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Williams</td>
<td>Old age and double hernia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Lewis</td>
<td>Chronic rheumatism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Probably in response to pressures regarding the rate of progress of the road works, in June 1833 Nicholson devised complicated accounting procedures for the overseers, including counting barrow loads of materials moved and generally requiring them to measure the amount of work performed. But by October 1833 little progress had been made on the descent to Bowen’s Hollow and ‘nothing between there and the bank of the Cox has been done by the iron gangs’ who were being worked west of the river near Honeysuckle Hill. However Mitchell reported that this work was likely to be soon completed, when the Iron-gangs may be employed on the descent to the Cox from the Sydney side which may also be finished with Ironed Gangs lodged in the present Stockade, without their having to go further to work, than some of the parties have at present. ... I find that this Stockade has been placed precisely on the line of road as it would approach the

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1. AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 13 March 1834, R. 3080.
2. AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors, 1st June 1833, R. 3080.
bridge to be made over Cox's River, so that it must be removed before the work there can be completed. No preparation has yet been made for the erection of the bridges here and at Farmer's Creek, both of which should be of stone especially as freestone has been found at no great distance.¹

At this time there were four road parties out of irons and four ironed gangs at work in the Western Division

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Road Party</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Road Party</td>
<td>Mount Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Road Party</td>
<td>Honeysuckle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Road Party</td>
<td>Hassans Walls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge Party</td>
<td>Diamond Swamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, B, C and D Iron Gangs</td>
<td>No 2. Stockade Cox's River²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The No. 10 Road Party (which was much complained of) was to be shut up in wooden houses, rather than the slab huts they had previously been accommodated in, to be used as a trial to see if it was effective in containing them.³ The No.10 gang was clearly resistive, refusing to work, breaking out of the lock-up, committing theft and absconding; some fifty six members came before the Court in 1833.⁴ This is the party referred to by Cook who complained that

So far advanced were these wretched men in depravity, that they appeared to have entirely lost the feelings of men, and to have imbibed those that would render them execrable to all mankind ... an appeal to their better feelings was the certain result of insult and derision which they would copiously inflict upon their less depraved fellow prisoners; and if he nevertheless persisted in publicly deprecating their horrid propensities, he would be struck, kicked and otherwise abused.⁵

¹ AONSW: Mitchell, 'Report Relative to the Road to Bathurst', Colonial Secretary, Papers regarding Bathurst and Southern Roads, COD 207, pp.111-112.
² AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors, 2/1561, p.330.
⁴ AONSW: Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Return of Convict Trials before Benches of Magistrates, 1832 - 1836, Bathurst to Goulburn. 4/7022.1
⁵ Cook, op. cit., pp.18-20.
The above 1834 survey of land applied for by Captain George Deedes of the 1st Regiment indicates five buildings in the commissariat area and also four on the Deedes Grant. It was probably here that von Hugel stayed in 1834. Across the Cox in the general area of the stockade, the word "Stockade" is partly obscured by a tear. Also marked is the road and the track from the stockade to the commissariat. [Lands Department: Portion Plan 101.691]

Figure 3.7.2
This 1815 painting of the Cox's River while downstream near later day Hartley, indicates that it was a shallow stream, indeed a "wimpling burning" as described by Hood in 1843. Clearly communication between the stockade, the Commissariat and Deedes residence was not inhibited by any torrent. [John Lewin. Cox’s River. 1815. Mitchell Library]
Captain George Deedes of the 17th Regiment was the commanding officer for the 12 months to June 1834. At that time he purchased a grant adjoining the Commissariat Reserve. Deedes according to von Hugel built a cottage that was later occupied by his successor as commandant McCumming. The sites on the ridge south of the commissariat (D2 and D3) appear to be too small to be the cottage, but the 1834 plan indicates other buildings near the creek that could prove to be the residence. Sites D2 and D3 may be outbuildings associated with Deedes or later occupants, Captain Moore, for example, had two assigned servants whilst at the stockade.1

On 30 December 1833 it was reported by the Principal Superintendent of Convicts ‘that the greater portion of the huts at the Stockade Cox’s River are without any covering on the roofs’ and that sixty two prisoners at the stockade were sick. Further Nicholson had recently ‘ordered nearly the whole of them to be flogged for gambling and disorderly conduct’.2 Yet the Court records have no record of this mass flogging. Clearly magistrates had the power to act summarily.

Repairs to the roof were a continuing problem, Nicholson complained the ‘accommodation and discipline of convicts ... has engaged so much of his attention since the removal of the stockade to Cox’s River’ that his other duties were being neglected.3 Further delays were experienced when for six weeks across December 1833 and January 1834 men from the Road Parties, including Cook, assisted with the harvest.4 However, by January 20 while the new line of road was still not open for the mail cart, wool carts had passed through the cut at Cox’s and the supply contractor was travelling between the Stockade and Bathurst weekly. The work between Cox’s River and Solitary Creek was almost complete. Nicholson was expecting to place an iron gang on each of the bridges at the end of February and another to work eastward from Farmer’s Creek to the old line. The remaining gang after finishing between Farmer’s Creek and the Cox’s River (Walton’s Gang) could pass up the entire line putting in cross drains and perfecting the banks.5 Despite this expression of optimism and a report in the Sydney Gazette of 29 April 1834 that

No. 2 Stockade, at Cox’s River is expected to be broken up in about six weeks. The chain-gangs will be escorted by the detachment of the 17th, now in charge of them, down to Parramatta where the latter will be relieved of such charge by the 4th, who will accompany the men to their projected quarters in the new country.,

work in the area was far from completed and Nicholson continued to defend his performance in supervising the progress of the road and the arrangement of the Stockade. According to Baron Charles von Hugel while the descent from Mount Victoria was on a new good road he then travelled over a wretched and unsigned road with old and new road tracks intersecting in all directions, ‘expecting the carriage to be smashed to bits’ by the rocks, swamps and steep slippery places. At Farmer’s Creek, von Hugel found a ‘wretched little inn on its banks’ and after a mile

1 Society of Australian Genealogists, File. 4/9271/4.
2 AONSW: Surveyor General: Copies of Letters Sent to the Colonial Secretary, 30 December 1833. R.2839.
3 AONSW: Surveyor General: Copies of Letters Sent to the Colonial Secretary, 30 December 1833. R.2839.
4 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 18 January 1834, R. 3080.
5 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 20 January 1834, R. 3080.
This photo was taken c.1960s when this fire place in Area C, the commissariat area, was still standing. By the 1990s it had collapsed. [Lithgow District Historical Society]
came to 'the stockade at the junction where two small streams join, Farmer's Creek and Cox's River. This place, which must have originally been a charming spot, is now one of the ugliest places in the world, as all the trees and shrubs have been burnt down.' ¹ Von Hugel stated that the stockade is situated on a small isolated hill, the last foothill of a high mountain, Mount Walker, round which Cox's River winds. Another small valley, without water, runs between high mountains on the other side of the stockade, a few hundred paces away. Here stands the house of the officer commanding the guard, which consists of a full company ... The house is a cottage built by the last Commandant, is quite prettily situated, and a big vegetable garden and a small flower garden make it attractive in this wilderness. ²

Captain McCumming of the 4th Regiment was in charge and was accompanied by his wife; they were newly weds. With the commanding officer accompanied by his wife and later Moore, probably by his children as well, this cottage is likely to have been relatively removed from the Commissariat and Stockade areas so as to protect the families from the convicts and military riff raff.

Describing the 34 miles from the Stockade to Bathurst, von Hugel stated

From the junction, the road runs for two miles uphill over a newly finished excellent surface, and then slightly downhill to a small stream, Solitary Creek. Here a number of men were engaged in cleaning sand of tree debris. From here you climb up for some time and the road, which has been merely marked out, continues at more or less the same altitude. Five miles from the junction, I found the Honeysuckle Hill mountain covered with snow in some places.³

Von Hugel also noted that Aborigines were "afraid to set foot on" Mount Walker, whether this was because of its significance in Aboriginal culture or because of the influence of the stockade and its inhabitants is unknown.⁴ It has been reported that in D'haraua, Gundangara and Dharuk legends some areas were avoided because they were occupied by Yuri or witch women. Yuri women apparently liked to live in high places commanding a view of surrounding areas enabling them to monitor travellers and they were sometimes used to prevent out of country people entering certain areas. Yuri women were often smaller in stature than normal and many had a deformity and were shunned by their own kind. They were reputed to have been very bad tempered and possessed by evil spirits.⁵ Whatever the veracity of this account or its relevance to this site the story draws attention to the fact that the significance of the area in terms of Aboriginal culture and mythology is little understood. It is an area of investigation that cross linked with documentary and archaeological evidence could create a vibrant history of Aboriginal life and cultural practices in the area. A number of surface scatters of Aboriginal stone artefacts were located in the vicinity of the Stockade sites including a general scatter, comprising chert

² ibid.
³ von Hugel, op. cit., p.342.
⁴ von Hugel, op. cit., p.342.
⁵ Frances Bodkin, pers. comm., 1996.
flakes in association with a range of possible quartz artefacts, up the ridge south of Area C2. Within the deposits in the Commissariat area some thirty one items were identified as being either definitely or possibly Aboriginal artefacts, the definite identifications included a locally rare chert Bondi point and a retouched chert flake as well as a number of chert and chalcedony flakes. Three bottle bases had been used for the core production of flakes and three glass flakes, one retouched were identified. In Area A - the stockaded area, two basalt flakes and four quartz flakes of probable Aboriginal origin were found. As Henry Reynolds notes in The Other Side of the Frontier, Aboriginal people were found to be using European commodities prior to European invasion of an area so the existence of these artefacts does not shed light on when or the nature of an Aboriginal presence at the site. If the reactions of the Aboriginal communities of the Port Jackson area to Governor Phillip's settlement are an indicator then it is likely that the floggings, the men in chains, drunkenness and general brutality of life at the stockade and out stations would have been repellant to them. And visits would have been opportunistic and fleeting.

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Figure 3.7.5 Picture of bottle as a core either item 1819, 1899, 2014. [Pacific Power]

Figure 3.7.6 A retouched glass flake 1095 or glass flakes either 2485 or 2942. [Pacific Power]
Govett described the prisoners as idle and lazy 'who merely raise the axe to let it fall again, without any exertion on their part'. The soldiers merely guarded but supposedly did not speak to the prisoners. The gangs were kept in one body and sometimes when there was only enough work for some men, the remainder were idle; at times they were so crowded that they could not even freely move their arms. Nicholson discussed the situation with Officers at the Stockade and recommended that idle gang members should be worked elsewhere within sight and hearing. Mitchell maintained that 'at Emu where no similar inconvenience has been imposed by the Military Officer much more work has been accomplished with less than half the men in half the time.' In response to Mitchell's complaints the Colonial Secretary replied that

the Regulation to which you allude is authorised by an instruction to the Officer commanding the Guard at that Stockade which was issued in consequence of the escape of convicts when broken into small parties and much dispersed over a great extent of ground ... I am directed to refer you to the Memorandum sent to you on His Excellency's return from visiting Cox's River Stockade in January last in which are stated causes of delay and consequent expenses to the Public wholly unconnected with the precaution necessary to be used for preventing the escape of the convicts.

In June 1834 Nicholson argued that cutting through the necks at Cox's River, under orders from Mitchell, had delayed progress by four months but the road between Farmer's Creek and the stockade would be completed by the end of the month. A lack of tools and continual work at the stockade had contributed further to the delay. Responding to criticism by the Governor concerning the arrangement of the buildings Nicholson offered

... they were the greater portion erected prior to my arrival at the district and that the positions of such as were erected was decided upon by the Majors commanding who visited the spot for that purpose and that of the Hospital by the deputy Surveyor General.

The condition of facilities remained controversial and Nicholson continued to bear the blame. On 4 August Nicholson informed the Surveyor General that he had a small lock up built 'out of the materials of the old store, and [had] given up the old lockup which is shingled to the Commissariat Officer for a store; such arrangement requiring far less work than repairing and shingling the old store would have caused'. Mitchell reported to the Colonial Secretary in August 1834 that little

has been done on the descent to Farmers Creek although a road party is now at it, but the road between that and the stockade has been completed by the iron gangs although a small watercourse

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1 William Romaine Govett, Sketches of New South Wales, Gaston Renard Publisher, Melbourne, 1977, p.49.
2 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 27 February 1834; 24 January 1834; 31 March 1834, R. 3080.
3 AONSW: Mitchell to Colonial Secretary 15 April 1834, Surveyor General Copies of Letters Sent to the Colonial Secretary, 4/5400, p.137.
4 AONSW: Colonial Secretary to Mitchell, 9 May 1834, Colonial Secretary Copies of Letters Sent to the Surveyor General, Reel 3018, p.52.
5 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 5 June 1834, R. 3080.
6 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 4 August 1834, R. 3080.

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has given way ... The two bridges required near the stockade should be of stone which is to be found in good quality at the distance of 2½ miles. I would submit as the basis of the arrangements necessary for the completion of these works that the iron gangs should be disposable for the work to the distance of at least 2½ miles in each direction from their present stockade which being an establishment on which much work has been bestowed would thus be available for the gangs during the preparation of the stone and the construction of the two bridges as well as the formation of the road to that distance each way. If it must be so, although very inconvenient in engineering, they might be worked together either at the quarry ... the bridge ... or the road in either direction as might be most expedient.¹

He also recommended the use of portable wooden houses for the accommodation of gangs at a site 2 miles beyond the River Lett and this recommendation was approved. In September 1834 plans were afoot to move iron gangs to Hassan’s Walls once houses were constructed for their reception and Nicholson submitted the following distribution of the Road Parties

No. 10 Road Party to move from under Lambie’s Hill to the west of the Honeysuckle under Overseer Thorp (Overseer Pumphrey to take charge of the work of the Iron Gangs on descent to Farmers Creek as you implied your wish to that effect)

No. 11 Road Party from Hassan’s Walls to go to Bathurst Plains to form the line across the Plains and the ascent and descent to Brown’s Hill and another on the skirts of the Plains and then to work toward the Badger Brush.

No. 9 Road Party at present at work at west bank of River Lett at the stoney part, to go to the huts of the Bridge Party at Diamond Swamp and cover in the platform, next to form the descent on the side of a hill beyond that, then to make the road through the Badger Brush.²

About this time, Thomas Cook was sentenced to 12 months in an iron gang, for beating a fellow prisoner at Mount Victoria, and was removed to the stockade where he claimed there were about 500 men attached to it, the greater part of them the refuse of other Ironed Gangs (and many of them from Road Gangs, sentenced for absconding) who from their refractory disposition had been transferred to this, as a place of greater security and punishment.

The interior arrangements of the Stockade for cleanliness and messing were certain by much better than those at the Out [Stations] of Ironed Gangs, and by the strict attention of our Superintendent (Mr W Foster) to our other comforts, each man had 2 good blankets during the winter and Needles and Thread were issued to us for mending our Clothes, about which our worthy Superintendent was also very particular. The only province the Military Guard had in our management also our safe Keeping and custody. We were escorted to the Work by a Guard at day light, a distance of about 4 miles from the Stockade, after a Breakfast of Hominy or Boiled Maize Meal, and so marched back at the hour of 3 o’clock to our Dinners, when our working hours for the day terminated. The strength of each Gang amounted to 25 men, who were under the direction of a prisoner Overseer by whom all complaints were to be made to the officer in Command of the Troops, in his Magisterial capacity of the insufficiency of labour performed ...³

The distance of 4 miles, rather than the 2.5 as claimed by Mitchell is supported in official

¹ AONSW: Mitchell to Col. Sec. 21 August 1834. 7/2686
² AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 10 September 1834, R. 3080.

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reports. Again, there were the official regulations and there was the reality. Cook refers to the stockade establishment as ‘that Den of Infamy’; to the ‘horrid crimes’ of homosexual acts between the convicts and the overseers which gave some convicts the opportunity of escaping punishment, and accuses the sub-inspector at the stockade of corruption. In Cook’s words

The only regard they had to classification, was evidently that which to all natural Beings, bespoke their own abominations or, in other words, the most excreble portion of their men found no difficulty in ingratiating themselves into favour, by the coarseness of their language, and the open demonstrations of pleasure with which they gave effect to their horrible propensities, in their Overseers hearing. In fact this was the only sure way (unless a man possessed of money to bribe them) of escaping, at the Triangles, the lacerations and torture which their perjuries rendered notorious among the less depraved among them.

At last, on 22 December 1834 Nicholson requested permission to detach 40 men in irons to work at the Quarry at Bowen’s Hollow cutting stone for the bridges ‘as the work on the Road upon which they are at present employed will not afford them occupation for more than two months longer’. Meanwhile Sub-inspector Binning joined the Roads Department 1 December 1834 and was removing his family from Sydney to the area.

Indicative of the interpersonal tensions and of the legal constraints concerning governance of the facility on 15 November Ephraim Whiting, Overseer of the Bridge Party was, in Nicholson’s opinion falsely charged with highway robbery. The matter was referred to Bathurst; Nicholson believed the accuser to be of very poor character but did not believe the matter could be dealt with by himself, even though he was officially a magistrate. The charge may have been a means of sabotaging the progress of work or a personal vendetta against Whiting. Clearly there were some limitations on the power of the Assistant Surveyor cum Magistrates but not surprisingly there was an element of capriciousness in this not so perfect system. And, of course, highway robbery, was a serious charge. The depredations of errant convict gang members was a frequent source of complaint in the colony which was readily used by those demanding a halt to transportation.

3.8 Slow Progress

Mitchell’s dissatisfaction with progress continued and by April 1835 Nicholson had been replaced by Assistant Surveyor Dulhunty. By that time a party of masons had been at Mt Victoria again for 9 months and only the foundation of the buttress had been laid ‘the party there have been employed in erecting depot huts and cutting and preparing timber for wooden houses’.

1 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters received from Surveyors, Dulhunty, p.222. R.3063.
2 Cook, p.28.
3 AONSW: Nicholson to Mitchell, Surveyor General Letters Received from Surveyors, 2/1561, p 509.
4 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 19 December 1834, R. 3080.
5 AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors 15 November 1834, R. 3080.
6 AONSW: Mitchell to Col. Secr 2 April 1835. 7/2686
There were four gangs based at the Cox’s River Stockade and forty four men out of irons employed in the occupations listed below:

- 8 overseers (including one principal and two assistants who were salaried - presumably ex-convicts) the other 5 probably still bond.
- 5 water carriers, one to each gang and one for invalids in irons.
- 2 lockup keepers.
- 9 woodcutters: one serving ‘Lt. Snodgrass or KB’; another the Sergeants of the military; One each from ‘Military Room No. 1,2, 3 and 4; one for the guardroom. One for the military and prisoners hospital and one for the mounted police.
- 6 prisoners were employed by the commissariat.
- 2 people were employed by the military surgeon;
- One bullock driver; a stockman; a toolman; and a messenger.
- Two hutkeepers, for the Principal overseer and the assistant overseers.
- One cook for the lockup,
- One standing delegate and woodcutter and three prisoners were employed on various work on the road where the Ironed gang cannot be employed.\(^1\)

These figures suggest a rough population in April 1835, prior to the transfer of gangs to Hassan’s Walls of a total of 300 prisoners plus military and civilian staff. The above list also provides insight into the size and structure of the facility there being four separate military rooms, probably linked with separate barracks buildings, separate accommodation for sergeants, and two separate hospitals. This number of buildings is not indicated in Nicholson’s Plan but is suggested in Cockburn’s painting and may explain the terraces and platforms revealed in the archaeological investigation of this area. (Sites A2, A3, A6, A7 and A9)

Still no preparation had been made for quarrying and preparing stone for the bridges over Farmer’s Creek and Cox’s River. Mitchell proposed that works proceed in the following manner:

- An ironed gang at a new station near the River Lett would make the road west under Hassans Walls also toward the stream.
- A separate quarry gang to quarry stone for the two bridges with an ironed gang at the stockade to set and quarry the stone. Each gang to consist of 75 men.
- The road party stationed just beyond Honeysuckle Hill (Thorps) to form the road each way from that station.

There was a shortage of bullocks and the parties were diminished, he recommended their replenishment to at least 60 men each. At last, on 29 May Dulhunty, reported that ‘the Ironed Gangs have performed all the work upon which they can be employed in the neighbourhood of the old stockade at Cox’s River that is within the distance they are allowed to work from their station ... I know of no work that the Party retained at the old Stockade could with any advantage be employed upon unless the erection of the Bridges over Farmer’s Creek and Cox’s River’. He

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\(^1\) AONSW: Mitchell to Col. Sec. 2 April 1835. 72686

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suggested that the men in irons be moved to the recently completed stockade at Hassans Walls.¹ Yet, Hassan’s Walls Stockade was not occupied until early 1836. David Lennox had inspected the sites at Cox’s River and Farmer’s Creek and reported that the plan for the bridge then under construction at Berrima would be suitable for both and plans for the machinery required for the erection of these bridges were submitted by Lennox in July.²

Although it had been requested in December 1834 and again in June 1835 that 40 men be transferred to the quarry at Bowen’s Hollow under the supervision of a Sargeant, a Corporal and 9 rank and file from the military,³ by September 1835 no men had yet been stationed there to cut the stone for the bridges. Dulhunty was still struggling with insufficient numbers in the Road Parties, and complained of ‘having no authority whatsoever with respect to disposal of the ironed Gangs ... the principal part of the labor employed upon the line of Road is centred in the Iron Gang at Cox’s River over the movement of which I have no control’. Dulhunty explained this was because ‘I had not the power of locating part of the Ironed Gang now at Cox’s River this duty entirely resting with Captain Faunce who is placed solely in charge of the Ironed Gangs’.⁴

¹ AONSW: Dulhunty to Deputy Surveyor General, Surveyor General Letters from Surveyors, Reel 3063.
² AONSW: Register of Letters from Roads Branch to the Surveyor General. 2/1417.
³ AONSW: Surveyor General, Letters Received from Surveyors, Dulhunty, pp.254-257. R.3063.
On inspecting the site in 1835 Lennox recommended the same design as the Berrima Bridge which was then under construction. The Berrima Bridge was destroyed by floods in 1860. [Source: *The Roadmakers. A History of Main Roads in New South Wales*, Department of Main Roads, New South Wales, 1976, p.24.]

A c. 1900 view of the bridge suggesting that the stone Berrima design was not constructed. [Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW]
The number of assaults and robberies by prisoners from the stockade and outstations suggests that they were not as closely guarded as sometimes suggested by the requirements of the military guard so frequently complained of by the surveyors. Prisoners could see travellers on the road passing the stockade and security was such that, despite the sentries (or perhaps in collusion with them) they could get out and attack them. In April 1835 William Akhurst was attacked and robbed on the road by Peter Doyle and Martin Byrne of the No. 2 Stockade. Both were charged with 'highway robbery with violence', found guilty and sentenced to death. Evidence was taken from William Robinson, scourger and constable at the stockade; Richard Seymour a corporal of the Mounted Police stationed at the Police House there; and William Key, a private of His Majesty's 4th Regiment of Foot on sentry duty at the Stockade.

In May 1835 there was excitement at the stockade over the escape of three convicts accompanied by a clerk and four of the military. W. Foster the Superintendent of Convicts at the stockade reported:

I had reason to go to the post office on Monday last the 25th inst for the purpose of settling an account between myself and the postmaster. I gave my watch to Clerk Howell - the day appearing gloomy for the purpose of noting down on a slip of paper any thing that might occur on the works or at the Stockade in my absence the distance being 7 miles to Hassans Walls and I was fearful that I could not return in time for the evening muster - for it was two when I left the Stockade. On my return Constable Burren reported that Howell was absent and two convicts from Assignment and also two convicts from the Hospital who were employed from the road Department one as clerk to the Medical Officer the other as wardsman under the same officer further four of the Military had also absconded supposed to be with Howell. Howell as [sic] taken away a Watch coat and two blankets belonging [to the] Government my watch with my name W Foster on the outside case ...

Captain McCumming of the 4th Kings Own Regiment at the stockade reported: ‘the prevailing rumour here is, that the party ... have taken the direction of [Twofold Bay] with which two of them are familiar, for the purpose of seizing a whale boat.' The clerk Howell was apparently suspected of forging warrants and had been ordered to be removed from his position but the order had not reached Foster until after the escape.

Cook also refers to this incident. That the administrative staff, the military and convicts were seeking to escape the stockade is a comment on conditions there and adds further support to the veracity of Cook’s account and the affinity that sometimes developed between the guarded and the guard. Shortly after Superintendent Foster departed the stockade and the command of the stockade was given over to the military, which ushered in a much harsher regime. The Officer in Command, Captain Faunce, did away with the ‘Interior Comforts’

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1 AONSW: Supreme Court Criminal, Clerk of the Peace Papers and Depositions, T162.
2 W. Foster Superintendent of Convicts at Cox's River report 26 May 1835.
3 Capt. M Canning, report dated 31 May 1835, Colonial Secretary Letters Received No. 35/4094, AONSW 4/2287.2.
(which was not infrequent) Needles and Thread to mend our clothes, and the keeping of the Huts in good repair. He also enforced a system of Running us to our Work at the point of the Bayonet, at the rate of Five miles in the hour. This continued for some 14 or 15 days when the men (finding themselves so far advanced in debility, and their legs so much injured by the friction of the Irons that they could no longer bear against it) offered a determined resistance to its continuance, which led to a deal of traffic in human flesh and blood, by the Soldiers with their Bayonets, and the Scourgers with their Cats.

Various were the schemes resorted to by some of the men to gain shelter within the Walls of the Hospital from this dreadful state of endurance; inter alia, by purposely maiming themselves with their Tools at labour, such as driving a pick into the foot.

In August 1835, charges of burgling with violence and rape were laid against eleven members of the No. 10 Road Party then stationed at Honeysuckle Flat. James Thorp was the overseer in charge of the party and testified that William Harvey and Lewis Wingfield had left the party at dinner time and returned drunk and riotous about 6 o’clock. Several of the prisoners had been drinking at William and Lydia Barnes’ inn, situated about a mile away, during the day and went back at night to rob it. The evidence indicates a brutal and violent attack in the presence of children. Clearly the gangs were not closely supervised or as Cook claimed the overseer was in collusion with the gang members. Assuming William Barnes, the assistant overseer, was also the publican and husband of Lydia then it begs the question as to whether there was an element of revenge in the attack.

From 1833 the court records indicate that Barnes was an overseer to be feared and the above event did not improve his disposition. In July 1836 John Macfarlin, a prisoner from the Mount Victoria Building Party under assistant overseer, Barnes asked Sub-Inspector Binning to remove him to another gang, stating that he would ‘take to the bush’ if he was not moved. Binning countered that he mustered prisoners once a week so that they could make any complaints and implied Macfarlin’s fears were unfounded; the outcome was that the prisoner was sentenced to seven days solitary for using threatening language. The tone of the proceedings suggested that Macfarlin was desperate. Later, Barnes charged two convicts of making false complaints against him and they each received fifty lashes. Sub-inspector Binning was also condemned as corrupt by Cook and the accounts of Thomas Yates and William Jones who came before the Court in November 1836 also support this view. Thomas Yates who was attached to the Mount Victoria Road Party was charged with disorderly conduct and abusive language. John Hall attached to Bowen’s Hollow Road Party deposed that in September he took Yates who had been discharged from Binning’s service to Mount Victoria and exchanged him for William Jones. Yates told Jones that Binning could not be satisfied and that he would work him to death, Jones then seemed unhappy with the prospect of working for Binning and absconded. Binning’s was described as “too bad a place for any man to go to”. As a result Jones was sentenced to 12 months in irons, it being his second offence for absconding.

Analysis of the court records indicates that the proceedings were more than a mere formality and that there was an attempt to administer justice. Although mentioned only once as being utilised, prisoners from the stockade did have the right to question witnesses. But it must be acknowledged that many would not have had the wherewithal to do so. A character reference could also ameliorate the outcome; when Joseph Anderson was charged with absconding, his sentence of fifty lashes was remitted because of a reference provided by Lieut. Ronald McDonald.\(^1\) Shortly after, however Anderson then described as “scourger to the gang at Hassan’s Walls” absconded a second time and was sentenced to 12 months in irons.\(^2\)

Despite severe penalties, and virtually no hope of escaping detection, crimes of violence at the stockade and against gang members were a feature of life. The court records conjure the image of a brutal existence where chance as much as compliance influenced survival. In August 1936 James Duggan a messenger at the Stockade, lost part of overseer James Dew’s pay. Duggan had been sent to cash Dew’s pay cheque at McGrath’s inn at the River Lett (Hartley), he was late back and had spent the night at the Lumber Yard (probably at Bowen’s Hollow), where he said he lost the money when he fell asleep there. He was found guilty of a breach of trust and sentenced to 25 lashes.\(^3\) Those who engaged in direct resistance were doomed. In September 1835 Jacob Gibbons, in irons at No. 2 Stockade almost killed the scourger in full view of soldiers. William Robinson was by struck on the head with a bludgeon made from the leg of a stool while searching the irons of the men before they were turned out to work at 7.00 am. Gibbons was well prepared and was also armed with a pair of scissors hidden in his shoe, the handle wrapped with cloth, and a pointed piece of sheet iron.\(^4\)

But it was not only prisoners who were guilty of capital offences, Michael Driscoll a prisoner under escort to Bathurst from the stockade was murdered by in cold blood and without provocation by a drunken John Hagin of the Kings Own 4th Regiment of Foot then stationed at Cox’s River. At the Inquest, Hagin was remorseful and in evidence from James Greer, Assistant Overseer and from some of the other prisoners from the Stockade it was claimed Driscoll’s death was accidental because Hagin was drunk and aggressive, and had even been drunk prior to leaving the stockade.\(^5\) Life on the roads was no holiday camp. Alcohol and drunkenness were common, presumably to blur the realities of the situation, and the security provisions and regulations were often more theoretical than practical.

\(1\) AONSW: Vale Of Clywd Bench Book., C1, pp.115-117.

\(2\) AONSW: Vale Of Clywd Bench Book., C1, pp.128-129.

\(3\) AONSW: Vale Of Clywd Bench Book., C1, pp.66, 70.

\(4\) AONSW: T/162. Supreme Court Criminal Clerk of the Peace papers and Depositions, 1837-19 (?146.

\(5\) AONSW: Supreme Court Criminal, Clerk of the Peace Papers and Depositions, T162.
3.10 The Junction Stockade

In late 1835 James Backhouse, a Quaker, travelled through New South Wales and Tasmania and reported on the convict system. He referred to the Junction Stockade

where an ironed-gang, of upwards of 150 prisoners, is employed, under the charge of a military officer. These men were at work, cutting a road, about three miles from the barracks, under a guard of soldiers. Near the barracks, we saluted a native Black and his wife, and they returned our tokens of notice. We took some refreshment at a decent public-house, at Solitary Creek, and afterwards visited a small road party, on the way to an inn, at Honeysuckle Hill.

Backhouse’s reference to Aboriginal people is one of only two only references, in a massive amount of official and unofficial documentation, to Aboriginal people in the vicinity during the Stockade’s occupation. As suggested earlier, it is probable that they generally kept away.

The next day Backhouse

... visited a small road-party, near the foot of the Stony Ridge, and another betwixt that place and Bathurst. It was past their work hours, on seventh-day afternoon, before we reached the last party, and several of the men pleaded, that they were Roman Catholics, and did not wish to come “to prayers” as they style all kinds of religious interviews. With some difficulty, we got them to understand our object, and most of them assembled in a rude blacksmith’s shop, in which we were glad of a shelter from the cold.

Although it is not clear from this account whether Backhouse’s ‘barracks’ is the stockade, by this time No.2 Stockade, Cox’s River was commonly referred to as “The Junction Stockade”. Further, the route as described took him directly passed the stockade site so it would be unusual for him not to mention it. von Hugel’s description referring to the junction of Farmer’s Creek and the Cox considered with the likely extent of the No 2 facility suggests that the nomenclature of “The Junction Stockade” was an appropriate, if generalized term. Besides, Hassan’s Walls Stockade was not yet operational and Bowen’s Hollow Stockade had not been constructed; the No.2 Stockade Cox’s River was the only stockade in existence in the area at that time. Later evidence confirms that “The Junction Stockade” and “No.2 Stockade, Cox’s River” were one and the same place. For example, Christopher Scally, of the 28th Regiment of Foot located at Cox’s River described himself in August 1836 as being ‘stockade sergeant at the Junction’.

The following rather humorous account of Constable Greenfield’s avoidance of duty, in conjunction with maps of the route to Bathurst also reinforces the interpretation that No. 2 Stockade, Cox’s River was also referred to as The Junction Stockade. In June 1837 Constable John Greenfield was to assist an escort of prisoners to Bathurst from The Junction by members of the 80th Regiment. Greenfield was with the party but on reaching the top of Mount Lamby (sic) the defendant complained of a pain in his knee. The group went ahead and waited at Thorp’s


2 ibid., p.13.

and Greenfield caught up some 20 minutes later but said he was worse and handed over the keys and warrant and advised them to go ahead to the Frying Pan Hut where he would catch up to them by 7.00 pm. Greenfield failed to arrive, but the next day, some four miles closer to Bathurst at Livingstone’s, Greenfield was found there, in bed and complaining of a pain in his neck and of his stomach being out of order, he had told Livingstone that he had been ordered to seek accommodation with him because he was unwell. He claimed he was still unfit to continue with the escort and they proceeded only to be overtaken by Greenfield in the Bathurst Mail, which failed to stop when hailed, Greenfield was next encountered in Bathurst when he emerged from a house where he had been drinking to join the group for the last few yards.

In October 1837 two drays delivering stores to the Commissariat at The Junction were encamped at McGraths (Hartley). A complainant to the Court had gone ahead to The Junction, when the drays did not turn up. After two hours he went back and found them at Bowen’s Hollow. This account also confirms that Hassan’s Walls and Bowen’s Hollow could not be the site of The Junction as the complainant travelled back from The Junction toward Hartley and came to Bowen’s Hollow. After Cox’s River ceased to be officially referred to as a ‘stockade’, Hughes & Hoskins, the contractors supplying the gangs had stores at ‘The Junction’ where there were huts, a slaughterhouse and a bakehouse. While Hughes and Hoskins had a grant on Farmers Creek on the side of Mt Walker, (see figure 3.2.5.1) it’s logical that they would make use of the Stockade area and other facilities there to supply the remaining road gang sites of Bowen’s Hollow and Hassan’s Walls. Their possible use of this site, after the main body of convicts had been removed to Bowen’s Hollow and Hassan’s Walls may explain the large number of bones in the military area of the stockade, found as part of the current investigation.

1 AONSW: Vale Of Clywd, Commitals, pp. 57-58.
2 AONSW: Vale Of Clywd, Commitals, pp.84-85.

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This map of the Western Road, dated 1830, but obviously modified for many years after that date, indicates Hassan's Walls, Bowen's Hollow and Alexander Binning's grant there. At Lambie's Hill John Hughes has a grant and on the side of Mount Walker, Hughes and Hoskins, contractors to the stockade also have a grant. George Deedes grant adjacent to the Commissariat is also shown. After crossing Solitary Creek, the Honeysuckle Range, Meadow Flat Creek and Diamond Swamp are encountered. Not shown is Mount Lambie located beyond Solitary Creek. See Figure 2.3.1 [AONSW: Map SZ 557 Pt.1 of 2]
Figure 3.10.2 This map of the Western Road focuses on that portion of the road most frequently referred to in the correspondence concerning the stockade. The administrative area of the stockade extended from Meadow Flat to Mount Victoria. Gangs affiliated with the Stockade were stationed at various sites as work on the road as required. [AONSW: Map 5027]
3.11 The Demise of the Stockade

On 8 December 1835 Alexander Binning, Sub-Inspector of Bridges, Western Division requested materials and men to build the two stone bridges over Farmer's Creek and Cox's River and reported (again) that the road at Cox's River was almost completed. He suggested moving 70 of the men from Cox's River stockade to Hassan's Walls as soon as possible although some men were still required at Cox's River to work on the approaches to the bridges. Bastard free stone, suitable for piers and side walls and parts where neatly squared stone was not required, was found within half a mile of Farmer's Creek and stones for the arch and parapet walls, was obtainable from the freestone quarry, some two and half miles from the bridges. Typically, Mitchell was keen for the bridges to be of stone and argued the case over timber, but the Colonial Secretary was less enthusiastic, presumably because of cost. In 1859 the Bridge over the River Cox was a 'Queen truss bridge on piers with stone bases and wooden superstructure of two spans of sixty three feet and two of twenty feet each the road is twelve feet wide and six feet above flood level. Total length 170 feet'. It appears that this was one argument that Mitchell lost.

Work was continuing at Mount Victoria and huts for the reception of an iron gang at Hassan's Walls had been established. Boxes for the accommodation of men were at Bowen's Hollow where the placement of an iron gang was also recommended. It is not known whether boxes were experimented with on the notorious No. 10 Road Party as had been proposed in 1833, but several references to their use or construction since that time indicate that boxes had become a reality. These boxes were usually 14 ft long and varied in width from 7 ½ to 10 ft. They were on wheels and theoretically could be drawn by their residents to new locations. Gang members slept on the floor and on two shelves with each, having about a 17 inch width of space to himself. Although there is no mention of boxes being moved in the documentation pertaining to the Western Road sites encountered in this study they may have been designed with that intent, however, the western road references imply semi permanent camps rather than conjure an image of a nomadic convict workforce inching snail-like along the route to Bathurst. The military supervising them certainly did not inhabit mobile homes. Thorp's No. 10 Road Party was at Mount Victoria by February 1836. Mitchell's experience of finding the No.2 Stockade constructed on the line of road is also likely to have been a motivating factor in using boxes at the Bowen's Hollow site. Meanwhile Mitchell had proposed that a small bridge be erected at Bowen's Hollow and the road formed on the higher level. Remnants of this bridge are still evident beside the old line of road.

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1 Binning to Mitchell, 8 December 1835, Surveyor General Letters Received from Assistant Engineer and Sub-Inspector of Roads, AONSW 2/1720; Mitchell to Colonial Secretary, 12 December 1835, Colonial Secretary's Special Bundles Roads and Bridges 1835-1851, AONSW 2/1855.

2 AONSW: Col. Sec. Special Bundle, Roads and Bridges, 1835-1851. 2/1855.

3 Captain Marrindale. Report ... Western Road ... 1859. ML(?) Q 339.5N


6 The stone buttress of this bridge can still be seen hidden under weeds on the old road as it climbs up from Bowen's Hollow.

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Figure 3.11.1  This Sketch of a Portable Wooden House to contain Twenty Iron’d Ganged Convicts from the Colonial Architect’s Office shows the type of accommodation then being experimented with. [Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales]
at it ascends the hill above Bowen’s Hollow. Another iron gang was proposed for Cox’s River for the erection of the bridges and preparing the ground and a road party was to continue at Honeysuckle Hill. In April 1836 the first reference to the “Stockade at Bowen’s Hollow” is made and the stockade at Hassan’s Walls, known as No 3 Stockade, was under the supervision of the 4th Regiment with another scourger stationed there. Captain Moore of the 28th Regiment, who was married and had three children, became commandant at the Junction Stockade, Cox’s River from 1 July 1836 and remained there until 31 December 1838. Prior to March 1838 the number of women and children that accompanied the military posted to stockades was determined by the commanding officer of each regiment. After Colonel French allowed ten women and twenty-five children to accompany his regiment to Harper’s Hill, Major Barney tightened the regulations. This account suggests that it is likely that more women than have appeared in the written documentation were at Cox’s River and its associated network. While there are only two references to women, Mrs Reid and Mrs McCumming, given that it was common practise, it would appear likely that Moore was accompanied by his wife and three children. The Bowen’s Hollow iron gang was under the charge of Sergeant Richard Hall of the 28th Regiment, and by June 1836 a hospital had been constructed there. Despite the existence of a hospital at Bowen’s Hollow, prisoners from No. 3 Stockade, Hassan’s Walls were still sent to the Hospital at Cox’s River, suggesting it was a better equipped and/or staffed facility. Nevertheless there was no guarantee of sympathy. When William Bryan of Hassan’s Walls stockade was referred to the hospital at Cox’s River in early 1837, the medical officer there had him charged with feigning sickness. He was sentenced to 50 lashes on the breech and on an additional charge of making a false statement, to wit, he “claimed he was free” received another 50 lashes on the back. Later, another prisoner from Hassan’s Walls at the Cox’s River Hospital disappeared over night and was sentenced to 50 lashes for being absent without leave and on a second charge he was likewise sentenced to another 50 lashes on the breech. At the end of 1836 a charge against a prisoner who was ‘attached to No 2 stockade’, for absconding from Bowen’s Hollow implies that Bowen’s Hollow was still officially affiliated with Cox’s River; that Cox’s River was still the administrative headquarters.

1 AONSW: Col. Sec. Special Bundles, Roads and Bridges 1835 -1851, Mitchell to Col. Sec. 12 Dec. 1835.
2 AONSW: Vale Of Clywd Bench Book, Cl, p.112.
3 Society of Australian Genealogists, File 4/9277/1. Data derived from 28th Regiment of Foot Muster Rolls and Baptism Certificate of one of Moore’s sons. The muster roll names ‘Coxes River’ and the baptismal certificate names Moore as ‘Commandant at the stockade at the Junction.
5 AONSW: Vale of Clywd Bench Book, 1836, pp. 41-49.
6 AONSW: Vale Of Clywd Bench Book, Cl, p.150.
7 AONSW: Vale Of Clywd Bench Book, Cl, pp.150-151.

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Figure 3.11.2 The above shako badge with lion and crown pattern associated with the 28th North Gloucestershire Regiment of Foot were recovered from the Commissariat area of the Stockade by Lithgow locals, Olaf Leckbandt and Lester Batchelor. In line with the area's commissariat role they also found musket balls, mason's wedges, chain links, horse shoes, stirrup irons and chisels. The 28th Regiment arrived in Australia in 1835 and were in the country until 1842.\footnote{Olaf Leckbandt, 1995}

\[\text{Reference:}
\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}\]
Figure 3.11.3

The Plan of the Village Reserve at Bowen's Hollow, 1839, to be called Bowenfels indicates the position of the quarries, the stockade and Alexander Binning's houses and paddock. (AONSW: Map No. 1461A)
In August 1836 Dulhunty requested that the depleted iron gangs at Bowen’s Hollow and Hassan’s Wall be brought up to strength from the iron gang at Cox’s River where the road was ‘tolerably good’. The ‘Return of Iron Gangs’ for October 1836 indicates that at No.2 Stockade Cox’s River, Captain Samuel Moore was the superintendent with a constable and a scourger, there were ten wardsmen, cooks etc. and 132 men in irons still stationed there. In that month, six prisoners had absconded; while four had been apprehended, two were still at large. Another ironed gang was stationed at Hassan’s Walls under Lieutenant McDowell, here there were 69 men in irons with 6 support staff, a scourger and a constable. No other ironed gangs on the Western Road are indicated and Cox’s River remained the principal establishment on the road.

Meanwhile, Governor Bourke announced that the only road gangs to be used in the future would be those in irons, reporting

there are now about one thousand convicts in irons divided into sixteen gangs working under the control of military officers under sentences to labour varying from one to three years. Their labour is as efficient as any forced labour can ever be and without tyranny or cruelty their discipline, submission and safe custody are fully secured. ... I have determined to reduce the road parties from the 1 proximo leaving no gangs on the roads but those under military superintendence ... I thought it expedient at once to reduce along with the road parties the overseers and inspectors and to transfer the charge of constructing and repairing roads and bridges from the Surveyor General to the Royal Engineer.

Bourke also transferred responsibility for the construction of roads and bridges and the supervision of convict gangs to the Colonial Engineer.

By the end of 1836 the Cox’s River Stockade was being wound down. Although the Commissariat Department was still located there and the lock up was still in use, the Court had moved to the Vale of Clwyd. Hartley Courthouse was built in 1837 to serve as both a convict and civil courthouse, presumably the Court operated out of temporary accommodation while the Courthouse was being constructed. An iron gang continued to work on the bridges and William Robinson, who had recovered from the earlier attack, was still serving as scourger. At the beginning of 1837, only thirty-two men gang members remained at Cox’s River, of these twelve were out of irons working as servants. The remainder had been transferred to Hassan’s Walls, Bathurst and Bowen’s Hollow, which had become the largest establishment, with eighty one men in irons.

The return of the number of men at the stockades in September 1837 indicates that at the Bowen’s Hollow Stockade there are seventy men out of irons; at Hassan’s Walls Stockade seventy-five, and at the Bowen’s Hollow Lumber Yard there were twenty-four. There are none at Cox’s River.

2 AONSW: Return of Ironed Gangs. 5/4765.
3 Quoted in Thorp, Non-Institutional Convict Sites, pp.127 -128.
5 AONSW: Colonial Engineer, letters-Sent, Jan. 1837 - Nov 1842, p.81. 4/457.
From this time Cox's River Stockade's primary function appears to be that of a medical and stores facility and it ceased to be referred to as a 'Stockade', rather the terms "Cox's River" or "The Junction" were used. However it retained some other administrative functions as on 2nd November 1837 a Court Martial occurred there. In the Return for December 1837 only Hassan's Walls and Bowen's Hollow are mentioned. Yet the court records indicate that the hospital and stores function were retained into 1838. On April 3 1838 Alexander McDowell/McDonnell who had a ticket of leave was charged with habitual drunkenness and disorderly conduct, and neglect of duty in hired service. Reid testified that McDonnell had arrived at the Cox's River Hospital on 15 December 1837, being sent as Dispenser by the Inspector General of Hospitals. He had been repeatedly intoxicated since his arrival and "wholly unfit for the duties of his situation". McDonnell, who had been absent for two days had told Mrs Reid that he had a ticket of leave and that his time was his own. He got 14 days solitary and a recommendation that his ticket of leave be rescinded. By this time Dr Reid, is officially described in Court documents as 'assistant surgeon, 80th Regiment at Hassan's Walls', presumably the Regiment was now posted there rather than at Cox's River, however he continued to be employed at the 'Hospital at Cox's River'. If Moore was accompanied by his wife and three children then he is also likely to have remained resident on the Deedes grant which he purchased in January 1836. The hospital is likely to have remained at the former stockade site because it was well established. Reid who was accompanied by his wife had set up residence there and works at Bowen's Hollow and at Hassan's Walls were not expected to be as extensive or as long lived as that which originally inspired the construction of the Cox's River stockade.

Discipline remained harsh and outbursts of brutality continue to be recorded in the court records. On 23 April 1838 Timothy Mahoney, alias Thomas Mahon died in Cox's River Hospital as a consequence of Daniel Maloney hitting him on the head with a pick while they were collecting stones for the road at Hassan's Walls. The depositions were taken at Cox's River. Mahoney did not know why he had been attacked - it was unexpected, and Maloney was heard to comment after the event that he would have liked to have killed half a dozen; he did not question witnesses or make any defence. In the light of Cooks complaints concerning the 'den of infamy', a charge against James Maltman of "Disobedience of Orders and disgusting Language", by Captain Kane in May 1838 testifying that Maltman had "made use of the most beastly language using the terms bugger, and imprecations also of the most frightful import such as bloody heavens" and sung a bawdy song pose a quandary. Was Kane really offended by the terms "bugger" and "bloody heavens" or was it just the defiance? Maltman received 50 lashes on the breech, but that sentence could have been administered for simple insolence and refusing to work, the reference to the language being unnecessary for that outcome.

1 AONSW: Vale OfClywd , Commitals, p.87.
2 AONSW: Colonial Engineer, Letters Sent Jan 1837 - Nov 1842. 4/457 Circa. P.41
3 AONSW: Vale OfClywd Bench Book,, C1, pp.251-252.
Despite what at times appears to be a somewhat capricious system of justice on site, there remained at the head of administration in Sydney a concern with the minutiae of road gang existence. Further, in an attempt at reform, copies of the Temperance Magazine were made available to gang members with the government footing the bill.¹ In July 1838 George Barney, R.E., corresponded with the Colonial Secretary concerning the accounting of a 2d per day allowance for tea, sugar and tobacco for certain prisoners. While this may be a fine example of ‘bean counting’ clearly allowances were made; there were intended to be some comforts, particularly for the well behaved.² On the 1st August 1838 there were 143 men in irons at Hassan’s Walls and forty one out of irons at Bowen’s Hollow.³ In February 1839 there were ten officially designated stockades in New South Wales, including Hassan’s Walls which was in the charge of Lieutenant Morris of the 80th Regiment.⁴ This stockade continues to be mentioned in correspondence to mid year but has not been traced beyond that.

By September 1839 Louisa Meredith’s described a stockade in ruins

The next point of our route having any claim to the picturesque was the rocky ravine at Cox’s River; the sight of clear running water is always pleasant, but nowhere more delightful than in so dry and thirsty a clime as this. The ruins of numerous huts, formerly occupied by a convict-gang at this spot, gave it rather a desolate look, but the clear little brook (for such in England would we call this river) gurgling merrily over its pebbly bed, had a sweet music in its voice that made me forget all disagreeables. We tasted, and then crossed it, and immediately began the steep ascent of Mount Lambey, which rises abruptly from the river’s bank.⁵

The last reference to the site found in this study was John Hood’s recollection published in 1843 in which he states

We now journeyed up a steep, long and wearisome mountain and descended into retired glens on the other side, watered by two wimpling? bumies, called ‘Solitary Creek’ and ‘Coxe’s River’. An old military stockade in ruins, upon a height, gave an interest to the scene: any ruins are a treasure in a new country.⁶

Convict Workers, a recent and controversial analysis of convict life has sought to disrupt the accepted view of the convict system as a system of punishment by using economic theory and method. Nicholas et. al. try to deconstruct the popular myth of harsh convictism by showing that convicts ate better, were better housed and had better medical care than their equals in Britain, and that flogging was not as frequent or as sadistic as thought.

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1 AONSW: Colonial engineer, letters Sent, Jan. 1837 - Nov 1842. p.60. 4/457
3 AONSW: Colonial engineer, letters Sent, Jan. 1837 - Nov 1842. p.81. 4/457
Nicholas says of the road gangs

we reject the notion that the labour process in colonial Australia was one of unrelenting terror and brute force ... When the lash was used to extract work from gangs it was because pain was a cheap and efficient instrument for stimulating effort. The stereotype of road gangs as inefficient and nonproductive, driven by cruel and inhumane treatment, is at odds with the dramatic physical record - the roads, bridges and buildings - of the skill and perseverance of the convict workers.¹

Grace Karskens’ study of the road gangs on the Great North Road has also contributed to this debate from the viewpoint of material culture. She found documentary evidence of convict overseers and officials complaining of the slowness of the work and that flogging was resorted to just to keep the men at work. On the other hand Karskens states that the roads and associated structure are themselves evidence that with good overseers, monumental engineering achievements were possible. Ex-convict overseers were often praised for their skill and disciplinary ability. Karskens surmises that skilled men in the gangs would have stayed and worked their time as willingly as possible, hoping for some reward.²

While the documentary evidence encountered in this study leaves no doubt that the authorities were concerned to provide strict guidelines as to the treatment of convicts, inconsistencies in their application, sporadic outburst of violence and quandaries posed by incidents encountered in this study do not generally support the thesis put forward by Nicholas et.al.

² Karskens, The Grandest Improvement, pp.71-75.
Sequence of Stockades

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Detail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Iron Gangs placed at Mount Victoria and a stockade was subsequently built to accommodate them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Mitchell nominated the Cox’s River, near Mt. Walker, another site near the River Lett and another under Stoney Range as suitable sites for the placement of convict stations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832 March</td>
<td>Construction of Cox’s River Stockade commenced. Road parties also stationed at Hassan’s Walls, Stoney Range and at Honeysuckle Hill. Ironed gangs located at Mount Victoria Stockade which was the focus of activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Ironed gangs moved from Mount Victoria to Cox’s River, marking its official occupation as a stockade. Road parties involved with its construction, however, had been accommodated there since March.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Nicholson ordered demolition and removal of materials from Mount Victoria stockade to effect repairs at Cox’s River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833 October</td>
<td>Road parties located at Mount Victoria, Honeysuckle Hill, Hassan’s Walls, Diamond Swamp and 4 ironed gangs are at Cox’s River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834 August</td>
<td>Nicholson recommended wooden portable houses for gangs to be situated 2 miles beyond the River Lett (probably Bowen’s Hollow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Plans to move iron gangs to Hassan’s Walls once houses constructed for their reception.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Nicholson requested permission to detach 40 men in irons to work at the quarry at Bowen’s Hollow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835 April</td>
<td>A part of masons at Mount Victoria had been there 9 months. Mitchell suggested the formation of a new station near the River Lett - this is probably Hassan’s Walls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Hassan’s Walls recently completed. Recommended that iron gangs be moved there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Backhouse refers to The Junction Stockade. Despite previous recommendations no men had been sent to work at the quarry at Bowen’s Hollow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Binning suggests 70 men be sent to Hassan’s Walls. Huts for the reception of gang members had been established there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836 April</td>
<td>First reference to Bowen’s Hollow Stockade. Hassan’s Walls Stockade referred to as No.3 Stockade. The Junction Stockade still in existence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Numbers at Bowen's Hollow and Hassan's Walls to be brought up to strength from the iron gang at Cox's River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>132 men in irons still at Cox's River plus Captain Moore, a constable, a scourger, and 10 wards men and cooks etc., Cox's River still the principal establishment. 69 men in irons at Hassan's Walls plus support staff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Court at Cox's River now held at Vale of Clywd (Hartley). Only one ironed gang remained. Commissariat still there and the lock up remained in use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Only 32 convicts at Cox's River. The remainder have been transferred to Hassan's Walls, Bathurst and Bowen's Hollow which was the largest facility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>The Junction still exists - an escort of prisoners picked up there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>The Junction still exists - an escort of prisoners picked up there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>70 men out of irons at Bowen's Hollow Stockade, 75 at Hassan's Walls Stockade and 24 at the Bowen's Hollow Lumber Yard. There are none at Cox's River. The Stockade site is no longer referred to as a &quot;stockade&quot;. The terms &quot;Cox's River&quot; or &quot;The Junction&quot; now commonly used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Hughes &amp; Hoskins have stores at The Junction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>The hospital and stores are still at Cox's River. Only Bowen's Hollow and Hassan's Walls stockades indicated in Returns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Reference to the Hospital at Cox's River and Dr. and Mrs Reid who resided there. A Dispenser was also stationed there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>A convict death reported at the Cox's River Hospital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>138 men in irons at Hassan's Walls and 32 out of irons at Bowen's Hollow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 December</td>
<td>Captain Moore's Commission at Cox's River expires. He (and his family?) were in residence from 1 July 1836.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>In an official list of NSW stockades only Hassan's Walls is listed from this area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Louisa Meredith refers to ruins of the stockade at Cox's River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>John Hood refers to an old military stockade watered by two wimpling burnies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.12. Conclusion

The No.2 Stockade Cox’s River was the central facility on the Bathurst Road during the construction of Mitchell’s new line of road in the 1830s. From its establishment in 1832 road parties and ironed gangs were allocated and victualled from there. At its peak between 500 and 800 people were accommodated there. Until permanent facilities were established at the Vale of Clywd it was also the judicial centre. The structure, length of establishment and function of the Cox’s River Stockade reflected changes in the convict system and the complexities and conflict inherent in the road making system. There was tension between the Surveyor General’s desire to build lasting roads and the pressure for roads to be finished; the problem of forced labour and of not having control because of the military’s concern with security. The documentary and physical evidence all reflect on this situation.

As work on the road was slowly completed the facility gradually reduced in numbers and with a focus then required at Hassan’s Walls and Bowen’s Hollow, lesser establishments were built there. Cox’s River retained its function as a stores and medical facility until at least the end of 1838. With fewer and fewer men required to finalise work on the road and with the departure of the commandant Samuel Moore at that time, its role became administratively insignificant.

Hassan’s Walls stockade functioned well into 1839 but is unlikely to have existed beyond that time - ironed gangs were not used for routine maintenance and they were gradually replaced by small unironed road parties. The last reference in the context of road gangs and convict work parties uncovered as part of this study was in 1840 when the Cox’s River Road Party requested that they be assigned to private employers.  

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1 AONSW: Colonial Secretary, Register of Letters Received, July-December, 1840, Letter No. 12114.
4.0 Archaeological Survey and Excavation

4.1 The Place and the Excavation

Confusion can arise over the words used to describe the various components of the site. Historically, the whole convict complex has been referred to as the ‘Stockade’, though in fact the only stockaded (fenced) area was that occupied by the convict accommodation huts, on the tip of the eastern peninsula area, called here the ‘Military/Stockade Area’. The components of the place, dealt with individually in this report, are

- the military barracks, officers quarters and associated support buildings, located immediately east of the stockaded convict huts (referred to in this report, together with the stockade area itself, as the ‘Military/Stockade Area’ - individual sites identified with the prefix ‘A’).

- the commissariat stores complex of buildings, which contained the main storehouses and associated accommodation (located on the western peninsula, and referred to in this report as the ‘Commissariat Area’ - individual sites identified with the prefix ‘C’).

- the area granted to George Deedes in 1834, and, it is argued in this report, subsequently used by the various commanding officers of the establishment as their residence (located on the western peninsula, and referred to in this report as the ‘Deedes Grant Area’ - individual sites identified with the prefix ‘D’ and ‘E’).

Excavations and survey work was carried out on the western side of the Lyell Reservoir over a three week period (January 31-February 13, and February 19-24, 1995), and on the eastern side over a nine day period (November 13-21, 1995) and again for two days March 16-17, 1996. Michael Pearson of Heritage Management Consultants directed the recording and excavations, with the professional assistance of Warwick Pearson of Pacific Power. The surveys and excavations constitute Stage 5 of a six Stage project undertaken by Sue Rosen Pty Ltd for Pacific Power. The two excavated areas referred to in this report are the Commissariat Area (Area C, Western Peninsula), and the Military/Stockade Area (Area A, Eastern Peninsula). Survey of above-ground remains also took place in the Deedes Grant Area (Area D and E, Western Peninsula).

4.2 Methodology

The readily available literature and earlier reports on the site were studied prior to field work commencing. Because the brief focussed on identifying and salvaging threatened cultural material, the survey and excavations perforce concentrated on identifying and excavating the building sites. Had a longer time frame, more resources and a free hand in research design been available, a more complete series of test excavations would have been undertaken in the areas around and between the identified building sites. However, the methodology pursued, maximised the retrieval of cultural material, and greatly furthered the understanding of the site and its components.

Key features in each of the areas were identified and blackberry and grass cleared from them, prior to scale drawing of surface features [see Fig. 2.3.6 for site plan]. Features in the
Military/Stockade Area were drawn without first clearing vegetation cover, and the survey updated during the later excavation period, when vegetation had been substantially reduced by burning. A grid was laid out over the sites with most apparent archaeological potential below the projected high water level in the Commissariat Area, and a series of test trenches opened to determine the presence and orientation of any structures and the nature of the deposits and stratigraphy. Excavation then proceeded to define the buildings and spaces between them, and to study associated cultural material. Because of the shallowness of the excavations, the friable nature of the soil from the excavations, and the imminent inundation of the site with associated wave wash from daily motor boat activity adjacent to the site, there was considered to be no major advantage in backfilling the shallow excavated areas in Area C. Given the evident erosion of those parts of the structures already affected by inundation, it is predicted that the site will be substantially scoured of topsoil as the dam waters rise, and that backfilling would not prevent that occurring, nor give any added protection to extant structural stonework. The use of geotechnic material to protect the exposed stonework and deposits was considered, but the difficulty of securing such a treatment in very shallow deposits in the absence of any readily available durable backfilling material substantially reduced the likelihood of success, and resources were too limited to allow a more substantial site-covering exercise using imported fill, even if it had been warranted.

The subsequent excavations in the Military/Stockade Area was carried out after the area had been cleared of tussock grass by firing by persons unknown shortly before excavations commenced. This improved surface visibility greatly over that prevailing during the earlier survey work. Sites A1 and A2 were excavated, and other features identified in the area. A site which proved to be the military barracks shown in the 1832 plan, adjacent to Site A1, was tested by a series of small slit trenches, in order to define its dimensions and so confirm its identification. All excavated areas were above the proposed high-water level of the augmented reservoir, and hence all excavations were back-filled. The bottom level reached in all excavated areas was marked by the placement of an assortment of modern materials, mainly being pieces of plastic from broken buckets, and aluminium and plastic labelling tags, prior to backfilling.

The grid to which the archaeological remains are related is that set up for the land survey of the site by Pacific Power's surveyors. The grid is oriented to magnetic north, and grid references given in the text and on the plans relate to this grid. At each site the grid was marked at one metre intervals. The system of numbering the survey grid was altered between the first major excavation season at Area C and the second at Area A. The system used is as follows:

In Area A (Military/Stockade Area) the north-south grid lines have the prefix “A”, while the east-west grid lines have no prefix. The grid lines are numbered from a datum point 2 metres west of Pacific Power survey station 9, the datum being given the grid co-ordinates of 100A100. Grid line numbers increased to the north and west of this datum at metre intervals. The squares formed by the grid lines are identified by the intersection of grid lines at the south-eastern corner of the square. Thus the square immediately to the west and north of the datum point is referred to as square 100A100.

In Area C (Commissariat Area) one grid was established for Sites C2 and C5, and another for Sites C3 and C4. The C2 and C5 grid was based on a datum at point 995N 2023E on the Pacific Power surveyed grid. The north-south grid lines were
numbered towards the east, the datum point being ‘1’. The east-west grid lines were identified by a letter, the datum point being ‘A’ and proceeding in alphabetical order to the north. The squares formed by the grid lines are identified by the intersection of grid lines at the south-western corner of the square. Thus the square immediately to the east and north of the datum point is referred to as square A1.

The C3 and C4 grid maintains the same east-west numbering as Sites C2 and C5. The north-south grid was renumbered from the grid line 6 metres west of grid line ‘1’ in the C2/C5 grid. The C3 and C4 north-south grid was numbered from 1, increasing in number this time to the west, and given negative numbers (-1, -2 etc.) For the grid lines east of that point. The squares were again numbered according to the grid intersection at the south-west corner of the square.

Because the archaeological deposits were of unknown depth and character, the initial excavation was by spits. The first spit revealed the disturbed nature of the top-most deposit, and Spit 1 became, in fact, the post-demolition and demolition layers of the sites. Spit 1 was in all sites a mixed deposit of shallow depth with varying degrees of disturbance. In most cases the distinction between demolition/disintegration of structures and post-destruction disturbance was not represented by a clear stratigraphic layering, so Spit 1 was treated as one feature in the stratigraphy. Where individual features such as structural remains, distinct stratigraphic units, post holes etc., were encountered they were excavated as features and numbered accordingly.

In all sites excavation was generally restricted to the recording and removal of Spit 1, which in most areas overlaid structural remains which were not excavated. In only a few instances was there evidence below Spit 1 of features, other than structural remains, that appeared to be in situ stockade era deposits. Where such features were located they were commonly tested by small pits to try to determine their nature and depth. The excavations were regarded as salvage operations in Area C and initial exploratory work in Area A. Emphasis was given to those sites which presented the greatest likelihood of providing key information about the stockade in the time frame and using the resources available. These sites proved to be building sites. They were invariably mounds of varying heights, and excavations were generally restricted to these mounded areas. This provided an unavoidably limited overview of the likely range of archaeological features at the stockade, but the tying in of the excavated features to the original plans now provides a firm basis for more systematic suture work directed to important research questions. A table of Unit numbers applied to stratigraphic features is provided as an appendix to this report, and the unit numbers referred to where relevant in the plan and section drawings.

4.3 Summary Findings

Unfortunately, unusually low water levels described in the Brief did not prevail at the time of the excavations on the Commissariat Area, and indeed rising water levels made excavation of part of the site difficult. However, discrete features within the area were recorded and drawn.

Four building sites were excavated in the Commissariat Area, all appearing to date to the convict occupation of the area, and probably correlating with four of the five buildings shown in the 1834
plan as being the site of the stockade Commissariat.\textsuperscript{1} The combination of the historical and archaeological survey information has allowed further interpretation of other parts of the site, identifying the Deedes Grant Area as the possible site of the commanding officer's cottage, and demonstrating a correlation between the physical evidence and the 1832 plan of the stockade buildings.

At the Military Barrack Area two building sites were excavated which did not correlate with any building shown on the 1832 Plan.\textsuperscript{2} These buildings may have been kitchen or other service buildings for the military barracks. A building site consisting of a levelled area and shallow stone wall foundations, and approximately 20 metres long and 4.97 metres wide, was identified as being one of the two military barracks buildings shown on the 1832 Plan. The location of this building allowed the approximate location of the stockaded convict huts area to be deduced and tested.

\textsuperscript{1} Map of Lot 11 granted to George Deedes, dated 3 June 1834, Lands Department of NSW portion plan 101.691.

\textsuperscript{2} Nicholson, J. 'Plan of the Stockade at Cox's River', 1832, AONSW / Surveyor General Sketch Book Vol. 2, Fol. 17)
4.4 The Surface Remains

4.4.1 The Military/Stockade Area

The identification of the Military/Stockade Area on the eastern peninsula, at the base of a long ridge running southward from Mount Walker, [see figure 2.3.6 for locations] as the main site of the No. 2 Stockade Cox's River is based on a five principal pieces of evidence

- Mitchell's statement that the Stockade had been built 'precisely on the line of the road as it would approach the bridge to be made over Cox's River'. The road approaches the bridge along the southern side of the eastern peninsula, then crosses to steeply rising ground on the western side of the river; This implies that the stockade was located on the eastern peninsula (in the Military/Stockade Area), on the line of the road, as the road alignment on the western side of the river would be too steep for such a structure.

- The Lands Department Plan of the land to be granted to George Deedes, drawn in 1834, which shows four buildings on the Deedes Grant Area, five buildings on the bend of the subsidiary creek west of the Cox's River, labelled 'Commissariat' (the Commissariat Area), and fragments of writing on the eastern peninsula, '...ade', adjacent to the Mitchell's Road and bridge, which is taken to indicate the stockade location in the Military/Stockade Area [see Figure 3.7.2];

- The painting attributed to Major General James Pattison Cockburn of 'The Fort on the Cox's River near Bathurst, NSW', which, when oriented on the ground, clearly shows the stockade and associated huts (taken to be the military accommodation) placed on the eastern peninsula as it rises from the crossing of the Cox's River, with the Mitchell's road climbing the hill to the west, and the road, or more likely a track preceding the road, passing very close beneath the southern wall of the stockade [see Figure 3.6.7];

- The Nicholson Plan of the Stockade, drawn in 1832, which labels one side of the stockade 'West' [see Figure 3.5.1]. If the stockade plan is overlain on the eastern peninsula, this side of the stockade does in fact face west. If it is overlain on the western peninsula, the orientation of the Stockade would have had to have been north or north-east, as there is insufficient space for it to face west and still run down the ridge as shown in the Cockburn painting, the ridge here being oriented north-south. In addition, the very distinctive 20 x 5 metre building site identified at Site A11 matches the dimensions of the single military barracks

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2. Map of Lot 11 granted to George Deedes, dated 3 June 1834, Lands Department of NSW portion plan 101.691.
Baron Charles von Hugel’s 1834 description of the site, which places the stockade ‘on a small isolated hill, the last foothill of a high mountain, Mount Walker, round which Cox’s River winds’, and locates the commanding officer’s cottage in ‘another small valley, without water, [which] runs between high mountains on the other side of the stockade, a few hundred paces away.’ This is interpreted as placing the main stockade site on the eastern peninsula (the Military/Stockade Area), and the commanding officer’s cottage in the valley of the creek that flows into the Cox’s River at the western peninsula (the Deedes Grant Area), opposite the main stockade site. This is the only water course other than the Cox’s River within ‘a few hundred paces’ of the eastern peninsula.

Based on this evidence, the stockade was interpreted as lying in the Military/Stockade Area on the eastern peninsula, and the Commissariat Area on the toe of the western peninsula. The commanding officer’s cottage is interpreted as being in the Deedes Grant Area, in the valley of the small intermittent creek running to the west of the western peninsula and probably occupying the buildings shown on the 1834 plan of the Deedes grant.

The surface remains in the Military/Stockade Area comprise 12 discrete sites, most being stone mounds and concentrations of stone rubble and clay, 3 to 8 metres in diameter, and up to 60 cm high [see Figure 4.4.1.1]. All of the sites listed here, other than Mitchell’s road, are above the projected water level of the augmented reservoir. [see Figure 2.3.6 and accompanying key]

Artefacts (clay pipe fragments, glass, ceramics, nails) are found scattered all over the Military/Stockade Area. A number of clay pipe stems and ceramic fragments, in particular, were located between Survey Station 8 and Site A4, and a concentration of wrought iron nails was found in the vicinity of Site A7/ A9, disturbed by track construction. Metal detectors have previously located a wide variety of artefacts from the Military/Stockade Area, including military buttons, building hardware (including very large iron hinges – possibly from the stockade gates), and other dress items such as iron boot heels and badges. These are listed in the Artefact Register, prepared by Warwick Pearson of Pacific Power and provided as a separate volume.

Parts of the Military/Stockade Area have been heavily impacted by formal and informal vehicle activity, and informal camping and picnicking. A cottage was located on the northern edge of the peninsula, east of Survey Station 13, in the 1950s, as indicated by an extensive area of widely scattered modern bricks. The Lot (No.27) was owned by Dr Ian Stanley Booth from 1953 until resumed by the NSW Electricity Commission in 1982, and Pacific Power may have details about the demolition of the building in their files. The cottage was built in a bench excavated into the side of the slope with a road cutting linking back via the fire-trail to the Mitchell’s road alignment. This work may have disturbed remains of the stockade buildings in that vicinity.

A cutting on the northern side of the ridge, near Site A2, appears to be another post-stockade

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2. Pacific Power Deed Packet No. 1532A/3

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Sue Rosen & Associates, Historians and Heritage Consultants, 76A Carlingford Rd., Epping. 2121
Ph: 98761655; Fax: 9869 3818; E-Mail: smr@geko.com.au
feature, possibly a borrow-pit for track construction material.

No above-ground evidence of former structures (other than the 1950s cottage) was found within that part of the Military/Stockade Area which is to be inundated. This is not surprising, given the interpretation of the location of the stockade and military buildings provided below. It is likely that the inundation area at the western end of the Military/Stockade Area was covered by part of the stockade and the convict huts which it enclosed, and as these appear to have been constructed entirely of timber, visible surface remains would not be expected.

In terms of archaeological remains, if the projected location of the stockade and convict huts presented in Figure 14 is accurate about a third of the complex is already below the lake water level. The archaeological remains of the timber and bark buildings could be expected to be both relatively shallow and subtle in form, such as impressions of trenches, post holes, and rotted timber, with a thin shallow scatter of artefact material. Given the nature of the remains, another third of the complex has probably been destroyed or severely disturbed as archaeological evidence by the bulldozing and pit digging that occurred early in 1995. This bulldozer activity was associated with the clearing of trees within the inundation area, and has resulted in widespread disturbance of the entire toe of the eastern peninsula. The disturbed area is approximately 70 metres in width and extending from the water's edge to a point somewhat above the future high water level. This disturbance is reputedly the result of the digging of a pit to bury charred tree remains, and subsequent filling and levelling of that pit. An unknown area is therefore likely to have been disturbed to a considerable depth below natural ground level (the pit area), while the majority of the effected area has had the top-soil and an undetermined amount of sub-soil scraped off and redistributed over the site.

At the southern edge of the disturbance the sub-soil clay appears to have been distributed over the top of the top-soil, with an undetermined amount of disturbance beneath the clay now capping this part of the site. This effects about another sixth of the area of the stockade. What is left undisturbed is a small area of the stockade site, possible consisting of just a section of the stockade fence and perhaps a corner of the convict huts. This area was tested by a single exploratory trench.
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
MILITARY/STOCKADE AREA—SURFACE FEATURES

area to be inundated

Station 10
Site A2
Station 13
Site A6
Site A11
reconstructed chimney ('grave')
Site A3
Site A9
Site A8
Site A5
Site A4
Site A7
Site A10
Site A12
Site A1
Site A11

contour interval 2.5m

Survey Stations (Pacific Power)
From the surface evidence (augmented as indicated by documentary and excavation evidence) the following interpretations of the surface remains are proposed:

**A1** A low stone mound and rubble scatter showing above-ground, shown by excavation to have been a chimney at the southern end of a building approximately 5 x 6 metres with scattered rubble from the building. This building is adjacent to A11, a barracks building, and is interpreted as a kitchen servicing the barracks. [See Fig. 4.4.1.2 and Section 4.5.]

**A2** A low stone mound shown by excavation to have been a chimney at the eastern side of a 5 x 3.5 metre building site. A stone retaining wall extends 12 metres to the north, only a few of the top stones of which were evident at ground level. [See Fig 4.4.1.3 and Section 4.5.]

**A3** The most clearly defined building site in terms of above ground evidence, with a shallow bench cut into the ridge slope and a stone foundation wall line across the open face of the cutting, defining a building site of approximately 11 x 4 metres. The site also has a thin scatter of artefact material associated with it (blue and white transfer printed ware, creamware, and glass). Possibly the site of the hospital building, listed by Nicholson in 1832 as still to be built. [See Fig. 4.4.1.4]

**A4** A stone scatter of approximately 2.5 metres diameter, including flaked quartzite cores, presumed to be of Aboriginal origin, but possibly re-located during the convict period. The Nicholson plan of 1832 indicates that Military Quarters had been constructed in close proximity to this location, and A4 or A5 could be the site of this building. [See Fig. 4.4.1.5]

**A5** A mound of stone approximately 2.5 metres in diameter and 40 cm high, at the western edge of a level area approximately 3.4 x 4.8 metres in extent, with an area of stone approx 1.6 metres square at its eastern end. This is interpreted as a building site with a chimney at the western end and either a second fireplace or a stone entry step/threshold at its eastern end. [See Fig. 4.4.1.6]

**A6** A mound of stone and clay approximately 2 x 2.5 metres and 50 cm high. A level area extends approximately 20 metres eastward from the mound, and may be the second barracks building site, displaced some 30 metres from where the Nicholson plan indicated it was intended to be built. [See Fig. 4.4.1.7]

**A7 & A9** A mound of stone and clay approximately 4 metres in diameter and 60 cm high (A7) appears to be a chimneysite at the western end of a flat area, now largely disturbed by a vehicle track. An area of embedded stones and a rubble mound, approximately 2 metres in diameter (A9) is located 8 metres to the east of mound A7, and the embedded stones could be interpreted as being a chimney base of 2.5 x 1.7 metres. These two mounds could be chimneys at each end of an 8 metre long building, slightly longer than that excavated at C2 in the Commissariat Area. The Nicholson plan indicates the intention to build a Military Officer’s Quarters in this vicinity. [See Fig. 4.4.1.8 & Fig. 4.4.1.10]
A8 A low (10 cm) high mound of clay with a small amount of stone rubble protruding. A shallow depression ran down slope from the mound. While the mound was not as distinct as most of the others identified in the area, the depression might have been associated with the stockade around the convict huts, which is now interpreted as lying at about this location. The site was disturbed by bulldozing that took place after the first survey, and is now covered by a thick layer of clay. [See Fig. 4.4.1.9]

A10 A stone mound approximately 5 metres in diameter. This might be an eroded building platform for a support building associated with the barracks building interpreted as extending towards it from site A6. Such a building would have a similar physical relationship to such a barracks building as has the building excavated at site A1 with the barracks building site at A11.

A11 A 20 x 4.97 metre building platform/levelled area, oriented on a NW-SE axis, with low stone foundation walls to support the edges of the mound on each side of the platform. A clay and stone rubble mound approximately 3 metres in diameter is centrally located at the western end of the platform. A 1.5 x 1.66 metre square of embedded stones is located centrally at the eastern end of the platform. Both of these features are taken to be chimney bases. A stone structure midway along the southern side of the platform is interpreted as the site of another chimney. It appears that the collapsed chimney was misinterpreted by interested locals as a convict grave, and when it was bulldozed in 1981 during preparation for the damming of the valley, it was reconstructed by the NSW Electricity Commission. The 1.12 x 1.84 metre reconstructed masonry structure is similar in size to other chimney bases at the stockade site. A11 is interpreted as the site of the military barracks shown as completed in the Nicholson plan.

A12 A mound of stone approximately 2 metres in diameter, and a levelled area. This has the appearance of a building site, and might be the Assistant Overseers' hut shown on the Nicholson plan of 1832, which is shown as being in this location.

Mitchell's Road, which runs along the current southern shore of the eastern peninsula, is almost entirely under water-level already. A short section is a few centimetres above water-level at its extreme western end.
Figure 4.4.1.2

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA A1, SURFACE FEATURES

Survey Station 12

88°
11.1m

272°
9.4m

0.4 m high rubble
and clay mound

AREA A1
No. 2 Stockade Cox's River
Site 2, Military/Stockade Area
Surface Features

Figure 4.4.1.3

Location of excavated stone structure

Stones on surface

1 metre

MP 1996
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA A3, SURFACE FEATURES

Survey Station 11
177°
6.3m

Survey Station 11
269°
13.6m

brick

0.4 m deep bench cutting

modern fireplace

in-situ wall line

Recorded WP 1995
Figure 4.4.1.5

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA A4, SURFACE FEATURES

flaked quartzite core

Recorded WP 1995
Figure 4.4.1.6

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER AREA A5, SURFACE FEATURES

Survey Station 8
125°
32.7 m

Survey Station 8
115°
30.7 m

0.4 m high rubble and clay mound

Recorded WP 1995
Figure 4.4.1.7

**NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER**
**AREA A6, SURFACE FEATURES**

Survey Station 13

48°
21.7m

Survey Station 13

35°
20.4m

0.5 m high rubble and clay mound

Recorded WP 1995
Survey Station 8
78°
12.0 m

Survey Station 8
48°
10.4 m

0.6 m high rubble and clay mound

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA A7, SURFACE FEATURES

Recorded WP 1995
Figure 4.4.1.9

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA A8, SURFACE FEATURES

Survey Station 10
345°
11.9m

Survey Station 10
326°
17.9m

0.1 m high rubble and clay mound

shallow (0.3m) depression

Recorded WP 1995
Figure 4.4.1.10

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA A9, SURFACE FEATURES

Survey Station 8
74°
20.3m

Survey Station 8
59°
22.3m

0.3 m high rubble and clay mound

Recorded WP 1995
4.4.2 The Commissariat Area

The identification of the Commissariat Area on the western peninsula as the Commissariat site is based on the Lands Department Plan of the land to be granted to George Deedes, drawn in 1834. This Plan shows five buildings on the bend of the subsidiary creek west of the Cox’s River, and about 100 metres from the confluence of the creek and the river. The buildings are labelled ‘Commissariat’ and the area they occupy ‘G.R.’ [Government Reserve], and a note on the plan which refers to ‘shewing the Reserve for the Commissary’s Quarters...’. [See Fig.3.7.2]

The Commissariat Area had a growth of tussock grass and blackberry when the survey commenced, through which a rough alignment of stones could be seen in what turned out to be Site C2, and a disturbed pile of stones in Sites C3 and C5, close to the edge of the water. Site C4 showed a scatter of stones, and several other scatters were noted south of Site C2. [See Fig. 4.6.1]

The stone alignment over Site C2 was shown upon excavation to relate primarily to bulldozing of structural stone when the dam was constructed, rather than to wall alignments [See Fig. 4.4.2.1]. At that time the standing portions of the buildings appear to have been pushed over, and the stone bulldozed into rows, to clear the future shores of navigation hazards. Sections of stone walls, interpreted as being parts of C2 and C5 were standing to approximately 1 metre height in the early 1970s (pers. comm. Olaf Leckbandt and Lester Batcheldor).

The stone piles at Sites C3 and C5 were clearly also disturbed by bulldozing, and were also eroded on the northern and eastern edges by wave action. [See Fig. 4.4.2.2].

The surface was scattered with modern rubbish and informal fireplaces, reflecting its use as a picnic spot by lake users.

The Commissariat Area was laid out with a metre grid, aligned to the surveyors grid oriented to magnetic north. Recording of excavated remains was tied to this grid.

From the surface evidence for Area C (augmented as indicated by documentary and excavation evidence) the following interpretations of the surface remains are proposed:

C1 An area with stones on the surface, and artefacts mixed in the top-soil. Test trenching failed to locate a definite building site, though one may have existed in the vicinity.

C2 A series of mounds and a line of disturbed stone indicated a site that was shown by excavation to be a building approximately 3.5 x 7 metres, with a chimney at each end. [See Fig.4.4.2.1]

C3 A mound was shown by excavation to be a 2 x 1.4 metre chimney base, indicating a building existed to its south.

C4 An alignment of stone on the surface was excavated to show a building aligned with the others in Area C. The building had a chimney base at the southern end, and had maximum

1 Map of Lot 11 granted to George Deedes, dated 3 June 1834, Lands Department of NSW portion plan 101.691.

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dimensions of 5 x 5 metres.

C5 A stone mound was excavated to show a building 3.5 x 4.5 metres, with stone foundations but no chimney. The building was interpreted as a store house. [See Fig. 4.4.2.2]
Figure 4.4.2.2

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA C5, SURFACE FEATURES

- tree
- water edge
- location of walls (sub-surface)
- stone

MP 1995
4.4.3 The Deedes Grant Area

The identification of the Deedes Grant Area on the western peninsula as the site of the Deedes Grant is based on the Lands Department Plan of the land to be granted to George Deedes, drawn in 1834.¹ This Plan shows four buildings on the Deedes grant, three in the centre of the peninsula (Area D) and one near the creek further to the west (Area E) [See Fig. 3.7.2].

It is not known whether the extant buildings shown in the 1834 plan were built by Deedes (though this seems likely) or preceded his ownership, nor whether they were directly associated to the stockade establishment (though this possibility is expanded further in Section 4.5 of this report).

The three buildings in the centre of the grant are represented in two cases by large piles of collapsed building stone and clay mortar, with no lime (D2, D3), while the third is a scatter of stones and a levelled area which is interpreted as a building site (D1) [Figs. 2.3.6; 4.4.3.1; 4.4.3.2; and 4.4.3.3]. A short distance to the north of the central building remains is a cutting and an alignment of brick fragments which might be another building site (D4, Fig. 4.4.3.4). To the west, nearer the subsidiary creek are four sites (E1-4, Figs. 4.4.3.5; 4.4.3.6; 4.4.3.7; and 4.4.3.8), consisting of stone blocks, low mounds and depressions, much hidden beneath blackberry growth. Site E2 corresponds roughly with the fourth building shown in the Deedes grant plan. None of these sites in Area E could be clearly interpreted as buildings (though they may have been), but were interpreted as being at least sites of intensive activity and potential occupation. Little or no artefact material was located on the surface at any of these sites.

Only one of the sites in the Deedes Grant Area is located in or on the edge of the area to be inundated (Site E1), and none of the sites was excavated.

From the surface evidence for Areas D & E (augmented as indicated by documentary and excavation evidence) the following interpretations of the surface remains are proposed:

D1 A scatter of stones and a levelled area 7 x 5 metres is interpreted as a hut site. [See Fig. 4.4.3.1]

D2 A large mound of stone and clay 6 x 6 metres is interpreted as a building site. [See Fig. 4.4.3.2]

D3 A large mound of stone and clay 5.5 x 6 metres is interpreted as a building site. [See Fig. 4.4.3.3]

D4 A shallow depression 5.5 x 3 metres and an alignment of brick fragments is interpreted as a possible building site. [See Fig. 4.4.3.4]

E1-E4 Four mounds of rubble, stone blocks and depressions. While not able to be clearly interpreted as buildings, site E2 corresponds roughly with a building shown in the 1834 Deedes Plan. [See Figs. 4.4.3.5; 4.4.3.6; 4.4.3.7; and 4.4.3.8]

¹ Map of Lot 11 granted to George Deedes, dated 3 June 1834, Lands Department of NSW portion plan 101.691.
Figure 4.4.3.1

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA D1, SURFACE FEATURES

Grid Ref 2214N
1120E

0.2 m high hard clay mound

Recorded WP 1995
Figure 4.4.3.2

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA D2, SURFACE FEATURES

Grid Ref 2191N
1120E

0 m high rubble
and clay mound

0.6 m high rubble
and clay mound

0.2 m deep depression

pit
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA D3, SURFACE FEATURES

0.2 m high rubble and clay mound

0.5 m high rubble and clay mound

Brick fragment

Recorded WP 1995
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA D4, SURFACE FEATURES

Survey Station 16
301°
7.7m

Survey Station 16
283°
12.8m

0.5 m deep excavation

Brick fragment

Recorded WP 1995
Figure 4.4.3.5

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA E1, SURFACE FEATURES

- Large boulder
- 0.4m high rubble and clay mound
- 0.3 m deep depression
- 0.5 m deep depression
- Burnt timber
- Grid point 2200N 1180E
- 141°
- 5.6m
- Brick fragment

Recorded WP 1995
Figure 4.4.3.6

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA E2, SURFACE FEATURES

Survey Station 17
113°
66.0m

Survey Station 17
106°
64.3m

Salt boulder

0.2 m high earth mound

0.2 m deep drainage depression

Blackberries

Recorded WP 1995
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA E3, SURFACE FEATURES

Survey Station 17
145°
66.0m

Survey Station 17
143°
66m

0.3 m high earth mound

blackberries

0.2 m deep drainage depression

burnt timber

charcoal

Recorded WP 1995
Figure 4.4.3.8

No. 2 Stockade Cox's River
Area E4, Surface Features

Grid point 2200N 1800E

0.5 m deep excavation

Blackberries

0 1 2 m

Recorded WP 1995
4.4.4 Other features

The Brief for the first field work season specifically sought the location of any graves indicated by the local interpretations of the site. There are several references to graves in the local historical memory. The two most definite references are in the interpretations of the site by Mackenzie and Summers in 1966, and the oral history recollections of Bishop Dogget, recorded by Sue Rosen. Mackenzie and Summers interpreted stone remains on the Military/Stockade Area as being raised plinths above graves. This identification led to the reconstruction of a stone structure, then called the 'grave', in this locality in about 1981. As described above, this structure is now interpreted, on strong evidence, as a chimney base that was attached to the military barracks building (A11). No other surface evidence in this area suggested the presence of graves. On the face of it, the entire ridge area of the Military/Stockade Area, being very stony ground and the centre for military and convict operations, would appear to be a poor choice for a burial ground. However, Bishop Dogget's evidence has to be considered.

Bishop Dogget spent his childhood in Rydal during the second decade of this century, and recollects quite vividly seeing headstones on what can only be interpreted as near the saddle of the ridge to the east of the Stockade site, before the ridge rises steadily towards Mount Walker. This area was surveyed, but no observed evidence suggested grave locations. Dogget's evidence is lucid, and held up consistently during questioning by Rosen. It cannot be easily dismissed, and further survey of this area, perhaps by resistivity or magnetometer survey, should be considered, and the boundaries of the site should include the saddle area of the ridge.

Mitchell's road forms a major part of the place which is often overlooked. The road on the southern side of the Stockade site is now almost completely under water, but to the west of the old bridge site it rises steeply up the side of the ridge, and will remain a feature of the place after the current rise in water level is completed. The road cutting and formation to the western end of the 'Blue Cutting' should be considered as part of the Stockade site for management purposes.

Area B, which formerly occupied the banks of the subsidiary creek below the Commissariat Area and the steep slopes of the ridge to the north of that creek, was reported to have had either building remains or occupation evidence before flooding. However, all land which was habitable in Area B is now under water, and no cultural evidence was located on the steep slopes north of the 'creek' arm of the reservoir.

A number of surface scatters of Aboriginal stone artefacts were located in the vicinity of the Stockade sites. A general scatter extends up the ridge south of area C2 to at least the fence line of the adjoining property. The material comprises chert flakes, and a range of possible quartz artefacts in association with them. The certain identification of many quartz artefacts in an area with quartz outcropping as natural stone is problematic, and a detailed analysis was not attempted. The density of material on the sites identified was not great, and the occurrence would be described as a scatter rather than as a definite site with definable boundaries.

On the Military/Stockade Area individual artefacts were also noted, but again no definable site was identified. The quartzite cores identified at site A4, being very distinctive stones in the


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surrounding environment, may have been gathered together from a wider area during the convict era, for garden decoration or other purposes. It cannot be said with any confidence that they constitute an Aboriginal site, because of the absence of associated flaked material indicating knapping on the site, even though the cores are interpreted as being Aboriginal artefacts.

Track networks around the sites are difficult to interpret with confidence, given that they cannot in most cases be dated. At the Military/Stockade Area the only clearly datable road is Mitchell’s road which passes to the south of the site before swinging around its western end for the crossing of the Cox’s River. Most of this road is now submerged, and has undergone extensive alteration during its subsequent operation as the main road to Bathurst.

The track up the main ridge, leading eastwards from the Military/Stockade Area, is likely to have been a route for some distance during the convict era, as many of the convict remains are spread along its line. However, the current formed road is more recent, being part of the forestry fire trail system. The longevity of the informal vehicle trackways around the Stockade site is not known, but is likely to be relatively recent.

On the western peninsula, the original access appears to have been via a track leading across the Cox’s River from the Stockade, and curling around the lower slopes of the subsidiary creek below sites C3 and C5. This crossing and track is shown in the 1834 plan of the Deedes grant [Fig.3.7.2]. A spur of the track may have run north-south up the low ridge and between the two lines of Commissariat buildings. The faint benching of a track leading southwards along the western base of the peninsula ridge towards the buildings in the Deedes Grant Area may have been a continuation of the main track running below the Commissariat Area.

Several crossing places of the subsidiary creek are made obvious by cuttings on both sides of the steep creek banks. One crossing is immediately west of the Deedes Grant Area, and another 100 metres south of Site E2. The latter appears to be part of a track which can be discerned in sections running southwards into the valleys leading towards Rydal. This may have been a low-traffic access from the Stockade site generally, or just from the Deedes grant, to the other convict activity area around what is now Rydal (Solitary Creek). This route, if it continued along the creek valley, would have paralleled the line of Mitchell’s road, and may have been a way of avoiding the construction works while that road was being built. An alternative explanation is that it post-dated the convict era, and was used as a route which gave access to the grazing land south of Mitchell’s road.

The current access track which runs down the ridge east of the Deedes Grant Area is more recent. It originally crossed the subsidiary creek south and east of the Commissariat Area, then crossed the Cox’s River by a ford south of the Mitchell’s road bridge, and linked up with the fire trail running up the ridge through the Military/Stockade Area.
4.5 The Military/Stockade Area Excavations

Excavation in this area was aimed at correlating the site features with the Nicholson 1832 plan. The purpose of this was to:

(i) identify the nature of the various features identified by surface survey, so that more specific management recommendations could be made for that part of the area that would not be flooded;

(ii) identify more accurately the likely location of the stockade fence and convict huts, so that these could be tested to see if archaeological evidence survived, and to ascertain if any of the stockade was above the inundation level.

The two areas excavated (Sites A1 and A2) were selected as they were initially interpreted as correlating with the two large barracks buildings (one completed, one proposed) shown in the Nicholson plan [see ‘I’ on Figures 3.5.1 and 3.5.2 and interpretation of pattison Cockburn’s painting Fig. 3.6.8]. If this were confirmed, the location of the stockade could be projected from the plan and tested. Excavation demonstrated that the two buildings at Sites A1 and A2 were not shown on the Nicholson plan, and therefore were probably built after 1832. However, a site adjacent to Site A1 (Site A11) was identified by small test trenches, and is very likely to be the barracks building shown on the plan as being completed by 1832. This identification was sufficient to correlate the Nicholson plan with the surface features of the area. The interpretation of the surface features in the light of the documentary and excavation evidence is discussed in Section 4.9 of this report.

As was the case in the Commissariat Area the deposits overlying the Military/Stockade Area building sites were very shallow, ranging from 0 to 30 cm, and averaging 10-15 cm. Parts of the sites showed signs of disturbance by vehicle movement, with structural stone being knocked out of position and disturbing adjacent deposits. In some areas it appears that heavy equipment may have more extensively disturbed the deposit and building remains. General erosion has disturbed deposits and building remains on steeper slopes in both A1 and A2. Both A1 and A2 excavated structures were oriented between 18° and 22° east of magnetic north, or 40°-44° east of true north.

The extent of excavation is shown on the plans.
4.5.1 Site A1

Site A1 was chosen for sub-surface investigation because it consisted of an apparently unnatural mound with stone evident on the surface. The stone proved to be part of a chimney base, and the mound to be an artificially created platform for a building [see Fig. 4.5.1.1]. Thirty seven square metres of the site were excavated.

The stone chimney base was similar in construction to those excavated at the Commissariat Area. The rubble wall construction of the chimney base comprised inner and outer smooth-faced stone with rubble fill between. The chimney base had overall external dimensions of 2.25 m wide x 1.5 m deep, with walls approximately 500 mm thick and arranged in a ‘U’ shape around a hearth area 1340 mm wide by 1100 mm front to back. The chimney base stood only one stone course high over most of its extent, with rubble from its collapse tumbling down the slope of the building platform mound to the south. A stone foundation wall extended 1.5 metres to the east from the chimney base. This wall, which indicated by its position that the chimney was outside the line of the southern wall of the building, was not mirrored on the western side, due to erosion of the building platform on that side right up to the western wing of the chimney base. The chimney hearth was filled with red sandy earth, similar to that excavated in the hearths in the Commissariat Area. No sandstone blocks were located within the hearth (such as were located in the Commissariat hearths).

The wall extending to the east of the chimney abutted a wall marking the eastern edge of the building platform. This eastern wall extended 4.5 metres before disappearing into unexcavated deposit. The wall appears to have been built to contain the rubble fill forming the building platform, rather than to act as a foundation wall itself. This is suggested by the fact that it was dressed as a smooth wall only on the outside (eastern) face, the inside of the wall being contiguous with the rubble fill within the platform.

If the chimney were centrally located on the southern wall, the building would have been approximately 5.5 metres wide and at least 4.5 metres long. No evidence of a tamped-earth floor was observed, as was found at the Commissariat sites, the disturbed topsoil directly overlying rubble that formed the building platform.

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Figure 4.5.1.1

O. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA A1, BASE OF EXCAVATIONS

edge of mound
edge of building platform
rubble building platform
hearth
key base

UX = unexcavated
PE = Partially excavated

barracks platform (A11)
chimney site?

MP 1996
Figure 4.5.1.2

MILITARY / STOCKADE AREA A1
-GLASS & CERAMICS

Glass = G
Ceramics = C

Figure 4.5.1.3

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square.
MILITARY / STOCKADE AREA A1
-PIPES & BUTTONS

Pipes = P
Buttons = B

Figure 4.5.1.4

Mag N

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square.
Figure 4.5.1.5

MILITARY STOCKADE AREA A1

NAILS

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square.
Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square.
4.5.2 Site A2

Site A2 was chosen for sub-surface investigation because it contained a distinct low platform, and had stone scattered on its surface. Although a few exposed stones suggested other structural remains to the north of the main mound, the final extent of the site was not clearly indicated by the surface remains. [See Figures 4.4.1.3 & 4.5.2.4]

The high point of the low mound proved upon excavation to be a chimney base, the structural stones of which were visible above the surface, and had been disturbed to some extent by vehicle movement over the site. The northern part of the chimney base had been removed to a level below that of the original floor level of the building to which it was attached. Other parts of the chimney survived to one stone course above floor level only. The chimney had overall dimensions of 1.75 m wide and 1.25 m deep. The disturbance of the chimney made it difficult to accurately estimate the size of the original hearth area, but it appears to have been small compared with other hearths in the Commissariat Area and Site A1, being only 850 mm wide x 550 mm deep. The hearth contained red sandy earth as found in the other hearths.

The chimney was attached to the eastern edge of a building platform that proved to be constructed of rubble and earth fill. The building platform was supported by a low retaining wall on the western side, by a faced wall on the northern side, and by a more randomly constructed edge on the southern side, where the building platform was at the same level as the natural ground level. The western and northern walls were higher due to the downward slope of the ridge in those directions. The building platform was approximately 3.75 m on its east-west axis, and 5 m on its north-south axis.

The chimney base was not symmetrically placed on the eastern side, but approximately 400 mm from the northern end of the building. The floor level of the building was indicated by the survival of a semicircular flag stone placed in front of the hearth, which appeared to be largely in situ, though broken and displaced horizontally at its northern side by surface disturbance. This flag stone had a reconstructed width of 830 mm along the flat side facing the hearth, and extended approximately 650 mm into the room. The section of undisturbed floor adjacent to the hearth stone indicated that the floor of the building was clay, and this extended undisturbed over about 50% of the area of the building platform, along its eastern and central area. Most of the area of the clay floor was covered by a very shallow deposit of only 20-100 mm depth.

The western and northern sides of the building platform had been eroded at an earlier period and otherwise disturbed, removing the clay floor and leaving the rubble fill of the building platform directly below topsoil washed over the site.

On the northern side of the chimney base a stone slab, parallel to the presumed wall of the building and laid on its edge, abutted the wall of the chimney 250 mm east of its western face. This slab extended 500 mm to the north, and immediately to its north was a post hole. This post hole is approximately half-way along the eastern side of the building platform, and may have supported a wall structure, or perhaps the ridge pole of the building's roof. No corresponding post hole was located on the eastern side to mirror this, but that side of the platform was very disturbed, the fill being full of voids caused by erosion, animal burrows, and poor filling during construction. Adjacent to the stone slab, and on the building side of it, was a 400 x 100 mm length of rotted timber which may have been a floor plank. This was at a level consistent with...
the floor level of the building, as indicated by the level of the hearth stone described earlier.

From the north-western corner of the building platform a wall continues in the same orientation as the building platform (ie 18° east of magnetic north) for 11.5 metres. This wall appears to have been a retaining wall for a large artificial platform extending north of the A2 building. The retaining wall does not appear to be an extension of the western wall of the building platform, for though it is on the same alignment and abuts the building platform, it is of more substantial construction. The wall averages approximately 550-600 mm in width, and is comprised of two outer skins of roughly dressed stone (or stone selected with a flat cleavage plane), with rubble fill between them. The first 4.5 m of the retaining wall has only a slight fall from the level of the base of the building platform. At that point the ground slope increases considerably, and the surviving stone of the retaining wall steps down about 900 mm from its level at the corner of the building platform. The northern most extent of the retaining wall, where it appears to return to the east, is 11.5 metres from the corner of the A2 building platform, and is 2.5 metres lower than the floor level of the building.

The area behind the retaining wall was excavated down to rubble fill over the first 4.5 metres of its length. Surface indications suggest that the area behind the retaining wall was rubble fill over natural slope for its entire length. The original level of the top of the retained platform cannot be ascertained, as the whole area has been substantially eroded. Before excavation the retaining wall and the junction between fill and natural slope to its west could not be easily discerned. The retaining wall in its northern 7 metres was only exposed at its northern extremity, where the corner of the return stone could be seen. It may be that the platform itself was originally stepped down the slope, or it may have retained a level with the base of the building platform, which would have meant a 2.5-3 metre high wall and fill area at its northern end. Because of the extent of erosion of the area behind the former retaining wall no evidence of former buildings that might have been constructed on top of the retained fill could be identified.

A 2 x 1 metre trench was dug (122A99) to test for a return wall at the northern end of the retained area. While a number of smooth-faced stones were located, the area had been so disturbed by erosion and possibly by construction activity for the immediately adjacent fire trail that in situ evidence of any return wall has been destroyed.

At the southern end of the retaining wall, 1.25 m north of the edge of the building platform, an alignment of stones running east at right angles to the retaining wall may indicate a sleeper wall for some structure, or it may simply be part of the construction of the retaining wall and fill. Adjacent to this wall, and in the area between it and the building platform and overlaying the top of the retaining wall in places, was an area of ashy deposit up to 100 mm thick containing charcoal, brick fragments, and red sandy soil such was found in the hearths. Because of its location immediately outside the building platform (and 531 mm below the level of the building floor), and in the absence of any evidence of other fire hearths or chimneys in its vicinity, this deposit is interpreted as being a secondary deposition of fireplace refuse, rather than an in situ primary deposit. A farthing coin was found in this deposit, but too corroded to distinguish the date. A more charcoal-rich ashy deposit extends north of this, along the line of the retaining wall and to its east, 2 metres.

A 2 x 1 metre trench was opened two metres south of the main excavation, to test if other
buildings were located to the south. No building remains were located, though artefacts indicated that the whole area is likely to contain a scatter of artefacts.

Figure 4.5.2.1 View of Military Stockade Area A2, general view north from SW corner of building platform. Retaining wall extends to top left down slope, and fireplace and hearth stone top centre above buckets. Photo 6/23. [M. Pearson]
Figure 4.5.2.2  Military/Stockade Area A2. NW corner of building platform with retaining wall running north to bottom of photo. Sleeper wall extending to bottom left. Looking south. Photo 6/25. [M. Pearson]
Southern section of 114A102 and 114A103 (over terrace north of building platform)

Northern and eastern section of 108A103 (over building platform)

Unit numbers:

- 01: mixed sandy topsoil
- 20-21: ashy layer with charcoal and red sandy lenses
- 06: compacted clay floor
- 05: stone and rubble fill
- 18: mottled clay

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
SITE A2, MILITARY / STOCKADE AREA
SECTIONAL ELEVATIONS
Figure 4.5.2.4

108A100 edge of excavations

109

110

112

115

116

117

118

wall continues for 7 metres

rubble building platform

clay floor

hearth

terrace rubble

retaining wall

UX = unexcavated

18 = Unit numbers

– post hole

= flag stone

1 metre

NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA A2, BASE OF EXCAVATIONS
MILITARY / STOCKADE AREA A2
-GLASS & CERAMICS

Glass = G
Ceramics = C

(Note: fragments making up one object are counted as '1')

Figure 4.5.2.5

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square.
Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square
MILITARY / STOCKADE AREA A2
— BONE

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square

Figure 4.5.2.8
4.5.3 Site A11

Site A11 was identified during excavation of Site A1. The site consists of a level area approximately 20 metres long by 4.97 metres wide. The site was not identified during the initial surface survey, due to a dense ground vegetation of tussock grass, which had been removed by fire before the excavations took place.

Only test excavations were conducted, to confirm the continuity of the site over its entire length. Figure 4.5.3.1 shows the location of test trenches, and the sections of wall supporting the building platform revealed by the excavations.

A mound of rubble and clay extends eastwards from adjacent to the presumed north-eastern end of building A1. This mound is interpreted as a chimney base at the western end of the building A11, though this assumption was not tested by excavation. A series of test squares were excavated at the western end of A11, revealing a length of stone walling supporting the rubble fill forming a building platform on its southern side. Also revealed was rubble fill extending across the width of the platform. No corresponding stone wall was found on the northern side of the platform in this location.

A series of 500 x 1000 mm strip trenches were then excavated at approximately three metre intervals along the projected northern and southern sides of the building platform. These revealed the continuation of the support wall on the southern side, and located a corresponding wall on the northern side at two places. These walls were aligned on 292° magnetic, or 22° north of magnetic west.

At the eastern end of the platform the tops of stones interpreted as being another chimney were exposed on the surface. These indicated a chimney approximately 1660 mm wide by 1500 mm deep, and aligned to correspond with the building platform. The chimney base was aligned on the centre-line of the building platform, and approximately 20 metres from the assumed chimney mound at the western end of the platform.

Slightly east of the centre point of the southern wall of the building platform is located a stone structure of 1840 x 1120 mm. This structure was built in 1981, following destruction of a stone structure in the immediate vicinity that had been interpreted by local historians as being a convict grave. The orientation of this reconstructed structure, its dimensions, and its location near the centre of the southern side of the building platform, strongly suggest that the structure demolished in 1981 was in fact another chimney base, erected half-way along the length of the A11 building. If this is the case, as seems likely, then it would appear that the reconstructed 'grave' was built slightly to the south and east of the original chimney structure, perhaps so that the stones from the chimney could be easily utilised without having first to clear the chimney down to ground level before beginning. This would explain why the reconstructed 'grave' is about 900 mm south of the wall alignment, and approximately 1.5 metres east of the centre point of the building.

As explained in Section 4.9 below, the A11 building platform is interpreted as being the military barracks building shown of the Nicholson 1832 plan as being completed. That building is shown on the Nicholson plan as being approximately 20 x 5 metres, corresponding to the size of the A11 building platform.
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
SITE A11, MILITARY / STOCKADE AREA
SURFACE & EXCAVATED FEATURES

chimney mound?

reconstructed chimney ('grave')

chimney base visible on surface

excavated edge of stone platform

Figure 4.5.3.1
4.5.4 The Stockade and convict huts

Based on the correlation of the site features with the Nicholson 1832 plan, made possible by the identification of site A11, it was possible to estimate the likely positioning of the stockade wall and convict hut shown on Nicholson's plan. Given the amount of disturbance of the likely area by the bulldozing described in Section 4.4.1, there appeared to be only a small section of the south-eastern corner of the stockade and convict huts that might remain as undisturbed archaeological deposit.

A 50 cm wide test trench line was laid out running on a compass bearing of 330° magnetic from Pacific Power's Survey Station 12. Areas of this trench line were excavated between 4 and 8 metres, and 18 and 22 metres from the Survey Station. These distances should have ensured crossing firstly the line of the stockade fence (4-8 m out) and secondly the line of the convict huts (18-22 m out).

The excavations for the stockade fence line showed the deposit to consist of a thin topsoil of only about 50 mm depth, overlying a subsoil comprised of decomposing rock and clay. The underlying rock structure extended above the surface at about 7 metres from the Survey Station 12, totally excluding any deposit.

Between this excavated area and that excavated for the convict huts line (ie between 8 and 18 metres from Survey Station 12) the topsoil thinned to only about 10 mm in depth, above the decomposing base rock and clay, which in several places protruded above the surface.

In the excavations over the likely area of the convict hut line, between 18 and 22 metres from Survey Station 12, the topsoil for the first two metres (18-20 metres out) was up to 100 mm thick over the same broken rock and clay subsoil. However, beyond 20 metres out from Survey Station 12 the bulldozer activity had totally mixed or removed the topsoil, leaving only broken stone and clay subsoil showing at the surface. This was tested to see if the topsoil was in fact buried beneath imported subsoil, but excavating to a depth of 400 mm revealed only continued clay and decomposing rock, which, as it was becoming more consolidated as rock, appeared to be the nature soil profile.

In neither of the excavated areas was any sign of artificial trenching identified, as might be associated with a wall trench, and no cultural artefacts were located. As described in Section 4.9 this finding is interpreted as indicating that the excavation technique was not appropriate to the location of such elusive evidence, rather than being evidence positively indicating that the stockade and convict huts were not originally located in this area.
4.6  The Military/Stockade Area Finds

4.6.1  Introduction

Of the 1,554 artefacts recovered from the Military/Stockade Area sites, few were able to be closely dated, a situation similar to that found in the Commissariat Area analysis. The exceptions were pipe stems and a button. The initial analysis and cataloguing of the artefacts was, as with the Commissariat Area finds, carried out by Warwick Pearson for Pacific Power.

There were major differences between the nature of the artefacts at the Military/Stockade Area and those found at the Commissariat Area.

The most numerous type of find at the Military/Stockade Area was animal bone, making up 32% of the collection. This compares with only 2.7% bone at the Commissariat sites. Where identifiable, the bone was sheep and cow bone, and included many pieces with butchering marks.

Whereas the predominant artefact type in the Commissariat Area was bottle glass (at 42% of collection), all glass types only accounted for only 27% of the Military/Stockade Area collection. Nails were also more numerous at the Commissariat Area than at the Military/Stockade Area (30% compared with 9%). On the other hand, some other primary categories of artefacts were comparatively much more numerous at the Military/Stockade Area than they were at the Commissariat Area - namely ceramics (15% at Military/Stockade Area - compared with 5% at Commissariat Area) and clay smoking pipes (5% at Military/Stockade Area - compared with 0.4% at Commissariat Area).

These differences are addressed further in the Interpretation section (Section 4.9) below.

4.6.2  Domestic Items

4.6.2.1  Bottle Glass

Of the 422 glass pieces excavated, the vast majority was bottle glass, most of it olive in colour with a lesser proportion emerald. 45 pieces of flat glass were found, but its original use has not been determined. No complete and intact bottles were found, and most fragments were small, less than 2-3 cm maximum dimension. Parts of a square case bottle (Cat # 4328), an octagonal base and body (Cat # 5048), and a cylindrical olive bottle neck (Cat # 4606) and olive base (Cat # 4848) were among the finds. Much of the glass was concentrated in locations that can be interpreted as dump areas, immediately outside the walls of the two buildings.
Figure 4.6.2.1.1  Artefact Catalogue Item #5048 an octagonal bottle base and body found in the military stockade area at .... [Pacific Power]
4.6.2.2 Ceramics

237 ceramic pieces were found. A range of fine earthenware tableware pieces comprised the vast majority of the collection, most of it being underglaze transfer print patterns in blue, mauve, green, brown, red, and polychrome, with other pieces with applied colour banding, and in plain white. A small number of stoneware pieces (7) were found, none with identifying makers marks.

At the time of writing, no definitive dates could be attributed to any of the ceramics, other than much of it is early to mid-nineteenth century in date.

4.6.2.3 Miscellaneous domestic items

The end of a spoon or fork handle (Cat # 3564) and an iron hatchet head (Cat # 3597, 3598, 3599) were found in the hearth area of Site A1. A section of a knife blade (Cat # 3799) was found adjacent to the wall of building A1.

4.6.3 Personal Items

4.6.3.1 Clay tobacco pipes

While a larger number of clay tobacco pipe pieces were recovered from the Military/Stockade Area than from the Commissariat Area (73 compared with 14 items), only one piece was able to be related to a known maker. This piece of stem (Cat # 4050) bore the makers mark ":: WHA:: LIOTT::", interpreted as being by the maker Elliott of Sydney from the period 1828-1844.1 Three other pieces, with ribbed decoration, are dated to the same period (Cat # 4179, 4180, 4182).2 The dates of these pieces coincides with the period of occupation of the Stockade, and suggests that the pipes were used by stockade staff. This is unlike the dated pipes at the Commissariat Area, which post-dated the abandonment of the stockade.

Two pieces (Cat # 4090, 4181) equated with Wilson and Kelly Type 002, with Prince of Wales Feather decoration, but only able to be dated generally as 19th century.3

Eight pieces of pipe stem retained traces of the original varnished mouthpiece. Varnish was applied to the mouthpieces of pipes to prevent the porous clay sticking to the smoker’s lips. (Cat # 3567, 3568, 3840, 3917, 3918, 4024, 4088, 4172)

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1 Identified by Warwick Pearson from Wilson G. C. & Kelly, A Preliminary Analysis of Clay Tobacco Pipes from First Government House site, Sydney, Department of Planning, 1987, Type 026.

2 Wilson & Kelly, 1987, Type 005.

3 Wilson & Kelly, 1987, Type 002.
Figure 4.6.3.1.1  Artefact Catalogue Item #4050 a piece of a clay tobacco pipe manufactured by Elliott of Sydney in the period 1828-1844 found .... [Pacific Power]
4.6.3.2 Coins

An English farthing was found in A2, but is very corroded and cannot be accurately identified as to date (Cat # 4949).

4.6.4 Items of Dress

4.6.4.1 Buttons

Twelve buttons were found. The only datable item is a button with the lion emblem of the 28th Regiment (Cat # 3876), similar to one in the Olaf Lechbrandt collection from the site (Cat # 3474). A company of the 28th Regiment was stationed at the Stockade in 1836 [see further discussion at 4.7.4.3 below].

The other buttons were of more common style, and included five corroded iron buttons, two iron buttons with 4 holes (Cat # 4439, 3519), two plain copper button caps (Cat # 4397, 4616), and two shanked copper buttons (Cat # 3800, 3801).

4.6.4.2 Shoe Furniture

One iron shoe heel was found at Al (Cat # 3925). This was similar to those found at the Commissariat Area, and by Lester Batcheldor and Olaf Lechbrandt. [See 4.7.4.2 below].

4.6.4.3 Miscellaneous Clothing Items

Eight semi-circular sheet copper pieces were recovered that may be associated with uniforms or other articles of dress, perhaps as stiffeners for fabric. These vary in size between 1-2 cm across, are slightly concave in form and have a number of small holes around the curved edge, as if for sewing onto fabric. By coincidence or otherwise these occurred in the deposit in two's, not necessarily in direct association, but within the same metre square. Six were found adjacent to the eastern wall of the building in Site Al, four of them being in adjacent squares, and a further two were found to the south of the chimney just outside the building in A2.

(Cat # 3602, 3603, 4194, 4195, 4364, 4365, 4464, 4467)

4.6.5 Architectural Items

4.6.5.1 Nails

A far smaller proportion of nails was found in the Military/ Stockade Area sites than was found in the Commissariat Area (9% compared with 30%). The range of nail sizes was much less obvious than at the Commissariat sites. The nails were scattered in small numbers over both sites A1 and A2, with the only sizeable concentration being in and around the chimney base in A1, where 50 nails were located, 36% of the total for the Area. There is no obvious reason for this distribution, but the general spread of nails across the rest of the site areas would be consistent with the nails being part of the structure of the buildings.
4.6.5.2 Bricks

Nine fragments of bricks were included in the deposits, but the number indicates that brick did not constitute a substantial component of the building material at or near the buildings excavated. This finding parallels that at the Commissariat Area.

4.6.5.3 Miscellaneous Architectural Items

One iron hinge (Cat # 5058) and one iron screw (Cat # 3506) were excavated, but not in context with any structural element which might indicate their use.

4.6.6 Aboriginal Artefacts

Six artefacts of probable Aboriginal origin were found in the deposits; these consisted of two basalt flakes (Cat # 4422, 4423) and four quartz flakes (Cat # 4529, 4644, 4702, 4858). All but one were found outside the building platform in A2, the exception being near the centre of the platform. These flakes are likely to have been incorporated into the deposit from the surrounding soil, as it is most unlikely that any Aboriginal activities were carried out at the stockade during its occupancy, and the location of the site immediately above the then main Bathurst road would make it an unlikely camping/workshop location after abandonment of the stockade.

The presence of quartz flakes reflects the use of local stone sources, quartz being found outcropping in places and extensively found in eroded areas on the peninsula.

4.6.7 Miscellaneous Artefacts

A mason's wedge similar to that in the Olaf Lechbrandt collection from the site was found in A2 (Cat # 4528).

Two lead spheres, interpreted as smooth bore firearm balls, were found in Site A2. One was 18 mm in diameter (Cat # 4897), such as would be used in the standard issue 0.75 inch bore musket, while the other was 12 mm diam (Cat # 4607) and is interpreted as a pistol ball. Several balls of similar dimensions are included in the Olaf Lechbrandt collection from the site.

4.6.8 Bone

Bone made up the largest proportion (32%) of the finds in sites excavated in the Military/Stockade Area. This was dramatically different from the proportions found in the Commissariat area (2.7%), suggesting substantial use differences between the buildings, as discussed in Section 7 below.

Of the 504 pieces of bone excavated, 207 pieces or 41% was identified as to animal type. Sheep and cow made up the identified bone, 46% being sheep and 54% cow. In contrast all identified bone found at the Commissariat Area was cow.

Fourteen pieces, or 2.8%, was found to have macroscopic butchering marks. The collection has not been studied for microscopic butchering marks.
4.7 The Commissariat Area Excavations

Excavation in the Commissariat Area and Deedes Grant Area was to be limited to sites to be flooded as a consequence of raising the reservoir water level, and which were likely to contain cultural evidence. Following a survey of surface features, this effectively limited excavations to the Commissariat Area, as none of the Deedes Grant Area sites were below the inundation level. Test trenches were excavated on sites which showed surface evidence such as stone alignments and concentrations and artefacts. Where excavation evidence of buildings or artefact concentrations were located, the test trenches were expanded to investigate the nature and orientation of the buildings, and to investigate, as far as resources allowed, the spaces between buildings. The building remains found in the Commissariat Area are assumed to be contemporaneous, based on historical evidence and the similarity of the excavated building remains.

The excavations were shallow in depth, as the deposits over and around the building sites were not deep (maximum 60 cm, average 10-20 cm), mainly consisting of original construction phases overlain by demolition material and disturbed topsoil. Structural stone protruded through the ground surface in places. The extent of excavation is shown in the site plans.
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
COMMISSARIAT AREA—EXCAVATED REMAINS

Figure 4.7.1

Area C3

Area C4

Area C2

Area C5

water edge

Grid point 2023N 995E

0 1 2 3 4m

stone structural remains

possible extent of buildings
4.7.1 Site C1

Site C1 showed surface stone, and some artefact material mixed in the top-soil. A test trench 50 cm wide and 6 metres long was dug across this feature, south along the grid line from a point 11 metres to the south of the datum at the SW corner of C2 but no building remains or in-situ artefact concentrations were located, and excavations were not expanded. The site may have been surface material scraped from other sites and deposited on C1 when the lake edge was cleared of navigation hazards. There may have been a building somewhere on the site not picked up by the test trench. If this is the case, the surface indications are not obvious.

4.7.2 Site C2

Site C2 contained the most obvious surface indications suggesting a building site. A prominent ridge of stone extended 11 metres across the site, on a true north-south alignment. Upon excavation, this ridge proved to be the result of dam-related bulldozer activity, rather than indicating fallen walls, as had been at first suspected. A total area of 47 square metres was excavated across Site C2, revealing two fireplaces, one at each end of what appeared to be a single building. While the area between the fireplaces was disturbed to varying degree, the evidence suggested a tamped clay floor, with crushed brick incorporated into it in the areas closest to the fireplaces. The floor in the immediate vicinity of the fireplaces, while somewhat disturbed, appeared have been paved with flat stones. Elsewhere, evidence of this stone floor was not located. The use of paving stones in at least some of the stockade buildings is confirmed by the excavated hearth stone located in Site A2 in the Military/Stockade Area.

Two charred lengths of timber, parallel to the alignment of the fireplaces, laid horizontally on and within the clay floor matrix, and containing numerous nails, were interpreted as being ground plates for timber walls. The two plates are within 40 mm of each other in vertical position, are aligned roughly equidistant from the centre-line drawn between the two fireplaces, are parallel to that line, and are approximately 3.5 metres apart, suggesting the building was of that width. The distance between the fireplaces (and hence the length of the building if it was one structure) is approximately 7 metres. A post-hole was located in line with the western wall plate, and with the hearth-edge of the southern fireplace, further suggesting the width of the building. The clay floor extended up to 60 cm beyond the line of the wall plates (ie outside the building), suggesting either extensive trampling of the floor material to the outside of the building during its occupation, or dispersal of the floor material after destruction of the walls, or indicating that the floor was constructed before the walls were erected, and a greater area was compacted than was covered by the building. The disturbed nature of the deposit makes it difficult to give a definitive interpretation of this observed anomaly.

The fireplaces appear to be the bases of stone chimneys. Rubble-stone walls, with two layers of facing stone and rubble fill between, form 'U'-shapes, 183 cm wide and 150 cm deep for the southern fireplace and 180 cm wide and 150 cm deep for the northern fireplace. The northern fireplace has another 'U'-shaped stone structure located on its western side. This structure appears to be an addition, 150 cm wide and 150 cm deep, having its own complete walls and not being keyed into the fireplace. Its open side faces north (whereas the fireplace opens to the south), and a row of bricks close its open side at ground level, suggesting a threshold into a small stone room. The use of this room could not be ascertained. The masonry walls are bedded with clay mortar, with no lime being apparent. However, lime was available, as a number of lumps of plaster were
found, possibly from the plastering of the fireplaces or a larger part of the interior of the building.

The hearths within the fireplace walls seem to have been narrowed by the insertion of sandstone blocks on each side of the fireplace. Several of these blocks remained in-situ in both chimneys, and were not keyed into or attached to the chimney walls. It may be that the coarsely-bedded slaty stone used for the outer walls broke-down too readily when heated, and the sandstone blocks were to protect the walls from direct heat. The hearths themselves were filled with fine red sandy material to a depth of approximately 10 cm. The absence of charcoal in this layer suggests it was an intentional deposit rather than, say, the build-up of fretted stone from the fireplace walls.

The deposit across the building site was very disturbed, by the relatively recent bulldozing activities on the site, as well as by earlier demolition/decay processes and shrub and weed growth. Sections of stone, presumably the fireplace walls, were recorded as standing by local historians in 1966, and stood to about 1 metre height in the 1970s (pers. comm. Olaf Lechbrandt and Lester Batcheldor), and much of this material appears to have been knocked over and spread across the site during bulldozing. At both fireplaces the deposit contained sections of fallen stone walling where the walls had fallen in one piece, the bedding of the courses being obvious in the stone spread horizontally across the site. Unfortunately, these wall sections generally did not fall on and seal substantial earlier deposits, but rather fell largely outside the building onto natural top-soil.

The degree of disturbance of the site was shown by the distribution of artefacts. A telephone line ran across the site earlier this century, and ceramic insulators from the poles were found in several locations. These were found both in the loose surface top-soil, and buried relatively deeply by the bulldozer activity, in the same stratigraphic context as nineteenth century material with which it had become mixed. Similarly, a number of fragments of an iron cooking pot were found distributed over a number of metres, and at varying depths, presumably having been caught up in the bulldozer-redistributed material. The presumed convict era ground surface was clearly disturbed in places, the levels of the top of the clay floor level varying by 24 cm, and in places having been removed entirely, the mixed disturbed deposit resting directly on sterile sub-soil.

The picture that results from the excavation of this building is of a 7 metre long building, 3.5 metres wide, with stone chimneys at each end, and timber end and side walls supported on a timber plate let into the ground. The floor was made up of clay, perhaps obtained from the adjacent creek banks, with fragments of brick trampled into it, and paved with flat slate stones in front of each fireplace. The two fireplaces would suggest that the building was divided into at least two rooms, by an internal wall, and would also suggest that the building was occupied for residential rather than storage purposes. A small stone room was built onto the western side of the northern chimney, accessed by a door opening to the north. No evidence was found to show whether a timber building was attached to the north of this stone room, but this remains a possibility. The amount and variety of iron nails found in the deposit, and the fact that a number were imbedded in the charred wall bottom plates, would indicate their use in fastening timber frames or cladding, rather than being simply nails spilled from containers stored in the building. The distribution of nails does not form any other distinct pattern.


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Figure 4.7.2.2 Commissariat Area C2. General view along trench ‘K’ looking east. Photo 1/22. [M. Pearson, 1996]
Figure 4.7.2.3  Commissariat Area C2, Sq C3. Hearth of southern fireplace looking north. Photo 2/25. [M. Pearson, 1996]
Figure 4.7.2.4  Commissariat Area C2, Northern side of room added to northern fireplace, showing brick threshold beneath scale. Fireplace above scale. Photo 4/1. [M. Pearson, 1996]
No. 2 Stockade Cox's River
Area C2, Sectional Elevations

Area C2—Section northern side of E1.
Showing western edge of clay floor

Area C2—Section eastern side of B4.
Showing southern edge of clay floor, and post-demolition ashy deposit

Area C5—Elevation of northern end of building

Unit numbers

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Figure 4.7.2.5

MP 1995
Figure 4.7.2.6

C2 - BOTTLE GLASS

(note: fragments making up one object are counted as '1')
Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square.

(note: fragments making up one object are counted as '1')

Figure 4.7.2.7
Figure 4.7.2.8

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square

extent of excavated area

C2 - ABORIGINAL FLAKES, BONE, CLAYPIPES

+ Aboriginal flake  @ clay pipe
# bone

Legend:
+ Aboriginal flake  @ clay pipe
Figure 4.7.2.9

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<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square

Extent of excavated area

C2- NAILS
4.7.3 Site C3

Site C3 [see Figure 2.3.6 for location] was excavated late in the first fieldwork period and was investigated under difficult conditions. The water level in the reservoir had risen to be partly flooding the area around a low mound which marked the C3 remains, and excavation of part of the site around the fireplace took place in haste and in water-logged ground. Only a limited part of the building site was able to be excavated, in the immediate vicinity of the fireplace stonework, but was sufficient to interpret the building's orientation and likely size.

The principal feature was a stone fireplace, similar in size and construction to those at Site C2. The fireplace was 2 metres wide and 140 cm deep, consisting of stone walls which appeared to be the base of a chimney [Fig.4.7.3.1]. To the west a wing-wall extended at least a metre, disappearing beneath water level and was impossible to trace beyond that point. The fireplace opened to the south, suggesting that the flat and saturated area south of the stonework, approximately 4 x 4 metres in extent, was the site of the associated building.

The alignment of the C3 and C4 buildings is different by a few degrees from that of C2 and C5, creating two rows of two buildings each, about 5 metres apart, aligned slightly east of magnetic north/south and slightly splayed towards the south. While the area of the body of the C3 building was not able to be excavated, and the nature of the floor was not determined, the similarities with the other structures on the site (C2 and C4 especially) would suggest that it had a stone chimney and timber-framed and probably timber clad construction, with an earthen floor.

A relatively large amount of bottle glass was found in C3, but most of it was in redeposited disturbed contexts. A number of nails were also found associated with the fireplace.
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX'S RIVER
AREA C3, BASE OF EXCAVATIONS

Figure 4.7.3.1

Grid point 2002N
997E

unexcavated

1 metre
Figure 4.7.3.2 Commissariat Area C3. Fireplace from NE, showing extent of final excavations. Hearth is half exposed in top centre. Photo 5/15. [M. Pearson 1996]
Figure 4.7.3.3

**C3 - BOTTLE GLASS**

(note: fragments making up one object are counted as '1')

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square

arrows indicate artefacts are accumulated across all the squares indicated
C3 - OTHER ARTEFACTS

(note: fragments making up one object are counted as '1')

* ceramics  + Aboriginal flake
# bone       @ Clay pipe
^ nail

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square

arrows indicate artefacts are accumulated across all the squares indicated
4.7.4 Site C4

Site C4 [see Figure 2.3.6 for location] was investigated because of an intermittent alignment of stone resting on the surface, suggesting another bulldozed structure, though less obvious than C2. A test trench indicated the location of the fireplace [Fig. 4.7.4.1], and from that point additional test trenches were excavated to try to indicate the extent of the building.

The test trenches, which extended 7 metres across both axes of the presumed building location, failed to locate further structural remains, and no indication of an artificially compacted floor was found. Below the 0/120 mm deep mixed and disturbed topsoil, which contained much ash, was the natural mottled/clay sub-soil. One metre west of the fireplace, and presumably outside the envelope of the original building, one square was opened into an area rich in ash, charcoal and artefact material, including glass fused by intense fire. It was not clear, however, whether this was an original dump deposit, or the result of later activity. The amount of ash at the site might indicate that the structure was destroyed by fire, but no in-situ charred timber or other material was located which might indicate whether the building was standing at the time of the fire.

The spread of ash east-west across the site at a point 2 m north of the fireplace is 5 metres wide, but ash is not distinct in the sections beyond about 3 m north of the fireplace. While the general ground slope is not dramatic at C4, a generally more level area which might have been the bench for the building extends about 5 m north from the fireplace. These two pieces of evidence would suggest a building with maximum dimensions of 5 x 5 metres.

The fireplace is constructed of stone, in a manner similar to that at C2 and C3. The remaining stonework, which is interpreted as being the base of a chimney, is 2 m wide and 175 cm deep. The stonework extends approximately 250 mm below the current ground level. The hearth faces north, indicating that the building was oriented in that direction, and the hearth had been narrowed by the insertion of sandstone blocks, as in the hearths in C2, probably to protect the slaty chimney stone from direct heat. The base of the hearth has an orange/red sandy deposit similar to that noted in the C2 fireplaces.

Domestic and building artefacts (ceramics, bottle glass, nails) are spread relatively evenly throughout the excavated area, with a concentration at the 'ash dump' west of the fireplace. The distribution does not assist in the interpretation of the structure. The presence of domestic material, combined with the chimney, suggests that the building might have been used for residential purposes.
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX’S RIVER
AREA C4, BASE OF EXCAVATIONS

Figure 4.7.4.1

Grid point 2017N
1000E

PE = Partially excavated    UN = Unit numbers

sandstone
Figure 4.7.4.2 Commissariat Area C4. Fireplace viewed from the north. Scale at bottom of photo is across the opening of the hearth. Photo 4/17. [M. Pearson 1996]
C4 - CERAMICS

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square

arrows indicate artefacts are accumulated across all the squares indicated

(note: fragments making up one object are counted as '1')
Figure 4.7.4.4

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square.

Arrows indicate artefacts are accumulated across all the squares indicated.

Extent of excavated area.
Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square

arrows indicate artefacts are accumulated across all the squares indicated

extent of excavated area
Figure 4.7.4.6

C4 - BOTTLE GLASS

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square.

Arrows indicate artefacts are accumulated across all the squares indicated.

Extent of excavated area.

56 6 47 21

37 18

45

19

(note: fragments making up one object are counted as '1')
4.7.5 Site C5

Site C5 was investigated to test a mound of stone and earth, and a disturbed area of stonework exposed by wave action, north of C2. The artefacts are catalogued as a continuation of the grid for C2, the C5 squares extending from 'P' to 'Y'. The mound of stone and earth proved to be one end of a rectangular stone building 3.5 x 4.5 metres in extent. An area of 31 square metres was excavated over this site. Investigation of the area to the north and east of the building was severely limited by the encroaching water level, which came very close to the north-eastern corner of the building, and earlier water levels appeared to have produced wave erosion of the eastern foundations [see Fig. 2.3.6 for location and Fig. 4.7.5.1 for site plan].

The building in C5 had three stone foundation walls on the eastern, northern and western sides. On the southern side no stone foundations or fallen stone was found, suggesting that this wall was either left open, or, more likely, was entirely of timber construction, perhaps to allow simple extension of the building at some later date. It seems unlikely that the missing southern wall is due to the bulldozing that demolished other buildings remains on the site, as the ground where the foundations should be shows no signs of the bulldozer disturbance seen elsewhere. The building had no fireplace. Centrally located on the northern wall was a stone platform or step, 175 x 60 cm in extent, and about 35 cm high at its maximum. In the centre of the stone wall above this step is a symmetrical cut in two stones, 65 cm wide, suggesting a door threshold. The door step, as it is interpreted, was to enable access to the building from the north, where the ground slopes away slightly.

As the building was constructed on ground with a greater slope than the other buildings, the floor within the building was built up to a constant level inside the stone foundation walls with rubble fill, on top of which a natural clay from the subsoil appears to have been compacted as an earth floor. This fill ranges from zero depth on the southern wall line to 60 cm depth in the north-eastern corner. This use of rubble and clay fill is also found at Sites A1 and A2 in the Military/Stockade Area (see above). The floor area had been very disturbed in the north-eastern corner, possibly by the removal of tree roots during the initial clearance operations prior to dam filling.

The northern foundation wall, where it survives intact, indicates a wall thickness of approximately 50 centimetres, and the maximum height to which the wall survives is 60 cm. The thickness of this foundation wall suggests that it could have been built to support a stone wall above, or alternatively, it could have been built strongly to withstand the pressure of the rubble fill behind, in which case the wall above may have been timber. The side walls (east and west) were of lighter construction, being only up to 30 cm wide, and may have been foundation walls supporting wooden walls above. As indicated above, no evidence of foundation for the southern wall were found. The north-eastern and north-western corners of the stone foundations were very disturbed, possibly by bulldozer activity, subsequently eroded further by wave action during dam-full periods.

While there were a number of bottle fragments found inside and outside the building at the northern end, the absence of a fireplace leads to the interpretation of this building as a storehouse. An 1826 halfpenny coin was found against the eastern wall, within the compacted floor material. A number of individual ceramic fragments were found, but many were parts of just two objects. The disturbance of the site is shown by the distribution of these fragments: parts of a blue-

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transfer-print teapot (Object 17) were spread over a 5 x 3 metres area, while parts of what appear to be one perforated blue-transfer-print ceramic plate (a meat drainer, Object 16) were found in Sites C5, C3 and C4, as much as 19 metres apart.
NO. 2 STOCKADE COX’S RIVER
AREA CS, BASE OF EXCAVATIONS

Figure 4.7.5.1

Grid point 2010N
987E

PE = Partially excavated
IX = Unit numbers

1 metre

MP 1995
Figure 4.7.5.2 Commissariat Area C5. Building platform viewed from the SE. Rubble on right is overburden tip. Photo 4/37. [M. Pearson 1996]
C5 - BOTTLE GLASS

(note: fragments making up one object are counted as '1')

Figure 4.7.5.3

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square
Figure 4.7.5.4

C5 - NAILS

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square
Figure 4.7.5.5

Accumulated artefact figures for all units in each square

(note: fragments making up one object are counted as '1')
4.8 The Commissariat Area Finds

4.8.1 Introduction

The artefact cataloguing was undertaken by Warwick Pearson, working within Pacific Power. The cataloguing was completed using the University of Sydney Inventory of Artefacts system, data input being undertaken by Warwick Pearson with the assistance of Andrew Wilson of the Centre for Historical Archaeology at the University of Sydney.

Of the 3,213 artefacts excavated in the Commissariat Area, relatively few were able to be closely dated, though some could provide terminus post quem dates for parts of the deposit (ie. the deposits must be the same age as, or more recent than, the dated objects found in them). An example of the latter is the clay smoking pipe stem fragments, which demonstrate that the main deposit on the site (that overlaying the convict era remains) is very disturbed and cannot be dated to a specific demolition period. The most numerous category of material (1,385 items or 42% of the total collection) consists of broken bottle glass. The next most numerous category is handmade nails (983 items or 30% of the total collection). Other categories of artefacts are much less numerous, ceramics of all kinds totalling only 158 items, bone 88 items, and clay pipes 14 items.

Finds referred to below are from the excavations in the Commissariat Area, unless otherwise indicated. The other artefacts referred to are from the personal collections previously made on the site by Olaf Lechbrandt and Lester Batcheldor. Catalogue numbers (Cat #) refer to the numbering of objects in the Artefact Catalogue.

4.8.2 Domestic items

4.8.2.1 Bottle Glass

The most numerous category of material (1,385 items or 42% of the total collection) consists of broken bottle glass, which in itself can seldom be accurately dated. The number of bottles this might represent has not been estimated, but in one spit, for example, 26 pieces were assumed to be from the same bottle. The great variation in thickness in the glass throughout the body of a single bottle of this period and the similarity in glass colour shared by a high proportion of the finds, makes attribution of fragments to a single bottle very tentative. This would be made doubly difficult by the fact that the glass fragments are generally small, being less than 2-3 cm in maximum dimension. Further attribution of glass fragments to a single artefact would not be reliable without carrying out far more sophisticated analysis, such as chemical analysis. The disturbance of the deposit and difficulties in dating the archaeological contexts makes it difficult to use the fragmentary glass remains in any spatial analysis of the artefact material.

While no complete and intact bottles were found, a number of substantial base and neck sections were recovered. These included a number of olive-glass square case bottle bases, and necks with applied lips, and cylindrical hand-blown olive, black, green-tint and clear glass necks and bases. One neck fragment of an olive cylindrical bottle had a moulded glass seal applied to the neck, with the letters 'G R' (Cat #3194). The derivation of this seal has not been determined.
4.8.2.2 Ceramics

The ceramics collection was dominated by blue-transfer-print fine earthenware, with some polychrome, dark grey and green transfer-print and plain white ware and one cane finish bowl. Ceramic forms included general flatware and hollow-ware (sherds too small to distinguish vessel form), bowls, plates, cups, a teapot, and a drainer. Several stoneware bottle fragments were located (eg Cat # 1370 ff). Five discernible patterns are being investigated (four Blue transfer print, 1 polychrome transfer print), with up to 46 fragments of an individual pattern present in the collection.

No definitive dating could be attributed to any of the ceramics, other than that much of it is early to mid-nineteenth century in origin.

Later ceramics include insulators from the telephone line which crossed the site before the dam was constructed.

4.8.2.3 Miscellaneous domestic items

A number of sections of a shattered cast-iron cooking pot were found in C2, scattered throughout the disturbed deposit. Three metal spoons are included in Lester Batcheldor’s collection from site (Cat # 3214, 3215, 3228), and further seven in Ollie Lechbrandt’s collection. A number of knife blades and bone handles, and forks, occur in these collections also, but provenance is not sufficiently accurate to cast any light on use of individual buildings on the site.

Figure 4.8.2.3.1  Pic of either #3214, 3215 or 3228 Lester’s Collection
4.8.3 Personal items

4.8.3.1 Clay tobacco pipes

A clay smoking pipe stem fragment bears the manufacturer’s name “[Mc]:DOUGALL \ ,
GLASGOW” and “BURNS CUTTY P.” for “Burns Cutty Pipe”, a particular style of short-stemmed pipe produced by several makers (Cat#3213). A second stem and spur fragment (Cat #1342), bearing the letters “UGA(E OR L?)L: NUFACT: LAGSW”, may also be reconstructed as “McDougall, Manufacturer, Glasgow”. McDougall commenced the manufacture and export of pipes in 1847, ceasing in 1968, and from the 1850s at least was probably the most prolific exporter of clay tobacco pipes to the colonies. These pipes could not have been lost at the site before 1847, long after the abandonment of the convict establishment, yet one was located at 15 cm depth in the disturbed post-occupation deposit, together with what are interpreted as being convict-era materials, demonstrating the degree of mixing that has occurred.

Another pipe stem is marked “Sydne: / :ixson” (Cat # 133), which could be reconstructed as “Dixson/ Sydney”. Hugh Dixson (later Sir Hugh, and benefactor of the Dixson Library) was a tobacconist and tobacco manufacturer in Sydney from 1839 to 1859, then active in the southern goldfields 1859-62, returning to operate in Sydney from 1863-1904, being in this period the largest distributor of tobacco in NSW. Dixson had shops and factories variously in George, York, Castlereagh and Elizabeth Street during this period, including the ‘Conqueror’ Tobacco works (Pers. Comm. Graham Wilson, Sydney). His shop in George Street and a factory in York Street are shown in an illustrated gazetteer of the city in 1848. Dixson appears to have imported his pipes from Britain, his suppliers being either Thomas White of Edinburgh or Charles Cropp of London, and pipes of the style found at the Cox's Stockade are likely to be of 1860s vintage at the earliest, based on other examples found in Sydney (Pers. Comm. Graham Wilson, Sydney). Again, this pipe stem suggests visitors or occupants at the site in the late nineteenth century.

A pipe stem fragment (Cat # 997) had the impressed letters ‘...D/ ..D.’, and teeth marks indicated that it was an improvised mouthpiece of a shortened pipe. Other pipe fragments consisted of unmarked stem sections and stem and spur/bowl fragments.

4.8.3.2 Coins

An 1826 English halfpenny was found in the compacted floor material of building C5 (Cat # 1993) This coinage issue was in general circulation in the Colony, and pre-dates the settlement of the Stockade, but may have been deposited at any time, and so cannot be used as a diagnostic tool.

Several coins have been located by Lester Batcheldor and Ollie Lechbrandt, but provenance is not definite enough to be of use in dating or interpreting individual buildings.

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Figure 4.8.3.2.1  The 1826 English half penny. Cat.#1993-.

Figure 4.8.3.2.2  Pic of one of the coins from Ollie’s describe (generally) where he found it. [Pacific Power 1997]
4.8.3.3 Miscellaneous Personal Items

Harmonica reeds (Cat # 3225) and a thimble (Cat # 3231) form part of Lester Batcheldor's collection, though their provenance is not definite.

Several .22 rim fire ammunition shells are clearly from a later period than the convict occupation of the site, and a child's toy die-cast "Hawkeye" pistol (Cat # 1909) dates from the 1950s or later.

Figure 4.8.3.3.1 Cat. #3231 Thimble fro Lesters collection. State where he found it. [Pacific Power 1997]
4.8.4 Items of dress

4.8.4.1 Buttons and buckles

Several buckles were located (Cat # 557, 3035), and more are represented in Lester Batcheldor and Olaf Lechbrandt's collections from the site, but whether from items of dress or other use such as saddlery or harness is not always clear.

A metal button cap (Cat # 1369), two copper buttons (Cat # 2056, 2057), one of them a 4 hole sew-through type, and a button of uncertain type (Cat # 2363) were recovered, though none is inscribed or dateable. Several synthetic buttons of unknown, but twentieth century, date were also found (Cat # 2638), (Cat # 2956).

Regimental buttons for the 28th and 4th Regiments have been located by Lester Batcheldor and Ollie Lechbrandt previously (eg Cat # 3454), but precise provenance is uncertain. See discussion at 4.8.4.3 below.

Figure 4.8.4.1.1 Cat # 3454.
4.8.4.2 Shoe furniture

An iron boot heel was located in disturbed deposit in Area C4 (Cat # 2574). Other boot heels of various sizes have also been recovered from the general site area by Lester Batcheldor (Cat # 3216, 3217, 3224) and a further 15 by Ollie Lechbrandt (Cat # 3233, 3234, 3236-9, 3242, 3256, 3280, 3286, et al).

4.8.4.3 Miscellaneous clothing items

Lester Batcheldor and Ollie Lechbrandt have metal-detected shako badges with lion and crown pattern, a sphinx badge, and other items which appear to be items of decoration from military uniforms. The exact location of these finds is not known. A regimental button with lion and crown decoration, belonging to the 28th North Gloucestershire Regiment of Foot, is included in the Olaf Lechbrandt collection (Cat # 3454). This Regiment was stationed in NSW from 1835 to 1842, and a Company of men under Captain Moore was stationed at the No 2 Cox's River Stockade in 1836. The 28th Regiment had served in Egypt during the Napoleonic Wars and was awarded the sphinx emblem as part of their insignia, which accounts for the badges found on the site bearing a sphinx and the word 'Egypt'. A small numeral '8' (Cat # 3862) may also be a part of a badge or insignia from this regiment.

A number of semi-circular sheet copper pieces were recovered by Olaf Lechbrandt while metal detecting in the area (eg Cat # 3347) that are unidentified, but may be associated with uniforms or other articles of dress. These vary in size between 1-2 cm across, are concave in form and have a number of small holes around the curved edge. Similar pieces were recovered in the excavations in the Military/Stockade Area.

4.8.5 Architectural items

4.8.5.1 Nails

The next most numerous category after glass was handmade nails (983 items or 30% of the total collection). These ranged from short brads, down to 18 mm (3/4 inch) long, to spikes up to 140 mm (5.5 inch) long. The majority of nails, however, were fragmentary or so corroded as to be not able to be accurately measured. A considerable amount of unidentifiable corroded or fragmentary ferrous material was also excavated. A proportion of the nails are interpreted as being building materials used in the construction of the buildings on the site, rather than as the residue of spilt containers stored there. This is based on the relationship of a number of nails with timber structural elements, such as the wall plates for C2. It may be that all nails are related to the structures, but insufficient evidence prevents a definitive conclusion.

4.8.5.2 Bricks

A number of broken and eroded bricks were found in the deposit, though the only in situ brick feature was the threshold for the stone room added to the northern end of the building in C2. A

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considerable amount of crushed brick was also used in parts of the compacted earth floor of C2. The bricks from the site vary greatly in size, and have a salmon-pink to red body.

4.8.5.3 Mortar

Fragments of lime mortar were found in several places, particularly in the vicinity of the fireplaces. These mortar lumps were often smooth on one or both sides, but the thickness of the lumps was often greater than would be expected in pointing between bricks or stone. None of the in-situ stone fireplaces showed any mortar bedding. A possible explanation is that the fireplaces were lime plastered inside, to help protect the stone from heat, or for domestic cleanliness or appearance. The mortar is of even consistency, and shows no shell inclusions, suggesting a rock lime had been used. William Govett refers to the plastering and whitewashing of the interiors of timber buildings and fireplaces at the main Stockade site in 1833.1

4.8.5.4 Miscellaneous architectural items

Two latches (Cat # 1171, 2845) and a hinge (Cat # 2102) were excavated, though the context of their use is not clear.

4.8.6 Aboriginal artefacts

A number of stone flakes and artefacts of definite and possible Aboriginal origin were found within the deposits (31 items). The definite artefacts and flakes included a chert Bondi point, a retouched chert flake and a number of chert and chalcedony flakes. The ‘possible’ category included quartz flakes, which are difficult to identify with confidence in a site which has a lot of shattered quartz naturally occurring on the surface, and where over 150 years of, at times, intensive European activity has occurred. Three bottle bases have been interpreted as having been used as core for the production of flakes (Cat # 1819, 1899, 2014), and three glass flakes, one retouched (Cat # 2458, 2942 & 1095 retouched), have been identified. [See figures 3.7.5 and 3.7.6]

Some (such as the Bondi point), and perhaps all, of the stone artefacts would appear to have become incorporated into the deposit from the surrounding ground surface, a not unlikely occurrence given the disturbance of the site and the demonstrated movement of fragments of single European artefacts over the site. Other surface occurrences of probably prehistoric Aboriginal stone material were noted at a number of locations over the ridge leading down to the site. There is no way of telling if the glass flaked material was flaked while the site was occupied, before the establishment of the stockade, or after the abandonment of the site in or about 1839.

4.8.7 Miscellaneous items

A triangular section saw file (Cat # 3193) of uncertain age was excavated in Site C4. The Lester Batcheldor and Ollie Lechbrandt collections include musket balls, mason’s wedges, chain links,

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1 Quoted in history section of this report, section 3.6.
horse shoes, stirrup irons, and chisels. Much iron work is said to have been collected along the
creek north of the present site (and currently below dam level).

4.8.8 Bone

Animal bone (88 items) was found in several parts of the site, and much of it was in disturbed
contexts. Of the bone identifiable by species (52 items), all was bovine, and consisted
predominantly of long bones and rib, with knuckles, teeth, vertebra and tarsals represented in
smaller numbers. A small number of bones showed clear signs of butchering, but not in sufficient
number to support a study of butchering techniques.
4.9 Interpretation Of The Evidence

4.9.1 Contextual evidence - building construction at convict sites

There has been considerable study of the more formal buildings erected as part of the permanent convict establishments, but relatively little study of the more ephemeral vernacular buildings associated with convict road gang and other work gang sites. The only detailed archaeological work carried out at work gang sites has been that by Grace Karskens at the Wiseman’s Ferry sites (Wiseman’s Ferry Stockade and Devine’s Hill Stockade), and Damaris Bairstow at the Newcastle convict lumber yard, and of these only the former has been published in an accessible form. The historical and archaeological evidence provides the following picture of road gang accommodation.

All of the road gang camps and stockades from the period of the construction of the colony’s roads were designed for only temporary use. Hence the buildings were made to be transportable, or were constructed only as elaborately and strongly as was thought to be necessary for their short-term use. The portable wooden houses or boxes, which seem to have been introduced by Governor Bourke in 1835, were an attempt to deal with the transient nature of the road gang camps. The boxes were used on the Bathurst road, but were probably used more at the smaller and very short-lived road camps near the work areas, than at the large stockades such as Cox’s River, though there may have been some stationed there as well.

The survey of the remains of the Wiseman’s Ferry Stockade revealed many stone fireplaces, which were presumed to have had timber buildings, probably of slab construction, attached to them, and several complete stone foundations with no fireplaces, possibly being stone-walled store buildings. One of these possible store buildings is 3.5 m x 5 m, similar in scale to the 3.5 m x 4.5 m building found in Area C5 at Cox’s River [see 4.7.5 above]. Another building appeared to have been built completely of stone, bonded with clay mortar, and with a fireplace at either end. This building was approximately 15 m x 5 m, and was interpreted by Karskens as an overseers quarters. When the Stockade was broken up in 1832, the list of material offered for sale included ground and floor plates for slab construction, 1850 slabs each 9 feet long, the large paling gates from the stockade fence, with hooks, hinges, and several hundred old sheets of bark. This reinforces the interpretation that the huts were of slab construction, with bark roofs.

The list of materials disposed of at Wiseman’s Ferry is similar to that compiled by Nicholson when reporting on the construction of the Cox’s River Stockade: he lists a total of 1655 slabs for

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buildings, and more for the stockade fence, and 220 sheets of bark cut.

The buildings constructed for the Blackheath stockade in 1844 cast some light on the possible interpretation of the Cox's River buildings. When the Blackheath establishment was offered for sale in 1849, the buildings were listed as indicated in Table 1.

The majority of the buildings at Blackheath, and seemingly those at Wiseman's Ferry, were slab constructions with bark roofs and earth floors, a few having timber or flagged floors, and with rubble chimneys. The few historical descriptions of the No. 2 Stockade Cox's River suggest similar construction. Surveyor William Romaine Govett described the huts of the prisoners as being made of bark, joined together and facing into a square, within the 'strong fence of split timber all around, about fourteen or fifteen feet in height, having two great gates at the entrance'.

Govett also described:

- soldiers barracks, in two rows, made of bark and split wood, with 'mud' chimneys, some of them plastered and white-washed inside;

- officers quarters, consisting 'of a shingled cottage with two tolerably-sized rooms, back kitchens, etc, having a verandah in front';

- a hospital, storehouse, commissary tents, cooking shed, butcher's and baker's houses, overseers and constables huts, all erected in a hurry, and all of them temporary buildings, some, such as the hospital and Commissariat, to be replaced during the life of the Stockade.

The archaeological evidence at Cox's River Stockade reinforces this picture, as is shown in Table 2.

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2 W. R Govett, 'Mount Victoria, with an account of the Stockades and iron gangs' in Sketches of New South Wales, Melbourne, Gaston Renard, 1977, p.48; quoted in section 3.2.3 of this report.
### Table 1

**Blackheath Stockade buildings, 1849**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building identification</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Walls</th>
<th>Roof</th>
<th>Floor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hospital</td>
<td>18 ft x 12 ft</td>
<td>slab</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>timber?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>convict sleeping huts x 2</td>
<td>36 ft x 12 ft</td>
<td>slab</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shed</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>slab x 3 sides, open front</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrack room</td>
<td>45 ft x 10 ft</td>
<td>slab, rubble chimney</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners hut</td>
<td>18 ft x 11 ft 6 in</td>
<td>slab</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>office, stores etc</td>
<td>89 ft x 12 ft 6 in (6 rooms)</td>
<td>slab, 4 rooms with rubble chimneys</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>one room floored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical attendant's quarters</td>
<td>40 ft x 12 ft; 2 rooms, plus kitchen &amp; surgery huts</td>
<td>slab, plastered both sides</td>
<td>shingle</td>
<td>timber?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters and smiths shop</td>
<td>40 ft x 16 ft, 2 rooms</td>
<td>slab</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guard room</td>
<td>14 ft x 12 ft</td>
<td>slab</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers quarters x 6</td>
<td>15 ft x 10 ft (x2); 18 ft x 12 ft (x1); 12 ft x 10 ft (x3)</td>
<td>slab, rubble chimneys</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent's quarters</td>
<td>57 ft 6 in x 25 ft, 7 ft 3 in wide verandah in front. 8 rooms</td>
<td>weatherboard walls plastered</td>
<td>shingle</td>
<td>timber, flags in store room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitchen</td>
<td>29 ft x 11 ft 6 in, 3 rooms</td>
<td>slab, two rooms with rubble chimneys</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>timber &amp; flags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stable and coach house</td>
<td>58 ft x 15 ft</td>
<td>slab</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>cobble stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grooms hut</td>
<td>12 ft x 10 ft</td>
<td>slab, rubble chimney</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow house</td>
<td>11 ft x 11 ft</td>
<td>slab</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardiners hut</td>
<td>12 ft x 8 ft</td>
<td>slab, rubble chimney</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>earth?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazine</td>
<td>10 ft x 9 ft 6 in x 5 ft 6 in high</td>
<td>stone, 1 ft 6 in thick</td>
<td>stone arch</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building Name or Number</th>
<th>dimensions</th>
<th>walls/roof</th>
<th>floor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C2 (Accommodation or offices - Commissariat Area)</td>
<td>7 m x 3.5 m (30 ft x 11 ft 6 in) (excavated)</td>
<td>timber (slab?), two rubble chimneys</td>
<td>earth, flagged at fireplaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3 (Accommodation or offices - Commissariat Area)</td>
<td>max. 4 m x 4 m (13 ft x 13 ft) (excavated)</td>
<td>timber, rubble chimney</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4 (Accommodation or offices - Commissariat Area)</td>
<td>max. 5 m x 5 m? (16 ft x 16 ft) (excavated)</td>
<td>timber, rubble chimney</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5 (Commissariat store?)</td>
<td>4.5 m x 3.5 m (15 ft x 11 ft 6 in) (excavated)</td>
<td>timber on stone</td>
<td>rubble fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1 (Barracks Kitchen?)</td>
<td>5.5 m x 4.5 m (18 ft x 15 ft) (excavated)</td>
<td>Timber on stone platform</td>
<td>earth on rubble fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>5 m x 3.75 m (16 ft x 12 ft) (excavated)</td>
<td>Timber on stone platform</td>
<td>earth, flagged at fireplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11 (Barracks)</td>
<td>20 m x 5 m (66 ft x 16 ft) (Nicholson Plan &amp; partially excavated)</td>
<td>slab, internally plastered, bark roof, 'mud' chimneys (Govett)</td>
<td>earth on rubble fill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6 (Barracks)</td>
<td>20 m x 5 m (66 ft x 16 ft) (Nicholson Plan)</td>
<td>slab, internally plastered, bark roof, 'mud' chimneys (Govett)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hospital</td>
<td>30 ft x 15 ft (9 m x 4.5 m)</td>
<td>stockaded (Nicholson Plan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>convict huts</td>
<td>34 m x 31 m square, 3.5 m wide? (111 ft x 101 ft, 11 ft 6 in wide) (Nicholson Plan)</td>
<td>bark (Govett)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking hut x 2? (possible A1?)</td>
<td>Slab walls, bark roof. Nicholson report 1832 lists 2 kitchens being built, Govett lists 1 cooking hut.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>dimensions</th>
<th>walls/roof</th>
<th>floor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lock-up</td>
<td>7 m x 3 m? (23 ft x 10 ft)</td>
<td>slab</td>
<td>(Nicholson Plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseers' hut</td>
<td>12 m x 3.5 m? (39 ft x 11 ft 6 in)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Nicholson Plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Overseers hut</td>
<td>9.5 m x 3 m? (31 ft x 10 ft)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Nicholson Plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guard-house</td>
<td>4.5 m x 3.5 m? (15 ft x 11 ft 6 in)</td>
<td>slab walls, bark roof.</td>
<td>(Nicholson Plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant's quarters &amp;</td>
<td>c. 12 m x 4.5 m (39 ft x 15 ft)</td>
<td></td>
<td>store (Nicholson Plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Officers</td>
<td>c. 7.5 m x 5 m? (25 ft x 16 ft)</td>
<td>slab? and shingle with</td>
<td>quarters x 2 (Nicholson Plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarters x 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>verandah. Kitchens at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths shop x 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butchers shop</td>
<td></td>
<td>slab walls, bark roof.</td>
<td>(Nicholson report 1832)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakers shop</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Govett)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockade fence</td>
<td>c. 45 m x 47 m (147 ft x 154 ft)</td>
<td>slabs 12 ft high (Nicholson</td>
<td>plan), 14-15 ft high (Govett)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Nicholson Plan) 155 ft square</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The contemporary descriptions of road gang huts depict them as being cold and draughty. While this might be an advantage in high summer, most of the negative observations seem to have been made in winter.

Alexander Harris spent a night in a lock-up at a road gang camp on the Great North Road. The building was ‘...a little roofed enclosure of a few feet square, very strong, but having the slabs in many places half an inch apart. The ground was quite wet...’ At the Wiseman’s Ferry stockades, poor conditions were also commented on, the gang superintendent reporting in 1831 that ‘many complain of the extreme coldness of the sheds under which they sleep’, while others were ‘exposed to cold and damp’. Thomas Cook’s narrative includes a reputed description of the Cox’s River Stockade lock-up, but as it has been demonstrated that Cook was relying on someone else’s experience, it cannot be assumed to be an accurate description.

Assistant Surveyor Nicholson reported on the difficulties facing him at Cox’s River stockade in keeping up repairs to the convict huts, where the convicts were in the habit of removing bed boards and bark from the roofs to feed fires and to build their own shelters, and Mitchell repeated these problems to the Colonial Secretary. The apparent ease with which the huts could be taken apart indicates the simple nature of the buildings.

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4. See p.*** above
5. AONSW: Mitchell to Colonial Secretary, 16 July 1833, p.274. Reel 2839.
Table 3

Occupation of the No. 2 Stockade Cox's River, and relationship with other nearby sites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Gangs Present</th>
<th>Detail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td></td>
<td>No 2 Stockade Cox's River built from early 1832, by Assist Surveyor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lambie, then Nicholson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832 March</td>
<td>No 20 Road Party - 60 men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832 April</td>
<td>No 20 Road Party - 57 men</td>
<td>erecting huts &amp; stockade [9 huts, 2 cook houses, 2 blacksmiths shops].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832 July</td>
<td>No. 20 Road party</td>
<td>Nicholson recommends on completion of Mt Victoria works all Iron Gangs be moved to Cox's River, and No 20 Road Party go to finish the wall at Mt Victoria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832 by August</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 ft high stockade 155 feet square erected. 25 ft inside fence, huts for convicts built, with lock-up in centre. Military quarters and Officer's quarters erected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832 Nov</td>
<td>240 from ironed gangs. Plus No.20 Road Party (60) plus military and admin. Approx. Total 400?</td>
<td>Ironed gangs moved to new stockade from Mount Victoria. No. 20 Road Party still there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833 Jan</td>
<td>450-500</td>
<td>Nicholson wrote to Mitchell that there were seldom more than 360 at stockade. Add military and auxiliary staff and numbers could approximate 450 - 500.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833 Feb</td>
<td>c. 500.</td>
<td>No.10 and No. 11 Road Parties = c. 132; plus Bridge Party = c.33. Plus ironed gangs still there =240. Plus military etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833 March</td>
<td>c.440</td>
<td>No.11 Road Party =c.66, Bridge Party = c.33. Plus iron gangs = c.240. Plus military etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>'between 700 and 800 inhabitants'</td>
<td>Govett describes Cox's Stockade, and estimates about 700-800 men 'generally' inhabited site. This is not supported by other evidence. Govett was probably referring to all Parties administratively linked to stockade, ie. Those at Honeysuckle Hill and Mount Victoria or Hassan's Walls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833 October</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mitchell complained that the majority of the Bridge Party at the Cox's River Stockade had been used to date to build the accommodations. Proposed the use of portable houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833 late</td>
<td>c.240 men - 4</td>
<td>Road parties in western division listed, Iron Gangs A, B, C, &amp; D, at No 2 Stockade Cox's River. [ No. 9 Road Party at Mt Victoria; No. 10 Road Party at Honeysuckle Hill; No. 11 Road Party at Hassan's Walls; Bridge party at Diamond Swamp] Total c. 240 men at Cox's, c. 415 in western district. Captain Deedes OIC of Company of 17th Regiment, June 1833 to June 1834.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Gangs Present</th>
<th>Detail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1834 April</td>
<td>No. 2 Stockade expected to be broken up soon. 17th Regiment detachment in charge of Stockade, to be relieved by the 4th Regiment. Deedes granted 20 acres, July 1834.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834 Sept</td>
<td>Iron Gangs restricted to working within 2.5 miles of the Stockade. Working on the road and bridges at Cox's River and Farmers Creek.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834 Dec</td>
<td>Nicholson requested 40 men in irons be detached from Cox's Stockade to work at quarry at Bowen's Hollow (Bowenfels) cutting stone for the bridges. [didn't happen till mid 1835]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>500 men</td>
<td>Thomas Cook claimed that about 500 men 'attached' to the No. 2 Stockade. Cook working 4 miles from Stockade, and claimed each work gang about 25 men. 'Attached' could mean working on road under general supervision from Cox's Stockade, but not occupying it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835 May</td>
<td>Assist Surveyor Dulhunty indicated work within reach of the Stockade had been completed, except the bridges, and requested the Iron Gangs be moved to the 'newly completed' stockade at Hassan's Walls (c. 12 km by road east of Cox's Stockade). No men had been sent to Bowen's Hollow Quarries yet, as he had not the authority. 4th Kings Own Regiment men still stationed at Cox's Stockade. [NSW Calendar and Directory 1835 says 4th Regiment garrison had 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 1 drummer, 78 rank and file, 3 mounted troopers and 1 unmounted trooper of Mounted Police]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835 mid</td>
<td>Plans for bridges completed by Lennox. A stockade built at the quarries at Bowen, about 6 km east of Cox's Stockade. [Quarry at Bowenfels also used for stone for Hartley Courthouse in 1836. Alexander Binning stayed there and became publican and mason.(Foster 1932: 244; Clements 1965: 5)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835 Sept.</td>
<td>Junction Stockade</td>
<td>James Backhouse visits 'Junction Stockade', 150 prisoners there, cutting a road 3 miles distant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835 Dec</td>
<td>Alexander Binning, Sub-Inspector of Bridges, Western Division, requested men and materials to build the Farmers Creek and Cox's River Bridges. Reported road at Cox's River almost completed. Suggested moving 70 men from Cox's to Hassan's Walls, leaving enough men to work on the approaches to the bridges.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836 April</td>
<td>Capt Moore OIC of Company of 28th Regiment, also OIC of Junction Stockade? Deedes grant and cottage sold to Capt Moore and Major James Messiter.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836 Aug</td>
<td>c.60 men - 1 Iron Gang</td>
<td>Suggestion in a Dulhunty report that only 1 Iron Gang then left at Cox's River Stockade. i.e. c. 60 men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Responsibility for convict gangs transferred to Colonial Engineer. Road Parties abolished, all road work to be done by Iron Gangs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838 March</td>
<td>Report from Assistant Surgeon at Cox’s Stockade indicates it still in operation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Gangs Present</td>
<td>Detail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839 October</td>
<td></td>
<td>Louisa Meredith reports Stockade in ruins, numerous huts formerly occupied by a convict-gang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cox's River Road Party [not necessarily housed at Stockade] requested assignment to private employers. [Abolition of Road Parties in 1836 not carried out?] Iron Gangs previously engaged in Hartley Valley transferred to Twenty-Mile Hollow (Woodford) (Foster 1932: 230).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Hood described the 'old military stockade in ruins, upon a height'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.9.2 Interpretation of the evidence - The Military/Stockade Area

The initial problem in trying to interpret the Military/Stockade Area was determining the location of the military and stockade buildings. The identification of Site A11 as one of the barracks buildings shown on the Nicholson plan allowed the Nicholson plan [Fig. 3.5.2] to be overlaid on the site plan [Fig. 4.4.1.1] allowing a reasonably confident correlation between the plan and the sites on the ground [see Fig. 3.5.3]. The excavation of A1 and A2 indicates the continued construction program after Nicholson's plan had been completed in 1832.

The interpretation provided in Figure 3.5.3 confirms Mitchell's comment that the stockade was 'precisely on the line of the road as it would approach the bridge to be made over Cox's River' and would have to be removed before the road could be completed. The western part of the stockade is located over the road, and beneath present water level.

The key building in interpreting the area, the southernmost of the Military Barracks ('I' on the Nicholson plan), is identified with some certainty as Site A11, the certainty provided by the close matching of the somewhat unusual dimensions of the site with those shown on the plan. The second Military Barracks shown on the Nicholson plan was not yet built when the plan was drawn in 1832. There is no evidence on the ground of this second barracks having been built where shown on the plan, and a more likely location for the completed building is the flat area east of Site A6.

Nicholson's annotation on his 1832 plan indicates that kitchens had not yet been built for the Officer's quarters, and Govett refers to a 'cooking hut', and a butcher's and baker's shops at the site. Neither the Nicholson plan nor Govett refers to kitchens for the military barracks. However, this is one feasible interpretation of the building in Site A1. Such a conclusion is supported by the high proportion of animal bones found at that site. While this evidence could also lead to the interpretation of the building as the butcher's shop, it would be unusual to place such an activity so closely adjacent to the barracks building. An alternative interpretation is that A1 was used after the abandonment of the stockade as a butchering site by Hughes and Hoskins who operated their victualling establishment at The Junction by October 1837. The relationship between the barracks and the presumed kitchen (A11 and A1) is echoed by the relationship of site A6 and A10, if A6 is interpreted as being the western end of the second barracks building, and A10 as its kitchen.

The distribution of some of the artefact types within Site A1 is suggestive of the area immediately outside its eastern wall being used as a refuse dump. Heavy concentrations of bone, glass and smoking pipe fragments were found immediately outside the eastern edge of the building platform. This is within the angle formed by the A1 building and the A11 barracks, on the down-slope side (ie. the back) of the barracks and the rear of the A1 building if it addressed the western and northern prospect, and as a result the dump was in a relatively unobtrusive location.

Site A12 matches precisely the location of the Assistant Overseers Huts ('F') on the Nicholson Plan. This site was not investigated by excavation.

The Military Officers Quarters 'M' on the Nicholson plan had not yet been built when the plan was drawn. The interpretation of Sites A7 and A9 as two ends of a single building would result in a building of similar dimensions to the intended one, and in very close proximity to its intended location. Both Sites A5 and A4 correspond roughly with the location given by Nicholson for the
other Military Officers Quarters ('L').

Site A3 is a building bench 11 x 4 metres (36 x 13 ft) in extent, which is of the same scale, but not identical measurements, to the hospital building (30 x 15 ft) noted by Nicholson as not yet constructed by 1832, and hence not shown on his plan.

Site A2 with its building site and the evidence of construction of extensive artificial terraces or platforms behind a stone retaining wall represents a substantial investment of labour. Nothing is shown in this location on the Nicholson plan. While a use cannot be ascribed to this building and the related terrace, the extent of the land-modification work necessary to construct it may have been one of the reasons why so much time was spent on constructing the Stockade facility, a problem complained of by Mitchell in 1833.

The test excavation laid out in an attempt to locate the stockade fence and convict huts did not reveal any evidence of structures or foundations. This should not be interpreted as proof that the stockade and huts were not in the location suggested on the Nicholson plan, but rather that the excavation technique used was not appropriate to finding such elusive evidence. If a serious attempt were to be made to locate evidence of the stockade and huts, an open-area excavation technique would be more likely to be successful. This approach was not feasible within the resources available for the current project. Such a relatively small proportion of the stockade area remains undisturbed by the recent bulldozer activity that even with an open-area excavation, success could not be assured.

A close scrutiny of the original James Pattison Cockburn painting of the Stockade site in the Mitchell Library revealed detail that can help interpret the layout and changes within the stockade fenced area itself, and allows the buildings in the Military area to be, at least tentatively, correlated with the archaeological evidence.

Figure 3.6.8 is a sketch of the Stockade and Military Area based on the painting. The stockade wall appears to be slab construction. The convict huts appear to be skillion-roofed huts in a continuous range with a single opening to the east, opposite a gate in the stockade wall. The huts have windows and doors facing into the courtyard formed within the square. The painting shows that by the time the undated painting was painted, the square of convict huts shown in the Nicholson plan had been subdivided. Two paling or slab fences ran down the centre of the open space from the opening in the line of huts to the rear of the range. This may have been to provide separation between different wards housing segregated prisoners, and also to allow scrutiny by guards patrolling in the lane-way formed by the two fences.

The two spaces created by the central fences were further subdivided by lateral fences, creating four wards of apparently equal size. A triangles is shown in the south-west ward, what appear to be poles with lanterns at their tops are located at or near each corner of the square of convict huts. The stockade shown in this painting bears a close resemblance to that shown in the Nicholson plan, except that the lock-up shown to be in the centre of the square of huts on the Nicholson plan had been removed by the time of the Cockburn painting. The presence of the lock-up would have made the creation of easily patrolable wards, as shown in the painting, difficult to achieve, and this might explain its removal.

The sketch of the huts in the Military area, east of the stockade shows at least 10 buildings.

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Smoke and/or chimneys suggest that only five or six of these had fireplaces. However, the interpretation of the painting by correlating the buildings with archaeological sites would suggest that there were more chimneys than shown (ie. A1 and A2 had a chimney each, and A11 (and presumably A6 also) had three chimneys). The Figure 3.6.8 has the interpretation of the buildings indicated. The left-most building may have been located on the northern terrace of building A2, or it might be building E on the Nicholson plan. This reconstruction and interpretation must be regarded as being quite tentative, as the painting clearly shows problems with perspective and scale which distort the picture to some extent.

There were some major differences observed in the proportions of artefact types at the Commissariat and Military/Stockade Areas. This is interpreted as reflecting the different purposes of the buildings in these two areas. The Commissariat Area is interpreted as housing mainly storehouses, with accommodation for a handful of men only. The artefacts there can be interpreted as reflecting both the storage of items that could find their way into the deposit (especially glass), and domestic items reflecting a small group of men living there (a few bones from meals, all identified ones being cow, reflecting a beef diet and glass fragments from bottles consumed on the site).

In contrast, the Military/Stockade sites are interpreted as reflecting a service area for a large number of men. The many bones of both sheep and cow are seen largely as refuse from the kitchen (A1) of the military barracks or the subsequent Hughes and Hoskins victualling establishment. The higher proportion of broken ceramics is also interpreted as a result of kitchen activities, while the fewer glass fragments found might be expected in a service area where food was prepared, as opposed to the barracks where it was consumed.
4.9.3 Interpretation of the Evidence - The Commissariat Area

Much less is recorded about the Commissariat Area than about the Military/Stockade Area, probably because it had an ancillary function, and was not located close to the line of the embryonic Mitchell's road which was travelled by visitors. The first evidence of the site, as outlined in Chapter 2, is the Deedes Grant plan of 1834, which shows five buildings arranged in two parallel lines.

The range of activities at the site is still not clear. Baron Charles von Hugel, who visited the stockade in June 1834, seems to identify either the Commissariat Area or the Deedes Grant Area as the location of the Commanding Officer's residence.

The stockade is situated on a small isolated hill, the last foothill of a high mountain, Mount Walker, round which Cox's River winds. Another small valley, without water, runs between high mountains on the other side of the stockade, a few hundred paces away. Here stands the house of the officer commanding the guard, which consists of a full company. I had a letter of introduction which I delivered, from Mr Ottor to Capt. [R.H.J. Beaumont] McCumming (4th Regt) who is in command here. The house, which is a cottage built by the last Commandant, is quite prettily situated, and a big vegetable garden and a small flower garden make it attractive in this wilderness.

This description could match the building C2, or perhaps a building now submerged under the dam. It more likely, however, refers to the buildings in the Deedes Grant Area, as a 'cottage' is referred to in the sale of Deedes's land to Major John Messiter and Captain Samuel Moore in 1836, and Deedes was the 'last Commandant' referred to by von Hugel as being responsible for the construction of the Commanding Officer's cottage occupied by McCumming. See further discussion in 4.9.4 below.

Another reference to the area may have been in September 1833 when Mitchell wrote to the Colonial Secretary to

...further report on the state of the quarters ordered to be prepared for the accommodation of the Assistant Surveyor to be stationed at Cox's River ... the room which has been added to the hut built for the commissariat Clerk at that station is ready for occupation.

Other correspondence suggests that this addition might have been originally intended for an Assistant Surgeon, and later earmarked for the Assistant Surveyor. [See section 3.6 for more discussion] The archaeological evidence shows four buildings, two each in roughly parallel rows. This fits the 1834 plan (though the spacing between buildings on the plan is slightly different).

The archaeological remains suggest that three of the buildings (C2, C3, C4) were designed to be occupied either as residential buildings or as offices, given that they have chimneys. The fourth building (C5) is of a different design, with stone foundations and levelled floor, and having no

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1 Map of Lot 11 granted to George Deedes, dated 3 June 1834, Lands Department of NSW portion plan 101.691.


chimney, and is interpreted as a store room, possibly the Commissariat store. The range of domestic and personal items found in the deposits supports residential occupation of at least one of the buildings. The variation between the artefact collection from the Commissariat Area and the Military/Stockade Area, described in 4.9.2 above, supports this interpretation of the site accommodating a small number of men, and a storage facility.

The presence of late-nineteenth century artefacts at the site suggests that the site was either re-occupied or was visited after the convict establishment vacated it. The evidence does not indicate whether the buildings were left standing when the stockade closed (though this is suggested by references made by passing travellers to the Military/Stockade Area buildings being in ruins in the late 1830s), or sold and removed as at the Wiseman's Ferry Stockade. The disturbed nature of the post-convict deposits, and the lack of tight temporal definition in much of the fragmentary artefact evidence, makes it impossible to say if the site was re-occupied. There is no lands record information to support such a re-occupation. Part of the former Government Reserve area which makes up the Commissariat Area was set aside as a Village Reserve in 1861, the reserve being revoked in 1898, when it was gazetted as a Travelling Stock and Camping Reserve. There is as yet no evidence that the site was occupied when it was part of the Village reserve. The possible presence of surviving and habitable sections of the buildings, and the desirable location of the site on flat land and close to water and the main road, and on the travelling stock route, might explain the evidence of visitors later in the century and into the twentieth century.

4.9.4 Interpretation of the evidence - The Deedes Grant Area

As indicated in 4.4.3 above, the first evidence of the Deedes Area is the 1834 plan, and it is not known by how long the buildings pre-date the plan, or whether they were part of the Stockade establishment before being granted to Deedes. Deedes was senior officer at the Stockade from mid-1833 to mid-1834. The above ground physical evidence suggests that the Deedes buildings were small, the stone remains at D2 and D3 suggesting buildings with maximum dimensions of 2 x 4 metres and 3 x 4 metres respectively. If this accurately reflects the true scale of the buildings, one interpretation of this group is as the huts of stock-keepers working for Deedes. It may equally be that the surviving stone sections were merely parts of larger, timber structures. This would require further archaeological testing to determine.

However, a 'cottage' is referred to in the sale of the Deedes land to Major John Messiter and Captain Samuel Moore in 1836, and von Hugel refers to Deedes (he being the 'last Commandant') as being responsible for the construction of the Commanding Officer's Cottage stayed in by von Hugel [see 4.9.2 above]. In addition the flat alluvial area beside the creek west of the main Deedes buildings would have been a much more promising site for the 'big vegetable garden and a small flower garden' referred to by von Hugel. Captain Moore was Commanding Officer at the stockade from at least April 1836 to January 1837, and possibly as late as December 1838. If it were a timber building the Commanding Officer's residence could have been built adjoining one of the stone structures and have left minimal archaeological evidence which might not have been identified during the ground survey.

Further archaeological investigation of the Deedes grant building sites might clarify the extent of those buildings beyond the stone remains currently visible, and confirm or discount the Deedes Grant Area as the site of the Commanding Officer's cottage and gardens.
The possibility raised by this explanation is that the Commanding Officers of the Cox's River Stockade lived in their own house on their own land, or at least land rented from or lent by their predecessors (ie, the Deedes grant).
5.0 Comparative Analysis

The starting point for this assessment of the comparative significance of the stockade site was the *Gazetteer of Non-institutional Convict Work Sites* compiled by Wendy Thorp for the National Parks and Wildlife Service in 1987. Very few of these sites have been investigated in terms of their historical and/or archaeological potential. A great deal of documentary material pertaining to other convict road gang sites was found in the course of the present study, however it is beyond the scope of this work to develop the histories of these sites, except to note that the documentary material exists to modify our existing understandings of these places. New work sites not listed in the *Gazetteer* have been revealed while others have been found either not to have existed or to have been synonymous with another site. More detailed information pertaining to accommodation and function has been found with reference to other sites, for example, those associated with the construction of Lansdowne Bridge by David Lennox in the 1830s.

For the purposes of this study only sites for which at least a basic amount of information is available have been assessed for comparative purposes. Another important criteria has been the date and type of the site. As pointed out elsewhere in this report, the forms of convict work and discipline were not static. They evolved and changed dramatically during the decades of transportation to NSW. Therefore sites which date wholly before 1830 and preceded the changes in road gang policy of the 1830s have not been assessed here. Also sites which are not associated with gang work, such as government farms, have not been included. Only sites set up in a similar time frame and with a similar philosophy were considered relevant. Of course not all sites, even if well known, are potential archaeological sites, since they may have since been destroyed or built upon. The relative archaeological potential of the sites has also been a criteria for the inclusion of sites in this comparison.

5.1 Select List of NSW Convict Stockade and Work Gang Sites

5.1.1 The Great North Road

Devine’s Hill Stockade

c.1827-1832 This stockade is 2.12 km from Wiseman’s Ferry and 1365 m from the base of Devine’s Hill, within Dharug National Park. It housed gangs at work on the Great North Road. It is similar in design to the site at nearby Wisemans’ Ferry and Karskens states that up to four gangs were stationed at Devine’s Hill. Karskens investigated the site and found a number of stone remains including a possible foundation for a timber pillory for flogging convicts. A stone trough from this site has been removed by Park Authorities. The site was vandalised at one stage and some stones removed. It has not been fully excavated.

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1 Karskens, ‘The Convict Road Station at Wiseman’s Ferry’, pp.17-19.

Wiseman’s Ferry Stockade

1827-1832 A complex of buildings which housed the convicts at work on the ascent and descent to the Hawkesbury River as part of the Great North Road. The site has been historically and archaeologically surveyed by Karskens but not excavated. Karskens states the site is ‘one of the best surviving material records of … the accommodation of the gangs.’ The remains mainly consist of collapsed stone hearths, walls and foundations of the buildings. The reusable timber parts were sold when the stockade was broken up. According to Karskens the site probably is an example of the transitional stage of convict road gang accommodation from the phase when convicts put up their own haphazard huts to when the stockades were strictly regulated and constructed according to the Governor’s designs. Some relics including pennies, pottery and tools were recovered from the site in 1980.

5.1.2 The Great South Road

RazorbacK Range Stockade
c.1830-1844 The exact location is uncertain, but it was on the RazorbacK Range south of Camden and was established to house gangs constructing the new line of road south over the Range which was begun in 1830 and continued intermittently until 1844. No further information is known.

Towrang Stockade

1833-1846 In 1838 this stockade contained 70 men in irons and 21 out of irons working on the road between Marulan and Goulburn. They were locked in cells or boxes. The site of the stockade was described in 1940 as between the main road and the river near the turn off to Towrang. One large stone cell, partly excavated out of the rock and partly built up with solid masonry, still stands on the river frontage of the stockade; this is said to have been the powder magazine. It is listed by the National Trust and the powder magazine and three graves are still visible. This site would have considerable archaeological potential.

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1 Karskens, ‘The Convict Road Station at Wisemans Ferry’, pp.17-26; ‘The Grandest Improvement in the Country’ pp.102-120; 397-437; 449.


Wingello Stockade, near Marulan

c.1834-1843  There are possible intact remains of the stone chimneys of the huts and the lockup foundations. There was also a burial ground. This stockade was associated with the construction by ironed gangs of the new line of road between Little Forest and Goulburn surveyed by Surveyor General Mitchell in 1830.1 James Backhouse visited the area in 1836 and described the iron gang and stated that they were locked up in mobile ‘caravans’.2 This site is relatively well documented and may have archaeological potential. In 1967 it was described as in Portion 15, in the Parish of Uringalla and privately owned.3

5.1.3 The Western Road

Glenroy Stockade

1815- This site was originally a stockyard and later adapted for road gangs. It has often been confused with the No.2 Stockade at Cox’s River. Research as part of this study focused on the 1830s and no mention of this stockade was found in the official Returns of Road Parties and Iron Gangs. A number of relics could still be seen in the 1940s.

Mount Victoria

c.1830-1836 This is mentioned as Stockade No.1 in the Commissariat Records. The site at the foot of the old Victoria Pass about one quarter of a mile from the road appears to have included buildings, a powder magazine and causeway which were still visible around the turn of this century. This was a major site in the construction of the road to Bathurst and Mitchell’s famous Mount Victoria Pass, which opened in 1832. It was broken up by February 1833, but was later re-established to enable repairs to be made to the walls and was then administered from Cox’s River.4

1 Jervis, The Great South Road, p.429.
4 See section 3 of this report for context and details.
Hassan’s Walls Stockade

1832-c.1839 Road parties were stationed here from 1832. In 1835 No.3 Stockade was built to house convicts working in irons on the Bathurst road who were first transferred there in December 1835 from Copx’s River. It appears to have consisted of slab buildings and huts. It was associated with the No.2 Stockade which remained the administrative headquarters until 31 December 1838. A stone building was visible here in 1909.¹

Stoney Range

1832-c.1839 Road parties accommodated in huts stationed there. Groups consisted of un-ironed men working under an overseer. Provisioned and supervised from No.2 Stockade.²

Honeysuckle Hill

1832-c.1839 Road parties accommodated in huts. Groups consisted of un-ironed men working under an overseer. Provisioned and supervised from No.2 Stockade.³

Diamond Swamp

1833-c.1839 Road parties accommodated in huts. Groups consisted of un-ironed men working under an overseer. Provisioned and supervised from No.2 Stockade.⁴

¹ Frank Winchester, Convicts in the Lithgow Area, Lithgow District Historical Society, Occasional Paper No. 27, 1977, p.6; See section 3 of this report for context and details.

² See section 3 of this report for context and details.

³ See section 3 of this report for context and details.

⁴ See section 3 of this report for context and details.

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Bull’s Camp, Woodford

1833-1848 This was a convict stockade built for work on the Blue Mountains Road. It has considerable archaeological potential.\(^1\) Outlines of buildings, gravestones and storage areas were discernable early this century.\(^2\) Recent monitoring of ground disturbance did not locate relics from the convict era at this site. Although it is still considered to have archaeological potential.\(^3\)

Bowen’s Hollow Stockade, Lumber Yard and Quarry

1836- c.1838 Built to accommodate convicts working in irons, transferred from Cox’s River. Men were accommodated at these sites in portable boxes. At least two separate accommodation sites, one at Bowen’s Hollow and one at the quarry existed.\(^4\)

Mount Clarence Stockade

? This road gang accommodation is said to have been situated at the base of the mountain and associated with the construction of the Western Road to Bathurst.\(^5\) Surveyors associated with No.2 Stockade were based at Mt Clarence from which their correspondence was frequently addressed. No evidence was found in the current study to suggest that there was ever a stockade or work gangs located there.

Blackheath Stockade

1844-1849 This was a major stockade established for the housing of convicts and guards at work on seven miles of road in the vicinity. The stockade is well documented and there is a complete listing of the buildings and their condition at the time the stockade was broken up. However the site was at least partly destroyed in the 1880s during the construction of the Blackheath public school. Various artefacts were found in the school grounds as late as the 1940s.\(^6\)

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4. See section 3 of this report for context and details.

5. Thorp

5.1.4 Sydney Region

Longbottom Stockade, Hen and Chicken Bay, Concord

1819-1842 There was a stockade here from the 1790s which was used to house prisoners. The site had some visible remains until the late nineteenth century but the area has since been landscaped and turned into parkland. In 1830 23 men out of irons were stationed here and employed on the road to Sydney.¹

Cooks River Stockade

c.1839 This large stockade housing 500 men was located on Forest Road between Tempe and Lugarno on the Cooks River. The buildings were designed to be portable to other work sites. The convicts at this stockade were employed in constructing a dam. No visible remains.²

Bowler’s Bridge, Lansdowne

1832-1836 Associated with the construction of the Lansdowne Bridge by David Lennox and maintenance of the Liverpool Road. Convicts were accommodated in caravans and married soldiers in small slab huts at the site of a former camp of a road party.³

Georges River Quarry

c.1834 -1838 Located downstream from the Lansdowne Bridge convicts employed quarrying stone for Lansdowne Bridge were accommodated in caravans and married soldiers in slab huts.⁴

Parramatta

1830 In 1830, 104 unironed convicts and 20 oxen were stationed at Parramatta and were employed working on the streets, the Govt. Domain and in the Lumber Yard.

Goat Island

c.1834 A works stockade existed on Goat Island, where there were three boxes inside a stockade after 1834. Work related to the quarrying of stone and the construction of a powder magazine.1

5.1.5 Other

Newcastle Stockade

1801-1846 This is one of the few stockades to have been investigated by archaeologists however it was a labour and industrial establishment, not a road gang and was located in a town rather than in the bush. It is a major archaeological site with a permanent conservation order. All areas of the site excavated to date have revealed extensive subsurface remains.2

Illawarra Stockade

1830s There were several stockades in the Illawarra area and one road gang stockade at the junction of the Princes Highway and Mount Keira Road in West Wollongong. A watercolour by Lady G Sherbrooke shows the stockade as it appeared while in use.3 However the site is now built upon and no remains are visible.

Wollongong Stockade

c.1830s The convicts from this stockade worked on the harbour, dam, town streets and roads. It is said to have been located on the south neck of Wollongong harbour.

5.2 Comparative Assessment

As stated above, none of the better known sites have been the subject of an archaeological investigation. The Newcastle site has been partially excavated but it is not a road gang stockade as is the site at Cox’s River. The only relatively intact sites known in New South Wales are at Wiseman’s Ferry, Devine’s Hill, Bull’s Camp, Towrang, and Wingello. Some of these sites are less likely to yield archaeological resources because of their impermanence; for example the mobile boxes at Wingello and Lansdowne would probably have been reused elsewhere.

Although a portion of the study site has been submerged beneath the waters of Lake Lyell the site as described by Govett was centred on top of the ridge and this area has not been flooded. Further, the general use of the area has been low intensity activity such as stock grazing and recreational use. This means that the below-ground archaeological resources of the site have not been

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1 J. S. Kerr, Goat Island, Maritime Services Board of NSW.
3 Thorp, ‘Directed for the Public Stock’ p.120.
impacted upon.

The No. 2 Stockade on the Cox’s River was the second major stockade on the important new route to Bathurst, it was the largest and most complex stockades of the 1830s with many auxiliary buildings and that it was a focus of activity over almost eight years of occupation by convicts, the military, surveyors and other officials, longer than many other such sites. It became the administrative and judicial centre for the western road work sites from Mt. Victoria to at least Honeysuckle Hill. The documentary and archeological evidence revealed by this study make the site the most articulated convict work site in Australia.
6.0 Statement of Significance

The assessment is arranged using the NSW State Heritage Assessment Criteria.¹ These criteria are very similar to those used for assessment of places for the Register of the National Estate, and are as follows.

NSW State Heritage Inventory Evaluation Criteria

The criteria are divided into two categories:

- **Nature of significance; and**
- **comparative significance.**

**Nature of Significance Criteria-Type**

**Criterion 1: Historic (Evolution and Association)**
An item which meets this criterion is significant because of the importance of its association with the history of New South Wales.

**Criterion 2: Aesthetic (Scenic/Architectural Qualities/Creative Accomplishment)**
An item meeting this criterion is significant because it demonstrates creative or technical excellence, innovation or achievement in New South Wales.

**Criterion 3: Technical/research (Research and scientific potential/values)**
Items meeting this criterion are significant because of their potential to contribute to an understanding of the history or historic environment of New South Wales.

**Criterion 4: Social (Contemporary Community Esteem)**
Items meeting this criterion are significant through their social, spiritual or cultural association with a community in New South Wales.

**Comparative Significance Criteria**

**Criterion A: Representativeness**
Items meeting this criterion are significant because they represent an important class of historic items or environments in New South Wales.

**Criterion B: Rarity**
An item meeting this criterion is significant because it represents a rare, endangered or unusual aspect of the history or historic environment of New South Wales.

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To be assessed as significant an item must:

- qualify under one of the four nature of significance criteria;

AND

- qualify under one of the two degree criteria;

AND

- it must also retain the integrity of its key attributes of significance.

The significance of the No. 2 Stockade Cox's River is here assessed under each criterion.

**Criterion 1: Historic (Evolution and Association)**

No. 2 Cox's River Stockade is significant because of its place in the development of the convict works system which evolved in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Stockade was constructed at a time of considerable change in the convict road gang system, reflecting both administrative and social changes in the colony. It was probably the last truly stockaded (palisaded) road gang camp constructed before the change in policy to open-policing of convict gangs. The importance of the physical remains in demonstrating aspects of this historical phase is enhanced on the one hand by the relatively rich historical record which documents the place, both from official and convict perspectives, and on the other by the relatively extensive archaeological remains of the stockade complex. Its association with other convict road gang sites reflects on the road building practices employed by Major Mitchell and the difficulties of undertaking major infrastructure works using a captive and reluctant workforce.

**Criterion 2: Aesthetic (Scenic/Architectural Qualities/Creative Accomplishment)**

No. 2 Stockade Cox's River satisfies this criterion in an associational sense, in being an element of the convict road construction system which created Mitchell's line of road over the Blue Mountains to Bathurst, arguably one of the most significant engineering accomplishments of its age in the Colony. The Stockade site is the most intact surviving work station on that road (or, as far as is known, on any other), and contains archaeological evidence which might enhance our knowledge of the technical achievement of the road's construction.

**Criterion 3: Technical/research (Research and scientific potential/values)**

It has been shown by the limited excavations, and the interpretation of the evidence contained in other parts of the place not yet excavated, that the Cox's River Stockade has undoubted and major research significance. There are very few large convict road gang sites which have escaped substantial disturbance or destruction, and the No. 2 Stockade Cox's River site is, on present evidence, the least disturbed of them all. The research potential resides in the demonstrated presence of archaeological evidence of the military buildings, the potential archaeological survival of the convict huts and the stockade itself, and the likely presence of archaeological deposits in the Deedes Grant Area, which may be the residence of all Officers in charge of the
stockade's military detachment. Some of these deposits appear to be even less disturbed by recent activity than were the Commissariat and Military/Stockade Area sites excavated as part of the current project.

The documentary evidence associated with this site, the paucity of archaeological evidence at convict sites generally, and the relative archaeological intactness of the No. 2 Stockade Cox's River site gives it a greater archaeological potential than any other known sites of its type. The site therefore satisfies the test of research relevance in being able to demonstrate its potential to provide evidence no other research source can provide, and the likelihood that it can provide evidence no other place can provide, relevant to a topic (convict work and punishment) which is subject of lively and ongoing research debate. The evaluation of the research significance of the Cox's River site might need to be re-assessed if substantial archaeological remains are demonstrated on any other road gang sites. Until such time, however, the Cox's River site can only be assessed as having the research significance ascribed to it here.1

Criterion 4: Social (Contemporary Community Esteem)

The No. 2 Stockade Cox's River is little known outside a small number of local individuals, one of the reasons it has survived relatively undisturbed to the present day. The place cannot be said to have demonstrated social significance for a particular community or group, though this value may develop as knowledge of the history of the site develops over time.

Comparative Significance Criteria

Criterion A: Representativeness

The Stockade site is one of only two documented convict road gang sites known to have substantial archaeological evidence of individual buildings (the other being at Wiseman's Ferry). While the existence of many other road gang sites is known through the historical record2, little survey or other archaeological work has been carried out at the indicated sites. The No. 2 Stockade Cox's River therefore must be seen as a significant site representing the physical evidence of this class of place.

Road gang stockades were an important aspect of the development of communications in NSW. The remains at No. 2 Stockade Cox's River, despite its being larger and longer-lived than most, are representative of the principal characteristics of many of this class of place, as has been shown in the interpretation chapters of this report. It demonstrates key aspects of the nature of convict road gang life (isolation and primitive conditions), and has the archaeological potential to demonstrate the physical remains of convict accommodation. The archaeological remains already excavated, and deposits not yet investigated, demonstrate the nature of accommodation of the military and commissariat functions. The archaeological remains of the Commanding Officer's


cottage are also thought to exist. The proximity of major engineering features of Mitchell's road, in a rugged landscape, demonstrates both the underlying reason for the use of road gangs, and the nature, scale and quality of the work undertaken.

During the construction of the Western Road, convict gangs were also employed on roads extending to the north and south of Sydney. The value of the site as a representative of its class is greatly enhanced by the relative integrity of the site, which also gives it a rarity value (see Criterion 6 above), and by the richness of the documentary evidence, which allows identification and interpretation of the representative features of the site.

**Criterion B: Rarity**

The No. 2 Stockade Cox's River site is rare on several counts. Its size and duration of operation made it uncommon among contemporary road gang sites.

The physical evidence combined with the varied documentary sources give this site the rare potential to demonstrate aspects of convict control and administration such as the layout of a convict camp, the relationship between convict and military accommodation, and the living conditions of military guards. Most other known road gang sites appear, on current evidence, to have been substantially disturbed or destroyed by subsequent road construction, urban development, or other land-use disturbance. The initial excavations at Cox's River Stockade have shown that archaeological deposits do survive at the site that could address these issues. The evaluation of the rarity of the Cox's River site might need to be re-assessed if substantial archaeological remains are demonstrated on any other road gang sites. Until such time, however, the Cox's River site can only be assessed as rare on the basis of current knowledge.

The rarity of the site is increased by the existence of documentary evidence, both official, convict and free which allows the site to be interpreted more clearly than any of its contemporaries might be. It is now the only convict road gang camp for which the layout of buildings has been reconstructed from documentary and archaeological evidence.
7.0 Management Recommendations

7.1 Legislative Requirements

The New South Wales Heritage Act, 1977 defines environmental heritage as

... those buildings, works, relics or places of historical, scientific, cultural, social, archaeological, architectural, natural or aesthetic significance for the State.

The Act includes various provisions for protecting identified heritage items. These include conservation instruments (or "orders") and the "relics" provisions which provides automatic statutory protection for "relics" which are defined as:

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

Sections 139-145 prevent the excavation or disturbance of land for the discovering, exposing or moving of relics except in accordance with an approved excavation permit. Excavation permits are issued by the Heritage Council of NSW in accordance with sections 57 or 140 of the Heritage Act 1977.

Section 170 of the Heritage Act requires all government instrumentalities to establish and maintain a "Heritage and Conservation Register" of all items in their ownership which are of heritage significance. The additional implication of this section of the Act is that such identified items will then be managed in a way commensurate with their significance.

The heritage assessment of the No. 2 stockade site, Cox's River clearly places the site under the protection of the Act.

7.2 Definition of site boundaries

It is important to distinguish two types of boundaries to sites such as No. 2 Stockade Cox's River. There is a boundary which can be drawn around the archaeological sites which defines the extent of the spread of physical evidence of heritage significance. This might be called the 'heritage boundary', and might be quite contained in extent. The other type of boundary might be called the 'management boundary', and defines the area of land which has to be managed in a particular way in order to protect the heritage values of the place. The management boundary is almost always larger than the 'heritage boundary', because activities on adjacent land can have an immense impact on heritage values, and may lead to direct impacts on the physical evidence inside the 'heritage boundary' if management of the wider area is not adequate.

For the purposes of this report, the boundaries defined are the management boundaries, as it is the wider management context that Pacific Power will need to control in order to protect the heritage sites from further avoidable damage.

The remains of the No. 2 Stockade Cox's River are quite widespread. The core areas (the 'heritage boundary') are the entire eastern peninsula extending from within the existing tree line down to the waters edge (the Military/Stockade Area), the toe and central areas of the western
peninsula (the Commissariat and Deedes Grant Areas), and the Mitchell's road cuttings on the north-western bank of the dam, as far back as the northern end of the 'Blue Cutting', the deep and narrow cutting where the road rising from the Cox's River crossing turns sharply northwards before turning westward. (cf Figure 1)

The management boundaries which are necessary to guide the management of these areas are as follows:

7.2.1 The Military/Stockade Area-eastern peninsula.

The possible presence of graves as far eastwards as the last saddle on the ridge rising south-eastwards from the stockade site indicates that the management boundary should be a line drawn north-south across the entire peninsula at the eastern rise of the eastern-most saddle on the ridge, about 300 metres south-east of the tip of the peninsula. Cultural material might be expected to be located anywhere between this line and the waters edge on all sides. The water edge is the other boundary.

7.2.2 The Commissariat and Deedes Grant Areas - western peninsula.

Most of the Commissariat Area will be flooded by the increase in the capacity of Lyell Dam. However, it might be expected that cultural evidence will extend from the Commissariat Area southwards to Areas D and E, and across the ridge to the waters edge east of those areas. No substantial evidence of European cultural material was located further south than the boundary between Portion 11 and the adjoining property, though Aboriginal sites do exist further south.

The recommended Management boundary is therefore the line of the fence line separating Portion 11 from the property to the south, extending from the creek line in the west to the dam edge in the east. The water edge is the other boundary.

7.2.3 Mitchell's road - the road cutting rising from the dam eastward then north through the 'blue cutting'.

This area should be managed as part of the site, as the road is the very reason for the convict stockade and support structures existing. Medium-level public access to this area from Rydal makes its active management as part of the stockade complex important, and offers opportunities for interpretation which would not directly threaten (or require added management) of the archaeological sites on the opposite sides of the lake. The management boundary should be the top of the slope extending from the Blue Cutting westward to the dam waters opposite the Commissariat Area. The boundary from the Blue Cutting runs down the gully from the road at the southern exit of the cutting to the dam edge. The water edge is the final boundary.

7.3 Deciding on the appropriate level of management

The management of the Cox's River Stockade site poses a chicken-and-egg decision for Pacific Power: which comes first, the visitor pressure or the management action? One scenario is that increasing visitor use of the area (especially the Military/Stockade Area) will require increased management input, which might include management and interpretation of the convict sites. Another scenario is that selective management and interpretation of convict sites by Pacific
Power might result in increased visitor knowledge and use of the areas. Visitor use of the Stockade site seems to be on the increase already, quite independent of the Stockade research, and Pacific Power may have to take a more active management role in that area anyway.

The nature and sensitivity of the archaeological remains at the Military/Stockade Area, as demonstrated by the test excavations, strongly suggests that visitor management is required. This requirement for protective management is further urged following the firm identification of other archaeological sites in that area made possible by the correlation of the 1832 Nicholson plan with the site features. These sites are at risk from the current unregulated vehicle access to all parts of the peninsula.

There are different levels of management input of the cultural resource which could be considered by Pacific Power. The range of management options might include the following:

Management Options:

1. do nothing, and let visitation control itself;
2. prevent access to the site;
3. 'passive' management of the environmental issues (soil erosion and water pollution, say), but no action targeting the cultural aspects of the place;
4. 'passive' management of the environmental issues, plus additional works to indirectly protect the physical remains of the convict era, such as rationalisation of vehicle activity away from culturally sensitive areas;
5. works to indirectly protect the physical remains of the convict era, plus further works to directly protect convict remains, such as weed control or fencing of archaeological sites;
6. works to directly and indirectly protect convict remains, plus low-key interpretation, such as signs telling visitors about the general history of the place, and encouraging responsible behaviour towards it;
7. works to directly and indirectly protect convict remains, plus moderate-level interpretation, such as self guided tour of specific sites within the place, and separate interpretation at each site, with increased conservation necessitated by that focussed visitation;
8. active management as an historic place, with ongoing conservation planning and works, research programs, and more active interpretation, such as displays, seasonal/weekend ranger programs etc.

Option 1 is not an option for a responsible manager, given the demonstrated cultural significance of the site and the demonstrated adverse effects of uncontrolled access to them.

Option 2 is not a feasible option in the long term, given that prevention of water access and foot
access would be virtually impossible to achieve, and is anyway it is not desirable to permanently prevent public access to such a significant site on public land. However, the prevention of vehicle access to the eastern peninsula might be a stop-gap (and perhaps long-term) option, as it would remove the current major cause of ongoing damage to the sites.

Each of the other options 3-8 has an increasing level of management input, and hence an increasing management cost. Countering this 'cost' side is the fact that each increased level of management input is likely to reduce the level of damaging activity and further ensure the protection of the valuable convict sites and remains. Pacific Power will have to balance its natural desire to limit management cost increases with its responsibilities as a public authority managing public lands containing what have been shown to be significant cultural places.

Given the current trends in visitor activity at the Military/Stockade Area, and taking into account the core management responsibilities of Pacific Power, it is suggested that Options 4-6 are most appropriate at the moment, with Option 7 being a possible future development if public interest and visitor numbers demands it. The level of damage occurring at present to the sites through ignorance suggests that the interpretative aspect of Option 6 should be carefully considered, on the one hand more information might engender respect for the site and reduce inadvertent damage, while on the other hand it might target sites for clandestine digging by curious or malicious visitors. Perhaps a limited introduction of interpretative information which did not identify specific sites could be tested, and the effect on behaviour at the site monitored over a period before proceeding with more targeted interpretative material. Overall, on a site such as the Stockade the consultant believes that increasing visitor knowledge is a more powerful and more socially equitable management tool than the maintenance of visitor ignorance.

### 6.4 Management guidelines and proposed actions

Whichever management strategy the land management authority takes, any disturbance of the archaeological deposits will require permits under relevant legislation. Pacific Power archaeologists can detail these requirements at the time of any proposed works. The following suggested management guidelines and actions are based on the assumption that one of Options 4-6 will be adopted by Pacific Power. Actions felt to be critical to the conservation of the convict sites have been highlighted.

#### 7.4.1 The Military/Stockade Area

**Critical action:** The current lack of formalised road ways and parking areas has led to informal creation of a maze of vehicle tracks and parking areas and fireplaces. This currently damages several areas shown by these investigations to contain archaeological remains, and has the potential threat that other sites, as yet not damaged, may be driven over in the future. It is considered highly desirable to regularise vehicle access and movement in the area, and to encourage picnic/fireplace use at selected, non-sensitive locations. The prevention of vehicle access west of Site A9 is strongly recommended.

**Management approach:** The recommended management approach to the Military/Stockade Area is Option 6. At the present the tussock grass (when not burnt-off) provides some direct protection to the identified sites, and should be retained. However, any infestation of blackberry or woody-weeds should be prevented, as the root systems of these plants will do damage to any
archaeological remains. At this stage there would seem to be no reason to fence sites, so long as the control of vehicle access is achieved. Fencing or bollarding might be an option which needs to be considered if visitor activity increases beyond a critical point, and if total vehicle exclusion is not feasible.

It is recommended that a low-key interpretative sign be installed at the Military/Stockade Area, telling the basic history of site and encouraging visitors to help protect our heritage. The sign could indicate that much of the site is under water, but point to the Mitchell's road as a tangible relic of the convict activities. The Cockburn painting (or a sketch from it), and the Nicholson Plan of the stockade (Figures 2 and 3) could be incorporated into such a sign without directing visitor attention to sensitive sites. The location of the sign is important in this regard, and a possible location is on the slope immediately above the new high-water level of the dam, facing across to Mitchell's road on the western bank.

If management of the site intensifies as a result of visitor pressure or organisational planning, further research should be undertaken to investigate the other archaeological sites identified in this report. If any of the sites are to be impacted by works such as fencing or bollard placement, or any other activity which will disturb the ground, archaeological supervision is required, and it would be a good opportunity to undertake cumulative archaeological research of the sites to clarify the layout and operation of the Stockade. Major archaeological work on any of these sites should, however, be undertaken in conjunction with a research design that poses specific research objectives based on the background information provided in this report and on developments in research topics current at the time.

Summary:

- formalise vehicle movement - exclude vehicles from the eastern peninsula
- retain tussock grass
- prevent blackberry/woody weed infestation
- fence or bollard specific sites if other management actions fail to protect them
- install an interpretative sign
- ensure archaeological supervision of works in close proximity to identified sites
- undertake further research, especially archaeological investigations, as opportunity and funds allow.

7.4.2 Commissariat Area

It is assumed that visitation to the Commissariat Area will decrease as the water level rises and the area of available flat land decreases.

Critical action: While the Commissariat Area remains will be submerged, there will be a period during which the sites will be in the wash zone (the area affected by waves) at the lake edge. Slow speed signs should be retained at the entrances to the arm of the lake which will cover the sites, and during the lake-filling period, 'No landing' signs should be placed on the peninsula, to prevent boats landing on and disturbing even further the building remains. This will cease to be a problem when the new lake level has been achieved, as the building remains will then be deeply submerged.
Management approach: The placement of an interpretive sign on the new, reduced, picnic/landing area would be worthwhile, but not essential, as reference to the now submerged (and therefore beyond disturbance) commissariat site could be made in the interpretive sign on the Military/Stockade Area.

Summary:

- maintain boat speed restrictions in the Commissariat Area arm of the lake
- place 'No landing' signs on the Commissariat Area peninsula during the filling of the lake.
- consider locating an interpretive sign in the area.

7.4.3 Deedes Grant Area

Management approach: Further research, both historical and archaeological, is required at the Deedes Grant Area to clarify the possibilities raised in 7.2 and 7.3 above. This research is both to clarify the history of the site and identify significant physical remains, and to develop a better directed management program.

Until such research clarifies the historical context of the remains, the known sites should be protected from further damage. Blackberry and any other woody weed infestations on the main sites (D1, D2, D3, D4) should be prevented by at least annual spraying. An interpretative sign should be placed at the site, to inform visitors of the known history of the site and to seek their assistance in protecting it. Any works in the vicinity of the sites in the Deedes Grant Area which might disturb the ground should be undertaken with archaeological supervision, as there may be substantial archaeological remains not yet identified. Major archaeological work on any of the sites should, however, be undertaken in conjunction with a research design that poses specific research objectives based on the background information provided in this report and on developments in research topics current at the time.

The Deedes Grant Area, and the Military/Stockade Area, might attract external funding or assistance for their archaeological investigation, for example, State Heritage Fund funding through the Department of Urban Affairs and Planning.

Summary:

- prevent blackberry/woody weed infestation
- install an interpretive sign
- ensure archaeological supervision of works over the whole area
- undertake further research, especially archaeological investigations, as opportunity and funds allow. Investigate funding options.
- nominate the areas for the Register of the National Estate.
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     Dulhunty, AO Reel 3063.
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     1832 - 1833, 4/5399, AO Reel 2839
     1833 - 1835, 4/5400, AO Reel 2839
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     Indexes 1826-1840, AO Reels 2929-2932.
     Registers 1830-1840, AO Reels 2565-2571.
     (Items concerning Cox's River Stockade were usually found under 'Stockades')
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       36/2039, 36/1365, 38/2396, 39/2195.
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Colonial Architect
   * Return of Stockades 1847 2/625

Commissariat
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     4/7022.1.

Sue Rosen & Associates, Historians and Heritage Consultants, 76A Carlingford Rd., Epping. 2121
Ph: 98761655; Fax: 98693818; E-Mail: smr@geko.com.au
Colonial Engineer,
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* Vale Of Clywd Bench Book, C2.
* Vale Of Clywd , Committals.

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5. Pacific Power

* Pacific Power Deed Packet No. 1532A/3

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Appendix A - Stores Issued To No. 2 Stockade Cox's River 1833-1835
(Source: Commissariat Record of Stores issued for military and convict works 1832-1835

1833

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 January</td>
<td>2 Iron Boilers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 Pad-locks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Cross Cut Saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 pair handles for ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 Cross Cut Saw files</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 Felling Axes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Street Lamps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Hand Lamps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 March</td>
<td>1 Bell, large(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Bullock collar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Iron Backband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Breecher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Winker Bridle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Cart Saddle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) At Surveyor General Mitchell's request the Colonial Secretary agreed in January 1833 that 'a Bell to denote the precise time of commencing and leaving off labour' would be provided to the Superintendent of Convicts at the Cox's River Stockade. Alexander Macleay to Mitchell, 8 January 1833, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters sent to Surveyor General, AONSW 4/3913, p.409.
12 April
- 100 Blankets
- 8 Cotton shirts
- 20 Qts Black Paint
- 2 Casks
- 8 Iron Hoops
- 1 Keg

8 May
- 12 Quires foolscap paper
- 50 Quills
- 12 Blk lead Pencils
- 2 Blk ink powders
- 1 Red ink ditto
- 1 Piece Red tape

12 June
- 12 Cross Cut saw files
- 6 prs Scissors
- 6 combs, common
- 6 razors
- 3 Gill Linseed Oil
- 1 Gallon Turpentine
- 1 case
- 1 Tin Can

28 August
- 12 Pad locks
- 6 shovels
- 2 spades
- 6 axes, pick, masons (for road picks)
- 6 ditto felling
- 28 qts Black Paint
- 1 Tin Brand
- 1 set Stencil Plates
- 1 Maul, Quarry mine
- 8 wedges for wood
- 1 strong box with trays
- 12 qrs foolscap paper
- 75 quills
- 1 box wafers
- 12 Black lead Pencils
- 2 Black ink powder
- 2 qrs blotting paper
- 1 piece Red tape
- 1 piece India Rubber
- 1 qrs Cartridge paper
- 6 gimlets
- 1 axe, broad, carpenters
- 1 adze, ditto
- 3 Augers
- 1 Claw Hammer

---
Sue Rosen & Associates, Historians and Heritage Consultants, 76A Carlingford Rd., Epping. 2121
Ph: 98761655; Fax: 9869 3818; E-Mail: smr@geko.com.au
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23 October</td>
<td>1 Shingle Hammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Handsaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 Panes Glass 14 x 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Diamond, Glaziers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 lbs Whiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 lbs White lead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 hammer, riveting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 set Coopers tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 axe broad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 shave round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2 knives, drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Shave, spike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Punch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 cold chisel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Hand Saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Flagging Iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Bick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 pr Compasses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Crose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Set Stock and Bits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 trowell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Adze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Vice, long(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 rule, 2 ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 Pointer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 keg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 December</td>
<td>1 Account Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 qrs foolscap paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75 Quills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 Black lead pencils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Black ink Powders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Red Ink Powders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 qr Blotting paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>6 razors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 July</td>
<td>6 combs, hair, common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 lb thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 Needles, sewing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 lanterns, horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5104 buttons, dead eye (36 Gross)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Lbs thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>220 needles, sewing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 case wood for packing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13 October
10 qrs Paper foolscap
1 qr Paper Demy
1 Qr Paper Cartridge
50 Quills
2 Books, Account
8 shirts, cotton
8 shoes, mens
1 Fork, serving
1 knife, carving
40 knives, meat, common
1 Ladle, iron, Cooks
1 Lamp, hand, tin
5 Lanterns, horn
40 Dishes, tin
10 lbs Paint, Black
121 Spoons
1 case wood for Packing

15 December
9 Qrs paper, Foolscap
1 Qr paper, Cartridge
50 Quills
12 Pencils, Blk Leads
2 Powders, Blk Ink
1 Powder, Red Ink
1 piece India Rubber
1 piece Tape, red
1 lbs thread
100 Needles, sewing
1 case, wood for packing

1835
1 January
1 p----- tin
1 Torch, lamp, tin
2 Locks, cupboard
2 Locks, pad
1 Measure, pewter, 1/32 Gallon
1 Case wood for packing

16 April
6 Clothing Mens ---- Shoes
6 ditto shirts cotton

20 July
20 Qrs paper foolscap
3 Qrs paper cartridge
2 Qrs paper blotting
60 Quills
12 pencils blk lead
1 powder blk ink
1 powder red ink
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 August</td>
<td>2 lbs thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 needles sewing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 December</td>
<td>20 qrs paper foolscap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 qrs paper poste(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 quills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 knife pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 case wood for packing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 December</td>
<td>3 Tubs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56 Iron Hoops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 Locks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Files Cross Cut Saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Files basting(?) smiths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Files half round smiths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 case wood for packing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

TABLE OF EXCAVATED STRATIGRAPHIC UNITS

NOTE: The squares are numbered by reference to the intersection of grid lines. In Area A sites the square is numbered according to the gridline intersection at the south-east corner of the square. In Area C sites the square is numbered according to the gridline intersection at the south-west corner of the square.

SITE A1 - STRATIGRAPHIC UNITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT NO.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SQUARES (‘xxx-xxx’ denotes a range of squares with the same northing or easting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>mixed sandy topsoil - disturbed layer overlying site</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>stone chimney base</td>
<td>85A108-110, 86A108, 86A110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>red sand - fireplace hearth</td>
<td>85A109, 86A109-110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>retaining wall on eastern side of building platform</td>
<td>88-89A105, 86-88A106, 86A107, 86A108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>mixed soil clay and rubble</td>
<td>85A106-108, 86A106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>eroding rubble from building platform and chimney</td>
<td>85A108-110, 86-89A111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>black soil, artefact rich</td>
<td>86-87A106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>topsoil - accumulation from slope wash</td>
<td>88-89A104, 88-90A105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SITE A2 - STRATIGRAPHIC UNITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT NO.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SQUARES (&quot;xxx-xxx&quot; denotes a range of squares with the same northing or easting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>mixed sandy topsoil - disturbed layer overlying site</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>stone chimney base</td>
<td>110A100, 111A100, 110A101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>red sand - fireplace hearth</td>
<td>110A100, 111A100, 110A101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>natural topsoil</td>
<td>108A100, 109A100, 108A101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>stone rubble fill - building floor platform foundation</td>
<td>108A103-105, 109A104-105, 110A103-105, 111A104, 112A100-104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>compacted clay - floor</td>
<td>109A102-103, 110A101-102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>slate hearth stone</td>
<td>111A101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>natural soil, with some mixed rubble</td>
<td>all squares west and south of building platform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>retaining wall on western side of building platform</td>
<td>109-111A105, 111-113A104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>stone rubble over topsoil</td>
<td>113-115A99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>wall - stone faces with rubble fill. Retaining wall</td>
<td>113-116A103, 115-117A102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>wall - stone faces with rubble fill. cross wall</td>
<td>114A101-103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>stone rubble fill behind retaining wall</td>
<td>all excavated squares north of building platform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>red sand lenses</td>
<td>113A103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ashy layer with charcoal flecks and red sandy lenses (units 20 &amp; 21)</td>
<td>114-116A102, 113-114A103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>post hole</td>
<td>109A101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>stone set on edge</td>
<td>109A101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>white mottled clay, mixed into top of rubble fill</td>
<td>113-114A103, 114-116A102, 114-116A101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>stone rubble - fallen chimney</td>
<td>109A100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>red sandy lense within Unit 15</td>
<td>113A103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>red sandy lense within Unit 15</td>
<td>113A103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SITE A11 - STRATIGRAPHIC UNITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT NO.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SQUARES ('xxx-xxx' denotes a range of squares with the same northing or easting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>mixed sandy topsoil - disturbed layer overlying site</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>stone rubble - building platform</td>
<td>89A100, 91A99-100, 92A99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>stone wall - edge of building platform</td>
<td>87A99-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>disturbed topsoil</td>
<td>87A99-100, 92A99-100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SITE C2 - STRATIGRAPHIC UNITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT NO.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SQUARES ('xx-xx' denotes a range of squares with the same northing or easting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>mixed sandy topsoil - disturbed layer overlying site</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>mixed topsoil and mottled clay</td>
<td>D5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>mottled clay natural sub-soil</td>
<td>underlies whole site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>stone chimney base - southern chimney</td>
<td>C2-C4, B2-B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>sandstone blocks - narrowing hearth area</td>
<td>C3, B2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>red sand - hearth</td>
<td>B3, C3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>stone chimney base - northern chimney</td>
<td>K4-K6, L4-L6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>sandstone blocks - narrowing hearth area</td>
<td>K4, K5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>sandy clay over hearth</td>
<td>K4, K5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>red sand - hearth</td>
<td>K4, K5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>mottled green/grey clay - underlies 10 in hearth area</td>
<td>K4, K5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>stone rubble - fallen wall / chimney</td>
<td>B4, B5, C4, C5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>rubble in hard clay</td>
<td>J4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>black soil with ash specks - disintegrated wall plate</td>
<td>l6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>burnt timber - wall plate</td>
<td>H6, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>brick on rubble and clay patch</td>
<td>I6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>burnt timber beam in shallow trench (33)</td>
<td>H2, J2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Clay with stone rubble and brick fragments - floor?</td>
<td>C2-D2, F2-J2, D3, J5, H6-J6, B2-D2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>charcoal rich soil</td>
<td>B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>post hole</td>
<td>D1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>stone walls - room added to chimney</td>
<td>K2-L2, K3, K4-L4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>brick threshold</td>
<td>L3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>interface between units 07 and 21</td>
<td>K4-L4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>stone rubble - fallen chimney</td>
<td>K6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>loose disturbed ashy layer</td>
<td>B5-C5, B6-C6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mottled clay and charcoal</td>
<td>M3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>mixed topsoil and mottled sub-soil clay with cultural material trodden into layer - edge of floor</td>
<td>K2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>mixed clay, brick and topsoil - mixing of clay floor and natural topsoil?</td>
<td>F1-F2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>mixed clay and topsoil - disturbed floor?</td>
<td>J4-J5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>disturbed mixed clay and topsoil</td>
<td>I6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>flat stones - paving in front of hearth</td>
<td>J5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>ash rich topsoil</td>
<td>E1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SITE C3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT NO.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SQUARES (“xxx-xxx” denotes a range of squares with the same northing or easting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>topsoil</td>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>stone chimney base</td>
<td>W1-X1, X-1, X-2, W-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>stone wall - wing wall extending into water</td>
<td>X2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>mixed topsoil and rubble</td>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>waterlogged deposits</td>
<td>X2 to X-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SITE C4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT NO.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SQUARES (‘xxx-xxx’ denotes a range of squares with the same northing or easting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>ash and charcoal rich topsoil</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>topsoil with clay fragments</td>
<td>H4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>mottled clay - natural subsoil</td>
<td>J3-J5, H1-H2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>stone chimney base</td>
<td>G4-H4, G3, G2-H2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>charcoal and clay layer</td>
<td>H4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>yellow clay lens</td>
<td>H4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>orange / red sandy clay - hearth fill</td>
<td>H4, H3, G3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>white clay</td>
<td>H4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>ash rich depression</td>
<td>G5-G6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>topsoil mixed with clay - possible floor level</td>
<td>J3-J5, H1-H2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>sandstone blocks - narrowing hearth area</td>
<td>G4-H4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SITE C5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT NO.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>SQUARES (‘xxx-xxx’ denotes a range of squares with the same northing or easting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>topsoil and loose rubble</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>stone rubble - building platform</td>
<td>S4-V4, R5-V5, R6-V6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>disturbed loose stone rubble - tree root site?</td>
<td>V5-V7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>compacted light grey mottled caly &amp; rubble - floor level?</td>
<td>U6-U7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>stone walls - support walls for building platform</td>
<td>S3, T3, U4, V4, W4, W7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>stone rubble - step</td>
<td>W5-W7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Threshold for doorway</td>
<td>W6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>edge of rubble fill - no wall supporting it</td>
<td>R4-R6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>mottled clay and river gravel subsoil</td>
<td>Q6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>