HERITAGE INFORMATION SERIES

ASSESSING HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

A GUIDE TO STATE HERITAGE REGISTER CRITERION B

NSW
Heritage
Office

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Front cover graphics:
Aboriginal hand stencils, South Coast. *Photograph courtesy of National Parks and Wildlife Service*
Interior of Belltrees shearing shed, built near Scone in NSW in 1879 by architect J. Horbury Hunt.
Artefacts from the site of first Government House Archaeology Collection. *Photograph courtesy of Museum of Sydney on the site of first Government House*
Grose Valley, Blue Mountains, NSW. *Photograph courtesy of NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service*
Back cover graphics:
Australia Square, Sydney
Entrance to the central temple, Sze Yup Temple, Glebe. *Photograph by Karl Zhao*
Lands Department Building, Sydney
The bow of iron steamer, *Merimbula,* wrecked near Currarong in 1928. *Photograph by David Nutley*
Snowy Mountains Scheme. *Photograph courtesy of the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Authority*
St Mark's Anglican Church, Darling Point, Sydney. *Photograph by Stuart Humphreys*
Belltrees Shearing Shed, near Scone, NSW.
Detail from the crypt floor of St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney. *Photograph courtesy of St Mary's Cathedral*

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CONTENTS

ASSESSING HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION; A GUIDE TO STATE HERITAGE REGISTER CRITERION B

A Guide To Researching And Assessing Associations Between Heritage Items And Significant Persons Or Groups

INTRODUCTION

Amendments in 1998 to the NSW *Heritage Act 1977* established the State Heritage Register and provided for the Heritage Council to develop criteria for listing on the Register. These criteria were published in the NSW *Government Gazette* in April 1999. Of the seven criteria, two are related to historical values. One of these criteria deals specifically with the significance of associations between a person or group of persons and an item – which may be a building, object, place or other element of the physical environment.

When using the 'association' criterion the association needs to be explicitly identified and assessed. To simply claim that an association exists without providing supporting evidence and analysis will not be accepted by the Heritage Council.

This guideline sets out a broad framework, with illustrative examples, to assist in the investigation and assessment of a claim for significance based wholly or partly on the criterion of 'association'.

The State Historical Theme of 'Persons' is the most relevant theme to use when working with the 'association' criterion, and is included in the framework set out in this guideline.

It is critical that the significance of a person or group of persons is established, and that their association with an item is a significant association.

1. 'SIGNIFICANCE' AND 'ASSOCIATION'

Determining Significance

The following guideline must be generally considered:

a.   The person or group must have made contributions or played a role that is significant within a particular theme or themes in the historical development of New South Wales.

Determining Association

The following guidelines must then be generally considered:

a.   The item must have an identifiable association with a significant person or group;
b.   Eligible items should be associated with a significant aspect of a person or group's thematic contribution;
c.   The analysis must make it clear how the item represents or demonstrates a significant aspect of a person or group's thematic contribution;
d.   The item associated with a person or group must be compared with other items associated with the person or group to demonstrate that this item is a good example that clearly articulates that association and which is still surviving.

State and local levels of significance

All identified items of heritage significance are eligible for listing on a Local Environmental Plan (LEP) Schedule, while entry on the State Heritage Register (SHR) is reserved for items of State significance.

It must be made clear in any analysis whether an association is significant at the State or local level.

2   MEETING THE CRITERION: THE METHOD

There are five basic steps involved in determining whether an item meets the SHR threshold through the 'association' criterion. Each of these steps must be addressed in order for a nomination for SHR listing to be considered.

Step 1
The item and the person or group must be specifically identified.

Step 2
Work out the historical development of the item and its thematic contexts, then determine the significance of the person or group associated with the item by archival and/or field research concerning their lives and the thematic contexts within which they have made a significant contribution.

Step 3
Contributions by a person or group must be compared to those of others who were active, acknowledged, or influential within the same theme or themes to establish their comparative significance. The comparisons should be contextual, such as within a local area, a family network or an institutional structure, and should consider the question: 'Who else was doing the same thing?'.

Step 4
Determine the nature of a significant person's or group's relationship with the item and to other historical resources, then assess why the item is a significant representation or demonstration of the accomplishments of that person or group.

Step 5
Determine whether the item retains enough integrity to convey its significant associations.

Step 6
If the item does not meet the threshold of Step 5, then assess the item using the other criteria to see whether it can meet one or more of them.

3. EXISTING DEFINITIONS

State Historical Theme
35. Persons: may include individuals, families, dynasties, birthplace, place of residence, women's sites.

Other State historical themes also suggest particular groups of persons that may be researched and assessed in terms of the 'Association' criterion. Examples could include State historical theme 11. Migration (a migrant community); 17. Labour (members of a trade union); or 31 Religion (an order of nuns).

Section 4A(3) of the *Heritage Act 1977* as amended in 1998 provides for criteria for listing on the State Heritage Register to be developed. Five criteria were gazetted on 23rd April 1999. The two salient criteria are:

4.5.2 an item has strong or special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in NSW's cultural or natural history (' strong or special association' is the key phrase in this criterion)

4.5.1 an item is important in the course or pattern of NSW's cultural or natural history ('course or pattern of … history' is the key phrase in this criterion).

4. EXAMPLES

Paul Keating and 3 Marshall Street, Bankstown

Step 1

The item is a fibro and tile house at 3 Marshall Street, Bankstown. The person is Paul Keating, Prime Minister of Australia 1991-96. The item was identified in the 1998 review of the 1988 Bankstown Heritage Study as potential item number 9812, but was removed from the draft LEP list by Bankstown Council as a result of an objection by the current owner.

Step 2

(State theme: 24 Housing)
The house at 3 Marshall Street was built in late 1941 by property developer, Leslie Fisher, who also built the adjoining houses on either side. Fisher apparently rented the houses for several years before selling them to individual owners. The building of fibro housing in Bankstown had exploded at this time from 756 in 1933 to 10 200 in 1947. At the same time the municipality boasted one of Sydney's most working class populations as well as one of the highest proportions of owner-occupiers.

(State theme: 21. Government & administration)
Paul Keating joined the Bankstown branch of the ALP a few days before his 15th birthday in 1959, and had already spent time as a boy helping his father letter-box their local area with ALP election materials. In 1964 he became a member of the Labor Youth Council, and was elected to the House of Representatives in 1969 as the member for Blaxland (an electorate that included Bankstown). He held the seat until his retirement from the federal parliament in 1996. He was appointed Minister for Northern Australia in the last Whitlam ministry in 1975. In 1979 he was elected president of the NSW ALP, a position he held until 1983 when the Hawke government was elected. During the period in opposition he was shadow minister for Agriculture in 1976, for Minerals & Energy 1976 to 1980, Resources & Energy 1980 to 1983, and shadow treasurer in 1983. Mr Keating was appointed Treasurer in 1983 and Deputy Prime Minister in 1990, and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Commonwealth/State Relations in 1991. In early 1991 he resigned these portfolios and spent some months as a backbencher until his election by the House of Representatives as Prime Minister in late 1991. As Prime Minister he was also Chairman of the Federal Cabinet and of all cabinet committees. He held these positions until the ALP was defeated in the 1996 general elections. Some months later he retired from the federal parliament.

Apart from these formal positions, the Keating prime ministership has been remembered for many of its policy directions, including engagement with Asia, fostering an Australian republic, support for Medicare, supporting the reconciliation process (notably with the Redfern Speech of 1992), support for the Arts, and more broadly with economic restructuring in the context of globalisation, and constructive relationships with the trade union movement.

(State theme: 17. Labour)
Before entering the federal parliament Paul Keating was an Industrial Advocate for the Federated Municipal and Shire Council Employees Union.

(State theme: 28. Sport)
Paul Keating has been the Patron of the Canterbury-Bankstown Football Club, and during his prime ministership was member 101 of the Collingwood Football Club.

Paul Keating is a significant person in NSW and Australia for his tenure as Prime Minister between 1991 and 1996, and for his various ministerial posts (notably as Federal Treasurer 1983 to 1991). He has served in political offices for 27 years, with 13 of those years in two of the highest offices in the land.

Step 3

Comparators within the institution of prime minister can be difficult to identify. Bob Hawke, prime minister during Keating's terms as treasurer may seem an obvious choice, or perhaps earlier ALP prime ministers such as John Curtin (1940-1945) or Gough Whitlam (1972-1975). However, given the accepted significance of any person who is appointed prime minister by virtue of the constitutional role of the office it is probably not necessary to further pursue comparisons.

Step 4

Charles Pickett's recent publication on fibro housing noted that "Bankstown's most famous son, of course, went from a fibro cottage to The Lodge" (Pickett: 25). This was a recurring theme throughout Keating's prime ministership, often expressed as 'the boy from Bankstown'.

Matthew and Minnie Keating moved into their new house in 1942, with Matthew Keating working as a boilermaker at the nearby Chullora railway yards. The house has been described as

> *Cheap but solid … with brick foundations, fibro walls on a timber frame, and a tiled roof. The front door opened onto a small brick porch, with a set of steps and wrought iron railing down to the concrete front path…There was room for a car, although it would be many years before the Keatings could buy one. …the space, the newness of it, the setting in this suburb of bush and small farms* (Edwards: 33).

In January 1944 Paul Keating was born at St. Margaret's Hospital in Darlinghurst. His mother later reminisced about pushing baby Paul across the park opposite the house when it was occupied by American troops and tents during the war. Mr Keating has also remembered a similar time: "Where I lived was semi-rural in those days. We'd ride down to Bankstown airport,

climb in and out of the old World War II planes, Hudson bombers and all that stuff. We'd ride through the bush, it was all bush in those days…It was a pretty normal life, a pretty normal background"(in Carew: 6).

Speaking at the opening of a new park named his honour in April 2000, Keating remarked that it was this place that had created his passion and commitment to change the world: "Bankstown represented all that was good about Australia … The people here had no inherited wealth. They effectively sold their labour," (in Meade). Keating's connections to the local area and the beginnings of his political activity are inherent in both 3 Marshall Street and the surrounding streets: "From a kid I was always out letterboxing. In the Labor Party, in the branch area, you get a little grid of streets where you do your part, and my father used to do his part and I'd mostly do it with him," (Carew: 9). Matt Keating purchased 3 Marshall Street in 1948 with a loan from the Railway Employee's Metropolitan Co-Operative Building Society No. 5 Limited. The family was still living here in 1959 when Paul joined the Bankstown Branch of the ALP just before his 15th birthday, and in 1964 when he became a member of the Labor Youth Council and began to seriously work towards a political career. In 1966 the Keatings moved to Condell Park (another Bankstown suburb) but Paul remained living in the house until its sale in 1973, by which time he had been the local MHR for about four years.

Number 3 Marshall Street and the surrounding grid of streets and open bush provided the landscape of boyhood for Paul Keating's 'normal life, normal background'. The house and its precinct can demonstrate the working class, urban fringe, labour movement values that informed the development of Paul Keating's political thinking: support for trade unionism, universal health care, republicanism, and acceptance of cultural diversity as 'normal'. While there are obviously other factors that have shaped his thinking, 3 Marshall Street retains an ability to demonstrate the earliest and most fundamental of these intellectual layers in the formation of an Australian prime minister.

Step 5

Number 3 Marshall Street retains its original external form and materials (tile roof, fibro walls, brick and concrete porch, and concrete path), its setting of a large open yard with neighbouring houses of the same period, style and materials and a large parkland reminiscent of urban fringe bushland, and the original streetscapes and street pattern created by the late 1930s subdivisions. The place can still demonstrate the associations between Paul Keating and 3 Marshall Street within the thematic contexts of Government & Administration and Labour; and can illustrate the story of the 'boy from Bankstown' who made it from 'fibro cottage to The Lodge'.

A claim that 3 Marshall Street is of State significance for its association with Paul Keating thus meets the 'special association' criterion.

Step 6

Not necessary in this case.

NSW Aborigines' Progressive Association and the Australian Hall

Step 1

The item is the Australian Hall, an element within the building at 150-152 Elizabeth Street, Sydney. The group is the NSW Aborigines' Progressive Association established in 1925. The item is listed on the State Heritage Register as item number 773, dated 1 November 1996.

Step 2

(State theme: 26. Cultural sites)
The German Concordia Club had the existing building constructed in 1912 after their original building was demolished in 1910 for the widening of Elizabeth Street. When opened it featured a bar, billiard, dining and banquet rooms, a library and a ladies lounge, as well as a large double-floor height hall. In May 1915 the Club was forced to close due to the war-time repression of anything German, and the Universal Church occupied the building. In 1920 the Knights of the Southern Cross, a catholic lay movement, purchased the building and the hall was leased to Miss Bishop's catering firm. In 1923 the Knights named the hall the Australian Hall, and it was used for dances, cinema shows and radio broadcasting by 2UE. Between 1933 and 1940 State Lotteries were drawn every Wednesday morning in the hall. Political rallies were often held in the hall, and in the late 1940s the Lang Labor Party sometimes met in the hall. In 1961 the hall became the home of the Phillip Street Theatre, re-opening in 1974 as the Rivoli Cinema and in 1976 as the Mandarin Cinema specialising in Chinese-language films. In 1979 the Cyprus Hellene Club purchased the building, and the hall was used for Greek-Cypriot community functions until 1998 when it was sold to the Metropolitan Aboriginal Association.

(State theme: 1. Aboriginal contact: may include … interaction)
The NSW Aborigines' Progressive Association (APA) was formed in 1925 by an Aboriginal man, Frederick Maynard, and a white woman, Mrs Mackenzie-Hatton. The Association was initially established to assist Aborigines who had been evicted from reserves on the North Coast. Some of these evictions occurred when families tried to help stolen daughters return home. By 1927 the APA's aims had broadened to include the provision to Aborigines of good land on which a family could be maintained, the abolition of policies providing for the removal of girls from families, and the dissolution of the Aborigines Protection Board or at least the replacement of white board members with Aboriginal members. The APA resolved in that year that "the family life of the Aboriginal people shall be held sacred and free from invasion".

The actions of the APA soon spread across the State. By 1937 similar groups were operating at Dubbo and Salt Pan Creek (near Bankstown) as well as in Melbourne. In the same year conflict developed at Burnt Bridge reserve, near Kempsey, when the Aborigines Protection Board unilaterally decided to close all the local reserves and concentrate the Aboriginal population in a single reserve at Burnt Bridge. Aboriginal police tracker, John Moseley, had been

granted land near the reserve in 1898 and was farming the site. The Board's local white manager simply regarded Moseley's land as part of the reserve, and began demolishing buildings and erecting fences, and had Moseley arrested when he tried to stop him. A number of white organisations became involved in supporting Aboriginal causes as a result of Burnt Bridge, and Aboriginal activists such as Jack Patten, Tom Foster and Pearl Gibbs became regular speakers in the Domain in Sydney. In November 1937 William Ferguson from the Dubbo APA called on radio 2SM for equal citizenship, education, equal wages, land ownership, protection of the law and abolition of the Aborigines Protection Board. These events and continuing pressure from the APA resulted in a parliamentary committee being set up to investigate the board. The inquiry, however, broke down in January 1938, by which time the APA had organised a protest action that had a greater effect than the inquiry ever could have – the Day of Mourning Conference (see theme below). Following the conference, the APA forwarded a set of ten demands to Prime Minister Lyons. The 1967 referendum and the 1993 Native Title Act are two of the more notable fulfilments of those ten demands. The APA is a significant group in Australian history that facilitated the coming together and articulation of the grievances of Aboriginal people and marked the beginnings of the Aboriginal civil rights movement in Australia.

(State theme: 34. Events)
The Day of Mourning & Protest, organised by the APA, was held on the 26th January 1938. It was the first widely organised and attended Aboriginal civil rights protest in Australia. The day was given added potency by being held on the day that white Australians were celebrating the sesqui-centenary of the invasion.

After being denied permission to use Sydney Town Hall, the APA were able to rent the Australian Hall on condition that the delegates watched the sesqui-centennial parade from the Town Hall steps and then marched behind the parade to the Australian Hall. When they arrived at the hall, they found two policemen guarding the front door and so some delegates entered the hall through the back door off Nithsdale Street to prevent being identified and subject to reprisals. About 100 Aboriginal delegates attended from across NSW and also Victoria, as well as two white journalists and the two white policemen. A number of speeches were given and resolutions made, covering issues such as the return of stolen lands, citizens rights, Aboriginal representation in parliaments, living conditions, equal opportunities in employment, education, health and housing, recognition of Aboriginal law, abolition of the Aborigines Protection Board, and the abduction and enslavement of Aboriginal children without court approval. The conference unanimously resolved that:

> *We, representing the Aborigines of Australia, assembled in conference at the Australian Hall, Sydney … protest against the callous treatment of our people by the whiteman … appeal to the Australian nation of today to make new laws for the education and care of Aborigines, and we ask for a new policy which will raise our people to full citizen status and equality within the community.*

A ten-point plan was formulated for presentation to the Prime Minister, and the conference concluded by electing new office bearers to the APA. The conference proceedings were published in *The Abo Call* newspaper, and reached people in the reserves and stations across Australia. The conference thus became the catalyst for a transition from local to national campaigning and activism, and for making a space in which Aboriginal self-determination could occur.

Step 3

The Aborigines' Progressive Association was the first state-wide and national Aboriginal organisation. The most similar organisation was the Australian Aborigines League, formed in Melbourne in 1937 by refugees from the NSW Riverina. The AAL participated in the Day of Mourning & Protest, but it was the APA that made the greatest contribution to the thematic contexts identified in Step 2 that are associated with the Australian Hall.

Step 4

The APA does not appear to have had a permanent headquarters during this period. Perhaps the closest was the office of the *Publicist,* near the corner of Park and Elizabeth streets, where APA and Day of Mourning & Protest pamphlets and conference materials were printed, and from where the appearance of William Ferguson on the *Publicist's* weekly radio program on radio 2SM was arranged. The Australian Hall was referred to in the main resolution adopted by the conference, and it was the venue for the first such civil rights gathering in Australia. There is no other place so closely associated with the APA and the Day of Mourning & Protest.

Step 5

The whole building at 150-152 Elizabeth Street, although internally altered over the years, remains substantially intact. The Australian Hall, within the building, remains intact although some false walls and ceilings cover the surfaces of 1938 (these are to be removed during conservation works). The front entrance where the policemen stood is still intact, while the back door from Nithsdale Street, where a number of the attendees had to enter because of their fear of prosecution, also survives. The Australian Hall is still able to demonstrate the associations with the Aborigines' Progressive Association within the thematic contexts of Aboriginal Contact-interaction and Events.

A claim that the Australian Hall is of State significance for its association with the Aborigines' Progressive Association thus meets the 'special association' criterion.

Step 6

Not necessary in this case.

Lucy Osburn and Sydney Hospital

Step 1

The item is the Sydney Hospital Complex in Macquarie Street, Sydney. The person is Lucy Osburn, Lady Superintendent (matron) of Sydney Hospital from 1868 to 1884. The item is listed on the Sydney Local Environmental Plan Schedule dated 3 April 1992.

Step 2

(State theme: 29 Health)
Sydney's second hospital, the Sydney General Hospital or 'Rum Hospital', was built between 1811 and 1816. In 1843 the Sydney Dispensary occupied the southern wing of the hospital, and in 1848 moved into the central wing with the Infirmary where paupers were treated. In 1866 then Colonial Secretary, Henry Parkes, visited the Infirmary and witnessed a dirty, vermin infested place where staff alleged drunkeness, 'improper' practises, misappropriation of stores, inefficiencies and general mismanagement. This resulted in the appointment of inspectors of hospitals, and moves to sanitise the hospital system. Water closets were introduced in 1867 and nurses' and surgeons' quarters in 1868. In 1875 it was decided to completely rebuild the central wing, and in 1894 the new buildings was opened.

(State theme: 29. Health)
Lucy Osburn was trained by Florence Nightingale and arrived in NSW in 1868 with a group of Nightingale Nurses. The nurses had been requested by Sir Henry Parkes and Miss Osburn was their 'Lady Superintendent'. The basic precepts in Nightingale training were that nurses should be respectable women of moral virtue who could care for both male and female patients. Contact between patients and respectable female nurses would increase their chances of recovery. Nightingale also advocated separate ward pavilions, separation of WCs and plumbing, adequate ventilation, ample glazing, heating in wards and accommodation for each ward sister next to her ward. Lucy Osburn was the first Nightingale-trained matron in Australia, and attempted to put these philosophies into practise in the colony with considerable effect.

(State theme: 17. Labour)
Florence Nightingale had stipulated that none of her nurses would be sent to NSW unless suitable accommodation was provided. The Nightingale Nurses Home was built at Sydney Hospital to house the nurses arriving in 1868. This was the first such dedicated, on-site nursing accommodation provided in NSW, and the example was soon followed by other hospitals, notably Royal Prince Alfred Hospital. Miss Osburn implemented a program of nurses training on Nightingale principles, and by the end of 1868 she had trained 16 nurses and instituted the first organised training of nurses in NSW. A Royal Commission in 1873 vindicated her views on hospital hygiene and nurses' training.

Lucy Osburn is significant in the history of NSW as the first Nightingale-trained matron in the colony, and for her influence in having Nightingale training and philosophies accepted in the colony, in terms of patient care, dedicated nursing accommodation and professional nursing training. She is responsible for the introduction to Australia of modern standards of nursing care and the acceptance of women in the field of nursing.

Step 3

Lucy Osburn was the first Nightingale-trained matron in NSW and Australia. Of the other Nightingale-trained nurses who accompanied her to NSW, only Miss Haldane Turriff went on to become a significant figure in Australian nursing. Training of nurses, after its beginnings under Miss Osburn at Sydney Hospital in 1868, expanded in 1882 when training courses also began at St Vincent's and Royal Prince Alfred hospitals. However, none of the graduates of these courses had achieved the standing of Miss Osburn by the time she returned to England in 1885. Miss Turriff was appointed matron of the Alfred Hospital in Melbourne in 1870, but as her biographer has noted, "she failed her duty as a Nightingale graduate and did not establish a training school…" Lucy Osburn is, comparatively, the pre-eminent female nurse of her period in NSW and Australia.

Step 4

Lucy Osborn is intimately associated with the transformation of the Sydney Infirmary & Dispensary (built in 1816) into the Sydney Hospital. Florence Nightingale had only agreed to her nurses coming to the colony if suitable accommodation was provided. Their quarters had not been started when Miss Osburn arrived, and she considered the Infirmary 'crumbling, verminous and malodorous'. She was continually frustrated by the Infirmary's board and male staff in her attempts to improve the situation. The nurses accommodation was eventually completed and named the Nightingale Nurse's Home – today the Nightingale wing of the hospital. Miss Osburn's difficulties with the board came into the open during the *1873 Royal Commission on Public Charities.* The Commission's report condemned the board's neglect of the Infirmary, and accused it of interfering in Miss Osburn's management of the nurses and their training. In 1880 the *Sydney Hospital Act* abolished the old Infirmary and set up a new management regime. Many of the physical changes to the hospital occurred as a result of Miss Osburn's insistence of applying the Nightingale principles of nursing, and the Nightingale wing is perhaps the most notable physical evidence remaining today.

Step 5

The Nightingale Wing forms part of the Sydney Hospital Complex. This, and the pavilion form of the reconstructed hospital, survive as the most notable elements that can still demonstrate the associations between Miss Lucy Osburn and the Sydney Hospital Complex within the thematic contexts of health and labour.

A claim that Sydney Hospital is of State significance for its association with Lucy Osburn thus meets the 'special association' criterion.

Step 6

Not necessary in this case.

José Hay and the Lawson parks

Step 1

The item is the North Lawson Park and South Lawson Park at Lawson in the Blue Mountains. The person is José Guillermo Hay, public servant and nature conservationist. North Lawson Park is listed on the Blue Mountains Local Environmental Plan Schedule dated 27 December 1991. The Blue Mountains Walking Tracks Heritage Study of 1999 assessed the walking track network of North Lawson Park as being of historical significance at the State level. South Lawson Park is not listed on any heritage list.

Step 2

The two areas now known as North Lawson Park and South Lawson Park were first reserved on 22 August 1876 for 'public purposes', consisting of 145.6 ha and 194.2 ha respectively. They were the 35th and 36th reserves gazetted in the County of Cook. Trustees for the two reserves were appointed in 1879. A map of 1882 shows these two reserves labelled as the Public Park of San Jose and the Public Park of Santa Cruz respectively. They were proclaimed as 'public parks', named North Lawson Park and South Lawson Park under the *Public Parks Act 1884* on 16 August 1888, and were among the first six such public parks proclaimed in the Blue Mountains. In the 1950s the trust was abolished and management of the parks taken over by Blue Mountains City Council.

(State theme: 6. Land Tenure)
In 1879 José Hay acquired 121.4 hectares of land near Blue Mountain railway station and built a large sanatorium. In the same year the name of the station was changed to Lawson. In the early 1880s he began to subdivide his land, and at the same time he was appointed as one of the trustees of two large reserves set aside in 1876 and adjoining his land.

North of the station, Hay created San Jose Estate, including San Jose Avenue and Hay Street. He had the 63 ha reserve to the north named San Jose Park in 1882. San Jose Park is now North Lawson Park. South of the station Hay's sister Mary Ann had also acquired land at the same time. She subdivided her property and created the village of Santa Cruz and had the 93ha reserve south of the village named Santa Cruz Park. This park is now South Lawson Park.

In 1876 Hay's Cascades Upper and Lower Falls (in South Lawson Park) were named after Hay, and in the 1880s Hay's Track was constructed to link them for walkers. In 1899 the Lower Falls of Hay's Cascades was renamed Federal Falls, although the name had been suggested as early as 1889. In San Jose Park, Hay named Cecilia Fall after St Cecilia, patron saint of music (later re-named Fairy Falls); and Christabel Falls, in honour of his daughter Christabel (later renamed Dante's Glen by Professor Badham, Professor of Classics at Sydney University because of its show of glow worms at night).

These place names – San Jose to the north of the railway ridge and Santa Cruz to the south - reflected the geography of the Hay's Californian homeland, with the towns of San José and Santa Cruz, south of San Francisco, similarly located either side of the coastal range. The cadastral geometry of this arrangement of land holdings illustrates the orderly and controlled nature of Crown lands alienation during this period, and the ability of the land tenure system to facilitate imagined re-creations of remembered landscapes.

José Hay and his family left Lawson for Western Australia in 1899, and Mary Ann Hay entered Subiaco convent at Rydalmere in the mid 1880s. Many of the place names ascribed by the Hays have since been erased, most notably San Jose (now North Lawson Park) and Santa Cruz (now South Lawson Park).

(State theme: 9. Environment)
In 1880 José Hay was appointed a trustee of the Lands Department reserves in the Lawson area – including San Jose and Santa Cruz parks. The other trustees were Sir George Allen, Charles Moore and James Neale (all members of parliament). During their trusteeship walking tracks were developed to Christabel Falls/Dantes Glen, Echo Point, and Frederica Falls in San Jose Park, and tracks and facilities were developed around Cataract Falls, Adelina Falls and Hay's Cascades Lower Falls/Federal Falls in Santa Cruz Park. These tracks and facilities were among the earliest developed in the Blue Mountains and enabled visitors and travellers, especially from urban Sydney, to experience the natural wonders and environment of the mountains.

Sometime during the late 1890s (perhaps after the death of his daughter Christabel in 1888) José Hay moved to Western Australia. In 1906 he published an article in the Journal of the WA Natural History Society on the visit of Charles Fraser, NSW Colonial Botanist, to the Swan River in 1827 with Captain Stirling. He founded the Gould League of Bird Protection at about this time, and campaigned for the preservation of the natural environment and the retention of Western Australia's first Flora and Fauna Reserve at North Dandalup from timber companies in 1910. In 1912 he gave evidence to a parliamentary committee examining a proposed Game Bill in which he argued for the legal protection of all indigenous bird species, the setting aside of 10% of Crown Lands for flora and fauna reserves and the education of school children, especially boys, on the ecological and economic value of indigenous birds. He was the only private individual to give evidence to the committee, all the others being senior bureaucrats and scientific advisers.

Step 3

José Hay's contribution within the themes of land tenure and environment is best compared with those of his fellow trustees of the Lawson and other Blue Mountains reserves. By 1879 trustees had been appointed for the public recreation reserves at Woodford, Wentworth Falls and Mount Victoria as well as Lawson. These were the first such reserves created in the colony and the trustees have been collectively described as "…men of some means [who]

owned land in the Blue Mountains…About half owned the "landmark'" buildings of the towns where they lived …a majority have clear records of reasonably disinterested public service and/or philanthropy" (Smith: 26). José Hay was employed with the Lands Department, owned considerable land around Lawson, owned and lived in the Sanatorium (later known as The Palace) which was a landmark building in Lawson, and was involved in various community improvement activities in Lawson. He is representative of the Blue Mountains landed gentry of this period. Of the ten trustees of these reserves, six were politicians and four could be described as developers. Hay, although a public servant, was also involved in the real estate business through his subdivisions. However, he sold very little of his land until he departed for Western Australia, and this is perhaps atypical of the trustees as a group. The other quality about José Hay that distinguishes him from other late 19th century trustees is his Hispanic ethnicity, for which only Tomas Rodriguez of the Blackheath reserves is comparable (Rodriguez came from the Dominican Republic). Generally, however, José Hay is representative of the reserve trustees and mountain walking track makers of his period.

Step 4

Each group of trustees included a non-parliamentarian/non-businessman – either a public servant such as Hay or a retired soldier – and it can be expected that this person functioned as the trust's executive officer, responsible for arranging labour and materials for fences, tracks and other facilities in the reserves, as well as overseeing such work. In this sense, Hay had a more profound impact on the physical environment of the North and South Lawson Parks than his fellow trustees.

Step 5

The network of trust-built walking tracks, including their dry stone walling, stone steps, bridge and look outs in North Lawson Park has been assessed as having a reasonable degree of intactness that has representative historical significance at the State level. They are considered to be 'classic' Blue Mountains walking tracks (Smith). The track network in South Lawson Park has been assessed as being of less significance, with much of it substantially modified. The trustees as a group could be considered a significant group, and José Hay as an individual is representative of the individual trustees. Hay is undoubtedly of local significance in the history of Lawson and the Blue Mountains. Within the thematic contexts of land tenure and environment, Hay is significant for shaping the physical environment of North Lawson Park, one of the first recreation reserves in New South Wales especially set aside for the enjoyment of mountain scenery and mountain air. The cultural environment that he made a significant contribution to creating survives fairly intact to this day and thus can demonstrate his associations with the item.

A claim that North Lawson Park is of State significance for its associations with José Hay could meet the 'special association' criterion. However, a claim of State significance for North Lawson Park may be better supported by also

using the 'course or pattern of history' criterion to better explore the role of reserves in nature conservation in New South Wales.

Step 6

Reassess using the 'course or pattern of history' and/or possibly the 'demonstrating aesthetic characteristics' criteria to see if the item may better meet one of them.

Sir John Robertson and the Denmark Hotel

Step 1

The item is the Denmark Hotel at Bulli, near Wollongong. The person is Sir John Robertson, Premier of New South Wales between 1860-61, 1868-70, 1875-77, 1881, and 1885-86. The item is listed on a schedule to Wollongong Local Environmental Plan 1990, amendment 142, as being of regional significance, dated 7 January 2000.

Step 2

Danish immigrant, John Peter Cluf Orvad, purchased the site for the hotel in 1873. He built a small slab building on the site with a detached building behind and in 1877 opened it as the Denmark Hotel. Orvad extended the building in 1878 and it was used for meetings by many local community groups. In 1886 Orvad demolished the slab building at the front and built a two-storey brick building with a balcony and belvedere. Orvad died in 1891 and in 1894 the hotel was sold by his trustees. The hotel ceased trading in 1911 and the building operated as a boarding house and was later subdivided into flats.

(State theme: 21. Government & administration)
John Robertson was active in New South Wales colonial politics between the early 1840s and the late 1880s, a period when representative institutions of governance evolved with a distinctly colonial bent. Robertson was a member of the NSW Parliament for various periods between 1856 and 1886, and Premier on five different occasions. He is chiefly remembered for 'Robertson's Land Act' of 1861, which provided for selection of land before survey which could then be bought in 320 acre lots at £1 per acre with a deposit of five shillings per acre with the balance to be paid within three years. Interest-free loans for three-quarters of the price were available, and a residency requirement prevented speculation. These provisions made widespread areas of the countryside available for agriculture and facilitated closer rural settlement. One of Robertson's biographers has said of this that "he had formulated the greatest social theme in nineteenth century Australian history" (Nairn). Robertson was also active in campaigning for free trade rather than protection, and the abolition of State aid to religion, both topical issues throughout his career. In 1877 Robertson was knighted, and in 1878 he became part of a ministry that survived in various forms for nearly a decade and undertook much legislative reform. Electoral, land, mining, local government, education and liquor licensing laws were all revised and budget legislation was introduced on time.

Robertson opposed the establishment of a colonial nobility and hereditary upper house of parliament in the 1850s, the separation of Victoria (1851) and Queensland (1859) from NSW, sought British annexation of New Guinea in 1875, and argued against federation as Victorian self-interest. When Robertson retired from Parliament for the last time in 1886 he was voted a £10 000 grant in recognition of his 30 years of parliamentary life.

Robertson played a critical role in the evolution and formation of many of the political structures that survive in present-day New South Wales.

Step 3

Sir John Robertson's political contemporaries are his most relevant comparators. Best known today is Sir Henry Parkes, with whom he alternated the premiership on several occasions. Parkes and Robertson acted as allies or foes depending on the times and issues. Sir James Martin, Sir Charles Cowper, John Stephen Farnell and James Hoskins were also leading politicians of this period, although none were responsible for such landmark legislation as the 1861 Land Act. Only Sir Henry Parkes stands out as being of comparable political stature today, probably more for his role as a 'father of federation' than for any particular legislative he changes he wrought in the colony.

Step 4

In January 1879 Sir John Robertson, at that time Vice President of the Executive Council and representative of the government in the Legislative Council, stayed overnight at the Denmark Hotel in Bulli while visiting the Coalcliff Estate of Judge Hargraves. It is possible that Robertson was also viewing the country to determine a potential railway route to the Illawarra coalfields and the southern boundaries of the proposed National Park, but this has not be confirmed by research. Robertson is often credited with the creation of the National Park in April 1879.

While there may be an argument that the Illawarra railway line, the (now Royal) National Park or particular rural 'selector' landscapes are significant for an association with Sir John Robertson (this has not been tested), the Denmark Hotel does not demonstrate any significant aspect of Robertson's contribution to the thematic context identified in Step 2. The press report of his overnight stop at the hotel specifically refers to him being *en route* to Hargraves 'holiday estate' at Coalcliff. There is no evidence that any event occurred while staying at the hotel that had a significant impact on any of Robertson's political views or public policy actions.

Step 5

The sequential development of the Denmark Hotel between 1877 and the 1920s has been determined. The extent of the hotel in January 1879 is accurately understood, although the particular room that Robertson slept in has not been identified. Even if it could be identified, the assessment in Step 4 would not make such an identification significant, although it may be interesting.

A claim that the Denmark Hotel is of State significance for its association with Sir John Robertson thus does not meet the 'special association' criterion.

Step 6

Reassess using the 'course or pattern of history' and/or possibly the 'potential to yield information' criteria to see if the item may better meet one of them.

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