



95-99 GEORGE STREET

THE ROCKS

CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN

Prepared for the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority

Orwell & Peter Phillips

June 2013



Sydney Harbour
Foreshore Authority

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95-99 GEORGE STREET THE ROCKS CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN

June 2013

This document is an update of the Conservation Management Plan for 95- 99 George Street, The Rocks, by Clive Lucas Stapleton and Partners Pty Ltd, adopted July 2008.

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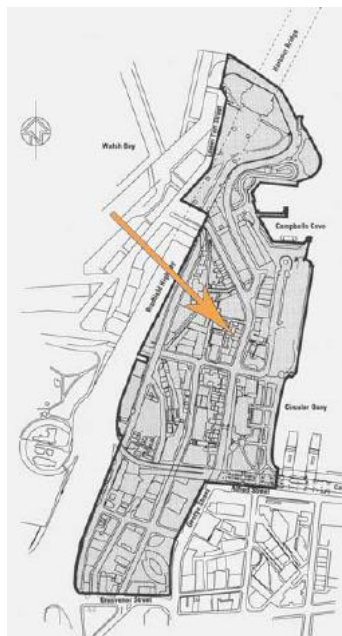
PART 1

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 Summary Statement of Heritage Significance

The site and buildings at 95-99 George Street, The Rocks, are of heritage significance for the State of NSW for their historic and aesthetic contribution to The Rocks area, which, as a whole, is of State heritage significance. The site at No 95-99 George Street is historically significant as part of the original hospital site, and subsequently as the site of some of the earliest commercial development in Sydney, continually used for retail and commercial purposes since the construction of the original buildings on the site in about 1843. The terrace, rebuilt in its present form in 1867, makes an important aesthetic contribution to the streetscape of George Street, and is a good representative example of a simple two-storey mid-19th century commercial building.

1.2 The Site, its Background & Context



The terrace of three former shops and residences is located on the western side of George Street, with Greenway Lane at the rear. The terrace at 95-99 George Street is between Phillip's Foote at 101 George Street to the south, and Zia Pina at No 93 to the north. Refer to Figures 1 and 2.

The land is identified in the SHFA Heritage and Conservation Register as Lot 4/0, DP 773812, located within the Parish of St Phillip, County of Cumberland. The 2007 CMP identifies the land as part of Lot 4. The street address of the site is 95-99 George Street, The Rocks.

Figure 1

The location of Phillip's Foote within The Rocks.

Source (base map): The Rocks Heritage Management Plan 2010



Figure 2

Location plan of 95-99 George Street (site boundary outlined)

Source (base map): Google maps



Figure 3

The cafe, chemist and newsagent at 95-99 George Street.

Source: Orwell & Peter Phillips, 2012

The property is owned and managed by the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority (the Authority) and occupied by the current lessees, Messrs Bruce and Andrew Packham at No 95, Ms Wendy Marsden at No 97 and The Rocks Cafe (Kazal Bros Properties) at No 99. Further information on the management framework for the property is available on the Authority's web site under [The Rocks](#).

The site boundary shown in Figures 2 and 4 is the combined lease boundary. The side boundaries to the north and south lie along the wall alignments of earlier buildings at No 93 (since rebuilt) and No 101.



Figure 4

Site plan of 95-99 George Street, with leased area outlined and main elements labelled

Source: SHFA Drawing No P-ROX-500-AR-1000-B, adapted by Orwell & Peter Phillips 2013

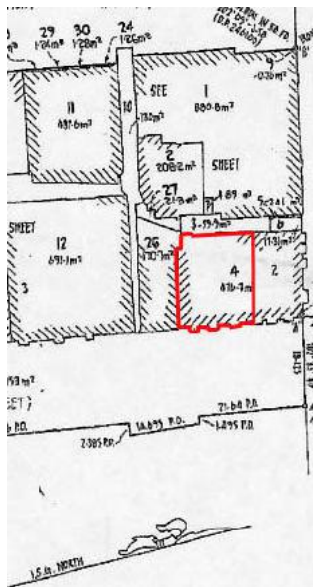


Figure 5

Detail from DP 773812 showing location of 95-97 George Street.

Source: Land Titles Office, reproduced in 2007 CMP.

1.3 The Aim of the CMP & its Structure

The main objective of this CMP is to provide guidelines for the conservation, re-use, interpretation and management of the building and site known as Nos 95-99 George Street, to ensure that the heritage values of the place are maintained and, where appropriate, enhanced. The CMP is to be read and applied within the overarching framework of [The Rocks Heritage Management Plan \(April 2010\)](#).

The overall structure of this CMP is shown below:

PART 1	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY Includes Summary Statement of Significance
PART 2	CONSERVATION POLICIES & STRATEGIES Includes Opportunities, Challenges & Recommendations
PART 3	HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE Includes Analysis under NSW Heritage Act Criteria.
PART 4	ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE Includes Analysis of Documentary & Physical Evidence, Curtilage Analysis and Comparative Analysis. Annotated images are used for much of this section.
PART 5	ILLUSTRATED HISTORY Historical Value as presented by a Professional Historian.
PART 6	ABOUT THIS CMP Includes Outline of Brief, Authorship. Acknowledgements, Further Research required, References, Terms & Abbreviations
PART 7	SCHEDULE OF ELEMENTS Significance & Recommendations By Element

This CMP is an update of the previous conservation plan for the site, prepared in 2008 by Clive Lucas Stapleton and Partners. The present document makes use of some original material from the previous CMP, but has been restructured, amplified and amended to take account of additional information. It has also been prepared in conjunction with other CMPs covering the whole of the block bounded by Harrington Street, Argyle Street, George Street and the Suez Canal laneway, to facilitate a coordinated strategy for the block, particularly regarding the potential for new development. The CMP therefore includes a common history for the entire block, together with a site specific history for Nos 95-99 George Street.

To use this CMP for management purposes, refer in the first instance to the policies and strategies in Part 2. For further detailed guidance on policies and strategies relating to specific elements, refer to Part 7. The basis for these two sections is the significance of the place and its elements, which is detailed in Part 3. The background information for these

management sections consists of the evidence on which significance has been assessed (Part 4), including the illustrated history (Part 5). For further information refer to Part 6, which includes references and a guide to terminology and abbreviations.

1.4 Heritage Listings

1.4.1 Statutory Listings

The place is listed on the State Heritage Register as Shops and Residences - Terrace (SHR No 01596), gazetted on 10 May 2002.¹ The property is also listed in the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority's S.170 Register.² For the implications of these listings, refer to [Section 2.4](#).

1.4.2 Non-statutory Listings

No 95-99 George Street has been classified by the National Trust of Australia (NSW) as part of the listing for Commercial Buildings, 93-109 George Street, and also part of the listing for George Street Business Precinct, 91-155 George Street.³ It is listed on the Australian Heritage Database (formerly the Register of the National Estate) as part of the George Street Business Precinct, 91-143A George Street excluding Nos 113-119 (Item No 2182, registered on 21 October 1980)⁴. The property is also within The Rocks Conservation Area listed in the Australian Heritage Database on the same date (item No 2255), and within The Rocks Urban Conservation Area classified by the National Trust of Australia (NSW).

1.5 Vision for 95-99 George Street

In the presentation of its principal spaces and physical fabric, the group at 95-99 George Street should clearly demonstrate the significant phases of its development as three shops and residences, and also not obscure the evidence of earlier structures on and adjacent to the site. Future uses should reflect the original activities at the place, with a focus on commercial uses, if possible preserving associated residential uses above. The place should be integrated into the group of buildings on the block bounded by George Street, Argyle Street, Harrington Street and Suez Canal, improving physical and visual connections to the central internal courtyard and the pedestrian route between Suez Canal and Greenway Lane.

¹ Information from [State Heritage Register](#) web site

² Information from [Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority Heritage Register](#) web site

³ Information from National Trust of Australia Jubilee Register 1995

⁴ Information from [Commonwealth Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities](#) web site

1.6 Key Findings

- The group at 95-99 George Street is of State significance as a component of a commercial streetscape that became established from the early 19th century, in the second stage of development of George Street north following the relocation of the hospital.
- The place is also significant as one of the earliest commercial developments in The Rocks following the establishment of the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority, with all of the three current uses (and one of the present tenants) having occupied the site for at least three decades.
- The place should be managed in a coordinated approach with the other properties in the block bounded by George Street, Argyle Street, Harrington Street and Suez Canal.

PART 2

POLICIES & STRATEGIES

2.1 Best Practice Heritage Management

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

One of the principal functions of the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority, as stated in the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Act 1998, is to protect and enhance the natural and cultural heritage of the foreshore area. The Authority has adopted [The Rocks Heritage Management Plan \(April 2010\)](#) as its overall framework for managing The Rocks area in which No 95-99 George Street is located. As a government agency and owner of a heritage item, the Authority is also obliged to manage the place in accordance with the [State-Owned Heritage Management Principles](#) approved by the Minister for Heritage.

The Australia ICOMOS [Burra Charter](#) is a widely accepted standard of best practice in heritage conservation. The Authority has also adopted the Burra Charter as one of its reference standards for conservation philosophy and practice.

Policies

POLICY 1.

The heritage significance of No 95-99 George Street should be adopted as the basis for management of the place.

Strategies/Guidelines

- When making management decisions, consider and seek to retain (and when appropriate enhance) the values identified in the statement of significance.
- Prepare heritage impact statements when proposing changes to the use or fabric of the place.
- Incorporate this conservation management plan into the Total Asset Management Strategy for the place. Refer to the NSW Government's [Total Asset Management Manual](#).
- Include compliance with the conservation management plan as a term of any lease over the place, and consider non-compliance as a material breach.

POLICY 2.

No 95-99 George Street should be managed in accordance with nationally and internationally accepted principles for best conservation practice.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Refer to the [Burra Charter](#).

- Adopt a cautious approach to changes to the place, in accordance with the key Burra Charter principle of “as much as necessary, as little as possible”⁵
- Make annual inspections of the building to monitor the impacts of use and assess maintenance requirements. This inspection is to be undertaken by representatives of the Authority's Facilities and Heritage teams.

POLICY 3.

All parties responsible for management of No 95-99 George Street should have access to this conservation management plan and associated documents.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Provide a copy of this conservation management plan to the Authority's Property Manager, Leasing Manager, maintenance staff and tenants.
- Subject to security and privacy considerations, make this CMP publicly available on the Authority's web site.

POLICY 4.

This conservation management plan should be read and applied in the context of broader heritage management and asset management documents, including statutory requirements for asset and heritage management.

Strategies/Guidelines

Refer to the following documents:

- [The Rocks Heritage Management Plan \(April 2010\)](#)
- [State-Owned Heritage Management Principles](#)
- [Minimum Standards of Maintenance and Repair](#)

POLICY 5.

This conservation management plan should be updated regularly, taking account of changes in legislation, proposed changes in use or management, or proposed major works.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Update the CMP every ten years unless more frequent reviews are made necessary by proposed changes to the place.

⁵ Burra Charter Article 3.1

- Use the most recently endorsed CMP as a management reference, consulting previous versions for additional guidance if required.

2.2 Documenting Change

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The alterations to the site over its history are outlined in Parts 4 and 5. More recently, the Authority's longstanding policy of photographic recording before and during major changes to the place, as well as its regular archival recording of the whole of The Rocks, has proved a valuable record of evidence. However, incremental changes are often less diligently recorded, and can lead to losses of information about the place. There are few detailed records of the place prior to the measured drawing prepared in 1973.

Policies

POLICY 6.

Records should be made and kept of all new evidence discovered about the place, and of the condition of the place before, during and after any changes.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Those undertaking future major works to the buildings should first prepare an accurate set of drawings of the existing building(s), and provide as-built drawings on completion. These should be used to update the Authority's base drawings.
- Where fabric is proposed for removal, undertake any prior documentation in accordance with Heritage Council guidelines for [Archival Recording](#) and [Photographic Recording](#).
- Continue the Authority's policy of regular photographic recording, especially before, during and after changes to the fabric.
- Retain all records in the Authority's archives.

2.3 Skills & Experience

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

Old buildings were constructed using different materials and methods to those commonly used now, and these need to be understood when maintaining or making changes to the place. Well-intentioned but inappropriate works (for example, painting stone for weatherproofing) can cause irreversible damage.

Policies

POLICY 7.

The design, approval and implementation of changes to the place, and its maintenance, should be undertaken by competent people with the necessary skills, equipment, materials, techniques and experience.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Establish multi-disciplinary teams to ensure that all aspects of conservation are considered and represented.
- Match the experience and expertise of the people to the tasks.
- For any work on traditionally constructed parts of the building, use traditional methods of construction, maintenance and repair.
- Provide site inductions for all those who work on the building to explain its significance and identify potential heritage impacts of the proposed work.

2.4 Approvals / Participation

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

As detailed in Part 1, the place is owned by the Authority and listed on the State Heritage Register. Under current legislation (May 2013) any development and building activity on the site, including repairs and maintenance, may require one or more of the following consents and approvals:

- Landowner's Consent from the Authority (for all works and all applications).
- Approval under the Heritage Act from the Authority for minor works within the Authority's delegation from the Heritage Council of NSW.
- Approval under the Heritage Act from the Heritage Council of NSW for other than minor works as above.
- Development consent from the City of Sydney, for projects with a capital investment value under \$5 million.
- Development consent from the Minister for Planning (through an application to the Department of Planning and Infrastructure), for projects with a capital investment value of more than \$5 million, or which exceed the height limits in the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority Scheme.
- Appointment of a Principal Certifying Authority (PCA) - either the City of Sydney or an accredited private certifier.

- Construction certification by the PCA.
- Occupation certification by the PCA.

Both the current heritage and planning controls provide exemptions for some minor works, although the normal provisions for Exempt and Complying Development under the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act do not apply to items of State heritage significance. For such items, many standard exemptions from formal approval under S57(2) of the Heritage Act still require endorsement from the consent authority (The Authority or the Heritage Branch) before the work can be carried out.

At the time of writing, the State government has published a White Paper entitled *A New Planning System for NSW* and exposure drafts of the Planning Bill 2013 and Planning Administration Bill 2013. This section of the CMP may need to be reviewed once the new legislation is enacted.

No 95-99 George Street forms part of Site XXXVIII under the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority Scheme. The building site control drawing shows the building as historic buildings, with no potential for any additional volume. Any proposal for altering the existing building envelope, for example extensions at Nos 95 or 97 similar to that at No 99, would require development consent from the Minister for Planning.

Although non-statutory listings do not require a formal application to the listing bodies, it is good conservation and management practice to consult with organisations such as the National Trust, especially where major changes are contemplated.

Policies

POLICY 8.

No works should be undertaken to the place without the necessary statutory approvals and the Authority's prior consent as landowner.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Refer to the Authority's [Landowner's Consent Supplementary Guide](#) and [Fitout Guide](#) or relevant revisions
- Refer to the City of Sydney's [Guide to Preparing and Lodging a DA](#) and the NSW Heritage Council's [How to Submit a s60 Application](#) and [Standard Exemptions for Works Requiring Heritage Council Approval](#).
- Hold pre-application discussions with the Authority and other consent authorities to ascertain the need for and content of approvals.
- Although the Authority can advise on what consents may be needed for a specific application, it is always the applicant's responsibility to obtain all necessary consents from the correct authority.

- Consult non-statutory listing organisations for comment on proposals for major change.
- The Authority should not give Landowner's Consent unless it is satisfied that an application is consistent with applicable Policies, Guides and Technical Manuals and will not result in an adverse impact to the significance of the place.

2.5 Use

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The three buildings that comprise the site were constructed as shops with residences above, and appear for have been used for that purpose almost continuously since construction.

During the 19th century No 95 accommodated a butcher, William Yeoman himself traded out of No 97, and No 99 was occupied by a grocer. Other commercial uses took over in the 20th century, with No 97 also having club premises upstairs. No 95 has been used as a newsagency, and No 97 as a pharmacy, by the present tenants of each since the buildings were renovated by the Authority in the late 1970s. No 99 has been known as The Rocks Cafe since at least 1985, although the present tenancy and fitout date from 2006.

Both No 95 and No 97 retain on the upper floors a residential use for the commercial tenant.

Policies

POLICY 9.

The place should continue to be used for commercial purposes, with either residential or commercial uses on the upper floors associated with the ground floor commercial tenancies. Future uses of the building should facilitate the recovery of significant spaces, the reconstruction of significant elements previously demolished, and the interpretation of past significant uses.

Strategies/Guidelines

- A compatible use is one which respects the cultural significance of the place and allows the significance of identified fabric and spaces to be conserved and where appropriate recovered.
- Given the extensive alterations to No 99 for its current use as a food and beverage outlet, that use would be a compatible use for this property. However, for the same reason it would not be a compatible use for the properties at Nos 95 or 97, for which commercial uses requiring much less alteration to significant fabric (especially to the intact cellar at No 95) would be more appropriate.
- Continued residential uses of the first floors and attics of Nos 95 and 97 would be desirable.

- Other uses could be considered if they do not require the partitioning of significant spaces (except where partitions originally existed), allow the interpretation of residential use, and do not require major alterations
- Refer to [Interpretation](#) below.

2.6 Sustainability

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The Authority has adopted a sustainability strategy throughout its precincts, aiming to reduce both the carbon emissions of the precinct and its potable water consumption by 80% from 2000 levels by 2020.

All three buildings are partially air-conditioned, using split systems with external units located on roofs or in external side passages at the rear. No 99 has a considerable amount of air conditioning and refrigeration plant mounted behind and on top of the recent rear extension.

Policies

POLICY 10.

The buildings should progressively be adapted so as to reduce their reliance on energy-intensive climate control and mechanical plant in favour of natural heating, cooling and ventilation, without adverse impact on heritage significance

Strategies/Guidelines

- Refer to the Authority's [Green Building User Guide](#). As part of the adaptation of the building for a future more compatible use, work towards removing mechanical plant and using sustainable and passive methods for climate control.
- Monitor the energy and water use of the building regularly and work towards reducing both.
- Avoid uses of the place that require substantial mechanical plant and equipment to sustain them.

2.7 Building Code Compliance

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The National Construction Code (incorporating the BCA - Building Code of Australia) has been adopted by planning and building legislation in NSW as the technical standard for design, construction and operation of buildings. The NCC now includes the National Plumbing Code and will progressively be extended through the incorporation of other similar codes, as well as continuing to incorporate Australian standards by reference. The BCA is a performance-based code, specifying only performance requirements to be met, but including

'deemed-to-satisfy' prescriptions that are accepted as meeting the performance requirements.

Old buildings, even if built to the highest standards of their time, are frequently non-compliant with the deemed-to-satisfy provisions of current building codes. Moreover, even recently upgraded buildings can become non-compliant as the BCA provisions may change annually.

All three existing ground floor shops have a minor step at the entrance which appears to be traversable by a wheelchair. Other areas of the property including the upper public area of No 99 are reached by stairs only.

Nos 95 and 97 have been fitted with a sprinkler system, presumably to provide additional active fire protection for the residential upper floors. All three properties have been fitted with smoke alarms.

Policies

POLICY 11.

The buildings should not be used for any purpose for which building code compliance will result in a major adverse heritage impact.

POLICY 12.

Compliance with building codes should be achieved by meeting the performance requirements of those codes through alternative solutions if the deemed-to-satisfy requirements cannot be met without adverse heritage impact.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Use alternative solutions to achieve the performance requirements of the BCA.
- Refer to [Improving Access to Heritage Buildings](#)
- If proposals could have an adverse impact on significant heritage fabric or spaces, consult the NSW Heritage Council's [Fire, Access and Services](#) Advisory Panel for advice on achieving building code compliance without undue adverse heritage impact.

2.8 Setting / Related Places

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The group at Nos 95-99 George Street is part of the block bounded by George Street, Argyle Street, Harrington Street and Suez Canal (formerly Harrington Lane and Reynolds Lane), which also includes the present Greenway Lane. It is historically associated with William Reynolds, Michael Gannon and William Yeoman who among them redeveloped this area in the early to mid 19th century. Consequently, the future interpretation and

development of the site needs to respond to its complex history and pattern of development. The buildings also form part of a prominent streetscape of 19th century buildings.

Policies

POLICY 13.

Any future development on the site of Nos 95-99 George Street should be designed in accordance with a coordinated development strategy for the entire block bounded by George Street, Argyle Street, Harrington Street and Suez Canal.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Develop a coordinated planning, development and interpretation strategy for the entire block.
- Maintain a clear and accessible pedestrian route through the block from Suez Canal to Greenway Lane.
- Aim to centralise and minimise the impact of services such as garbage areas and lavatories.
- Maintain the area of public space and avoid perceptions of public space becoming privatised.

2.9 Archaeology

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The site area of 95-99 George Street has been continually occupied from 1788 and as a result is mostly disturbed. However it is possible the area may contain some evidence of indigenous or contact archaeology.

Since 1788 the site of 95-99 George Street has transitioned through four significant phases of development, including:

- Construction of the two houses for the Assistant Surgeon
- Demolition of the Assistant Surgeons House in c.1837
- Construction of the original two buildings on the present site in c.1840 and;
- Reconstruction of the present three buildings at 95-99 George Street in 1867

It is possible that a cellar was constructed beneath the two Gannon buildings in c 1840, although the present three cellars match the footprint of the 1867 building. The depth of the cellars indicates that archaeological remains in this area are likely to have been destroyed through its excavation, although the present concrete floor may seal a potential archaeological deposit relating to an earlier c.1840 cellar.

The area with the most archaeological potential is the former yard area of the c1840 shops. However, unlike the rear yard of 93 George Street, physical evidence suggests that during the 1867 reconstruction, the yard was terraced further into the natural slope; however it is unclear to what extent. This is most evident at the junction of the rear yards and Greenway Lane where the surface levels are approximately 2m apart. This phase of development is likely to have disturbed any archaeological deposit relating to the two houses of the Assistant Surgeon.

Remains from the post 1867 construction phase within the yard area, including smaller structures such as sheds and outhouses and deep features such as wells, cesspits and services may be present in the archaeological record; however it is likely that this area has been disturbed. Any works in these areas should be monitored for archaeological remains.

All sub-floor, inter-floor and wall cavities have the potential to retain archaeological material.

Policies

<p>POLICY 14.</p> <p><i>Disturbance of the ground should be avoided, specifically in the cellar.</i></p>
<p>POLICY 15.</p> <p><i>Additional services are to be located in existing trenches. New services are not to be considered without first exploring options which limit excavation</i></p>
<p>POLICY 16.</p> <p><i>Any potentially encountered Aboriginal archaeological resources should be conserved in accordance with the requirements of the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Act 1979 and their potential for interpretation considered</i></p>
<p>POLICY 17.</p> <p><i>Relics recovered during archaeological works on site may be required to form part of an interpretation installation on site, prepared in consultation with Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority Archaeologists.</i></p>
<p>POLICY 18.</p> <p><i>Relics should not be removed without consultation with the Authority's Archaeologists and the implementation of suitably approved recording measures. Such items must be conserved and stored in accordance with the Authority's archaeological artefact collection procedures</i></p>

Strategies/Guidelines

- Consult the Authority's Archaeologist before planning any excavation or intervention.
- Refer to [The Rocks Archaeological Management Plan](#)

- Any works involving ground disturbance must be preceded by a Statement of Heritage Impact (SOHI) detailing the nature of the disturbance, assessing the impact on the archaeology, and presenting a methodology for dealing with the archaeology. This document must be prepared by a suitably qualified archaeologist approved by the Authority or the Heritage Branch of the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage and in accordance with the NSW Heritage Council's Statement of Heritage Impact Guidelines.
- 95-99 George Street is listed on the State Heritage Register and where excavation of archaeological relics is deemed necessary, application must be made under the Heritage Act (NSW) 1977. Application will be made under s57 (1) of the Heritage Act if it is determined that excavation will not adversely affect potential archaeological relics, then an application for Exemption from the s60 process can be made under s57(3) of the Heritage Act.
- The publication [Assessing Significance for Historical Archaeological Sites and Relics](#) outlines the responsibilities of the proponent when dealing with archaeological sites.
- Roof spaces and cavities between ceilings and floors often contain artefacts stored there or deposited by animals such as rats. These can provide valuable evidence of site occupation and should not be removed without consultation with the Authority's Archaeologists.

2.10 Adaptation / Alterations & Additions

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The site has been subject to a number of alterations and additions over time, most recently to No 99 in 2006. Before that, all three properties were renovated by the Authority in 1978, with the construction of additions to the rear wings. No 99 appears to have been more altered than the other two properties even before the Authority acquired it in 1970; for example, the stairs to the attic appear to have been removed prior to that time. Recent alterations to No 99 have removed further original fabric, notably in the cellar and at the rear of the ground floor.

There are opportunities in any future alterations and additions to interpret the history of development especially at the rear of the site, improving the visibility and understanding of early walls and site formations.

Policies

POLICY 19.

Future alterations to the place should conserve and reveal significant fabric and spaces through reconstruction where evidence is available.

POLICY 20.

Future additions to the place should only be considered if they will assist in the interpretation of former significant elements and spaces.

Strategies / Guidelines

- Encourage alterations that assist in the interpretation of significant fabric and spaces.
- Continue to locate services such as kitchens and lavatories in the less significant rear wings of the buildings.
- Encourage the retention of the residential spaces and associated fabric on the first floor and attic of Nos 95 and 97 George Street.
- When circumstances permit, encourage the removal of the intrusive external structures at the rear of No 99 George Street.

2.11 Design & Detailing

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The approach taken to some of the works undertaken during the 1970s and 1980s, for example the reconstruction of the pediment (removed in 2001) was not untypical of the early conservation work carried out in the first years of the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority, which differs from present conservation practice. It is not clear to what extent the state of the property was recorded in detail before and during the alteration works; there appear to be no measured drawings in the Authority's records showing the arrangement of the place at the time it was acquired.

Policies

POLICY 21.

New work should be designed and detailed so that the new elements are fitted to the existing in such a way that they can be removed in future without adverse impact on significant fabric.

POLICY 22.

New work should be clearly distinguishable from existing work but should not be visually dominant over adjacent significant elements.

POLICY 23.

Period detailing should be used only for reconstruction and where clear evidence of the former element exists, and should be distinguishable from original work on close inspection.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Use contemporary materials for new work, but design the new work so that its location, form, scale, grain, colour and texture respond to the original work.

2.12 Significant Fabric (Change, Repair, Maintenance)

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

Article 3 of the Burra Charter notes that conservation is based on a respect for the existing fabric, use, associations and meanings of a place. In some cases and for some communities, the physical fabric may be of less significance than other aspects. However, especially for places of post-European settlement in Australia, the fabric of a place is of primary importance in its significance. Accordingly, changes to the place should involve the least possible physical intervention in the fabric and not distort the evidence it provides.

During the development of the present buildings at Nos 95-99 George Street, the site context has changed, the site has been partly excavated, and the buildings altered, extended, partly demolished and refurbished. In the process, some valuable fabric has been lost or obscured and the ability of the place to demonstrate its significance has to some extent been diminished.

Refer to Part 7, [Summary of Elements](#), for more detail on significant elements (fabric and spaces).

Policies

POLICY 24.

The fabric of the place should be conserved in accordance with its identified level of significance.

POLICY 25.

When circumstances permit, significant fabric which has been concealed should be exposed, and significant fabric which has been removed should be reconstructed in accordance with documentary and physical evidence.

POLICY 26.

Surfaces originally intended to be unpainted (such as face stonework) should remain unpainted. Surfaces originally painted and intended for painting (such as timber windows) should continue to be painted in colours from a palette of the period, in a scheme informed by available documentary and physical evidence.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Retain and conserve fabric of exceptional and high significance, including surviving evidence of original and early finishes (which may be concealed).

- Preferably retain fabric of medium significance.
- Retain or remove fabric of low significance, in either case with the objective of recovering the significance of higher-ranked fabric and spaces.
- Maintain the fabric to at least the standard required by the NSW Heritage Council's [Minimum Standards for Maintenance and Repair](#)
- Refer to the Heritage Council's [Maintenance](#) series for guidance on the treatment of individual components, materials and finishes
- The treatment of hazardous materials should be documented and undertaken with a thorough understanding of the options for retention, encapsulation or removal.
- The replacement of significant fabric should only be considered when deterioration cannot be retarded and it is beyond further repair.

2.13 Contents, Fixtures & Fittings

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

There are few significant fixtures and fittings remaining in the group, apart from original parts of the shopfronts which can be regarded as part of the building fabric. One important exception is the early cool store in the basement of No 95, which is a rare surviving example of its type. The fitout of the pharmacy was designed as a 'period' fitout in the early 1980s.

Policies

POLICY 27.

Significant fixtures and fittings should be conserved in situ and interpreted.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Ensure that significant items, notably the early cool store in the cellar of No 95, are identified and labelled on site, and recorded on the Authority's database and the tenancy agreement as significant contents that are the property of the Authority.

2.14 Landscaping / Plantings

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The only planting worthy of note is a large fig tree growing in Greenway Lane behind No 97, with its root system firmly embedded in the stone retaining wall. The tree does not appear to have been in existence in 1978, when the renovations occurred at the rear of the properties, and may well be self-sown. The tree may be doing damage to the stone wall, which possibly dates from the 1840s. Historically it is unlikely that the laneway or the properties themselves would have had any major landscaping treatment.

Policies

POLICY 28.

Preserve significant landscape elements and remove non-significant landscape elements that are causing damage to significant built elements.

POLICY 29.

Develop a landscaping plan for the entire block which meets the requirements of the Authority and does not threaten the significant fabric of the place.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Inspect stone wall at the rear of No 97 to ascertain whether it has been or is likely to be damaged if the fig tree remains in place.
- If it is decided that the actual or potential damage to the wall warrants removal of the tree, remove the tree under the supervision of an experienced professional arborist and undertake conservation and repair works to the wall.

2.15 New Services

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

New bathroom services were provided in new rear extensions to all of the properties in 1978, with residential kitchens in Nos 95 and 97 being upgraded in 2001, and the commercial kitchen to No 99 being extensively enlarged and upgraded in 2006. In addition, a sprinkler system has been installed in Nos 95 and 97, with the external equipment in the rear yard of No 97. Air conditioning has been installed in all three properties, using split systems with external units on roofs or in rear yards.

Policies

POLICY 30.

New services should be installed without further damage to significant fabric, through openings, cavities and ducts previously created.

POLICY 31.

Locate plant for any new services in unobtrusive locations such as at low level in side passages, avoiding damage to or concealment of significant fabric.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Clearly understand the potential impacts of new services before giving any Landowner's or 'in principle' consent to future proposals.
- Minimise the introduction of new services into the buildings, and aim to locate most new services within recently constructed rear wings.

- Include an assessment of the impact of new services in heritage impact statements.
- Plan the introduction of new services in detail, and mark service routes on site before installation so that any potential heritage impact can be understood and avoided or minimised.

2.16 Signage & External Lighting

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

The signage on the George Street frontage is traditional in design and execution, and exemplifies the signage strategies initially implemented by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority, although modified since that time. The illuminated 'chemist' lamp beneath the awning was formerly hung from a wall bracket above the shopfront. There appears to be little or no external lighting.

Policies

POLICY 32.

External signage on significant facades should be minimised, and should not obscure or diminish the significance of the place.

POLICY 33.

If external lighting is considered necessary for safety or other reasons, it should be carefully designed so that the fittings are unobtrusive and both the fittings and the lighting enhance the historic character of the place, particularly at the George Street frontage.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Refer to [The Rocks Lighting Policy](#) and [The Rocks Commercial Signage Technical Manual](#).
- Continue using traditional painted signage.
- The design principle for lighting of the George Street frontage should minimise or preferably avoid external floodlighting and under-awning lighting, using the minimum number of fittings (preferably of traditional design) necessary, and allow the lighting of the interior to be visually dominant at night.
- For interiors visible from the street, use lighting with a similar appearance and colour to incandescent lighting.

2.17 Interpretation

Background, Opportunities & Challenges

There is little interpretive material within the site, although the present tenants, some of whom have been there for several decades, have valuable memories.

Policies

POLICY 34.

The place should be interpreted in the context of The Rocks and of the remainder of the block, with emphasis on its original and subsequent development as a commercial property and its associations with early figures in Sydney commerce.

Strategies/Guidelines

- Develop and implement an interpretation strategy for the entire block that explains its historical development.
- If circumstances permit, undertake oral histories to capture the information that long-term tenants can provide.
- Interpretation projects are to be developed with reference to The Rocks Interpretation Strategy 2006 and the [ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter](#).

PART 3

HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

3.1 Method Used to Assess & Present Heritage Significance

The following evaluation of significance is developed with reference to the NSW Heritage Branch publication [Assessing Heritage Significance](#). The assessment of significance follows investigation forming Parts 4 & 5 of this CMP as well as the establishment of the themes associated with Nos 95-99 George Street.

A summary Statement of Significance is provided within the Executive Summary, section 1.1, and a further detailed statement in section 3.9. The relative significance of individual building elements is identified within Part 7.

3.2 Criterion (A): Historical Significance

An item is important in the course, pattern of NSW's or the local area's cultural or natural history.

The site of 95 -99 George Street has an important association with the historical development of Sydney, and the metropolitan area, since European settlement in 1788, and earlier with the Gadigal people of Sydney Harbour. To the Gadigal the site formed part of a strip of land along the western shore of Warrane (Sydney Cove) which they called "Tallawolladah". The fact that this area was named denotes it as a special or particular place for the indigenous peoples of Sydney Harbour before the coming of the Europeans.

This land became part of the site of the Assistant Surgeons' house and associated garden within the first hospital compound established in 1788. The site is therefore important as being part of the earliest European settled part of Australia, with specific importance in the establishment of medical practice. When the general hospital relocated to Macquarie Street in 1816, the Assistant Surgeons' house was allocated to Francis Greenway by Governor Macquarie.

The Assistant Surgeons' land was sold to FW Unwin in 1838 and was immediately leased to William Reynolds and Michael Gannon, who were both convicts who made their way in the colony through building construction and both of them have residences known by their names on the block in which 101 George Street stands - Gannon House in Argyle Street and Reynolds' Cottages in Harrington Street.

95-99 George Street was first built by Michael Gannon c1840 as a three storey 'store' consisting of two buildings, which was used by a number of traders and small manufacturers. It was poorly built and by 1860 it was being used by a number of marginal tenants while advertisements were posted for its demolition. It appears to have become untenanted for several years prior to its reconstruction as three two-storey shops with upstairs residences in 1867. This is the construction that is currently on the site.

From 1868 these three shops were tenanted by businesses which continued links to the local shipping trade - butchers, grocers, and outfitters. These were small manufacturing

concerns as well as retailers, with smaller scale retailing becoming more common in the twentieth century. In the early decades of their existence these buildings were much more substantial than those in other parts of the block on which they stand. However, while other parts of the city rebuilt and upsized, these buildings remained as economic depression in the 1890s and repositioning of the Rocks as a 'slum' in the twentieth century allowed them to be bypassed for redevelopment.

Under the administration of Sydney Harbour Trust from 1901 and the Maritime Services Board from 1934 the buildings remained as tenanted shops and small manufacturing concerns. Proposals by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority to demolish this whole area in the 1960s were shelved following community protests supported by trade union Green Bans which changed the direction of government thinking concerning the future of The Rocks.

The buildings were restored in 1978 and 1985 with reconstruction of the pre-1890s street awning and new sympathetic skillion additions at the rear. They remain as shops and dwellings and the present tenancies, like many of those who used these shops in previous centuries, have been long and stable. They remain under the administration of the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority.

There is a coherence to the whole run of buildings from 101 to 93 George Street that exemplifies a scale and simplicity common to commercial developments during the 1840 -90 period. It shares these qualities with other blocks fronting George Street in The Rocks and contributes to the heritage value of the precinct.

95-99 George Street meets this criterion at a STATE level.

The historical significance of 95-99 George Street is demonstrated by:

- The site's association with the first Hospital gardens and the Assistant Surgeons' House.
- It being a second generation of buildings on this site built only two decades after the first stores, illuminating aspects of early building practices in Sydney.
- It being representative of early commercial buildings associated with the maritime trade of Sydney.
- Its continuity of use as small commercial premises from the 1860s to the present.

3.3 Criterion (B): Associational Significance

An item has strong or special association with the life or works of a person or group of persons, of importance in NSW's or the local area's cultural or natural history.

The site is associated with the colony's first hospital. Early colonial illustrations of the site give prominence to the hospital precinct. The site formed part of the assistant surgeons' house and hospital gardens.

The site is associated with Francis Greenway who is recognised as the first significant NSW architect. Under the patronage of Governor Macquarie, Greenway was instrumental in creating buildings and town planning schemes which have left a large legacy. Many of his buildings that remain today are amongst the best loved buildings of Sydney and of the surrounding early town settlements.

The site of 95-99 George Street is associated with Frederick Wright Unwin, solicitor and owner of the site c1838-1846). It also has associations with Michael Gannon, an early convict builder in the area and lessee of the site who built here in c.1840, and with William Yeoman who purchased the properties from Joseph Samuel Hansen in 1870. Yeoman traded for a number of years from No. 97, utilised the large store built behind the property in the interior courtyard and lived for a time in Gannon's old house in Argyle Street. Yeoman, like Reynolds and Gannon before him, became a large building contractor who owned various other places in The Rocks and within the block on which 95-99 George Street stands.

Association with local owners ended in 1885 when John Gill acquired all the properties from Suez Canal to the corner of Argyle Street, and around the corner in Argyle Street. This heralded the arrival of the absentee grazier landlord and the decline of the area residentially.

Nineteenth century large butchers and grocers supplying the maritime as well as local trade dominated, with the twentieth century witnessing several tailoring firms in 95 /97, all with Jewish names, while the various tenants of the fruit shop which located at No. 99 for the first seven decades of the 20th Century had southern European names. Along with the people who ran the oyster and wine bars at No. 101 next door, this created a cosmopolitan enclave on this section of George Street, a history which is significant in reflecting aspects of a waterfront precinct serving a diverse clientele of local and maritime needs.

Gill transferred the property to the state following government resumptions in 1901 and it has remained in state ownership ever since. The provision of low cost and sometimes peppercorn rents when the building was administered by the Maritime Services Board allowed its use by small community groups, with No 97 being associated with Dr Mary Booth and the Empire Service Club which supported the British youth who migrated to Australia from 1910 to work on rural properties under the Dreadnought Scheme.

95-99 George Street meets this criterion at a LOCAL level.

The associational significance of 101 George Street is demonstrated by:

- Association with Francis Greenway, who occupied the Assistant Surgeons' House formerly on the site.
- Association with early builders and developers including Gannon and Yeoman.
- Association with Dr Mary Booth and the Dreadnought Scheme.
- Association with non-Anglo traders.

3.4 Criterion (C): Aesthetic / Technical Significance

An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW or the local area.

95-99 George Street is significant as a well preserved commercial and residential building from the mid- Victorian period, containing significant interiors as well as providing an important contribution to a 19th century commercial streetscape of State significance.

95-99 George Street is also significant for demonstrating technical innovation through its use of cool rooms built into the cellars, one of which survives in No 95 George Street. 95 George Street was first used as a butcher shop by Thomas Claydon in 1867. The cool room is a rare and intact industrial archaeological resource. It has the potential to yield further information regarding the development of early refrigeration technologies in Australia.

The item meets this criterion at a STATE level.

The aesthetic and technical significance achievement of 95-99 George Street is demonstrated by:

- The early Victorian form and detailing of the George Street frontage of the group and the first floor and attic interiors of Nos 95 and 97 George Street.
- The early timber cool room located in the cellar of 95 George Street.

3.5 Criterion (D): Social Significance

An item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in NSW or the local area for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.

95-99 George Street is an integral part of the precinct of The Rocks which is valued for its overall heritage significance and for its links to the Green Bans movement of the 1970s. It was also among the earlier buildings to be restored by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority, and has maintained the uses then established until the present time. It therefore has social significance for present and past members of The Rocks community (including some of the existing tenants).

No 97, as a place associated with the Dreadnought scheme, may have social significance for the descendants of those who came to Australia under this scheme from 1910. A plaque commemorating the scheme, erected by the Dreadnought Old Boy's Association in 1984, is located at the former Playfair's Garage (currently The Rocks Visitors Centre) in Argyle Place.

These buildings were important places of trade and of provisioning for the shipping of the port of Sydney, and for small manufacturing. The association of the place with non-Anglo European immigrants provides insight into the workings of this harbour precinct in the first half of the 20th Century.

95-99 George Street meets this criterion on a LOCAL level.

The social significance of 95-99 George Street is demonstrated by:

- Its role in supporting the working population of the waterside economy until the 1970s.
- The role of No 97 in accommodating the Empire Services Club which supported the Dreadnought Scheme.
- It being part of The Rocks precinct where the Green Bans resulted in altering the way that the NSW government, the people of Sydney and the wider Australian community understood and valued the history and heritage values of Sydney's first settlement.

3.6 Criterion (E): Research Significance

An item has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW's or the local areas cultural or natural history.

Archaeological remains may be present on site relating to the two phases of the Assistant Surgeons' House from 1788 to c1837. The site has potential to yield further information regarding its occupants, notably Dr. William Redfern and architect Francis Greenway. Extant building fabric may provide an understanding of the use of the extensive yard area surrounding the house. Such fabric includes the stone wall located east of the house and running parallel to its facade constructed during the same period as 95-99 George Street.

Archaeological evidence may also exist of the original shops built in c.1840 by Michael Gannon which were later reconstructed in 1867. The building footprints relating to the two phases of construction differ, the latter construction consisting of three buildings rather than two, and appearing to have been extended westwards during the 1867 re-build. Further research will confirm if this occurred and if any remains exist of the original c.1840 shops. Sub-floor and inter-floor deposits have the potential to yield further archaeological evidence about the site's use and occupants from 1867 onwards.

While mostly disturbed, the site area of 95-99 George Street has the potential to yield evidence of indigenous and contact archaeology within its former rear yard area.

The item meets this criterion at a STATE level.

The research significance of 95-99 George Street is demonstrated by:

- Archaeological potential relating to the two phases of the Assistant Surgeons' House, including the yard areas
- Potential evidence of the house's occupants, notably Dr. William Redfern and Francis Greenway
- Possible evidence of the earlier building phase of the original c.1840 shops

- The archaeological potential for sub-floor, inter-floor and wall cavity deposits

The archaeological significance of 95-99 George Street is demonstrated by:

- The area of potential remains relating to the two phases of the Assistant Surgeons' House built shortly after settlement in 1788 and reconstructed c1796, and possible remnants of the 1840s building. Archaeological remains of rear sheds and associated features are likely to be present beneath the present yard areas, except for No 99 where the 2006 works are likely to have removed any archaeological remains.

3.7 Criterion (F): Rarity

An item possesses uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of NSW's or the local area's cultural or natural history.

The terrace at 95-99 George Street is rare in being an early example of a group of Victorian shops with residences above. The group is also rare in containing some of the most intact interiors (the first floors and attics at Nos 95 and 97) of their type, and also in containing (in the cellar of No 95) a rare example of early refrigeration technology used before the advent of mechanical refrigeration.

The group meets this criterion at a STATE level.

The rarity of 95-99 George Street is demonstrated by:

- The early and comparatively intact interiors of the first floors and attics at Nos 95 and 97.
- The early coolroom in the cellar of No 95.

3.8 Criterion (G): Representativeness

An item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW's or the local area's cultural or natural places, or cultural or natural environments.

The terrace at 95-99 George Street is an early example of a group of Victorian shops with residences above, a type of development that was to become relatively common later in the 19th century. It contains many of the features that would later become typical of this type and style of development.

The place meets this criterion at a STATE level

The representativeness of 95-99 George Street is demonstrated by:

- The fabric, form and detailing of the original parts of the group, including the rendered facades, moulded arched architraves to first floor windows, parapet and cornice, and timber shopfronts and windows

- The continued use of Nos 95 and 99 as shops with associated residences above.

3.9 Statement of Significance

The site known as 95-99 George Street has historical significance as part of an important place for the Gadigal people, and as a place continuously occupied by Europeans since 1788. The land was part of the first hospital in the colony, and was the site of the Assistant Surgeon's house, later occupied by Francis Greenway. Following acquisition of the land by Frederick Unwin, the present site was leased to Michael Gannon, a former convict, who constructed a stores building on it in the early 1840s. Gannon's building was demolished and replaced by the present group of three buildings in 1867. They have been continuously occupied and used for commercial purposes since then, with alterations to the buildings and site especially at the rear. These buildings were among the early properties to be conserved by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority, following the Green Bans which halted the proposed wholesale demolition and redevelopment of The Rocks area. It thus has social significance for The Rocks community.

Apart from its associations with Greenway, Unwin and Gannon, the place also has associations with another early builder in the area, William Yeoman, who traded from No 97 for several years and built a large store across Greenway Lane. The building at No 97 also has associations with Dr Mary Booth, the Empire Services Club and the Dreadnought Scheme of the early 20th century.

95-99 George Street has aesthetic significance as a well preserved and early commercial and residential building from the mid- Victorian period, containing significant interiors as well as providing an important contribution to a 19th century commercial streetscape of State significance. The cellar of No 95 contains an item of technical significance: a timber cool room from the mid-19th century.

The site has research and archaeological significance as part of the first hospital in the colony, with potential for the presence of remains relating to this and to the second period of development in the 1830s, as well as possible remains of the Gannon buildings of the 1840s.

PART 4

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE


4.1 Historical Context


The history of the subject site should be read with reference to the broader contextual history of The Rocks precinct. An overview of the history of The Rocks can be found within The Rocks Heritage Management Plan and in publications such as Max Kelly, *Anchored in a Small Cove. – A history and archaeology of The Rocks*, Sydney, Sydney Cove Authority, 1997 and in various scholarly publications including Grace Karskens, *The Rocks: Life in Early Sydney*, MUP, 1997.

The bibliography provided in Section 6.5 of this document lists extensive general and specific sources.

4.2 Outline Chronology

Date	Environment	95-99 George St.
Pre-1788	Gadigal country	
1788	General Hospital built	
1816	Greenway moves into Assistant Surgeons' house	
1820s	Disputes over land claims for land in Harrington Street. Hawkins builds 2 storey building at corner Harrington & Argyle Sts.	
1826	Ryan builds cottages at 28-30 Harrington Street	
1834	Reynolds builds 34 Harrington Street	
c.1837	Assistant Surgeons' residence pulled down.	
1837	December: F.W. Unwin buys the land.	
1838	November: F.W. Unwin issued title to the land again	
1839	Unwin leases it all to Reynolds and Gannon. Reynolds builds tenements behind his cottages.	July: Michael Gannon leases land from Unwin for 21 years.

Date	Environment	95-99 George St.
c1840		Three storey brick or stone stores building, shops with dwellings, built on site by Gannon.
1840	Gannon obtains publican's License for New York Hotel	
1841	Buildings at 91-99 George St. & 45-47 Argyle St.	
1842	Sydney economy depressed. All 91-101 George Street built on	
By 1844		September. Frederick Unwin sells the freehold to Robert Archibald, Alison Morehead and Mathew Young. Gannon has a mortgage over all his properties in George and Argyle Streets with Joseph Samuel
1845		Gannon files for insolvency.
1847		Gannon declared insolvent and remaining years left of his leasehold sold to Hanson.
1851	Gold Rushes. Upturn in Sydney economy	
1858	Blackwood's panorama of Sydney Cove captures George Street	
1858/59-1868	1859: Argyle cut open	Yeoman operates as Plumber and Painter at site
1861		July: Owners call for tenders to demolish buildings.
1861-66		Site vacant.

Date	Environment	95-99 George St.
c1863-1864	Extension of Argyle Street to new Semi-Circular Quay. Docks filled in, new stores built at SE corner of George & Argyle Sts. Boundary wall rebuilt. Store to north of new street extension demolished	
By 1867		Two storey building of 3 shops now at 95-99 George St.
1867-1908		No 95 A Butcher Shop
1868	British Seamen's Hotel built on site of older hotel at corner Argyle and Harrington.	
1868-97		No 99 A Grocery Shop
1869-1877		No 97: Yeoman painting and plumbing business with store at the rear of the building.
1871		Moorhead and Young sold the buildings to Yeoman
1875		
1879	City of Sydney Improvement Act	
1880		Street Number changed from 97-101 to 95-99. (before June 1880)
1882	William Reynold's tenements (built c.1839 at the rear of Reynolds' Cottages) and 2 storey houses fronting Harrington Lane pulled down.	
1885		August: William Yeoman sold premises to John Gill, grazier who becomes absentee landlord.

Date	Environment	95-99 George St.
c1887	Playfair moved from 101 to 103	
1888	Robert Gill inherits properties	Robert Gill inherits the land
c. 1890	ASN Hotel, 91 George St & building at 93 George St rebuilt	
1890s	Circular Quay dominated by passenger vessels and mail steamers – removal of commercial vessels to Darling Harbour	
1896-1906		No 97 Robert Haines, bird dealer
1900	Outbreak of Bubonic Plague. The area was resumed under the Darling Harbour Wharves Resumption Act	
1902-1970s		No 99 Fruiterer
1903		October. R. Gill released the land title to the Crown and the Minister for Public Works
1905-1922	.	No 95 Clothiers No 97 Clothiers (1908-1923)
1922-1950		No 95 Grocers
1924-1931	1933: Sands Directory ceased publication	No 97 Empire Service club
1939-1950		No 97 Printers
1939	Demolition of Commissariat & Ordnance stores	
1952	MSB head office completed	
1970		Control of property was vested in the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority

Date	Environment	95-99 George St.
1971-74	Green Bans led by Builders Labourers Federation prevent destruction of The Rocks.	
1978	Greenway Lane paving uncovered	New rear wings constructed
1983		Chemist in No 97
1985		Awning reconstructed. Pediment added to parapet
1991	November: Museum of Contemporary Art opens in old MSB building	
2001		Minor internal works. Pediment removed.
2006		Major refurbishment works at No 99 for Kazal Bros.
2007		
2012 and well before		No 95 Sydney Cove Newsagency No 97 Sydney Cove Chemist No 99 The Rocks Cafe

4.3 Relationship to Historic Themes

Australian Theme	NSW State Theme	Associated Elements / Issues
Peopling Australia	Convict	Possible remnants of other buildings built by former convict Gannon
Developing local, regional and national economies	Commerce	Buildings constructed and used continually for commercial development
Building	Towns, suburbs and	Buildings, building remnants

Australian Theme	NSW State Theme	Associated Elements / Issues
settlements, towns and cities	villages	and site formations evidencing development pattern on the site

4.4 Curtilage & Setting

The present lease boundary approximates to the historic curtilage of the group, defined at the rear by the retaining wall along the laneway, although some alterations have occurred at the northern end through encroachments.

Views to and from the site are relatively confined by other development, so that the visual curtilage, which includes the larger setting of the place within which development or other activities could potentially affect its significance, does not extend greatly beyond the lease boundary. The proposed curtilages are shown in Figure 6 below.

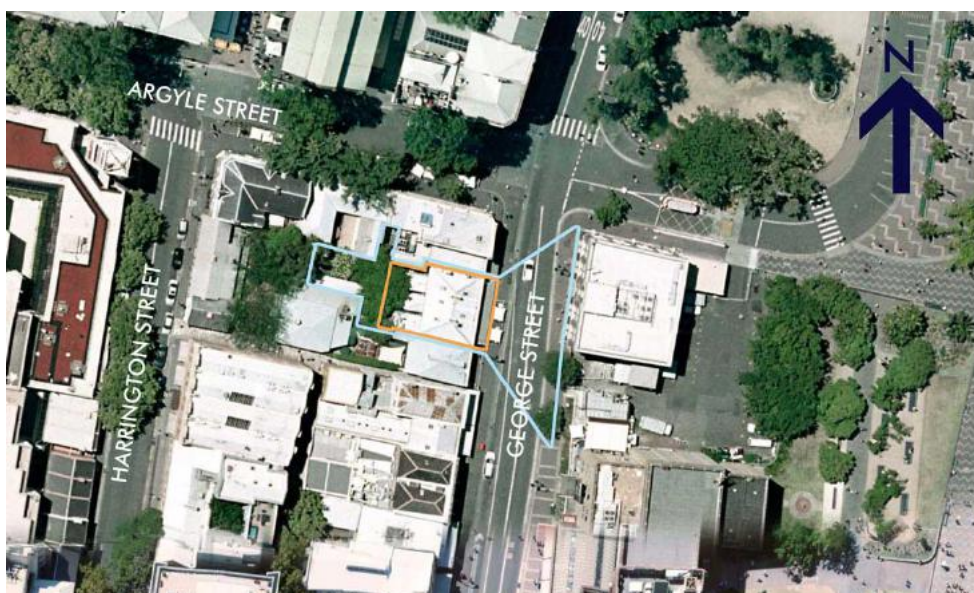


Figure 6

Aerial photograph of Nos 95-99 George Street in their townscape context, showing proposed setting/visual curtilage (light blue) and proposed physical curtilage (orange). (Source (base plan): Google Maps)

4.5 Townscape & Streetscape

Figure 7 shows the present views to the place from George Street and the internal courtyard across Greenway Lane.



Figure 7

Aerial photograph of Nos 95-99 George Street in its townscape context, showing significant views to the property (light blue) and the present lease boundary (orange). (Source (base plan): Google Maps)



Figure 8

View from south-east towards Nos 95-99, 2013.



Figure 9

View from north-east towards Nos 95-99, 2013.



Figure 10

View from west towards Nos 95-99, 2012.

4.6 Archaeological Potential

The site area of 95-99 George Street has been continually occupied from 1788 and as a result is mostly disturbed. However it is possible the area may contain some evidence of indigenous or contact archaeology.

Since 1788 the site of 95-99 George Street has transitioned through four significant phases of development, including:

- Construction of the two houses for the Assistant Surgeon
- Demolition of the Assistant Surgeons House in c.1837
- Construction of the original 95-99 George Street in c.1840 and;
- Reconstruction of the present building in 1867

The site area of 95-99 George Street is located within the area on which the first and second houses for the Assistant Surgeon were constructed. The house was constructed soon after settlement in 1788 and then reconstructed c.1796 after the original building fell into disrepair. Historical maps (refer to Figure 57) show that some or part of the original house fell within the boundaries of 95-99 George Street. If present, remains are more likely to be evident towards the eastern boundary and footpath where the geography provides a flatter surface.

The c.1796 house covered a larger area and was more substantial, possibly built of sandstone. It is possible that some material evidence remains from this house, specifically the central and southern wing, including evidence of its eastern, southern and western footings and lower elevations and room interiors. Historical maps vary on the exact alignment of the house; archaeological evidence may provide further information relating to its size and orientation.

In association with the house, historical maps record what may be a single wall just east of the house and running parallel to its facade. It is possible that this feature is a retaining wall, built to provide an elevated level surface on which to build the c.1796 house. Evidence of the wall may exist towards the south eastern boundary of the site, and possibly out into the footpath of George Street.

It is not known if the two 1840s buildings constructed by Gannon following the demolition of the Assistant Surgeons' house contained cellars. If there were cellars in these buildings, the present cellars may contain some original fabric from the c.1840 construction phase. However, the dividing walls between cellars would date from the 1860s reconstruction.



Figure 11

This image shows the cellar of 95 George Street looking west towards Greenway Lane. This cellar covers only one section of 95 George Street and does not extend beyond the rear service area into the yard (Source – Justin Hewitt)



Figure 12

This image shows the cellar of 95 George Street looking east towards George Street. Note the sandstone foundations (highlighted in red) abutting the sand stock bricks of the 1867 reconstruction (Source – Justin Hewitt)

It is evident that the three existing cellars were constructed in a single phase. All three cellars share common walls made of sandstone. These are most evident in the cellar of 95 George Street which is, at present, not being utilised.



Figure 13

This image shows the cellar of 95 George Street looking east towards George Street. Note the sandstone dividing wall (highlighted in red) abutting a common wall with 97 George Street to the south (*Source – Justin Hewitt*)

The area with the most archaeological potential is the former yard area of the c1840 shops. Unlike the rear yard of 93 George Street, physical evidence suggests that during the 1867 reconstruction, the yard was terraced further into the natural slope; however it is unclear to what extent. This is most evident at the junction of the rear yards and Greenway Lane where the surface levels are approximately 2m apart. This phase of development is likely to have disturbed any archaeological deposit relating to the two houses of the Assistant Surgeon.

Remains from the post 1867 construction phase within the yard area, including smaller structures such as sheds and outhouses and deep features such as wells, cesspits and services may be present in the archaeological record; however, it is likely that this area has been disturbed. Any works in these areas should be monitored for archaeological remains.

While some rebuilding has taken place, especially at No 99 in 2006, all sub-floor, inter-floor and wall cavities have the potential to retain archaeological material.

The Rocks and Millers Point Archaeological Management Plan (1991) describes the site of 95-99 George Street as mostly disturbed. However further investigations will confirm the level of disturbance and archaeological potential.

4.7 Landscape & Landscape Elements

The principal soft landscape element in the vicinity of the site is a large fig tree in Greenway Lane outside the rear of No 97 George Street. All of the vegetation has been introduced since 1978, when photographs of work in progress show the entire area free of vegetation.

The stone retaining wall to the rear yards may date from the c1840s period of construction by Gannon and is of exceptional significance. The roots of the fig tree are growing into this wall and causing some damage to it (refer to Figure 35).



Figure 14

Greenway Lane in 1977, during works on 95-99 George Street. Source: SHFA Image 41148 GEM 95.9.



Figure 15

Greenway Lane in 2012, with the mature fig growing against the rear wall of No 97, 2012.

4.8 Building Exterior

The George Street facade is of rendered masonry, with Italianate stucco decoration, and appears largely original. The facade has a horizontal plain parapet and moulded cornice, behind which can be seen the top of the roof and rendered party walls, surmounted by chimneys with faceted terracotta pots. The plain stucco band below the cornice has painted signage. The wall below the cornice retains traces of ashlar coursing, and arched window openings have heavily moulded stucco architraves and projecting sills supported on simple stucco brackets. The timber framed shopfronts also appear to incorporate a good deal of original fabric, although documentary and physical evidence indicates some reconstruction and repair. They have bolection moulded panels beneath the shop windows, splayed window returns to the entrance door which is set back from the street, and painted signage on the glass. The awning was constructed in 1985, reproducing detailing from the original shopfront pilasters. All of the rooflights are of recent construction, although those at Nos 95 and 97 appear to be replacements of original elements. The front rooflight at No 99 was introduced in 2006.



Figure 16

East elevation of 95-99 George Street. Adapted by Orwell & Peter Phillips from SHFA Drawing No 500-AR-1000.



Figure 17

Detail from Panorama, 1879: The buildings have a street awning, and rooflights are visible at Nos 95 and 97. Source: SHFA Image NO 33949_CQ_9.3.



Figure 18

Current George Street facade, 2012.



Figure 19

Detail of the shopfront at No 97, 2012



Figure 20

Detail of original rear windows at No 95, 2012

The rear elevation has undergone rather more changes, with the additions and alterations to rear wings between 1978 and 2006. The rear rooflights to Nos 95 and 99 appear to have been added after 1973. The original rear walls are face brick, and walls of the extensions (except for the 2006 works at No 99) also in face brick, either modern sandstocks or second-hand bricks; only the chimneys and parapet to party walls are rendered and painted. There is little decorative detail on the rear facades except for brick arches and plain projecting stone sills to windows. Most rear windows on the main section are original or reconstructed; those to the rear wings are also timber framed but of recent origin. Fences are timber.



Figure 21

West elevation of 95-99 George Street. Adapted by Orwell & Peter Phillips from SHFA Drawing No 500-AR-1000.



Figure 22

Main section and original rear wings of 95-99 George Street, from the plant area at No 99, 2012.



Figure 23

Modern rear wings of No 97 George Street, 2012

The roofs have been resheeted with corrugated galvanised steel in single lengths. A number of services, including a satellite dish at No 97, television aerials, and air-conditioning units are visible above the roof, as are the kitchen exhaust and plant area at the rear of No 99.

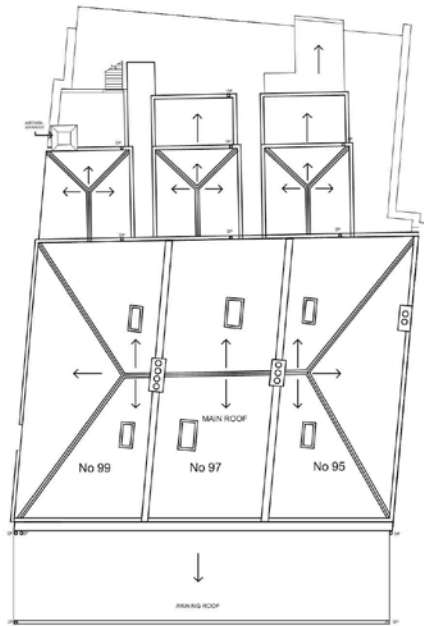


Figure 24

Roof plan of 95-99 George Street. Adapted by Orwell & Peter Phillips from SHFA Drawing No 500-AR-1000.



Figure 25

Roofscape of 95-99 George Street, photographed from scaffolding during roof repairs at No 103, 2012.

4.9 Building Interior

4.9.1 Basements

The cellars of the three properties were presumably originally very similar, but have since been altered to varying degrees. Little original fabric is visible in the basement at No 99; the floors, walls and ceilings have all been concealed by modern finishes, and even the access

hatch from George Street has had a refrigerated cabinet built into it. At No 97, despite the presence of modern steel shelving, the original character of the cellar is quite apparent, with the exposed underside of the floor above, and the original stone walls. The cellar at No 95 could not be inspected, but previous inspections (refer Section 4.6) indicate that it also has been little altered, and still contains the early timber cool store photographed in 1970.

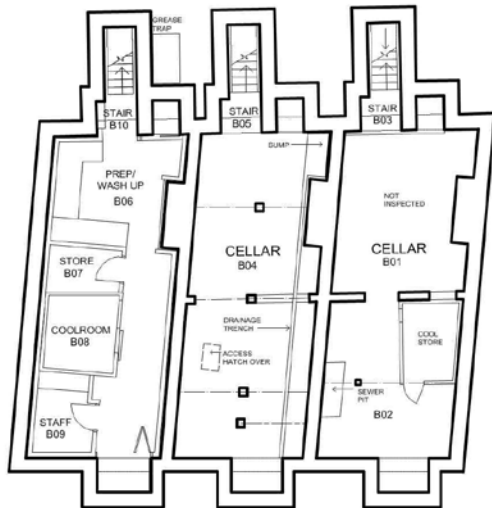


Figure 26

Basement plan of 95-99 George Street. Adapted by Orwell & Peter Phillips from SHFA Drawing No 500-AR-1000.



Figure 27

Cellar steps at No 97, in their original configuration which led to an external access opening, 2012.

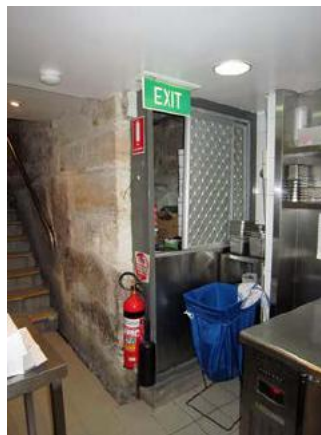


Figure 28

New concrete steps to the cellar in No 99, 2012.



Figure 29

The eastern end of the cellar to No 97, showing access opening to George Street, and underside of timber floor (including repaired section), 2012.



Figure 30

The same area of the cellar in No 99, showing new internal walls, wall, floor and ceiling finishes, and stainless steel and glass doors to access hatch, 2012.

4.9.2 Ground floors & rear yards

The ground floors of all of the buildings are comparatively similar at the front, each having the main trading area occupying the two front rooms. The presence of the fireplace in the rear section, and the indications from cellar walls of former wall between the two spaces (where now there are beams) suggest that originally only the front part was used for trading, and the rear was probably a combined kitchen and dining area for the shopkeeper and their family. At the rear of this section are the stairs (original, although repaired and reconfigured) leading to the family's private areas of parlour and bedrooms. The rear of No 99 now also contains additional stairs and a kitchen

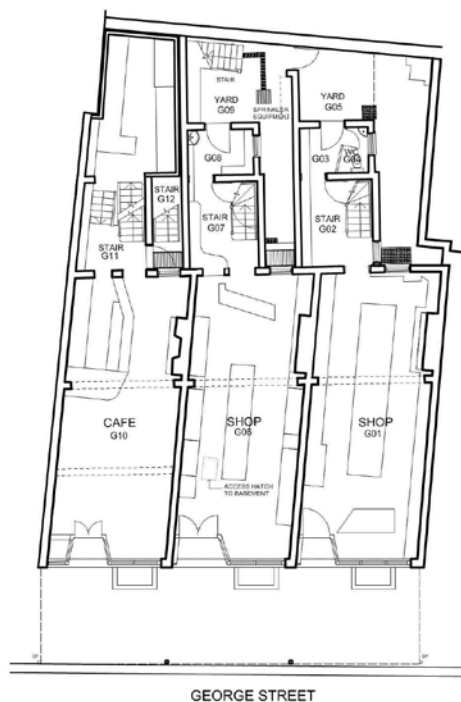


Figure 31

Ground floor plan of 95-99 George Street. Adapted by Orwell & Peter Phillips from SHFA Drawing No 500-AR-1000.



Figure 32

Ground floor of No 95, looking towards rear stairs, 2012.



Figure 33

Ground floor of No 97 looking towards rear, 2012.



Figure 34

Ground floor of No 97, looking towards shopfront, 2012.



Figure 35

Ground floor of No 99, looking towards rear, 2012.

The rear sections are largely modernised in all three properties. In the rear yards of Nos 95 and 97 (at George Street level, one floor below Greenway Lane at the rear) the stone retaining wall remains, with a small area of stone paving in the north-west corner of No 95 – the remainder of the paving is modern brick. At No 99 this area is now occupied with a kitchen, the flat roof of which gives access to Greenway Lane via a new steel stair covered with a glass roof.



Figure 36

Rear side passage of No 95, looking towards Greenway Lane, 2012. Early wall of No 93 on right.



Figure 37

Retaining wall at rear of No 97, showing timber stair to Greenway Lane and roots of ?self-sown fig, 2012.

4.9.3 First floors

The first floors of Nos 95 and 97 retain their early configuration of front parlour and rear bedroom. New kitchens have been inserted into the area at the top of the main stair, with a bathroom beyond towards the rear. In No 99 the internal partitions have been removed to provide a single large space.



Figure 38

First floor plan of 95-99 George Street. Adapted by Orwell & Peter Phillips from SHFA Drawing No 500-AR-1000.



Figure 39

First floor of No 95, looking towards George Street, 2012.

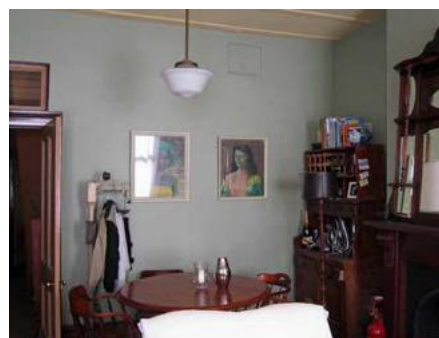


Figure 40

First floor parlour of No 97 looking towards rear, 2012.



Figure 41

First floor of No 99, looking towards George Street, 2012.



Figure 42

Kitchen of No 95, looking towards rear, 2012.

4.9.4 Attics

The attics at Nos 95 and 97 are reached by narrow timber stairs that are evidently original, and have timber boarded dwarf walls (where ceilings slope) and boarded ceilings that also appear largely original, with some repairs. The walls have doors giving access to the roof space beyond. Rooflights are all modern. The attic at No 99 has no dwarf walls beneath sloping ceilings; the ceiling slopes all the way to the floor, and the walls are replaced by modern timber posts and beams. The access ladder is new.

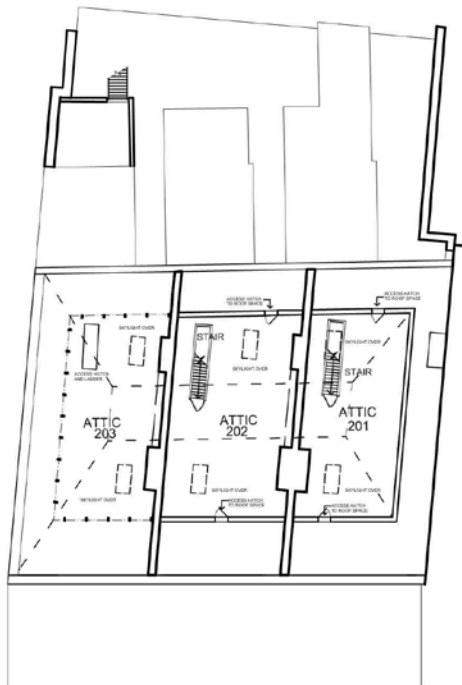


Figure 43

Attic plan of 95-99 George Street. Adapted by Orwell & Peter Phillips from SHFA Drawing No 500-AR-1000.



Figure 44

Attic of No 95, looking towards rear, 2012.



Figure 45

Roof space around attic of No 97 looking towards rear, 2012.



Figure 46

Attic of No 99, looking towards George Street, 2012.



Figure 47

Stairs to attic at No 95, looking towards front, 2012.

4.10 Fixtures & Fittings

Apart from building elements such as stairs and shopfronts, fixtures and fittings appear to be of recent origin. The shop fitout at No 97 was originally designed as a 'period' fitout, but has been overlaid with modern fittings. The cool room in the cellar of No 95 is however probably original. During works to No 95 in 1989-90, a report⁶ on the coolroom was prepared by Carl Doring, Industrial Archaeologist, which assessed the coolroom as being of moderate heritage significance, as it was typical of those used in many small butcher shops and in fairly original condition, but then a fairly rare surviving example of its type.

⁶ C and M J Doring Pty Ltd. Cool Room in Basement – Doring Industrial report 1990 and 2001.pdf. Reprint of report prepared for Sydney Cove Authority. SHFA Archives.

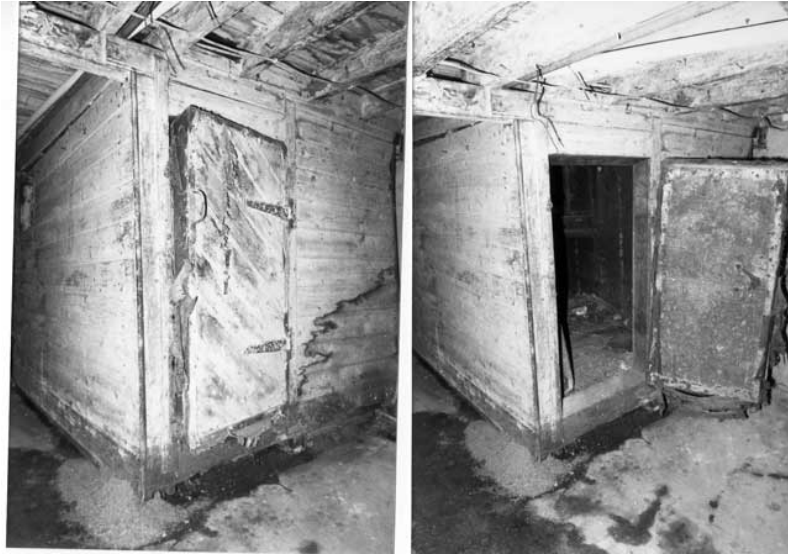


Figure 48

Coolroom in cellar of 95 George Street, undated. Source: SHFA Image No 41144 GEM 95.4. Refer also to Figure 11.

4.11 Social & Intangible Values

The present tenants of No 97 have been in occupations since the 1980s, and have links to other early occupants of The Rocks historic district following the government's decision to conserve it in the 1970s. This group forms a small community of people, some of whom are no longer within the area, that are passionate about The Rocks and its history⁷. The place therefore has some associations for this community of the 1970s struggles to save The Rocks from demolition and redevelopment.

4.12 Comparative Analysis

The following comparative analysis has been prepared using the resources of the NSW State Heritage Inventory.

The group at Nos 95-99 George Street is typical of the small commercial and residential development that occurred throughout Sydney from the early 19th century to the mid 20th century, with shops at street level and residences above. Such buildings were commonly two or three storeys high, often constructed in terraces along main roads such as Glebe Point Road, King Street in Newtown or Oxford Street in Paddington. Examples of multiple Victorian shops and residences in The Rocks include the group of three at 121-125 George Street, dating from 1882. Outside the area, other examples include 153-159 Glebe Point Road (1881-83), 85-93 Glebe Point Road (1880-1890) and 95-99 Glebe Point Road (1880). A number of such groups (for example, along Oxford Street, Paddington) are not listed individually, but as contributory items within conservation areas.

⁷ For example, refer to Melissa Holmes. *Reynolds Cottages – Living History*. Green Olive Press 2010.



Figure 49

Former shops and residences, 121-125 George Street, The Rocks. *Source: State Heritage Inventory.*



Figure 50

Shops and residences, 153-159 Glebe Point Road, Glebe: *State Heritage Inventory*



Figure 51

Shops and residences, 85-93 Glebe Point Road, Glebe. *Source: State Heritage Inventory.*



Figure 52

Shops and residences, 95-99 Glebe Point Road, Glebe: *State Heritage Inventory*

The comparative analysis indicates that although a number of individual Victorian shops and residences from the 1860s are still in existence, most of the groups of such buildings date from the 1880s period. The group at 95-99 George Street is therefore a relatively rare early example of such development, although having many of the typical features of the buildings that were to become more common in the following decades.

PART 5

ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

5.1 Introduction

The block bounded by George Street (formerly High Street), Argyle Street, Harrington Street and Suez Canal (formally Harrington Lane) is part of the land of the Gadigal clan of the Indigenous people who were living on and around the area at the time of the arrival of the Europeans in 1788. The study site was part of the 1788-1816 hospital precinct, fronting what eventually became George Street.

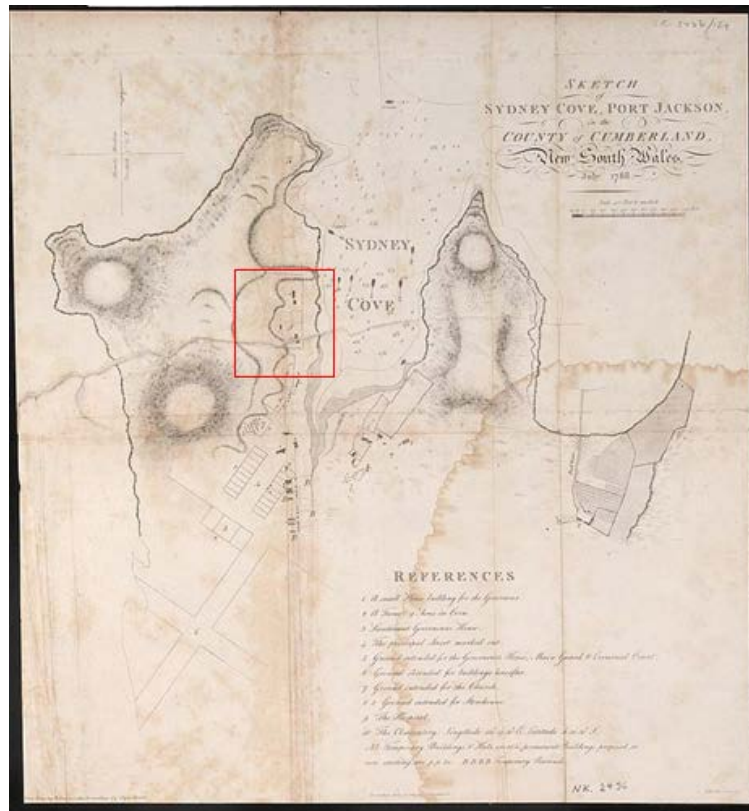


Figure 53

Sketch of Sydney Cove, Port Jackson...July 1788, coastline drawn by William Dawes, engraved by T Medland, published J Stockdale, 1879, and reproduced in 'The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay 1789', Mitchell Library, SL NSW. The hospital is numbered 9, with its eastern boundary marking the projected line of George Street. The rear of the site is delineated by a wavy line indicating the escarpment of the high level of The Rocks. State Library of NSW Call No. Q78/26

The house erected for the Assistant Surgeon, circled in the detail map, eventually marked the corner of George and Argyle Streets, with the remainder of the land forming part of the hospital gardens. The Surgeon General's residence was next door, on the northern side of Argyle Street, and the whole of the hospital complex extended south to what is now Globe Street.



Figure 54

DETAIL: Sketch of Sydney Cove, Port Jackson...July 1788, coastline drawn by William Dawes State Library of NSW Call No. Q78/26

After the hospital was moved to its current site on Macquarie Street in 1816, the Assistant Surgeons' house was provided as a residence to the government Architect, Francis Greenway. He occupied this property until c1836 with the result that most of the block remained undeveloped although there was some building along Harrington Street from at least the early 1820s. West of Harrington Street higher up on The Rocks many convicts and settlers had built cottages for themselves, connected to the hospital land below via several sets of steps cut into the rock-face. Upper and Lower Argyle Street formed a major link between this unruly jumble of convict cottages and the High Street (George Street) which was dominated in this locality by the colony's dockyards and later by the Commissariat Stores during the first decades of European settlement.

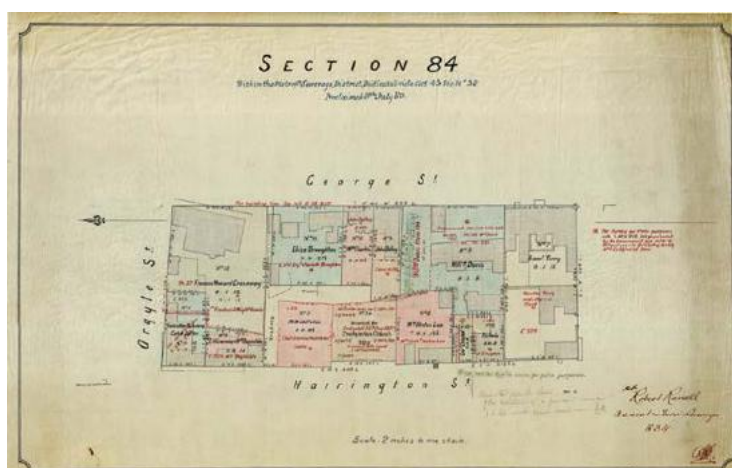


Figure 55

Section 84 of the map series known as the City Section Survey Plans 1833. This one is signed by Robert Russell, 1834. These plans were redrawn in the 1880s from originals in the NSW Lands Department. City Section Survey Plans 1833 Section 84 City of Sydney Archives



Figure 56

DETAIL: Section 84 of the map series known as the City Section Survey Plans 1833 City of Sydney Archives

The location of these structures represented in the image above in relation to the current structures is indicated by the following overlay of Russell's map.



Figure 57

By the 1840s the block was fully built over, with many of the structures built at this time or their successors remaining today. The layout of buildings with interior laneways and yards was once common to many parts of Sydney, but while other areas of central Sydney changed enormously during the boom decades of the 1860s-1880s, this block remained highly intact. Google Map 2012 overlaid with City Section Survey Plans 1833 Section 84 City of Sydney Archives

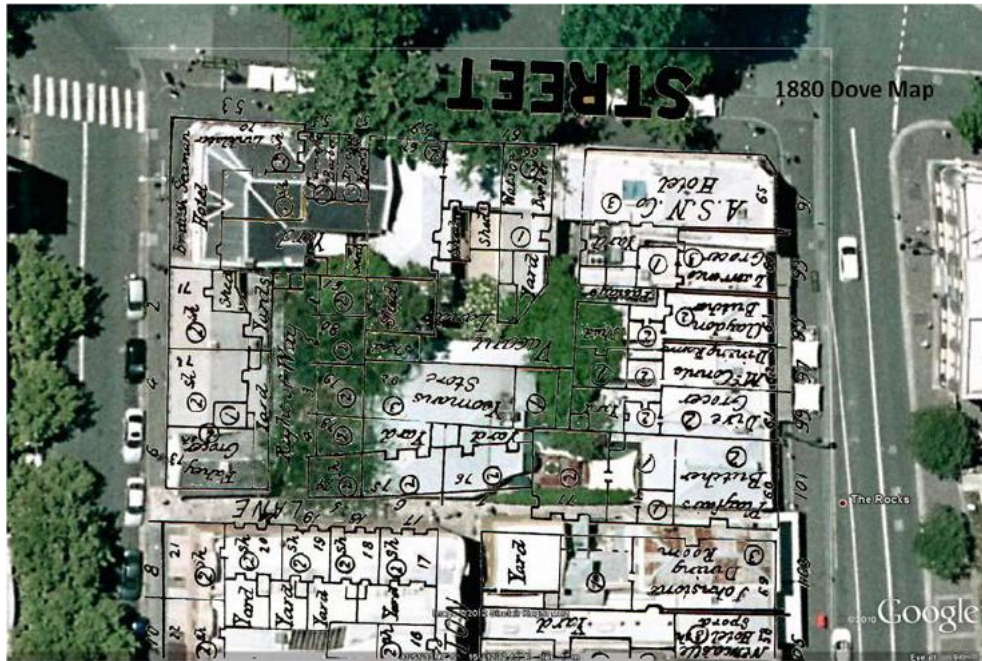


Figure 58

Percy Dove's 1879 plan of the block bounded by George, Argyle, Harrington and Suez Canal over the current aerial map. The layout has not altered markedly, with many of the buildings either retained or modified on a similar scale and footprint to the earlier one on the site. The site retains interior open space that was typical of the late nineteenth century. Google Map 2012 overlaid by Doves Plans of Sydney, 1880 - Block_43_44_59_65 City of Sydney Archives

Subsequently, depressed conditions from the 1890s allowed the area to fall out of favour for both residential and commercial purposes, and when it became part of extensive state government land resumptions of The Rocks in 1901 the area was considered to be a 'slum'. The authorities that administered The Rocks from 1901 until the formation of the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority in 1968 did not redevelop this block and thus it remains as a prime example of an 1840s townscape. Since the 1970s the place has been refurbished and modified to form part of Sydney's oldest heritage and tourist precinct while retaining the scale and much of the fabric created from the building of Reynolds' Cottages in Harrington Street in the 1820s through to the building of the ASN Hotel on George Street in 1891.

5.2 Methodology

This history outlines the developmental aspects of the block bounded by George Street, Argyle Street, Harrington Street and Suez Canal and provides an overview history of the economic, social and cultural activities of the people who were associated with the site, while events and activities located on this site are illustrative of the more general development of The Rocks and of Sydney.

The reason for undertaking this historical survey of the site is to inform the conservation and management of its places and spaces. Understanding the history of the people and the forces that led to the creation of the physical fabric of a place increases the potential for such work to not only preserve but to expand our understanding of the place. Making

connections between the people who lived here with each other and with the area in general may lead to further understanding of other places in the area and beyond.

5.3 Authorship

The historical components of this CMP are authored by Dr. Shirley Fitzgerald, Historian. Map overlays and location sketches have been created by Justin Hewitt, Archaeologist & Heritage Consultant. The detailed history of the site and buildings has been edited and enlarged by Peter Phillips.

5.4 Historical Sources

This history has been written using the following sources:

The various histories that have been developed in the past for CMPS relating to individual buildings within the subject area, published secondary works relevant to the site as cited in the footnotes to this section and as listed in the bibliography in Section 6.5, newspapers, parliamentary papers, archival and pictorial material from the National Library of Australia, the State Library of NSW, State Records NSW, City of Sydney Archives and history files held by the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority.

5.5 Social & Developmental History

5.5.1 Gadigal

The western shores of Sydney Cove were known to the Gadigal people as Tallawolladah.⁸ After an initial curiosity, the locals realised that the Europeans had come to stay, and while some were prepared to experiment with accommodating the new arrivals, others responded with anger to the taking of their land. An instance of mutual exchange was recorded by the early convict artist, Thomas Watling, whose paintings include scenes of the subject site. He recalled how the Aboriginal people would often sit for hours watching him work, while he took careful notice of the art work they did on their utensils and weapons.⁹ Similarly, many Indigenous people frequented the area because of the friendship offered by William Dawes at his observatory on Tar-ra (Dawes Point).

⁸ Attenbrow, V. *Sydney's Aboriginal Past*, UNSW Press, 2003, p.11

⁹ Thomas Watling, Letters from an exile at Botany Bay ...to his aunt in Dumfries, 1794, available on-line at <http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/pdf/p00061.pdf>

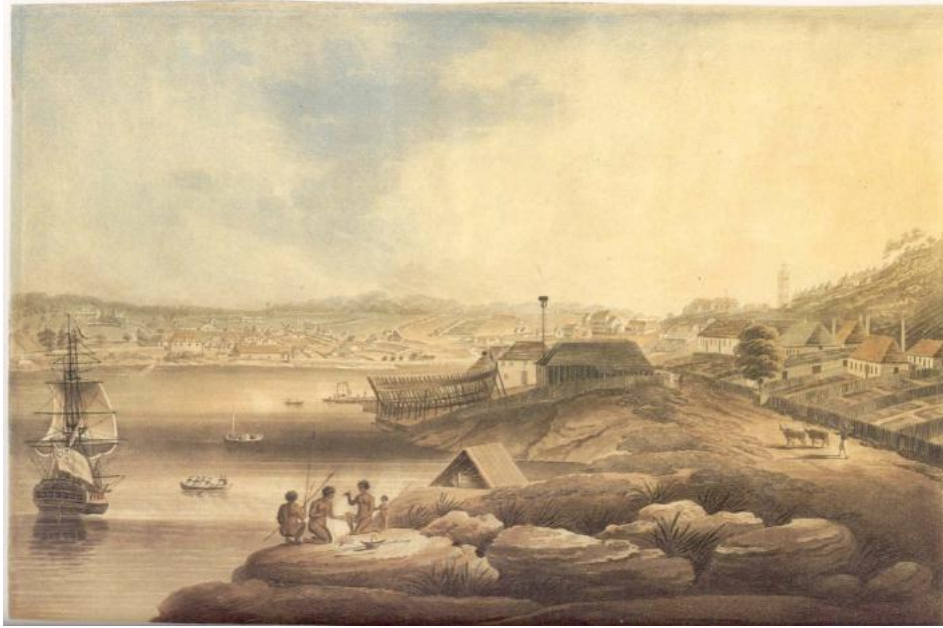


Figure 59

Edward Dayes, 'A View of Sydney Cove, New South Wales', 1804, probably based on a drawing by Thomas Watling, 1798-1800. This shows the hospital site on the right, Aboriginal people in the foreground. State Library of NSW Call No. V1 / 1802 / 1

But while Sydney's early European diarists record many instances of friendship and mutual assistance, they also record the resistance of the Gadigal to their invaders. David Collins wrote of the first year of the settlement that:

*The natives continued to molest our people whenever they chanced to meet any of them straggling and unarmed ... About the middle of the month a convict, who had wandered beyond the limits of security which had been pointed out for them, fell in with a party of natives, about fourteen in number, who stripped and beat him shockingly, and would have murdered him had they not heard the report of a musquet,*¹⁰

When the first hospital was erected on the western shores of Sydney Cove and the colony's sick began occupying the site, this place would have been an affront to the local inhabitants, and its association with death and dying may have persuaded many of them to move away. On the other hand when they themselves became ill with smallpox and other diseases introduced by the colonists, they were not turned away if they chose to come for assistance and efforts were made to bring in the sick and dying for treatment.

Some have been found sitting with their heads reclined between their knees; others were leaning against a rock, with their head resting upon it. Two children, a boy and a girl, the boy about nine, the girl about two years older, were picked up during the prevalence of this disorder, labouring under its dreadful effects. Two old men,

¹⁰ Collins, David (1756-1810). *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* [Volume 1]. 1798. <http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/colacc1.xml>

who were supposed the fathers of the children, were picked up about the same time, and carried to the hospital, where they were taken all possible care of; the men survived but a short time, but the children both recovered, and appeared perfectly satisfied with their change of living.¹¹

Some went to the hospital of their own free will, as did Barangaroo who was Bennelong's wife, after 'a night on the town':

When these people had finished their breakfast, they all went to the hospital to get the women's heads dressed; for besides Bennelong's wife, a woman who was a stranger had received a blow on the head, which had laid her skull bare: after this business was over, most of them returned and sat down in the yard at the back of Governor Phillip's house ...¹²

Arabanoo and Nanbarry c.1780-1821

Arabanoo was captured by Governor Phillip at Manly and brought to Sydney where he spent the early months of 1789 at the hospital assisting his people who were coming into the settlement afflicted with smallpox. When a man who was dying arrived with his son in April 1789 Arabanoo was on hand to reassure them of the good intentions of the medical men and to encourage the man to drink and to eat what was offered to him. They were housed in a hut on the hospital premises where they were cared for until the man died. Watkin Tench recorded that those who watched over the pair were touched by the tender concern that the man showed for his son, a lad of around seven years called Nanbarry, and then simply wrote that he was 'adopted by Mr. White, surgeon-general of the settlement, and became henceforth one of his family'.¹³

The Surgeon's house was next to the Assistant Surgeons' house, on the site now occupied by the Orient Hotel on the north side of Argyle Street and so Nanbarry would have become familiar with the hospital precinct and it is very likely that he and his friends played in the hospital garden. William Dawes described Nanbarry playing and swimming in the area with a girl called Boorong, and although Surgeon White renamed him Andrew Sneap Hamond Douglass¹⁴, he continued to keep contact with his people and to be known as Nanbarry. He was the nephew of Colebee and has been described as 'an Aboriginal spy in the English camp'¹⁵, with several known instances of him warning his contemporaries of projected movements of soldiers and punitive expeditions.

11 Hunter, John (1737-1821). *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*. 1793. <http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/hunhist.xml>

12 Hunter, John (1737-1821). *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*. 1793. <http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/hunhist.xml>

13 Tench, Watkin (1759-1833). *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*. 1789. <http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/p00044.xml> Bradley, William (c. 1757-1833);

14 William Bradley journal: *A Voyage to New South Wales*, December 1786 - May 1792. <http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/brajour.xml>

15 Keith Vincent Smith, Nanbury entry, www.dictionaryofsydney.org

Nanbarry sailed on several voyages to Norfolk Island and when Matthew Flinders was in Sydney during 1802 while his boat the *Investigator* was being repaired at the government dockyards across the road, Nanbarry made contact with him and when Flinders set off on his famous voyage of circumnavigation of the continent, he took Nanbarry part of the way with him.¹⁶



Figure 60

Detail from 'Nanbarry dressed as the Surgeon's adopted son.' George Raper, 1792 Natural History Museum (London) Image ID 015103



Figure 61 (right)

Nan-bar-ree painted for a dance. Port Jackson Painter, created between 1789 -1797, Natural History Museum (London) Watling drawing No. 63.

Nanbarry spent his later years living and resisting the white invasion in areas outside of the built up area of Sydney. He died in 1821 at James Squires' place at Kissing Point (Ryde) and was buried at his own request in the grave of Bennelong.

5.5.2 The Hospital Garden

*...a spot for a general hospital has been marked out and artificers already employed on it. A proper spot, contiguous to the hospital, has been chosen, to raise such vegetables as can be produced at this season of the year; and where a permanent garden for the use of the hospital is to be established. Surgeon White, Jan 29, 1789.*¹⁷

¹⁶ Keith Vincent Smith, Nanbury entry, www.dictionaryofsydney.org

¹⁷ White, John (1757/8-1832). *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*. 1790, p. 123. <http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/p00092.xml>

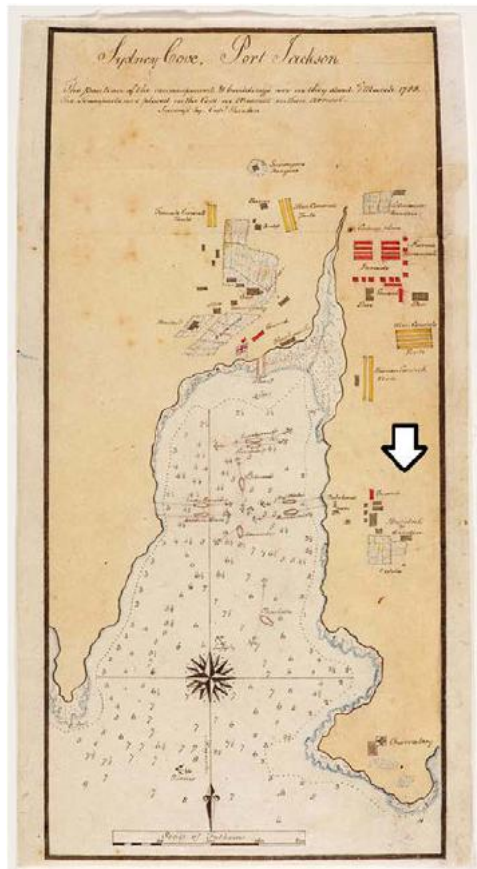


Figure 62

The first map: William Bradley's 'Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, 1 March 1788' shows the layout of Governor Phillip's first attempt at an ordered settlement, including the hospital and associated houses and gardens. Mitchell Library, SL NSW. Safe 1/14

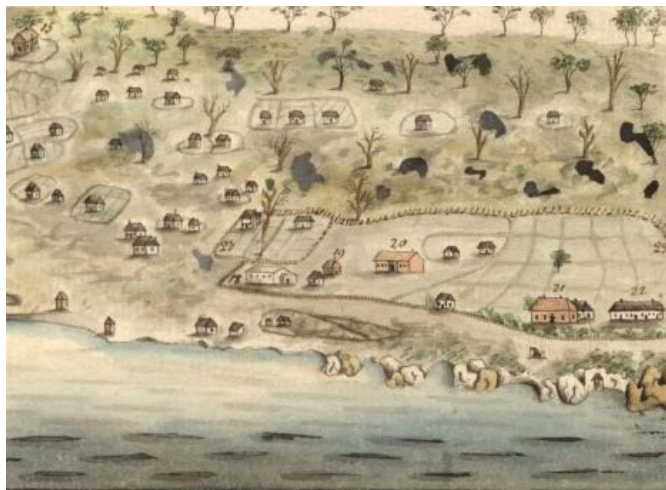


Figure 63

This detail is from "A View of Sydney Cove – Port Jackson March 7th 1792 by the Port Jackson painter illustrates the hospital precinct on the western side of Sydney Cove. The house numbered 22 is the Surgeon's house, and No, 21 is the Assistant Surgeons'. There is a second structure at the rear of this house, possibly a stable or storehouse. It may be the building labelled as Sergeant James' wooden hut on Fig. 19. The whole of the hospital grounds are fenced and garden plots are marked out. Natural History Museum (London) Watling drawing No. 21

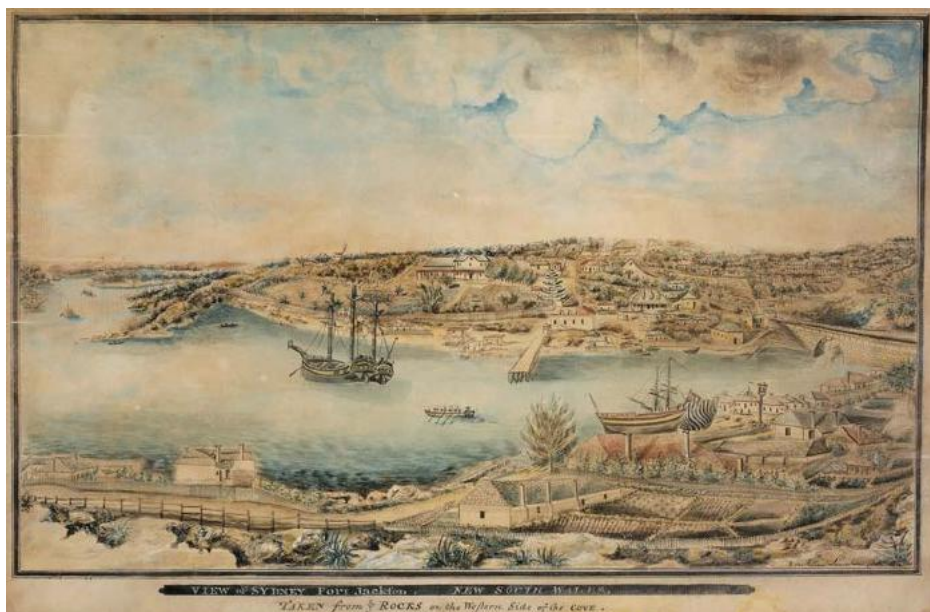


Figure 64

John William Lancashire, 'View of Sydney Port Jackson, New South Wales, taken from the Rocks on the western side of the Cove', ca. 1803. The bottom right-hand corner of this painting shows several large houses on the High Street (George Street) including the master builder's and the surgeon's houses, with extensive neat rows of plantings behind. State Library of NSW Call No. DG SV1 / 60

Early artists' impressions of the settlement at Sydney were often not concerned to record incidental and ephemeral buildings and structures in the landscapes they recreated for the education of people back 'Home' but nevertheless some depictions of the hospital grounds show a scattering of huts and the written record mentions these as well. In the hospital gardens there were probably numerous animal stalls, huts for storing tools and also huts for housing people. There was the one that Nanbarry and his father were placed in, and mention is made of a hut in the hospital gardens where George Maxwell, third Lieutenant on the *Sirius*, was housed with a man to look after him after he had been declared insane in April 1789.¹⁸

According to able seaman Jacob Nagle, Maxwell received a sum of seventy guineas while he was living on the gardens under the not too watchful eye of the medical staff. He allegedly got hold of a hoe and buried the money notes singly all over the garden, 'saying he would have a good crop of guineas the next year'. The story goes that when the hospital staff heard of this they took to the garden in search of the notes, but were able to recover only about a third of them.¹⁹

If this story is true, guinea notes are the only actual plantings that we know of in the hospital gardens. We do know that the first settlers had trouble understanding the soils and the seasons, and reported many failures, with Lt. Governor John Hunter recording that:

¹⁸ Inga Clendinnen, *Dancing with Strangers*, Text Publishing, 2005, pp.79,80:

¹⁹ Nagle, Jacob. Jacob Nagle his Book A.D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty Nine May 19th. Canton. Stark County Ohio', 1775-1802, compiled 1829.

<http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/nagjour.xml>

the first gardens planted on the western side of Sydney Cove were unproductive as there is not more than two feet of soil over a bed of rocks and this soil is little better than black sand; and to this inconvenience must be added, the depredations of rats and thieves²⁰.

The thieves would have been both convicts and Aboriginals, but it is also possible that the latter were helpful in pointing out medicinally useful plants to the surgeons who were anxious to 'discover' the healing properties of local vegetation. Phillip recorded the powerful restorative qualities of red gum in treating dysentery²¹ while Bradley recorded that the colonists 'found Wild Spinage, Samphire & other leaves of Bushes which we used as vegetables', and Worgan refers to 'Balm, Parsley, Samphire, Sorrel, & a kind of Spinnage ... a Shrub bearing a Fruit like a Sloe, and ... a Fruit which tastes exactly like the Currant when green'¹³ On the whole they were less than impressed with these offerings, and it is most likely that it was vegetables and fruit trees known from the old country that were cultivated in the garden behind the Assistant Surgeons' house, but we do not know specifically what was grown.

Apart from plantings, the hospital gardens also housed animals that were used in feeding the hospital inmates. On August 1788 a party of men in five canoes moored their boat at Tar-ra (Dawes Point) and while some of them distracted the officers at the building site of Dawes' observatory, others headed for the hospital gardens where they captured and killed a goat. They got away in their canoes and made for Long Cove [Darling Harbour] and although the colonists made after them they did not find them nor recover the goat.²² This is just one story of how relations developed over the garden, which the Indigenous people thought was fair game as it was their land.

5.5.3 The neighbourhood

The block bounded by George, Argyle, Harrington and Suez Canal (formerly Harrington Lane) is located in a prime position on The Rocks, close to the western side of Sydney Cove. In the first few years of European settlement it was part of the hospital precinct, with a wharf known as the Hospital Wharf built nearby in 1790. This was used to offload supplies, and accordingly a market place grew up on shore, making the area a meeting place for exchange of goods and local intelligence.

20 Hunter, John (1737-1821). *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*. 1793.
<http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/hunhist.xml>

21 Phillip, Arthur (1738-1814). *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay*. 1789.
<http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/phivoya.xml>

22 White, John (1757/8-1832). *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*. 1790.
<http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/p00092.xml>



Figure 65

J Whatman, previously attributed to Watling, 'A View of the West side of Sydney Cove taken from Too -bay- ulee'. This is the first full view of the western side of Sydney Cove, showing the long portable hospital behind the hospital wharf. Natural History Museum (London), Watling Drawing No. LS8 [between 1792 and 1795]

In 1797 Thomas Moore, the official government boat builder, commenced work on the construction of the King's Dockyard across the road from the end of Argyle Street, and this provided employment both in its construction and in the building and repair of ships.²³ In the following years a complex of facilities were built including workshops, stores, a watch-house, a joinery, a smithy, a steam house for the moulding of ships timbers and several residential buildings. By 1805 the docks employed about 40 men, and along with the government lumberyards nearby on the corner of George Street and Bridge Street, were two of the largest centres of employment of convicts.²⁴

By 1802 free settler Robert Campbell was building himself a wharf and warehouse north of the government dockyards, and in 1808 work commenced on the Commissariat stores backing onto George Street opposite Argyle Street. This building continued to expand until 1812 with the construction of a granary and offices facing George Street providing for additional functions.

Contrary to popular understanding, the convicts for the most part were not confined to barracks, but were encouraged to fend for themselves by building shelters and housing, with the area above the hospital chosen for their first neighbourhood. Bricks were scarce, and many private cottages were initially makeshift 'miserable mud tenements'²⁵ but the rocks were free and soon the area was dotted with small quarries as men literally dug out the area and reconfigured it into housing along ragged unmade streets that followed the contours of the land.

The official maps and pictorial representations of early Sydney developed for London consumption were not concerned to depict lesser buildings such as convict huts and cottages. Many of the early paintings give the impression that they were not there, and

23 Peter Bolt, *King's Dockyard*, www.dictionaryofsydney.org

24 This and the following details of the growth of the dock area is based on Rosemary Annable, "Draft History Museum of Contemporary Art Site" for Casey & Lowe Archaeology & Heritage, MCA AM P, 2000, revised 2009.

25 David Collins describes early building practices in *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, ed. B Fletcher, Reed, 1975, pp.16-17, 28, 71, 79, 82-3.

determining how much housing there was in the town and on The Rocks is open to interpretation. In 1794, an unnamed soldier reported that there were 700 'good comfortable huts' as well as the numerous brick buildings, the property of the government.²⁶ Other sources suggest that this figure was too generous. In April 1804 the Sydney Gazette made a count of 580 houses in the whole of the settlement while in 1802 Lesueur, naturalist on Baudin's expedition drew a plan showing about 260 houses, with about 80 on The Rocks.²⁷

By the 1820s things were a little clearer. Upwards of one quarter of Sydney's population probably lived on The Rocks and a door to door survey made by the local constables undertaken on two dates in 1822 and 1823 arrived at the figures of 1290 Rocks people, living in nearly 300 houses.²⁸

The original market place had soon become too cramped, and in 1810 it was relocated to purpose-built markets further south along George Street. The old Hospital Wharf which had served the markets was replaced by a larger Kings Wharf in 1813. The dockyards were encompassed by a high stone wall in 1818 and they continued to expand until the end of the 1820s, when they employed up to 100 men and boys in busy times.

By the 1830s however, a different kind of society was emerging as the number of free settlers increased rapidly and the economy started to shift away from a government-run penal colony towards a free enterprise economy supported by a civil society. Employment at the dockyards was run down in this decade as shipbuilding and repairs were undertaken by the private sector, and the Commissariat buildings were extended and altered as the role of the state in the control of provisions was replaced with other functions more suited to a society that was evolving into a free economy. In 1836 the stores fronting George Street were used for the new function of Ordinance Stores.

By 1842 dredging in front of the dockyards commenced as part of the construction of the new Circular Quay, and by 1852 the wharf had been completed to the dockyard, now landlocked and the Kings Wharf (now known as the Queens Wharf) was once again enlarged and put at the disposal of public shipping.²⁹

With all this development going on in the area, the old Assistant Surgeons' house standing on its generous piece of land almost opposite to the dockyard gates was becoming attractive to aspiring developers, and by the 1820s attempts were made to get hold of the rear portion fronting what had now become Harrington Street and to dislodge Greenway from his George Street property.

26 'A Soldiers Letter', 13 December, 1794, HRNSW, Vol. 2 p. 816, quoted in Helen Proudfoot, 'Taking Possession: Sydney's First Householders' in Graeme Aplin, ed., *A Difficult Infant: Sydney Before Macquarie*, NSW Press, 1988, p.78.

27 *ibid.*, Sydney Gazette, 15th April, 1804.

28 Grace Karskens, *The Rocks: Life in Early Sydney*, MUP, 1997, pp. 30-36

29 Rosemary Annable, pp. 29-31.



Figure 66

George William Evans, 'Sydney Cove, West side', 1810. Unsigned and formerly attrib. to John Eyre.

This illustration of the western side of Sydney Cove shows the Commissariat building under construction, with the surgeons' houses behind. There appears to be a small orchard at the rear of the hospital gardens, and beyond that, many houses higher up The Rocks. The subject land is undeveloped and therefore of interest to various hopeful developers by the 1820s. State Library of NSW Call No. ML 47

5.5.4 The Assistant Surgeons' House

The first house built on this site for the assistant surgeons was run up in a hurry almost as soon as the first fleet had disembarked, probably built with logs and plastered, with either a thatched or shingled roof. The footprint of the building was large and it is sometimes referred to a barrack. It seems that it was intended to house more than one surgeon, and possibly contained store rooms as well. By June 1796 Collins recorded that many of the earliest buildings were already falling into decay, and that extra work gangs were being organised to remedy the shortfall. He included the observation that houses were to be built for the assistant surgeons, 'those which had been erected soon after our arrival being now no longer tenable'.³⁰ This suggests a date for the house of around 1796, although no specific reference to it being built has been found.

30 Collins, David (1756-1810). *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* [Volume 1]. 1798. <http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/colacc1.xml>

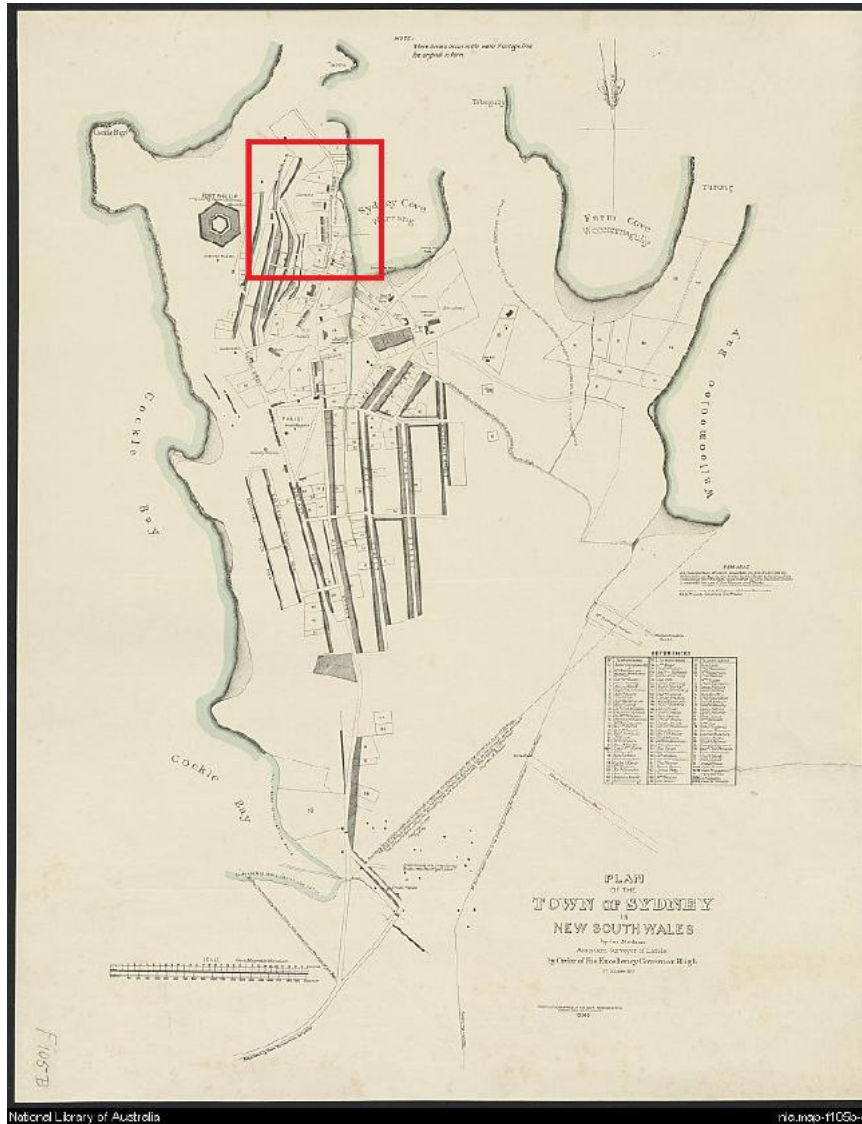


Figure 67

Meehan's Plan of Sydney in 1807. State Library of NSW Call No. Q78/26

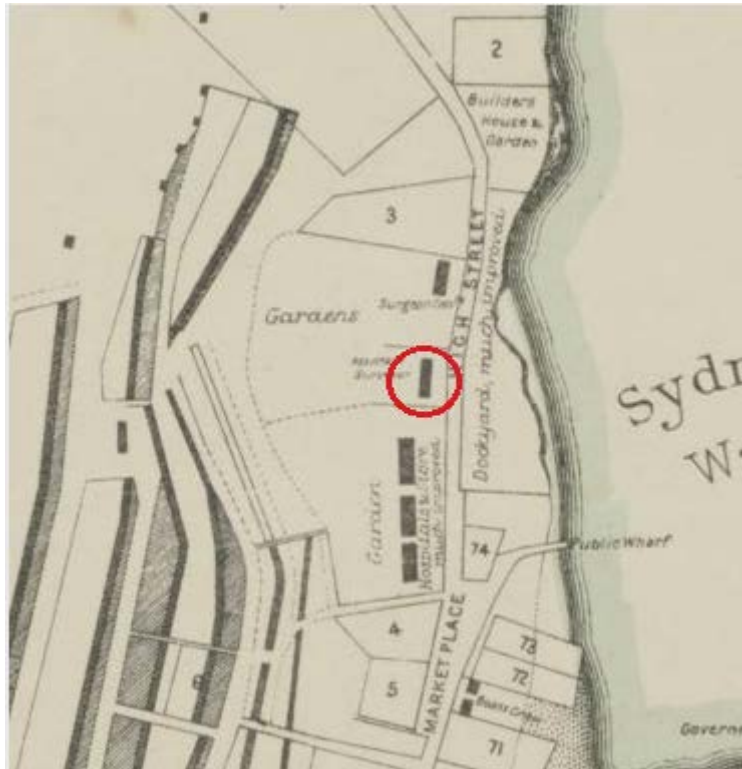


Figure 68

DETAIL: Meehan's Plan of Sydney in 1807, with the location of the subject site circled. The detail shows the hospital, surgeon's house and the assistant surgeons' house (wrongly labelled Assistant Surveyor), with gardens at the rear. State Library of NSW Call No. Q78/26

Neither do we know which surgeons lived here. Possibly William Balmain did, as he served in Sydney from 1788 until 1791, and then again in 1795 before he was appointed to take over from Surgeon White as the colony's principle surgeon, at which point he possibly moved across Argyle Street into the Surgeon's house. Thomas Jamison, who arrived in Sydney in 1800 followed the same trajectory from Assistant Surgeon to replacing Balmain as principle surgeon. What we do know is that when a new hospital was completed in Macquarie Street in 1816, the Assistant Surgeon, William Redfern, vacated the house on the corner of George and Argyle Streets, and it was made available to the Colonial Architect, Francis Greenway as part of his stipend.

William Redfern

Redfern arrived in Sydney in 1801. He had been convicted for his part in a ship's mutiny and after 4 years imprisonment was sent out as a convict. But because surgeons were hard to come by, his services were immediately put to work on Norfolk Island and by 1803 he had received a pardon. He worked in Sydney and probably lived in the Assistant Surgeons' house from 1808 until 1816.

In 1814 Redfern wrote a significant report on conditions on convict ships which resulted in improvements being made.

In 1961 the Australian Broadcasting Commission produced a 12 episode series called *The*

Outcasts which centred on Redfern and Macquarie's efforts to support emancipists. Redfern was played by Ron Haddrick and this series also gave Robin Nevin her first television role. Scenes were set in George Street and around the hospital.³¹

The Greenway family

Francis Howard Greenway is the most famous of all the people who lived on this block, and although he seems never to have had any claim to the land and house that stood at the corner of George and Argyle Streets, no one else laid claim to the land for many years, except for a strip at the back of the property facing Harrington Street (see Section 5.5.5) While all around the land was being covered with buildings associated with the burgeoning trade and shipbuilding of the colony, and while hopeful property owners were making claims and counter claims for land that had allegedly been granted or promised though insufficiently recorded for anyone to make much sense of who had a claim to what, the large piece of land where the old Assistant Surgeons' house had stood since the beginning of the colony remained unsold until 1835. By then Greenway was possibly mad and certainly an unstable, irascible old man with many enemies, but the fact that he was allowed to remain so long on the block suggests that there must also have been a residue of respect for this man who had designed and overseen the construction of many of the best buildings in the colony.

Francis Greenway³² practiced as an architect in Bristol, before being sent to Newgate prison for forgery after business went bad. He was given a death sentence, commuted to fourteen years banishment to New South Wales. He arrived in Sydney at the age of 36 in February, 1814, bearing a letter of introduction from the first Governor, Arthur Phillip, and describing himself as a 'painter & architect'.³³

Like Redfern before him, a skilled man such as Greenway was rare in the colony and he was almost immediately given a ticket-of-leave so that he could work at his profession. He moved into a house at 84 George Street and hung up his shingle and six months after his arrival his wife Mary and three children joined him. Three more children were born to the Greenways in Sydney. The historical record shows that Mary was well liked and skilled at interceding with the authorities on behalf of the maintenance of her family while her husband was more skilled at offending those whose patronage he needed to cultivate.

³¹ Australian Women's Weekly, 22nd March, 1961, p. 62

³² For Greenway's story, see James Broadbent & Joy Hughes, *Francis Greenway Architect*, Historic Houses Trust of NSW, 1997. This is based on the original sources and on MH Ellis's foundation work, *Francis Greenway, His Life and Times*, 2nd edition, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1953.

³³ According to Broadbent & Hughes Greenway's indents describe him as 34 years old, but this does not compute with other evidence of his age.



Figure 69

'Francis Howard Greenway, Macquarie's architect', by unknown artist [possibly self-portrait]
Pencil sketch, State Library of NSW Call No. ML 482

Initially, however, Governor Macquarie, who had dreams of creating a fine civil town out of the ragtag convict settlement, found Greenway's architectural skills a godsend, and in March 1816 he was appointed Acting Civil Architect. It was around this time that William Redfern moved out of the old Assistant Surgeons' house and Greenway's payment included residency in the house as well as a stipend of 3/- a day and various other emoluments such as a horse and forage. From the start he complained of these arrangements, arguing that as a true professional man he ought to have been paid a percentage of the value of work he undertook as architect. He consistently cried poor and complained about his treatment, generating a lot of correspondence asking for more pay, more respect and for land.

On the King's birthday, 4th June 1819, just after the Hyde Park Barracks which he had designed received its first intake of convicts, convict Francis Greenway was given an unconditional pardon in recognition of his contribution to the built fabric of Sydney. Macquarie later claimed that the pardon had been given following the 'earnest entreaty' of the 'very pleasant, genteel' Mrs Greenway.³⁴

Relationships between Governor Macquarie and his architect were at times torrid, but they

³⁴ Broadbent and Hughes, p. 19

managed to get a lot fine buildings constructed before the Imperial government, in the form of economic rationalist Commissioner John Bigge called a stop to their collaboration and Macquarie was recalled to England.

While Bigge was worrying over how much the colony was costing Britain to run, Greenway was off on a different tack, making demands for what he considered just recompense for all the work he had done. In Macquarie's last year in Sydney, 1821, Greenway had reckoned it all up and decided that if he had been paid proper fees, he should have received £ 11, 877 15s, but had only ever received, 'including Provisions, Salary & House rent during six years, £645. That left £11,232 15s owing. Broadbent and Hughes point out that this was equivalent to the Governor's own salary for the six years, the preposterous claim of a delusional man.

Before Macquarie left the colony Greenway asked his patron for a land grant, but was displeased when Macquarie, on his last day in office at the end of 1821 offered him 800 acres of land at Tarro near Newcastle and six cows. For this Greenway attacked Macquarie as he was not interested in pastoral land. He wanted lots of money and 'the building ground he had requested.'³⁵

When the new governor Sir Thomas Brisbane, arrived in 1822 Greenway was told that he would retain his position and could continue to live in the old house which would be repaired at the expense of the government. He was even to receive a raise in salary and a percentage commission on contracts - the thing he had long argued for - but was to lose various indulgencies of 'Rations, Govt servants, Clerks, Coals, Government Horses or Travelling expenses.'³⁶

Then, after less than a year, in which Greenway quarrelled with other civil servants and protested that his plans were interfered with, his services were dispensed with on the 15th November, 1822. He was allowed to remain in the house 'under the benevolent consideration for his family', so it seems that Mary was as successful in pleading with Brisbane as she had been with Macquarie.

Greenway was 45 years old and still in demand as an architect, although those who used his services tended to be ex-convicts and not Sydney's most elevated worthies. Amongst his many commissions he worked on extensions to Campbell's Wharf and designed Cumberland Place, one of the grandest houses on The Rocks for Robert Campbell in 1825. But by now he was losing his grip on things, and he spent much of his time writing ranting letters to the *Australian* –the *Sydney Gazette* wouldn't publish them – to set the record straight on how he had been badly done by, while the fortunes of the Greenway household shrank. By the beginning of 1824 Greenway advertised to call in his own debtors, but this was followed on the 5th of February by a Provost Marshal's notice in the *Gazette* stating that Greenway's own chattels would be sold up to settle his debts to the moneylender Jacob Josephson. The list of possessions included a piano. He paid the debt but from this time on

35 Greenway to Macquarie, 23.1 1822, Col Sec Correspondence, reel 6052, 4/1752pp.73-4c

36 Broadbent and Hughes, p. 25

life was a struggle. Mary assisted the household finances by teaching, but without the servants previously provided by the government, and now with six children to care for, the household work at the old and dilapidated George Street house would have been more onerous.

Just how they managed to cling onto living in the old Assistant Surgeons' house is not clear, but in July 1826 the new Colonial Secretary, Alexander Macleay, instructed by a new governor Ralph Darling, reaffirmed that the land was the property of the government and gave the Greenways notice to vacate the house by the beginning of September.

Greenway, who had not up until now made any claims on the house, produced a letter which he claimed confirmed that Macquarie had promised it to him, along with the designs for a new house which he said the old governor had approved back in August 1820. Nothing came of this except that some must have thought 'once a forger, always a forger.' Nevertheless the family was not evicted. When Darling invited anyone who believed they had a legitimate claim over land to submit their claims in 1829 Greenway did not put in any claim.

There was a forced sale of furniture in December 1827 however, followed by the loss of some allotments he owned in Sussex Street in 1828. There is little evidence of any architectural commissions by now, though he did still own one small cottage in Sussex Street and the land grant of 800 acres of swampy land on the Hunter. He called the property Howard, the same middle name he had given himself as a young adult.

Mary Greenway died in April 1832, aged 53. With the linchpin of the household gone, and several of the children living elsewhere, things would have been bleak. In 1832, probably in a near destitute state, Greenway 'sold' a portion of the land to Frederick Wright Unwin. Unwin was a lawyer, a major landholder in the area, and a canny operator. He must have known that Greenway's claim to the land was tenuous, and that the £150 he paid for the land bore no relation to its market value. In 1834 the sheriff officially asserted ownership of the land for the Crown, and without the kind Mary to intercede, Greenway was finally evicted and, according to his own writings, his household comforts were disposed of to pay his creditors.

Then once more he was permitted to live in a section of the house after all this, but the rest of the family had decamped to the land on the Hunter, and Francis Greenway probably followed soon after. Here he contracted typhoid fever and died in 1837 in a hut built of slab walls roofed in bark. Nothing could have been further from the fine places he had worked on under John Nash in Bristol, or the fine buildings he had designed for Sydney, or even from the old Assistant Surgeons' house in the heart of The Rocks.

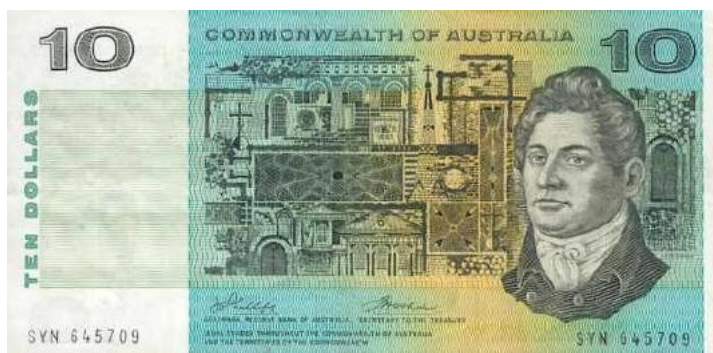


Figure 70

Francis Howard Greenway, engraved on the Australian \$10 banknote, stuck to the money in ways he never achieved in his lifetime.

Why did Unwin 'buy' the property in 1832 when he knew Greenway did not own it? A charitable interpretation of this is that it was just a way of supporting the now impoverished Greenway, but then Unwin was not noted for his charity. A more likely explanation is that this so called sale put Unwin in a stronger position to get hold of the land officially after Greenway had finally left the premises. In 1835 Unwin paid the Crown £ 2820 for the same land and acquired the title deeds in 1837, which is probably when the house was pulled down. Then he was reissued with the title to the land in 1838 after the Commissioners of the Court of Claims decided that there was evidence that Macquarie had granted the land to Greenway after all. This has sometimes been interpreted to mean that Greenway was unfortunate to have missed out, but a more likely explanation was that Unwin extracted this view from the officials so that he could claim that his original purchase was legitimate and that he had thus twice paid for the land and therefore got his money back. In the story of land dealings on this site and on The Rocks, Unwin emerges as a ruthless player.

In 1839 Governor George Gipps went over all this in correspondence to the Home Secretary, Lord Glenelg. He explained that Unwin had attempted to prove that Macquarie had ownership by producing a sketch of some buildings which it appeared Macquarie had signed, giving approval to Greenway to construct some buildings on the site, - the same document Greenway had produced in the court case of 1825 - and a second letter from Gill, who had been the acting colonial engineer at the time stating that the land was to be Greenways, but again only if the buildings were constructed. As they were not, Gipps was of the opinion that the land was never his. Furthermore he queried the genuineness of the supposed Gill letter. His aside of 'if the letter be genuine' would be echoed over and over in the battles to establish who owned land on this site.³⁷

³⁷ Extract from George Gipps to Lord Glenelg, 7th May 1839, reproduced in Fox & Associates, Hospital Precinct, Building Data Sheets, in Historic Outline, Report to SCRA 10th August, 1978.

5.5.5 Behind the Assistant Surgeons' House

While Greenway was clinging onto his place in the Assistant Surgeons' house fronting George Street, at the back of the hospital gardens the land fronting Harrington Street was being alienated and built on. While it is sometimes assumed that Harrington Street formed the western edge of the old hospital gardens, this boundary may have been only vaguely recorded, and as housing developed along the street there is evidence that the back of the garden on the eastern side of Harrington Street was considered fair game for would-be landholders.

Land in Sydney, including on The Rocks was occupied opportunistically in the decades before tenure was regularised in the 1830s, and until land titles were systematically recorded it is often impossible to be absolutely certain of who owned what, let alone establish the exact structures on the site. Many lived on land they claimed had been promised them, but without title or survey, and long before any of this was sorted out, land and houses were being traded, sold and rented out.

This section outlines the quarrelling that occurred in relation to establishing who the rightful holders of this land were, and the conclusion is drawn that it is not possible to establish with any finality the actual facts of the case, given that the records were imperfectly kept and the protagonists were self-interested and skilled liars. However it should be noted that Greenway himself only claimed part of the block, as outlined in the accompanying sketch, drawn in 1832 and based on an earlier sketch. A few years later, by 1834 Greenway was claiming all the land from George Street back as far as Harrington Street, but by then his desperation overrode all other considerations.

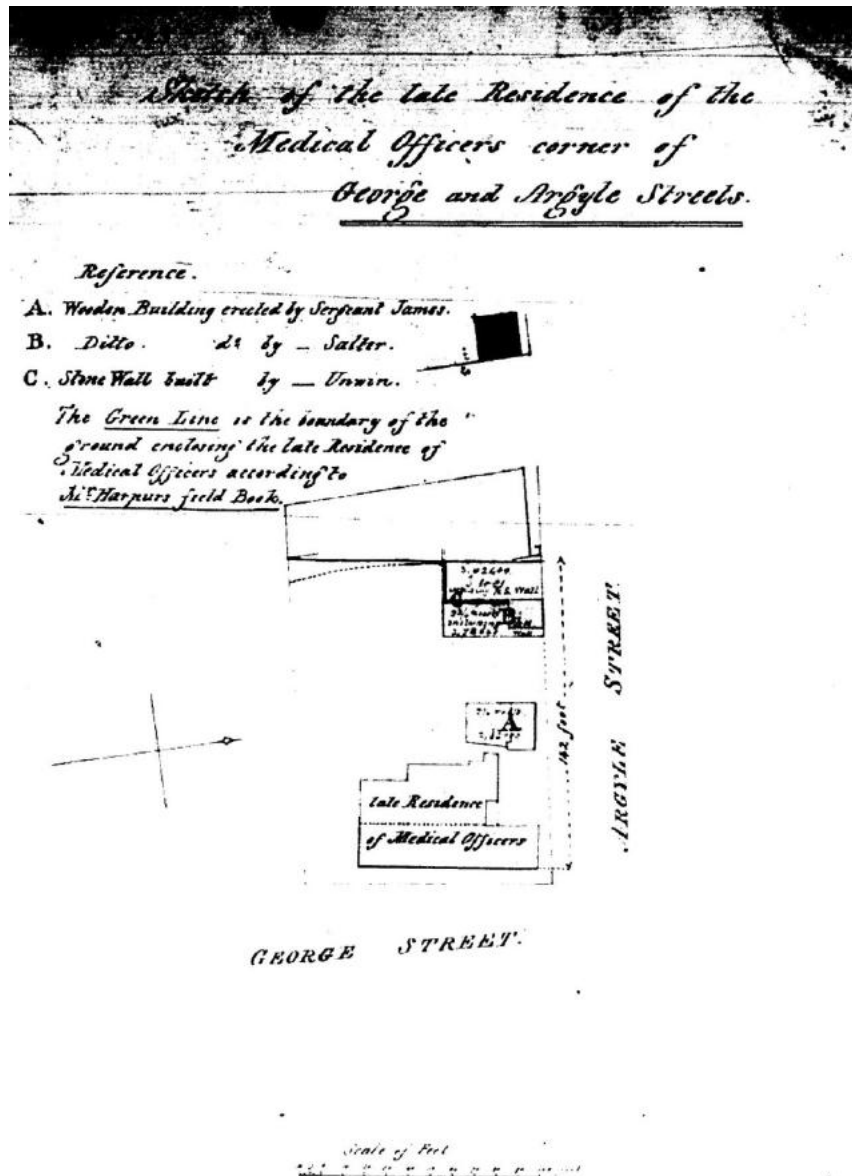


Figure 71

This 1832 plan of Francis Greenway includes the notation 'The green line is the boundary of the ground enclosing the late residence of Medical officers'. This is the dotted line shown here. The sketch also shows some intrusions onto the land—a wooden hut erected by Sergeant James, a wall allegedly built by Unwin and some sheds built behind the hotel on the corner by publican Caleb Salter. Surveyor General Sketch Book Vol. 2 Folio 8, State Records, NSW.

On this surveyor's sketch the land fronting Harrington Street does not show any structures, but this is because that was not the point of the sketch. Harrington Street was built on by this date, and possibly as early as the 1800s. The following advertisement for a weatherboard house appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* in 1808:

To be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Blaxcell, on Monday next the 30th instant, on the Premises, at one o'clock precisely, a very substantial and well built Dwelling house, weatherboarded, glazed, and shingled, situate at the back of the Hospital Garden on the Rocks, and of which immediate possession may be had.

Figure 72

Sydney Gazette, 29th May, 1808

The following year a stone dwelling was advertised for sale 'at the back of the General Hospital Garden'³⁸ As the hospital gardens stretched well south of the study site this 'very substantial and well built dwelling' and this stone cottage may not have been in Greenway's back garden, but the advertisement in the *Sydney Gazette* on the 11th March 1820 sounds as if it was. It advertised for rent 'those extensive premises situate at the back of part of Mr Greenway's. They are well adapted for a private family residence, or a seminary; having spacious rooms with many other conveniences'.

If these were indeed on the study site, this establishes building activity there before 1820. The physical evidence also establishes early building on the site. Today the two cottages known as Reynolds' Cottages, at 28 and 30 Harrington Street, are some of the oldest housing in Sydney. These were built sometime between 1826 and 1829, but archaeological investigations under these houses and in the yards behind indicate that there were older structures on this site, including a bakehouse. Next door, on the corner of Harrington and Argyle Streets stands a solid 1880s building known for many years as the British Seaman's Hotel. An earlier building on this site, a shop with a bakehouse attached, also dated back to the early 1820s, with a sketch of it submitted to a court case that was held in 1825 to clarify property ownership on this part of Harrington Street.

38 *Sydney Gazette*, 29th May, 1808; *Sydney Gazette*, 21st May, 1809.

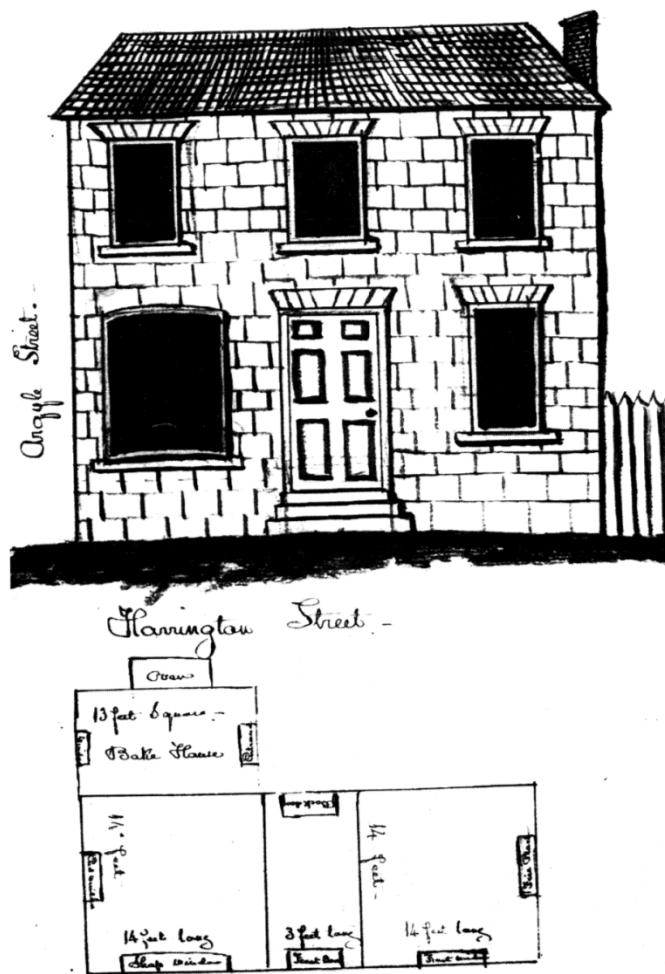


Figure 73

Drawing by William Hawkins of a house and shop which he claimed to have built on the corner of Argyle and Harrington Streets sent to the Colonial Secretary in 1825 with a petition asking that he be permitted to keep it. William Hawkins, Petition and accompanying sketch, February 1825, CSC 4/1842A, no. 368, p 397

The history of building on these Harrington Street sites is supported by partial and contradictory evidence. In so far as land ownership went, in 1825 the Supreme Court established that all of this land had been leased by Governor Brisbane to James Gleeson in 1823. The trouble was that at the time many people did not believe that this was a true finding of the actual facts, and more recent scholarship provides convincing reasons to reject this.

In attempting to unscramble the story a good place to start is with some of the main players.

James Rampling³⁹

James Rampling was English, born in Suffolk in about 1786. He was a convict, described as 5ft 8 inches tall, with a ruddy complexion, light brown hair and hazel eyes. Rampling had been sentenced at the Old Bailey on 20th April 1814 for attempting to pass off forged banknotes and transported for 14 years. He arrived on the *Indefatigable* in April 1815, and after a few years of servitude at Toongabbie and Seven Hills he ended up in Sydney, where he married Mary Balfe at St Phillips church in 1821. One of the witnesses to the marriage was Catherine Hawkins. He gave his occupation as 'baker' and he was working at this trade in Harrington Street in the mid 1820s

Rampling's efforts to establish possession of land in Harrington Street generated many letters and testimonials, some probably bogus, some genuine, as well as the 1825 Supreme Court case which found against him. It must have seemed to him that everyone else managed to get hold of land, but its possession and dispossession could be a cruel game in the early decades of the colony when grants were tenuous, land was unsurveyed and the skills of the players were uneven.

In addition to Rampling's claims for land on Harrington Street, in 1827 he was also claiming land at Darling Harbour and a 90 acre farm at Orphan Creek, which he claimed to have bought from William Hawkins and where he said he had invested a lot of money building a house –a familiar story. Here he claimed to have been attacked and injured by bushrangers and was in poor health thereafter. He moved to Maitland where he continued unsuccessfully in his obsession to acquire land. He died near Maitland in 1856, giving his age as 80, although he was probably 70.

Rampling was up against a tough player in Thomas Ryan, and in his long quest for land Rampling possibly gained a reputation in official circles as a nuisance to be fobbed off. He was at a distinct disadvantage because he could not read and as he petitioned the government year after year he was at the mercy of scribes who took his story down from documents that Rampling carefully kept, but could not read, supplemented by information extracted from him through questioning what he remembered. Over time Rampling mixed up his dates, his age, even his year of arrival. Many of his letters to the government probably went straight to the in-tray of Thomas Ryan.

Thomas Ryan

Thomas Ryan, from Tipperary in Ireland, was transported in 1817 for forgery, a skill not irrelevant to this story. He must have possessed some education, as he was almost immediately taken on as a clerk in the Colonial Secretary's office.

His work involved keeping convict records and by 1822 he was himself in receipt of

³⁹ The primary source for Rampling is the compilation of original material created by Peter Bogan, a descendant of James Rampling. Copies of these documents are appended to the file held at SHFA, SCA RE11362.01.0. Many of these are also available in the Colonial Secretary's Correspondence files on Ancestry.com

assigned convicts. In this same year, following the removal of Governor Macquarie, Ryan was employed under the new Brisbane administration to assist in sorting out land claims.⁴⁰

In her book *Reynolds' Cottages: Living History*, published in 2010, Melissa Holmes portrays Ryan as a hot headed and violent man and makes a strong case for him being both corrupt and personally vindictive towards James Rampling. In 1818 Rampling was granted a ticket of leave and was entitled to conditional pardon in 1821. He did not get it and the earlier ticket was cancelled in September 1822, around the time Ryan was starting to work on clearing up the mess of land claims against the Crown. Holmes take on this is that 'as chief clerk in the Principal Superintendent's office of convicts, he could affect tickets of leave, and conditional pardons. Although Rampling was entitled to his freedom, he was denied it and his convict status was used as a weapon by Ryan to obtain the land on which Rampling had built his bakehouse.'⁴¹

Holmes recounts how Ryan, testifying at an unrelated land grant dispute case in 1832, informed the magistrate that back at the time when Governor Brisbane replaced Macquarie, he was personally responsible for the destruction of 'four bushels of public papers.' The implication was that he may well have destroyed papers pertaining to land grant cases, and whether he did so maliciously or not, this event shows the power of this man to influence the success or failure of land claimants. Add to this the fact that he had forgery skills, and it becomes clear that it may be impossible to ever clearly establish the truth concerning his involvement in the land granted on Harrington Street.⁴²

Thomas Ryan was still at the post of Chief Clerk in the Principle Superintendent of Convicts Offices in 1841, and still living in The Rocks. He and Michael Gannon were unsuccessful candidates for Gipps Ward, which covered The Rocks, in the first elections for the City of Sydney in 1842.⁴³

John Gleeson

Gleeson was a mate of Ryan's. Like Ryan, he came from Tipperary, they arrived together on the *Pilot* in 1817 and they lived close to each other in Cumberland Street. He appears in the records from time to time for property theft and was twice dismissed from the lowly position of police constable for drunkenness.

William Hawkins

William Hawkins appears in the story of property wrangles on Harrington Street, and later in Rampling's claims over land that had been granted to Hawkins at Orphan School Creek. One of the witnesses to the Rampling's marriage was Catherine Hawkins. William Hawkins claimed that James Rampling was a relation of his and for this reason he may have been

40 Melissa Holmes, *Reynolds' cottages: Living History*, Green Olive Press, Sydney, 2010, pp. 11-19

41 Melissa Holmes, *Reynolds' cottages: Living History*, p. 13

42 Melissa Holmes, *Reynolds' cottages: Living History*, p. 15. The reference to the destruction of papers is Government Gazette, 25th October, 1832.

43 Melissa Holmes, *Reynolds' cottages: Living History*, p. 79.

inclined to intercede on Rampling's behalf in ways that muddled the waters concerning which one of them owned certain pieces of property.

Little is known about Hawkins except for his own self-assessment. He defended his right to land on the corner of Harrington and Argyle Streets by depicting the successful claimant, John Gleeson, as a mere 'labourer and inhabitant of the colony for eight years', and as 'a person of indigent circumstances.' Hawkins portrayed himself as an independent and settled man who had lived in the colony for twenty-five years and had the wealth to build a substantial residence. He included with his petition to the court an elevation and plan of the house he had built on the corner of Harrington and Argyle Streets (See Figure 21).⁴⁴

In the 1828 Census Hawkins was listed as a labourer, pardoned convict, living in Kent Street with his housekeeper, Catherine Riley who was probably the same Catherine Hawkins who signed the Rampling's marriage certificate.

Summary of events concerning the land in Harrington Street.

1821: William Hawkins' name is on a list of people issued from the Surveyor General's Office who are to receive grants, published in the *Sydney Gazette* 5th May.

1822: Thomas Ryan's work as a clerk in the Colonial Secretary's office involved him in sorting out land claims. He also administered the management of the status of convicts. James Rampling, who had been granted a ticket of leave back in 1818 would have anticipated gaining a conditional pardon in 1821, as was customary at the half way point in a convict's sentence. He did not get the conditional pardon and in September his ticket -of-leave was cancelled. Without this status, his claims on land were weakened.

Rampling claimed, in a petition sent to the Colonial Secretary Macleay written five years after the event [22nd July 1827], that back in 1822 he paid Hawkins for an allotment of ground £30, and that he built on it a house which cost him £200. All up, with fencing and various legal fees paid to Rowe, Wardell, Wentworth (worthy legal men all) he claimed it had cost him a great deal more.⁴⁵ On another occasion he recalled that he built the house in 1823. (It is unclear exactly where this house was, but there is no reference to the land being on the corner with Argyle Street).

1823: Rampling commenced building on 'his' land in Harrington Street in July 1823 according to the petition he sent to the Colonial Secretary in 1827.

In August 1823 John Gleeson was granted his certificate of freedom (i.e. has served his sentence).

1824: By May 1824 Rampling was in dispute with Ryan over land in Harrington and Princes Streets. (Again there is no mention of the Argyle Street corner.) Rampling wrote to the Colonial Secretary's Office on 15th May, 1824 complaining of harassment by Thomas Ryan.

44 Grace Karskens, *The Rocks : Life in Early Sydney*, p 154. William Hawkins, memorial, February 1825CSC4/1824A, no 368, p. 397.

45 reproduced in Peter Bogan's correspondence held by SHFA, file SCA, RE 11 36201.0

Colonial Secretary Goulburn passed this on to the Surveyor General but it got rerouted back to Ryan's desk. Ryan read the letter, then wrote to Goulburn claiming that he had never had any dealings with Rampling, and that Rampling's assertions that he, Ryan, tried to dispossess him of the land and then sell it to him for £40 was false. 'I am at a loss to know why Rampling, whom I scarcely know would make this complaint to my head of department'.⁴⁶

In August Rampling was ordered to 'remove immediately from the piece of ground in Harrington Street which you have without any authority fenced'.⁴⁷ Rampling recalled in the petition to Macleay in 1827 that he was sent a letter from Wentworth asking him to stop building. He then recalled that 'I went to Parramatta to see the Governor and he told me to keep on building. I tried to get the case heard several times, but it never got to court before Brisbane left, and as soon as he did it was brought forward' – ie Rampling is suggesting foul play.

1825: William Hawkins petitioned the government claiming that Macquarie had agreed to grant him the land at the corner of Argyle and Harrington Streets in 1821 'in consequence of long service and regular deportment'.⁴⁸ He specified that the land was 40 feet by 30 feet which fits the corner block at Harrington and Argyle, and that he had 'reported it to the neighbourhood'. He said that as it was a requirement of the grant that he develop it, he had enlisted the assistance of his relation James Rampling to build the house and that it was nearly completed. He did not claim it was Rampling's house, but that it was his.

Hawkins attached to the petition a drawing of his house, clearly at the corner of Argyle and Harrington Streets and clearly indicating a bake-house at the rear. It has been assumed in some earlier studies that this was Rampling's bake-house, but there is nothing in this story so far to indicate this. Rampling claimed that Hawkins sold him an allotment of ground for £30. This could well have been the land now 28-32 Harrington Street, next to Hawkins' house. This site today contains archaeological remains of what appears to be a second bake-house, with recent diggings establishing remains of what appears to be a building older than Reynolds Cottages under the rear room (kitchen) of No. 28..

Despite orders to quit, in November 1825 Rampling is trading as a baker in Harrington Street, as he appeared in a police notice at that address as being fined for selling short weight.⁴⁹

Supreme Court, December 1825: The court accepted documentation produced by Thomas Ryan showing that Governor Brisbane had leased the allotment to John Gleeson on 3rd June, 1823, for 21 years. Rampling to Macleay, 1827: At the trial Mr Oxley proved that Gleeson obtained the lease in 1824, and I had commenced building in July 1823. Thomas

⁴⁶ Col Sec Letters & Petitions, 1824, 4/1779, p.92

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ William Hawkins, Petition and accompanying sketch, February 1825, Colonial Sec. Corresp., 4/1842A, no368, p. 397

⁴⁹ *Sydney Gazette*, 10th November 1825.

Ryan has also taken possession of two adjoining allotments. 'How or in what manner these leases have been obtained is very mysterious.' This suggested that Gleeson acquired both the corner block known as the site of the former British Seaman's Hotel and the land on which Reynolds' cottages.

[An early conservation plan by J Stephany & N Wyatt-Spratt, using secondary sources, claims that all of this land was conveyed to Gleeson on the 3rd June, 1823⁵⁰ -which it was not, as title was only established in December 1825 and then backdated. This assumption that all of the land from Argyle to Harrington Lane (Suez Canal) was conveyed to Gleeson has been continued on in later studies. Further research of early original titles may help to clarify this.

Following the court case, the governor's secretary wrote denying a request from Rampling for monetary compensation – presumably for loss of his bakehouse - but saying that the Governor would grant him a plot somewhere else when one became available.⁵¹

1826: The land was now Gleeson's, and he conveyed it to Thomas Ryan by 30th June 1826. There does not appear to be a record of this transfer, but if it was the same land that Ryan subsequently conveyed to Reynolds in 1830 it did not include the block on the corner of Harrington and Argyle Streets. [According to Stephany & Wyatt Spratt at the time Reynolds got his land the corner block had already been conveyed to FW Unwin in January 1830. Again this needs to be checked against the original documents.]

1827: Gleeson was made a constable and dismissed within six months for drunkenness and perjury.

Rampling petitioned unsuccessfully for land at Cockle Bay in recompense for 'his' land in Harrington Street.

1828: Rampling is finally granted a certificate of freedom.⁵² Hawkins, now described as a labourer, was living in Kent Street.⁵³

1829: Sometime between 1826 and 1829 Ryan built, with convict labour, two cottages at 28-30 Harrington Street. Ryan sold the land with a 68 foot frontage to Harrington Street⁵⁴ to William Reynolds with the two cottages (i.e. land excluding the corner block).

The government was calling for claimants to lands to step forward. A plan of land of the corner property being submitted for consideration by the court of claims had Francis Greenway and Caleb Salter as claimants over it, not Unwin.

1830: Caleb Salter has the licence for the public house being operated from Hawkins' old

50 Stephany, J. & Wyatt-Spratt, N., Conservation Plan for No. 30 Harrington Street The Rocks, 1986, p. 3.citing Johnson K A, Newsletter of the Royal Australian Historical Society, June, 1972 .

51 reproduced in Peter Bogan's correspondence held by SHFA, file SCA, RE 11 36201.0

52 *The Monitor*, 30th April, 1828

53 Grace Karskens, *The Rocks: Life in Early Sydney*, MUP, 1997, p. 154

54 Fox & Associates, Hospital Precinct, SCRA, Historical Outline, 28-30 Harrington Street, June 1978

house at the corner of Argyle and Harrington Streets. As the license records only begin in 1830 it is possible that he held a license here for longer.

1833: The name of Caleb Salter appears on the corner block in Robert Russell's survey map.

1834: Caleb Salter in Court of Claims over the corner block.

1837: Salter relinquished the license over the Kings Head. Rampling wrote to the Col Sec claiming that he had purchased the corner house from Hawkins in 1824 and built the present public house called the Kings Head. There is no evidence for this.

1841: Caleb Salter is shown as owner on Armstrong's 1841 map. The site is again contested and the Court of Claims grants the site to Rosetta Terry and Samuel Terry's trustees.

Summary of events

Convicts used land on The Rocks opportunistically, without grants. At some time around 1824 William Hawkins built a house/shop on the corner of Argyle and Harrington. In 1825 he claimed that Governor Macquarie had granted the land to him in 1821. He granted/leased/'sold' the land next door to his building in 1822 to Rampling, for £30 and Rampling built a house and bakehouse. So there were two houses, both with bakehouses on Harrington Street on the site between Argyle Street to Suez Canal prior to mid -1820s.

In 1825 Hawkins petitioned to be allowed to retain 'his' land and house, and although he was no longer in residence by the time of the 1828 Census, the house remained standing and was being operated by Caleb Salter as a public house by 1830 and probably earlier, as by 1828 Hawkins was living in Kent Street. Salter possibly paid Hawkins for it, as it is his name that appears on this property in Russell's 1834 survey map and he submits a claim over it in that year. The Court of Claims awards the land to Rosetta Terry in 1844. [Further research is required to establish whether Caleb Salter was also contesting this property.]

5.5.6 The second generation

By the 1830s many of the land grant disputes that had plagued earlier decades in Sydney had been sorted out, and from then on the sale and lease of land and properties on the study site, as with the rest of the colony, was more settled. The central registration of land titles in NSW that commenced at this time evolved into one of the best land title systems in the world, and the many confused stories such as this one involving Ryan, Rampling et al. may have been instrumental in focusing the attention on bringing this about.

Ryan's cottages in Harrington Street were advertised in the *Sydney Gazette* in December, 1829 as Nos. 1 & 2 of 'those eligible and desirable cottages or tenements known as Rampling's Buildings...being within one hundred yards of the new Customs House and also

commanding an entire view of the Harbour...”⁵⁵

Was the reference to ‘Rampling’s Buildings’ a jibe at the disliked Ryan on the part of the selling agent? Did everyone know that once he had acquired Rampling’s land and built on it, Ryan lost interest in the real estate game?

In October 1830 the two cottages at what is now 28 & 30 Harrington Street were sold to William Reynolds for £100. The property next door on the corner of Harrington and Argyle Streets, previously Hawkins two storey house and shop, was being operated as a public house under the sign of the *Kings Head* by Caleb Salter. It is possible that he paid Hawkins for it on the mistaken understanding that he owned it. Several sources claim that this was owned by Frederick Unwin, citing as evidence Robert Russell’s 1834 plan of Section 84. However this plan clearly allocates this corner block to Salter. There is some notation on the plan concerning Unwin, but it appears to be a later addition and in any case does not relate to this corner block. Later in 1841 Rosetta Terry, the widow of Samuel Terry was successful in making a claim to this corner block, and according to the Register of Claims she was legally represented in this matter by FW Unwin who could not have been the owner.

The Reynolds⁵⁶

William Reynolds was a shipsmith, sent out from Dublin in 1817 after being convicted of highway robbery. In 1826 he was granted a ticket of leave and given permission to marry Ann Clark, who had, incidentally arrived on the same vessel that brought Mary Greenway to Sydney. In 1830, although he was still a convict, Reynolds was in a financial position to pay £100 for the two cottages in Harrington Street and the adjoining land at No.30.

Ann died in 1832 and in the following years Reynolds built a house and shop next to the cottages at No 32 Harrington Street as well as a number of tenements on various locations, including behind his own cottages on Harrington Street on land leased from F W Unwin. He also built 101 George Street, [Phillips Foote Restaurant]

Although he made money from becoming a ‘slum’ landlord William Reynolds remained at his trade, manufacturing for shipping and for the general market, presumably operating a forge behind his cottages. He died on the property when he fell from a ladder in April 1841.

Michael Gannon, fellow highway robber, friend and executor, sold off his effects and tools of trade, including ‘iron ploughs, cheese presses, anchors, chain cables and several models of machinery worthy of the attention of millwrights, machinists and ironmongers.’⁵⁷ When Gannon was declared bankrupt he handed over the trusteeship of Reynolds’ properties to none other than Thomas Ryan. Melissa Holmes book on Reynolds’ Cottages goes into detail concerning the tight little cabal of Irish convicts who strutted their stuff on Harrington Street.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *Sydney Gazette*, 10th December 1829.

⁵⁶ for a detailed history of Reynolds see Melissa Holmes, *Reynolds’ Cottages: Living History*, Green Olive Press, Sydney, 2010.

⁵⁷ *The Australian*, 29th April 1841.

⁵⁸ Melissa Holmes, *Reynolds Cottages: Living History*, pp. 41- 2.

William Reynolds brought out three of his children to a previous marriage in 1830, and one of them, also William, worked with his father in the smithy until he died in 1838 after a leg, damaged in an accidental shooting in 1837, was sawn off at the knee by the local quack.

Son Maurice and daughter Margaret inherited the properties after their father's death in 1841, including the leased land and they possibly added to the stock of slum properties in the laneway. They chose to be absentee landlords, living in the suburbs and collecting the rents. Maurice was a solicitor but not above dishonest dealings and for a brief moment in 1849 the cottages became famous when a young Irish solicitor, James Martin decided to nominate them as freehold property he owned in order to qualify for election to parliament. This was proved to be untrue, but Martin regained the seat anyway and went on to become a Queens Counsel, Attorney General and Premier of New South Wales.

By 1861 Maurice Reynolds was bankrupt and lost his share of the property. He died in a horse riding accident in 1877. Margaret finally sold her share of the Harrington Street cottages in 1870, presumably to buy the houses at the rear as they had come to the end of the life of their 21 year lease. She lived off the earnings of these five slum tenements until they were sold in about 1881. Margaret died of 'senile decay' in 1894.⁵⁹

5.5.7 The Neighbourhood, 1840s- 1900

In 1840 the colony was booming and building was progressing rapidly in the bustling hinterland of the docks. Lower George Street, as it was then called, was a solid commercial address, and all of the city's trading interests could be seen in the pubs and counting houses and with their signatures on the paper trails that established, finally, secure land tenure. The old established industries of sealing and whaling with their wharves located around Dawes Point at Millers Point, the burgeoning wool clip and the local coastal shipping that reflected intensified rural settlement after 1830 all contributed to a vibrant waterfront. This in turn generated wealth from the landholdings adjacent to the wharves. Then, a few years later Sydney was in the grip of a depression and earlier exuberant land dealings were now being turned to a trickle of sales and a rush of insolvencies registered at the courts.

Contraction was short lived however, as gold discoveries in the 1850s turned fortunes around again, and enlivened the port with an upswing of trade and shipping. The merchants of Lower George Street were thriving. Following the madcap upheaval of the gold rush decade, economic historians describe the period of the 1860s through to the early 1890s as a 'long boom' based on a buoyant wool trade. Shipping had expanded around Millers Point into Darling Harbour.

Then came the worst depression Sydney had so far experienced in the 1890s and the residential area of The Rocks, already old in Sydney terms, fell on hard times. Here the wharves were proving too small for the larger steam ships, and many traditional crafts and

⁵⁹ *ibid*, p. 61.

trades were under stress. With a glut of wool in Europe, trade slackened.

In this report more space had been given to the buildings on George Street than elsewhere. This is a reflection of the stark difference in scale of operation and of built form. George Street was at the heartland of the trading and shipping interests of Sydney and of the Quay, opposite the docks, close to the Government stores. Owners and tenants here feature in newspaper reportage, have entries in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and evinced amongst themselves a tight network of business relationships, land dealings and familial loyalties. While many were in and out of the insolvency court, they enjoyed at times, if not always, the high life of financial dealing and trading in the insipient economy of the brash new town of Sydney.

In contrast the people who lived along Argyle and Harrington Streets were, by the 1850s poor, unconnected and largely unheralded in the records of the past. This was not the poorest location in Sydney. That honour went to the area around the brick pits further along George Street on the outskirts of town. But The Rocks was rapidly heading into a period of residential decline. While the leitmotif of housing in the second half of the 19th century is the ubiquitous terrace house, modelled on the English pattern, much of The Rocks continued to be dominated by earlier vernacular housing some of it built as early as the 1820s, small by the standards of the day, and predominantly owned by absentee landlords in a city where home ownership was increasing overall.

When the ordinary people of The Rocks did appear in the records it was often as shadowy victims and criminals of an imagined underworld of the city. This is best illustrated by the world that evolved in the laneway at the southern end of the study area, Harrington Lane/Suez Canal.

Suez Canal

The laneway that runs from Harrington Street to George Street known as Suez Canal was possibly a through way between these two streets almost from the beginning of European settlement.

It appears to be present on Meehan's 1807 map [5.5.4] although the original grant of land here made to John Gleeson included the laneway, so it was not legally open. On Robert Russell's survey map of 1834 this laneway is clearly marked, but it has been built over near the George Street entrance. In 1841 this offending single storey wooden structure was for sale, shown on the plan below of the 'Broughton property to be sold at auction'.

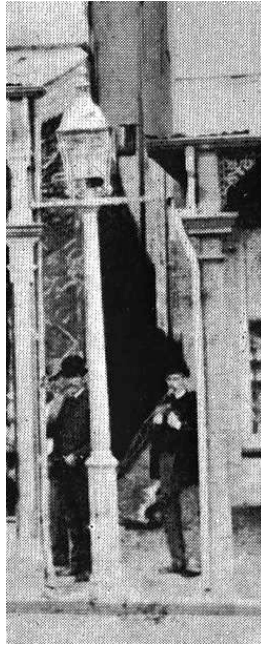


Figure 74

Detail: Photo of Playfair's 103 George Street. No date but believed to be late 1880. SHFA Archives.



Figure 75

Suez Canal, between 103 & 101 George Street, photo, SHFA, 2000

The plan below shows the building built by William Reynolds in 1838 labelled 'Mr Chapman's Butcher's Shop'⁶⁰ as abutting the building that was for sale, which has a laneway on its southern side but the intention for the lane to run to its north is clearly marked. By 1855 the present three storey building at 103 George Street had replaced the building for sale and the entrance to the lane had been secured. From 1849 until 1852 the land at 103 was owned by Maurice Reynolds, William Reynolds' son, so it is probable that the opening of the laneway was a condition of his on-sale of the land. Having an entrance way here would have been beneficial to the movements of occupants of the row of small houses that William Reynolds had built in c 1840 behind his Harrington Street cottages. Other houses in the lane are often attributed to Reynolds and claimed to have been built in the 1840s but as William was dead by 1841, if they were built by a Reynolds, it may have been Maurice. They may have been built even later than the 1840s, as they do not appear on mid-century maps such as Woolcott & Clarke's, which shows the cottages at the rear of Reynolds Cottages, but not along the laneway. Similar small housing was erected on the neighbouring block on the south side of the lane by William Riley in the late forties and fifties, and on the City Detail sheet for 1855-65 the lane is labelled Riley's Lane.

⁶⁰ James Chapman was the youngest son of early Rocks inhabitants, and publicans, William Chapman and his wife Ann Mash. James built what is now the Orient Hotel in 1844, originally as his butcher shop.

Figure 77

Five houses behind Reynolds Cottages and three more down the laneway. Those on the north were constructed by Reynolds, those on the south by Riley. Detail: Doves Plans of Sydney, 1880 Block 59. City of Sydney Archives

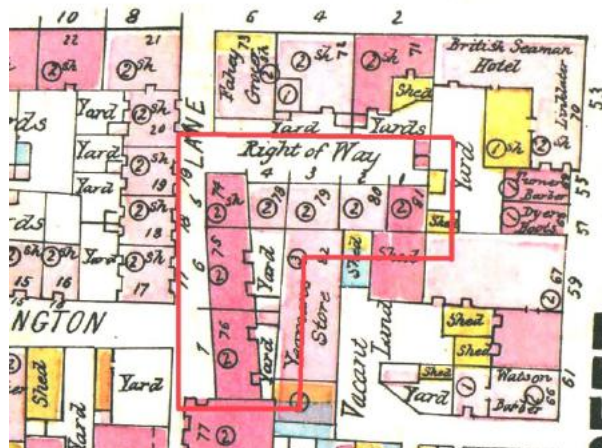


Figure 78

The three storey buildings at 93- 97 have been replaced by lower two storey one, allowing a partial view of the buildings in Harrington Lane (Suez Canal) to the rear. Detail: Panorama 1875 SHFA Image files



The assessment books listed sixteen houses in Reynold's Lane in lane in 1877, most of them on the southern side, but all of them contributing to the ambiance of the place. In 1885 the City Improvement Board ordered the demolition of various buildings in Harrington Place.⁶³ The worst of the hovels were removed including the tenements behind Reynolds Cottages, but by then the reputation of this narrow lane was sealed. It was, according to the 'slummer journalists' a veritable den of iniquity and those who lived there were routinely represented as immoral women living off prostitution, Chinese gamblers drugged with opium and youths intent on roughing up any passer-by who was audacious enough or ignorant enough to pass through the lane.

All those elements were present. Several Chinese names do appear in the records in the 1890s relating to the lane, and it seemed that Harrington Lane was a habitual hang out for the men from customs. Getting opium through the system without paying the customs duties benefitted all parties directly concerned, and it went on over a long period of time. In 1928 a wharfinger who illegally removed two packets of opium from a ship and placed it on a truck for the driver to deliver to Jong, a Chinese man living in Harrington Lane got all of them into trouble.⁶⁴ This kind of thing was the daily fare of the laneway.

⁶³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18th February 1885

⁶⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16th November 1928.

Figure 79

Sydney Morning Herald 25th March 1973.

Dead Bird was "A journal devoted to sport and drama" Published, Sydney 1889-1891. The quote appeared in a review of *Larrikins: 19th Century*, James Murray, Lansdowne Press. 1973.

One notable occasion was the Eight-Hour Day, 1884, gathering at Chowder Bay. The "Dead Bird" magazine wrote that "all the very elite of the Argyle Cut, the Suez Canal, the Chinese larrikin quarters, Waterloo, Woolloomooloo and Newtown were there in their war paint."

Suddenly . . . "Poll Push, of the Argyle Cut, and Mag Muckworth, female scrapper of the Loo fish markets, tucked up

While there were occasional reports of genuinely heinous crimes, Harrington Lane was more usually a site for discrimination against poor women. The papers regularly reported cases of 'drunk and disorderly' behaviour and related crimes. Margaret Nolan, Johanna O'Shannessy, Mary O'Shannessey and Emma Beaver were all fined £1 each for causing a disturbance in the lane.⁶⁵ The most common charge was for 'indecent language' or 'obscene language', an easy gender-specific charge probably used as a catch -all for prostitution or other related so called immoral behaviours, with fines for this ranging upwards to £5 or three months imprisonment.⁶⁶ This was the image the press loved to convey. The implications that many of the women living in this neighbourhood did so from a necessity born of poverty were rarely examined. On the 18th April, 1856 a woman, 'apparently between 35 and 45 years of age, respectably dressed in a lilac print dress, an old shawl and a white and brown straw bonnet trimmed with velvet with a wreath of flowers inside' threw herself over the Cumberland Street bridge across the Argyle Cut and fell seventy feet to her death in Argyle Street. There are more women than men in colonial Sydney, and more poor women than men.⁶⁷ Without any social security measures a woman could rapidly descend into poverty.

Lydia Ward married a mariner called William Brown in 1872 at the Scots Church. The marriage certificate recorded Lydia as a householder of George Street. She probably expected to live well. But when her husband was drowned in about 1881, and after numerous unsuccessful representations to the shipping company asking for compensation, or at least the wages owed to him, she became depressed and began drinking. Her skeleton was found in bush outside Druitt Town in September 1883, the bones dismembered and scattered around, indicating that animals had scattered her remains. This was reported as the 'Druitt Town Mystery'.

The remains gave no indication of the cause of death, but the contents of the basket the woman had been carrying provided information as to who she was. It contained copies of

⁶⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13th October 1882.

⁶⁶ For examples, see *Sydney Morning Herald* 10th April, 4th August, 1884.

⁶⁷ For an analysis of the demographic makeup of Sydney in the final decades of the nineteenth century see Shirley Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp: Life and Work in Sydney, 1870-1890*, OUP, Melbourne, 1987.

the *Herald*, the *Evening News* and the *Echo*, all dated around the end of December 1882. She was also carrying her marriage certificate, some pawn tickets for jewellery and a small bundle of letters from friends in England. One of these from a sister telling Lydia that their mother had died was addressed care of Mr Yeoman, corner of George and Argyle Streets. Richard Seley who lived on Church Hill said that he had known the woman for about eighteen years, and that she rented a room from him in a lane off George Street for about four years around the end of the 1870s. The assessment books show Richard Seely as renting one of the tenements in Reynolds Lane from Yeoman at this time.

Seely identified her clothing as being what she had been wearing for the past few years. He told the court that the death of her husband and mother she had taken to drinking and that she disappeared from town sometimes for days at a time, implying that she preferred to drink unobserved. She had been locked up several times and was known around the traps as Lady Brown. Yeoman, who gave his address as Randwick and his place of business as 97 George Street also testified that he knew her, that her correspondence was regularly delivered to his office and that he understood her to be well connected in England.⁶⁸

If Harrington Lane was a notorious spot, its impact was lost on most people in Sydney who just chose not to go to The Rocks. In 1941 when a parliamentary delegation went to inspect a new air raid shelter they could not find Harrington Lane where the entrance to the shelter was supposed to be and they complained that this area was unknown to anyone except the people who lived in the locality.⁶⁹ By now it was widely assumed that most of The Rocks would soon disappear under the improving hand of the town planners who were developing ideas for parks, office blocks, car parking stations –anything to remove this unwanted area of the city, and the fear had gone out of the place.

Harrington Lane remains though the buildings fronting it have gone. Tenancy cards for No 2 Harrington Lane which was behind 107 George Street gives a flavour of the tenancies. This was a two storey place with a basement and its tenants were commercial. In 1927 the Superannuation Board occupied the basement briefly before a number of more or less non-paying tenants came and went on six month leases of the building's two floors. In 1929 someone was cooking fish, and in all years the authorities were finding it hard to extract the rents. By 1946 P Bates, possibly a returned soldier, was attempting to make a go of manufacturing balsa wood toys, and the Superior Decorating Company stayed for 20 years from 1947 to 1967. By 1963 the MSB was complaining that tenants were subletting space illegally to students who were using the building to print the new Oz magazine which was challenging respectable society with its risqué journalism. The lane proved to be a perfect place to plaster with student posters.

The MSB demanded that the students leave, which may explain why in the following year

⁶⁸ The Druitt Town Mystery, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6th September 1883.

⁶⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7th March 1941. The air raid shelter was located in the western portal of what later became the Circular Quay section of the City Circle railway in 1956. Harrington Lane existed as two entities, joined only in 1976 by the creation of Nurses Walk.

the legitimate tenant was shifted into their 'indebtedness file'. The Rocks Catering Pty Ltd located at No 2 Harrington Lane briefly in 1970-71 and in February 1972 the building was burnt out.

5.5.8 Survival

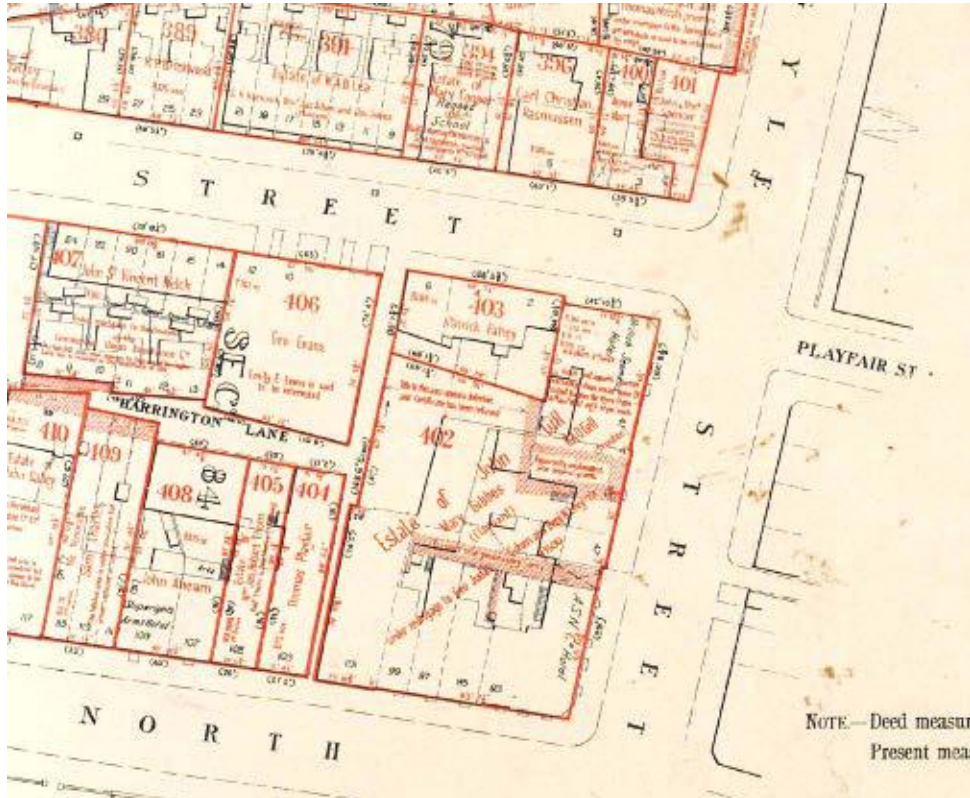


Figure 80
Detail: Plan O The Rocks and Foreshore Resumption Plan - c1900

Initially the new Sydney Harbour Trust's primary focus was on creating new and modern wharves. Nevertheless it also held a lot of residential property and in some areas this was demolished and made available for manufacturing concerns such as the Bushells Factory. Other commercial buildings developed after the old housing was demolished in Harrington Street just below St Patricks Church. The building of the Bridge took out several whole streets of housing.

By the 1930s the gaze had turned to the sections of The Rocks which included the study area. The anticipated underground railway loop was due to emerge overhead at Circular Quay and it was assumed that this would happen in tandem with the elimination of housing to create parks and office blocks. In 1937 one committee recommended the demolition of everything from Essex Street to the Quay railway station, to be replaced by a motor company premises and a car parking station up to Harrington Street. The elimination of

Harrington Lane was specifically recommended.⁷⁰ A related idea encouraged clearing the whole area south of Argyle Street to the anticipated overhead roadway and replacing it with office blocks set in park-like surroundings.⁷¹ The demolition of the old Commissariat and Ordinance Stores in 1939 and the building of the new headquarters for the MSB eventually set in a park went ahead, but the railway and the road were delayed by the outbreak of war. When they were finally built in the 1950s more of The Rocks disappeared but not the buildings within the boundaries of George Street, Argyle Street, Harrington Street and Suez Canal.

The Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority planned to demolish the buildings on George Street in the early 1970s, but by then the mood of the community had shifted and the Green Bans placed over The Rocks with the support of local resident groups spelt the end of plans for a major high rise redevelopment of the area.

Currently there is something of a mood to return the area to private hands, if not through outright sale then through 99-year leases. Residential properties in Millers Point once administered by the MSB as low rental properties for the maritime community and now by Housing NSW have also been leased for 99 years to private buyers. Commercial leases are for shorter periods of time, often 10 years with limited renewal rights but these leases have not been without their problems.

The story of the ownership of land on The Rocks provides a window into the changing ways that Sydney society has viewed this area. It was once an unwanted place where once convicts simply hewed out an existence without security of tenure and then became subject to land ownership wrangles of the early developers in the 1820s and 1830s. By the late nineteenth century it was widely considered to be a slum before being transferred to the ownership to the state in the twentieth century. Today it is highly valued and contested land.

5.6 Development of the site at 95-99 George Street

As already outlined, when Michael Gannon acquired his twenty-one year lease over much of the old Assistant Surgeons' land from owner FW Unwin in 1839 it came with a caveat that he would build 'such houses are of three stories exclusive of cellars and built substantially and of good materials'.⁷²

Gannon fulfilled the first requirement to build three storey buildings, but he did not build 'substantially'. By the mid 1860s the buildings had become rundown and were demolished. They were replaced by the current two storey buildings at 95-97, built in 1867. By then Gannon had long ago left The Rocks for his suburban property.

By 1844 Gannon took out a mortgage over all his properties in George and Argyle Streets

⁷⁰ Sydney Morning Herald, 16th July, 1937.

⁷¹ Sydney Morning Herald, 4th January, 1938.

⁷² Land Titles Office: Old System Title, Book 7, No. 80

with Joseph Samuel Hanson and the following year filed for insolvency. This was initially disallowed, and Gannon declared fraudulent in this matter, with the Commissioner singling out suspicious dealings with Hanson. The Gannons left town. In 1847 he was finally declared insolvent, with debts amounting to more than £7,000, and he sold the remaining years left of his leasehold to Hanson. Frederick Unwin, who owned the freehold over all these properties, including 95-99 George Street, was also in financial difficulties and in September 1844 all of these Unwin properties along Argyle Street and George Street (91-99) were purchased by Robert Archibald Alison Morehead and Mathew Young for £2,300.⁷³

Joseph Samuel Hanson

Joseph Hanson, in partnership with WM Mitchell had been building warehousing space in the area for at least a decade prior to acquiring Gannon's lease.⁷⁴ In 1845 he advertised that he had just acquired 98 George Street, across the road, and was 'prepared to warehouse goods of every description for any length of time' He was also an estate agent who traded in properties from domestic to warehouses to ships.⁷⁵

Robert Archibald Morehead

Michael Gannon's new landlord in 1844 was probably not his type. Robert Morehead was of solid Scottish stock. He came to Sydney in 1841 to manage the Scottish Australian Company. He arrived with money and he made a lot more of it by buying mortgages from some of the many overextended landowners during the depressed 1840s, and by lending at high rates of return. He publically defended these practices in 1843 when there was a proposal to introduce an Interest Act, arguing that it wasn't the moneyed men such as himself who were the problem, but the small speculators whom he called the 'borrowcracy'. Morehead eventually owned huge amounts of pastoral land and mining interests, but he got his start in canny urban property acquisitions in The Rocks.

The following detail of Blackwood's Panorama, taken in 1858, clearly shows at its centre the run of buildings constructed by Gannon on the site on George Street and Argyle Street. At the corner of Argyle Street is the hotel, initially called the *New York Hotel*, then a number of three storey buildings, as required by the terms of the lease, then the two storey building built for Reynolds, with a shadow indicating the location of Harrington Lane (Suez Canal).

⁷³ State Records of NSW: Insolvency Index

⁷⁴ In 1834 he advertised for lease extensive waterside premises across the road near the Kings Wharf stairs. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7th July, 1834.

⁷⁵ Sydney Morning Herald, 7th May 1845; 29th September 1845

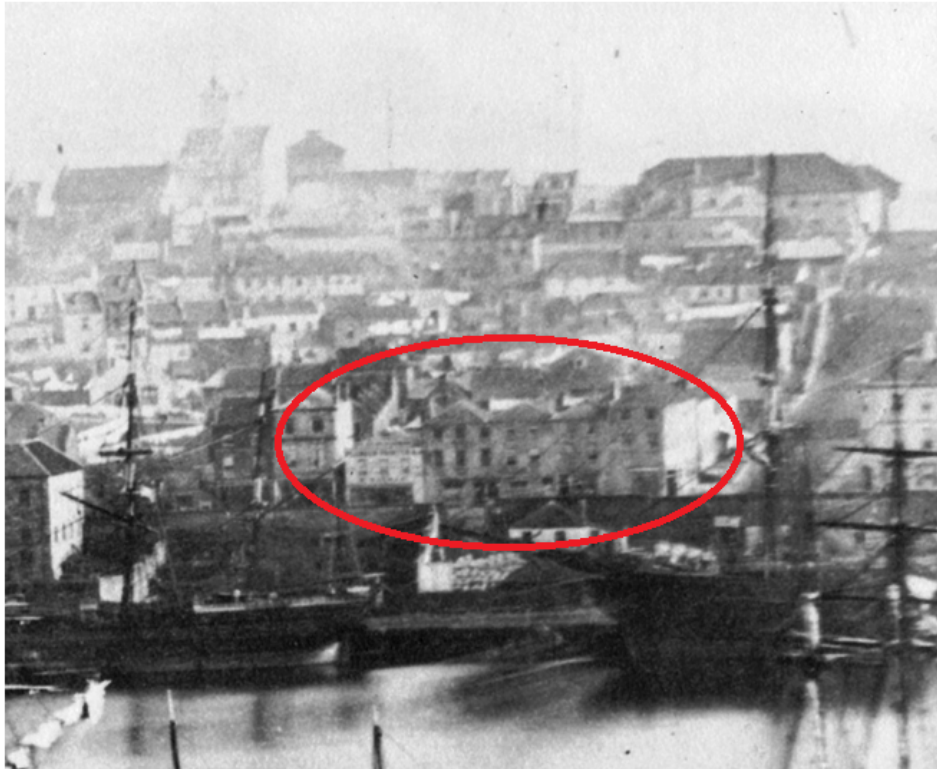


Figure 81

Detail; Blackwood's panorama of Sydney & Harbour from Government House, [1858].
Blackwood, W. (William), 1824-1897 State Library of NSW Call No. PXA 426

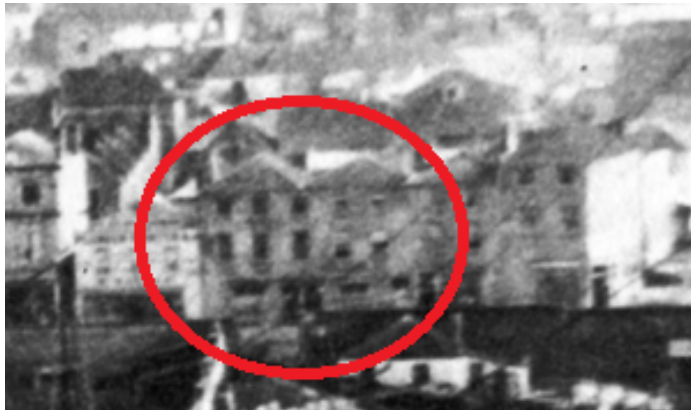


Figure 82

Detail; Blackwood's panorama of Sydney & Harbour from Government House, [1858].
Blackwood, W. (William), 1824-1897 State Library of NSW Call No. PXA 426

While the buildings at 95-99 George Street appear as two large three storey buildings in the 1858 panorama, the city's assessment books first list it as a single undifferentiated place called Stores. A plan showing buildings erected by Gannon between 1840 and 1844 show the building as a single block, but entitled Shop. Later assessments variously list the building(s) as shop or house, and the construction as brick or stone, but there seems only to have ever been two street numbers for the block, rather than three as now.

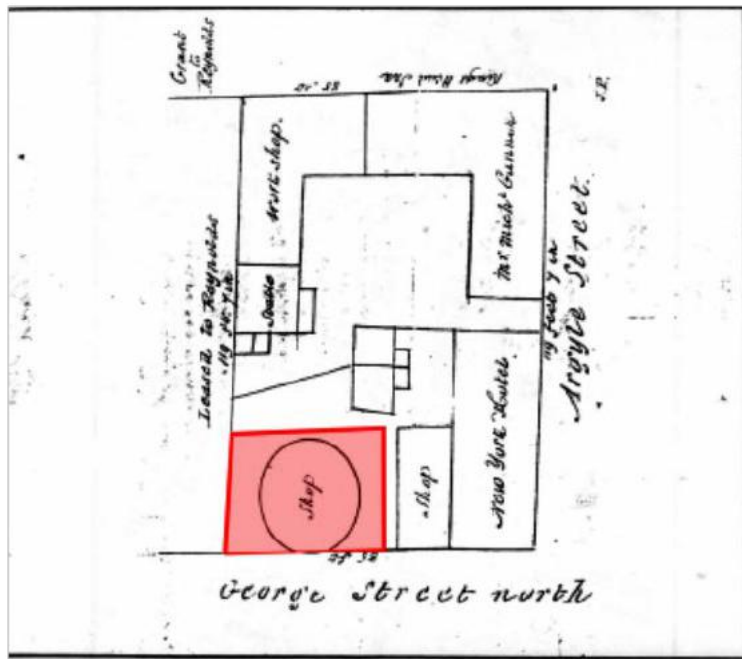


Figure 83

Title Plan from Old Systems Title Book 7 No 498 showing buildings erected by Michael Gannon 1840-1844, including a shop in the location of 95-99 George Street (highlighted in red). Taken from Clive Lucas Stapleton & Partners, CMP for 95-99 George Street, The Rocks 2008.

During the depressed forties there were some years when these stores were unoccupied, then they were tenanted by James Clinton, a butcher. Clinton wholesaled to shipping interests and boasted clients on the North Shore where he was “in the habit of supplying the greater portion of the respectable families residing there with meat”.

PRIME MEAT BEEF.
TO MERCHANTS, SHIPOWNERS, AND OTHERS.
THE Undersigned has on hand (50) fifty tierces prime mess beef (equal to Irish in cut and cure), packed with St. Ubes salt, and warranted to keep in any climate;—got up under his own immediate inspection, each tierce containing 336 lbs., which he offers for sale to merchants, shipowners, and others, on the most reasonable and liberal terms.
JAMES CLINTON,
 683, Lower George-street,
 Opposite Her Majesty's Dock Yard.
 Sydney, November 9. 7468

Figure 84

Prime Mess Beef. *Sydney Morning Herald* 9th November 1847

In the 1849 the business was taken over by his late foreman Nicholas Pyne. Pyne, who was also a baker, was followed by John Swyny, who used the premises to manufacture boots,

with 'shipping supplied and repairs done on shortest notice'⁷⁶. At other times he claims to be a clothier. These manufacturing/retailing businesses were probably focused on doing trade with the naval and merchant shipping across the road as much as on providing for the locals and they operated on a larger scale than those that came later.

By 1860, when the building was only 20 years old it had already fallen into disfavour, and it appears to have been sublet to various small traders and dealers operating in spaces that inspired the city's assessor to mark them in the assessment books as 'small.' In 1861 H Lou Apsen or Appa, was operating here as a dealer in scrap building materials, and King Shen was also in residence, though none of the sources give him an occupation. He may have been importing goods or, on the other hand he may have been running a doss house for Chinese countrymen on the way to the diggings.

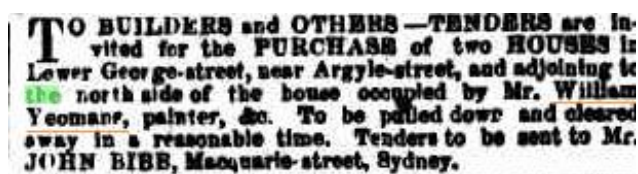


Figure 85

Sydney Morning Herald, 30th July 1860.

In July 1860 Morehead and Young engaged the architect John Bibb who advertised for tenders to purchase the buildings 'to be pulled down and cleared away in a reasonable time',⁷⁷ but it seems that this plan was temporarily shelved while he concentrated on repairing and upgrading the other Gannon built properties along George Street and into Argyle Street, placing many advertisements for painting, papering, reroofing and plumbing work. These were rented out in late 1860, 'having undergone a thorough and complete repair'.⁷⁸ If Bibb was the intended architect for the buildings to replace those to be demolished, this was not to be as he died in 1862 and the site remained vacant until three new, smaller but sounder houses were built here in 1867, possibly by William Yeoman.⁷⁹

These are the buildings that stand on the site today.

⁷⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* 25th February, 1854

⁷⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30th July 1860.

⁷⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27th September, 1860

⁷⁹ Yeoman was already renting one of these shops.



Figure 86

Detail: Panorama 1875: SHFA Image Files. The buildings have a street awning.

In 1871 Morehead and Young sold the buildings to Yeoman who sold them on to absentee landlord John Gill, who acquired all of the old Gannon suite of buildings in this block in 1885. Yeoman was already occupying No. 97 as a shopfront for his painting and plumbing business and, more importantly, the large store at the rear of the building, accessed by horse and cart through a laneway off Argyle Street (now Greenway Lane).

While the earlier building at what is now 95 -99 George Street was an undifferentiated 'store', this next generation of buildings were recorded in the assessment books as 'shop and house'. At 95 the new building was taken up in 1867 by Thomas Claydon a butcher and it remained a butcher's shop rented to various tenants until 1908. No 99 was tenanted by a long line of grocers from 1868 until 1897, and given their location it is probable that some of their trade was with the shipping companies. After Yeoman vacated No. 97 in the late 1870s, this shop became home to a variety of small traders until the twentieth century when the clothes trade made its mark with the shop being held consecutively by Iver Jacobson, S(olomon) Lewis and Abraham Cliffe.

Inspection invited. Terms at sale.

STERLING CITY INVESTMENT
near
CIRCULAR QUAY.
viz.,
68 FEET FRONTAGE TO GEORGE-STREET NORTH,
close to Argyle-street,
with
a depth in great part of 110 feet,
and having rights by lanes and passages from
George, Argyle, and Harrington streets.

It will be immediately **OPPOSITE** the proposed Tram Terminus,
FOUR SHOPS and Dwellings, Nos. 95, 97, 99, and 101, **GEORGE-STREET NORTH**, now occupied by Messrs. **CLAYDON** (butcher), **KEAN** (painter), **LONSDALE** (grocer), and **PLAYFAIR** (butcher). They are all substantially built of brick on stone foundations, with awnings in front.

NO. 95 contains **SHOP**, 4 apartments, bathroom, and basement kitchen, &c.

NO. 97 ditto **SHOP**, 4 apartments, bathroom, storeroom, basement; and at rear, large brick and stone store of two floors, having entrance from Argyle-street.

NO. 99 ditto **SHOP**, 3 rooms, bathroom, attic room, and basement kitchen.

NO. 101 ditto **WIDE SHOP**, 3 apartments, bathroom, kitchen, and store of two floors at rear, having entrance by lane from Harrington-street. On the south side is a passage leading from George-street, and to a vacant allotment at back of these premises, forming part of the total depth of land.

TOTAL ANNUAL RENTAL IS £780.

TO CAPITALISTS, TRUSTEES, MERCHANTS, AND OTHERS,
this Sale will afford an unusual chance of acquiring a present rent-producing property, with the certainty that a large increment in capital value will accrue to its possessor in a few years. Its proximity to **CIRCULAR QUAY**, **A. S. NAV. COY.**, and numerous other wharves extending right round to **Miller's Point**, stamps its importance as a
VALUABLE FRONT BUSINESS POSITION
for
EXTENSIVE COMMERCIAL STORES
and
OFFICES.

N.B.—A large portion of the property is immediately available.

RICHARDSON and WRENCH have received instructions from Mr. **WILLIAM YEOMAN**, to sell by public auction, at the Rooms, Pitt-street, on **FRIDAY, 29th May**, at 11 o'clock,
The above-mentioned **VALUABLE CITY PROPERTY.**
Messrs. NORTON and CO., 2, O'Connell-street, are Solicitors for Vendor.

TERMS AT SALE. Plan on view.

Figure 87

Yeoman offers for sale the row of four shops 101-95 George St *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27th May 1885.

At the rear of the buildings, a number of sheds were constructed. These appear to have changed over the years, as recorded on successive plans of the area between 1880 and 1900. These plans also show that the laneway off Argyle Street provided varying degrees of access to the rear of the properties. In 1880, a passage off the laneway gave access to the rear of both No 95 and No 93 next door, but by 1888 when the hotel and corner shop had been rebuilt by Tooth & Co, the passage appears to have been incorporated into the rear yard of Nos 91-93, with what appears to be a masonry wall between it and No 95. In addition, the building against the wall of No 101 at the end of the lane, shown in the 1880 plan, appears to have been partly removed to allow a small extension of the laneway to provide access to the rear of No 99, by what appears to be a set of steps. This arrangement is also shown in the 1900 resumption plan, although by that stage the shed at the rear of No 95 appears to have been demolished.

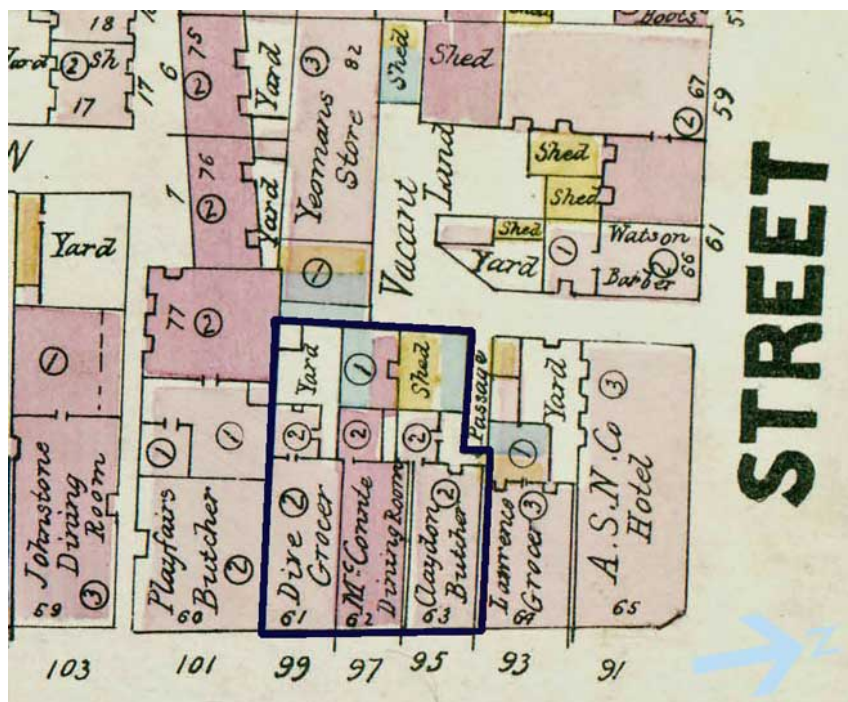


Figure 88

Detail from H Percy Dove's plans of Sydney 1880. The present lease boundary is overlaid. Source: City of Sydney Archives.

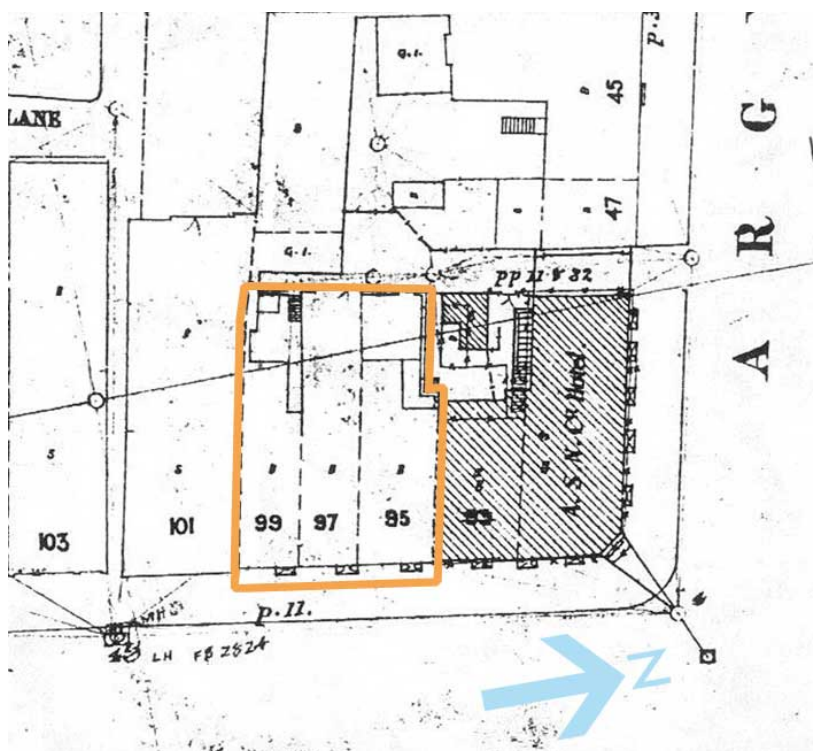


Figure 89

Detail from Trigonometrical Survey of Sydney 1888. The present lease boundary is overlaid. Source: SHFA plan No HP 147-A, reproduced from original at City of Sydney Archives.



Figure 90

Detail from Darling Harbour Resumptions plan 1900. The present lease boundary is overlaid. Source: City of Sydney Archives.

In 1908 the Cohen Brothers took over at No 95 in what was becoming a domain of Jewish clothiers. The Cohens were replaced around 1915 by Abraham Cliffe who was already established in No. 97.



Figure 91

Australian Women's Weekly, published 5th April, 1972. Remembering a 1912 encounter with one of these shops a reader sent in the following story to the much read *Australian Women's Weekly*:

From 1923 until 1932 the Empire Services Club was located upstairs at No 97 George Street. This organisation is associated with Dr Mary Booth.

Mary Booth

Mary Booth was born in Sydney in 1869 and she graduated as a medical doctor from the University of Edinburgh in 1899. Dr Mary Booth was involved in public health education and was active in a fearsome number of welfare and returned soldier activities. She assisted in the work of settling boys who came out to Australia under a farm apprenticeship program for British lads which operated from 1910 until 1939. The scheme was funded from money subscribed by the Australian public to purchase a battle ship for Britain. When this plan did not go ahead a portion of the money raised went into this program, and hence it was called the Dreadnought Scheme. Booth established the Empire Service Club in 1923 as an organisation to support the boys through raising funds, providing hostel accommodation and

a correspondence service. This organisation was run from the room upstairs at No 97 which also operated as a club rooms which were open daily during the week. This was also the location for the production of her monthly magazine 'The Boy Settler', which was published from 1925 to 1944. A plaque in Kendall Lane in The Rocks commemorates the 5595 boys who came to Australia under the Dreadnought Scheme. Conservative, strongly in favour of maintaining 'our own British Stock' and concerned to counteract communism,⁸⁰ Booth has left a legacy of writings and speeches and her papers are held by the State Library of NSW. She died in 1956.



Figure 92

Mary Booth (1869-1956), by John Samuel Watkins
National Library of Australia, nla.pic-an2292708.

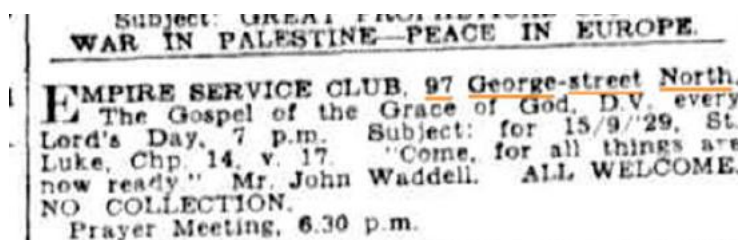


Figure 93

Sydney Morning Herald, 14th September 1929.

On Sunday evenings, when the rooms were not operating as the Empire Club it seems that they fulfilled another function:

⁸⁰ Roe, Jill, 'Booth, Mary (1869–1956)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/booth-mary-5291/text8927>

By the beginning of the twentieth century No 99 was held by various fruiterers, who, like the oyster bar holders in 101 George Street next door, were all non-Anglo traders – Russo, Rodriquez, Di Losa. Joseph Di Losa remained at this trade from 1924 until his death in 1963 and his wife carried on the trade for long enough to appear as a tenant when the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority which took over the building from the Maritime Services Board.



Figure 94

99-95 George St 1970. SHFA Image files. No 95 appears to be a newsagency, as now.



Figure 95

Photograph of the rear of 93-101 George Street taken in 1973. Note the attic projection to No 99 and the sole rooflight at No 97. Source: SHFA Image No 154274 HP 24.



Figure 96

Photograph of the rear of 95-99 George Street taken in 1975. There is still what appears to be a corrugated iron shed at the rear of No 97. Source: SHFA Image No 154289 HP 44.

In 1978 the Authority undertook work at the rear of the properties to provide improved sanitary facilities. Single storey rear wings were built on to Nos 97 and 99, and a two-storey wing to No 95. At the same time, improved access by way of timber steps was provided to Greenway Lane. This may also have been the time that the attic projection at No 99 was removed. The rear wing at No 99 had an additional storey with a new bathroom constructed in 1984.⁸¹

⁸¹ SHFA Drawing No HP11/s52, reproduced as ROX-503-AR-0014-OD.

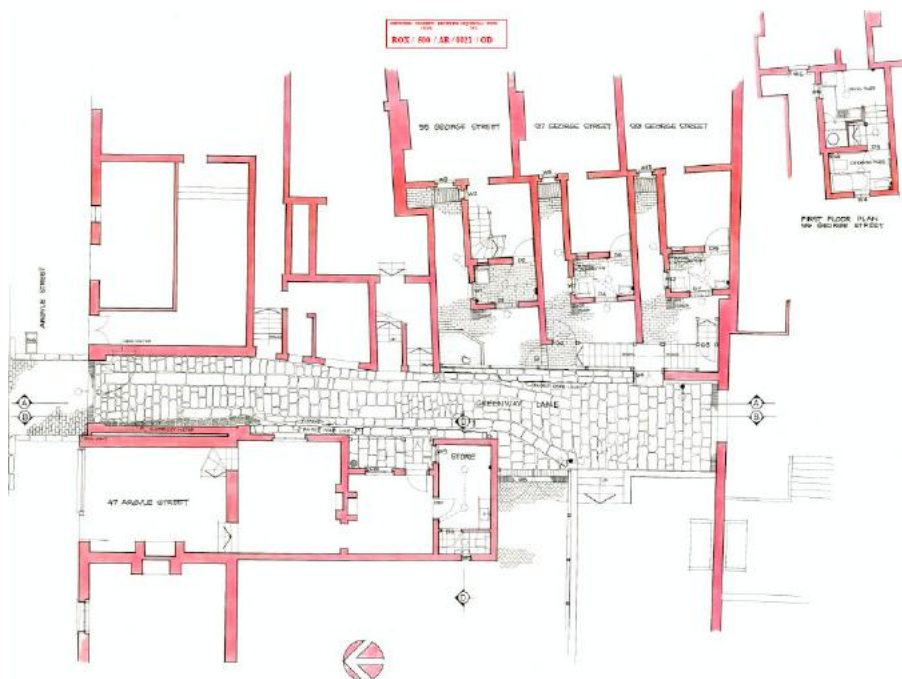


Figure 97

As-built plan of Greenway Lane and rear of properties at 95-99 George Street, showing new rear wings. Source: Detail from SHFA Drawing No HP11/28, reproduced as ROX-500-AR-00021-OD.



Figure 98

Rear wings of 95-99 George Street under construction, 1978. The outbuilding at the rear has been demolished. Source: SHFA Image No 41154 GEM 95.15.



Figure 99

Rear wing of No 95 under construction. Note the evidence of a former single storey structure, and the former entrance to the cellar which is now internal in all properties. Source: SHFA Image No 41228 GEM 95.30

In 1983, Fabian and Wendy Marsden applied to the Authority to lease No 97 as a pharmacy⁸². The 'suggested period style shopfitting' designs by the Authority⁸³ were largely adopted in the construction of the pharmacy fitout.

⁸² Letter to the Authority from Berne, Murray and Tout, Solicitors, 7 February 1983. SHFA Archives.

⁸³ Authority drawings Nos HP 11/43 and HP 11/44, reproduced as ROX-503-AR-0012-OD and -0013-OD.

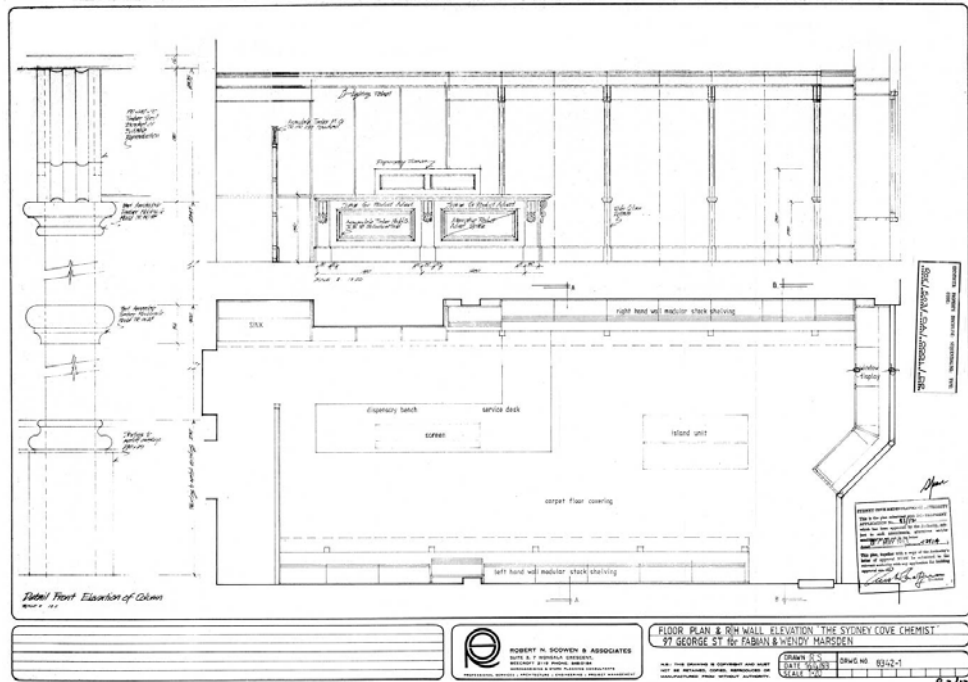


Figure 100

Drawing showing proposed fitout of pharmacy at 97 George Street, 1983. Source: SHFA drawing No ROX-503-DA-0001-DR.

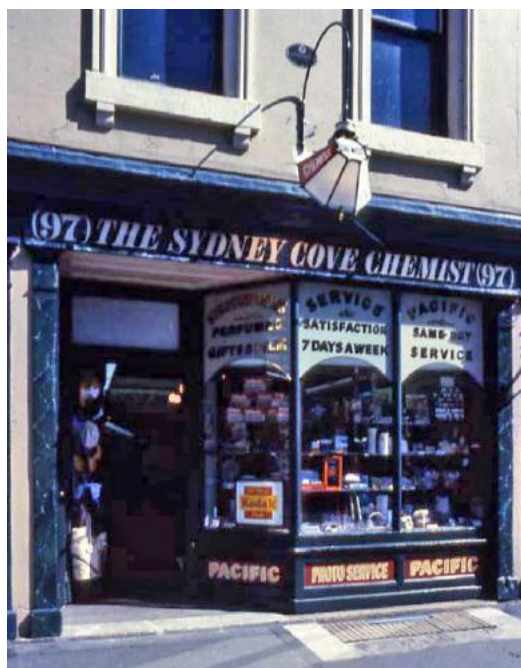


Figure 101

The chemist shop at No 97 shortly after opening (undated, but probably 1983). The awning has not yet been reconstructed, and the chemist lamp hangs from a wall bracket. Source: SHFA Image No 155050 HP 456.

After repairs to the shopfronts in 1980, the Authority proceeded in 1985 to reconstruct the street awning shown in the early photographs. At the same time, they built a pediment in the centre of the parapet wall, which does not appear to have been based on historical precedent. The pediment was later removed.

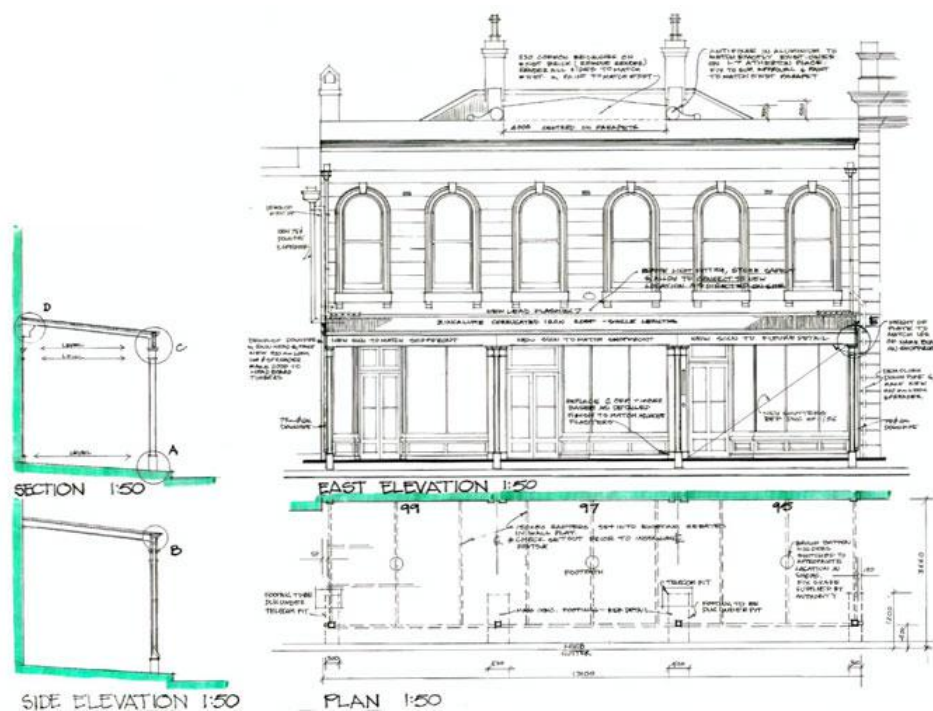


Figure 102

Detail from Drawing No HP11/55, showing proposed reconstruction of awning (and construction of pediment) at 95-99 George Street. Source: SHFA drawing No ROX-500-AR-0026-OD.



Figure 103

The facade of 95-99 George Street taken in 1985, showing the reconstructed awning and new pediment (since removed) and painted signage. Compare with Figures 18 and 102. Source: SHFA Image No 15143 HP 521.

In 1989 a new garbage room was constructed at the rear of No 95, over a concrete slab at the level of Greenway Lane, which allowed for direct access from the lane to the rear of No 95.⁸⁴ Access had previously been by way of the rear yard of No 97. Minor works to the properties, including upgrading of kitchens and bathrooms and the removal of the pediment, were carried out in about 2001.

In 2006 major works were undertaken to The Rocks Cafe, which involved removal of the rear wing constructed in the 1970s and 1980s, excavation in the rear yard, a new rear wing and extension to the cellar, and complete refitting of the cellar and rear ground floor for kitchens and storage. This exercise was not without controversy, as the initial opening-up works removed rather more original fabric than had been approved, including dismantling the original timber shopfront⁸⁵. The shopfront was subsequently reconstructed and slightly altered to allow the door to open outwards, and a damaged timber bressumer over the shopfront was replaced, together with its supporting timber posts. The cast iron post was also relocated⁸⁶.

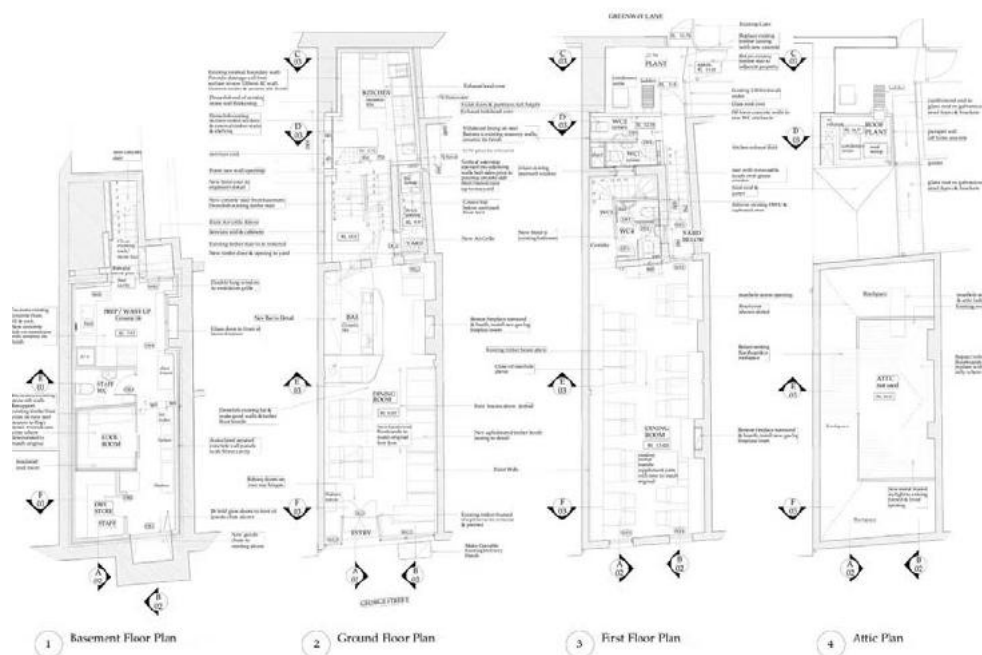


Figure 104

Detail from drawing No 04.020 CC01 by John Graham & Associates, showing as-built plans of 99 George Street. Source: SHFA drawing No ROX-506-AR-0001-CP.

These three shops exhibited stable patterns of use, with a high proportion of long term tenancies. The three shops are under the management of the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority and leased to Sydney Cove Newsagency (No. 95), Sydney Cove Chemist (No. 97)

⁸⁴ SHFA Drawing No HP11/60, reproduced as ROX-500-AR-0029-OD.

⁸⁵ Letter from Ian Kelly, Planning and Design Manager, SHFA, to John Graham, Architect, 1 May 2006.

⁸⁶ Letter from Zoran Popovic, Heritage Architect, SHFA, to John Graham & Associates, 30 May 2006.

and The Rocks Café (No. 99). The pharmacist at No 97, Fabian Marsden is involved in community organisations and from c1993 to 2003 served as a councillor on the City of Sydney Council.



Figure 105

95-99 George St 2008, SFA Image files

PART 6

ABOUT THIS CMP

6.1 Context of the Report

This document is an update of the conservation management plan for 95-99 George Street, The Rocks, by Clive Lucas Stapleton & Partners Pty Ltd, adopted July 2008, as well as previous Management Plans for the item.

The document is intended to be read in conjunction with The Rocks Heritage Management Plan (revised 2010). The Rocks Heritage Management Plan has been prepared to provide a basis for understanding and conserving the heritage value of The Rocks and to assist in preparing individual Conservation Management Plans for heritage buildings within The Rocks.

The CMP is to be implemented as a management document for the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority. The item and The Rocks are managed by the Authority, constituted on 1 February 1999 under the *Sydney Harbour Foreshore Act 1998*. The primary functions of the Authority, stated in its Act, are to:

- Protect and enhance the natural and cultural heritage of the foreshore area
- Promote, coordinate, manage, undertake and secure the orderly and economic development and use of the foreshore area, including the provision of infrastructure
- Promote, coordinate, organise, manage, undertake, secure, provide and conduct cultural, educational, commercial, tourist, recreational, entertainment and transport activities and facilities.

6.2 Methodology & Structure

The format of this CMP has been altered slightly from a standard CMP format to increase the ease of use of the document:

The table below compares the layout of this CMP with the process used to create the CMP. Previously CMPs have been presented in a sequence that followed the process rather than being presented for ease of use.

Process for this CMP		Layout of this CMP (for ease of use)	
Section 1	Project set up and consultation.	PART 1	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY Includes Summary Statement of Significance

Process for this CMP		Layout of this CMP (for ease of use)	
Section 2	Documentary Evidence	PART 2	CONSERVATION POLICIES Includes Opportunities and Challenges & Recommendations
Section 3	Physical Evidence	PART 3	HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE Includes Analysis under NSW Heritage Act Criteria.
Section 4	Heritage Significance	PART 4	ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE Includes Analysis of Documentary & Physical Evidence Curtilage Analysis; & Comparative Analysis.
Section 5	Opportunities & Constraints	PART 5	ILLUSTRATED HISTORY
Section 6	Conservation Policies	PART 6	ABOUT THIS CMP: Includes Outline of Brief, Authorship. Acknowledgements, Further Research required, References, Terms & Abbreviations
Section 7	Implementation	PART 7	SUMMARY OF ELEMENTS: Significance & Recommendations by element

6.3 Authorship & Acknowledgements

This document has been written and compiled by Peter Phillips. Archaeological sections, including some overlays of historical maps were prepared by Justin Hewitt (Archaeologist), and the illustrated history has been prepared by Dr. Shirley Fitzgerald. Photographs are by Peter Phillips unless otherwise noted.

The document has been reviewed by Dr Wayne Johnson and Lucy-Burke Smith of the Authority. The assistance of other staff at the Authority, including Monique Galloway, Natalie

Gedeon, Elisha Long, John Andrews and Max Ireland is gratefully acknowledged.

6.4 Terminology & Abbreviations

This CMP employs the terms and definitions commonly acknowledged and defined by the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter.

The Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority is referred to as the 'Authority'.

6.5 References / Bibliography

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Darling Harbour Resumptions 1901 (NSW State Records)

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State Records NSW holds many indexes on line, including..... Surveyors Sketch Books, Registers of Coroners' Inquests, 1796-1942, publicans licences, insolvency indexes. Much early land information is held here, although the Land Titles Office is the primary holder. Increasingly LTO information is available on- line. City of Sydney Improvement Board Records Minute Books

Papers are held in the Mitchell Library, including:

Greenway Papers

James Mather's Diaries (1897-1911)

City of Sydney Archives holds Assessment Books from 1845 -1948, rate books, planning cards, BA and DA files, maps and plans.

Some government departments hold archival records including court and police records. The Justice and Police Museum also holds some police records, (photographs of people charged).

The Noel Butlin Archives, ANU holds company and labour organisation records, including Tooth & Co's correspondence, specifications for alterations, reports.

Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority Files – building plans, tenancy records, etc.

Parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry, including:

Sydney City and Suburban Sewage and Health Board (1876)

Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality and Charges of Bribery Against Members of the Police Force (1891-2)

Images

State Records, State Library of NSW, the National Library, City of Sydney and the Royal Australian Historical Society all hold extensive photographic collections.

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PART 7

SUMMARY OF ELEMENTS

7.1 Introduction to this Summary

This section lists the elements of the place, noting the significance and condition of each element with some background notes, and making recommendations for its conservation. This section needs to be read in conjunction with the conservation policies in Part 2.

7.2 Grading of Significance

Exceptional Significance

Includes fabric that makes the greatest direct contribution to the item's significance. This particularly refers to rare or outstanding original fabric and spaces of particular historic and aesthetic value, and unaltered original elements and features.

Elements identified as being of exceptional significance should be retained and conserved in situ. Any work, which affects the fabric or external appearance of these elements, should be confined to preservation, restoration and reconstruction as defined by *The Burra Charter*.

High / Medium Significance

Includes elements and features that make an important contribution to the recognition of the item's significance albeit the fabric may not be in good condition. This may include elements that have been altered, or elements created as part of a generally sympathetic alteration to the building. This category is likely to include much of the extant fabric from the early phases of construction and many reconstructed early or original elements wherever these make an important contribution to the significance of the item.

Elements identified as being of high significance should also generally be retained, restored and conserved in situ subject however to other relevant factors including technological feasibility of proposed works. Minor intervention into fabric including adaptation and alteration as defined by *The Burra Charter* is permissible, provided that level of significance of each element is retained, with an aim not to remove or obscure significant fabric, giving preference to changes which are reversible.

Little Significance & Neutral items

Includes elements and features which were originally of higher significance, but have been compromised by later, less significant modifications.

Can include additions made to accommodate changing functional requirements where these components are generally of neutral impact on the complex's significance.

Elements assessed as being of little significance or of neutral value are generally not regarded as essential to the major aspects of significance of a building or place, often fulfilling a functional role. Both retention and removal are acceptable options, depending on the element. Any major interventions to the item should be confined to areas where the fabric is of little significance.

Intrusive

Includes fabric which adversely affects the significance of the complex or fabric created without respect for the intangible values of the building. Removal of elements of this category would directly increase the overall heritage value of the item.

Elements identified as intrusive can reduce or obscure the overall significance of the place, despite their role as illustrators of the site's progressive development. The preferred option is for their removal, conversion to a more compatible form, or replacement in a way which helps to retain the overall significance of the item. These works should be done without damage to adjacent fabric of significance. These items need not be addressed immediately.

7.3 Condition Rating

The schedule of elements below indicates the general condition of the element at the time of inspection in September and November 2012, to the extent that inspection was possible. The buildings were occupied and furnished at the time of inspection, and several elements were covered or concealed by others. Moreover, the tenants restricted access to some areas and requested that others not be photographed.

CONDITION RATING	DESCRIPTION
Excellent	Element has no defects. Condition and appearance are as new.
Good	Element exhibits superficial wear and tear, minor defects, minor signs of deterioration to surface finishes, but does not require major catch-up maintenance. No major defects exist.
Fair	Element is in average condition. Deteriorated surfaces require attention. Services are functional but require attention. Deferred maintenance work exists. Attention to condition is required within the next 5 years.
Poor	Element has deteriorated badly. Serious structural problems exist. General appearance is poor with eroded protective coatings. Elements are defective, services are frequently failing, and/or a significant number of major defects exist. Attention to condition is required within the next 2 years.
Very Poor	Element has failed. It is not operational and is unfit for occupancy or normal use. Urgent attention is required.

7.4 Diagrams of Elements & their Significance

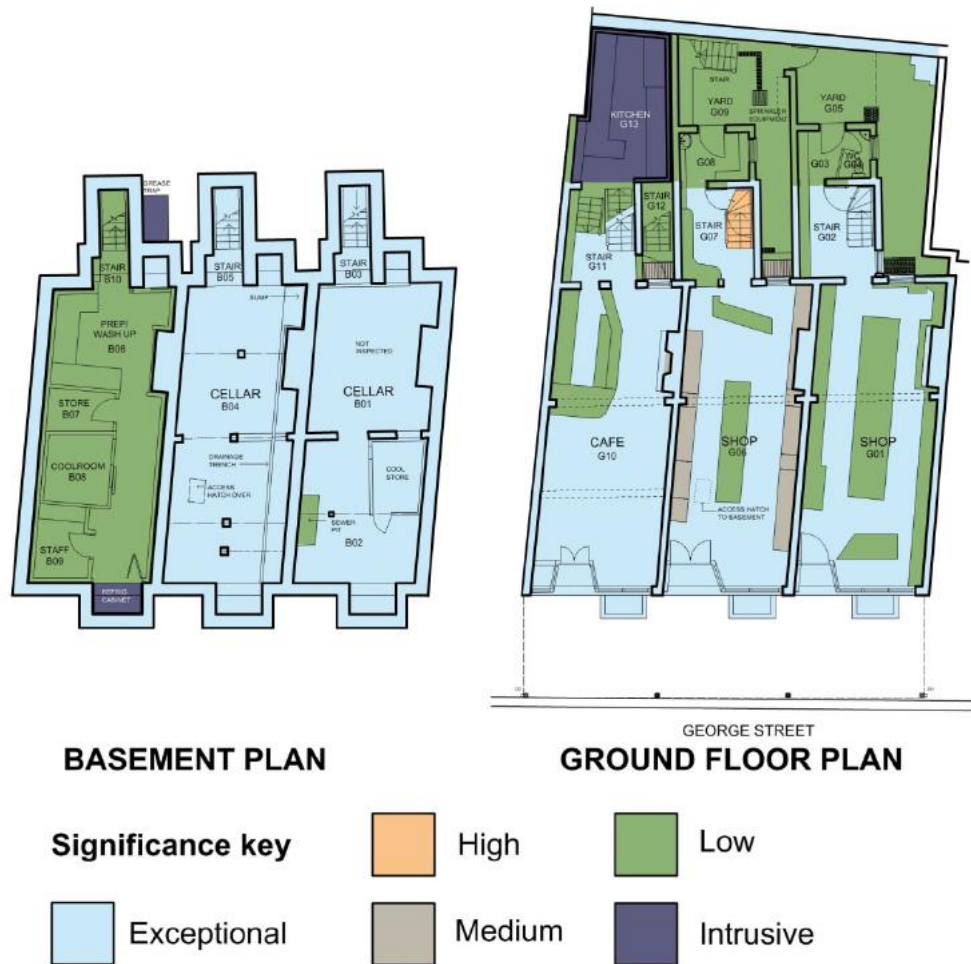


Figure 106
Significance diagram, basement and ground floors



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

ATTIC FLOOR PLAN

Significance key






	High		Low
	Exceptional		Medium
			Intrusive

Figure 107

Significance diagram, basement and ground floors

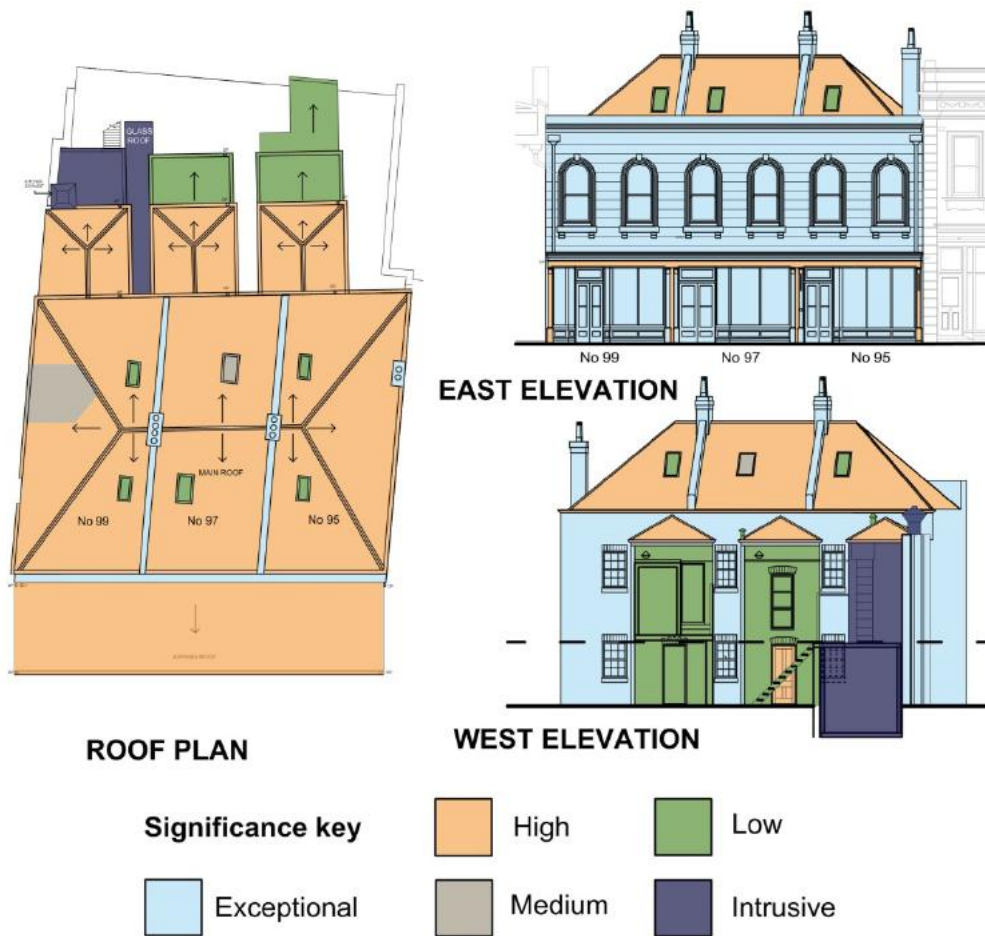







Figure 108
Significance diagram, basement and ground floors



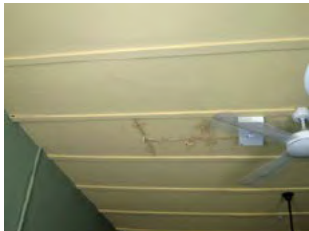
Summary of Elements




Element	Background	Significance	Condition	Recommendations
<div>7.5</div> <div>The Heritage Item Generally</div> <div></div> <div>Figure 109 George Street facade of Nos 95-99</div>	<p>The present buildings were constructed in 1867. The rear wings were altered and extended in 1978, and the street awning was reconstructed in 1985, both by the Authority. No 97 was fitted out as a pharmacy in 1983. The garbage room at the rear of No 95 was constructed in 1989, and major alterations at No 99 were undertaken in 2006.</p>	Exceptional	Good	<p>The place should be retained and conserved, and used for commercial and preferably associated residential purposes. Only uses or licences which respect the heritage values of the place should be approved. Future works at the place should be designed to interpret the history of the property, especially at the rear, in the context of the design principles for the entire block bounded by George, Argyle and Harrington Streets and Suez Canal. Refer to Part 2 and Appendix B.</p>
<div>7.6</div> <div>The Setting</div> <div></div> <div>Figure 110 The setting of Nos 95-99 in George Street. SHFA Image No 260549 (1991)</div>	<p>Nos 95-99 George Street are part of a significant 19th century commercial streetscape. The properties also back on to Greenway Lane.</p>	Exceptional	Good	<p>It is recommended that the property curtilage reflect the current leasing boundary, and that an improved connection of the place with Greenway Lane and the common courtyards be encouraged. Refer to Part 4 and Appendix B.</p>
<div>7.7</div> <div>Archaeological Potential</div>	<p>The archaeological potential of the place is described as mostly disturbed. The most likely area of potential is beneath the side passages and rear yards. Because it is part of a precinct occupied since 1788, any remains located in this area could be of exceptional significance.</p>	Exceptional to High	Mostly disturbed	<p>Any excavation in the former rear yard should be preceded by archaeological investigation. Refer to Part 2.</p>
<div>7.8</div> <div>Landscape Elements Generally</div>	<p>With the exception of the stone retaining wall at the rear, all landscape elements including paving, fences and planting are of recent construction.</p>	Low (except tree)	Fair to Good	<p>Refer to sections 7.9 Stone Wall, 7.10 Trees and 7.11 Fencing below.</p>



Element	Background	Significance	Condition	Recommendations
7.9 Stone Wall 	The stone retaining wall at the rear of the property may date from the Gannon period of the 1840s	Exceptional	Fair to Good	The wall should be inspected to determine what damage is being caused by the roots of the fig tree, and if removal of the tree is necessary to avoid further damage, the wall should be repaired following removal, using matching stone and a lime-based mortar that is weaker than the stone.
<p>Figure 111</p> <p>Stone retaining wall and timber fence and stairs at the rear of No 97, with roots of fig tree in Greenway Lane (2012)</p>				
7.10 Trees	A fig tree growing in Greenway Lane, possibly self-sown, has extended aerial roots down the stone retaining wall at the rear of No 97.	Intrusive	Good	While the tree appears to be thriving, it also appears to be causing damage to the stone wall. It should be inspected and, if the damage is confirmed, carefully removed.
7.11 Fencing	Timber fencing and gates at the rear of the property provide privacy for residences but	Low	Good	Consider reconstructing fencing to allow a greater visual connection between Nos 95-99 and Greenway Lane and the internal courtyards to the west.
7.12 External Lighting	There appears to be little or no external lighting, except for the illuminated 'chemist' lamp beneath the awning.	Medium	Good	Retention of the lamp is appropriate while the place is used as a pharmacy.
7.13 External Signage	The main external signage is traditional in character, painted beneath the cornice, on to the fascia above the shopfront, and on the shopfront glass.	Medium	Good	The existing painted signage is appropriate but could be replaced with other painted signage of traditional design. Modern corporate signage should be avoided.

Element	Background	Significance	Condition	Recommendations
7.14 Steel Roof Cladding 	<p>The roofs of the buildings have been iron since originally constructed in the 1860s. The existing roofing is corrugated galvanised steel, in single lengths, with galvanised steel cappings. Parapet flashings appear to be lead. The roof is showing some signs of rust, especially the northern end capping to the awning roof.</p>	High	Fair	When the existing roofing reaches the end of its useful life it should be replaced with corrugated galvanised steel, using the heaviest available base metal and coating thickness. Consider reroofing in traditional 1.8m lengths using slotted screw fixings.
7.15 Steel Roof Plumbing	<p>Gutters and downpipes were evidently replaced in the 1970s, downpipes with a circular cross-section and gutters with a quad profile.</p>	Medium	Fair	Gutters to the buildings should continue to be replaced when necessary. Traditional quad pattern is appropriate for the recent rear additions, while consideration should be given to replacing eaves gutters to the original parts of the buildings with ogee profile, all in painted galvanised steel.
7.16 Rooflights	<p>All of the rooflights appear to be of modern construction, although some have evidently replaced original rooflights.</p>	Medium to Low	Good	Preserve original rooflight locations and openings. Existing rooflights may be retained or replaced with rooflights of similar profile and size.
7.17 Chimneys & Roof Features 	<p>The chimneys and pots appear to be original. There appear to be some cracks in the terracotta pots.</p> <p>Roof features such as television aerials and satellite dishes are visually intrusive.</p>	<p>Exceptional</p> <p>Intrusive</p>	<p>Fair</p> <p>Good</p>	<p>Inspect chimneys and repair pots if required.</p> <p>When circumstances permit, remove intrusive roof features or relocate to less visible positions on rear roofs.</p>
7.18 Parapets	<p>The present form of the parapets appears original.</p>	Exceptional	Good	Retain and conserve front and party wall parapets.

Element	Background	Significance	Condition	Recommendations
7.19 Roof Structures  <p>Figure 114 Roof structure inside No 97 (2012).</p>	The roof structure of the early parts of the buildings is likely to be largely original.	Exceptional	Good	Retain and conserve the original roof structure.
7.20 Exterior Walls Generally	The walls of the original parts of the building are solid brick in lime mortar, mostly unpainted at the rear (except at No 95) and rendered and painted with stucco mouldings externally to George Street. The rendered walls retain traces of ashlar coursing.	Exceptional	Good	Retain and conserve all original walls and decorative stucco. Future repainting should include restoration of the full depth of ashlar coursing.
7.21 Windows  <p>Figure 115 Detail of rear window, No 99 (2012)</p>	All front windows are original, and rear windows within the original part of the building on the first floor are also original, except for the kitchen window in No 95 which appears to have an original sash in a later frame. Rear ground floor windows to the shops are original in Nos 95 and 97, and reconstructed in No 99. Other rear windows are of recent construction.	Exceptional to Low	Good	Retain and conserve original windows.
7.22 Shopfronts	The shopfronts are largely original, with some reconstruction, although the one at No 99 was dismantled and reconstructed with some alteration in 2006.	Exceptional to High	Good	Retain and conserve the shopfronts.
7.23 Awning	The awning was reconstructed by the Authority in 1985.	High	Good	Retain and conserve the awning.

Element	Background	Significance	Condition	Recommendations
7.24 Exterior Doors  <p>Figure 116 Back door, No 97 (2012)</p>	<p>Front doors to the shopfronts appear original. Because of the rear wing extensions to all three properties in 1978, the back doors date mostly from that period at earliest, although the back door at No 97 appears to be a re-used original.</p>	<p>Exceptional to Low</p>	<p>Good</p>	<p>Original doors, whether in their original locations or relocated, should be retained and conserved.</p>
7.25 Cellar Access Hatches  <p>Figure 117 Underside of the cellar hatch to George Street, No 97 (2012)</p>	<p>All three properties retain original (although modified) hatches in the George Street footpaths giving access to the cellars. The hatch at No 95 was inspected only from the street, while that at No 99 has had a glass-fronted cupboard constructed within it. All the hatches have iron grates, the gaps in which have been filled with timber.</p>	<p>Exceptional</p>	<p>Fair to Good</p>	<p>Retain, conserve and interpret cellar access hatches. When circumstances permit, remove intrusive elements.</p>
7.26 Ceilings  <p>Figure 118 Battened lath-and-plaster ceiling, sitting room, No 97 (2012)</p>	<p>Ground floor ceilings in the shops (timber boards) and other ground floor rooms (mostly plasterboard) are of recent origin. There are several original ceilings on the first floor of Nos 95 and 97: (lath-and-plaster in the front two rooms, timber boards in attics and kitchens), Ceilings in rear rooms and on all floors of No 99 are of recent origin.</p>	<p>Exceptional to Low</p>	<p>Fair to Good</p>	<p>Retain and conserve original ceilings, and repair lath-and-plaster ceilings where damaged.</p>
7.27 Interior Masonry Walls	<p>There are few internal masonry walls – many former cross walls have been removed, and those that remain at the rear were originally external. Walls are plastered brick</p>	<p>Exceptional to Low</p>	<p>Good</p>	<p>Retain and conserve original parts of internal masonry walls.</p>

Element	Background	Significance	Condition	Recommendations
7.28 Interior Lightweight Walls 	<p>First floor internal walls to the corridor and front rooms of Nos 95 and 97 are original lath-and-plaster, which internal walls surrounding the main stairs are timber boarded partitions, also mostly original. Lightweight walls elsewhere, and throughout No 99, are of modern construction, in some cases (such as walls surrounding the stair at No 99) reconstructing the original.</p>	<p>Exceptional to Low</p>	<p>Good</p>	<p>Retain and conserve original parts of internal lath-and-plaster and timber boarded walls.</p>
7.29 Stairs 	<p>The stairs between ground and first floor appear to be original at No 95, and original with some reconstruction in Nos 97 and 99. The stairs to the attic in Nos 95 and 97 are original, while No 99 has a modern retractable attic ladder. Stairs to the basement are original timber in No 97 and modern concrete in No 99. The basement stair in No 95 could not be inspected but is understood to be a modern steel ladder.</p>	<p>Exceptional to Low</p>	<p>Good</p>	<p>Original stairs should be retained and conserved. Other stairs may be adapted, preferably in a way that reconstructs or at least interprets the original.</p>
7.30 Internal Doors 	<p>Internal doors in the original parts of Nos 95 and No 97 (mainly on the first floor) are largely original. Doors in the later rear sections are modern, often copies of the original items. The boarded door to the cellar stairs at No 97 is original.</p>	<p>Exceptional to Low</p>	<p>Good</p>	<p>Retain and conserve original internal doors, including original hardware.</p>
7.31 Architraves & Skirtings	<p>Much of the internal joinery appears original in the early parts of the buildings, especially on the first floors. Many modern joinery items, especially in the recently built rear wings, are reconstructions of the original joinery elsewhere.</p>	<p>Exceptional to Low</p>	<p>Good</p>	<p>Retain and conserve original joinery items.</p>

Element	Background	Significance	Condition	Recommendations
7.32 Floors 	<p>Some original timber floorboards survive in the rear part of the ground floor shop, on the first floor at No 95, and in the attics of Nos 95 and 97. There may also be original boards beneath the carpet on the ground and first floors of No 97 (refer to 7.31 Floor Structure below). Elsewhere, visible timber boarded floors are modern. Floors in the recently constructed rear sections may be concrete beneath tiling.</p>	<p>Unknown (main building)</p> <p>Low (cookhouse)</p>	<p>Presumed good</p> <p>Good</p>	<p>Explore for physical evidence of the original floors when circumstances permit. Retain and conserve original floors.</p>
7.33 Floor Structures	<p>The only floor structure observed was in the ceiling of the cellar to No 97, which appears original with some modern patching. The underside of the floor is mostly whitewashed, suggesting that most of the floor is original. Elsewhere, floor structures are concealed by finishes.</p>	<p>Medium</p>	<p>Good</p>	<p>Explore for physical evidence of original floor structures when circumstances permit. Retain and conserve original floor structures.</p>
7.34 Foundations	<p>The foundation walls of all buildings are stone, and appear to be original.</p>	<p>Exceptional</p>	<p>Good</p>	<p>Retain and conserve all foundation walls.</p>
7.35 Fireplaces 	<p>Fireplaces in the first floor front rooms of all three properties appear largely original, although finishes are not. Fireplaces on the ground floors have been concealed by fitout in Nos 95 and 97, and the fireplace in the ground floor of No 99 has a modern gas unit, although retaining possibly an original chimneypiece. There are no fireplaces to any of the chimneybreasts in the first floor rooms behind the front rooms.</p>	<p>Exceptional to Medium</p>	<p>Good</p>	<p>Retain and conserve original fireplaces, and explore for original finishes when circumstances permit.</p>
7.36 New Services	<p>New services appear to date from the 1970s or later.</p>	<p>Low</p>	<p>Fair/Good</p>	<p>Retain or adapt new services as required. Refer to Part 2.</p>
7.37 Fixtures & Fittings	<p>Most fixtures and fittings are of recent origin and unconnected with earlier uses of the building.</p> <p>The exception is the timber cool room in the cellar of No 95.</p>	<p>Low</p> <p>Exceptional</p>	<p>Good</p> <p>Not inspected</p>	<p>Retain, conserve and interpret the timber cool room.</p>

APPENDIX A

EXTRACTS FROM SANDS' DIRECTORIES & CITY OF SYDNEY ASSESSMENT BOOKS

Directory and Rates information

The following information has been extracted from Sands' Directories and the City of Sydney Rate Assessment Books.

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
95 George Street											
1845	683		Unoccupied	Michl Gannon	Stores	Stone	Shingled	3		£100	No back premises
1848	543		James Clinton	Joseph Hanson	Shop	Brick	Shingled	3	9	£100	Kitchen detached.
1852			Nicholas Pyne	J Hanson	House	Stone	Shingled			£60	
1856			Pyne	Mrs Hanson	Shop	Brick	Shingled	3	9	£65	
1861	99		King Shen	Eliza Hanson	House & shop	Brick	Shingled	3	8	£300	Small
1862	101	{NB H Lew was one door down from Suez}	H Lew Apsen	Eliza Hanson	House & shop	Brick	Shingled	3	8	£110	Small
1863			97 & 103 not listed								
1867			Vacant Space								
1868	97	Thomas Claydon, butcher (JP, 1900-1).									
1869		Thomas Claydon, butcher (JP, 1900-1).									
1870		Thomas Claydon, butcher (JP, 1900-1).									
1871	97	Thomas Claydon, butcher (JP, 1900-1).	Thomas Claydon	William Yeoman	Shop	Brick	Iron	2	6	£104	
1877	97	Thomas Claydon, butcher (JP, 1900-1).	Thomas Claydon	William Yeoman	Shop	Brick	Iron	3	6	£104	

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1880	95	Thomas Claydon, butcher (JP, 1900-1).	Thos Claydon	W Yeomans	Shop	B & S	Iron	3	7	£130	
1882	95		Thomas Claydon	William Yeoman	Shop	Brick	Iron	4	8	£156	
1891	95		P Clayton	J Gill	Shop	B&S	Iron	2	5	£175	
1896	95		T Claydon	R Gill	Shop	Brick	Iron	2	4	£104	
1902		Mrs E. Claydon, butcher.									
1904		Humphrey and Richards, butchers.									
1905		Joseph Briggs, butcher.									
1907	95	Joseph Briggs, butcher.	Joseph Briggs	NSW Govt Rocks Resumption	Shop & House	Brick	Iron	3	6	£97	
1908		Joseph Briggs, butcher.									
1909		Cohen Bros, clothiers.									
1910		Cohen Bros, clothiers.									
1911	95	Cohen Bros, clothiers.	Myer Cohen	NSW Govt Rocks Resumption	House & Shop & shed at rear	Brick	Iron	3	5	£94	
1912		Cohen Bros, clothiers.									
1913		Cohen Bros, clothiers.									
1914	95	Cohen Bros, clothiers.	Myer Cohen	NSW Government	Shop & Dwelling	Brick	Iron	3	5	£92	

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1915		Abraham Cliffe, clothier (also at no. 97, 1 92).									
1916		Abraham Cliffe, clothier (also at no. 97, 1 92).									
1917		Abraham Cliffe, clothier (also at no. 97, 1 92).									
1918		Abraham Cliffe, clothier (also at no. 97, 1 92).									
1919		Abraham Cliffe, clothier (also at no. 97, 1 92).									
1920		Abraham Cliffe, clothier (also at no. 97, 1 92).									
1921	95	Abraham Cliffe, clothier (also at no. 97, 1 92).	Abraham Cliffe	NSW Government RR	Shop & Dwelling	Brick	Iron	3	3	£104	
1922		Abraham Cliffe, clothier (also at no. 97, 1 92).									
1923		Walter W. Watson, grocer and stationer.									
1924	95	James Bruce, grocer and stationer.	James Brace	NSW Government RR	Shop & House	Brick	Iron	2	3	£144	
1925		James Bruce, grocer and stationer.									
1926		James Bruce, grocer and stationer.									
1927		James Bruce, grocer and stationer.									
1928		Mrs Jane Scott, grocer.									
1929		Mrs Jane Scott, grocer.									
1930-1950	95	Miss Margaret Landrigan, grocer and stationer.	Jane Scott	NSW Government (SHT)	Shop & House	Stone	Iron	2 & B	5	£144	

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1939	95		M Landrigan	Maritime Services Board of NSW	Shop & House	Stone	Iron	2 B	6	£117	
1945	95		M Sandrigan	NSW Govt	Shop, house	Brick	Iron	2B	6	£117	
1948	95		Miss Margaret Landrigan	NSW Govt	Shop & House	Brick	Iron	2 B	6	£117	
97 George Street											
1845	683		Unoccupied	Michl Gannon	Stores	Stone	Shingled	3		£100	No back premises
1848	543		James Clinton	Joseph Hanson	Shop	Brick	Shingled	3	9	£ 100	Kitchen detached.
1852			Nicholas Pyne	J Hanson	House	Stone	Shingled			£60	
1856			Pyne	Mrs Hanson	Shop	Brick	Shingled	3	9	£65	
1861	99		King Shen	Eliza Hanson	House & shop	Brick	Shingled	3	8	£300	Small
1861	101		H Lew Apsen	Eliza Hanson	House & shop	Brick	Shingled	3	8	£110	Small
1863		97 & 103 not listed									
1866		Vacant Space									
1868	99	Michael Smith, tailor and clothier									
1869		William Yeoman, painter and plumber									
1870		William Yeoman, painter and plumber									

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1871	99	William Yeoman, painter and plumber	William Yeomans	Wm Yeomans	Shop & Store	Brick	Iron	2	8	£117	to this house is a store at back
1875		William Yeoman, painter and plumber									
1876		William Yeoman, painter and plumber									
1877	99	William Yeoman, painter and plumber	William Yeoman	William Yeoman	Shop	Brick	Iron	4	10	£117	
1879		Richard Stephens, fishmonger									
1880	97	W. McCombie, restaurant	R Stephens	W Yeomans	Shop	B & S	Iron	3	9	£130	
1881		W. McCombie, restaurant									
1882	97	W. McCombie, restaurant	Walter McCombie	William Yeoman	Shop	Brick	Iron	5	8	£143	
1884		William Yeoman, painter and plumber									
1885		John A Kean, oil and colour merchant									
1886		John A Kean, oil and colour merchant									
1887		Kean & Sager									
1888		John A Kean, oil and colour merchant									
1889		William Grant, hairdresser									
1890		William Grant, hairdresser									
1891	97	William Grant, hairdresser	W A Grant	J Gill	Shop	B&S	Iron	3	5	£170	
1894		S. Plomley, ham and beef									

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1895		S. Plomley, ham and beef									
1896	97	Robert Haines, bird dealer		R Gill	Shop	Brick	Iron	2	4	£104	
1897		Robert Haines, bird dealer									
1898		Robert Haines, bird dealer									
1899		Robert Haines, bird dealer									
1900		Robert Haines, bird dealer									
1901		Robert Haines, bird dealer									
1902		Robert Haines, bird dealer									
1903		Robert Haines, bird dealer									
1904		Robert Haines, bird dealer									
1906		Robert Haines, bird dealer									
1907	97			NSW Govt Rocks Resumption	Shop & House	Brick	Iron	2	6	£78	
1908		Iver Jacobson, clothier									
1909		Iver Jacobson, clothier									
1910		Iver Jacobson, clothier									
1911	97	Iver Jacobson, clothier	Bertha Jacobson	Government of NSW (Rocks Resumptions)	House & Shop	Brick	Iron	3	5	£78	

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1912		Iver Jacobson, clothier									
1913		Iver Jacobson, clothier									
1914	97	Iver Jacobson, clothier	Bertha Jacobson	NSW Government	Shop & Dwelling	Brick	Iron	3	5	£78	
1915		Iver Jacobson, clothier									
1916		Iver Jacobson, clothier									
1917		Iver Jacobson, clothier									
1918		Mrs Berta Jacobson, clothier									
1919		Mrs Berta Jacobson, clothier									
1920		S. Lewis, outfitter									
1921	97	S. Lewis, outfitter	Joseph S Lewis	NSW Government RR	Shop & Dwelling	Brick	Iron	3	3	£104	
1922		Abraham Cliffe, clothier									
1923		Abraham Cliffe, clothier									
1924	97	Empire Service club	A. Cliffe	NSW Government R. R.	Shop & House	Brick	Iron	2	3	£144	
1925		Empire Service club									
1926		Empire Service club									
1927		Empire Service club									

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1928		Empire Service club									
1929		Empire Service club									
1930	97	Empire Service club	The Empire Service Club	NSW Government (SHT)	House	Stone	Iron	2 B & A	3	£78	
1931	97	Empire Service club	Empire Service Club	NSW Government. (SHT)		Stone	Iron	2 & basement	3	£78	
1939	97	W E Dixson, printer		Maritime Services Board of NSW	House	Stone	Iron	2 B	3	£70	
	97		Wighton & Simpson	NSW Govt	House	Stone	Iron	2B	3	£91	
1947		Wightson and Simpson, printers									
1948	97		Wighton & Simpson	NSW Govt	House	Stone	Iron	2 B	3	£91	
1950		Wightson and Simpson, printers									
99 George Street											
1845	683		Unoccupied	Michl Gannon	Stores	Stone	Shingled	3		£100	No back premises
1848	543		James Clinton	Joseph Hanson	Shop	Brick	Shingled	3	9	£100	Kitchen detached.
1852			Nicholas Pyne	J Hanson	House	Stone	Shingled			£60	
1855	52	Vacant									Waugh & Cox's Directory

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1856			Pyne	Mrs Hanson	Shop	Brick	Shingled	3	9	£65	
1857	52A	John Swyny, outfitter Waugh & Cox's Directory									Cox & Co's Post Office Directory
1859	101	John Swyny, clothier									Sands Sydney Directory
1861			King Shen	Eliza Hanson	House & shop	Brick	Shingled	3	8	£300	Small
			H Lew Apsen	Eliza Hanson	House & shop	Brick	Shingled	3	8	£110	Small
1863			97 & 103 not listed								
1867			Vacant Space								
1868	101	Flanigan & Hanly Grocer									
1869		Flanigan & Hanly Grocer									
1870		William J Flannigan, grocer									
1871	101	William J Flannigan, grocer	William J Flanagan	Wm Yeomans	Shop	Brick	Iron	2	5	£117	
1873		William J Flannigan, grocer									
1875		Smyth & McMahon, grocers									
1876		Dive & Co, grocers									
1877	101	James Dive, grocer	James Dive	William Yeoman	Shop	Brick	Iron	4	6	£130	

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1879		James Dive, grocer									
1880	99	James Dive, grocer	James Diva	W Yeomans	Shop	B & S	Iron	3	6	£143	
1882	99	James Dive, jun, grocer	Robert Lonsdale	William Yeoman	Shop	Brick	Iron	4	6	£170	
1884		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1885		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1886		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1887		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1888		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1889		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1890		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1891	99	Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer	R Lonsdale	J Gill	Shop	B&S	Iron	3	6	£104	
1892		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1893		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1894		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1895		Richard H. Lonsdale, grocer									
1896	99	No Listing		R Gill	Shop	Brick	Iron	2	4	£52	
1897		R.W.Newell & Sons, grocers									

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1898		T.P. Slinn, bootmaker									
1899		F.Petersen, newsagent									
1900		L.Crealy, newsagent									
1901		L.Crealy, newsagent									
1902		A.Lopes, fruiterer									
1903		A.Lopes, fruiterer									
1904		A.Lopes, fruiterer									
1906		A.Lopes, fruiterer									
1907	99	A.Lopes, fruiterer	Antonie Lopes	NSW Govt Rocks Resumption	Shop & House	Brick	Iron	2	4	£52	
1908		A.Lopes, fruiterer									
1909		A.Lopes, fruiterer									
1910		A.Lopes, fruiterer								£52	
1911	99	A.Lopes, fruiterer	Antonio Lopes	NSW Govt Rocks Resumption	House & Shop	Brick	Slate	3	7	£52	
1912		G.Russo, fruiterer									
1913		G.Russo, fruiterer									
1914	99	G.Russo, fruiterer	Giovanni Russo	NSW Government	Shop & Dwelling	Brick	Iron	2	3	£52	

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1915		G.Russo, fruiterer									
1916		G.Russo, fruiterer									
1917		G.Russo, fruiterer									
1918		G.Russo, fruiterer									
1919		Frank Rodriquez									
1920		Frank Rodriquez, fruiterer									
1921	99	Frank Rodriquez, fruiterer	Frank Rodriguez	NSW Government RR	Shop & Dwelling	Brick	Iron	3	4	£104	
1922		Frank Rodriquez, fruiterer									
1923		Frank Rodriquez, fruiterer									
1924		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer									
1925		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer									
1926		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer									
1927		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer									
1928		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer									
1929		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer									
1930	99		Joseph Dilosa	NSW Government (SHT)	Shop & House	Stone	Iron	2 & B	4	£152	

SANDS DIRECTORIES			ASSESSMENT BOOKS								
YEAR	ST NO	TENANT OCCUPATION	NAME OF PERSON RATED	NAME OF OWNER OR LANDLORD OF PROPERTY	HOUSE, WAREHOUSE OR SHOP	BRICK, STONE, WOOD OR IRON	SLATED, SHINGLED OR OTHERWISE	NO OF FLOORS	NO OF ROOMS	GROSS ANNUAL VALUE IN POUNDS	REMARKS
1931	99		Joseph Dilosa	NSW Government (SHT)	Shop & House	Stone	Iron	2 & basement	5	£152	
1939	99	Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer	J Dilosa	Maritime Services Board of NSW	Shop & House	Stone	Iron	2 B	5	£117	Wise's NSW Post Office Directory
	99		J Dilosa	NSW Govt	Shop, house	Stone	Iron	2B	5	£91	
1947		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer & confectioner									
1948	99		Joseph Dilosa	NSW Govt	Shop & House	Stone	Iron	2 B	5	£91	
1950		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer & confectioner									
1955		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer & confectioner									Sydney Telephone Directory
1960		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer									
1965		Joseph, Dilosa, fruiterer									

APPENDIX B

DESIGN PRINCIPLES – REAR YARDS

