TOWNS AND SETTLEMENT OF THE SOUTH COAST
New South Wales

Bruce Ryan
Towns and Settlement of the South Coast, New South Wales

by

Bruce Ryan

As announced in its 'Introduction', this study tries to explain why South Coast development advanced more slowly than that of neighbouring regions, mainly by attempting to trace the course of the region's urban evolution from 1822 to the present time. Focal attention is directed at the gradual accretion of urban functions and their localization in particular towns at particular periods. The 'Introduction' also defends the choice of such a region by arguing that the effects of increasing isolation from Sydney are more readily observed in a South Coast context than in other regions of New South Wales. Why so long a period and so comprehensive a suite of town functions are considered is also explained. Whereas Part One considers the region as a whole, Part Two contains discrete studies of six towns.

Chapter 1 ('The South Coast - A Regional Perspective') describes the characteristic features of the region which have hindered or advanced its development. The South Coast is regarded merely as one flank of the 'Forest Frontier of Southeastern Australia', where inaccessibility and the fragmentation of productive areas have impeded progress. An attempted synthesis of regional characteristics is based upon the demonstrated integration of land use and settlement patterns (particularly in their inland plateau/coastal river valley polarities), while a critical discussion of previous efforts at regional boundary delineation is used to emphasize the unique character of South Coast nucleated settlement (especially its recurrent 'urban dualism', which replaces the more general 'urban hierarchies').

To describe events and conditions leading to the establishment of towns is the principal theme of Chapter 2, 'Pioneer Settlement and the Urban Threshold'. The role of coastal navigators, explorers and Government surveyors in effecting the choices of town sites is assessed, while the routes followed by pioneer settlers are related
to the evolving pattern of overland communications and, by inference, to the growth of towns. Other ingredients of incipient urban nucleation are seen in the distinctions between cores of pioneer settlement and outpost runs, between 'country gentlemen' pioneers and 'men-on-the-make', and between the approaches by sea and land. Such variations in the duration and economic features of the 'urban threshold' are discerned that the most common inducement to establish towns in seen in sheer population growth.

Typical sequences of town foundation are identified in Chapter 3, 'The Establishment of Towns'. Sources of agitation, methods of site selection and town survey-sundivision are contrasted north and south of the Moruya River, which marked the southern limit of the Nineteen Counties. Having distinguished 'permanent' from 'ephemeral' settlements, several phases and forms of town establishment are postulated, among them the rivalry between 'Government' and 'Private' towns and between ports and inland rural service centres.

Chapter 4, 'Foundations of Urban Growth', outlines the course of South Coast demographic history, recognizing a decisive turn-of-the-century watershed in population growth and local initiative. Correlations between town-foundation and region-wide population increases are related to four comprehensive sources of urban growth (all of them enhancing opportunities for urban employment) - (i) regional resource exploitation (including public works and defence); (ii) hinterland enlargement; (iii) the growth and diversification of extra-regional markets; and (iv) tertiary services dependent upon public expenditure.

Urban inter-connexion and the changing relationships between neighbouring towns are discussed in Chapter 5, 'Isolation and Inaccessibility: Phases of Urbanization'. The gradual displacement of coastal shipping by road transport, which attended the reconstruction and completion of Prince's Highway, is traced chronologically as a succession of reorientations of local produce disposal.

In Part Two ('The Towns'), six centres are used to exemplify particular factors in regional urban development. As the South Coast rural service centre par excellence, Bega is discussed in relation to commercial innovations and organization, the tendencies towards
increasing retail specialization and greater reliance upon Sydney suppliers receiving closest attention, although the morphological development of the commercial core (and of the town as a whole) are also considered – latterly in connexion with a town planning scheme.

Chapter 7, 'Moruya and Land Ownership', combines an appraisal of Moruya's own laggard twentieth century development (explained essentially by a declining farm population, problems of river siltation and flooding, bush fires, and community conservatism) with an account of the land ownership characteristics of South Coast towns since c. 1900. In considering this second topic, it is hypothesised that urban stagnation is fostered by a relative prevalence of female landowners, decedent estates and absentee landowners; for South Coast towns in general, this hypothesis is rejected, but is shown to have some validity in the case of Eden (Appendix to Chapter 8).

The curious phases of Eden's history are outlined in Chapter 8, 'Eden – The Development of a South Coast Port', where successive sources of growth and decay are found in Benjamin Boyd's attempt to establish a rival settlement on the opposite shore of Twofold Bay, in the Kiandra gold rush of 1860, in local agitation over railway construction, federation and secession, and in twentieth century industrialization and port improvements. Local issues and attitudes are shown to have engendered a more capricious urban evolution than that of other South Coast towns.

The most striking example of South Coast urban symbiosis is described in Chapter 9, 'Ulladulla and Milton', two towns whose respective port/holiday and rural service functions have evinced alternating (and reciprocal) phases of ascendancy. How the private town of Milton outstripped its older Government rival, but was eclipsed in its turn, is correlated with changes in the aggregate improved capital values and service hinterlands of both towns.

The increasingly dominant nodality of Nowra is epitomised as the progressive surmounting of seven obstacles in Chapter 10, 'Nowra and Regional Nodality'. After early Shoalhaven land grants almost preempted the Nowra Village Reserve, the town's dominance was delayed
or threatened by rival downstream riverbank centres, by the independent policies of the Berry Estate, by Henry F. Halloran's projected Jervis Bay cities, by the reluctance of neighbouring LGA's to amalgamate with Nowra Municipality in 1948, by the divergent development of Bomaderry, and by the infiltration of industries and tourists from Sydney and Wollongong.

Chapter 11, 'Tourism and the Future', returns to a concluding regional survey of the South Coast's present pre-eminent source of growth - the seasonal influx of metropolitan holiday-makers, whose diversity, numbers and vacation activities are related to the region's natural endowment as a holiday environment. By suggesting a typology of tourist resorts, the intrinsic differences between resorts and rural service centres are accentuated, while a final assessment is offered of the 'regional dislocation' threatened by such conflicting activities as farming and tourism.
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of the
SOUTH COAST
New South Wales

Bruce Ryan
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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This thesis is my original work, except where otherwise acknowledged.

Bruce Ryan

Perth, W.A.
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For permission to consult and reproduce original documentary and cartographic material, my thanks are due to the Trustees of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, the Public Library of N.S.W., the National Library of Australia, and the
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Bruce Ryan

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Appendix to Chapter 11 - Characteristics and Capacities of South Coast Tourist Zones and Resorts, 1964
ABBREVIATIONS

Used throughout the text in footnotes, these abbreviations are more fully itemised in the appended Bibliography, which also contains an explanation of map and plan catalogue classifications omitted from the list below.

- C.S.B.C.L.: Colonial Secretary’s Blank Cover Letter
- H.R.A.: Historical Records of Australia, Series 1
- H.R.N.S.W.: Historical Records of New South Wales
- Lands Dept. Records; N.S.W. Archives Office: Non-cartographic archives of the New South Wales Department of Lands, held by the Archives Authority of N.S.W. (Public Library Building, Macquarie Street, Sydney).
- L.G.A.: Local Government Area (Shire or Municipality).
- NLD: New South Wales Department of Lands
- N.S.W. Archives Office; Lands Dept. Maps: Cartographic Archives of the New South Wales Department of Lands, held by the Archives Authority of New South Wales.
- S.C.B.C.L.: Surveyor-General’s Blank Cover Letter
At such a time as the present, when geographers in Australia are involved (indeed, often embroiled) in the impending political independence of New Guinea, the betterment of life in Asia, the rehabilitation of urban Australia, and scientific investigations of international consequence, days spent contemplating the South Coast of New South Wales must seem pretty halcyon. While progress accelerates throughout Australia, this forgotten region supplies only a small and diminishing proportion of the State's production; its rural population declines and its development stagnates: it is merely the poor, hill-billy neighbour of industrial Wollongong, opulent Canberra and the Snowy Mountains Scheme - a billabong beside the stream of progress. Hardly any superlative is appropriate: South Coast soils cannot match the productivity of North Coast or Hunter Valley soils; tourists consider most of its scenery unspectacular though undeniably beautiful; hardwood forests, among which the small scattered fragments of farmland occur, have impeded exploitation by their inaccessibility and isolation; and on quite a generous estimate, the largest town contains barely 10,000 inhabitants.

In short, unlike much of coastal southeastern Australia, the South Coast confronted pioneer settlers not only with a refractory environment of scant resources, but also with a barrier to inland access which cooled their economic aspirations and has defied intensive development ever since. Why the Midas-fingers of transplanted western civilization failed to transmute this leaden South Coast scene is, in a broad sense, the subject of this study.

More narrowly, however, by tracing the entire course of South Coast urban evolution between 1822 and the present time, this investigation is crystallised around a single theme: towns are not only crucial junction boxes uniting the different circuits of regional exploitation, but their development simultaneously assists and reflects that of their hinterlands. No other observation post surveys the field of rural progress quite so
Intimately. Urban development itself forms a second, complementary theme of this study, contrasting a town's internal structure with its external relationships; although neither topic properly constitutes an agency of development, as the 'creation of physical assets' does, both provide catalytic conditions for increasing production and population, and accordingly deserve scrutiny. Two processes of urban evolution are considered here - the accretion of urban functions by an initially empty region, and their localization in particular towns at particular times. What was responsible for changes in the kinds, numbers and locations of these functions, in what sequence change occurred, and what correlations existed between town development and the condition of South Coast settlement, are all corollary issues.

Scope of the Study

Whether so unproductive and sparsely populated a region provides an adequate vehicle for such a study may be doubted, particularly since its towns have grown so slowly and slightly towards a common configuration. These limitations, however, though confining the study to a few towns of modest size, enhance the region's suitability in three respects: first, its very dearth of industry reduces the variables in its urban origins and development; secondly, any change in its minimal population occasions rapid and decisive local economic responses, whereas more populous regions react less sensitively to such slight changes; thirdly, the fragmentation of its agriculturally productive areas, and their common attachment to Prince's Highway, split the South Coast into a superficially unambiguous series of town hinterlands - sometimes overlapping slightly but seldom interlocking - which automatically furnishes a sub-regional framework for this study. In short, the region permits detailed attention to small changes occurring slowly in similar circumstances, realities of urban evolution often lost in generality by macro-studies. How the region, period and towns are approached by the study is discussed below.

1 This process of development, however, provides a focus for N.G. Butlin's Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900, Cambridge University Press, 1964; see p. xiii of Butlin's study.
1. The Region

Two cardinal, complementary considerations have influenced the choice of regional boundaries adopted here - the need to define a region throughout which environmental variation is at a minimum, and the opportunity to investigate the effect of increasing isolation from Sydney. By selecting towns ensconced in much the same setting and history, but strung along the entire spectrum of accessibility to metropolitan markets and services, it should be feasible to suggest that 'human constants' may serve as controls in an effort to isolate a specific variable. The alternative - to attempt a comparative study of town development in dissimilar areas - is better pursued in other, more conducive regions. Its shape and conventional boundaries, however, give the South Coast a unique relationship with Sydney, extending as it does from very near the New South Wales capital to the effective limit of metropolitan influence at the Victorian border. Although similar profiles could be taken across this isolation gradient between Sydney and Broken Hill, Sydney and Tweed Heads, Sydney and Albury, and other towns, any one of these would import at least one of two variables, either of which would distort the model of isolation based on distance from Sydney. Either the New South Wales border so closely approaches another State nucleus that the influence of Sydney is distorted very much as Reilly's Law of Retail Gravitation predicts, or the profile slices through a succession of different land use belts which generate serious transverse distortions.

The South Coast, by contrast, is uniquely related to Sydney in that (i) its southern limit meets a buffer of forest separating New South Wales from Victoria, and (ii) its inland flank - the coastal scarplands - insulates it from direct contact with the agro-pastoral areas of the Southern Tablelands. Whereas other transects simply cross arbitrary stretches of country along trunk routes, the walled South Coast corridor is accessible from Sydney or nearby regions through only a few easily-observed 'gateways'. Indeed, four of the six towns studied in detail are linked directly with the Southern Tablelands by the only roads spanning

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Two papers by R.S. Mathieson examine this distortion: (i) 'The Validity of Reilly's Law in Australia', The Australian Geographer, VII, 1, May 1957, 27-32; and (ii) 'Socio-economic Contact in the Melbourne-Sydney Penumbral Zone', The Australian Geographer, VII, 3, May 1958, 97-102.
the coastal scarplands, while all six lie on Prince's Highway, the main
overland route to Sydney; having once been ports, or having previously
traded through a nearby port, all six occupy focal points in any analy-
sis of transport's influence on town growth. Beyond Nowra, the lack of
a railway line - however unfortunate its consequences for the region's
development - has simplified patterns of communication and transport, and
reduced commodity movement to a common denominator - road transport,
either to ports, a railhead, or directly to markets. As a regional ad-
hesive, road transport helps create common environmental conditions for
this investigation no less than the topographic similarities of adjacent
coastal river valleys, the recurring amalgam of dairying-grazing-forestry-
tourism, and the narrow range of town sizes under review.

2. The Period

Nowadays, original historical research seldom tries to comprehend
140 consecutive years, let alone the last thirty; by contemplating such
a period, this study extends from the first South Coast land grants of
1822 to the present day, but does so primarily to match the duration of
the region's oldest towns. Despite Australian historiography's current-
ly increasing concentration upon the latter half of the nineteenth cen-
tury, despite even the unparalleled urban expansion of these fifty years
and the stimulus of having colleagues exploring the same period, the ad-
vantages of a shorter period were over-ridden by three geographical com-
punctions - the persistent failure of Australian geographers to tackle
what J. McKenners has termed rather pretentiously 'the vast problem of
the "urban frontier"', their equal reluctance to trace historically the
emergence of regions, and a less purely geographical neglect of rural
retrogression. Naturally, definitive expositions of these themes are
not attempted by this study, which seeks simply to clarify their chrono-
logy and character in a particular regional context.

3 Review of C.M.H. Clark's A History of Australia (Volume 1), Melbourne

4 Though serious, these deficiencies in Australian geographical litera-
ture are not absolute: the emergence of regions has been discussed by
John Andrews (1934), T.P. Field (1957) and Terence N. Burley (1962),
while John Holmes has investigated the question of rural retrogression
along the whole New South Wales coast (1962).

5 K.W. Robinson (1962) appears to propose rather than conclude that
certain germinal processes confirmed the tendency towards urban cen-
tralization throughout Australia: see "Processes and Patterns of
Urbanization in Australia and New Zealand", New Zealand Geographer,
XVIII, 1, April 1962, 32-49.
Accordingly, since all three themes saturate the whole history of South Coast settlement, in this study it is proposed to cover 140 years in the hope of identifying the obscurely overlapping phases and successive adjustments of both the 'urban frontier' and regional development, which culminate in existing rural malaise.

3. The Town Characteristics

Towns selected for detailed investigation were thus expected, ideally and simultaneously, to perform many roles: to illuminate the entire course of urban evolution, they had to be 'old' towns; to occupy the nodes of regional and rural development, and to command the region's entrances, quite specific situations were implied; to ensure hinterlands of similar size, character and rural-urban interaction, 'subordinate' towns were inadmissible; to investigate the effect of increasing isolation from Sydney and to trace the movement of an 'urban frontier', towns had to occur regularly along the entire region; and to comprehend the accretion and localization of urban functions, towns of sufficient size and internal diversity were obligatory. Conditioned also by a time limit and the complexity of source material, this study therefore concentrates upon Eden, Bega, Moruya, Ulladulla, Milton and Nowra.

Established between 1837 and 1860, and now ranging from 642 to 6,221 in population, these six towns admittedly include no authentic tourist resort, none of the plentiful farming villages, no recently-subdivided weekender colony, and only one Private Town. Nevertheless, such similarities as their multi-functional complexity and their importance as service centres within an agricultural hinterland furnish a basis for comparison lacking among smaller or functionally more specialised centres. These six represent the old-established stable nodes - the rural service centres and fishing ports; the farming villages are considered briefly in Chapter 4, and the tourist resorts in Chapter 11. Having defined the region, period and towns to be considered, however, the problem remains to specify which town characteristics receive concentrated attention, or what is inferred here by 'town development'.

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6 Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, June, 1961; the latter figure, for Nowra, excludes several adjoining areas properly included in the urban area - Bomaderry, North Nowra and part of Bolong.
Whereas historical historians usually acclaim the inextricable unity of events and circumstances, economic historians and historical geographers more courageously (or foolishly) perpetrate what J.H. Hexter condemns as 'an almost violent act of abstraction . . . by which . . . a group of human activities are forcefully ripped out of the historical matrix to which in actuality they were bound.' 7 Few historical geographers, for example, have satisfied Asa Briggs's precept that 'a scholarly history should concern itself with nine aspects of the city.' 8

(i) demography; (ii) geography; (iii) economy; (iv) social institutions; (v) politics; (vi) administration; (vii) culture; (viii) relation to hinterland, region, state and other cities; and (ix) the 'image' of the city. Instead, while historians have attended to the public events, politics and people of South Coast towns, this study cleaves to the field of historical geography by focusing upon changes in town land use (including ownership, valuations, and the connexions between separate holdings), morphology, functional structure, and patterns of circulation. Other geographers have emphasised the emergence of urban hierarchies within a region, but as expounded above, the essence of this study is the accretion and localization of urban functions. By no means every urban function is represented in South Coast towns, and nine groups comprehend most of them:

(i) the provision and maintenance of accommodation (for town workers, some farm labourers, itinerants and some people outside the work force);

(ii) the provision of facilities for trade (the supply or disposal of goods and personal services);

(iii) the processing of raw materials (often locally-produced, but seldom strictly 'manufacturing');

(iv) the construction and maintenance of public works and utility services throughout the surrounding district (e.g., roads, bridges, power and water supplies);

(v) the provision of financial services (including credit and insurance);

(vi) the provision of facilities for entertainment, recreation and sport;

(vii) the provision and maintenance of transport and communication;

(viii) the provision of professional services (especially the agencies of health, education and law); and

(ix) the administration of local affairs and community services.

The historical evolution of all nine involve a substantial proportion of this study.

Approaching the Subject

This investigation is divisible into two sections, one more detailed and one less detailed; the former concerns the internal changes within the six towns over the 140-year period (Chapters 6 to 10 inclusive), while the latter concerns general patterns of town development throughout the entire South Coast, and changes in the relationships between towns (Chapters 1 to 5 inclusive). The first three chapters, essentially intended to describe the regional context of urbanization, historically relate the spread of settlement to the disposition of regional resources, and correlate South Coast development with that of neighbouring regions. The progressive construction, improvement and realignment of roads, the rivalry between coastal steamships and railways, and the adjustments to urban inter-dependence induced by diminishing isolation are treated in Chapters 4 and 5; transport, indeed, still suffuses every South Coast developmental programme. Chapters 6 to 10 pursue the implications of four other ingredients of urban growth.

First, the histories of Bega and Moruya exemplify the influence of farming on town development; sited on southern river-banks several miles upstream where alluvium adjoins granite, coeval in origin, and designed by the same surveyor, both towns - but especially Bega - reflect little of the non-farm world now invading the South Coast. Secondly, the sea's influence is examined in relation to Eden, a port subservient to no inland farming centre, situated midway between Sydney and Melbourne, (a point where shipping might have been expected to flourish) and with an immediate hinterland empty of resources likely to divert its seaward orientation. Thirdly, the breakdown of functional inter-dependence
between ports and rural service centres, following the concomitant de-
cline of shipping and rise of tourism, is epitomised by the relation-
ship of Ulladulla to Milton. And fourthly, of all South Coast towns,
Nowra's proximity to Wollongong and Sydney accentuates most sharply
the dangers and advantages of metropolitan infiltration.

These four themes are augmented in Chapter 11 by a discussion of
tourism's effect on the region's towns, especially its selective stimu-
lation of some centres, and the attendant resurgence of town-founding.
Like the first five, this chapter deals generally with all the region,
but concludes by assessing some current tendencies and their probable
effects on the future pattern of South Coast urbanization. Only too
clearly, having thus embraced past, present and future ramifications,
this already extensive study depends on an impossibly judicious selec-
tion of source material if it is to cover such a period in sufficient
detail; falling between an intensive, exhaustive historical analysis
of a short period and an experimentally-designed but empirical evalua-
tion of urban growth theory, it may well fall short of the meticulous
totality of much historical research. In its defence, however, it
might be claimed that the present need for some comprehensive model of
Australian country town development and the emergence of regions is
quite pressing, and that an attempt to clarify the phases of town
evolution must risk the vulnerability mentioned above.

Sources, Methods and Field Work

Although an appended bibliography describes the source material
consulted, its diversity and application to specific parts of the in-
vestigation need summarizing. Information for the more detailed
analysis of particular towns has been directed towards the reconstruc-
tion of socio-economic maps of each town at ten- or twenty-year inter-
vals, each map coinciding - if possible - with a census year, thereby
permitting the correlation of statistical and cartographic data.
Since archival land use maps were generally compiled only for a town's
initial survey-subdivision, for the alignment of its streets about
1880, and more recently for the reticulation of its water-supply and
sewerage systems, existing maps alone provide no satisfactory historical
series, even when amplified by occasional subdivision plans, auction sale advertisements and a few town planning schemes. Instead, in extracting detailed, reliable, complete data for a specified year, local government council rate books have been indispensable. Unfortunately, as property rating became compulsory throughout the Eastern Division of New South Wales only after the passage of the 1911 Local Government Act, nineteenth century South Coast rate books are rare, the very earliest being Nowra's in 1872 - twenty years after that town's foundation.

Rate books and contemporary newspaper advertisements jointly furnish the classified lists of town businesses discussed, while census data supply occupational compositions. The intricate units of land ownership, which suffer continuous mutation but constitute the critical areas in assigning responsibility for land use decisions, have been traced from rate book descriptions, Lands Department town maps and plans, the Valuer-General's base maps, and many Deposited Plans held by the Registrar-General. Several New South Wales Government Departments, the Mitchell Library subdivision plan collection, the State Archives Office of New South Wales, and the offices of many South Coast solicitors, auctioneers, estate agents and local government councils have been rummaged for such maps. The progress of town alienation has been dated from marginal inscriptions on Section Maps prepared for land sales by officers of the Surveyor-General, and now deposited in the Maps Room of the New South Wales Lands Department. Pressures and decisions initiating and nourishing town development have been sought in contemporary newspaper accounts and the relevant minutes and reports of Shire or Municipal Councils.

The study's less detailed section, that concerned with the entire South Coast, is based on an even wider range of source material, selectively culled from official correspondence (chiefly involving the Surveyor-General or the Executive Council), surveyors' field books, Parliamentary Papers, N.S.W. Government Gazettes, business directories, archival maps (sometimes in successive editions), a few private documents, and much secondary material - particularly scientific papers

and historical studies. In both sections, moreover, what may seem an unconventional reliance has been placed upon several hundreds of archival and other maps; geographically, however, such sources guarantee a precision of measurement and trained observation not always approached by the prose descriptions of eye-witnesses. Collecting this information has involved over a year's absence from Canberra—in Sydney libraries and government departments, and in South Coast towns mapping their land use and examining local government records. Quite regrettable, so devious and incommensurable are the sources that much of the data mocks rigorous comparison from period to period or town to town.

Other Studies—The Conceptual Framework

By appraising town development in a refractory coastal environment, this study impinges upon three extensive, well-cultivated fields of geographical enquiry, each with Australian contributions and a comparative theoretical basis of variable substance—the settlement of marginal lands, the development of regions, and the process of urbanization. The Australian literature on all three departs slightly from overseas precedents and cognates. Marginal lands, for example, have been considered chiefly in frontier studies (G. Taylor, 1926, 1932; Andrews, 1932, 1938; Proctor, 1940; Meining, 1959, 1962) or land settlement studies (Roberts, 1924; J.M. Holmes, 1963; Heathcote, 1964a, 1964b), both approaches attending almost exclusively to the more or less arid interior and tropical north. Exhaustive monographs on regional development, embodied less securely in theory and debased by some related local government histories, have inclined quite properly towards empirical case studies, whether undertaken by social historians (Kiddle, 1961; Bolton, 1963), economic historians (Blainey, 1954, 1960), or geographers (J.M. Holmes, 1948; Field, ed., 1957; Bauer, 1959; Perry, 1963); T.M. Perry (1963), however, detects the embryonic regionalization of economic activities in the wake of frontier advance, thereby strengthening the international validity of F. J. Turner's 'frontier-and-section' hypothesis.
Australian studies of urbanization, to which the present work confesses closest affinity, have usually assumed one of four guises - the formal, chronological history of a particular town, suburb or city; the delineation of settlement patterns and urban hierarchies throughout a region, often tacitly proclaiming some stage of urban evolution; the investigation of urban inter-relationships; and the static description of a town's formal/functional character. Recent formal histories include those of Brighton (Bate, 1962), South Perth (Crowley, 1962), Walhalla (Paul, 1963), and Canberra (Wigmore, 1963), while historical geographers have studied Wagga Wagga (Shaw, 1960), Sydney (Robinson, 1952, 1953; Walsh, 1962, 1963), Broken Hill (Solomon, 1959) and towns of the Hunter Valley (King, 1963b).

Settlement patterns and urban hierarchies, nowadays little more than grist for the mills of location theory, have provided important clues to the functional maturation of such regions as the Monaro (King, 1956), New England (Smiles and Molyneux, 1962) and the Darling Downs (Dick, 1961), while Andrews (1934) - in an early classic of Australian academic geography - distinguished regional variants of the New South Wales settlement net. Neglecting the contributions of transport geographers, studies of urban inter-relationships have all but ignored any historical dimension, attending instead, for example, to the distortion of hinterlands by a State border's intervention (Rose, 1955; Matheson, 1957, 1958) or to urban centralization (Robinson, 1962; King, 1962; Ryan, 1964). Finally, Australian urban geography rests (or reclines?) on a continuously reinforced foundation of largely unrelated town studies, diverse in topic, region and intent: such studies embrace rural service centres (Rowe, 1944; Dick, 1960; King, 1963a), ports (Solomon, 1963; Britton, 1962, 1964), state capitals (Scott, 1955, 1959; Marshall, 1960-61, 1963), the federal capital (King, 1954, a and b; Spate, 1954; Linge, 1961) and towns in tropical Australia (Dick, 1960; J.M. Holmes, 1963).

All three fields - the settlement of marginal lands, the development of regions, and the process of urbanization - have begun to...
formulate theoretical bases, despite very different propensities for abstraction into models. Marginal settlement theory still stems largely from F.J. Turner's celebrated 1894 frontier hypothesis, through both its application to other nations (summarized in Mikesell, 1960) and its geographical adaptation in studies of sequent occupancy and innovation waves (e.g., Geografiska Annaler, 1960, 1961). Theories of regional development, as distinct from general location theory, tend - in an eclectic, Procrustean fashion - to fit specific cases to snippets borrowed from such rationales as 'employment sector' theory (Clark, 1940; Fisher, 1945), 'export base' theory (Perloff, et al., 1960), 'economic take-off' theory (Rostow, 1956, 1960), and even the frontier hypothesis: the emergence of Australian regions, however, like those of other recently settled lands, might be explained initially by a cautious application of 'staple' theory (McCarty, 1964, and references cited), combined with an appreciation of the domestic economy (Bullin, 1964). Of these three fields, the process of urbanization undoubtedly enjoys the most rigorously tested, conceptually intricate and rapidly enlarging body of theory. Within the spatial-functional perimeter of the present study, however, two theoretical strands are particularly pertinent - central place theory (Berry and Garrison, 1956, and references cited) and urban ecology (Theodorson, ed., 1961, and references cited) - although South Coast conditions suit neither ideally.

Australian country town development thus concerns the wider province of geography, and has stimulated diagnoses by many non-geographers (Ryan, 1964, and references cited). However, quite apart from the fascination of rural Australia and its problems, both tangible and academic, this study has drawn inspiration and ideas from many empirical overseas investigations of town genesis and growth, especially in the comparable historical contexts of the United States (Trowartha, 1966; Reps, 1963) and New Zealand (Johnston, 1961; Pownall, 1953, 1956a, 1956b, 1957, 1962). Closest of all in method, perhaps, are the British studies of town-plan evolution by M.R.G. Conzen (1960, 1962), while - like several other Currency Labs - the present writer first realized the peculiarity and significance of

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Part One The Region
Chapter One

THE SOUTH COAST - A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

At six o'clock in the evening of Friday, 20th April, 1770, just 24 hours after discovering the eastern coast of the Australian mainland, Cook named Cape Howe, which now marks both the boundary between New South Wales and Victoria and the southern limit of the New South Wales South Coast. For the ensuing week, Cook's first Australian impressions were those of the South Coast, and its first description in English is his:

The weather being clear gave us an opportunity to view the Country which had a very agreeable and promising Aspect, the land is of a moderate height diversified with hills, ridges, planes and Valleys with some few small lawns, but for the most part the whole was cover'd with wood, the hills and ridges rise with a gentle slope, they are not high neither are there many off them.

Nearly two centuries later, the region's 'very agreeable and promising Aspect' retains an enigmatical fascination for developers, despite the landscapes unearthed by experience. Essentially, as subsequent exploration proved, Cook's coastal vision appraised only one side of an enormous triangle between Sydney, Melbourne and Cape Howe containing the culmination of the Australian Eastern Highlands and the forested headwaters of the continent's major rivers - a rugged upland obstruction to movement, around which roads were obliged to deviate, and into which settlement advanced only with mounting difficulty. Whereas Sydney and Melbourne generated concentric waves of expansion, this forest frontier erected counterwailing barriers of isolation, inaccessibility and resource deficiency, and - like the desert cores of

1 36 degrees, 51 minutes S lat., 209 degrees, 31 minutes W long., that is, just north of present-day Merimbula.
2 Cook's own Journal (Commonwealth National Library, Canberra), entry for Friday, 20th April, 1770.
emptiness — terminated settlement. Accordingly, the following account of resource exploitation stresses the restraints and impediments rather than the inducement affecting development, and the South Coast is regarded simply as one of the forest frontier's initially more accessible and ultimately better-endowed sub-regions.

The Forest Frontier of Southeastern Australia

Throughout Australia, as Figure 1 depicts, frontiers of settlement adjoin either the desert fringes or timbered uplands, although remoteness from urban markets, seasonal climatic capriciousness, aboriginal reserves, barren tropical ranges and micro-nutrient soil deficiencies certainly exclude settlement from some areas. However, the contrast between the arid frontier and the forest frontier is by far the sharpest: whereas the former circumscribes the national ocumen, the latter invariably lies within it, forming enclaves in juxtaposition with highly productive farmlands; and while the short-term risks of extensive grazing render arid fringes the preserve of Fitzpatrick's rich or not so rich Big Men, the upland forests shelter many a poor Small Man whose beef cattle better suit the wetter climate and rugged topography than the inlander's sheep. Geologically, perhaps, in eastern Australia at least, a parallel contrast exists between (i) the enormous inland sedimentary basins (e.g., the Murrayian) and (ii) the Tasman Geosyncline, the folded, intruded eastern highland zone from which inland sediments have been eroded; one provides a level, uniform, continuous habitat for regularly- and geometrically-spaced settlements, while the other provides an incredibly complex array of slopes, rocks and derived soils — an irregular, discontinuous, differentially-eroded environment matched by an equally irregular, discontinuous pattern of settlement. In Northern Australia, Turnarian frontier development implies the eventual addition of an agricultural frontier to the existing pastoral one — that is, closer settlement, notwithstanding several pungent critiques of such policies.

1 Brian Fitzpatrick: The British Empire in Australia, Melbourne, 1941. See also C. Martyn Grottan: 'Reflections on Australian History', Quadrant, 1, 2, Autumn 1957, pp.53-60.
Two types of frontier are shown - that which adjoins inland arid areas, and that which adjoins enclaves of upland forest within the zone of agro-pastoral utility.
Frontier Australia

Agro-pastoral frontier, 1957.

Land use at the frontier:
- Timber, with occasional grazing.
- No significant land use.
- Sheep
- Sheep & Wheat
- Beef Cattle.

500 Miles
However, future economic diversification cannot hope to create some viable new region out of timbered ranges; instead, at best, parts of a forest frontier may merge into the functional structure of adjoining regions, possibly through transhumance, hydro-electric power generation, snow sports or forestry. These distinctions between the forest and arid perimeters of Australian settlement disclose the regional cognates of the New South Wales South Coast.

Historically, no less than geographically, forested uplands display characteristic sequences of development. In both Australia and the United States, what initially constrained westward movement from the eastern seaboard were upland forest frontiers, the Blue Mountains and the Appalachians; through gaps in both, waves of pioneers were channelled inland, but between the gaps poles of inaccessibility eluded occupation for fifty years or more after pioneers reached the interior plains beyond. In both countries, these residual forest frontiers have lagged years behind the vanguard of social and economic progress, and from an academic point of view, remain curious museums full of settlement relics, yielding important clues to the historical geography of rural areas. Whereas outpost isolates trumpeted the frontier advance, upland isolates hardly knew it had passed; contrast, for example, the '1850' pockets in Utah and Pennsylvania, shown on Figure 2. Indeed, the incipient consolidation of regions (= Turner's 'sections') may be detected by noting both their outpost 'cores' and residual 'interstices'; Figure 2 provides the scope for such an exercise, especially in California or along the Oregon Trail. Remnants of timbered uplands, in short, are reached last of all by the procession of linear frontiers which Turner said created regions.

The Forest Frontier of Southeastern Australia – to give it a proper geographical name equivalent to that of the Darling Downs, the Western

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Figure 2: Progress of the United States Frontier, 1790-1920

For the purposes of this map, the 'frontier' of settlement is defined as any county acquiring a population density of two persons per square mile for the first time (immigrant settlers). Dates shown refer to the decade ending with that date, and the numerals '86' and '91' mean '1860' and '1910' respectively. Thus, an area marked '1860' first attained a population density of European settlers of two per square mile during the decade 1851-60. Three shades of stippling are shown: the darkest covers areas reaching the specified density by 1830, when the westward movement along the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys was just entering the Great Plains and prairies; the lightest stippling indicates areas crossed by the frontier between 1831 and 1890, by which latter date F. J. Turner claimed that previously unsettled areas west of the Rockies had become so dotted with isolated settlements that a frontier 'line' was no longer recognizable, and the westward advance was ended; the intermediate stippling, mainly in the western states and Florida, shows areas settled between 1891 and 1920, after Turner's 'frontier' had vanished.
Shield or the Great Artesian Basin - interrupts the concentric zones of land use which surround the continent's arid centre, forcing a highland wedge between the interior wheat-irrigation-grazing belts and coastal dairying areas. Distinguished from these neighbouring regions by its greater elevation, its higher annual rainfall, lower average temperatures and steep, dissected terrain, the Forest Frontier includes northern Gippsland and the Murray headwaters in Victoria, and the Snowy Mountains, Monaro, Upper Murray and South Coast of New South Wales - regions comprising the buffer extremities of two States, and sharing the disadvantages of peripheral location within each State's economic pattern. From either Sydney or Melbourne, for example, a coastal profile along Prince's Highway passes from the metropolitan rural-urban fringe, packed with its market gardens and poultry farms, through the discontinuous metropolitan milkshed to another urban agglomeration dependent upon coal-mining and heavy industry (Wollongong-Port Kembla) and power generation (the La Trobe Valley), and finally - quite abruptly - into a succession of forest clearings which diminish gradually in size and frequency and contain intermingled dairy farms and grazing properties. At Eden and Orbost, these profiles enter almost continuous forest before meeting at the State border. By contrast, the main Sydney-Melbourne road and rail axes skirt the inland edges of the Forest Frontier, traversing the wool-wheat belt of the western slopes and plains, but serving the uplands only with tributary roads.

The economic development of this region has been impeded chiefly by the severe fragmentation of its agriculturally useful areas, largely as a result of variations in geology, topography and climate over very short distances. Within the New South Wales section of the Forest Frontier, metasediments of Ordovician, Silurian and Devonian age alternate in north-south belts with more fertile granite and Tertiary basalt, these igneous rocks having been levelled more rapidly into narrow upland plains which are separated from each other by ranges of more resistant granite or the metasedimentary residuals. At its northern extremity, the Forest Frontier overlaps a less complex, geologically younger component of the Tasman Geosyncline, the Sydney Permian Basin, a trough containing the coal measures and Hawkesbury sandstone which shape Sydney's environs, as
As well as more fertile sediments than those of the Southern Tablelands, topographically, the region is complicated by the dissection caused by intermeshing river headwaters (which have erected barriers across the most direct trade outlets, especially to the main Sydney-Melbourne communications axis), and by the differential elevation of plantation surfaces during Cretaceous and early Tertiary times; near Queanbeyan, Goulburn and Braidwood, for example, the Southern Tablelands average 2,000 feet in elevation, whereas the Monaro Plateau averages 3,000 feet. Climatically, no other part of the Australian mainland experiences the same severity of winter frosts, while a seasonally unreliable rainfall (that is, for so virtually coastal a region) has taught graziers and dairy farmers the folly of maintaining small holdings. In combination, these impediments have created by default a quite distinctive under-developed region in the midst of Australia's most productive agro-pastoral areas. Here, ruggedness, soil sterility (especially since skeletal varieties of the typical podzols and podzolic soils abound) and micro-temperatures are the critical limitations on settlement, which has penetrated the Forest Frontier only along the lower and middle reaches of the rivers (chiefly where alluvial deposits or the exposure of granite permits farming), or by way of corridors leading into such upland plains as the Monaro. Only forestry, mining, tourism, transhumance and the Snowy Mountains Scheme have permitted exploitation of what is by far the greater portion of the region—the dissected headwaters zones—and then only seasonally, or belatedly, or when vast amounts of outside capital have been expended. Indeed, the entire region is a case study of isolation and inaccessibility, and its economic history is largely that of combating isolation and improving access to Sydney and Melbourne. In the New South Wales section of the Forest Frontier, three separate orientations towards markets have emerged: (i) farms along the upper Murray and Murrumbidgee tributaries have attached themselves to the Hume Highway and Sydney-Melbourne railway between Yass and Albury for the disposal of their produce; (ii) properties on the Southern Tablelands channel their livestock along the

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Eugene A. Fitzpatrick: A Probability Analysis of Rainfall Factors in Drought in New South Wales, Rural Bank of New South Wales, 1956 (duplicated).
Monaro railway and highway through Queanbeyan and Goulburn; and (iii) South Coast farmers rely upon road haulage along the Prince's Highway either directly to Sydney or to the railhead at Nowra.

The Forest Frontier - Physical Environment

To appreciate how intimately South Coast settlement has depended upon the corridor routeways traversing the adjoining Southern Tablelands, it is necessary to consider jointly the geomorphic delineation of both. Apart from the Permian Basin encircling Sydney, which merits separate consideration, the warped and block-faulted southeastern corner of New South Wales contains four sub-regions of varying but positive utility - the South Coast, the Monaro plateau, the Canberra-Clyde Mountain embayments of the Southern Tablelands, and the Canberra-Cooma corridor linking the previous two (the cleared area shown on Figure 3).

Essentially, the South Coast consists of complex metasedimentary hills which marine erosion has worn into a succession of cliffed headlands and beaches, and which are varied by a few granite intrusions some distance inland. Frequently, precipitous scarplands part it from the plateaus, mountain passes at the Clyde Mountain and Brown Mountain ascending from coastal wet sclerophyll forests through patches of depauperate sub-tropical rain forest (here almost as far south as it occurs on the Eastern Highlands) to the savannah woodlands and tussock grasslands of the plateau surfaces. From Bateman's Bay to Eden, the coastal plain comprises no regular alternation of valleys and interfluves, despite the uniform width and comparable catchment areas of its main streams - the Clyde, Moruya, Tuross, Bega and Towamba Rivers. Instead, both the valleys and extent of cleared farmland widen and contract in response to the presence or absence of granite, while the need to breach a low coastal range has varied the morphology of several river outlets - from the birdsfoot delta of the Tuross and the narrow, steep-sided downstream valley of the Towamba, to the estuaries between Narooma and Tathra, where every stage of in-filling is displayed.7

Figure 3: South Coast and Southern Tablelands of New South Wales: Urban Relationships
The South Coast adjoins two quite dissimilar sections of the Southern Tablelands, the northern one between Canberra and the Clyde Mountain resembling the South Coast lithologically, and the southern, Monaro section distinguished by its extensive capping of Tertiary olivine basalt. The mountainous core separating these two sections gathers together the tangled headwaters of the Tuross and Shoalhaven and the eastern tributaries of the Murrumbidgee, and units them into a vertex of the Forest Frontier around Big Badja (4467 ft.). This vertex, which may be styled 'The Big Badja Headwaters Province', is just as useless as the batholith cores of Kosciusko or the Brindabella Range. A transect between Canberra and the Clyde Mountain crosses three depressions and two intervening ranges which guided pioneer occupancy — (i) the Molonglo plain between Canberra and Queanbeyan, which Griffith Taylor described as 'ridge and plain' and which F.A. Craft believed to have suffered very little alteration since Palaeozoic times; (ii) the Cullarin horst, elongated north-south, rising 400 feet above the Lake George basin, and forming an eight-mile wide northern extension of the Tinderry Range; (iii) the Lake George basin, a Senkungsfield (= 'sunken land') where endoreic drainage has accumulated the alluvium which supports farming around Bungendore; (iv) the 'Great Dividing Range', here dwindling into ridges only 400 feet above its flanking valleys, and composed of more resistant granite than that around Braidwood; and (v) the Upper Shoalhaven Valley and Braidwood batholith, where widespread but shallow alluvial deposits and granite support most of the farms.

9 F.A. Craft: 'The Surface History of Monaro, N.S.W.', Proceedings of the Linnean Society, N.S.W., 56, 1933, 239-244.
The Monaro (aboriginal = 'plains') extends fifty miles south of Cooma to Bombala, and thirty miles west of Cooma to Adaminaby and Jindabyne. Its conventional boundaries are the coastal fall and Kybeyan Range on the east, the elevated Murrumbidgee batholith (Brindabella Range, rising to 6,274 feet at Bimberi) to the north, and along the west and south, the young valley of the Snowy River and the Kosciusko and Kiandra Tablelands. Whereas granite swarming with tor fields characterizes the western, Dalgety-Adaminaby portion of the Monaro, the eastern edge of the plateau from Nimmitabel to Cooma is spread with terraced extrusions of basalt, dotted with small lakes and tentatively dated as Upper Eocene or Lower Oligocene. Quite fertile chocolate soils, chernozems and prairie soils have developed on these basalts, and offset to some degree the handicaps of low rainfall (the Monaro occupying a rain shadow behind the Snowy Mountains and coastal ranges), intensely cold winters (per annum, Cooma has an average of 82 frosts, and Nimmitabel 92), and strong, bleak southerly winds.

Between Cooma and Canberra, both road and railway follow a narrow corridor of Silurian sediments wedged between two granite batholiths - the Australian Capital Territory ranges (Murrumbidgee batholith) to the west, and the Tinderry Range to the east. Along the western, fault-guided junction of granite and sediments the incised valley of the Murrumbidgee also follows this corridor through a 'range-and-valley' zone, and drops from 2,700 feet near Cooma to 2,000 feet at Tharwa, where the corridor opens out into the more subdued 'hill-and-basin' topography of the Canberra plain. Within the corridor itself, small basins have been cut by tributaries of the Murrumbidgee, and support small farming communities at Bredbo, Colinton and Michelago.

Finally, a radically different landscape occupies the northeastern apex of the Forest Frontier, which pierces the sedimentary Sydney Basin. Where the exposed southern edges of its Permian and Triassic formations cross the apex, the basin's surface has been incised by the encroachment of two extensive river systems, that of the Wollondilly from the north, and that of the Shoalhaven from the south and west. Between them extends what Griffith Taylor termed the Nepean Ramp, the 'Wingecarribee Core' of which he called a 'besieged plateau', with sandstone escarpments converging
upon it in headward retreat. Over this ramp pass the routeways linking Sydney with southern New South Wales and Victoria, while the sandstone gorges of the Shoalhaven and its Kangaroo Valley tributaries sever the South Coast from the Moss Vale farming areas, establishing a regional boundary as decisively as the scarplands further south. In terms of agricultural utility, then, three Forest Frontier components are recognizable. First, the Southern Tablelands form an hour-glass, the northern bowl encircling Goulburn with pastoral embayments extending to Braidwood and Queanbeyan, the southern bowl comprising the Monaro plateau, and the Canberra-Cooma stem indented by two rugged, largely unoccupied massifs - the Murrumbidgee batholith and the Big Badja Headwaters Province. Secondly, between the Goulburn plains and the Sydney basin stretches the Nepean Ramp, its farmlands concentrated upon the shale and basalt which crown the sterile sandstone basement around Moss Vale. And thirdly, South Coast fertility resides in southern granite inliers and northern Permian sediments, both almost lost among empty timbered interfluves.

Integration of Land Use and Settlement

The pattern of land use and settlement superimposed on this environmental foundation embodies seven functionally-integrated components. These landscape units follow recurrent sequences along coast-plateau sections and from north to south along the tablelands, reflecting the intra-regional relationships established by the progress of settlement.

1. Plateau Pastoral Areas

Fundamentally consisting of a series of wide embayments within the forests, these areas are linked by corridors which follow the major river valleys, with tongues of clearing thrust into upstream amphitheatres or towards the plateau escarpment. Sheep-raising for wool absorbs the greatest area, but is attended by beef cattle grazing (particularly around Braidwood, where the abandonment of dairying disposed farmers towards cattle rather than sheep), some fat lamb production on improved pastures such as those between Bibbenluke and Dalgety, and a few patches of market gardening and fodder cropping, chiefly near the larger towns.

What transhumance is practised seldom involves coastal farmers, but draws plateau pastoralists into the surmounting highlands.

2. Gateway Towns

Commanding the portals where sinuous inter-montane corridors meet the tableland embayments, 'gateway towns' are located along the main overland routes from Sydney, with secondary lines of communication radiating from them to the very edges of the major pastoral districts. (See Figure 3). Situated neither at the brink of the scarp nor on the western, inland slope, but instead, near the middle of the plateau's east-west extent, gateway towns provide centres for bulk loading and the sale of primary produce where railway and highway coincide - at Goulburn, Queanbeyan and Cooma.

3. Brink Towns

Whereas gateway towns collect traffic entering the tablelands from north or south - that is, from or to Sydney - , 'brink towns' are situated at or very near the brink of the eastern coastal scarp, and serve as focal points for routeways converging upon a pass down the scarp to the coastal lowlands: gateway towns radially distribute traffic entering the plateau along the Nepean Ramp or the Canberra-Cooma corridor; brink towns radially distribute traffic reaching the tablelands over a mountain pass. In the strictest sense, no complementary piedmont villages occur on the South Coast at the foot of a pass, although Bemboka's proximity to Brown Mountain lends it a local significance as a road junction (especially since Inlay Shire Council has sought to divert the inland tourist stream directly to Merimbula across the Bega Valley through Candelo and Wolumla, rather than through Bega - see Fig. 3), and it might be contended that coastal routeways converging on the Clyde Mountain pass effectively do so upon Nelligen rather than Bateman's Bay. Brink towns, with hinterland spans slashed by the escarpment to arcs of about 180 degrees, are subordinate in size and functional diversity to gateway towns, although Braidwood, Nimmitabel, Cathcart and Bombala all serve a local farm community.

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COASTAL LANDFORMS

Plate 1: Point Perpendicular, Jervis Bay

The northern headland of Jervis Bay, its cliff-top surface of Permian Nowra Sandstone (Conjola Formation) elevated to over 250 feet, and now occupied by the Jervis Bay lighthouse, 128 miles south of Sydney.

Plate 2: Cook's Pigeon House

Named by Cook in 1770, the Pigeon House (2,358 feet) is the southernmost outlier of Permian Nowra Sandstone, which forms the uppermost 260 feet of the eminence. The coastline depicted is that near Bannisters Point and Milton, composed of Permian conglomerate and sandstone (Conjola Formation), and some 140 miles south of Sydney.

Plate 3: Green Cape and Disaster Bay

About twenty miles north of the Victorian border, with littoral cliffs and ridge of Devonian conglomerates and sandstone (Merrimbula Formation) capped by Tertiary gravels. Mount Imlay (2,903 feet) in the distance (right, cloud-obscured).

4. Passes over the Coastal Escarpment

The transitional zone between level plateau surfaces and corrugated coastal lowlands conveys its character most obviously in the transformation of vegetation. From Nimmitabel to Bemboka, for example, it changes from the meadow grasslands of Tussocky Poa (poa caespitosa) and savannah woodlands of the central Monaro, through communities of low heath and moor along the wind-swept, water-logged fringes of the Kybeyan Range (where small prongs of swamp collect the headwaters of plateau streams, and where the typical species include teatress, heaths, sheoaks and Tufted Sedge), to the hardwood forests of the scarp itself and the cleared farmlands of the piedmont.

The escarpment is also a zone of climatic transition, from the plateau conditions of low temperatures and rainfall, to the wetter, warmer coastal valleys; climatic traverses reveal the following variations in average annual rainfall (inches) - Bombala, 26.33, Burragate 29.99, Eden 34.47: Cooma 18.85, Nimmitabel 28.44, Bemboka 30.59, Bega 35.92 and Tathra 30.16: Braidwood 28.39, Bateman's Bay 41.48: Bungonia 26 (approx.), Yalwal 29, Nowra 38 and Crookhaven Heads 41. Comparable variations in average annual maximum and minimum temperatures (in degrees F.) occur along similar transects - Cooma 67.5-40.6, Nimmitabel 59.9-36.0, Bega 73.0-46.7: Queanbeyan 69.4-43.6, Braidwood 66.3-41.6, Moruya Heads 69.4-52.1. Some of the very wettest but unrecorded areas coincide with the escarpment itself.

Roads crossing the scarp have afforded access to the uncommon resources of its wet sclerophyll forests, establishing another more fragmentary tier of forestry removed from that strung along Prince's Highway. Similarly, road passes and the attendant protruberance of both plateau and coastal farmlands have encouraged wattle-bark stripping, firewood and fence-post collection, and the forest incursions of 'bush runs'.

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Climatic statistics have been extracted from two reports issued by the Division of Reconstruction and Development in the Premier's Department of New South Wales - The Monaro-South Coast Region - A Preliminary Survey of Resources (Sydney, Government Printer, 1952, 6-11, 39-54), and The Illawarra Region - A Preliminary Survey of Resources (Sydney, Government Printer, 1948, 8-9, 21-22).
unfenced, burnt-off, cut-over but uncleared back-blocks, where beef cattle and pigs roam untended except by the occasional drover or stockman. Such runs exploit almost every fringe of clearing on the South Coast, but where roads ascend the scarp State Forests offer some protection (legally speaking); other competitive enterprises include hydro-electric generation on Brown Mountain, pipeheads for urban and rural water supplies (e.g., Tantawangalo Creek), and public recreation reserves (e.g., Morton Primitive Reserve).

5. Coastal Farming Areas.

Whereas the Monaro and the plateau environs of Lake George comprise two large, uninterrupted pastoral regions, South Coast farming areas are broken into a score of small, mis-shapen pockets, mostly separated by eucalypt forest but in relatively close proximity between Cobargo and the Towamba River, that is, adjacent to the Monaro. Their geological basis is either granite (Bega Valley, Cobargo, Towamba Valley, Tilba Tilba, Milton, Moruya and the Mogo-Nelligen area), alluvium (such flood-plains as those of the Shoalhaven, Moruya Tuross and Bega Rivers, and the estuarine deltas), basalt (Mount Darragh, Bergalia-Coila, and Sassafras), such other igneous rocks as rhyolite, felsite and dolerite, generally inter-bedded with basalt (near Eden - see Figure 4), and the Peronian sequence around Nowra, particularly two formations - Berry Shale and the Gerringong Volcanics. Granite and alluvium predominate areally. However, since coastal farms are smaller, rural population densities over the cleared areas are higher than on the tablelands, and the coastal towns are closer together. Plateau towns, moreover, pulsate slowly to the leisurely round of pastoral life, while coastal towns are agitated daily by the arrival, processing and disposal of dairy produce from neighbouring farms.

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Figure 4: Geology of the Far South Coast, N.S.W.

GEOLOGY of the FAR SOUTH COAST, N.S.W.
Dairying once unified almost the entire South Coast agricultural community, welding groups of twenty or thirty farms into supply hinterlands for co-operative butter and cheese factories, and involving the livelihood of many urban workers. Post-war labour shortages and low market prices, however, have disturbed farm prosperity so markedly that dairying has suffered widespread displacement by grazing, not only at the forest margins where land use and production have always fluctuated most erratically, but centrally within cleared valleys, where the transformation has arisen from farm family dispersal, the semi-retirement of older farmers whose sons have left the land, reluctance or inability to improve pastures, herds and equipment, and other causes. Consequently, the range and significance of land use categories have assumed no new, stable pattern, but vary from one cleared enclave to another. Over the whole region, however, some regularity does obtain. South Coast dairy-farmers now belong to either the Sydney Milk Zone (a statutory area extending as far south as Milton-Ulladulla, and benefiting from higher milk prices than equivalent butter production could realise), the Canberra milk supply area (effectively the factory hinterlands of the Bega and Bemboka Co-operative Societies, or geographically, Cobargo and the northern Bega Valley), or independent butter- or cheese-producing co-operative societies which operate their own processing plants and sell their produce through the Producers’ Distributing Society Ltd., an organization established and controlled by shareholders in co-operative factories throughout New South Wales. Other, intermittent suppliers maintain a dairy herd to complement their beef herd, to augment their cultivation of seed beans, seed maize or fodder cash crops, or to share the profits of a good season.

How these circumstances categorize land use is epitomised by the

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Some of these developments are discussed in Bruce Ryan, op. cit., pp. 103-6.
Bega Valley, a granite batholith surface supporting 649 farm properties, of which an estimated 512 have resident farmers or farm operators. Uninhabited properties, or properties with hut accommodation for only an occasional drover, are either 'bush runs' or 'animal storage areas' - fattening and holding paddocks near Bega used by auctioneers and cattle dealers. The 512 'occupied' properties, on which 2,780 people reside, are divisible as follows - dairying, 298 (regarding the 15 constituent farms of Kameruka Estate as a single unit - See Figure 14 in Chapter 6); beef cattle grazing, 69; sheep grazing, 22; Jersey Studs, 6; farms running more than one kind of animal, 67 (of which 30 are combinations with dairying); farms cultivating market garden produce, seed beans and/or seed maize, sometimes in conjunction with grazing or dairying, 19; and other inhabited properties, 31. Unlike the Shoalhaven delta, where the topographic dualism of alluvial flats and sedimentary hills aligns land use types, or the Moruya, Tuross and Towamba Valleys, where non-alluvial pastures seldom completely surround the flood-plain or the urban nucleus, the Bega Valley encloses a thick, continuous crescent of farms whose unimproved capital value per acre ranges from over £4.5 on the Jellat Jellat alluvium, (see Plate 13 in Chapter 2) to £7 on the better dioritic granite between Candelo and Wolumla, to £4 on Bemboka's shallow granite soils, (see Plate 11 in Chapter 2) and to less than £1 among the impoverished ranges of the upper Brogo River (see Plate 5 in this Chapter). Reinforced by the convergence of rivers and roads upon Bega, this sectorial composition begins to imitate the concentric diffusion of land use intensity first schematized in 1826 by von Thünen, although the South Coast farm economy is more realistically conceived as a fragmented whole, not as twenty or more nucleus-hugging isolates.

From north to south, the Friesians and Australian Illawarra Shorthorns of the Sydney Milk Zone give way to Jerseys in the former or existing butter-producing districts, and paspalum pastures continue to


19 J.H. von Thünen: Der isolierte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalökonomie, Rostock, 1826.
dominate much of the region, despite the encroachment of certain tablelands species (mainly from Monaro) and the tenacity of kikuyu characteristic of Milton and Tilba Tilba. Such local variants, however, concentrate South Coast settlement much less decisively than two other peculiarities of the farmland - the extent and disposition of its component pieces, and irregularities in its innate soil productivity. Theoretically, since animal carrying capacity determines assessed levels of land value, the unimproved capital values cited above should indicate how productive capacity shifts over only ten or twenty miles, although much more specific, reliable studies by J.H. Holmes and K.G. Lofts isolate the variation in soil fertility itself. Assuming that a densely populated hinterland of small farms yielding higher-than-average incomes will sustain a town more munificently and certainly than a quasi-depressed hinterland of large farms conceding little more than subsistence incomes, it follows that a farming centre's pedologic environment will prescribe in some measure its size and character. For eight 'land units' in the vicinity of Moruya, for example, Holmes has estimated average yields per acre in pounds weight of commercial butter as follows - (i) 'alluvials of recent deposition' - 150; (ii) 'older, slightly leached alluvials' - 125; (iii) 'Deua River alluvials' (upstream meanders) - 83.5; (iv) 'shallow, clayey alluvial and colluvial soils along tributaries' - 83.5; (v) 'silty or peaty drained marsh soils' - 75; (vi) 'recently sandied alluvials' - 75; (vii) 'basaltic soils' - 37.5; and (viii) granitic soils suitable for dairying - 25. Table 1 indicates three fertility assessments of Imlay Shire soils prepared by Lofts, the disparity between highest and lowest ratings closely resembling the five-fold increment established by Holmes in a comparable river basin context.


# TABLE 1. FERTILITY INDICES OF IMLAY SHIRE SOILS

(after Lofts, 1960, op.cit.)

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<th>Great Soil Group</th>
<th>Associated Towns</th>
<th>Soil Fertility Ratings (index 100 - maximum recorded in Shire for each Group)</th>
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<td>Yellow Podzolic of light texture</td>
<td>Eden, Towamba</td>
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<td>Relict Podzolic of light texture</td>
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Whether rectifying the locally specific deficiencies of phosphorus, sulphur, molybdenum, potassium and copper isolated by P.H.Walker\textsuperscript{23}, or adapting cultivation more appropriately to soil terraces\textsuperscript{24} will enlarge the area and productivity of South Coast town hinterlands remains a critical conjecture, especially if no appreciable increase in rural population is achieved. Yet to the west and south of Eden, between Nowra and Jervis Bay, and near Moruya, Bateman's Bay and Milton, low levels of soil nutrition are aggravated only sporadically by the disability of steep, dissected slopes, which eject settlement from so much of the region; indeed, future development may well animate these areas.

6. Coastal Market and Service Centres

Soil fertility thus conditions settlement, but the intervention of forest barriers more clearly delimits town hinterlands. Rural service centres, as distinct from coastal ports, holiday resorts and satellite villages, command bridge-crossings of the coastal rivers, generally five to ten miles upstream from their mouths where a highway deviation to cross some flood-free, narrow bridge-head has confirmed a town-site. On the Far South Coast, granite amphitheatres lying some 2,000 feet below the crests of encircling ranges occupy the middle and upper reaches of river basins, walled in from oceanic contact by a low coastal range, though disposed conveniently about the service centre.

The littoral itself discourages agriculture as efficiently as the coastal range: salt-water or brackish estuaries unfit for livestock slice the zone into dislocated pieces; superficial, high-level Tertiary sediments\textsuperscript{25} - chiefly unconsolidated quartz gravels and ferruginous conglomerates, the lateritic (presumably lacustrine) source of local road-metal - afford some of the region's least inspiring prospects for farming (Figure 4).


Erosion control over existing farmlands is discussed in L.D.Longworth: 'Soil Erosion and its Control on the Far South Coast', Jnl. of the Soil Conservation Service of N.S.W., 14, 2, April 1958, 131-136.

indicates their usual extent); and mud-flats, mangrove swamps, parallel prograding strandlines, reed-infested lagoons, cliff-top aeolian mantles of sand (for example at Tilba Tilba and Jervis Bay), and competition from tourists further ruin its utility. The deep water of drowned estuaries also inhibits fording, while silting and sandspits have commonly checked the entry of shipping, restricting natural anchorages to mere ocean roadsteads behind cliffed headlands or the relatively open waters of three wide inlets - Jervis Bay, Bateman's Bay and Twofold Bay - not one of which provides direct access to a major farming enclave.

Instead, such rural service centres as Berry, Nowra, Milton, Moruya, Bodalla, Cobargo and Bega occupy slightly eccentric positions within these inland enclaves, although by no means every enclave has its centre. Moruya and Bateman's Bay, in particular, serve tiny pockets of clearing strewn along the piedmont, while Tilba Tilba and Towamba farmlands gravitate respectively towards Narooma and Eden, towns devoid of any adjoining agricultural area. South of the Clyde, these enlarged upstream river basins collect dendritic tributaries - which loop headwards parallel to the Monaro escarpment - and funnel them through a sharp, V-shaped incision of the coastal range, where deep alluviation begins; the dearth of downstream tributaries and minimal average discharge volumes tend to reduce corrosion, thereby juxtaposing alluvial flats and rocky slopes too steep for cultivation. Since tributaries converge upon this incision, market towns command granitic farmlands on one side and alluvial flats on the other, their downstream hinterland bottle-necked by the littoral and their upstream hinterland girdled by forest. Their eccentric situations bring almost every centre near the forest fringe, welding an empty sector into the otherwise concentric abatement of land use intensity which surrounds them, and enhancing the danger from bush fires; where a town's quasi-urban margin mingles with the forest - as it does at Nowra, Moruya and Eden - residually sub-standard, 'closed' micro-communities of pensions, malingerers, half-caste aborigines and others tend to establish secluded 'rural slums' littered with derelict buildings, apiaries,

Plate 4 : Gorge at Fitzroy Falls

The escarpment brink of the Moss Vale Plateau, at the very edge of the South Coast region; here, the headwaters of the Kangaroo River (Yarrunga Creek tributary) cut into the plateau surface of Hawkesbury Sandstone at an elevation of 2,000 feet, exposing Nowra Sandstone in the valley bottoms. Wet sclerophyll forest forms a buffer between coast and tablelands.

Plate 5 : Brogo River at North Brogo

Here some 20 miles from both its mouth and source (via the Bega River), the Brogo swings southwards into the expansive farmlands of the northern Bega Valley; only river-bank farms line the section illustrated, the last farm adjoining unoccupied forest five miles further upstream. The typically low discharge of South Coast streams is evident, although flood debris indicates periodic levels. Mount Mumbulla (2,539 feet) in the background.

Plate 6 : Bega River at Bega

Braided course just west of North Bega bridge, eleven miles from the river's mouth, but just upstream from its confluence with the Brogo. Site of semi-permanent aboriginal camp on outskirts of North Bega.
28 patches of maize, orchard trees and garbage.

7. Coastal Ports and Tourist Resorts

This final landscape unit of the west-east, tablelands-escarpment-coastal plain transect has undergone a transformation of character during the past forty years. Most of these towns suffered a decline in their original port functions, but were subsequently revived by an increasing tourist traffic and subdivisions for holiday cottages. These innovations all but severed the east-west economic connexions between ports and tributary farmlands, replaced them with a north-south trade and traffic orientation along Prince's Highway, and created a land use dichotomy of inland farming areas and coastal tourist resorts on either side of the coastal range. This urban dualism nevertheless verges on symbiosis, the inland farming areas relying upon the coastal resorts for recreation, retirement and commuter accommodation, and the coastal resorts depending upon the farming centers for such facilities as high schools, police and hospitals, and for employment after the holiday-makers depart. Although not every South Coast tourist center was originally a port, the largest inevitably were (Narooma, Ulladulla, Bermagui, Merimbula), having been equipped to offer ready-made access roads, land subdivisions and titles, and naturally, the requisite scenery, to the stream of Sydney motorists which swelled remarkably after 1925, when the Main Roads Act relieved local shire councils of the responsibility for arterial road construction and maintenance.

The South Coast - An Attempted Regional Synthesis

As the above synthesis of regional characteristics glosses lightly over the individuality of particular sub-regions, tells nothing of non-agricultural land use, and omits all demographic considerations, the following summary attempts to outline the salient, operative elements of South Coast geography which have fashioned its urban development - a thumbnail sketch of the essential region, deliberately shorn of its Forest Frontier trappings. Elongated between Kiama in the north and the New South Wales-Victorian border in the south - a rectilinear distance of 190 miles - the South Coast of New South Wales occupies about one third

of the State's coastline, but extends inland only 15 to 45 miles before encountering the Southern Tablelands - conventionally, properly but not invariably regarded as the neighbouring region. However, because no selection of official, administrative boundaries exactly encloses the region investigated here, the boundaries adopted for this purpose need description. Least ambiguous are the eastern and southern limits, the Pacific coastline and the Victorian border respectively, although Eden trawlers do ply Bass Strait waters searching for tuna, and the artificial, linear State boundary - originally designed in 1850 as 'a straight line drawn from Cape Howe to the nearest source of the Murray River'29 - does bisect a forest buffer wedged between different dairying systems, metropolitan holiday hinterlands, railheads at Bombala and Orbost, and quite dissimilar coastlines - that of the South Coast trending north-south, comprising beach-and-cliffed headland alternations broken by sub-parallel, irregularly-branching estuaries, with fringing kelp beds and eroded uplands30; that of Gippsland31 trending east-west, a former marine embayment now containing a relatively unbroken sequence of sand barriers behind which shelters a parallel, tidally-inactive system of estuarine lagoons.

While the region's inland, western rim also traverses a forest buffer - not some sharp line - it intrinsically separates plateau and coastal economies. This fundamental criterion, however reactionary it may seem, is nevertheless contradicted by almost every recent regional subdivision of southeastern Australia - by R.A.Foskett's 'Canberra Region' (1959)32, by P.J. Devery's 'Canberra Region' (1963-4)33, by the

29 13 and 14 Vic. c. 59, 15 August, 1850 - an Act of the Imperial Parliament for 'the Better Government of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies'.
'Monaro-South Coast Region' defined by the N.S.W. Regional Boundaries Committee (1944)\textsuperscript{34}, and by R.S. Mathieson's 'Illawarra-South Coast Region' (1958)\textsuperscript{35}, which all trespass across the Southern Tablelands.

The first three detach Shoalhaven Shire (north of Bateman's Bay) and give it a north-south axial link with Sydney by grafting it either explicitly or implicitly to the industrial Illawarra district enclosing Wollongong; the rump, for such it is, being helplessly short of residents and resources, is then harnessed for convenience to the almost equally remote Monaro, possibly to share the cold comfort of comprising the least populous but one of the State's 17 'Regions for Survey and Planning'.

Again, the 'Canberra hinterland (for some purposes)' assuredly embraces part of the South Coast, but the 'Canberra Region' is quite another pipe-dream, mere wishful, pseudo-science fiction.\textsuperscript{36} Subsequent arguments verify the continuing dominant orientation towards Sydney and Wollongong for the acquisition of goods and services unobtainable locally, an orientation aligned unequivocally along Prince's Highway.

The urban centralization of New South Wales - deplorable, unbalanced, militarily disastrous, politically corrupting, and so on - nonetheless exists, its ramifications from Sydney along every highway and railway setting the tempo and direction of rural development, not least in the South Coast. Advocates of decentralization, including those who see in Canberra the New Jerusalem, have discerned 'developmental regions' not as

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} New South Wales Parliament: Report on Determination of Regional Boundaries, March 1944.
\item \textsuperscript{35} R.S. Mathieson: Illawarra and the South Coast Region, Longmans Australian Geographies, Melbourne, n.d. (1958). With unresolved ambivalence, this textbook omits the Monaro and Lake George basin, but includes the Wollongong conurbation and the Braidwood-upper Shoalhaven plateau embayment - the latter in maps but not text.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Another unusual appraisal of South Coast orientation - at odds with that of the National Capital Development Commission - is made by G.J.R. Linge in Canberra (Longmans Australian Geographies, No.19, 1964, p.25); a curious rectilinear boundary between Tallong and the northern headland of Jervis Bay is shown to mark the 'approximate boundary of Canberra's region of influence'.
\end{itemize}
a span of thin sectors converging upon Sydney from the State extremities, nor as discrete fragments of either coast, tablelands, slopes or plains (the school-book dissection of New South Wales), but as two concentric zones surrounding the metropolis, the outermost destined for the glories of decentralization. Ineluctably instigated in 1944 by the Regional Boundaries Committee, this regional delineation was claimed to endorse 'a broad measure of present economic and social unity and of community of interest, anticipating so far as practicable the position when the State will have reached a more advanced stage of development'. (By italics). The Committee further perceived (introspectively?) that -

The extreme lower limit [to the number of regions] appeared to be eight, comprising the Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong districts, together with the five areas served by main trunk railway lines and branches. In the Committee's view, each of the areas served by a main railway line is too large to secure a common viewpoint on local problems and it is necessary for this purpose to divide each by at least two, making a minimum lower limit of 13 regions.

Ever since, the South Coast has been regarded in purblind error as the Cinderella sister of the Southern Tablelands. It is not, and the regional boundary adopted here (see Figures 7 and 3) marks the watershed. From the Victorian border northwards to the Shoalhaven gorge, this boundary traces a succession of actual watersheds, those south of Big Badja parting coastal drainage basins from the Snowy and Murrumbidgee tributaries which negotiate the plateau, those north of the peak separating the 'plateau' tract of the Shoalhaven near Braidwood from its own downstream, 'coastal' tributaries, and from the adjacent headwaters of the Clyde. Topographically, two escarpments and two headwaters provinces thus comprise this fluvial-regional divide. Furthest south, the forest-clad 'Monaro escarpment' overhangs the Goom, Towamba, Bega and Brogo River sources, achieving 4,054 feet in the Kybeyan Range, along which it mounts and merges northwards into the Big Badja Headwaters Province. Here, the regional boundary winds along the highest, least

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37 Report on Determination of Regional Boundaries, op. cit., p.3
38 Ibid., p.7
39 In similar fashion, the Northern Rivers of New South Wales have been tethered to the Northern Tablelands.
penetrable of several intertwining ranges, where the Tuross, Deua, Shoalhaven, Queanbeyan and Murrumbidgee Rivers diverge from a common pinnacle.

Above Araluen, the second escarpment arches eastwards from the edge of the headwaters province for ten miles, then swinging north and constricting the coastal corridor by this distance for the remaining 70 miles north, but reverting north-south between the Braidwood embayment and the upper Clyde catchment; this 'Budawang escarpment', accordant with the Budawang Range for 35 of its 45 miles, plunges from 3,707 feet at Currock Billy Mountain to 800 feet at the Clyde tributary below, but whereas the Monaro escarpment tilts drainage latitudinally, the upper Shoalhaven and Clyde follow longitudinal courses parallel to the escarpment. Near Nerriga, the Shoalhaven slices into the gorge through which it escapes the plateau, turns sharply eastwards at Tallong, and emerges from its sandstone canyon near Nowra, debouching sediment across the deltaic farmland. This gorge section - enlarged to the north by the digitated, scalloped escarpments of the Nepean Ramp and Kangaroo Valley, and flanked on the south by an empty, 2,000 ft. high forest buffer incised by Shoalhaven tributaries - sunders the South Coast from the Southern Tablelands, as Figure 6 depicts. Accordingly, the regional boundary is continued northwards from the Budawang escarpment's termination at the Pigeon House Range near Nerriga, and down the channel of Yalwal Creek to the Shoalhaven itself, thereby crossing the second headwaters province yet enclosing within the defined South Coast its outermost peripheral settlement at Yalwal (shown on Figure 8).

39a A recent summary of the geomorphological controversies involving the Shoalhaven gorges is to be found in Griffith Taylor: Sydney-side Scenery, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1958, Chapter XIII, 161-167.

40 This minor ramp divides the source of the Clyde from the southern tributaries of the Shoalhaven gorge, and affords the only direct routeway from the Braidwood embayment to Jervis Bay, the 1840 'Wool Road' following it from Nerriga through Tianjara to Huskisson. See Figure 5.
The region's northern boundary is aligned to separate coastal dairying areas from both the Wollongong-Fort Kembla urban-industrial agglomeration and the Moss Vale farmlands which channel their produce to Sydney along the Nepean Ramp, or to Wollongong down the Macquarie Pass north of Kiama. Moreover, since Kangaroo Valley farms send milk over Cambewarra Mountain to Nowra, and as its richer soils nurture more luxuriant pastures and vegetation than the sandstone ramp, its alliance with the region rests on more than mere inclusion within Shoalhaven Shire, consequently, the regional boundary coincides with the valley's northern scarp edge, and swings eastwards with it along Saddleback Mountain to meet the ocean at Kiama. To the north, strictly Illawarra farmlands overlap alluvial flats and Gerringong Volcanics, while to the south distinctly Shoalhaven farmlands chiefly overlap alluvial lowlands and Berry Shale, and mark the extreme northern edge of that South Coast region where urban development pursued so similar a course.

Before turning to a classification of the region's geographical components, however, its administrative divisions require brief definition to sharpen subsequent discussion. Areal, demographic and perimetric congruence with the region is closely approached by the combination of six existing Local Government Areas (L.G.A.s) - the Shires of Shoalhaven, Eurobodalla, Mumbulla and Imlay, and the Municipalities of Kiama and Bega. Similar consistency is attainable by uniting the Counties of Auckland, Dampier and St. Vincent with the southeastern section of the County of Camden, the latter - for statistical equivalence - excised of Wollongong and towns of the Nepean Ramp. Counties, however, never constituted

41 'The Illawarra' has constantly resisted unambiguous definition. 'Illawarra' residents, for example, were incensed when the electrified railway to Sydney's southern suburbs became the 'Illawarra Line', despite its continuity with the steam line to Wollongong, Kiama and Bomaderry. One correspondent quoted Dr. J. D. Lang's opinion from the 1899 Tourist Guide Book (issued by the Illawarra Tourist Union) that the name should apply only to the area 'between the coast range of mountains and the Pacific Ocean, along the coast southward to the Shoalhaven River', that is, between Austinmer (?) and Shoalhaven Heads (Sydney Morning Herald, 26 December, 1921). 'The Illawarra Region' (see Report on Determination of Regional Boundaries, op. cit., 194A), on the other hand, extends an incredible sixty miles further south to Durras Lake. But the heart of Illawarra undoubtedly lies near the Five Islands off Wollongong, and its restriction in this study to the Wollongong conurbation at least approximates to current local usage.
L.G.A.'s, serving Government Departments only as 'statistical boxes for land records'\(^2\), and never exactly reflecting the progress or problems of specific local government administrations. Before 1911, when shires and municipalities eventually embraced the entire Eastern Division of New South Wales, census collection units vacillated between counties, municipalities and boroughs, incorporated towns, Police Districts (= later Registry Districts), and State Government electorates. In the following text, equivalent combinations are described when necessary.

The most telling differentiation of South Coast landscapes, so generally similar, rests on five internal regional dichotomies - (i) cleared areas and forests; (ii) the northern Permian formations and the southern association of igneous and metasedimentary rocks; (iii) the broader, latitudinally-aligned river basins of the south, and the merely estuarine catchments north of Bateman's Bay, compressed by the longitudinally-aligned headwaters of the Clyde and Shoalhaven gorge; (iv) the tourism-fishing-commuter accommodation belt of the littoral, and the inland, upstream farming areas; and (v) western-most sub-regions adjoining the plateau, and those bordering headwaters provinces. In each case, radically different opportunities for resource exploitation are opposed, and jointly, these dichotomies underlie the classification presented in Table 2.

Since previous paragraphs have analysed why the forest-covered areas persist, and later chapters anatomize the farming hinterlands of several towns, it remains only to clarify a handful of the above categories. Piedmont clearings - small, driven to grazing by isolation, but often long-settled - sometimes lie within the service orbits of plateau centres, as Araluen and Nungatta do, and their inclusion in any South Coast region is contentious. Nor do the swampy plateau edges at Upper Tuross and Countegany belong to the region, situated within the Tuross catchment though they are, whereas the handful of holdings on the basalt crests of Sassafras and Mount Darragh do gravitate towards the coastal community. Inter-penetrating rather than transitional land use thus

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TABLE 2: SOUTH COAST SUB-REGIONS

A. FOREST AREAS

1. Utility and Land (ownership) Status
   (a) State Forests, Timber Reserves, plantations and other commercially-utilized areas;
   (b) Other Crown Land forests - sometimes legally or illegally grazed;
   (c) Freehold or Leasehold areas - chiefly dotted along the edges of cleared farmland; commonly infested with regrowth.

2. Location
   (a) Interfluvial forests - granite massifs and metasedimentary residuals in the south; sandstone plateaus in the north (Tianjara, Kangaroo Valley).
   (b) Escarpments and headwaters provinces - Clyde, Tuross, Deua (Moruya), Brogo and Towamba Rivers.

B. CLEARED AREAS

1. Coastal Tourist Zone:
   Shoalhaven-Crookhaven outlets; St George’s Basin; sporadic patches between Ulladulla and Bermagui; Tathra, Merimbula and Eden.

2. Inland Farming Enclaves:
   (a) Granitic Soils - Bega Valley, Cobargo, Towamba Valley, Moruya, Milton, Tilba-Tilba.
   (b) Basaltic Soils - (I) coastal extrusions - Coila-Turlingah;
       (II) plateau-edge extrusions - Mount Darragh, Sassafras.
   (c) Alluvial Soils - Shoalhaven delta, Milton-Conjola, Clyde estuary, Moruya, Bodalla, Bega and Towamba.
   (d) Permian volcanic and shale soils - Berry-Cambewarra, Kangaroo Valley, environs of Jervis Bay.

3. Piedmont Clearings:
   (a) Granitic outcrops - Araluen (some alluvium), Buckenbowra and associated clearings surrounding Bateman’s Bay, Belours (upstream Tuross), Wadbilliga (linked with Cobargo), Nungatta-Bookton (upper Conca River).
   (b) Permian volcanics and shales - Kangaroo Valley.

4. Escarpment-Brink Clearings:
   Upper Tuross-Countegany.
Plate 7: Escarpment Vegetation on Cambewarra Mountain

The remnants of dense, luxuriant, sub-tropical rain forest, preserved mainly on the south-facing slopes of the coast-plateau escarpment, and including coachwood, blackbutt, sassafras, fig trees, tree ferns (Alsophila and Dicksonia), and a ground cover of ferns, epiphytes and bushes - all of which survive in situations sheltered from the hot or bleak westerly winds, with a high rainfall (exceeding 50 inches annually) and fertile volcanic soils. The section illustrated is some 1,500 feet above sea level, where precipitous slopes are apparent.

Plate 8: Open Eucalypt Forest on the Clyde Mountain near Upper Currawan Creek.

Some eight miles below the plateau brink, and fifteen miles from the ocean at Bateman's Bay; dissected foothills of shales and slates, receiving about 40 inches of rainfall annually. Such forests typify the South Coast between Bateman's Bay and the Victorian border.
characterizes the escarpment-piedmont zone of marginal utility. The forest buffers, forming intermediate domains between settlement cores and the piedmont clearings, intensify isolation most severely in four tracts - the Shoalhaven gorge-Clyde headwaters; a triangle between Araluen, Moruya and Belmore; the Tuross-Brogo headwaters; and the no-man's-land between the Towamba River and Victorian border.

The Settlement Pattern of the South Coast

Generating resource development as ardently as the forests stifle it, however, settlement cores of the South Coast assume half a dozen distinctive guises. At Kiama, surrounding dairy farms perch on the abrupt spurs of basalt and other volcanic extrusions radiating from Saddleback Mountain, but nowadays provide less patronage than the road and railway vacationists or the Wollongong commuters; the town nevertheless remains a primary node. Secondly, the pre-eminent production unit of the whole South Coast occupies the Shoalhaven delta, ringing Nowra with the region's most complete retinue of village subsidiaries, incorporating the region's first, incipient industrial area between Bomaderry and Bolong, and burgeoning with promise. Nearby, integrated to a degree with the Shoalhaven, lies the third cluster of settlements around Jervis Bay and St George's Basin, decadent maritime outlets for wool and hides rejuvenated this century by the holiday pilgrimage from Sydney; like the Shoalhaven, however, these centres associate declining-agricultural/expanding-tourist phases of growth in local disorder. Ulladulla and Milton provide a focus for the fourth demographic concentration, the former serving smaller beach resorts up to 15 miles away, the latter attracting milk and allegiance from just as extensive a farm community. Each of the three remaining settlement 'cores', however, commands adjacent agricultural and holiday hinterlands, not in any strikingly unique relationship as Kiama and Nowra do, but in some subtle variation of intrinsically the same components - in variations of farmland's areal extent, in its state of fragmentation, and in resort magnitudes. The fifth 'core' of settlement, for example, is proposed to encompass Bateman's Bay, Moruya and Narooma; the sixth, less dubiously, draws Cobargo, Tathra, Bemboka and Wolumbra towards Bega; and the seventh directs Towamba farmlands towards a Merimbula-Pambula-Eden
axis. Between Bateman's Bay and Bermagui, it is contended, an agricultural swarm of essentially small, scattered pockets surrounds, depends upon, but seldom actually touches three service centres, two of which thrive on tourism while Moruya administers local government and processing. Once, Bodalla might have matured into the southernmost nucleus instead of Narooma, but conjecture aside, three nodes now co-ordinate the affairs of a single sub-region. Similarly, the seventh focus is shared between Merimbula, Pambula and Eden—an urban cluster detached from another fragmentary hinterland, but constituting a functional unity.

Bega's nodality, by contrast, suffers no such insubordinate rivalry; this southern counterpart of Nowra regulates the exploitation of an unbroken, first-order productive unit, endures no 'independent' resorts, and enjoys the subservience of village satellites.

These seven cores of settlement concentrate the South Coast population very unevenly, as Table 3 and Figure 7 display. Numerically, about one third of the region's 'permanent', mid-winter inhabitants reside in four—or in reality, three—of its seventy 'urban' nuclei—Kiama, Nowra-Bomaderry and Bega, the last two 172 miles apart, and all four exceeding 2,000 in population. Another third inhabits the region's other 66 centres, and the remainder its rural holdings, a curious distribution, perhaps, for so patently 'rural' an area. Between Nowra and Eden, towns of 1,000 or more inhabitants occur on an average every 35 miles, compared with 58 miles between comparable centres along the tablelands from Moss Vale to Bombala; farmers are thus confronted with trips of up to 18 and 29 miles respectively to the nearest hospital, local government headquarters, or high school. Comparatively, devious coastal roads over corrugated terrain and around estuaries increase travelling times, whereas level plateau surfaces promote direct, speedy routes, and partly account for these plateau/coastal variations in town spacing. Also implicated, however, are farm densities and the continuity of clearing, the congestion of small coastal farms into small discrete clearings more nearly

— Chapter 11 discusses the distinctions between various summer tourist populations, and the theoretically perennial populations recorded in June by the census-collectors.

1961 census statistics regard as 'urban' all persons other than those residing on a 'rural holding'; a 'rural holding' for census purposes is one on which agricultural, pastoral, dairying &c. operations are carried on (Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1961; Vol. 1—New South Wales: Part 1—Population and Dwellings in Localities, p.9). An identical definition has been used in this chapter.
Table 3: SOUTH COAST URBAN CONCENTRATION, 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town Population</th>
<th>No. of Centres</th>
<th>Total Population (all Centres)</th>
<th>Percentage of Total South Coast Urban Population</th>
<th>Percentage of Total South Coast Population</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More than 2,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14,250</td>
<td>48.93</td>
<td>33.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>1,000-1,999</td>
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<td>6,252</td>
<td>20.67</td>
<td>13.91</td>
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<tr>
<td>500-999</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3,340</td>
<td>11.02</td>
<td>7.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>100-249</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,479</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>3.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-99</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 50</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>30,313</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>67.42 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

determining town size and situation than the dispersion of large properties across an extensive, uninterrupted homogeneous plateau.

Along the Southern Tablelands, as Table 4 illustrates, a transect from Sydney to Bombala (319 miles) links much more populous towns than a transect from Sydney to Eden (311 miles) along the South Coast, and discloses how deep an 'urban penumbra', as it were, is cast beyond Wollongong, quite devoid of such independent, multi-functional cities as Canberra and Goulburn, which transfigure inland life. Sustained by the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme, Cooma also implants an urban counterweight near the State extremity, not matched by Bega near the coastal border. The South Coast, in short, though abundantly endowed with small towns and villages, displays nothing of the urban stature achieved by the Southern Tablelands, retaining instead a packed procession along Prince's Highway of long-established, lingering centres, often protected by natural tariff barriers of forest from that devastating inter-urban competition which hastens either progress or death.

As a result, second or third order satellites are exceptional, although urban dualism (symbiosis) is quite common, especially functional syntheses of seaside resorts and nearby farming centres. However, only the Shoalhaven delta and Bega Valley - the counterpoised northern and southern kernels of the region - sustain polygonal (as opposed to linear) urban hierarchies. Despite the variegated amalgum of swamp, sand dunes, volcanic foothills, sandstone gorges and plateau escarpments constituting its environs, upon Nowra converge the roads and business from a score of agricultural villages (many occupying dry-point sites), former ports, holiday resorts, and even dispersed 'Strassendörfer' en-sconced within amphitheatres hewn from Cambewarra Range; so heterogeneous are these satellites in origin, age, phases of development and function, however, that geometrical relationships between them are completely overshadowed by their unswerving, centripetal gravitation towards the Shoalhaven bridge-point at Nowra. Bega's four satellites - three agricultural villages and a river-mouth resort - form a semi-circle around the town.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miles from Sydney</th>
<th>Southern Tablelands Transect Sydney-Goulburn-Canberra-Bombala</th>
<th>Illawarra-South Coast Transect Sydney-Wollongong-Nowra-Eden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Towns 'Urban' Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>Towns 'Urban' Population</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-50</td>
<td>Camden 3,999</td>
<td>Bulli 4,608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Picton 1,314</td>
<td>Wollongong * 31,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mittagong 2,372</td>
<td>(Greater Wollongong) (131,754)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bowral 3,926</td>
<td>Unanderra * 6,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moss Vale 2,748</td>
<td>Port Kembla* 7,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dapto * 5,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shellharbour 13,392</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kiama 2,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bomaderry 2,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-Total: 10,360</td>
<td>Sub-Total: 149,697 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-100</td>
<td>Goulburn 20,544</td>
<td>Nowra 6,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Braidwood 1,052</td>
<td>Ulladulla 1,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canberra 56,449</td>
<td>Bateman's Bay-Batehaven 1,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Queanbeyan 9,448</td>
<td>Moruya 1,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-Total: 67,493</td>
<td>Sub-Total: 10,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-200</td>
<td>Cooma 8,716</td>
<td>Narooma 1,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bega 3,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-Total: 8,716</td>
<td>Sub-Total: 5,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-300</td>
<td>Bombala 1,389</td>
<td>Eden 1,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL: 10 towns 111,957</td>
<td>14 towns ** 171,036</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Part of Greater Wollongong.  
** Including Greater Wollongong.  

Note: 'Towns' listed are restricted to those exceeding 1,000 in population, and all population statistics are derived from the Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1961.
and share with it the custom of Bega Valley farmers through a system of nested hinterlands feasible in such a uniform, granitic environment, but not around Nowra.

Elsewhere throughout the region, urban hierarchies confirm primary, secondary and tertiary nodes in simple linear relationships; from the Towamba headwaters, for example, settlers seeking goods or services would try in turn Wyndham (tertiary), Pambula (secondary), Eden or Bega (primary), and in final desperation, Sydney, Wollongong or Canberra (metropolitan), depending on the degree of functional specialization involved. The propinquity of holiday resorts, sawmill centres and fishing ports, however, confounds too strictly agricultural a view of urban inter-relationships: over-sawed by the nearby resort of Narooma, Tilba Tilba farmlands support a mere 95 "urban" inhabitants in two diminutive hamlets, while the background presence of industrial Eden has stifled village development along the Towamba. Indeed, the smaller South Coast farming enclaves are characteristically served by binary village systems - by Tomerong-Wandandian, Kangaroo Valley-Barrengarry, Cobargo-Quaama and Coila-Turlinjah besides those mentioned above - all of which depend in turn upon larger centres outside the farming enclaves. In a nutshell, apart from Milton-Ulladulla and possibly Merimbula-Eden, forests insulate one settlement core from another's competition, and virtually eliminate from the region farming zones torn apart at the junctions of rival hinterlands - that is, few areas enjoy a choice of neighbouring, equidistant centres.
In this chapter and the next, the course of South Coast development is charted by considering, first, the establishment of towns, and secondly, their growth in relation to resource utilization. By 1837, when Broulee and Ulladulla inaugurated South Coast urbanization, 67 years had elapsed since Cook noted the region's 'very agreeable and promising Aspect', and thirty years had passed since the first European pedestrians traversed its coastline. During this latter pre-urban interval, government surveyors and pioneers established not only the rudiments of a regional economy, but a logical vision of its future, including its probable urban structure. Not unexpectedly, some decisions taken at that time lacked the soundest judgment, particularly those anticipating a dense mesh of agricultural holdings; despite their remarkable, almost universal accuracy in land evaluation, South Coast pioneers were simply too few and scattered. By the census of 1841, the Counties of Camden and St Vincent (see Figure 5) together contained only 3,048 inhabitants, of whom a mere 1,762 occupied the Braidwood plateau and coastal lowlands between the Shoalhaven and Moruya Rivers. Beyond this southern boundary of the Nineteen Counties extended the Monaro Squatting District, legally accessible to pastoralists on payment of an annual licence fee but available neither for lease nor sale until 1840, when 152 stations had obtained licences from the Colonial Treasurer 'for depasturing stock

1 Col. Sec. to S.-G., 16 March 1836 (with an accompanying letter from John Hawdon, pioneer settler of Kiora (Moruya).  
2 Col. Sec. to S.-G., 5 April 1836 (36/305).  
3 New South Wales Census of 1841.  
4 Proclaimed in the Government Gazette, 21 May 1839, with this designation, although the Act of Council of 1 October 1836 had initially authorized pastoral occupation of this and other peripheral areas. Implemented in May 1840, regulations framed by the newly-appointed Colonial Land and Immigration Commissioners permitted 'special surveys' of 8 square mile sections located outside the Nineteen Counties, for sale at a uniform price. Accordingly, the Monaro Squatting District was officially withheld from sale for less than four years.
Figure 5: South Coast Land Appropriations, 1837-c.1855: The Urban Threshold

Figure 6 (inset, lower right): South Coast and Southern Tablelands - The Course of Pioneer Settlement
beyond the boundaries of location. Such was the infinitesimal pioneer population whose three experimental decades yielded the earliest permanent South Coast settlements, and whose piecemeal ambitions crystallised as the first blueprint for regional development. How this somewhat accidental design emerged is traced in the remainder of this chapter.

**Discovery, Exploration and Survey**

Barely nine years after Governor Phillip's first fleet had anchored in Sydney Cove, a trading vessel bearing the same name was beached — to avoid foundering — on Preservation Island, a western unit of the Furneaux Group in Bass Strait, off the northeastern corner of Tasmania. Sydney-bound from Calcutta with a cargo of 7,000 gallons of spirits and general merchandise, the Sydney Cove was commanded for its owners, Campbell, Clark and Co. of Calcutta by Guy Hamilton; having run aground on 9 February 1797, Hamilton despatched Hugh Thompson, the mate, on 28 February, with the ship's longboat and sixteen men 'to proceed to Fort Jackson with intelligence of the wreck'. Unfortunately, after a night-long gale, the longboat was wrecked in Gippsland on 12 March, some sixty miles west of Cape Everard (Cook's 'Point Hicks') having only succeeded in crossing Bass Strait to the mainland, still 400 miles from Sydney.

On 15 March, the party began a Herculean 61-day journey on foot along the coast to Wattamolla, an inlet 12 miles south of Botany Bay, where a fishing party saved the three survivors — W. Clarke, the supercargo, and two lascars. Fatigue, starvation and the attacks of hostile aborigines had accounted for fourteen deaths — including Thompson's own near Coalcliff, a solitary day before Clarke's rescue on 15 May — while survival had hinged on molluscs, fish, bush herbage, and estuarine crossings on log rafts or native canoes. Clarke's tragic, despairing report to Governor

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5 List compiled by J.F. Campbell in "Squatting" on Crown Lands in N.S.W., J. & Proc., R.A.H.S., 15, 2, 1929, 116-138. Not more than sixty of these stations were situated on the South Coast within what were to become the Counties of Dampier and Auckland, between the Moruya River and Cape Howe. See Figure 5.

6 Accounts of both the wreck and the ensuing overland journey were published in the Asiatic Mirror, Calcutta, 27 December 1797 and 10 January 1798 (reprinted in H.R.N.S.W., III, 757-768). See also Hunter to Portland, 6 July 1797, H.R.A., I, 2, pp. 28 and notes 35-37, pp. 709-710.
Hunter evoked no immediate thoughts of South Coast settlement, although his discovery on the day before Thompson died of a sea-level coal seam induced Hunter to substantiate this and other descriptions by sending Surgeon George Bass in a whaleboat on two voyages of exploration - the first to Coalcliff in August, and again in December, around 600 miles of coastline on an altogether more momentous venture.

Having already examined the Illawarra coast in 1796 with Matthew Flinders in the dinghy Tom Thumb, Bass set out on 3 December 1797 chiefly to ascertain the existence of a strait between the mainland and Van Diemen's Land, his voyage eventually reaching Phillip Island in Westernport (Victoria) on 5 January 1798, where the party remained twelve days before short rations launched them for Sydney, which they reached on 25 February. Bass undertook another two investigations of the South Coast and Illawarra - one, an overland expedition in September, 1797, from the Cowpasture Plains near Camden to the vicinity of Garie Beach, just south of Wattamolla; the other, accompanying Flinders in the 25-ton colonial sloop Norfolk on the circumnavigation of Van Diemen's Land, a feat which finally interred the myth of mainland attachment. Indeed, the eighteenth century official appraisal of South Coast potential may be identified almost in its entirety with that of George Bass. His second, coast-hugging, inlet-penetrating whaleboat voyage, for example, established indisputably that Jervis Bay and Twofold Bay afforded the only deep, protected anchorages within 600 miles south of Sydney, a finding full of significance for the task of creating a maritime empire, and not without its implications for administrative centralization. Of Twofold Bay, Bass wrote: 'the nautical advantages of this bay, notwithstanding the anchorage is but small, seem to be superior to any we have been in'.

On the whole, however, his verdict was unpropitious. The Shoalhaven delta (7 December 1797), despite its suitability as 'a nursery of cattle',

8 George Bass: 'Journal of a Whaleboat Voyage, 3/12/1797 to 25/2/1798', (H.E.W.S.W., III, 316-331). The whaleboat was 28 feet 7 inches long, and manned by six naval volunteers, whereas the Tom Thumb, aptly enough, had been eight feet in the keel and five in the beam.

suffered the impediment of a shallow, river-mouth bar - a handicap to shipping duplicated by almost every South Coast river outlet; again, further south, Bass wrote - 'were it not for the extreme shallowness of the bar this little inlet would be a complete harbour for small craft... At high water there is not more than 8 or 9 feet... I have named the place Barmouth Creek' (Bega River mouth, 18 December). Bass considered the environs of Jervis Bay 'in general barren' (10 December), Tuross Lake was 'intersected by extensive salt swamps', 'the qualities of the soil... but very indifferent' (17 December), and at 'Bateman's Bay' (Burras Water) 10, there was 'no shelter except from northerly winds' (15 December). With Flinders in the Norfolk, however, in order 'to make some profit of this foul wind' which was encountered on 9 October 1798, Bass reaffirmed that the safest anchorage in Twofold Bay was Snug Cove, on its northern rim, above which the town of Eden now stands. 11 Flinders undertook a survey of the harbour, and while crossing the Eden peninsula to reach Asling's Beach, where the party proposed to measure a base-line, encountered a middle-aged aborigine, with whom he exchanged a biscuit for 'a piece of gristly fat, probably of a whale'. Thirty years later, near that spot, the first shore-based whaling on the Australian mainland was started by John Raine, the precursor of Boyd and the Imlays.

Subsequent maritime experiences tended to verify the worst of Bass's opinions - that southeasterly weather would jeopardise any coastal shipping trade, that interior penetration by sailing up coastal streams was fanciful, that cliffed headlands and off-shore submarine platforms endangered navigation, and that the resources of the littoral were meagre.

10 R.H. Cambage first demonstrated that Bass mistook Burras Water for Bateman's Bay, six miles further south, and missed the Bay altogether, noting only 'two or three small islands lying close under the shore' (presumably Snapper Island and the Tollgates). His error, as Bass later realised, probably arose from using a faulty calculation by Lieut. Bowen of the latitude of Cape St George (on the southern headland of Jervis Bay), placing it 15 miles too far north. See R.H. Cambage: Captain Cook's Penguin House and Early South Coast Exploration, Sydney, Samuel E. Lees, 1938. Corrections were incorporated in 'Survey of Jervis Bay on the East Coast of the N.S. Wales by Robert Becraft, Master, of H.M. Ship Crocodile', copied by T.S. Townesend, 23 May 1832 (N.S.W. Archives Office: Lands Dept. Maps: V.736).

and scattered. Potentially useful pastoral areas, it must be remembered,
lay hidden behind the coastal range as granite intrusions, or as alluv-
ial flats spreading into estuarine bottlenecks, shielded from inquisi-
tive ships by outlet shoals. Interior penetration, in fact, awaited
overland exploration, but even this produced initially inauspicious re-
results. In crossing the Wororora sandstone plateau just south of Sydney
in 1797, from the Cow Pastures to Garie Beach, Bass intersected what he
knew must eventually form the most direct line of road from Sydney to
the Illawarra, but discovered only an alternation of steep, rocky ridges
and entrenched river-courses, increasing in amplitude and difficulty
towards the coast. Overland access to the South Coast appeared even less
feasible from further inland over the escarpments fringing the Nepean
Ramp, as Wilson (1798), Berallier (1802), Caley (1808), Hamilton Hume
(1814?) and others quickly discerned; indeed, the existence of much
gentler routes into the continental interior-towards the Murrumbidgee
especially—delayed pioneer occupancy along much of the coastal plain
until droughts and overstocking distracted and re-orientated inland
pastoralists during the 1830s. Actual South Coast exploration, however,
either branched in southeasterly loops from this more rapid inland ad-
ance, or left sheltered anchorages for short forays towards the plateau
escarpment.

The Shoalhaven, lying less than 100 sea miles from Sydney and ad-
joined by the safe harbour of Jervis Bay, was visited, mapped and investi-
gated repeatedly between 1805 and 1819 by government surveyors13, whose
object was to find trafficable overland routes between the Nepean Ramp
and Illawarra-Shoalhaven, but whose reports despairs of the insurmount-
able cliffed escarpments, the marshes and sterile sandstone lowlands, and
the treacherous river mouth. What settlement they envisaged contained
no definite urban nuclei14, as it did when Townsend comprehensively

12 Exploration of the Nepean Ramp, and contenders for the honours of
'original' explorers, are discussed in James Jervis: A History of
the Berrima District, 1798-1961, The Berrima County Council, 1961
1-13; and R.H. Cambage: Exploration between the Wingecarri
be, Shoalhaven, Macquarie and Murrumbidgee Rivers, Sydney, 1921.
13 T.M. Perry: 'The Lower Shoalhaven District: 1797-1822', Australian
Geographer, VI, 3, May 1954, 26-34.
14 What was originally an office copy of G.W. Evans's 1812 survey of Jervis
Bay-Shoalhaven shows a tentative superimposition marked 'Town' at
Hunkinson's present site. See Plan of Jervis Bay as Surveyed by G.
W. Evans, 1812, (B.H.W. Archives Office: Lands Dept. Mapa:
811.32/1612/1, NDB, N.L.Catalogue System).
surveyed the Monaro Squatting District in 1842-43, although ample, somewhat eccentically-located Government Reserves were designated. Moreover, whereas Charles Throsby's search for a more advantageous route to the Bathurst plains than that across the Blue Mountains had stimulated the development of coast-plateau connexions between the Nepean Ramp and the Shoalhaven, two contingencies - other than sheer, increasing isolation - hampered and postponed the exploration of areas further south. First, the main surge of settlement inland diverged westwards away from the coast, drawing with it intending pastoralists, and virtually leaving South Coast exploitation to the itinerant cedar-getters. Secondly, in the futile hope of restraining and administering this westward migration, Governor Darling's order of 5 September 1826 demarcated the 'Limits of Location', beyond which trespassing graziers


The evolving pattern of these Reserves may be traced by comparing the following survey maps -


(ii) 'Plan of the Lands Located in the District of Illawarra', n.d., (but before 1832) hand-drawn and hand-coloured original in the possession of Mr. F. H. Hewlett, solicitor, Novra;

(iii) 'Map of the Land at Shoal Haven', copied by Davidson, 1832, No.I. 2.746 (N.S.W. Archives Office : Lands Dept. Maps);


appreciated that neither civilized society nor the colonial law prevailed; since this limit followed the Moruya River to the sea, the need for official exploration further south was temporarily suspended. However, the officially-sanctioned occupation of areas north of the Moruya River provoked Alexander Berry to explore Bateman's Bay and the Clyde headwaters in his search for somewhere to graze the livestock received as payment for merchandise in the conduct of his Sydney business. In January 1822, after visiting the Shoalhaven, Berry sailed into Bateman's Bay in the Snapper, a small vessel commanded by Lieutenant Robert Johnston, whose discovery of the Clyde a month earlier had aroused Berry's interest. Navigable upstream considerably further than other South Coast rivers, the Clyde nevertheless revealed - like the Shoalhaven - a dead-end headwaters tract of formidable ruggedness, its 'sandstone' (Devonian quartzite), 'pudding stone' (conglomerate) and 'clay-slates' unsuited to agriculture, its 'steep ridges divided by narrow valleys, so narrow indeed that they frequently ought rather to be called ravines', and the insinuation of salt-water everywhere. Consequently, this second river basin to be penetrated - Berry, Hamilton Hume and Thomas Davison having journeyed 'four days into the interior' from the head of navigation - enticed settlement even more reluctantly than the first, although Berry considered its soils fit for viticulture. The continuing pioneer evasion of this southern coastal plain which, as Perry concludes, remained in 1829 the only sparsely-settled district at the Limits of Location, was thus not fortuitous.

Thereafter, exploration merged indistinguishably into official government 'feature surveys' and the establishment of pastoral outposts. Concurrent and largely co-extensive with settlement itself after about 1825, South Coast exploration no longer depended solely upon curious

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19 Ibid., p.245.
20 T.M. Perry: Australia's First Frontier - The Spread of Settlement in New South Wales, 1788-1829, N.U.P. & A.N.U., 1963, p.150. Perry properly notes that Moruya land grants were insufficiently numerous 'to suggest that settlement was about to pass outside the limits', although he omits any reference to the Cobargo-Bega pioneers from the Shoalhaven headwaters who extended occupation that very year.
navigators and wandering amateur adventurers, but either attended the Colony's survey-subdivision into counties, or advanced with the over-
landing stockmen into virgin pastures. In both cases, immediate
settlement was envisaged, and the region simultaneously acquired em-
pirical evidence of its pastoral value and the approved administrative
basis for land acquisition. North of the Moruya River, within the
Limits of Location, surveyors concentrated on dispatching three opera-
tions between 1836 and 1831 - subdividing in detail the Illawarra-
Shoalhaven settlements to their present effective limits; mapping the
coastline from Jervis Bay to the Moruya River; and tracing the inter-
meshing courses of the Shoalhaven, Clyde and Moruya (Dean) Rivers. The
last two involved the exploration of unknown territory and the attempted
trigonometrical co-ordination with the survey grid of over 2,000
square miles. Surveyor Thomas Florence, whose infelicities in spelling
and inventing toponyms are legendary, accomplished the coastal traverse
in 1827-28, collecting 'samples of earth' and assessing boat harbours
en route. At the Clyde (June 1828), he deviated westwards to the
Buckenbowra River to link his survey with that by Robert Hoddle down the
Moruya Valley from Armidale and the Braidwood plateau. Together with
Surveyors Ogilvie and Knapp, Hoddle accomplished this third operation

21
Bathurst to Brisbane, end, 18 May 1825, directing that the Colony
be divided into counties, hundreds and parishes. All nineteen
original counties were divided by 6 May 1830. 'Feature surveys',
as distinct from 'detail surveys', sought merely to locate and map
mountain ranges, major streams or equally conspicuous topographic
features which would serve as county boundaries: within this
county framework, 'detail surveys' subdivided rural areas into
portions and town reserves into sections and lots preparatory to
sale.

The formative effects of this 640 acre grid on the settlement
of New South Wales forms part of research being undertaken by
Dr D.N. Jeans of the University of Sydney, to whom I am grateful
for relevant information and discussion.

23
Thomas Florence: 'Field Book of the Traverse Survey of the Coast
from Jarvis Bay to Bermagui in 1827 & 1828', Field Book No.286,
Lands Department Records, N.S.W. Archives Office.

24
Knapp's surveys covered the Shoalhaven's upper reaches - (i) from
Bennelong to Balilla, 1827 (V.5,502), (ii) near Tallangatta, 1827
(V.8,502), and (iii) north of Kiawahraas, 1827 (V.7,502). Hoddle traversed
the river's Braidwood plateau section - (i) from near Tallong
towards Nerriga, August 1826 (V.28,502), (ii) between Braidwood and
the Mongarlowe River, 1826 (V.3,502), (iii) around its junction with
the Mongarlowe River, 1826 (V.4,502), and (iv) at the 'Church and
School Lands' (1,000 acres) adjoining Braidwood, 1826 (V.1,502).
All maps cited from N.S.W. Archives Office: Lands Dept. Map
Collection.
by tracing the Shoalhaven from the Tallong bend to its source near
Krowarree (1827-29), by continuing eastwards and following the Moruya
River from Araluen to its mouth, detouring to Buckenbowra (March 1828),
and finally, by following the Clyde northwards to beyond the Pigeon
House (October 1828). (See Plate 2 in Chapter 1). In turn, Hoddle
closed the traverse by intersecting Florence’s coastal survey at
Croobyar, near Ulladulla, and spent parts of the ensuing year (27
December 1828 – 3 December 1829) undertaking feature surveys between
Durras Water and St George’s Basin, and laying out that area’s first
land grants.

South of the Moruya River, however, the 100 miles of coastal plain
underwent another, less orderly form of exploration, experiencing for
a decade before the surveyors arrived something of the exuberant squating
occupation of peripheral New South Wales. Whereas surveys either pro-
ceeded or accompanied settlement and pin-pointed its inception north
of Moruya, to the south settlement was exploration; and whereas land
alienation continued unimpeded in the County of St Vincent after 1822,
legal title to land further south became available only in restricted
areas after 1843, and universally only in 1846, when the County of
Auckland was proclaimed. In some respects, the government decision to
confine ‘settlement’ north of the Moruya River thus entailed a 15-year
developmental lag for adjoining southern coastlands, a disability ignored
by its pioneer squatters and repaired very rapidly when land sales were
finally approved. Even so, as later paragraphs indicate, both

25 These Araluen, Moruya River, Buckenbowra, ‘Murrocumbene’ and
Clyde surveys were drafted as maps V. 6/502, V. 9/502 and V. 26/502;
N.S.W. Archives Office, Lands Dept. Maps.

26 The County of St Vincent, between the Shoalhaven and Moruya Rivers,
had been proclaimed on 17 October 1829 (Sydney Gazette), while the
County of Dampier was detached from the County of Auckland (see
Figure 5) and proclaimed independently on 30 December 1848 (New
South Wales Government Gazette, folio 1891). As early as 1843,
however, Surveyor T.S. Townsend had recommended adopting the Bega
River between its source and ‘Barbounth Harbour’ as a county bound-
dary; between the Moruya River and Cape Howe, he suggested, there
was ‘too much extent of Country to form the boundary of one County
only’ (Townsend to Mitchell, 21 February 1843, 4/3/9). Administrative
ambivalence also affected the southern boundary of the County of
St Vincent, which was declared ‘the latitude of Bateman Bay’ in the
Government Order of 7 September 1826, but the ‘River Burroo’
(Moruya) in the revised limits proclaimed in the Government Order
of 11 October 1829. Even in 1834, the Surveyor-General still
envisioned excising the southern area (see Mitchell to Col. Sec.,
4 April 1834, 34/166).
urbanization and agriculture followed disparate courses on either side of this perimeter for many years. Between February 1829, when W.D.
Tarlo
ington 27 discovered the Cobargo and Bega Valley batholiths, and 1835, when the occupation of Bodalla and Nungatta carried pastoral settlement into the last terminal pockets of the Far South Coast, the region's exploration was effectively concluded. Official feature surveys, however, began belatedly in 1841 with Bailey's 'Moniera and Gippsland', 28 apparently drawn from verbal descriptions, continued through the 1840s, with river and mountain range traverses by Townsend, McCabe and others, chiefly to establish county boundaries, and were completed by 1862, when Parkinson, Bransby and Gordon reached the Monaro escarpment while determining routes to the Kandra gold field from Merimbula-Eden, having already reached Moruya from Bega to connect with Hoddle's 1828 survey. Once again, surveyors and settlers permeated the area along different channels, pioneers converging upon Bega from the upper Shoalhaven, Moruya and Eden, surveyors reciprocally diverging inland and towards Moruya from an Eden-Bega axis, or approaching the region from existing Gippsland and Monaro surveys. Whether north or south of the Moruya River, surveyors attempting to synthesize thousands of square miles into feature surveys were simultaneously expected to recommend sites for Government Reserves which towns might subsequently occupy, and often to demarcate them: but whereas an experimental decade of pioneering guided their decisions south of Moruya, to the north only the almost untried South Coast environment shaped their advocacy of certain sites.

Pioneer Settlement

Threshold conditions for urban inception were attained in almost every South Coast river valley before 1860, but varied within the preceding 25 years mainly in response to the chronology of pioneer settlement, as a comparison on Figures 6 and 8 reveals. Unlike Sydney-based

27 W.A. Bayley: William Duggan Tarlo
ington, 1806-1893 (published pri
dately at the 'Argus Print', Parramatta, 75 copies, 56 pp., n.d.).

surveyors or peripatetic explorers, intending settlers could neither follow circuits returning them to their origin, nor commence their operations where or when they chose. Instead, pioneer settlement pursued orderly, systematic sequences - both chronologically and geographically - along increasingly well-worn routeways, which forked at definite nodes and halted at equally distinct frontiers. That is, certain common origins, destinations and lines of approach characterized pioneer migration into the region during the period 1822-1835, promoting town establishment at particular route junctions or river-crossings, and amidst certain more densely populated enclaves. Almost inevitably, Sydney served as the diffusion centre, whether settlers travelled overland or arrived by ship, although so isolated and peripheral was the region in relation to the capital that an unswerving, origin-to-ultimate destination journey was rare indeed.

The frequent alternative - a succession of temporary stops along an overland route - particularly typified the capital-deficient men-on-the-make, whose mobility, restlessness and search for solitude (sometimes even a flight from the law) drove them from one populating area after another. After disembarking at Sydney in 1828, for example, John Hawdon first rented a property at the Cowpastures, then shifted through Araluen to Kiora near Moruya in 1830, pressed five miles further south to Bergalia in 1834, and in 1835 introduced cattle on his 15,990-acre grant at Bodalla, a further 10 miles south. Similarly, before settling permanently at Cobargo in 1851, W.D. Tarlington left his father's Prospect farm in 1828 to establish a cattle station at Oronmeir near the source of the Shoalhaven, returned to Mittagong in 1834-7 while maintaining the Oronmeir run, and later resided in the Cobargo district at Murrebrine, Bredbatoura and Bermagui. Alexander Macleay acquired holdings at Buckenbowra near the Clyde, at Crookyar Estate near...


S.G. to Col. Sec., 3 January 1833 (33/10), concerning an application of John Hawdon for land beyond the southern limits of the Colony. As a marginal note on this letter states, a precedent already existed in Mrs. Johanna Keefe's grant at Michelago.

Bega Gazette, 14 June 1882.

Thomas Florence: Field Book No. 286, op. cit., entry for 8 June 1828.
PLATEAU AND COSTAL FARMLANDS

Plate 9: Tablelands Grazing: Intermontane Plateau near Braidwood

Level surfaces of Braidwood Granite (Silurian to Devonian) and Tertiary gravels, 2,100 feet in elevation, and utilized for sheep and cattle grazing. Rainfall - less than 30 inches per annum.

Plate 10: Coastal Farming: Thomas Sutcliffe Mort's Bodalla Estate, 1886

Acquired by Mort in 1861, the Home Farm had previously been Phillip Jeffery's 4,000 acre Comerang Farm. Comerang House became Mort's country home, its dairy milking 300 cows daily; the three-storey cheese factory was opened in 1874, and nearby marshy flats cleared of tussock.
Ulladulla, and at Jervis Bay: Sydney Stephen had 2,560 acres at
Murrumurang and the same area at Huskisson: while in the County
of Auckland, between 1832 and 1852, the Imlays and Walkers jostled
almost incessantly from one head station to the next.

During the critical, formative decades of land settlement, however,
another less common kind of pioneer attempted to implement a
compromise between capitalist initiative and certain features of
collective farming—a curious kind of enlightened despot, or country
gentleman, who invested part of his urban or industrial earnings in
land development, seldom merely in idle speculation though often in a
serious endeavour to reap a sustained profit. With this capitalist
initiative went centralized authoritarian control of the venture by a
resident manager or the city proprietor himself: the constituent farms
or properties would pool their produce for processing and marketing,
and share facilities for cultivation, fodder storage and sometimes
accommodation. On the South Coast, four such schemes were initiated
by men of wealth and imagination from Sydney—by Alexander Berry, 'the
laird of Shoalhaven', in 1822; by Benjamin Boyd at Twofold Bay during
the 1840s; by Thomas Sutcliffe Mort on the Tuross River at Bodalla,
supplanting John Hesdon in 1860; and by Robert Lucas Tooth at Kameruka
in 1864. Each siphoned Sydney capital into rural development accord-
ing to the only rules he understood, and miraculously, apart from Boyd,
engendered a viable enterprise.

Such 'equipped' empire-building, however, usually succeeded the
failure of first-generation pastoral pioneers, salvaging their losses
and land, heeding their lessons of experience, but injecting the stability
and financial resources of multi-faceted undertakings. If pioneer phases
must be denoted, then (i) men-on-the-make discovered both the grazing
grounds and their hazards of fire, flood, drought, and over-stocking,
(ii) the country gentlemen next co-ordinated a river valley's exploitation and secured a market, and (iii) John Robertson's Lands Acts of 1861 eventually unlocked these sheep and cattle runs to the free selectors, thereby adding an agricultural dimension to the region's economy, and generating sustained urban growth. The presence of these country estates certainly affected subsequent agricultural development, although their persistence or disposal varied greatly in time and place.

Both individual grazing runs and country estates, however, and all the gradations between them, stemmed from Sydney, pioneers and their livestock reaching South Coast locations either by ship to any of a dozen anchorages, in which case coastal access was direct, or deviously overland across the Nepean Ramp and down one of half-a-dozen plateau escarpments; a third, northern overland approach, through Illawarra, yielded few pioneer settlers, despite its significance after 1861 as a source of free selectors for the Bega Valley. Surprisingly, perhaps, since ports of entry suffered few of the handicaps which harassed overlanders, both plateau and oceanic migration routes disgorged the first regional colonies almost concurrently about 1828, notwithstanding the fact that north of Broulee all pioneer settlement originated from shipping, whereas south of it most settlers descended the Moruya, Tuross, Bega and Towamba Valleys from plateau outposts.

By 1822, when Alexander Berry inaugurated South Coast settlement on a spur of Mount Coolangatta overlooking the Shoalhaven only 100 miles from Sydney, pastoralists had already penetrated 160 miles inland, beyond Goulburn and Lake Bathurst, having mounted the Nepean Ramp out of the Cumberland plain seven years before.\textsuperscript{35} During these seven years, the Illawarra settlement had stagnated by comparison, virtually becoming an animal repository for absentee landowners\textsuperscript{36}, protected from intrusion or expansion by its steep, enclosing scarp, and by-passed by the nomadic inland migration. Two quite dissimilar avenues of settlement thus approached the South Coast - one affording direct oceanic contact with a handful of circumscribed, coast-flanking

\textsuperscript{36} Macquarie to Bathurst, 16 May 1818, H.R.A., IX, 795.
patches of alluvium and igneous rocks, but requiring continuous access to a boat and the willingness to restrict herds and ambitions accordingly; the other permitting overland access where escarpments and headwaters provinces could be traversed with livestock and possessions, but involving a somewhat involuntary deviation from the main inland expansion, into more isolated coastal valleys. Indeed, contemplation of the extremely tortuous mountain passes often delayed by five years or more the first descent from plateau squattages, as at Braidwood and the eastern Monaro, and permitted laggard coastal shipping to make amends.

The approach by sea, which precipitated the first town subdivisions, never sponsored settlement far inland, supplying only the immediate environs of 'boat harbours' — generally on the northern, leeward sides of headlands — at Kiama, Huskisson, Ulladulla ('Wasp Harbour')

Kicloa and Broulee, or the upstream banks of the Clyde, which was naturally navigable by small craft for 15 miles from Bateman's Bay to Shallow Crossing, and the Shoalhaven after 7 July 1822, when the completion of Berry's 200-yard canal from the Crookhaven circumvented the shoal-clogged outlet of the Shoalhaven. Until 1829, the extension of settlement south of the Shoalhaven awaited the proclamation of the County of St Vincent, inhibited possibly by the certain prospect of official detection. Cedar-cutters, apprised of Shoalhaven stands by James Meehan in 1805, admittedly anticipated settlement along much of

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37 Agnes Hogg: *Back to Braidwood*, Sid Madden, Sydney, 1925.

38 Florence noted it on 13 May 1828 (Field Book No.286, op. cit.) as 'Woollaharrrah or Wasp Harbour', giving both its aboriginal name and his own choice: a local myth (recited to the writer by Mr T. Kegg, District Surveyor, of Goulburn) attributes the name 'Ulladulla' to a corruption of 'Holey Dollar', the 'Holey Dollar Road' being said to have linked Ulladulla with the Wool Road.

39 Alexander Berry: *Diary* (N.L.)

40 Lined with Nowra sandstone, this very first Australian canal soon carried the main Shoalhaven outflow into the Crookhaven, generating new tidal eddies and shifting the alignment of silt. See the chronological inset maps on 'Plan showing Crookhaven and Shoalhaven Rivers at mouth and soundings by Shore', by Lovegrove, 1 May 1857 — S.1.1659.OR., (H.S.W. Archives Office: Lands Dept. maps).

the coast north of Kioloa, but only near Ulladulla did sawyers' camps blossom into agricultural holdings. Here, late in 1828, the Rev Thomas Kendall - grandfather of the poet and formerly a New Zealand missionary - occupied his 1,280-acre grant between Narrawallee and Crooby Creeks, having fruitlessly sought cedar around Jervis Bay. Five groups of sawyers' huts, stockyards, three homesteads, a log bridge spanning Narrawallee Creek, and tracks along which cedar was hauled to Ulladulla harbour comprised the landscape of that forest frontier and period.

At Narramunang, three holdings totalling 5,340 acres and preempting a solitary outcrop of Termeil Essexite attached a smaller core of settlement to Kioloa harbour, while a few scattered blocks around Jervis Bay alienated its alluviated tributaries and withheld consolidation of its hinterland. The Clyde also threaded a waterway among otherwise isolated land grants, but funnelled trade more exclusively through one outlet than the Jervis Bay environs; again, fertile crescents of alluvium around meanders and dispersed granite outcrops surrounded by intractable siltstone, mudstone, sandstone and schist were promptly appropriated in blocks of between one and two thousand acres by seven grantees.

Shipping encountered rival overlanding pioneers for the first time before 1830 at Moruya, where both Broulee's 'Ark Harbour' and a bridle track from Braidwood fed this compact, lithologically-diverse outpost of approved settlement. The encounter began casually enough and non-competitively, with Francis Planagan, a Galway tailor, inspecting his 2,560-acre grant at Mللlenderree (North Moruya) in 1827 after aborigines had guided him from Ulladulla, and John Hawdon reaching nearby Kiola in 1830 from the opposite direction after descending...
A'luen Mountain with pack-bullocks. When the government advocated creating Broulee village in 1836, however, and Governor Bourke was contemplating another town at Twofold Bay, the Moruya holdings rapidly multiplied coastwards towards the harbour site, and with seeming indifference, alienated acres of swamp, sand ridges 25 feet high, basalt, pebbly gravels and slates of only the slightest agricultural worth. The usual multiple purchases confined ownership of the 640-acre blocks to eight persons, while many much more inviting areas of granite and basalt lay just across the river out of bounds. Economic existence and social cohesion both turned by choice towards the roadstead, Hawdon's government contract for corned beef depending upon it, and other riverside settlers supporting Sam Barr's iron punt which plied the shallow-mouthed Moruya River. Only the influx of gold-miners to A'luen and the Braidwood plateau fringes after 1850 transfigured the Deua River route from the mere bridle track which had supplemented Broulee imports for the previous twenty years. Yet if the existence of alternative entries failed to markedly enhance Moruya rather than Murrumbarra or Ulladulla during the initial pioneering period - large holdings and absentee landowners providing a common counterweight to such differentiation - the regiments of free selectors and ex-miners certainly did so.

How rural settlement diverged from such primogenial cores as the Shoalhaven, Jervis Bay and Ulladulla is exemplified at Moruya, where the Limits of Location separated areas available for purchase from those available only under grazing licence, and where trespass southwards seemed but a venial offence. John Hawdon's first outstations at Bergalia and Bodalla, for example, unhesitatingly peacocked the outstandingly desirable farmlands immediately south of Moruya, his 860 acres on the Tomaga River nine miles northeast of Moruya ensured private access to Broulee, while another 2,560 acres of excellent grazing country ad-

47 Col. Sec. to S.-G., 16 March 1836.
48 Bourke to Glenelg, 10 October 1835, (H.R.A., 1, XVIII, p.155) and Note 43, H.R.A., 1, XVIII, p.612.
49 Alexander Weatherhead: Leaves from My Life, 1891, p.11.
joining the Ulladulla Reserve extended his enterprises over 55 miles of
the coastline: by 1848, the original 13,000 acres of Bodalla
('Boatalley') had acquired under licence a 17,000-acre appendage reaching
the Wagona River\(^\text{51}\), the fourth maritime outlet Hawdon used. Less
versatile Moruya settlers, reluctant or unable to venture 26 miles from
the nearest port, instead established upstream properties adjoining the
earliest settlements, claimed runs on the southern bank where Moruya
itself now stands, or drifted upstream beside the Tuross, purchasing an
isolated block here and there, but indelibly delineating a Moruya hinter-
land which contracted when economically marginal holdings were abandoned —
as at Nerrigundah by 1865.\(^\text{52}\) Their mutual isolation permitted these
runs to segregate sheep, beef cattle and dairy cattle without recourse
to fencing, yet preserved their alignment towards Broulee; along the
Tuross in 1843, for example, stations or stockyards were spaced at 2,
1, 2, 1, 3, 4 and 1 mile intervals upstream. Locationally, salt-water
lower reaches were shunned\(^\text{53}\), alluvial accumulations were sought, and
proximity to other settlers was preferred lest ferocious aborigines
attack. Synoptically, then, from a freehold, primogenial core, satellite
outpost runs were first established under the supervision of hired stock-
men, monopolizing the choicest pastoral areas within ten or fifteen
miles of the core, yet horizontally integrated with it; secondly,
pioneers arriving too late to share the core stocked inferior runs either
adjacent to it or between its outposts, in both circumstances not so
much extending the limits of existing settlement or discovering new
areas, as intensifying local land use. Like the Shoalhaven-Jervis Bay
hinterland, that of Broulee-Moruya thus developed a concentric tier of
upstream grazing runs and a branching system of feeder routes along
navigable rivers and bullock-team tracks. By contrast, Jervis Bay and

51 J.F. Campbell: "Squatting" on Crown Lands in New South Wales',

52 Legislative Assembly of New South Wales: A Return on the present
Pastoral Rental of the Colony in the First and Second Class Settled
and Unsettled Districts, 24 March 1865. The lapsed lease at
Nerrigundah contained 9,600 acres.

53 See M.4,1170 (2), 1842-43, by Townsend, op.cit. (p.43, footnote 4,
of this transcript). With great care and regularity appear the
words 'Beginning of Salt Water'.
the Clyde failed to achieve a comparable concentration of holdings, and the headland anchorages at Ulladulla and Kiola served even smaller immediately-adjacent areas. In all cases, however, comparatively un-complicated port-hinterland relationships obtained during this pre-urban period, although all six hinterlands were to fluctuate once towns began another phase of nucleation.

Apart from Twofold Bay, the remainder of the South Coast trod quite a different evolutionary path, one linked at four junctions with inland settlement and dependent for survival upon finding ports, not upon discovering farmland in the vicinity of known ports - the problem from the Shoalhaven to Moruya. South of the Tuross River, pioneer settlement terminated two branches which looped southwards divergently from the main inland migration and which, defined by volume and temporal precedence, passed successively through Bong Bong, Goulburn and the Yass Plains, towards the interior riverine plains of the Murrumbidgee and Murray. Along this dendritic course, centres of divergence occurred at Marulan, where the Shoalhaven enters its gorge and the Nepean Rump meets the Goulburn Plains, and at Goulburn, where the western Riverina limb splits from the southern Limestone Plains-Monaro limb. Figure 5 illustrates two stages in land appropriation along these branching routes, and reveals the primary cores of settlement around Bong Bong, Bungonia, Goulburn-Lake Bathurst, Lake George, the Limestone Plains and - pointing into the South Coast - Braidwood. Between them, scattered holdings clung to the roads, tracks and rivers, struggling southwards by 1843 along the upper Shoalhaven and Queanbeyan Rivers, and along Surveyor James Larmer's 1840 Wool Road through Narriga to Jervis Bay. The Marulan fork - intended as the critical junction in 1839 by Mitchell, the Surveyor-General - had already turned Surveyor William Harper into the Braidwood embayment in 1821, and quickly became the regular channel for settlers.

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54 "Survey of the Proposed Road from Narriga to Jervis Bay in the County of Saint Vincent", by James Larmer, 3 August 1840 ("Accompanying Report and Estimate of same date"), R.1112 (1), (2), (3) and (4): N.S.W. Archives Office: Lands Dept. Maps.

55 "Plan of the Great Road leading southward from Sydney, showing the present Lines beyond Lupton's Inn and that laid down after a Survey in December 1826", R.7796, N.S.W. Archives Office: Lands Dept. Maps. See also S.-G. to Col. Sec., 26 March 1830 (30/156), accompanying "No. 1. General Plan of Roads Southward from Sydney", R.729, ibid.
to the upper Shoalhaven and Monaro. Shortly afterwards, however, Marulan was displaced by Goulburn as the junction of main roads to the west and south, thus confirming the economic primacy of the Canberra-Cooma corridor first traversed in June 1823 by Captain John Mark Currie and Brigade Major Owens, and cancelling the brief, earlier ascendancy of the Marulan-Braidwood road which negotiated rather than by-passed the Big Bajja Headwaters Province. Inadvertently, of course, this shift of emphasis inland lessened the likelihood of plateau pioneers straying over the escarpment into the South Coast, but did hasten the settlement of Currie's 'Brisbane Downs' (the Monaro), the development of which engendered Eden.

About 1830, along these plateau corridors, one wing of the great squating occupation of areas beyond the Nineteen Counties penetrated the South Coast. Conditioned chiefly by the twin barriers of forested headwaters and coastal scarplands, pioneer entry south of the Clyde was restricted to five tortuous mountain passes which had previously preserved the region's almost pristine isolation - two from the Braidwood plateau embayment and three over the Monaro escarpment. These latter three, however, merely and belatedly connected stations already established on either side of the scarplands, actual coastal occupancy stemming predominantly southwards from one of the Braidwood routes and northwards from Twofold Bay. Around Braidwood, the combined effects of drought and over-stockking goaded William Duggan Tarlington to seek fresh pastures on the South Coast beyond the Shoalhaven headwaters in February, 1829. From his station at Crommeir, 15 miles upstream from Braidwood, Tarlington ventured still further upstream and crossed the watershed into the Tuross headwaters trench of Wella Creek, which he followed downstream as far as Belows. Here, however, the Tuross bends northwards, so Tarlington elected to follow one of its tributaries - probably

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57 From the reminiscences of Joshua Higgs, a former convict and assignee, at the time 'the oldest living pioneer white in the district' - Bega Gazette, 7 July 1883.
Wandellow Creek - upstream to the south, eventually reaching Cobargo and the coast at Bermagui. Later in 1829, he persuaded four other Braidwood squatters to accompany him further south into the Bega Valley, where runs were established throughout the lightly-timbered granitic basin. Accidentally-discovered stepping-stones of granite at Belowa and Cobargo, forming potential sustenance reservoirs along a pastoral migration route, thereby assisted a 70-mile advance into unknown territory - a momentous feat for South Coast settlement as the traverses of Florence and Hoddle.

Tarlington himself, having 'first beheld the very pretty scenery of the [Tuross] valley and creek from the tableland', preferred Cobargo to the Bega Valley, and shifted surplus cattle there from Cremorne in 1832. Before the 1861 free selectors destroyed it, he succeeded almost single-handed in evolving a 'Cobargo region' quite independent of the Bega Valley: in fact, some squatters north of Bega looked towards Cobargo's outlet port of Bermagui for their provisions, rather than towards Merimbula, which handled Bega's trade after 1855.

Whereas Tuross Valley outstations remained dependent upon Moruya and Broulee for 25 years after their inception, Cobargo attained independence at once, and slipped into subservience to Bega only in recent decades. In creating the lineaments of this 'region', Tarlington purchased five key blocks within the Cobargo batholith by 1843, and gradually acquired grazing licences for Murrabrine, Bredbatoura (10,200 acres, said to be carrying 300 head of cattle in 1861!), Narira (13,000 acres), Cadjagarry and Brogo (together totalling 20,000 acres), Cobargo (5,800 acres, supporting 200 cattle in 1866), Dry River (12,000 acres) and Windella (at Wandellow, 13,200 acres). The two cattle stations at Cobargo in 1863 had grown by 1873 to eight fenced station enclosures.

58 Personal communication from Mr Edward Welch, of Wandellow.
59 Bega Gazette, 14 June 1882.
60 M.4.1170(2) op. cit., footnote 9, p.57.
61 F.F. Reillière: New South Wales Gazetteer, 1866.
running sheep, beef cattle and dairy cattle, with another eight isolated but auxiliary huts for drovers and shepherds: in 1865 Tarlington paid an annual rental of £85 for seven runs amounting altogether 70,300 acres — small wonder that 'Tim Bobbin' reviled him in the Bega Gazette on behalf of free selectors as 'his majesty of Bredbatours, Wandella &c.,' accusing him of peacocking the area with 'consume cunning', and claiming the former aboriginal population of the Cobargo district had out-numbered Tarlington's present employees.

Cobargo's patronage, however, boosted the port of Bermagui before Merimbula monopolized the Bega Valley trade after 1855. In 1840, besides Tarlington's own run of 1,040 acres, Bermagui boasted Sergeant A. McCausland's 'store' and A. Drummond's 'station'. During the 1850's, when stock sales proved unprofitable, Tarlington constructed a boiling-down works at the port, having continuously used it for shipping produce to Sydney and importing up to a year's supplies. Another seven huts and a tent then formed the first urban nucleus at Bermagui South. From the port, McCausland conducted a travelling trade in 'drinks, spirits, slops and sundries', taking a balloon-drey to Bega, and back-loading with cheese, butter and other produce consigned for Sydney: his business was the district's first, most pastoralists previously obtaining Sydney supplies in their own cutters.

This influx of Braidwood squatters was occupying the Bega Valley in 1834 when it encountered the opposing thrust northwards from Twofold Bay, in an abrupt, intriguing confrontation just preceding the descent of other graziers from the Monaro, and forestalling extensive coastal settlement from that source. Unlike the headland anchorages north of Moruya, Twofold Bay formed a regular deep-water harbour of excellent dimensions, proportions and — so it seemed — location, for the sailing

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63 Legislative Assembly of New South Wales: A Return of the present Pastoral Rental of the Colony in the First and Second Class Settled and Unsettled Districts, 14 March 1865.
64 22 July 1865
66 W.H. Braine: Diary, c.1860-1880 (in the possession of Mrs R.V. Ritchie, of Peden Street, Bega).
Plate 11: Bemboka Farmlands

Near Yankey's Gap and the Indian Head (tree-plumed peak on skyline to left); part of the rugged Brogo headwaters of forested Ordovician metasediments in background. These marginal areas of outcropping granite near the Bega River headwaters, 35 miles from its mouth, are valued at about £4 per acre unimproved.

Plate 12: Mogilla Farmlands

Looking towards Bemboka Peak (3,140 feet); granitic paddocks shown typify the middle reaches of the Bega Valley and are valued at about £7 per acre unimproved.

Plate 13: Alluvial Flood-Plain at Jellat Jellat

Six miles from the Bega River's outlet, these completely cultivated flats are shared by six farms, and valued at up to £50 per unimproved acre. The background coastal range rises to 600 feet, and at its foot the Bega River's course is lined with willows and sheoaks. The Snowy Mountains Highway crosses the view, with J. S. D'Arcy's 'Wirrawang' on the foreground spur.
vessels of the period, as George Bass had first acknowledged in 1797. Until 1828, however, Twofold Bay had merely afforded security from turbulent seas for vessels engaged on the Sydney – Van Diemen's Land run. Although ships had been wrecked there occasionally in trying to escape the weather, and brushes with natives had occurred, deep-sea whalers used the bay as a depot for extracting whale bone and oil. In 1828, when pressure from Monaro pastoralists for easier access to markets scarcely existed, and overland movement into the South Coast had not properly begun, John Raine started the first shore-based whaling on the Australian mainland at Eden. Four years later, towards the end of 1832, when the Bega Valley runs were outgrowing their pioneering subsistence phase and were seeking a commercial outlet for their produce, Peter Imlay commenced whaling at Twofold Bay, erecting the first building within what are now the town boundaries of Eden.

Having reached Hobart Town on 15 February 1830, after a voyage in the Greenock from Leith, Imlay began a Launceston-based trade in wheat, hides and livestock, during the course of which he visited Twofold Bay en route for Sydney. Impressed by the opportunities there for cattle exports, he established grazing runs in the bay's immediate, empty hinterland – in the Towamba Valley and at Pambula. Expansion of what proved to be a flourishing venture, however, was impeded to the south by the most intimidating terrain, by a barricade of forest, and after 1834, by Benjamin Boyd's creation of an 'industrial estate' along the southern waterfront of Twofold Bay.

Turning north instead, in partnership with his brothers Alexander and George, Peter Imlay secured control either by purchase or pre-emption of another 72,500 acres in the Bega Valley and along the Murray River immediately north of it, displacing

68 Sydney Gazette, 2 October 1828.
70 Coloured contemporary accounts of Boyd's activities are found in William Henry Wells: A Geographical Dictionary or Gazetteer of the Australian Colonies, W. & F. Ford, Sydney, 1848; and Oswald Walter Brierly: Original Notes and Sketches, 1842-7, MSS, Mitchell Library Sydney. H.P. Walling: Benjamin Boyd in Australia, Sydney, n.d. offers a more balanced view of Boyd's rise and fall.
many of the original squatters and eventually confronting Tarlington's holdings. More precisely, the thrust of settlement from Braidwood in the north encountered the Imlay thrust from the south in 1834, when John Jauncey and G.C. Curlewis came across Imlay employees constructing a stockyard at Wolumla, almost midway between Bega and Eden.

The experience of the ensuing twenty years, however, taught squatters that cultivation, community and survival itself should focus upon the junction of the Bega and Brigo Rivers, where Bega stands today. Beyond this alluvial haven, a few outstations and stockyards were linked by tenuous bridle tracks, but these were mere outposts of the Bega settlement. Bega's undisputed dominance prevailed, therefore, even before the town itself materialized in the early 1850s, and even despite the emergence of Eden and Boydtown in the 1840s, by which latter date at least 24 squatters had obtained licences from the Colonial Treasurer for grazing stock in coastal valleys south of the Moruya River.71 For several years, the Imlays prospered, their enormous holdings and diversified enterprises mitigating the natural calamities which had crippled their poorer predecessors. Their own vulnerability, however, was savagely exposed by bush fires and drought during the summer of 1839-40; only financial support from two Sydney merchants, James and William Walker, saved them from ruin. When succeeding seasons failed to revive their former prosperity, the Imlays were obliged to accept foreclosure, surrendering all their southern runs to the Walker brothers in 1844, but retaining four runs of 37,400 acres in the vicinity of Bega and Cobargo.72 In times of trouble, even those who had come closest to creating a southern counterweight to Bega were prudent enough to recognize where pastoral security had its heart, and to sacrifice their holdings at Eden before those at Bega. Unlike the Imlays, whose operations had centred on Eden, the Walkers made Kamarka their head

71 'List of Individuals who have obtained licences from the Colonial Treasurer for depasturing stock beyond the boundaries of location...,' New South Wales Government Gazette, 1840, Folio 170.

72 Bega Gazette, 11 April 1883.
station despite the closer proximity of their Warragaburra\textsuperscript{73} outstation to Bega or of their Towamba run to Eden. Their own survival was imperilled first by a slump in meat prices, which they averted by the customary alternative of boiling down their animals for tallow, and secondly, by the universal scarcity of labour, which they alleviated by recruiting aborigines. In 1848, when the Imperial 'Waste Lands Occupation Act' of 1846 obliged squatters to seek fixity of tenure in the maintenance of their runs\textsuperscript{74}, the Walkers lodged applications for 'Kameruka' (192,640 acres), 'Candello' (12,200 acres), 'Yacklana' (5,760 acres) and 'Towamba' (33,200 acres), the last three containing virtually all the Towamba Valley.\textsuperscript{75} By 1850, then, the Bega Valley was split pastorally between 'established' Bega and 'embryo' Kameruka, the Towamba Valley was one vast sheep and cattle run, and the cultural landscape of the Far South Coast consisted of little more besides Eden then the ghost of Boydtown and the scattered beginnings of agriculture - ridge-top bridle tracks, clusters of shepherds' huts on a few hilltops, some wheatfields associated with the Bega homesteads, and the occasional isolated stock-yard and stone-walled sheep-fold. In the 1846 census, only 1,088 people were recorded in the County of Auckland.\textsuperscript{77}

In considering these vagaries of South Coast pre-urban development, it must be remembered that towns were established not simultaneously but

\textsuperscript{73} Situated on the southern bank of the Bega River three miles downstream from Bega.

\textsuperscript{74} See Stephen H. Roberts: History of Australian Land Settlement, 1788-1920, Melbourne, 1924, p.196.


\textsuperscript{76} Map showing Angledale to Brogo along Brogo River, Double Creek to Humbugga, and part of Dry River, n.d., (but c.1853), unsigned (but obviously Sam Parkinson), M.108.831, N.S.W. Archives Office: Lands Dept. Maps.

\textsuperscript{77} At the time, this County contained the subsequently detached County of Dampier, thereby embracing all coastal valleys south of the Moruya River. See footnote 26 above.
at irregular though comprehensible intervals after 1837, and that the period of pastoral pioneering discussed above necessarily merges, with many a loose end between 1837 and 1860, into the period of town establishment described below. Accordingly, since the multifarious activities of Alexander Berry, Benjamin Boyd, and the Twofold Bay Pastoral Association impinged more directly upon urban creation than did those of the pastoral pioneers already considered, their affairs are treated elsewhere. To complete this survey of initial South Coast settlement, however, the penetration of squatters from Monaro and south of the Towamba Valley requires brief mention.

After its discovery by Currie and Ovens in 1823, the Monaro became an overland passage to Gippsland rather than such a cul-de-sac of settlement as the South Coast, although one migration fork did veer east of Gippsland by following the basalt-stream eastern plateau rim from Cooma to Bombala before crossing the scarp and tracing the Genoa River to its mouth. Moreover, where plateau graziers drove animals into the coastal basins, near the present passes over Brown Mountain and Big Jack, (see Figure 6) their objective was the nearest shipping outlet, not the displacement of already numerous coastal flocks and herds. Indeed, before Thomas Underhill first reached the Bega and Towamba Rivers in 1833 and 1834 from their inland approaches, the treeless Monaro plains were thoroughly deluged with sheep. At Nungatta, below the escarpment brink, the route from eastern Monaro to Gippsland was joined by another subordinate route from Eden and the Towamba Valley—a route deviating around the rugged, alternatively water-deficient or flood-choked environs of Mount Inlay (2,303 feet), and extending the Twofold Bay hinterland. About 1835, having left John Hawdon's employment at Bodalla, Alexander Weatherhead found this track while overlanding the first Moruya cattle to Gippsland, and later established a

78 W. Coman is claimed to have taken the first South Coast cattle overland to Port Fairy (Victoria) before 1840: See Obituary of William Coman, Moruya Examiner, 8 March 1895.


80 The extent of 'open downs' is shown on 'Moniara and Gippsland', by John Belley, August 1843. M. 1. 1170, N.S.W. Archives Office: Lands Dept., Maps.

Plate 14: Former Homestead on the Southern Outskirts of Pambula

A farmhouse facing a peripheral town street, with its paddocks and yards entirely to the rear.

Plate 15: Derelict Barn and Yards of 'Orchard Solitude', Dr George Mountain.

Five miles from Bega, this forest clearing is now inhabited by 'weekend farmers' more eager for a peaceful retreat than agricultural income.

Plate 16: Sleeper-Cutters' Hut on the Merimbula-Jellat Jellat Road.

Accessible to research workers via the chimney-piece, this earth-floored slab structure is wall-papered internally with turf-guide newspapers dated 1907, and houses fern-clipers, axes and other implements used by casual sleeper-cutters who thin the surrounding forests.
homestead at Nungatta. Even more than the comparable piedmont clearings at Araluen and Buckenbowra, however, Nungatta lay ambiguously remote from either coastal or plateau towns, a solitary, secluded station at the very extremity of two states.

The Urban Threshold

Why towns materialised from such pioneer beginnings is inexplicable unless human motives are considered alongside the chronology and state of regional development just outlined. For example, while the official Ulladulla blueprint was drafted merely nine years after the Rev Thomas Kendall founded his cattle-and-cedar colony in that port's decidedly circumscribed hinterland of only relatively valuable monzonite, no town took root in the richer and far more extensive Shoalhaven soil until 30 years after Berry's arrival there. Between these extremes, urban inception succeeded initial pioneer penetration by intervals of 18 years at Huskisson, 13 years at Bateman's Bay, 24 at Moruya (but 10 at Broulee), 22 at Bega and 15 at both Eden and Bombala— an average of 17.3 years. However amorphous the concept of an urban threshold may thus appear, the earliest South Coast towns nonetheless shared essentially the same family cradle. Almost invariably, local landowners aroused Government intervention primarily by assiduous agitation for export facilities—a petulant howl which has issued from this transport-deprived region ever since. That is, between 1857 and 1860, a distinctive concoction of local initiative, adolescent agriculture and Government endorsement engendered those earliest South Coast towns from which regional growth was to emanate.

During this 23-year period of 'urban threshold', twenty towns were launched upon what proved to be a continuous history, while six others began short-lived, abortive, but often decisive existences, not always

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By 1865, Weatherhead was paying an annual rental of £40 for the 32,000 acres of the Nungatta ('Wangatta', sic.) lease. Reference cited in footnote 52 above.

See, for example—Ulrich Elly: Rediscovery of a Lost Province: A Plea for the Development of the South Coast East Corner of Australia, Bega, 1924. An earlier manifesto which proved just as idle is—The Two-fold Bay Development League: The Southeastern Gate—Two-fold Bay, Radcliffe Press, Sydney (for the League), 1926.
### TABLE 5: SUPPORTING POPULATIONS OF SOUTH COAST TOWNS, 1841-1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistical Area</th>
<th>1841</th>
<th>1846</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1856</th>
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<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County of St Vincent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>354.4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>420.4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broulee Police District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eden Police District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counties of Auckland &amp; Dampier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>272.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A = Number of Towns

B = Population of Statistical Area divided by Number of towns.

Source: Census data for the years shown.
### TABLE 6: SOUTH COAST LIVESTOCK NUMBERS, 1851-1860.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County or District</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Horned Cattle</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAMDEN</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>5,905</td>
<td>34,148</td>
<td>5,807</td>
<td>36,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>10,356</td>
<td>57,353</td>
<td>17,216</td>
<td>13,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>3,561</td>
<td>26,008</td>
<td>7,057</td>
<td>1,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST VINCENT</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>3,071</td>
<td>30,427</td>
<td>11,788</td>
<td>47,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>4,941</td>
<td>32,588</td>
<td>4,573</td>
<td>32,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>4,817</td>
<td>28,669</td>
<td>3,794</td>
<td>17,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANEROO</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>5,234</td>
<td>37,764</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>323,783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>6,359</td>
<td>86,723</td>
<td>2,269</td>
<td>445,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>6,329</td>
<td>79,275</td>
<td>6,268</td>
<td>405,554</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Part only - Shoalhaven floods of February and April, 1860 having produced an utter confusion of Live Stock, from the destruction of Fences* (Bench of Magistrates).

Source: Statistical Register of New South Wales.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties &amp; Police Districts</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co. Camden</td>
<td>1,980</td>
<td>253,932</td>
<td>230,700.5</td>
<td>23,231.5</td>
<td>9.15%</td>
<td>128.2 ac.</td>
<td>11.73 ac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Kiama</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>44,197</td>
<td>41,046.5</td>
<td>3,149.5</td>
<td>7.13%</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>5.23 ac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co. St Vincent</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Braidwood (S.E. portion)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>1,353.5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Broulee (S.E. portion)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>18,679</td>
<td>16,660</td>
<td>2,199</td>
<td>11.64%</td>
<td>245.2</td>
<td>28.56 ac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBERO Squatting District</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>4,566</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Broulee (part of)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60,931</td>
<td>59,764</td>
<td>1,167</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
<td>1,015 ac.</td>
<td>19.45 ac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Bombala</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Coola (part of)</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>3,840,000</td>
<td>3,039,501</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>.013%</td>
<td>22,460</td>
<td>2.92 ac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Eden (part of)</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>20,401</td>
<td>18,366</td>
<td>2,038</td>
<td>9.99%</td>
<td>143.6 ac.</td>
<td>14.35 ac.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Incomplete - P.D. Shoalhaven excluded: 'The Floods of February and April have left no crops to return' (Bench of Magistrates).

A = Number of 'Land Occupiers' (i.e., individual landowners or lessees, not including rural labourers).
B = Total Area of Holdings (acres).
C = Total Uncultivated Area (acres).
D = Total Cultivated Area (acres).
E = Percentage of total area of holdings under cultivation.
F = Area of holdings per 'Land Occupier' (average).
G = Average cultivated area per 'Land Occupier'.
### TABLE 8. SOUTH COAST AGRICULTURE, 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties &amp; Police Districts</th>
<th>Acreages</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WHEAT</td>
<td>MAIZE</td>
<td>BARLEY</td>
<td>OATS</td>
<td>POTATOES</td>
<td>OTHER CROPS</td>
<td>TOTAL CULTIVATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co. CAMDEN</td>
<td>14,234</td>
<td>3,808</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>3,068.25</td>
<td>636.75</td>
<td>926.25</td>
<td>23,231.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Kiama</td>
<td>1,896</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>127.5</td>
<td>100.75</td>
<td>63.25</td>
<td>3,149.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co. ST VINCENT</td>
<td>1,122.5</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>601.5</td>
<td>649.5</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>3,552.5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Bridwood (S.W. portion)</td>
<td>686.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>410.5</td>
<td>183.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,353.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Broulee (S.E. portion)</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>191.0</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>2,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANTEROO Squatting District</td>
<td>2,205</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>4,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Broulee (part of)</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Bombala</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Cooma (part of)</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.D. Eden (part of)</td>
<td>1,099</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2,038</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Incomplete - excludes the Police District of Shoalhaven where "The Floods of February and April have left no crops to return".

Source: compiled from *The Statistical Register of New South Wales*. 
PERCENTAGES (Table 8, Continued)

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camden</td>
<td>61.25</td>
<td>16.39</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>13.20</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiama</td>
<td>60.21</td>
<td>26.70</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>31.60</td>
<td>7.68</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>16.93</td>
<td>12.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braidwood</td>
<td>50.72</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>30.33</td>
<td>13.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broulee</td>
<td>19.83</td>
<td>11.67</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>6.68</td>
<td>21.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Moneroo | 48.29   | 13.89   | 1.66    | 11.81   | 18.65   | 3.70    | 100.00  |
| Broulee | 30.68   | 18.25   | 2.83    | 7.02    | 35.04   | 6.16    | 100.00  |
| Bombala | 67.28   | -       | 1.28    | 21.00   | 10.44   | -       | 100.00  |
| Cooma   | 33.67   | 2.00    | 9.62    | 38.48   | 10.62   | 5.61    | 100.00  |
| Eden    | 53.94   | 20.16   | 3.68    | 4.12    | 14.72   | 3.38    | 100.00  |

** Chiefly 'sown grasses'.

Source: compiled from The Statistical Register of New South Wales.
in accordance with their true environmental propensity.\textsuperscript{64} Contemporary
insight into the region's intrinsic capacity, however, suffered occasionally from flights of Utopian rhapsody, alike in Government offices
and private, speculative dreams. Exploration and survey, however,
bequeathed a meticulous knowledge of river courses and their choice
alluvial flanks, of perilous, shallow estuarine outlets and secure,
sheltered anchorages, of aboriginal encampments, clipped escarpments
and, less precisely, the whereabouts of precipitous barrier ranges.
Although cedar-getters had honeycombed the forests and Berry had ponti-
fied deliriously about Clyde-bank vineyards, and despite also the
perpetual tasting of water for salinity, three deficiencies in this
legacy bedevilled town foundation — ignorance of flood frequencies and
severity\textsuperscript{65}, ignorance of granite's variable fertility, and ignorance
of the most direct routes between plateau and ports. While these
deficiencies were being repaired, urban fortunes surged and shrank,
but by 1860 the first, almost purely locational inter-urban battles had
been lost and won.

By somewhat heretical cartography, Figure 5 attempts to portray the
South Coast urban threshold, not in any single year — since the thresh-
hold was continuous — but between 1837 and about 1855, according to sub-
regional dates of town foundation. A comparison of the currently
cleared areas depicted in Figure 7 (Chapter 3) with the extent of land
alienation by c.1850 shown on Figure 5, reveals an indisputably close
coincidence north of the Moruya River — where 20 years of land appro-
priation had passed — and equally shrewd beginnings beyond it, where

\textsuperscript{64} Occasionally, the establishment of another town near an ordained
Town Reserve resulted in the abandonment of plans for the latter
altogether, as at 'Farnham' ("Plan of the Village of Farnham at
Jerriwongola County of St Vincent", by A.G. Maclean, 1842 : NLD
811.329), Narriga ("Plan of the Village of Narriga at the Beaulee
Crossing Place", by J. Bailey, 1841 : NLD 811.329) and New Bristol
("Township of New Bristol subdivided into allotments ... to be
sold by auction 22.10.1841 by Fuss & Lloyd, Sydney"; litho-

\textsuperscript{65} By rare good fortune, however, the Bega Valley experienced the
most disastrous flood in its recorded history (mis-named the
'Two-fold Bay Flood') in 1851, four years before the flood-plain
was offered for sale. Sydney Morning Herald, 29 May 1851.
land sales had tentatively invaded the squatting domain less than a
decade before; if penumbral grazing runs are also incorporated in this
southern delineation, the coincidence becomes even closer. In other
words, the region's effective agricultural surface was virtually occu-
pled when towns were instituted, although some contemporary observers
thought the South Coast would imitate the uninterrupted and continuing
occupation of the neighbouring plateau. What discrepancies there
are between the two patterns, however, hardly affected the emerging
conception of appropriate town situations. At Ulladulla, St George's
Basin and Kangaroo Valley, for example, only slight inland extensions
to established cores were imminent; Belowra, though unofficially
used as a Travelling Stock Reserve along the Braidwood-Cobargo track,
awaited alienation; and near Nowra, Huskisson, Broulee, Murramarang
and the lower Clyde - all zones of preposterously large 640-acre
grants - alienation already exceeded the limits of agricultural utility,
and in the lower Clyde had hatched an absurd brood of Village Reserves
actually outnumbering the rural landholders. But in their overall
configuration, farmlands had attained a stability sufficiently firm
to underpin the task of town establishment.

The region's inland supply lines and the produce-disposal hinter-
lands of its ports, however, temporarily aligned the orientation of
settlers towards ephemeral seaside nodes and postponed the emergence of
inland, multifunctional service centres. Undoubtedly the single most
significant difference between Figures 7 and 5 is the absence from the
latter of the unbroken north-to-south Prince's Highway artery, and the
existence instead of a series of discrete transverse tap-roots threading
inland from each anchorage. Accordingly, the shipping terminals of
Huskisson, Kioloa (fed for a few years from the upper Clyde), Nelligen,
Broulee, Bermagui, Merimbula and Eden emerged as incipient towns during
the urban threshold, enjoying an independent existence sometimes ahead
of official 'foundation'. Inland nodes also materialised briefly at
such junctions of routes from the plateau as Buckenbowr, Kameruka and
Towamba, or where a single plateau route forked towards two anchorages
from such piedmont halting-places as Belowra, Wandellow and Rocky Hall.

66 Cf. the review of the 1853 petition to the Duke of Newcastle, in
Bega Standard, 13 November 1876.
67 Reserve No.31 on the Towamba River: see Figure 5.
but lacking the necessary convergence of downstream tributaries and local roads, neither situation ultimately sponsored a major town. Nonetheless, when the Surveyor-General's Office was fervently contemplating and accomplishing town foundation in this region, these nodes did enjoy an actual functional existence, and might well have found more official favour than they did.

Around this provisional transport network of junctions and terminals, pastoralism assumed a seemingly inflexible hostility towards agriculture and its attendant closer settlement, a universal rural antagonism here resembling its manifestation in the Riverina, where 'pastoral pioneers dominated local development to such an extent that only the creation of a town - as the graziers themselves admitted - could sustain "an agricultural oasis . . . in this pastoral waste". The condition of South Coast land utilization towards the conclusion of the urban threshold is summarized in Tables 6, 7 and 8, while Table 5 reveals the concurrent urban supporting populations. Jointly, these statistical tables dispel certain common but hypothetical assumptions about 'urban frontiers' - for example, that they religiously succeed the frontiers of trade, pastoralism, mining and farming, along some linear axis pursuing the track of rural settlement. Livestock numbers and cultivated acreages displayed both an obvious, predictable adjustment to local variations in climate and soil, and a dawning appreciation of market proximity and the prerequisites of local subsistence: in neither episode was town formation a necessary sub-plot. Wetter coastal valleys, particularly between Kiama and the Shoalhaven, were emptied of sheep as foot-rot, contagious pleuro-pneumonia, and liver-fluke took their toll, whereas the drier Monaro maintained its flocks, resorting for security from drought to enormous holdings averaging 22,460 acres for each 'land occupier' in 1860, on each of

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90 The 'geographical' Monaro around Cooma is meant here, not the Monaro Squatting District, which included the subsequently-created counties of Auckland and Dampier.

91 That is, original landowners or lessees, not including rural labourers or tenant-farmers: so defined in the Statistical Register of New South Wales.
which only an average of 2.92 acres was cultivated. Cattle numbers, contrary to the expected effect of urbanization, declined throughout the entire Southern Tablelands and South Coast - partly as a back-lash from overstocking by pioneers, decaying markets in Tasmania and South Australia, and indifferent seasons.\textsuperscript{92} Agricultural concentration, on the other hand, did reflect the concentration of towns, particularly on the Nepean Ramp and the Illawarra- Shoalhaven, but confirmed even more markedly to coastal shipping outlets: despite obviously retrenched wheat acreages in the Broulee and Eden Police Districts, potato consignments by ship to Sydney and the currently dynamic maize-pigs-cattle- horses combination of land use notably inflated coastal agriculture by contrast with its plateau counterpart. By 1860, however, wheat and oats were drifting inland, and cotton grasses and other crops coastwards, in manifest regionalization.

However unexceptional such agro-pastoral trends may seem, their spatial variability firmly underlines a more general geographic variability of South Coast conditions during the period of its urban threshold. In repeated, anomalous juxtapositions, indigent men-on-the-make and wealthy country gentlemen promoted and presided over town development, in some areas where cropping produced barely a subsistence quota of wheat and potatoes (for example, in the Cooma Police District), and in others where 140 landholders could harvest an average of 25 acres each (Broulee Police District). Only around Klama were holdings sufficiently small to surround a town with an intricate mesh, although 'cultivation lands' subdivided near Pambula\textsuperscript{93} and Bega\textsuperscript{94} administratively ensured densely-settled environs for those towns before they were properly established. Almost inevitably, however, towns materialized in the midst of expansive pastoral kingdoms, which were often equipped

\textsuperscript{92} The Empire, 20 February 1860 - a discussion related to the widespread, contemporary flooding.

\textsuperscript{93} Tracing showing the position of Cultivation Lands proposed to be marked near Pambula, County of Auckland', by Thos. S. Townsend, with an accompanying letter dated 11 May 1850: Surveyor-General’s Dept., Sketch Bookes, Vol. 5, f.78; N.S.W. Archives Office; Lands Dept. Records.

\textsuperscript{94} Plan showing the available (sic) land for Cultivation in the Township of Bega, County of Auckland', by Saml. Parkinson, transmitted to the Surveyor-General with a letter dated 20 February 1851: B.1436, N.S.W. Archives Office; Lands Dept. Maps.
already in an urban fashion with their own blacksmith's forge, slaughterhouse, curing room, farmery and stables, grog-cellar, chapel and cemetery - as, for example, at Bodalla, Kiama, Coolangatta and Kameruka.

As Figure 5 discloses, the Moruya River segregated earlier, intrinsically larger appropriations to the north from more recent, essentially smaller blocks to the south, the upshot of amended land regulations. Within the Nineteen Counties, the superimposition of a 640-acre square grid had defined in advance the boundaries and proportions of land grants, 36 of these 640-acre sections constituting a 'township' (= parish), following decisions taken by Governor Brisbane during the early 1820s. In practice, however, a policy conflict arose over severed sections, since any land grantee was forbidden to occupy opposing river banks; the eventual resolution obliged grantees occupying a river frontage to alienate also the adjoining whole section to the rear, thereby eliminating interfluvial waste, but also unfortunately delineating such cumbersome holdings as those at Murrarang, Currarong and Broulee.

Finally, Table 5 suggests that South Coast urban incubation was hastened more strictly by total population growth than by continuing subdivision and the resulting increase in landowners. Between 1861 and 1861, the region's towns were supported by local communities ranging in average size from 207 to 780, whereas in 1860, each town in the Broulee Police District enjoyed an average of only 12.5 neighbouring landholders, and each town in the Eden Police District, 23.7 - that is, numbers of landholdings as such disclose nothing of a region's auxiliary work force or even its agricultural employment. Quite clearly, as the County of St Vincent exemplifies (Table 5), urban supporting populations increased relatively more rapidly than the numbers of towns during these

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96 Personal communication from Dr D.N. Jeans of the University of Sydney.

97 See C.S.R.C.L., 23 February 1847 and 17 June 1847, and S.C.R.C.L., 10 May 1847, for one account of such a tiered alienation at Murrarang.
twenty years; by the most recent census of 1961, in fact, despite rural
depopulation, the average community sustaining each of the region's 64
towns numbered 702 persons, of whom 442 were actual town-dwellers. Not-
withstanding the subsequent Australian experience of rampant State
centralization, no South Coast town abruptly monopolized urban growth
between 1841 and 1861; instead, as sub-regional populations increased
by every 100 or so inhabitants, another town would materialize, and
this process - no less than the legacy of pioneering - distinguishes the
urban threshold from the competitive period of urban growth which
followed.
Chapter Three

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TOWNS

The agencies, procedures, periods and forms of South Coast town establishment were paralleled almost identically in other parts of New South Wales, but gave rise to very different rates of urban progress. Initially, for example, older towns of the Southern Tablelands outgrew those of the South Coast, and by the 1866 census - when Eden with 63 inhabitants, Boydtown with 125 and Broulee with 22 were the only recorded South Coast centres - Queanbeyan already contained 208 residents, Braidwood 205, Goulburn 1,171 and Wollongong 315. Essentially, town foundation sprang from local need, local agitation (the two being seldom synonymous) and Government policy. For pioneer settlers deprived of the 'various Institutions of Society', and more annoyingly, of cutlets to profitable markets, three avenues led to town foundation: first, a gradual, almost casual, but hardly accidental agglomeration of urban functional units - a slab-and-shingle 'store', a wayside inn, a polling-day establishment, even a jetty - might ensue in some site well before official certification arrived, as at Eden, Bermagui, Merimbula, and the southern Shoalhaven; secondly, and less commonly, landowners could subdivide part of their property into allotments forming a Private Town, but such initiative - at least on the South Coast - lay dormant until incited by official bungling during site selection, by an insufficiency of Government Town allotments, or by administrative torpor; thirdly, and most commonly, vigorous, well-founded agitation.

1 Bourke to Glenelg, 10 October 1835 (H.R.A., 1, XVIII, p.157).
2 The essential distinctions between Private Towns and Government Towns are outlined in H. W. King: 'County, Town and Shire in New South Wales', Australian Geographer, VI, 3, May 1934.
3 In 1853, for example, 43 Bega settlers petitioned the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary for War and Colonies in the Home Government, entreating the Government to throw open for sale at an upset price of £1 per acre blocks near Bega not exceeding 100 acres. This petition was later published in the Bega Standard, 13 November, 1876.
or some country gentleman's letter to the Colonial Secretary would precipitate a Government Town, its survey-subdivision undertaken within a previously designated Town or Village Reserve by one of the Surveyor-General's surveyors. All three courses were explored by South Coast settlers.

Reciprocally, however, Government policy actively sponsored town establishment, not with bureaucratic indulgence about Bourke's 'Institutions of Society', but as an integral catalyst in rural development. What settlement planning there was, moreover, tried to incorporate the 640-acre square grid already mentioned, often took its alignment from the emerging pattern of routeways, heeded existing population distribution, recognized and usually fostered incipient urbanization and, almost without exception, implicitly trusted the judgments of surveyors - in short, quite painstakingly but imperfectly assessed the local situation. Nevertheless, such variables were straightjacketed into partial conformity with pre-ordained tenets of official planning policy - particularly those stipulating kinds of town sites, the dimensions of streets and allotments, the regulation of building, the paradigmatic disposition of town sections, public institutions and reserves, the procedures adopted for land sales, and the latitude permitted private subdividers. Colonial town designs, too, when submitted for approval by the Surveyor-General, were subject to alteration or outright rejection by the Governor or the Executive Council; indeed, revisions of all kinds and degrees attended the progress of South Coast town foundation, although designs actually inaugurated before 1860 were seldom radically changed before the passage of the 'Streets and Lanes Act' of 1881.

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4 Surveyor John F. Mann to Surveyor-General, 1 December 1851 (51/180): marginal comments inscribed by Mitchell, the Surveyor-General, and intended for the Colonial Secretary's information, refer to '... the place which Dr Alick Osborne in a personal interview with you pointed out as eligible for a desired by the inhabitants to be laid out as a Village'. According to one anonymous local source, a Land League formed in 1851 also urged the Government to throw open Crown Lands 'to place the people in the way of making homes for themselves' (The Book of Shoalhaven - As It Was and As It Is, published in conjunction with 'Back to Shoalhaven Week', 17 to 23 October 1926, Sydney, Mortons Ltd., 1926, p.22).

5 Victoria, No.28, 'An Act to regulate the width of Streets and Lanes, and for certain other purposes', 20 December 1881.
which by and large adapted the original postulated street plan to what had actually emerged. However, no history of Government town planning policy and procedures exists, and only their operation within the South Coast context - not their ancestry - concerns us here.

The selection of town sites, like so much else in early South Coast development, took different forms on either side of the Moruya River, that is, before and after c.1843, when Eden's inception eventually carried urbanization beyond the Nineteen Counties and instigated the County of Auckland. To the north, within the Counties of Camden and St Vincent, reserves were delimited and re-defined continuously before 1843, almost every surveyor recommending the provision of new reserves, the cession of previous, unwanted ones, or the sale of portions of existing Government Reserves. This field demarcation of reserves usually accompanied surveys of other features - individual land grants such as those of the Illawarra-Shoalhaven and Twofold Bay, new lines of road, the watershed or riparian boundaries of counties, or the coastline itself - all of which certainly provided a tentative trigonometrical framework for planning, but only the slightest conception of likely agricultural development. Most numerous were the specific Village Reserves, 5 to 10 miles apart near Goulburn, the Limestone Plains, Jervis Bay and the lower Clyde, and the comprehensive Government Reserves, intended variously for Church and School Estates (for example, adjoining Braidwood), for Small Settlers (Jervis Bay headlands), and the preservation for the use of the Crown exclusively of all Lands situated at or near the entrance of all Harbours, Creeks, Bays or Rivers, and also all Lands which may appear well situated for Townships or Fortification - in short, for contingencies. Neither Hoddle, Florance, nor the

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6 Such a guide for research workers is being prepared (June, 1964) by Mr Brian Stuckey, Assistant Archivist, Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney.

7 T.M. Perry : Australia's First Frontier, op. cit., p. 50 : . . . .

Bathurst ordered that one-seventh of the area of each county was to become a Clergy and School Estate, vested in the Church and School Corporation for the support of the Church of England and the provision of schools throughout the colony'.

Shoalhaven surveyors selected these Reserves during survey tranverses, but relegated this responsibility to their Sydney office superiors.

Gradually, as agricultural land appropriation gained momentum, certain Village Reserves were designed and subdivided as towns, others became all too clearly redundant, previously neglected areas lacking reserves demanded them, and some Government Reserves were alienated. Between Kiama and Moruya, six of the ten coast-abutting Village Reserves were veneered with standard, grid-patterned town designs by 1854, although not one of them had appeared on Robert Dixon’s map of 1837.9

Piecemeal auctions disposed of the excessively large Government Reserves in close proximity between Kiama and the Shoalhaven, occasionally with awkward consequences for later town establishment. For example, two Government Reserves embracing keenly-sought farmland and flanking the eastern and western edges of Berry and Wollstonecraft’s 18,000 acres on the northern Shoalhaven delta, were subdivided for sale in 1832 at an upset price of 5/- per acre, each block containing 640 acres or more. Although one eccentrically-located Town Reserve of some 1,000 acres at the very mouth of the Shoalhaven was excluded from these sales,11 alienation of Bomaderry’s present site was sanctioned in 1839, when John Berry purchased 1,352 acres in two river-bank blocks adjoining Wollstonecraft’s 4,000 acres.12 Within a decade, the Surveyor-General had realised that such wanton disposals had left only

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10 'Map of the Land at Shoalhaven', copied by Davidson, 1832, I.2.746, N.S.W. Archives Office, Lands Dept. Maps: the subdivision itself was approved by the Executive Council in 1832 – see Colonial Secretary to Surveyor-General, 32/828, n.d.

11 See Figure 5.

12 'Survey of Two Portions of Land in the County of Camden Parish of Bunberra & Parish unnamed applied for as purchases by C.C.E. (J. Jytton)', by J.C.Burnett, Assistant Surveyor, accompanying letter and description dated 8 May 1839 – I.59.672, N.S.W. Archives Office, Lands Dept. Maps. Lots 12 and 13 (adopted in 1895 as Portion 16 and 17, Parish of Bunberra, Co. Camden – see Misc. 95/2312, Lands Dept. Map Room) were purchased by John Berry on 14 August 1839, extending his 'Purchase Regulations' of 1831.
### Key to Map Reference Numbers

#### Towns outside the defined 'South Coast Region'

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#### Towns within the defined 'South Coast Region'

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**Figure 7 (left):** South Coast Urban Population, 1961

**Figure 8 (right):** South Coast Towns - Dates and Forms of Establishment
one inferior site, crumpt between sandstone cliffs, for any Government Town in the Shoalhaven district\textsuperscript{13}, although when floods destroyed privately-established downstream villages a decade later, this 'inferior' site was deprived of every rival. At Ulladulla and the southern headland of Jervis Bay, Government Reserves actually enclosed Village Reserves, anticipating and testing the procedure followed in subsequent town establishment south of the Moruya River; but whereas both core and rim evolved harmoniously at Ulladulla, neither so much as materialized at Jervis Bay\textsuperscript{14}, where both headlands remained virtually useless, unoccupied moorland, until their acquisition in 1909 by the infant Federal Government confirmed their barrenness apparently for all time.

Of South Coast Government Reserves north of Moruya, those at Gerringong, Kiama and Ulladulla successfully and immediately nurtured Government Towns; two at Jervis Bay rejected urbanization altogether; that adjoining Seven Mile Beach just south of Gerringong lay dormant until a vacation village emerged belatedly this century; and two extending inland from Bomaderry and Gerringong were sold summarily as farmland, although as early as 1860 the Private Town of Bomaderry was sprouting through the very soil where a less hasty disposal of the Government Reserve might have retained the site for a Government Town.

Additionally, of 24 Village Reserves dedicated by 1843 within the same South Coast fragment of the Nineteen Counties, no fewer than 15 failed to germinate, five or six\textsuperscript{15} of these advancing as far as the blueprint stage, and five of the remaining nine forming a mere paper paradise along the Clyde. Indeed, whereas the paucity of Shoalhaven reserves highlights a serious official underestimate of potential urban need, two equally fanciful but less obstructive overestimates

\textsuperscript{13} Surveyor John F. Mann to Surveyor-General, 17 February 1852, 52/26. The site was Nowra's.

\textsuperscript{14} 'Plan shewing position of Christopher Murray's CPs [Conditional Purchase] and W. Morgan's 100 ac. within the V.R. [Village Reserve] at the South Head of Jervis Bay in the Parish of Bhewerre, county of St Vincent', by E.H. Arnheim, with letter 77/47, 9 October 1877: Surveyor-General's Dept, Sketch Books, Vol.10, folio 71; N.S.W., Archives Office, Lands Dept, Records.

\textsuperscript{15} Depending on whether or not Broulee is considered to have been launched successfully into urban existence; nine years after its foundation, the town's population had grown to 22 - a small block of flats, perhaps, but hardly a hamlet.
afflicted (i) the Wool Road from Braidwood to Jervis Bay, along which only one of the eight Village Reserves was ever used, and (ii) the Clyde estuary, into which drained an economic catchment from the upper Clyde River and from the plateau embayment tapped by the Clyde Mountain pass, but which vitalized only three of the designated Village Reserves. In both cases, plateau hinterlands of coastal ports deflected to the Great Southern Railway before animating towns around their coastal outlets, while in the latter case, unmitigated ignorance of local soil deficiencies deluded the planners.

South of the Moruya River, quite another sequence of town establishment was followed, yet with ultimately almost identical consequences. In similar fashion, however, Crown Land was reserved for eventual urbanization either before or concurrently with pastoral land settlement, Water Reserves were located to supply the intended towns, holding paddocks for livestock awaiting shipment to market were defined, and the Sydney office of the Surveyor-General displayed comparable or even greater circumspection in appraising local conditions. Of the unprecedented procedures followed in this southern sub-region, six are especially salient. First, the selection of all town sites apart from Eden was accomplished with remarkable despatch between December 1850 and March 1851, when Surveyor T.S. Townsend specifically surveyed the Monaro Squatting District with this object. Immediately after presenting one plan 'shewing the Reserves in the Squatting Districts of the Murrumbidgee' on 1st December 1850, Townsend was instructed to prepare a similar plan with accompanying descriptions for the Monaro

Unfortunately, in their surveys and assessments of this route, neither Roddle nor Larmer was assisted appreciably by prior experimental pastoralism: see 'Nerriga', by Robert Hoddle, November 1827, N.493, N.S.W. Archives Office, Lands Dept. Maps; 'Plan of Tanjara as approved', by J. Larmer, 1841, N.S.W. Archives Office, Lands Dept. Maps; 'Survey of the Proposed Road from Narriga to Jervis Bay in the County of Saint Vincent', by James Larmer, 3 August 1840 ('Accompanying Report and Estimate of same date'), R.1112 (1), (2), (3) and (4) - N.S.W. Archives Office, Lands Dept. Maps.

Townsend's instructions referred to the 'Monaro District', his own official letters mention the 'Monaro Squatting District', and the Colonial Secretary wrote of 'Maneroo': for convenience and clarity, the present writer has used only 'Monaro Squatting District', except, of course, in actual quotation.

Surveyor-General to Townsend, 10 December 1850, 50/712.

Townsend to Surveyor-General, 1 December 1850.
Squatting District, which he submitted in two sheets on 31st March 1851. A few Reserves determined previously were incorporated in his recommendations, but unlike the sporadic accretion of reserves and mistakes north of Moruya, this southern coastal tract acquired at once a unified, integrated urban pattern which has persisted ever since.

The second difference between these northern and southern sub-regions was almost a corollary to the first: Townsend's 1851 Reserves were fewer, larger and better-spaced than their earlier counterparts, to some extent because Townsend himself - unlike his paragons, the explorer-surveyors Hoddle and Florance - brought to his task a decade's familiarity with the region. Altogether, 45 Reserves were located, named and numbered in the Monaro Squatting District, 19 of them evenly spaced along the coastal plain at roughly ten-mile intervals, although reappraisals in Sydney reduced these to 15, of which only 9 inland Reserves retained their numbers. This numerical juggling, however, underscored a deliberate effort to relate one Reserve to another, especially inland Township (Parish) Reserves to their intended, detached ports: 'Boatalley' (Bodalla), for example, was attended by a Village Reserve at Tuross Heads, 'Wandellow' and 'Burmaguee' were similarly linked, and other shipping outlets were contrived for Quaama (Reserve No. 35), Bega and The Stockyard (Wyndham). Expediently, following Eden's precedent, the Moruya Township Reserve was simply extended latitudinally to contain its own anchorage at Moruya Heads.

Townsend's Reserves also commanded the nuclei of evolving river basin economies, not with such tiny immutably final sites as those north of Moruya, but as spacious, graticule-conforming squares of nine square

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21 Surveyor-General to Townsend, 51/36 and 51/62. The Eden Township Reserve, for example, had been chosen in 1842, but also by Townsend - see Surveyor-General to Townsend, 2 November 1842, 42/262.

22 Colonial Secretary to Surveyor-General, 1 October 1842 (42/426) : 'His Excellency suggests that Mr Townsend and also Mr McCabe may perhaps be advantageously employed in this Business - they being in the neighbourhood of Two-Cold Bay'.

23 Only 15 of these were traced on M.1170 (1). See Footnote 20 above.

24 Townsend to Surveyor-General, 31 March 1851, 51/10 - See Marginal pencil comment by A.G.McLean: 'It appears hardly necessary that the Reserves in the Settled Districts along the coast should be shown & described'.

miles, rectangles of up to 20 square miles, or subsidiary reserves containing one or two square miles - in every case permitting scope for any later readjustment of site or design. Indeed, the Surveyor-General's approval of Townsend's recommendations was wholehearted: Mitchell's only marginal comment was typically terse -

"The map is neat but by some mistake the Shoalhaven River is made to join the Moruya & must be rectified." 25

Thirdly, unlike the earlier northern Reserves, those of 1851 studied an area bisected longitudinally by the inland limit of the 'Settled Districts', a boundary ordained in 1847 26 to separate a three-mile strip adjoining the coastline - within which pastoral leaseholds were renewable annually - from the inland 'Intermediate Districts', where such leases could last for eight years. This contrivance 'to provide for the wants of future settlers, and the gradual advance of civilisation' 27 actually severed a four-mile wide zone from the South Coast, probably through survey imprecision, and enclosed Eden with an arc of 12 miles radius (see Figure 5). The resultant boundary affected urbanization by chopping short the Reserves for 'Booralley' and Bega (but not Moruya), and by temporarily imprisoning inland nodes and their subsidiary ports within different developmental restraints. No such circumstances impeded urbanization north of Moruya. Fourthly, in Townsend's regional scheme, Town Reserves and Township Reserves were more closely integrated, the former simply appropriating the most suitable part of the latter. As a result, town establishment at Bega, Moruya and Eden was accompanied by the simultaneous sale of surrounding agricultural allotments ('small farms') 28, which assured these towns

25 Ibid.
26 Orders-in-Council, 9 March 1847, implementing the Imperial 'Waste Lands Occupation Act' of 1846, and dividing New South Wales into 'Settled', 'Intermediate' and 'Unsettled Districts'.
28 For example, see Surveyor-General to Townsend, 9 June 1848 (49/311), requesting him to 'lay out the land adjacent to Moruya 'in small farms'. Surveyor Saml. Parkinson subdivided 3,200 acres around Bega for the same purpose in 1851 - see Parkinson to Surveyor-General, 20 February 1851, 51/4.
of quite densely populated environs. That is, official policy now strove
to dictate the configuration of both towns and their immediate hinter-
lands, partly in reaction against unregulated excesses around Ulladulla
and the Shoalhaven, but also because the squatting runs of the Far
South Coast clearly afforded even slighter prospects of prompt closer
settlement.

The fifth circumstance distinguishing town establishment beyond the
original Nineteen Counties was the time-lag involved, a period for the
South Coast of almost thirty years after Berry entered his Shoalhaven
grant. Released by experience from dogmatic adherence to earlier,
necessarily ill-founded regulations, the Surveyor-General’s Department
proceeded with much greater assurance and despatch: local agitation for
town establishment would quickly ruffle Sydney officialdom into routine
commotion—submission of Surveyor’s report and design, office drafts-
man’s design tracing, Surveyor-General’s comments or revisions or
penultimate approval, transmission for ultimate approval to the
Executive Council, conveyance of Executive Council’s approval (or re-
jection) to the Surveyor-General, notification of impending town land
sales in the Government Gazette, Surveyor’s subdivision of the town-site
itself, and then, finally, the sale by auction of the allotments offered.
Again, by 1850-60, official prototype town designs29 were shedding some
of their earlier uninhibited virtuosity, abandoning the crescents of
Ulladulla and Broulee, the non-magnetic street-grid alignments of Eden
and Kioloa, and the chamfered street-corners, closed views, courthouse
and church squares, and the geometrically irregular sections which all
enhanced the diverse humanity of older towns. In their place, the
‘uncompromising rectangular grid’—the cliche of country town Aus-
tralia—was everywhere.

Last of the six distinctions between town establishment north and
south of Moruya is the candidly subjective difference in success: to
the writer it seems that South Coast urbanization beyond the Nineteen
Counties began more adroitly, with notably greater administrative

29 Two of these prototypes were preserved in the Surveyor-General’s
Department Sketch Books (N.S.W. Archives Office): (i) ‘Design
for laying out Townships’, Vol. 1, folio 43, n.d. (but c.1828-32,
the period covered by Sketch Book Vol. 1) and (ii) ‘Design of a
Township – Obtained from the Col. Secretary’s Office about the
beginning of 1844 in Circular 44/12 of 13 January’, Vol. 4, folio
154. Both designs very strikingly consolidate contemporary habits
of the town planning mind.
proficiency and foresight. Selected comparisons to justify this view are simply obtained, since the Moruya River, by chance, bisets the region under discussion. Excluding for equivalence the twentieth century tourist resorts, mining towns and unused Government or Town Reserves shown on Figure 8, the 95 miles north of Moruya contains 24 'established' or 'abortive' towns, the 95 miles south of it, 23. Of these, however, 13 Private Towns and 11 Government Towns comprise the northern sub-regional complement, contrasted with 9 Private Towns and 14 Government Towns for the southern sub-region — a consequence admittedly compounded of individual as well as Government initiative, but nonetheless suggesting more decisive official victories in the south. Again, north of Moruya, 14 Reserves permanently remained unused, but only 7 to the south; and of the abortive towns, the north claimed five to the south's two. That is, the southern sub-region not only suffered fewer casualties in its urban campaigns, but escaped much of that earlier administrative desuetude which impelled despairing private landowners to subdivide towns. Moreover, only the Bega and Towamba Valleys of the south had provided the Government with even a rudimentary hierarchy of older nodes and newer satellites; north of Moruya, admittedly, a protracted conflict between chiefly Private Towns did collapse into hierarchical orderliness, but Government participation and influence were minimal.

Periods of Town Establishment

Although urban genesis after 1850 intermingles more and more with urban growth (the subject of the next two chapters), repetition must be risked here in order to distinguish the fluctuating incentives behind town establishment. Table 9 arbitrarily classifies 11 periods of South Coast town establishment, generally by decades, but by periods of 15 or 20 years during arid epochs of the twentieth century. Despite some correlation, none of these periods of establishment should be equated automatically with phases of growth. Between 'permanent' and 'ephemeral' existence, moreover, only a tentative boundary intrudes, however unequivocal such a dichotomy superficially appears. Urban metamorphosis, for example, has transformed Broulee from an abortive 1837 port, through virtual evanescence around 1900 to present-day
'prosperity' as a holiday resort. Similarly, has a town strictly abortion! if, like Farnham, Nerriga (Mark 1) and Tianjara, it perishes on reaching the stage of draft design and preliminary site survey? Nor, at the opposite end of the time-scale, need every current holiday sub- division prove ultimately less abortive than the very earliest service centres, despite Table 9's seeming assurance otherwise. However, by 1962, 105 discrete urban centres had experienced some form of South Coast existence, although at that date only 87 actually survived: Broulee and Kioloa, initially abortive, were resurrected recently as weekender colonies, and should strictly occupy two tabular categories, increasing the existing '1945-62 Resorts' to 37 and the present urban survivals to 89. In 1837 and 1838, the ports of Kiama, Ulladulla and Broulee were instituted by the Surveyor-General to provide the first officially- ordained market outlets and Sydney communications for South Coast pioneers. Separated by intervals of 55 and 40 miles along the coastline of the Nineteen Counties, all three anchorages sheltered behind lofty headlands, devoid of any adjacent stream infiltrating some prospective hinterland. Kioloa's site bore the same handicap, serving after 1846 an equally immediate cluster of holdings. Four other ports created during the 1840's, however, attained a nice symmetry about the protected shores of the region's only harbours: at both Jervis Bay and Twofold Bay, one Government Town and one Private Town vied briefly to monopolize pastoral shipments from remote plateau hinterlands, Huskisson ousting New Bristol as rapidly and devastatingly as Eden ousted Boydtown. More exactly, agricultural settlers at New Bristol merely provisioned whaling vessels for a few years, planted English pines, built a small wharf, and dreamed of a 22-section town focused upon their Church Reserve, but yielded to Huskisson almost before pastoral exports were contemplated.  

30 Table 3 (Chapter 1) includes some 70 South Coast towns, whereas Figure 7 locates only 67; these discrepancies flow entirely from deliberate redefinitions of 'tourist resorts' intended to fit more accurately each appraisal attempted. Otherwise, town data remain equivalent. 

31 'Township of New Bristol subdivided into allotments . . . to be sold by auction 22.10.1841 by Foss & Lloyd, Sydney', lithographed by William Baker (M.L., Cat. No. M2.611.32/1841/1). See also The Book of Shoalhaven - As It Was and As It Is, published in conjunction with 'Back to Shoalhaven Week', 17 to 23 October, 1926, Sydney, Mortons Ltd., 1926, p.21.
### TABLE 9: PERIODS OF SOUTH COAST TOWN ESTABLISHMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Permanent or Continuous Existence</th>
<th>Abortive or Ephemeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ports</td>
<td>Rural Service Towns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830-39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840-49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-59</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>1860-69</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>1870-79</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-89</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-99</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**
Seven 'urban centres' have been excluded from this tabulation for the lack of certain dates - Tomerong, Wandandian, Central Tilba, Rocky Hall and three sawmill centres near Bateman's Bay. However, the first two appeared during the 1850's, Central Tilba c. 1882 or c. 1878 (if the Dromedary Mining Camp is taken to be the 'town'), and the sawmill centres after 1890. Rocky Hall, never more than a 'rural locality' (vide caption to Figure 7), remains undated.
In both harbours, Government Towns began their almost automatic ascendency over rival Private Towns, confirming the coastal port as the harbinger of South Coast urbanization. Admittedly, near the Clyde head of navigation for coastal craft, the Surveyor-General vainly strove to implant a succession of six designs at Currawan on another kind of shipping site between 1841 and 1859, but was rebuffed repeatedly by the absence of agriculture. Along the Shoalhaven and its northern Broughton Creek tributary, another series of privately-owned jetties collected farm produce for market, but promoted no river-bank towns after the ineffectual Clyde pattern. Whereas four coastal ports took root before 1850, the attempt to introduce river-port subsidiaries at navigation-heads failed completely.

Inland towns materialized at river-crossing halting-places along the bullock-tracks between plateau grazing areas and the harbours of Jervis Bay and Twofold Bay - at Pambula near Eden in 1847, and at Nerriga, just outside the region on the Wool Road between Braidwood and Huskisson, in 1841. This chronological succession of coastal ports, abortive river ports and interior service centres characterised the urban evolution of almost every South Coast river basin, but generated a fourth stage near Bega and Nowra, where Tathra and Greenwell Point supplanted earlier, more remote ports at Merimbula and Huskisson. If the decade after 1840 witnessed more urban mortality than vitality, and

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22 The first Currawan design was Surveyor James Larmer's ('Survey of the Reserve for a Village at Currawan', by Jas. Larmer, 27 July 1841, C.1154(1), N.S.W. Archives Office, Lands Dept. Maps), a plan considered and approved by the Executive Council on 17 October 1844; the last Currawan design was Surveyor James Cuthill's ('Plan of Currawan and Suburban Allotments, County of St Vincent', by James Cuthill, 3 March 1859, C.1154.2, N.S.W. Archives Office, Lands Dept. Maps), inscribed in probable despair by the Surveyor-General - 'This Plan is utterly useless'.


34 'Plan of the Village of Nerriga at the Beulee Crossing Place On the New Line of Road from Nerriga to Jervis Bay', drawn by J. Bailey, 1841 (presumably from some lost original by Surveyor James Larmer); transmitted to the Colonial Secretary 'to be deposited in his office', with Surveyor-General's Letter 41/471, 31 December 1841. This design for the north-eastern bank of the Endrick River above the present Braidwood-Nowra road bridge (Area Reference 1267, Nerriga 1:50,000 sheet, Sheet 8927 - IV, Series R753, 1957, Royal Australian Survey Corps) was never used, the present town (Area Reference 6964, ibid.) lying some three miles to the south-west.
if its scattered settlements clung precariously to a handful of inert ports, the decade after 1850 animated towns with greater vigour and success than any but the most recent period of regional development: seven towns graced the Shoalhaven alone where none had been before; Moruya, Bega and Towamba (originally 'Sturt') finally checked the local ascendancy of ports by forming dominant agricultural nodes amidst the farmland itself; and following the construction of the Clyde Mountain road in 1856, Nelligen-Batemans Bay attained that estuarine viability which had always eluded Currawan. By 1860, in fact, the South Coast was all but replete with ports and the primary nodes of its rural communities.

Pastoral pioneering, land occupancy to the very margins of utility, route alignments and constant port hinterlands were thus settling into sub-regional stability for the first time - with town establishment declining and large landholdings stifling rural population growth - when the fortuitous coincidence of gold discoveries and Free Selection precipitated the region's next formative phase of urbanization after 1860. Complicated by the upsurge of population and agricultural subdivision, this phase introduced both the mining town and the secondary and subsequent service nodes within established farming basins - two urban genera destined for uncertain glory. By a further coincidence, Araluen, Nerrigundah and Mogo - the earliest mining towns - acquired survival functions after prospecting, dredging and cyanide had run their courses, whereas every subsequent mining town has been abandoned to the pendant bats, fossicking tourists and sleeping ghosts. Secondary nodes and subsequent nodes emerged where detached or forking enclaves of valley farmland isolated some areas from the primary nodes of the 1850s (which generally occupied downstream river junctions), but were no sooner thriving than motor transport doomed them as competitive rural service centres. Chronologically, locationally and functionally subservient to the older centres, these smaller nodes erected one or two tentative, ultimately waning urban hierarchies around Bega and Nowra, neither in formal hexagons nor properly in multiple tiers; curiously

35 Geoffrey Blainey discusses the techniques bolstering gold-mining revivals in 'Technology in Australian History', Business Archives and History, IV, 2, August 1964, 117-137.
enough, even during this era of latitudinal orientation towards the ports, before Prince's Highway re-aligned economic gravitation, inter-urban dependence seldom involved industrial specialization, each centre tending to build its own coaches, extract its own cordial and manufacture its own cheese according to some zealously-guarded recipe.

Phase Three of South Coast town establishment converted some original ports into multifunctional holiday centres and created a distinct zone of smaller, beach-side resorts which even now threaten to alienate the entire coastline in their advance southwards. Whereas mining towns and subsequent agricultural nodes emerged before the last ports and primary agricultural nodes had appeared, the two phases overlapping by some 40 years on the Far South Coast, town foundation had sagged into virtual abeyance for the first twenty years of this century before holiday resorts began to transform the region's urban pattern. The false dawn of the 1920s, a brief flowering of holidays and prosperity between World War I and the Great Depression, ushered in a dozen resorts, compared with three times this number since 1945. Accompanying these resorts of the past 50 years were defence installations at Jervis Bay (H.M.A.S. Creswell, the naval officers' training college), Nowra Hill (H.M.A.S. Albatross, the naval air base), and Garlandtown, a wartime R.A.A.F. aerodrome now accommodating itinerant aboriginal bean-pickers, caravan tourists and the Moruya airport. Post-1945 aboriginal settlements have been equipped at Rosedby Park, Wreck Bay and Wallaga Lake—three isolated, 'presentable' backwaters only slightly more accessible than the 'unofficial' encampments near Bega, at the otherwise deserted gold-mining town of Yowaka, in the scrub-girt core of Bomaderry, in Nowra State Forest, and on other rural-urban fringes of settlement.

Forms of Town Establishment

Besides the formal administrative dualism of Government and Private Towns, which embraces every South Coast agglomeration, town foundation may be regarded as a gradual geographical extension of central functions

As early as 1887, a school had been established at Wallaga Lake for aboriginal children, in the hope that aborigines might be 'induced to settle at Wallaga instead of tramping the country'. Bega Standard, 5 March 1887.
throughout the region, parallel in certain ways with the extension and
diversification of land use, and related to those demographic and pro-
ductive conditions discussed above in terms of an urban threshold.
Within the South Coast, towns have been created for seven quintessential
purposes - to admit shipping and exports (ports); to provide social and
commercial facilities for farmers (agricultural nodes); to sustain
mining communities; to cut and dress timber extracted from surrounding
forests; to accommodate vacationists; for the nation's defence; and for
the segregation of aborigines. Disregarding the last two categories,
which have involved Federal Government agencies, the initiative for town
establishment of all kinds effectively passed from official State Gov-
ernment policy to private enterprise about 1900, when the last workaday
towns - the ports and rural service centres - had been inaugurated:
official sponsorship of holiday towns was provoked only by later public
demand for cheaper weekend building sites than many private subdivisions
offered, and by outside pressure to release sections of the extensive
coastal tracts of Crown Land - in each case, Government demeanour fav-
soured private, speculative initiative in providing holiday facilities.
Accordingly, whereas towns considered essential for buttressing primary
industry were officially founded, towns considered mere luxuriant ex-
crescences of overly-prosperous groups were officially ignored, until
booming post-war car ownership hammered home the actual extent of
prosperity.

Whether Government or Private, however, towns established after the
germinial, isolated ports immediately contested existing hinterland
claims, and by a process akin to natural selection, evolved into their
existing pattern. Contested dominance, indeed, has characterized South
Coast town foundation from its inception. Of what might be called the
'Primordial Ports' - Kiama, Huskisson, Ulladulla, Broulee and Eden - not
one maintained an uncontested monopoly of 'local' export trade (as
distinct from plateau exports) for more than 25 years. Some of these
Government-established ports endured or succumbed to competition from
private ports (Huskisson-Greenwell point, Eden-Boydtown, Huskisson-New
Bristol), others wrangled with subsequent Government Ports (Eden-
Merimbula, Merimbula-Tathra, Broulee-Bateman's Bay, Bateman's Bay-Nelligen,

37 In each of these paired ports, the latter displaced the former in
the fashion described in the text.
Wagonga-Narooma, and Kiama-Gerringong) and a third, more recent skirmish implicated major rural service centres never intended as ports, but which acquired river-wharfage (Broulee-Moruya, Greenwell Point-Nowra, Berry-Nowra). Sequentially, the harbour and headland ports were thus often supplanted by river-mouth rivals, which in their turn lost trade to service towns possessing appended wharfage, the classical migration of outlets being Broulee-Moruya Heads-Mynora—a-Moruya, although Eden-Merimbula-Tathra and Huskisson-Greenwell Point-Nowra exemplify the steady gravitation of port facilities towards the dominant processing nodes upon which road transport converged, regardless of their situation. Distortions also arose when giant landowners committed their produce to a particular port, as Alexander Berry did with Greenwell Point, or Thomas Sutcliffe Mort's horse tramway from Bodalla did for Wagonga, to the detriment of Bateman's Bay.

Primary agricultural nodes seldom avoided competitive secondary nodes for much longer than shipping outlets did, although decisive highway re-alignments and the relative permanence of supporting farm communities—by contrast with declining coastal shipping—certainly complicated this form of urban genesis. Nonetheless, some rural service centres achieved an early, almost undisputed dominance within an enclave of cleared farmland, insulated from rival centres by forest buffers.

Inside such enclaves, for example, Moruya and Milton eclipsed Broulee and Ulladulla so speedily and completely that only waxing tourism and faster traffic circulation eventually weakened their sway. Smaller pockets of clearing were more easily supervised by Kangaroo Valley, Bodalla (when Narrigundah waned), Cobargo, Pambula and Wyndham, but looked beyond these secondary centres for many specialized services; in

38 A landing-stage on the southern bank of the Moruya River between Moruya Heads and Moruya itself. A solitary attempt to elongate Moruya's suburban fringes to Mynora failed.

39 See Editorial 'Broulee Bay versus the Moruya Heads', Moruya Examiner, 20 May 1876.


41 Moruya Examiner, 13 October 1883 and 13 September 1884. Wagonga, at the head of the Wagonga Inlet, should not be confused with Wagonga Heads (Narooma) at the inlet's mouth.
these instances, functional co-ordination rather than competition prevailed. Actual conflict did occur, by no means continuously, between some farming centres and nearby ports - between Milton and Ulladulla, Tomerong and Huskisson, Bodalla and Narooma, Cobargo and Bermagui, Pambula and Merimbula, and Towamba and Eden: generally, in the ensuing division of functions, the rural service centres retained dairy factories, banks, schools, hospitals (Milton and Pambula), hotels and Government agencies, while the ports acquired the paraphernalia of tourism - parks, accommodation houses, a plethora of grocery store-milk bars, recreation grounds and clubs. Another unique pattern of inter-urban competition persisted in the Shoalhaven until 1874, when the third disastrous flood since 1860 carried away almost half the levee-bank town of Terara and with it what remained of local preference for downstream town sites; this unique pattern of competition involved half a dozen concurrently-established service centres in a sluggish 20-year battle for social and commercial supremacy - a simultaneous outbreak of towns quite unlike the discrete, orderly progression of emerging towns around Broulee, Bega and Eden.

Neither the all-embracing Government Town/Private Town duality nor the seminal rivalry of ports and primary agricultural nodes markedly influenced the third form of town establishment - the extension of urban facilities to peripheral farmlands through secondary and subsequent nodes. Rural population growth, the enlargement of cash-cropping, and the innovation of dairying together created such thriving, closely-knit communities in previously remote, fragmented areas that new villages were warranted. By 1900, when South Coast town foundation was desisting and the region's urban population was achieving a peak from which it immediately plunged, some score of satellite villages had brought urban facilities to the very piedmont at Barrengarry, Cambewarra and Bemboka, to upstream enclaves at Quaama and Rocky Hall, and to small coastal clearings at Tilba Tilba, Turlinjah and Tomerong. The distribution of these subsidiary centres continued and all but concluded the inland

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Plate 17: Aboriginal Settlement at Brown's Hill, South Nowra.

Once the Nowra race-course and now dedicated as Shoalhaven State Forest (No. 916, of 1,230 acres), this Crown Land forest adjoins Prince's Highway near the southern edge of Nowra's rural-urban fringe; aboriginales of different castes inhabit shacks expediently erected during the 1930 depression, and form a community distinct from that of the town both ethnically and socially.

Plate 18: South Wolumla Butter Factory

Almost the smallest settlement aggregation possible—a co-operative butter factory, its store and out-buildings, and the manager's residence, all alongside a creek supplying water to the factory.

Plate 19: Administrative Buildings at Kameruka Estate

Its precise location within the estate indicated in Figure 14, this assemblage of buildings contains (from left to right) the offices of the manager and accountant, the equipment store and butcher's shop, the fuel depot and maintenance workshop and, closing the street vista, the manager's residence (Kameruka House).
Plate 20: Central Tilba

A hamlet whose 80 residents occupy 19 dwellings (1961), situated between Narooma and Cobargo but independently serving its own farming community; the centre contains two general stores, a post office, two-teacher primary school, church, cheese factory and trucking depot. In the background, the slopes of the Mount Dromedary monzonitic complex rise to 2,611 feet.

Plate 21: Candelo

Situated 14 miles from Bega among hilly granite farmlands, and bisected by Candelo Creek, the village's 84 occupied dwellings house 272 inhabitants. Parallel main streets face each other across the creek. Looking south-west from the Convent hill.

Plate 22: Bega

A town of 3,858 inhabitants (1961), Bega occupies a knot of radiating spurs within a semi-circular loop of the Bega River. On the skyline, a low coastal range separates cleared farmlands of the Bega Valley from the ocean. Viewed from Daisy Hill, looking east.
migration of new towns from ports through primary nodes to the limits of isolation.

The fourth and fifth incentives for town establishment - mining and forestry - finally terminated this movement of towns away from primary nodes, halting it within the forests themselves. Many abandoned clearings now disclose the former distribution of gold-mining, which lured temporary settlers into some of the region's most remote corners, but which contracted after c. 1910. Responsibility for suppressing armed robbery and for maintaining the law in characteristically boisterous mining communities induced the Government to establish mining towns wherever the only alternative towns were too far away; unfortunately, dilatory administrative procedures and the recurrent overnight inflation of mining populations invariably delayed the creation of such towns, sometimes till after mining had begun to dwindle. At Nerrigundah, for example, the record 1866 population of some 2,000 (about 800 of them diggers) had shrunk to 483 at the 1871 census, only one year after the first town land sales; seven years after the initial stampede, moreover Surveyor Lindo's 1868 design for the town plotted 36 existing buildings, including a Roman Catholic church with school attached, and was forced to accept existing street alignments. The Public School opened in 1872, the School of Arts more belatedly still in 1898 - for a population then just exceeding 200. Again, whereas the Mogo Gold Field was proclaimed on 29 August 1870, the Provisional School at Mogo itself already taught 25 pupils in 1869, and when luckless Lindo prepared this town's official design in December, 1872, its one street was lined with 21 buildings.

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43 See, for example, the abrupt decline in production after 1912 at Yambulla, the last gold-mining centre to assume quasi-urban form on the South Coast - L.R. Hall: Explanatory Notes on the New South Wales Portion of the Mallacoota 4-Mile Geological Sheet, Geological Survey of New South Wales, Sydney, 1959, pp. 11-12.


huts and houses, Episcopal, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic churches, a forge, the Kiama and El Dorado Inns, Annett's store, Ladmore's shop with a grave at the rear, and half a dozen fenced gardens - hardly the vacant site which confronted surveyors of primordial ports. Even at Yalwal, the very last South Coast mining town to be designed, a dozen buildings already flanked Danjera Creek when the village was proclaimed on 10 December 1892, a mere 14 years after the Yalwal Gold Field's own proclamation. However, such planned towns as these did persist more tenaciously after mining subsided than the tent colonies appended to existing towns - at Mount Dromedary, Montreal, and Wolumla - or the equally fleeting Private Town subdivisions of 1890 at Yowaka and South Pambula, and the canvas slums of contemporary Yambulla. Unlike the earlier phases of South Coast urban genesis, the establishment of mining towns - whether officially or privately undertaken - was seldom contemplated as an extension of the existing urban pattern, but rather as a necessary and - to the Government - somewhat melancholy measure to sustain an all-too-clearly transient population. By attracting population into previously neglected areas, however, and by stimulating particular ports of access and neighbouring service centres, the establishment of mining towns uniquely extended urban facilities within the region.

Sawmill centres, by contrast, exemplify the small, self-contained 'extractive' communities which enjoyed none of gold-mining's glamour or fickle, instantaneous opulence, yet which also lured settlement beyond the populous cleared farmlands of the South Coast. Surprisingly, perhaps, in view of the region's overwhelming sweep of forests, such timber towns are now concentrated between Jervis Bay and the Clyde estuary,

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48 The venue of the grotesque, celebrated but unsolved 'Bermagui Mystery' of 1880 - for a brief account see 'Mystery Bay - Why so Named', in The Examiner Centenary Supplement, Moruya, October 1964.

49 'Prospect Estate, South Pambula', 8 November 1890, and 'Yowaka Township', 1891, both towns subdivided by Rixon & McLeod, Auctioneers of Bega, and both subdivision plans in the present possession of Wm. Rixon & Co., auctioneers of Carp Street, Bega.
sawmilling elsewhere favouring locations on the outskirts of larger, multifunctional centres – especially Eden. Whereas gold-mining created towns either in remote, topographically-rugged headwaters zones (Araluen, Nerrigundah, Yalwal) or very near the coastline (Mount Dromedary, Montreal, South Pambula), sawmilling's dependence on urban markets – notwithstanding the Forestry Commission's present equalization royalty – has confined forestry towns to Prince's Highway, or to its shorter branches or former deviations, particularly that from Termeil to Brooman and along the western bank of the Clyde; that is, mining towns have occupied the latitudinal extremities of the region, and sawmill centres the forest buffers at the longitudinal extremities of cleared farmland. Two chronologically distinct types of sawmill centres have been established on the South Coast. Before c. 1890, the earlier kind generally supplied a local market with sawn building timber and fencing, having often begun operations on privately-owned forest to supply a particular farm, and having diversified commercially to meet local requirements: Daniel Gowing's Bega Steam Saw Mills, for example, merely cut 30 foot lengths in 186550, but was planing tongued-and-grooved flooring by 187251, some of it for the Sydney G.P.O., while James Monaghan, a farmer near Nowra, undertook to deliver sawn hardwood to Nowra or Bomaderry Wharf in 1891, having acquired the Tootawah Falls Saw Mill.52 Similar local centres, seldom containing more than a few tents or cottages, were operating at Tomago in 1880, Wagonga in 1883 (providing wattle-bark and ironbark sleepers by 1888), Buckenbowra in 1884, (a wattle-bark grinding mill opening there in 1913), Moggendoura (near Moruya) in 1899, Bateman's Bay in 1883, and at Benandarah and Bawley Point north of the Clyde.53

The second, more recent type of sawmill centre was usually more highly capitalized to supply metropolitan and overseas markets, its

50 Bega Gazette, 25 March 1865.
51 Bega Gazette, 7 June 1872, and 12 December 1872.
52 The Nowra Colonist, 24 June 1891.
53 Obituary of Francois Guy, J.P.; sawmiller and silver mine proprietor, Moruya Examiner, 11 June 1910.
establishment synchronized with the Government's dedication of Forest Reserves and, later, State Forests. This regional rather than local exploitation of timber resources engendered sawmill centres containing 40 to 120 inhabitants, chiefly where isolation from existing towns frustrated the possibility of a journey-to-work, and more recently, where concentrations of State Forests and a nearby Forestry Office enhanced operations – notably around Bateman's Bay. As specific markets materialized, moreover, handy but often ephemeral sawmills would emerge: at Mount Darragh, for example, forests covering 10,000 acres of basalt were cleared about 1920 by four sawmills for Canberra construction; and around Eden after 1903, many small lumber camps under contract supplied the port with railway sleepers destined for India, China, Germany, New Zealand and elsewhere, logs, girders and transoms being shipped concurrently. Today, however, apart from mills attached to multifunctional towns, only those independent sawmill centres serving the Wollongong and Sydney building industries have remained viable.

South Coast urban nucleation assumed its sixth, final form when tourist resorts appeared after 1920, establishing a coast-and-highway conformation superimposed upon the zone of primordial ports. How these resorts emerged is discussed in Chapter 11, although a concluding clarification is required here of certain features complicating the town establishment models proposed above. First, the incentives for creating new towns in previously non-urbanized parts of the region lack absolute congruence with the incentives for subsequent urban growth and development. Accordingly, despite the current importance for many


For access to New South Wales Forestry Commission records, and for guidance in their use, I am indebted to Messrs. J. Green and G. Graham of the Resources Branch, to Mr. E. Braithwaite of the Division of Forest Management, and to Senior Forester A.D. Christopher and Forester J. Lowery of the Forestry Office, Bateman's Bay.
towns of fishing, dairy processing, motor transport, and the maintenance of roads and utility services, no town was actually founded for these purposes. Secondly, some unique forms of incipient urbanization have been omitted from the classification above by virtue of their oddity. On the Bega-Tathra road, for example, Stafford's brick-works have clustered the cherry-brick homes of its employees near Evans Hill, where a Mr. Fenton first 'made bricks and ginger beer' fifty years ago. The South Nowra brickyards, by contrast, were promptly swallowed by a highway ribbon of scattered houses attached to Nowra. Again, between 1924 and 1931, Granitetown existed near Moruya to accommodate over 200 Scottish quarrymen engaged by Dorman, Long & Co. to cut over 20,000 cubic yards of granite in 173,000 pieces for the pylons of Sydney Harbour Bridge.

Unquestionably, the most bizarre urban hallucination ever to assail the South Coast scene was that of the late Henry F. Halloran - real estate agent, auctioneer, conveyancer, licensed surveyor, local government engineer, valuator, etc. - whose urban vision extended, with a few gaps, from the Crookhaven River to Jervis Bay, a distance of over 15 miles. Before 1920, Halloran determined to create two waterfront cities around Montagu Roadstead, the intended Jervis Bay shipping terminal for Canberra; today, only half-a-dozen isolated fragments - each of them a 'suburb' lifted from the original master plan - have metamorphosed into weekender colonies.

During the 127 years involved, the establishment of South Coast towns has thus varied in manner, motive and success, continuously but comprehensibly. However, six observations deserve reiteration in order

56 Bega Standard, 12 September 1913, and Bega District News, 11 November 1940.
59 From Halloran's letterhead, 1915-1946; see file of his firm's dealings with Clyde Shire Council (now stored in the Chambers of Shoalhaven Shire Council, Nowra).
60 This plan, and its constituent 'estate' subdivision plans, may be seen at the Sydney office of Realty Realisations Ltd., the successor-firm of Henry F. Halloran & Co.
to contrast South Coast experience with that of other regions, and
with certain postulates of central place theory. First, except where
wholesale land disposal precluded it, the Government's own initiative
anticipated town foundation by private landholders and not uncommonly
stifled their attempts. Secondly, where town establishment was delayed
by the ubiquity of large landholdings, as at Milton, Bodalla and the
Shoalhaven, Private Towns emerged belatedly but triumphantly; con­
versely, an existing or deliberately superimposed prevalence of
smaller holdings sponsored most Government Towns. Thirdly, a common
official trust in the judgments of surveyors induced the somewhat
premature, blanket adoption of Village Reserves, a practice which all
but controlled town location for the ensuing thirty years, and pres­
cribed in advance the scope of emerging urban hierarchies. Fourthly,
when primary nodes were being established, pastoralism had usually
reached its areal limits within the region, whereas contrary to experi­
ence elsewhere, only incipient agriculture existed; the establishment
of secondary and subsequent nodes, however, awaited agriculture's
penetration into nearly every fragment of farmland. Fifthly, admini­
strative disparities inside and outside the Nineteen Counties in­
trinsically conditioned South Coast urban genesis; while sixthly,
abortive towns were induced by transitory mining, inadequate support­
ing populations, ultimately wrong situations, and the truncation of
hinterlands.

By correlating the three chronological phases and six recurrent
methods of town establishment already described, it is possible to
depict the dominant course of South Coast urban inception as in Table
10. By c.1900, Phases A and B had jointly concluded the inauguration -
both official and unofficial - of all towns required in exploiting
the region's primary, physical resources. Approximately twenty years
later, after an intervening decline in regional urban population and
the virtual cessation of town founding, an unsteady renaissance attend­
ed the inception of Phase C, the phase of metropolitan infiltration
which established a coast-hugging constellation of holiday towns in­
herently unrelated to resource endowment or exploitation. Prior to
### TABLE 10. THE COURSE OF SOUTH COAST TOWN ESTABLISHMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHASE</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>PERIOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Establishment of Urban Focal Points</td>
<td>(1. Primordial Ports</td>
<td>1837-c.1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2. Primary Agricultural Nodes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Establishment of Urban Satellites</td>
<td>(3. Secondary and Subsequent Agricultural Nodes</td>
<td>c.1855-1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4. Mining Towns</td>
<td>c.1861-1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5. Sawmill Centres</td>
<td>(i) pre-c.1890 - local markets ; (ii) post-c.1890 - overseas and metropolitan markets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Seasonally-populated Resorts</td>
<td>(6. Tourist Resorts</td>
<td>c.1920-1964</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c.1900, service centres and ports had migrated inland or upstream, from east to west; after 1920, in quite another regime, resorts streamed southwards from Sydney. In all probability, the immediate future will witness not only the continuing creation of resorts further and further south, but their closer integration with the old-established, inland farming centres - as recreational and retirement outlets, as detached commuter suburbs, and even as employment centres for such itinerant tertiary workers as builders, tradesmen, medical practitioners, veterinary surgeons, and real estate agents.
Chapter Four

FOUNDATIONS OF URBAN GROWTH

Why Australian urban development pursued its historical course of increasing metropolitan centralization may be examined not only by searching for evidence of capital city attractiveness and employment capacity, but by considering why certain parts of rural Australia failed to engender any cities at all. One such city-devoid region is the South Coast of New South Wales, a context in which urbanization simply implies the growing concentration of population in the region's towns and villages, and the concomitant decline of farm dwellers. Although this process has entailed fluctuating numbers of urban centres, and varying proportions of regional population resident in centres of different sizes, these are derivatives rather than the essence of urban growth. Obviously, since rates of urban growth reflect the constituent units used in computation, constant definitions are obligatory; all too regrettably, this chapter suffers from a plethora of discrepant statistical divisions and ambiguous rural-urban dichotomies, but such is the disparity of census data from decade to decade. Nonetheless, summarised below in a dozen tabulations and as many diagrams, the not-so-erratic course of South Coast urbanization does exemplify certain covariant features of regional development which have typified other parts of coastal Australia.

Regional Population Growth

On all five maps comprising Figure 9, the proposed South Coast Region deviates variously from any combination of statistical and administrative areas employed at any depicted census. Fortunately, the scarplands and ranges which define the region's inland edge pass through an almost continuous, unoccupied buffer of forest, where
Figure 9: South Coast Town Populations, 1861-1947
SOUTH COAST TOWN POPULATIONS
Census Enumeration

- 100
- 200
- 300
- 500
- 750
- 1,000
- 1,500
- 2,000
- 2,500
- 3,000
- 3,500

State Border

Statistical and Administrative Boundaries

South Coast Region
deviously-meandering alternative boundaries seldom include or exclude significantly numerous groups of settlers. Between its first permanent settlement in 1822 and the present time, the region's population has reached 45,000 - an unspectacular, almost contemptible achievement for 140 years of history and 270 miles of coastline within the most densely-populated corner of the Australian mainland. After fifteen years of pioneer occupation, the first towns were established as ports at Ulladulla, Broulee and Kiama, and by the Commonwealth Census of 1961, some two-thirds of all South Coast mid-winter residents occupied 'non-rural' (presumably 'urban') holdings. Since 1891, indeed, fewer than half the region's inhabitants have lived outside its towns and villages, notwithstanding the virtually undisturbed farming-forestry-fishing economy which still basically nurtures settlement. Australia's preposterous urban gregariousness, though well attested, is sometimes equated almost solely with metropolitan magnetism, whereas the patently rural South Coast suggests a hunger for town living however small the towns.

When the 1846 Census of New South Wales provided the first systematically-collected and ostensibly reliable demographic details

1 Less precise definitions of 'urban' population used in previous census enumerations suggest that by 1961 over 75 per cent of the region's inhabitants were strictly 'urban'. In 1961 however, for the first time, census data discriminated between the total population of each locality and that portion 'on Rural Holdings' - 'on which agricultural, pastoral, dairying, &c., operations are carried on'. (See Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1961: Volume 1 - New South Wales: Part V - Population and Dwellings in Localities, p.5) Previously, no such occupational distinction between 'rural' and 'urban' was feasible, and this revised definition may well account for the startling, otherwise incredible 10 per cent decline in urban population between 1954 and 1961. See Table II and Figure 10.B.

of the original South Coast ports founded barely a decade before, \(^3\) not 3,000 settlers had occupied the coastal valleys between the Shoalhaven River and the N.S.W. - Victorian border. Subsequently, the region's demographic history has simply embroidered what are fundamentally only two phases, between which the turn of the twentieth century marks a very precise watershed. Before 1901, annual rates of population growth for the entire region dropped below 2 per cent, only after 1891, seemingly in preparation for the ensuing demographic attrition between 1901 and 1921, and the minimal increases ever since. In 1901, the regional population was 37,087; in 1947, after 26 years of tedious recovery, it was 33,845. Again, whereas the earlier phase encompassed the locally spectacular gold rushes at Nerrigundah, Araluen and Kiandra, besides the displacement of extensive grazing by the Robertson-inspired dairy farmers and the establishment of almost every rural service centre, the latter phase ushered in little but disillusionment - frustrated Railway Leagues began nursing their grievances into New State parochialism;\(^4\) prospective settlers and many farmers at the forest margins ultimately despaired of extending the cleared farmlands beyond their existing confines; and while inland railway construction to Cooma (1889),\(^5\) Mimitabel (1912),\(^6\) and the Bombala terminus (1921)\(^7\) enhanced development of the adjacent Monaro plateau, all South Coast hopes of retaliation were quashed when the Illawarra railway's construction ground to an uneconomic halt at Bomaderry in 1890.\(^8\) To generalize, when an extended period of regional

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3 Except where otherwise indicated, all population figures presented in this text have been extracted from New South Wales or Australian censuses.

4 See, for example, the editorial denigration of voters against federation in - Eden Free Press, 22 June 1899.

5 Bega Gazette, 27 June 1889.

6 Bega Gazette, 20 April 1912.

7 Local feeling, as represented by the East Coast Railway Developmental League, is described in E.J. Brady: The Overlander - Prince's Highway, Melbourne, 1926, p.61

8 Bega Standard, 16 November 1894. The financial loss sustained by the Illawarra Line to Berry, attributed to competition from Kiama shipping, was locally considered responsible for the decision to jettison the Eden-Bega railway scheme.
exploitation culminated about 1900, waning developmental incentives appear to have precipitated population decline and an apparently irreversible deterioration of local initiative and hope. What ramifications this change entailed, and how critical this 1900 watershed, are considered later. Yet during both phases one particularly contingent correlation stands out – that between region-wide population increases and the founding of towns.

Before 1901, the South Coast's population grew by annual increments ranging from 2 to 16 per cent (calculated on the basis of quinquennial or decennial inter-censal periods), the decade before 1871 and that before 1856 experiencing especially high rates of growth, which diminished steadily after 1871. Moreover, these sustained increases are scarcely attributable to the statistical duplicity of minute base populations exaggerating small absolute changes into substantial proportional changes: in fact, the absolute 1861-71 increase of 8,850 persons has never been matched by subsequent decades, and the five-year increase of 3,829 in 1851-56 was exceeded by no ten-year increase between 1901 and 1947. Indeed, before 1954, the demographic evidence of half a century seemed to imply an absolute population capacity for the South Coast of about 30-40,000. Although the statistical divisions combined to approximate with the defined South Coast Region vary from one census to another (see Table 13) and render suspect any sophisticated manipulation of inter-censal increments, the fact remains that rates of annual increase in the five years 1851-56 were almost double those in the decade 1861-71 – superficially suggesting that gold-mining communities grew initially almost twice as fast as groups of immigrant Free Selectors. Between 1856 and 1861, a short but decided lull separated these two most potent stimulants of original South Coast settlement, whereas after 1871, even the 1890s depression failed to confound what had become only a slight, regular variation in population never again to exceed 2 per cent annually.

During the second, sixty-year phase of South Coast demographic history, the region's population declined until 1921 – not abruptly
in terms of annual change, though quite anomalously after the unwavering growth before 1901. The gradual recovery after 1921 accompanied the influx of motoring tourists, a trend undoubtedly encouraged by the highway improvements instigated at that time by the newly-constituted Main Roads Board.\(^9\) After a hesitant, depression-impeded beginning, population regenerated rapidly in the immediate post-war years, abetted by demobilised farmers, an enhanced birth-rate, and the resumption of such construction projects as roads and bridges, harbour works and rural water-supply systems. Yet the characteristic chiefly distinguishing phase one from phase two is the latter's maintenance of a relatively constant, only slightly fluctuating total regional population: a difference of 14,000 people separates the maximum and minimum population levels since 1901, contrasted with a difference of 34,000 between 1846 and 1901. Two other equally fundamental dissimilarities characterise the two phases: first, as the next section describes, the urban component of total South Coast population swelled from nothing to almost 60 per cent. by 1901, but subsequently absorbed barely another 15 per cent.; secondly, effective regional settlement achieved its greatest areal expansion in many districts before 1901, the local oecumene shrinking or stabilizing thereafter. That is, some demographic attrition during phase two reflects this retreat from marginal areas. Quickened by dwindling gold production\(^10\) and the displacement of farm labour by mechanization, and sponsored indirectly by the concurrent transport upheaval discussed below, settlement began to consolidate very markedly around specific centres, leaving in its wake prostrate villages, closed dairy factories, and a scorched earth littered with

\(^9\) W.A. Bayley: 'The Prince's Highway beyond St George', The Propeller (Hurstville), 16 July 1942. Following the passage of the Main Roads Act of 1924, the authority for maintaining, improving and constructing Main Roads so classified under the existing Local Government Act was transferred to the Main Roads Board.

abandoned holdings. What subsided about 1900 was, in effect, the
carefree economic apprenticeship of the region; what followed was its struggle to provide a living.

Urban Population Growth

Although South Coast towns have continuously absorbed more and more of the regional population - excepting only the 1954-1961 intercensal period, when revised statistical definitions shattered commensurability - the unambiguous rural-urban identification required to scrutinize such a trend resists precise extraction from the data available. Accordingly, before discussing the processes and patterns of South Coast urbanization, certain qualifications need recording. First, as footnotes to Tables 14 to 18 illustrate, published census data avoided functional or density definitions of 'rural' and 'urban' populations until 1954, when a tabulated entry for 'near Bega' was first used to designate the inhabitants of farmland surrounding the town of Bega. No such distinction clarified previous censuses. Instead, any tabulated town name almost inevitably referred also to adjoining farmland bearing the same postal denomination: thus, in 1901, whereas the 'village' of Towamba's population was given as 93, another Towamba was presented elsewhere as 156. Since later census enumerations clearly described this 'village-plus-environs' (as opposed to the village alone), to retain consistency in calculating growth rates it has been necessary to adopt 156 as Towamba's 1901 population. Unfortunately, however meritorious such a practice, it inflates urban populations capriciously, especially among the smaller villages, and obviously overstates regional urban aggregates. By contrast, the residential definition of rural/urban introduced at the 1961 census 11 obviates this distortion and produces an immediately-acceptable distinction, but naturally destroys continuity with earlier censuses.

Exaggerated urban statistics also emanate from the prescribed use of municipal divisions which embrace town and country alike. In 1861,

11 See footnote 1 above.
for example, the Municipality of Kiama contained 2,700 inhabitants, but the town only 1,161; thus, between 1881 and 1891, an unavoidable shift from 'town' to 'municipal' units falsified the growth rate as the malformation of Figure 10.D testifies. Similar distortions have afflicted other municipalities; Gerringong, Moruya and Nowra included much adjacent farmland; Broughton Vale, Jamberoo and South Shoalhaven were almost entirely rural; and both Nowra and Bega formerly excluded integral satellites on the opposite river-banks, at Bomaderry and North Bega respectively. More misleading still were the Municipalities of Berry and Ulladulla, each embracing two towns - Berry and Bomaderry, and Ulladulla and Milton - but denoting only one of them to unsuspecting scholars.12

Secondly, occasional unaccountable census omissions reduce or discredit regional urban estimates. Despite their omission, of course, neither Narooma nor Tathra ceased to exist in 1901, nor Bomaderry between 1911 and 1954. A third proviso concerns intra-regional variations in growth rates, which aggregate rates necessarily disguise and seldom match. When the total South Coast population was expanding most rapidly between 1861 and 1871, at an average annual rate of 9.47 per cent., Eden Electorate grew annually by only 7.65 per cent., Eden Police District actually declined annually by 4.79 per cent., and Eden itself lost 5.56 per cent. per annum. That is, generalization about even so homogeneous a region as the South Coast invites flagrant falsification. Fourthly, the use of arbitrary town-size categories in Tables 11, 12, 19, 20 and 21 permits some distortion when several towns with comparable populations simultaneously drift across a class-size limit, somewhat artificially inflating one category at the transient expense of another's depletion. In 1911, as Figure 10.A shows, the proportion of urban population in towns of 1,000 or more inhabitants fell anomalously from 57.15 to 34.20 per cent. when Moruya's decline from 1,099 to 907 entailed its reclassification in a lower category; coincidentally, by attaining a peak just exceeding 500, such villages as Kangaroo Valley, Cobargo, Bemboka, Candelo, Pambula and Araluen

12 N.G. Butlin thus fails to isolate 'Ulladulla' from the Municipality bearing that name in his - Investment in Australian Economic Growth, 1861-1900. Cambridge U.P., 1964, p.190. Growth attributed to Ulladulla was properly Milton's.
Figure 10: South Coast Population and Urban Growth Rates, 1846-1961

A  Total Regional Population and Rural/Urban Components
B  Rural Service Centres
C  Mining Towns
D  Ports
E  Resorts and Rural Localities
brie\textit{ly} increased the proportion of urban population in towns of 500-999 inhabitants from 10.67 (in 1901) to 30.17 per cent. Neither of these extreme fluctuations, however, reflected any equivalent amplitude of oscillation among the populations of individual towns comprising either size-category. In evaluating urban demographic data, then, these four qualifications impose limits upon the plausible order of accuracy, and like the geographical discrepancies in regional boundaries mentioned above, illustrate rather than comprehend the many inconsistencies and arbitrary choices which such evaluation entails.

On their face value, with only minor imperfections remedied, official South Coast population statistics nonetheless disclose quite a credible history of urbanization. In particular, three durable trends of probably wider validity are recognizable - (i) the urban population has almost always grown more rapidly than the total population; (ii) the larger centres have almost invariably grown faster than the smaller; and (iii) quite discrete chronologies characterize the rural service centres, ports, mining towns and latter-day resorts. The first tendency was reversed during only two inter-censal periods - in 1891-1901, when altered statistical divisions were partly responsible; and in 1954-61, when redefinition of the rural/urban dichotomy dislocated statistical continuity. Yet towns and villages of 50 inhabitants or more had absorbed almost 60 per cent of the region's population by 1891, and over 70 per cent by 1954 - and notwithstanding the initial 15-year lag between pioneer penetration and the earliest town-formation, underwent a two-phase development parallel to that of the entire region. The first phase, however, consistently witnessed much higher annual growth rates than the region as a whole, only dropping below 7 per cent. in 1871-81, and exceeding a quite remarkable annual average of 25 per cent. for the 20 years after 1851. Even the brief, region-wide retardation of growth just before 1856 failed to touch the towns, which currently enjoyed prodigious increases of 39 per cent annually. During the 1870s, when town-founding waned and gold-field boom-towns slumped (Araluen plunging from 2,900 inhabitants in 1871 to 609 in 1881), a distinct lapse in urbanization temporarily
reduced urban increase to the same rate as regional increase, thereby
restraining the urban proportion of South Coast population at a con-
stant level for ten years; however, vigorous restoration during the
1880s -especially among such second-order, satellite villages of 250-499
inhabitants as Canelo, Wolumla and Wyndham - carried phase one to
a culmination between 1891 and 1901, from which it slid into the opening,
almost imperceptible population decline of phase two for the ensuing
twenty years.

While both urban and total South Coast populations resumed a
steady annual increase of about 1-2 per cent. after 1921, the urban
component did so more decisively, enjoying almost exclusively the new
tourist patronage, and previously having dwindled less markedly.
Accompanied and encouraged by a revival of town-founding, the post-
1921 urban population mounted from 19,000 to 30,000 by 1954 - the
virtual equivalent of all South Coast population increase for those 33
years. Only during the 1947-54 intercensal period did the aggregate
regional increase exceed the urban increase: alternatively stated, as
comparisons of urban and total inter-censal increments reveal (see
Table 12), the rural component has declined ever since 1901, except
during the inter-censal period 1947-54, when soldier settlement and
fond hopes for government-sponsored regional development enjoyed pass-
ing success, and since 1954, because the 1961 'rural/urban' re-
definition artificially enhanced the rural proportion. Conversely,
during no inter-censal period before 1901 did rural de-population
occur - yet another manifestation of that turn-of-the-century demo-
graphic divide already postulated.

The second inveterate tendency of regional population history -
the faster growth of larger centres - is portrayed in Tables 19 to
21, which disclose how maximum concentrations of South Coast people
in each urban size-class have occurred more and more recently for
successively larger size-classes, as might be expected. Thus, both
individually and in combination, the three size-classes comprising
all villages of 249 or fewer inhabitants contained greater proportions
of the region's population in 1846 than at any subsequent census;
towns of 250-499 inhabitants have never accommodated so substantial
a share of South Coast population as they did in 1856, nor towns
of 500-999 as they did in 1861. Centres surpassing 1,000 in population achieved an ever later dominance, in 1901 for those of 1,000-1,999 residents, and in 1961 for those exceeding 2,000 — precisely when their absolute numerical share of regional population also culminated (contrast Tables 21 and 20). Moreover, during the ninety years since Berry Municipality and Araluen became the region's first towns to boast 1,000 inhabitants, centres of this magnitude have attracted some 70 per cent of South Coast town dwellers, leaving another 20 per cent in agglomerations of 250-999 inhabitants, and the remnant 10 per cent in even smaller centres: in 1871, these concentrations were 50, 33 and 17 per cent, respectively; and in 1947, following the post-depression tourist resuscitation of small centres, 61, 24 and 15, although only 12 of the region's 105 existing or defunct urban centres ever attained a population of 1,000. However, besides the statistically-induced anomaly resolved above (where towns of less than 1,000 inhabitants illogically appeared to prosper at the expense of more populous centres between 1901 and 1911), one other presagious aberration detaches the period 1891-1921 from the deep-rooted trend towards increasingly dominant larger towns. These thirty years experienced a locally widespread growth of second-order service centres supporting 250-499 inhabitants, an aggrandizement of village satellites surrounding Bega, Nowra, Naruya, Cobargo and Eden. Such villages not only expanded to sometimes one-third the population of the primary node, but accordingly intensified commercial and agricultural rivalry: general stores, creameries, butter factories, sawmills, co-ordinated coaching services and small-town newspapers abounded, the ultimate, inevitable armistice confirming the supremacy of primary nodes very much as a comparison of the 1901 and 1921 panels of Figure 9 depicts.

In reality, of course, both the historical trends towards mounting urbanization and big-town omnipotence derive their validity from the necessarily ad hoc amalgamation of many discrete town chronologies. To ignore this underlying diversity of urban development is to disguise the displacement of one incentive for urbanization by another, as tourism has displaced certain shipping facilities. The third common
tendency of South Coast population history - the characteristic assump-
tion of variform growth sequences for rural service centres, ports, 
mining towns and holiday resorts - certainly helps identify these 
elements of growth and retardation, but demands the adoption of quite 
tendentious functional categories for towns: for example, although 
Bega and Moruya still doubtless qualify as rural service centres, 
present-day Nowra acquires its income far more diversely, while such 
neighbouring primordial ports as Eden and Merimbula have sought 
eternal life in very dissimilar ways. Before considering which pat-
terns of urban evolution warrant separate identification, however, the 
complementary evolution of rural population may serve to illustrate 
one sequence of regional settlement quite fundamental to several others. 

As Figure 10. E shows, such rural localities as Broughton Vale, 
Brogo and Rocky Hall - uncontaminated by urban enclaves - have endured 
an erratic but unmistakable decline in population for virtually all 
their existence. In other localities, particularly along the middle 
Clyde River and near such headwaters as those of the Kangaroo, Tuross 
and Towamba tributaries and the Brogo and Bega Rivers, once-thriving 
settlements have been abandoned altogether to fire-induced broken fern 
and wattles, and lack even the dismal but continuous demographic record 
of more permanent forest clearings. Rural de-population has also 
arisen from twentieth-century farm amalgamation (notably in the vicinity 
of major towns) and farm work-force depletion, fostered principally by 
mechanized milking and the reversion to extensive grazing on many 
peripheral holdings. Saw-mill centres at Benandarah, Brooman and 
Termeil - but not the converted mining town of Nerrigundah - began a 
post-1921 revival, only to deteriorate when the re-alignment of Prince's 
Highway impounded them within cul-de-sacs; unlike many farming local-
ities, however, such forestry communities cohered about the saw-mill 
with quasi-urban compactness, eluding those inter-censal boundary re-
visions and omissions which all too frequently confound locality analysis. 

Of all recognizably distinct South Coast growth sequences, that of 
the rural service centres most closely resembles those of the regional 
and urban aggregates plotted on Figure 10.A. Nothing enigmatical 
confuses this correlation: not only have farm-land nodes consistently
transmitted innovations locally and supported the more specialized urban facilities such as hospitals, secondary schools and courts of law, thereby underpinning regional urban development as a whole, but the fortunes and phases of rural population change so affected dependent towns and villages that some resemblance was inevitable. Whereas ports in general have maintained a steady growth, and mining towns have dwindled just as habitually, rural service centres of every size and location have commonly displayed an initially rapid accretion of inhabitants until between 1881 and 1911, and an ensuing stagnation of growth or outright decline until about 1921; thereafter, primary nodes resumed regular but unspectacular increases, although many of their village satellites continued to diminish, fleetingly rehabilitated, only while that post-war rural Utopia beguiled the demobilized.

From this particular pattern, however, emerge two suggestive, tentative analogies with the prototypical stages of economic growth postulated by W.W. Rostow in 1956. First, whether towns managed to sustain growth beyond the demographic divide of c.1900 or sank into continuous decline instead, appears at first inspection to reflect the rate and duration of urban growth before 1900. If launched with sufficient initial energy to attain a population of 1,000 or more by c.1900, rural service centres seldom stagnated subsequently, but resumed an annual growth rate of 1.5 to 2 per cent.; Nowra and Bega epitomise this progression, having increased their populations continuously before 1891 at annual rates of 2-26 per cent., to almost 2,000. However, if growth and decline alternated before 1900, as they did at Pambula and Wyndham, or if annual growth rates fluctuated capriciously (1-22 per cent. at Candelo; 0.3-17 per cent. at Bodalla) or abated as early as 1871 or 1881 (Moruya, Berry, Kiama) – in short, if early momentum was dissipated – then what Rostow calls 'the take-off' ('the interval when the old blocks and resistances to steady growth are finally overcome') generally proved ineffectual, and post-1921 populations slumped. Admittedly, Rostow's notions of


14 Rostow, 1960, op. cit., p.7
'take-off' and the pre-conditions believed essential for its fruition have both incurred strident academic debunking, and the analogy with South Coast urbanisation is not particularly close, let alone entirely sound. Yet such an analogy does intimate that the critical period of South Coast inter-urban competition occurred before 1901, when triumphant emergence required the attainment of particular rates of prior urban growth. And the second analogy with Rostow's paradigm reinforces the first. Exactly when the culmination of 'take-off' occurred and how protracted the pursuit of 'maturity', seem to depend once again, in the case of South Coast towns, on each town's geographical momentum: the faster and more consistent initial population growth, the earlier the demographic divide was reached, and the sooner twentieth-century increases began. Curiously but significantly, however, the local advent of motor transport post-dated this divergence around 1900 of big-town growth and small-town decline, merely sharpening an existing trend for the inception of which it is sometimes blamed.

Excluded from these analogies by their own characteristically incongruous sequences of growth, the region's ports, mining towns and resorts have remained somewhat aloof from the local jousting for urban supremacy, as though aware of their own intrinsically subordinate or ephemeral roles. Mining towns and gold fields littered with campers generally though not invariably rocketed into existence once a rush began, promptly achieved a pinnacle of population never again recaptured, and then commenced their long, wobbling dissolution, ultimately expiring altogether or staving off death with new, ignominious functions - a saw-mill and eucalyptus distillery at Nerringundah, rough grazing near Araluen, and a few village facilities at Mogo and Major's Creek. Nevertheless, exceptions abound. Both Araluen and Nerringundah, the largest

15 See Helen Hughes: 'Is the Concept of Take-off Useful, Misleading or Wrong?', Business Archives and History, IV, 2, August 1964, pp.159-169.

16 Defined by Rostow as 'the stage in which an economy demonstrates the capacity to move beyond the original industries which powered its take-off and to apply efficiently over a very wide range of its resources - if not the whole range - the most advanced fruits of (then) modern technology': Rostow, 1960, op.cit., p.10

17 Cf. Rostow's ratio of investment to national income - Rostow, 1960, op.cit., pp.8-9

18 Moruya Examiner, 7 August 1920.
and earliest gold-mining boom-towns, were resurrected during the 1890s from annual population losses of 3-7 per cent, by syndicated dredging and cyanide batteries, the relatively capital-intensive successors to the original labour-intensive panning and fossicking; yet such rejuvenation simply postponed the resumption of decline, increasing Araluen’s population to a trivial 771 in 1911, compared with its reputed hey-day peak of some 15,000 in 1852, and Nerrigundah’s to 266 in 1901, compared with about 2,000 in 1866. Other South Coast fields eluded the incursion of prospectors during the 1850s and 1860s entirely, despite the numbers and assiduity involved, and were invaded only by the 1890s. Such belated beginnings included Wadbilliga and Mount Dromedary (1866) Yowaka (South Pambula) and Turlinjah (1890), Yambulla (1891), Bodalla Reefs (1893), Wolulla, Nangutta and Timbillica (all about 1899), and much more recently, near Moruya – Dwyer’s Creek (1927) and Moggendoura (1932). Nor did every ‘field’ precipitate its town. Concentrated groups of 500 miners and dependents were comparatively exceptional, even briefly, the majority of mines remaining the preserve of up to half-a-dozen ‘syndicates’ or twice that many ‘parties’. Essentially, that is, gold lured a thin, scattered, transient population into the region’s most sequestered, inaccessible marclands, but engendered towns only when no supply centre already existed – either because gold stampedes anticipated official town foundation, as they did at Araluen and Nerrigundah, or because sheer isolation within an ocean of forest prohibited the use of existing centres, as at Yalwal and Yambulla. Ports and holiday resorts – or more typically, those former ports now accommodating vacationists – display the least consistent sequences of growth of all South Coast urban functional classes. Despite their local antiquity as the cradles of urbanization, the ports resisted usurpation of what service functions they had by upstart farming...

19 Goulburn Herald, 4 March 1896.

Plate 23: William Street, Candelo

To the right of the picture extends the Candelo Creek bridge, linking William Street with Sharp Street, the town's second 'Main Street'; facing William Street (from left to right) are the hall, motor garage, double-storey guest house, post office, and former newspaper printing office - a complement typical of many South Coast villages.

Plate 24: Murrarang Street, Milton

Prince's Highway provides the ridge-top Main Street for this town of 642 inhabitants, an axial aggregation of stores, banks, auction rooms, town hall, hotels and service stations.
Plate 25: Queen Street, Moruya

Once the town's Main Street, but at right angles to its present commercial axis (Vulcan Street - Plate 26 below), Queen Street now displays three old-style stores (with awnings - now used residentially), the former Bowden's Club House Hotel (the gabled, two-storey guest house), and at the extreme right, another hotel converted into a second-choice motel.

Plate 26: Vulcan Street, Moruya

The town's present Main Street, coincident with Prince's Highway, Vulcan Street takes an abrupt joggle to the left of this picture to meet the Moruya River bridge; a foreground fence now blocks the approach to the original bridge, which floods destroyed.
centres, either very ineffectually, or by metamorphosis into some other kind of town. Kiama and Gerringong became successful service centres for neighbouring farms; the estuarine heads of navigation at Nelligen and Wagonga, like Bateman's Bay, resorted to saw-milling; and before tourism or commuters transfigured them after c.1920, Ulladulla, Narooma, Bermagui and Eden ensured their survival when coastal shipping waned by maintaining fishing fleets. Recurrent demographic trends among these ports may be concisely outlined, lacking as they do the comprehensible, long-term phases of the rural service centres and the uncomplicated exhaustion of mining towns. After c.1920, as motoring vacationists penetrated the railway-destitute South Coast in swelling annual migrations, almost every coastal resort (as distinct from upstream river-ports) enjoyed an upsurge of population annually averaging 2-10 per cent until 1933, and continuing to the present at slightly slower rates which nonetheless strikingly surpassed those of the rural service centres. Before c.1920, bedlam prevailed, some ports languishing deceptively before bursting chrysalis-like into tourist centres, others growing unsteadily, still others vacillating aimlessly from decade to decade, and only Eden of all the legitimate ports achieving a population of 500. From the prevailing decline of South Coast ports just before 1921, however, neither of the estuarine navigation heads at Wagonga and Nelligen recovered: the former failed by 2-8 per cent. annually, following the re-orientation of Nerrigundah trade towards Moruya, and the installation of a hand-operated punt at Narooma in 1893; the latter lay becalmed after 1881 with a perdurable population just surpassing 100, its coach and waggon traffic diverted by the Bateman's Bay ferry after 1893, and its interior hinterland for wool shipments plundered by the southern railway.

Foundations of Urban Growth

Though recognizably distinct when thus appraised, these sequences of urban evolution have pursued nonetheless cognate, concurrent courses, jointly controlling the entire South Coast urban scene. Accordingly,

21 Moruya Examiner, 8 June 1894
22 Moore's Almanac, 1894.
having traced the development of isolated strands of urbanisation, it remains to consider the whole regional ensemble of towns chronologically, trying chiefly to comprehend their changing inter-relationships. Exactly what induced the region's towns to sprout and mature when and where they did, however, obviously defies all but the most superficial analysis in a few pages. Even the question's meaning is contentious, since what persuaded South Coast settlers to occupy its towns and villages need not coincide with what permitted them to do so. Even the dependents and hangers-on — whether of local workers or social welfare funds — cannot be dismissed conveniently, since recent decades have seen a mounting preference among retired Sydneysiders for the tranquil, refreshing coastal colonies; and the secluded forest fringes readily conceal those whose poverty or temperament inclines them towards estrangement from society. At Candelo and Towamba, and along the southern Mantle Hill perimeter of Moruya, allotments of an acre or more capable of supporting a cow, orchard, poultry-run and vegetable patch, manage to provide many a near-subsistence livelihood, of reputedly superior incidental attractiveness than the metropolitan alternative. And at Yowaka, an otherwise deserted mining town, aborigines congregate while the pea-picking season lasts. Unfortunately, such realities generally indicate a penultimate stage of urban dissolution, and not the pillars of urban development sought here; despite their tangential role in prolonging town existence, these are not relevant, formative inducements to urban growth.

Instead, it is submitted that South Coast urban growth has sprung essentially from enhanced opportunities for urban employment — particularly in retailing, in processing, marketing and transporting the locally-derived products of farms, forests and fisheries, and in such tertiary services designed to bolster the rural economy and sweeten country life as road maintenance, postal communications, education, health, local government, entertainment, agricultural extension, and civic affairs. Additional employment capacity in any of these spheres has almost axiomatically generated urban growth, although such an

assertion merely poses a chicken-and-egg paradox: what, indeed, enlarges employment capacity? Within the specific context of South Coast history, four comprehensive sources of economic activity appear to explain why town occupations have increased.

First, the exploitation of regional resources has channelled population into particular areas at different times and for differing durations. Agriculture, for example, as distinct from its antecedent pastoralism, intensified rural settlement and vindicated town establishment after the implementation of Robertson's 1861 Land Acts, while the subdivision of Be&!s temporary town common and the W.M. Manning - C.T. Stiles Towamba Estate about 1890 accommodated many new share-farmers bereft of city employment and launched into rural obscurity by the contemporary depression. Again though much more proficient in populating other regions of New South Wales, even local industry has created sporadic agglomerations of factories, mills, warehouses and loading gear, notably near the Bomaderry railway terminus - the distribution node for over half the entire region - and at Eden's wharf, fish cannery and oil storage installations. Mining, by contrast, encouraged development not only where specific minerals occurred, but where provisions, community and transportation might be sought: thus, the ports of Merimbula and Eden vied for the patronage of diggers disembarking for Kiandra in 1860, just as another plateau gold field around Braidwood accelerated the growth of Moruya and Nelligen, endowing the latter briefly with mail distribution functions for an extensive plateau hinterland.

27 The Twofold Bay and Maneroo Telegraph, 3 July 1860; 5 October 1860 (particularly 'Nector', editorial correspondence about Merimbula); and 28 December 1860.
hastening construction of the Clyde Mountain pass to facilitate port-
plateau migration, and boosting Moruya - despite its limited supporting
farmland - at rates as rapid as those of Bega or Nowra.

Two other radically dissimilar phases of South Coast exploitation
have fostered urbanization - the continuing programme of public works,
and twentieth century defence installations. Benefiting nearby towns
and animating the locally unemployed, for example, labouring gangs ex-
tended the Illawarra railway to Bomaderry in 1890, rebuilt Moruya's
flood-annihilated bridge in 1945, occupied a succession of camps while
reallocating the Prince's Highway south of Eden in 1933, populated
Dorman, Long and Company's 'Granitetown' near Moruya between 1924 and
1931 while excavating the pylon blocks for Sydney Harbour Bridge, and
took five years before 1951 to link Tantawanglo Creek and Eden with
39.67 miles of water-pipeline designed to supply an adjacent farm popu-
lation of 225 and the 4,000 occupants of five towns en route. Yet

28 A bridge-gang 31 strong completed the reconstruction in 4½ months -
see Moruya Examiner, 12 October 1945.

29 See 'Kiah Road Camp' entry in the Commonwealth Census of 1933.

30 Sydney Mail, 12 September 1928, p.2; and Moruya Examiner,
9 May 1931.

31 Imlay Shire Council: Minutes and Reports, 1960 - 'Review of
Water Supplies within Imlay Shire', prepared by the Shire Clerk,
15 June 1960.

32 Moruya Examiner, 24 January and 14 March 1925; 19 June and
25 September 1926; 22 January 1927; and 9 May 1931.
occupied migrating canvas encampments, although clusters of PMG caravans and portable DMR cabins nowadays more often herald the frontier of public works.Occupationally, South Coast labourers still find rotational employment with the PMG, DMR, local shire council and private contractors, working at whatever offers in the vicinity of their home towns.

Apart from imperative wartime military decentralization and such current responsibilities as civil aerodromes and postal communications, only two naval bases near Nowra have drawn Commonwealth personnel and funds into direct regional development - at H.M.A.S. Creswell, the officer training college on Jervis Bay, and at H.M.A.S. Albatross, the naval air base behind Nowra Hill. Both centres gravitate commercially towards Nowra, but owe their existence ultimately to the selection of Jervis Bay as Canberra's maritime outlet in 1909 - a curious but nonetheless geographical affinity.

Along such channels, employment in local resource exploitation has guided South Coast urbanization. Of the remaining three 'comprehensive sources of economic activity' anticipated above, the next two implicate port and market hinterlands. Firstly, urban growth has followed the spasmodic orientation of plateau districts towards coastal ports, or of farming communities towards particular towns, thereby augmenting some 'collection' hinterland; secondly, as specific extra-regional markets have materialized, urban populations have swollen to satisfy them, responding thus to such unique 'disposal' or 'supply' hinterlands as the Canberra fluid milk market - which has recently strengthened the Bega Valley economy - the Sydney-Wollongong building industry - into which coastal sawmill products largely find their way - or the New Zealand railways, which helped absorb South Coast sleeper exports between 1931 and 1952, when more efficient Western Australian contractors annexed the trade monopoly.33 'Collection' hinterlands, moreover, properly include the sources of tourists and holidaymakers, these

33 Personal communication from Messrs H.P. Wellings, shipping agent, and K.B. Timms, sawmill proprietor, both of Eden. Each party blamed the costliness of bringing stevedores from Port Kembla, and the inferior loading facilities at Eden wharf.
groups comprising an increasingly robust sector of the South Coast economy, and sustaining high seasonal populations in otherwise virtually empty resorts; the provision of accommodation, entertainment and transport facilities for visitors from Sydney, Wollongong, Melbourne and Canberra has rejuvenated many a moribund port, while the disposition of passes crossing the plateau escarpment and the occasional coincidence of Prince's Highway with the coastline itself, have favoured certain towns quite unequivocally - how else could Bemboka (1961 urban population = 213) support a motel at the foot of Brown Mountain, or such concentrations of weekenders occur at Ulladulla and Bateman's Bay?

Alternatively, tourism might be aligned obliquely - in the fourth and final source of regional economic activity alluded to above - with other tertiary services partly dependent upon the state of national prosperity and the external, chiefly metropolitan impetus towards planned development and social provision - aligned, for example, with secondary education and local government, agricultural extension services and hospital facilities, baby health centres, court jurisdictions, and State Housing Commission and public works programmes. That is, the N.S.W. Government's budgetary commitments regulate to some degree the numbers and locations of nurses, teachers and agronomists working within the region, the loan funds available to finance shire and municipal water or sewerage schemes, the level of (and employment in) building activity, and similar spheres of public finance. Unlike resource utilization or hinterland relationships, which have always mirrored private local initiative in all its diversity, this fourth fountain of employment has sprung mainly from the public coffers.

Consider, for example, the regional ramifications of so external a decision as that to elevate Bega Public School to matriculation standard in 1931:34 overnight, schools of previously equivalent status at Candelo, Bemboka and Pambula became subordinate, surrendering their advanced pupils to Bega, becoming outposts of specially instituted bus hinterlands, losing parental allegiance to another Parents' and Citizens' Association, and relegating their towns to further functional

The usual one chain wide, but hardly more than an elongated and fenced paddock, Britannia Street (right) points north-westwards towards Little Brown Mountain near the Monaro escarpment, and runs parallel to Loftus Street (the Snowy Mountains Highway), along which most of Bemboka's buildings congregate (left centre). With 213 inhabitants, Bemboka is virtually a Strassendorf.

A suburban avenue full of older but substantial homes: at the right hand extremity, with twin chimneys and wrought-iron verandah decoration, is Dr Evershed's nineteenth century home. Against the skyline, among Bega's most expensive Belmore Street houses, stand the Convent, reservoir, and St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church.
subservience. Similarly, by diverting Twofold Bay shipping in 1848, the erection of Eden's Custom House undermined its rival claimant, Boydtown, just as the peremptory Government resolution of 1859 to locate 'all public buildings and conveniences' within the designated but almost vacant Town Reserve of Nowra strangled the development of Terara, a thriving and protesting Private Town only two miles downstream on the same Shoalhaven bank.

So critically has Government initiative affected regional growth, in fact, that even the anticipation of official sponsorship has elicited private speculation. At Wolumla in 1882, for example, 57 acres were sold in 180 allotments adjoining what was prematurely advertised as 'The Grand Railway Junction of the Bombala, Bega-Eden Line', although the Eden-Bega branch survey was completed only in 1886 and the Wolumla-Monaro survey four years later; over half a century was to pass before Wolumla's Railway Junction Hotel reverted - somewhat sheepishly, with echoes of Henry Parkes reverberating down the years - to plain Wolumla Hotel. Equally abortive were South Coast developmental


36 How vitriolic local obloquy was, is attested by (i) Petition to his Excellency the Governor and the Executive Council of New South Wales, submitted by W. Lovegrove, R.A. de Mestre, A. de Mestre, and 115 others (Surveyor-General's Office, 59/2476, 10 October 1859 - accompanied by A. de Mestre's 'Plan of Terrara Township', 59/9240); photostat copy of R.-G. original held by Shoalhaven Shire Council, Nowra; and (ii) editorial correspondence about Bomaderry ferry, by 'Cosmopolite', Shoalhaven News, 26 June 1867.

37 Bega Gazette, 18 January 1882 (advertisement for G. Haslingden's Al Sale Rooms).

38 Bega Standard, 2 October 1886 and Bega Gazette, 16 April 1890: a composite map showing the lines suggested between Cathcart and Bega by Surveyors Arndt, Darragh and Postle appeared in the Bega Standard, 14 May 1890.

39 Sir Henry Parkes in Bega's Lyceum Hall, 6 January 1888: 'If I remain in office for twelve months, the Eden-Bega railway shall be made!' - Bega Standard, 11 January 1888.
schemes primed to profit from the choice of a Federal Capital side and its ultimate improvement. However, whereas the preliminary commissioner's advocacy of the Southern Monaro (Bombala) site hardly stirred the inhabitants of its envisaged outlet port at Eden, official acceptance of Canberra-Jervis Bay inspired the only attempt to found an entire South Coast city - the late Henry F. Halloran's quixotic designs for St Vincent and Pacific Cities, between Jervis Bay and the Crookhaven River. By contrast, Canberra's currently waxing reliance upon the South Coast, especially for recreation and provisions, suggests that modern small town growth stems much less exclusively from the region's occupational capacity than it once did, and that sheer competence in agglomerating the use of the environment - whether through mining, agriculture, industry, tertiary employment, recreation, retirement or any other expedient - is now the key to urbanization.


41 Shoalhaven Shire Council, Nowra, currently holds in a single file all records since 1915 of land transactions between the former Clyde Shire Council and both Henry F. Halloran & Co. and Realty Realizations Ltd., Halloran's successor-firm.

42 F.J. Devery: Canberra and the Canberra Region, National Capital Development Commission, Canberra, February 1964.
### Table II. SOUTH COAST POPULATION, 1846 - 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Total South Coast Population</th>
<th>South Coast Population in Towns and Villages of 50 inhabitants or more</th>
<th>South Coast Population in Towns of 1,000 inhabitants or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number in South Coast Population</td>
<td>Percentage of total South Coast Population</td>
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<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>6.58</td>
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<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>4,586</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>6.96</td>
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<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>8,415</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>8.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>9,344</td>
<td>2,155</td>
<td>23.06</td>
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<td>1871</td>
<td>16,194</td>
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<td>44.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>23,163</td>
<td>10,329</td>
<td>44.59</td>
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<td>31,147</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>57.79</td>
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<td>1901</td>
<td>37,087</td>
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<td>32,375</td>
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<td>1921</td>
<td>29,549</td>
<td>19,423</td>
<td>65.73</td>
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<td>1933</td>
<td>31,549</td>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>33,645</td>
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<td>1954</td>
<td>40,554</td>
<td>30,436</td>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>44,945</td>
<td>29,166</td>
<td>64.89</td>
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<td>Inter-censal Period</td>
<td>Total South Coast Population</td>
<td>South Coast Population in Towns and Villages of 50 inhabitants or more</td>
<td>South Coast Population in Towns of 1,000 inhabitants or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Inter-censal Change</td>
<td>Average Annual Change</td>
<td>Inter-censal Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Number)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(Number)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1846-1851</td>
<td>+ 1,396</td>
<td>+ 8.75</td>
<td>+ 109</td>
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<tr>
<td>1851-1856</td>
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<td>+ 16.70</td>
<td>+ 411</td>
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<td>1856-1861</td>
<td>+ 929</td>
<td>+ 2.21</td>
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<tr>
<td>1861-1871</td>
<td>+ 8,850</td>
<td>+ 9.47</td>
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<td>1871-1881</td>
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<td>1881-1891</td>
<td>+ 7,984</td>
<td>+ 3.35</td>
<td>+7,671</td>
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<td>1891-1901</td>
<td>+ 5,940</td>
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<td>1901-1911</td>
<td>+ 4,712</td>
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<td>- 318</td>
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<td>1911-1921</td>
<td>- 2,626</td>
<td>- 0.87</td>
<td>- 348</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921-1933</td>
<td>+ 2,045</td>
<td>+ 0.69</td>
<td>+2,450</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933-1947</td>
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<td>+ 0.71</td>
<td>+3,482</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947-1954</td>
<td>+ 6,719</td>
<td>+ 1.99</td>
<td>+5,081</td>
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<tr>
<td>1954-1961</td>
<td>+ 4,381</td>
<td>+ 1.08</td>
<td>-1,270</td>
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Table 12: SOUTH COAST: RATES OF POPULATION CHANGE, 1846-51 TO 1954-61
### Table 13: SOUTH COAST POPULATION STATISTICS, 1846-1961: Constituent Statistical Divisions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>South Coast Population</th>
<th>Constituent Statistical Divisions</th>
<th>Deviation from Defined South Coast Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>Co. St. Vincent &amp; Co. Auckland (which then included the present Co. Dampier)</td>
<td>Plateau fringes around Braidwood and Countegany included; areas north of the Shoalhaven River excluded, but they contain no enumerated town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>4,586</td>
<td>Co. St. Vincent &amp; Broulee Police District and Eden Police District and Kiama &quot;locality&quot;</td>
<td>Kangaroo Valley and northern Shoalhaven delta excluded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>6,415</td>
<td>Co. St. Vincent and Broulee Police District and Eden Police District and Kiama &quot;locality&quot;.</td>
<td>Kangaroo Valley and northern Shoalhaven delta excluded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>9,344</td>
<td>Shoalhaven Electorate and Eden Electorate and Kiama &quot;town&quot;</td>
<td>Kangaroo Valley, parts of the Shoalhaven delta and &quot;rural&quot; Kiama, and Araluen excluded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>19,194</td>
<td>Shoalhaven Electorate and Eden Electorate and Kiama &quot;town&quot;</td>
<td>As for 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>23,163</td>
<td>Shoalhaven Electorate and Eden Electorate and Kiama Municipality and two localities - Gerringong and Broughton Vale</td>
<td>Kangaroo Valley, part of the northern Shoalhaven delta and Araluen excluded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>31,147</td>
<td>Shoalhaven Electorate and Eden Electorate and East Kiama Municipality and two localities - Gerringong and Broughton Vale</td>
<td>As for 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>37,087</td>
<td>Co. St. Vincent &amp; Co. Dampier &amp; Co. Auckland and four localities - Kiama, Gerringong, Broughton Vale and Bonaderry</td>
<td>Part of Kangaroo Valley excluded; plateau fringes around Braidwood and Countegany included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>39,549</td>
<td>Shires of Inlay, Mumbulla, Burobodalla, Clyde and Cambewarra; Municipalities of Broughton Vale, Berry, Bega, Ulladulla, Nowra, South Shoalhaven, Kiama Gerringong and Jamberoo.</td>
<td>Parts of Jamberoo Municipality lie outside the South Coast Region</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>31,594</td>
<td>As for 1921</td>
<td>As for 1921</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>35,845</td>
<td>As for 1921</td>
<td>As for 1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>40,564</td>
<td>Shires of Inlay, Mumbulla, Burobodalla and Shoalhaven; Municipalities of Bega and Kiama</td>
<td>Parts of Kiama Municipality lie outside the South Coast Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>44,945</td>
<td>As for 1954</td>
<td>As for 1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL SERVICE CENTERS</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiama</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>741 T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerringong</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>1,534 M</td>
<td>1,051 M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berry</td>
<td>1,154 b</td>
<td>1,268 b</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangaroo Valley</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>561</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barrenbarrin</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>211</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nowra</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>1,705</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bomaderry</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wagga Creek</td>
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<td>170</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tomerong</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>130</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wondamian</td>
<td>1,765 c</td>
<td>1,308 c</td>
<td>1,507 c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bateman's Bay</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mogo</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>235</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moruya</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>332</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colilla-Turlingah</td>
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<td>137</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bodalla</td>
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<td>Eurobodalla</td>
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<td>154</td>
</tr>
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<td>Central Tilba</td>
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<td>Cobargo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quamby</td>
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<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bega</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bemboka (Colombo)</td>
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<td>323</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candelo</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolmarra</td>
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<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fambula</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes East Milton
a Includes Gerroa
b Includes Municipality of Broughton Creek and Bomaderry
c Includes Municipality of Ulladulla
d Includes Batehaven
e Includes Municipality of Bega, and North Bega

Table 14. SOUTH COAST TOWN POPULATIONS, 1851-1961: RURAL SERVICE CENTER
# Table 15: South Coast Town Populations, 1846-1961: Ports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PORT</th>
<th>1846</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1856</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
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<th>1921</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1954</th>
<th>1961*</th>
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<td>199</td>
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* "Urban" population - so defined in census
a Includes Gerroa
b Includes Mollymook
c Includes Batemahaven
d Includes North Narooma

V Village
T Town
M Municipality
### Table 16. SOUTH COAST TOWN POPULATIONS, 1861-1961: MINING TOWNS

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<th>1871</th>
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<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
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<th>1933</th>
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* "Urban" population - so defined in census.
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<th>1933</th>
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<th>1954</th>
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* "Urban" population - as defined in census.
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<th>1901</th>
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<th>1954</th>
<th>1961</th>
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M Municipality

a Entirely "rural"
b Includes Brogo North - entirely "rural"
c Includes 173 "rural" inhabitants
d "Urban" = 7 of this total.
e "Urban" = 27 of this total
f Includes 14 "rural" inhabitants
g Includes 15 "rural" inhabitants
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<th>500-999</th>
<th>250-499</th>
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<td>55.17</td>
<td>22.50</td>
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<td>8.72</td>
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<td>13.82</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>7.97</td>
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<td>20.50</td>
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<td>1911</td>
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<td>17.09</td>
<td>11.21</td>
<td>21.96</td>
<td>11.27</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
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<td>1933</td>
<td>47.44</td>
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<td>12.19</td>
<td>13.12</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>1.98</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>45.55</td>
<td>15.22</td>
<td>15.46</td>
<td>8.72</td>
<td>11.45</td>
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<td>0.95</td>
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<td>1954</td>
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<td>31.29</td>
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<td>8.79</td>
<td>8.99</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>0.70</td>
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<td>50.64</td>
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<td>11.45</td>
<td>8.15</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>2.98</td>
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### Table 21: SOUTH COAST: URBAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE OF CENTRE, 1846-1961

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>All Centres</th>
<th>&gt; 2000</th>
<th>1000-1999</th>
<th>500-999</th>
<th>250-499</th>
<th>100-249</th>
<th>50-99</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>1851</td>
<td>319</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>730</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>495</td>
<td>235</td>
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<td>2,900</td>
<td>1,241</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>1,375</td>
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<td>483</td>
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<td>5,698</td>
<td>2,324</td>
<td>1,406</td>
<td>901</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
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<td>20,089</td>
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<td>4,113</td>
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<td>1911</td>
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<td>6,763</td>
<td>6,072</td>
<td>3,627</td>
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<td>2,177</td>
<td>4,266</td>
<td>2,189</td>
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<td>2,667</td>
<td>2,647</td>
<td>2,625</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>434</td>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>25,355</td>
<td>11,551</td>
<td>3,658</td>
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<td>2,902</td>
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<td>1961</td>
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<td>14,830</td>
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<td>2,376</td>
<td>1,014</td>
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Chapter Five

ISOLATION and INACCESSIBILITY : PHASES of URBANIZATION

The 'demographic divide' of c.1900, as characterized in the
previous chapter, separates not only the two obviously distinct regimes
of coastal population history, but two almost equally polar proditi-
ties in the texture of South Coast life, or what constitutes the
'regional synthesis'. Before c.1900, urbanization was maintained by
a succession of related but chronologically discrete (or nearly dis-
crate) stimuli : after c.1900, antagonistic, multi-directional forces
simultaneously beset town growth, confounding its course until certain
forces gained ascendancy. Road transport, for example, slowly dis-
placed coastal shipping after 1900 ; tourism all but superseded farming
in setting the developmental tempo ; co-operative processing and mar-
keting conquered such formerly independent enterprises as dairying,
fishing, ship-building, hybrid maize and seed bean cultivation, and
even retailing ; neighbouring regions - once pursuing a similar
agricultural destiny and confronted by comparable impediments - were
transformed by coal-mining, steel production, the intrusion of
Canberra, snow sports and the Snowy Mountains Scheme, leaving the
South Coast a stagnant billabong beside the stream of progress ; and
notwithstanding the region's parroted political 'independence'\(^1\),
local initiative foundered beneath the tide of external - dominantly
Sydney - control. The twentieth century also superimposed a coastal
zone of holiday resorts on what seemed a stable pattern of settlement
around 1900, its urban complement apparently complete, its functional

\(^1\) D.W. Rawson and Susan N. Holtsinger : Politics in Eden-Monaro,
town hierarchy evidently secure, its frontiers of farmland and forest seemingly fixed, and all its overland routeways located, though not everywhere constructed to ideal specifications. South Coast urbanisation since c.1900, to distil its essence rather summarily, has thus embellished and diversified an existing pattern, simply accentuating some of its linesments and erasing others; and eschewing any semblance of those orderly, evolutionary sequences so typical of the nineteenth century.

This earlier macro-phase of South Coast urban development is divisible into seven shorter constituent phases extending from pioneer immigration, which culminated in the urban threshold, to the later macro-phase epitomised in the previous paragraph - the period of road transport, tourism, and an almost stationary regional population. Although separate sub-regions seldom experienced specific phases concurrently, phase sequences hardly varied throughout the region. The seven phases, with their approximate durations, are as follows - (1) the establishment of Primordial Ports - 1837-c.1860 ; (2) the establishment of rural service centres (Primary Agricultural Nodes) in the largest pockets of farmland - 1847-c.1860 ; (3) the first phase of urban inter-connexion, when the earliest roads linked ports with upstream rural service centres - 1840-c.1880 ; (4) the enlargement of port 'collection' hinterlands to embrace sections of the Southern Tablelands - 1840-c.1890 ; (5) the second phase of urban inter-connexion, when discontinuous feeder roads joined neighbouring towns or villages (Secondary or Subsequent Agricultural Nodes) to the bigger centres - 1860-c.1890 ; (6) reorientation inland towards the Goulburn-Monaro railway - 1870-c.1910 ; and (7) the period of urban industrialisation - 1890-c.1910.

1. Establishment of Primordial Ports

Although many South Coast pioneers penetrated the region from inland plateau districts, notably near Braidwood and the Monaro, it was palpable folly to evacuate their livestock or curse their teams all the way to the Sydney market by retracing this approach. 3,000 ft. escarpments and sometimes 40 miles of precipitous ranges, when
Figure 11 (left): South Coast - Communications and Transport Development

Figure 12 (right): South Coast - Former Limits of Nucleated Settlement, Aerodromes, Shipping and Port Hinterlands
overcome by drovers or teamsters, merely heralded another 300 miles of overlanding and river-crossing. Instead, squatters preferred to charter or acquire cutters or schooners, sometimes jointly, sailing such vessels between Sydney and the most convenient beach, river bank or roadstead, even after ports materialized. In 1843, for example, 'to settle alongside the Dromedary' (at Tilba Tilba), John Jauncey and Septimus Curlewis chartered the 40-ton Schooner Harriet to convey their families and possessions; subsequently, the 9-ton cutter Industry provisioned the outpost from Sydney, seldom completing trips within a month, and calling at intermediate ports 'to get rations and bake damper'. In 1851, William Duggan Tarlington unloaded a year's supplies at Bermagui for his upstream Cobargo squattages; at Bateman's Bay in 1840, a 60-ton vessel was launched specifically for these coastal logistics; by 1859, some half dozen 'coasting vessels' plied regularly between Moruya and Sydney, despite the statutory incorporation of the Illawarra Steam Navigation Co. the previous year; and as recently as 1899, an Eden fisherman (Issac Warren) was fabricating a 8-ton boat 'for the coastal trade'. Whatever impetus shipping gained from such ventures, however, encouraged dispersion of terminals rather than nucleation into port towns.

The conglomeration of maritime facilities began where an appropriate coalescence of harbour and hinterland conditions prevailed, and where the Government ratified the site and subdivision of a town - at Kiama, Huskisson, Ulladulla, Broulee and Eden by 1843, and at Bateman's Bay, Nelligen, Wagona, Bermagui, Tathra and Merimbula shortly afterwards, to recite only the oceanic ports and omit such river-bank rendezvous as Nowra, Berry and Moruya. Historically, South Coast

2 John Jauncey, speaking at a dinner celebrating the opening of Bermagui Bridge - Moruya Times and South Coast Journal, 19 September 1888.
4 Sydney Herald, 3 November 1840.
5 Waugh's Australian Almanac, 1859.
6 Eden Free Press, 17 May 1899.
harbour potentialities were rigorously compared by such navigators as Bass, Flinders, Woore, Edwardson and Beecroft well before shipping installations were sought by newly productive hinterlands; conversely, of course, when and whether a port's trade potential was realised depended upon the resource endowment of its hinterland, as Eden and Jervis Bay have long lamented. To accommodate several ships in moderate security from weather and war, the first harbours sheltered behind high headlands from the prevailing south-westerly winds and swell - Huskisson and Eden within the semi-enclosed waters of the region's only two protected bays; Kiama and Ulladulla between twin cliffed headlands; Tathra and Bermagui on the northern, leeward waterfronts of single promontories; and Broulee behind a tombolo linking two islands. Merimbula's headland unfortunately pointed directly into the weather, and a sandspit lashed by surf at ebb tide and barely submerged at high tide admitted vessels to calmer lake waters only through a tortuous, shifting channel 7.

By contrast, the latterly-established river and estuarine ports, while shielded from the open ocean, were permanently accessible only to river barges which fetched or delivered the cargoes of Sydney-going steamers, since bar-blocked outlets, sand-clogged river beds and paltry discharge volumes excluded the larger vessels from almost every South Coast stream. Until breakwaters, seawalls and endless dredging proved belated palliatives after 1879 8, Sydney-Moruya shipping thus required two auxiliary stages, with droghers and punts distributing the merchandise of steamers riding outside the river's mouth (or stranded on its bar), and Moruya passengers conveyed overland to or from the neighbouring port of Bateman's Bay. Similarly, during the 1870s and 1880s, Captain Buchanan's steam droghers were 'always plying the Shoalhaven River in connexion with the Sydney steamers' 9.

7 An early condemnation of Merimbula's ineptitude as a port was 'Hector's' letter in Twofold Bay and Monaro Telegraph, 5 October 1860. See also the letter by 'Ancient Mariner' in Eden Free Press, 25 January 1899.
8 Moruya Liberal, 31 December 1879; breakwater construction made feasible the erection of Moruya town wharf in 1884 - Moruya Examiner, 23 February 1884.
9 Shoalhaven News, 30 June 1877.
The use of such handicapped harbours, however, was justified only by hinterland productivity and the lack of alternative outlets, especially for plateau graziers. Initial port establishment hinged upon the occurrence of coastal farmland (its absence stifling the establishment of ports between Ulladulla and Bateman's Bay), and upon the proximity of passes funnelling plateau wool into coastal ships: upstream Clydebank Nelligen, for example, deprived downstream Bateman's Bay of Braidwood exports after the Clyde Mountain pass was constructed in 1854, and unwittingly robbed the even older Wool Road to Jervis Bay of this same trade. Further south in 1842, when Benjamin Boyd goaded convicts into hewing a bullock-team track beside the Towamba River from his Monaro sheep stations to Twofold Bay, a comparable plateau-shipping connexion precipitated the ports of Eden and Boydtown. Similarly, Surveyor Robert Hoddle's location of a bridle-track between Bong Bong (Moss Vale) and Kiama in 1830 encouraged the creation of the latter port some eight years later, though the encouragement was less imperious than Boyd's enterprises. Primordial ports were granted other hinterland monopolies by the Government's selection of court and custom house sites (Eden), its allocation of mail distribution functions (Nelligen), and its absolute jurisdiction over the use or neglect of specific coastal reserves. Where such harbour and hinterland conditions coincided - that is, where some bursting hinterland discovered an amenable outlet - a third incentive quite commonly crowned the chosen port. If South Coast shipping services already in operation began to congregate in a certain harbour, its viability was almost assured, as Eden's history exemplifies. Here, between c.1860 and c.1900, quite apart from such strictly coastal traders as the Illawarra Steam Navigation Co., regular callers included vessels running between Sydney, Melbourne, Launceston, Hobart and New

10 Sydney Morning Herald, 14 June 1854, Nelligen's inception as the '1st camp' of the Road-surveying party is shown on - Henry L. Green: 'Survey of part of the Road from Braidwood to the Clyde to Accompany Report, Dec.17th 1853', map dated 17 December 1853 (Surveyor-General's Department Sketch Books, Vol.6, Folio 111, N.S.W. Archives Office : Lands Dept. Maps).

Plate 29: Kiama Boat Harbour, 1886

A typical South Coast headland port, sheltered from southeasterly weather and clustering about the waterfront, although the harbour excavated from 'Blowhole Basalt' (Gerringong Volcanics) is unique. The campanile-decked Post Office in Terralong Street is visible at the neck of the headland.

Zealand, and a profusion of cargo-carriers owned individually by Sydney commission agents operating from the Darling Harbour markets and warehouses, and by local storekeepers who initially lightered merchandise ashore and auctioned it from Eden pier. Gradually, as marketing became routine and steamer timetables were reconciled with Sydney sale days, port differentiation advanced with the selective improvement of wharves, loading and storage facilities, the protracted but triumphant suppression of rival firms by the Illawarra Steam Navigation Coy. (incorporated in 1904 as the Illawarra & South Coast Steam Navigation Coy. Ltd.), the elimination of slow, cramped privately-owned sailing craft by more regular, more capacious company steamships, and the appointment of harbour-masters, lighthouse-keepers, customs collectors and landing-waiters. By such means, South Coast ports cradled the region's first towns, and offered security and society to the developing agricultural hinterlands from which the second phase of urban growth was to emanate.

2. Establishment of Primary Agricultural Nodes

Since four subsequent chapters describe individually how the largest rural service centres originated, only their generic characteristics are considered here. In several respects, primordial ports proved unacceptable as the community nodes of an agricultural population, despite their occasional felicitous fusion of both shipping and service functions, notably at Kiama. Headland sites devoid of stream catchments and adjointed by brackish estuaries, for example, often endured water shortages which raised doubts about their future residential capacities and industrial potential: water was ferried some eight miles from Huskiisson to Point Perpendicular Lighthouse, and was rafted across Twofold Bay to Eden from East Boyd, while Sydney

12 In 1860, for example, this was the practice of Messrs T.C. and B.R. Thomas, S. and W. Solomon, William Prescott, Geo. Doran & Co., L.S. Thrulweld & Co., and James Spenley of 'The Victoria Timber Yards': see Twofold Bay and Warrina Telegraph, 1860 - July 3, 13, 20 and 24; August 14 and 21.


steamers not infrequently relieved drought-stricken Tathra.\textsuperscript{15} Most disadvantageous, however, was the general remoteness of ports from interior farming enclaves, a consequence of inland plutonic intrusions at Milton, Naruya, Cobargo, Bega and Towamba, where cleared farmlands were thus separated from the nearest ports by a dissected, infertile coastal upland some 10 miles wide; even in 1885, the Bega-Tathra mail coach traversed its 11 miles in 75 minutes\textsuperscript{16}, and in 1891 an hour was taken over the four miles between Ulladulla and Milton\textsuperscript{17}. Again, most South Coast farmlands occupy the basins and deltas of major but un-navigable rivers, not the minor lagoon or estuarine catchments above which stand such ports as Narooma, Bermagui and Merimbula; consequently, farm hinterlands are aligned only indirectly towards these ports, and contemplated their perpetual use as service centres quickly proved fanciful.

Nearer the foot of would-be gregarious pioneer communities, alternative upstream town sites were repeatedly anticipated by the convergence of bridle tracks upon particular river fording-places, where teams might recuperate and teamsters camp, as at Candelo, Queesa and Towamba. Optimum nodality and accessibility within circumscribed granitic basins largely accounts for urban genesis at Milton, Naruya, Cobargo, Bega, Pambula and possibly Towamba, although the sites of Naruya, Bega and Pambula also overlooked the most extensive alluvial accumulations of their respective river valleys - that is, the potential cores of landed wealth and smallholder settlement - and virtually the last downstream crossings before the deepwater estuaries severed over-land communications. Unlike the stream confluences of inland

\textsuperscript{15} Bega Gazette, 5 October 1885: the first 54 gallons cost 23 shillings, the next 30 cost 3 pounds. Tathra's attempted accession from Inlay Shire in 1946 arose directly from that Council's decision to exclude Tathra from the Tantawanglo Water Supply Scheme - see The Magnet and the Voice Eden, 31 March 1946, and Bega Municipal Council to Inlay Shire Council (announcing Bega's non-participation in the Tantawanglo Scheme), 12 September 1946, reproduced in 'Review of Water Supplies Within Inlay Shire', p.5, Inlay Shire Council: Minutes and Reports, 1960.

\textsuperscript{16} Bega Gazette, 5 October 1885.

\textsuperscript{17} Ulladulla and Milton Times, 27 June 1891 - advertisement for R.T. Thurber, Livery Stables, Nowra - 'The Overland Route to Sydney'.

Australia, those of the South Coast seldom engendered towns; admittedly, patronage of Bega has always gravitated down the tributary Brogo River, and Numba once trapped some trade from both Broughton Creek and the Shoalhaven, but each case merely underlines the regional—indeed, the all but universal—tendency for routeways to follow lowland troughs. Finally, sites for rural service centres have avoided or abandoned flood-prone river banks, whether beside such rich alluvial flats as those at Terara on the Shoalhaven, or where river ports once prospered, at Nelligen and Mynora.18 Indeed, the momentum of this entire second phase carried South Coast urbanisation away from the waterways, begetting orthodox inland country towns despite their quasi-coastal setting.

3. Urban Inter-connexion — (i) Ports and Rural Service Centres

Such paralysing uncertainties attend any attempt to unravel this region's history of road construction, that any interpretation of transport beginnings as general as that implied in the above sub-heading reeks with possible error.19 Nowadays, varying road surfaces, gradients and pre-determined cornering speeds clearly distinguish road capabilities, but during the period when bridle tracks were assuming waggon widths and coaching services were becoming feasible, the exact quality of any South Coast routeway is difficult to determine.

18 In 1874, the third devastating Shoalhaven flood since 1860 carried away almost half the levee-bank occupied by Terara, confirming local preference for upstream, hill-crest Nowra—see C.J.B. Watson: 'The Shoalhaven District', in his The Hawkesbury and Shoalhaven Calendar, Cultural and Cookery Guide, and Useful Household Compendium, The Woodhill Printing Works, Sydney, 1905, p.83.

A ten-foot flood at Nelligen in 1860 entered Richardson's store and several houses, spoiling £5–6,000 worth of merchandise in the I.S.N. Coy.'s stores—Sydney Morning Herald, 17 February 1860.

Moruya's 1925 flood, following 32 inches of rain in May, washed the S.S. Bermagui into the Mynora 'swimming hole', the former downstream entrepot of Moruya shipping—Moruya Examiner, 11 July 1925.

19 A recent study of 'southern New South Wales' has claimed to show 'through varying amounts of maintenance expenditure [published annually in the New South Wales Estimates], the presumed changing importance of a road' (Robert H.T. Smith: 'The Development and Function of Transport Routes in Southern New South Wales, 1860–1930', Australian Geographical Studies, II, 1, April 1964, 47–65). In a South Coast context, so uncritical a correlation would deserve the most extravagant derision.
Ideally, assessments of road capability should plainly state the kinds of vehicles roads could accommodate (that is, bullock teams, sulkies, coaches or motor cars), what travelling times were involved, at what dates new alignments diverted local traffic from older roads, and which towns were focal junctions within the evolving communications network. The inevitable lack of many details precludes so complete a description of the South Coast, but the judicious comparison of newspaper reports and road maps in successive editions permits the formulation of some tentative conclusions.

First, contingent upon the numbers and difficulty of fording-places and the ruggedness of terrain, different road alignments have shared local favour from year to year. About 1886, for example, the original 1859 route from Bega through Jellat Jellat to Port Merimbula was exceeded in traffic volumes by an inland road through Wolumla (see Figure 11) which intersected more settled farmland, and formed a 'low road' counterpart to the earlier, ford-free 'high road' - an almost habitual succession in this region, partly in response to agitation from teamsters wanting watering places. So laboriously did bullock-teams haul wool to ports, and so tedious were the tasks of mustering unenclosed cattle and droving them to ships, that any amelioration of travelling times or conditions was constantly sought. Accordingly, these incipient inland service centres furthest from ports almost invariably sponsored two or three alternative outlet routes before one attained pre-eminence, either by simple virtue of its greater convenience, or because some added impetus - some gold rush or abrupt trade reorientation - enhanced its status. By 1851, both Bega and Towamba were linked to the ports of Merimbula and Eden by 'high roads' and 'low roads'. Similarly, before 1892, outlets from Bodalla forked consecutively to Moruya, Wagona and Narooma; one route was adorned with an ineffectual horse-tramway and another was

20 *Illawarra Mercury*, 13 April 1860.


22 *Moruya Examiner*, 13 October 1883.
nick-named 'Mort's Nine Mile Folly Road', despite a personal contribution by Mort in 1863 equivalent to a biennial Government road subsidy.23 Such desperate endeavours to reach shipping rendezvous, however, never afflicted Nowra and Moruya, the only regional service centres directly attainable by river steamers, although 'roads' from the Shoalhaven to Huskisson (before 1840) and Moruya to Broulee (about 1827) were among the region's earliest, chiefly because the maritime Government Towns anticipated the inland nodes by a decade.

Secondly, urban inter-connexion was generally effected as an indirect consequence of some established hinterland's gravitation towards a port; the town of Milton's reliance upon the port of Ulladulla, for example, merely confirmed the existing orientation of Milton farmers. Staunch hinterland allegiances were also established where loose vertical integrations of activities channelled the produce of an agricultural estate through one favoured port towards a predestined market. Both Alexander Berry's Shoalhaven Estate and the Bega Valley's Kameruka Estate, like Mort's Bodalla mentioned above, supported and sometimes controlled their own shipping outlets. Around the turn of the twentieth century, David Berry discharged the produce of his tenant-farms south of the Shoalhaven through Greenwell Point, his own private Town, the road to Nowra weaving between swamps, drawing together the grain, vegetables and dairy products of tributary farms, and only incidentally - though reciprocally - directing custom towards Nowra. In similar fashion, having discovered an acceptable line of road from Merimbula to the plateau crest of Tantawanglo Mountain about 1854, James Manning - resident manager of Kameruka Estate for its Twofold Bay Pastoral Association proprietors - endowed Merimbula with the export trade of almost the entire southern Bega Valley;24 and not altogether by coincidence, the ships enjoying this trade monopoly were those of the Illawarra Steam Navigation Co., itself an amalgamation of the Kiama Steam Navigation Co., the Twofold Bay Pastoral Association, and certain interests of E. C. Manning, James's brother.25

23 Illawarra Mercury, 31 July 1863.
24 James Manning's obituary, Bega Standard, 29 October 1887.
25 A. L. Miller (General Manager): 'History of the Illawarra and South Coast Steam Navigation Co. Ltd.', 1941 (typescript), bound into Vol. II of W. A. Bayley: Notes on the History of Bega, 1941, (typescript and collected letters), N.L.
4. Hinterland Enlargement into the Southern Tablelands

Like farmers and graziers, mining populations chose and preferred their own maritime outlets, and possibly exemplify best the terminal stage in the development of east-west communications axes, from ports through inland service centres to piedmont farms and plateau pastoral districts. Chronologically, it must be stressed, plateau graziers turned towards coastal ports long before these ports ever wilfully contemplated seeking plateau support, and roads of tracks descending the intervening escarpment were developed at the instigation of these pastoralists - by Benjamin Boyd down the Towamba Valley in 1842, by David M'Donald of Nimmitabel (then Nimity Belle) down Brown Mountain in 1860, and by Braidwood settlers down the Clyde Mountain in 1854-56 and along the Wool Road to Jervis Bay in 1840. Whereas parties of five or six drovers willingly enough camped en route, battalions of miners trudging to Araluen, Kiandra, Major's Creek and the gold fields around Braidwood, or ambling inland with pack-horses, welcomed the mushrooming chains of wayside inns 10 or 15 miles apart and the occasional blacksmith's forge, although it was reported in 1860 that the Eden-Kiandra route 'abounds with bad characters and sharpers of all kinds, and that the digger's best security from fraud and deception lies in his adhering to sobriety'. The sheer volume and overnight advent of diggers necessitated road construction with an urgency never justified previously by pastoralists.

This preference for coastal outlets sprang spontaneously from contemplating the arduous overland alternative, a contrast graphically portrayed by two official contemporary assessments of routes leading to the Kiandra diggings, some 160 miles inland from Twofold Bay at the northern edge of the rugged Monaro snow country. Instructed to

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26 Twofold Bay and Maneroo Telegraph, 31 August 1860, and Illawarra Mercury, 19 July 1861.

27 Twofold Bay and Maneroo Telegraph, 17 August 1860.

determine 'what facilities exist for South Australians remitting to South Australia', Surveyor-General Freeling approached Kiandra cross-country from Melbourne and returned through Twofold Bay, bluntly recommending the latter route. Three months later, Ward and Smith reported that 'goods conveyed by land to Kiandra from Sydney travel at an average rate of 10 miles per day, and those by steam at 180 miles with equal ease', that the overland freight charge was £30 per ton via Cooma compared with £16.10.0 per ton for the combined sea and land journey through Eden, and that the Cooma route involved a month's travel as opposed to 18 days via Eden.

Although widespread, the orientation of plateau pastoralists and miners towards South Coast ports between c.1840 and c.1890 nevertheless presents only two facets of what was a multifarious, reciprocating inter-regional relationship. Even after mining dwindled and the Southern Tablelands railway truncated port hinterlands for wool, this relationship persisted through dozens of less conspicuous connexions, and implicated almost exactly the same coastal and plateau districts as before. In particular, the disposition of escarpment crossings has always linked Nowra with Moss Vale and Braidwood (the latter to a decreasing extent, following neglected maintenance of the Wool Road); Moruya and Bateman's Bay with Braidwood, Queanbeyan and Goulburn; Bega with Nimmitabel and Cooma; and Merimbula-Eden with Cuthcart and Bombala. Between these half dozen steep, twisting passes, coast-plateau access was frustrated by such forest-clad barricades as the central Shoalhaven gorges, the precipitous escarpments east of Braidwood, Cooma and Bombala, and the mountain knot surrounding Big Badja Hill; and beyond Goulburn, Queanbeyan and the Monaro, hardly a hinterland of any coastal port ever penetrated. Nonetheless, although regional inter-dependence ought not be interpreted as evidence of some all-embracing Tablelands-Coastal 'region', the commodities and services exchanged were often

29 Ibid., p.16.
complementary: South Coast fish, timber, dairy products, and holidays found as ready a plateau market as plateau wheat, beef cattle (for slaughtering) and certain professional services found among coastal communities.

The diversity and continuity of this relationship are more readily illustrated than the actual volume of trade involved. Before the post-1920 reconstruction of Prince's Highway swung South Coast business towards booming Wollongong, for example, the rail junction city and diocesan seat of Goulburn supplied many facilities seldom encountered in the smaller coastal towns: in 1867, flour from Goulburn was delivered to Braidwood, where Nowra merchants collected it31; in 1933, the Moruya Examiner still carried advertisements for Goulburn watchmakers, purchasers of old gold, surveyors and engineers, the surveyors visiting Moruya regularly32; in 1877, a Kiama architect was sole Illawarra agent for the Marulan Lime Company33; and for many years before 1900, Gillespie's Celebrated Goulburn Boots shod many a South Coast farmer34. Again, before World War II, possibly 50 plateau farms fringing the Monaro escarpment supplied cream 'down the mountain' to coastal butter factories at Bemboka, Bimbaya (Candelo Co-op.) and Pambula, almost every plateau dairy factory having closed fifty years previously 'owing to the bad seasons'35 - that is, the freezing Monaro winters which induced gradual defection (or reversion) to sheep and beef cattle grazing. To suggest the dimensions of such plateau-coastal commodity flows during this period of enlarged port hinterlands, shipments through Eden during May and June of 1899 are representative: Davis & Diversi, Eden produce merchants, having established a thriving fodder trade between Tasmania and the Southern Monaro, exported 1,200

31 The News - Shoalhaven and South Coast Districts Advertiser, 26 June 1867.
32 Moruya Examiner, 24 June 1933. Goulburn contains a regional office of the New South Wales Department of Lands.
33 Shoalhaven News, 30 June 1877.
34 Ulladulla and Milton Times, 27 June 1891.
35 Eden Free Press, 3 May 1899, announcing that Bombala Co-operative Dairying Co.Ltd. had ceased operations.
sheep and 30 fat bullocks to Hobart, other Monaro sheep to King Island (Bass Strait) and - to Sydney and Newcastle - 999 bags of pollard and 609 of bran, 4,997 bags of wheat, 1,400 bags and the equivalent of 500 sacks of flour, and 4,971 bags of chaff. 36

5. Urban Inter-Conxexion - (ii) Prince's Highway

Whereas railway extensions from Goulburn to Queanbeyan, Cooma and Bombala merely checked or partially reversed this drift of plateau production coastwards, the piecemeal, sporadic extension of roads north and south of coastal rural service centres - parallel to the railway - eventually coalesced into one unbroken highway between Sydney and the Victorian border - a paramount coastal thoroughfare proclaimed the Prince's Highway on 19 October 1920 37. Ultimately, after the last dreams of a coastal railway beyond Bomaderry had been wordlessly interred, this routeway became the single most potent agency in South Coast regional integration and economic development. Although the priority of communication with Sydney has perennially overshadowed contact with neighbouring centres whenever local agitation erupted, 38 Prince's Highway nonetheless began as a discrete series of inter-urban connexions, the main contemporary incentives being overland mail services (to replace the 'point-deliveries' to ports) and the desire for greater accessibility to the nearest town. The indigenous obstacle to constructing such a trunk road, however, was the coastal inlet, around which deviation was obligatory while ferries and bridges were incubating in the State treasury.

South Coast roads initially diverged from three cores of settlement - from the Shoalhaven-Jervis Bay area, from Moruya-Bateam's Bay, and from Bega-Merimbula-Eden, at each of which plateau outlets

36 R.W.P. Hirt: Development of the Road System in the Monaro-South Coast Region of N.S.W., Presidential Address to the Monaro Group, Institute of Engineers, Australia, 16 April 1957 (typescript and maps), p.10.

37 The 1872 policy speech of Henry Clarke, M.L.A., exemplifies this attitude - see Bega Gazette, 23 February 1872.
reached shipping harbours. Between these three, one intervening buffer occurred where Ulladulla's constricted shipping hinterland was wedged into an otherwise agriculturally impoverished 40-mile littoral from St George's Basin to Bateman's Bay, while another buffer occurred between the Tuross River and Bermagui, where a lofty, cranky-grained interfluve ended in the coastal massifs of Mount Dromedary (2,611 feet) and Mount Mumbulla (2,539 feet). Whereas locally dense road meshes evolved around all three cores, tethering tributary farmland to established nodes, each intervening buffer was traversed only by increasingly direct routeways linking one core with the next. Between Cobargo and Bodalla, for example, as Figure 11 illustrates, the first 'constructed road' opened in 186839 along the Tuross River and its Wandelloo Creek tributary, merely retracing part of the ancient bridle trail originally located in 1829 by pioneer squatters from Braidwood40, and popularised by Charles McGregor's 'Epic Ride' of 1859.41 Because Tuross Valley settlement terminated some ten miles downstream from Wandelloo Creek, another shorter alignment along Dignam's Creek became the mail route in 188042, but was surpassed in public patronage after 1884 by yet another realignment still further east through Central Tilba and Wagonga43—farming enclaves previously devoid of any inter-urban link. In 1889, the fourth Cobargo-Bodalla alignment was built through

39 Bega Gazette, 26 September 1868.
40 Reminiscences of Joshua Higgs, a former convict and assignee, at the time 'the oldest living pioneer white in the district' Bega Gazette, 7 July 1883.
41 Moruya Examiner, 29 March 1889. Moruya to Bega and return in 24 hours.
42 Moruya Examiner, 28 July 1883.
43 Moruya Examiner, 18 October 1884 and 12 March 1887. No sooner was this deviation announced than the intended road junction was subdivided as the Private Township of Central Tilba (subdivision plan by Surveyor S.F. von Arnheim, n.d. Mitchell Library Subdivision Plan Collection).
Narooma, at the Wagonga Inlet's entrance, where the installation of a hand-operated ferry in 1893 diverted traffic to the very coast: and during the 1950s, a bridge spanning the outlet of Corunna Lake just south of Narooma has at last carried Prince's Highway as nearly into the Tasman Sea as engineers believe practicable.

Across the second buffer from Batemen's Bay to St George's Basin, road alignments have also migrated eastwards, though less frequently, and in response to the installation of punts at Nelligen and Bateman's Bay rather than for simple agricultural convenience. So decisively was early traffic thrust inland by the broad Clyde estuary that the officially-ordained 'Main Southern Road' of 1879 extended from Braidwood to Moruya and Bega, avoiding any Clyde crossing whatsoever; the existing Clydeside track from Nelligen to Milton was thus relegated to merely local significance. Like the successive Cobargo-Bodalla realignments, which pulled the focus of accessibility from Eurobodalla through Wandellow and Tilba Tilba to Narooma the construction in 1871 of the snake-track Cookwye Mountain deviation directly north of Bateman's Bay sapped the viability of many small Clydeside communities strung along what then became a superseded thoroughfare. Every South Coast highway detour and improvement, in short, has shifted the mainstream of urbanization through town after town, leaving abandoned channels littered with abandoned holdings.

Before c.1900, as Figure 11 discloses, highway unity was achieved in two stages of overlapping durations - first, rural road networks emerged by 1850 around the Shoalhaven and between Bateman's Bay and Bodalla, and by 1859 between the Bega and Towamba Valleys; second, buffer-traversing links between these core networks were completed.

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44 Moruya Examiner, 8 April 1889.
45 Moruya Examiner, 8 June 1894.
46 See superimpositions on the 1878 edition of 'County of St Vincent' (New South Wales Lands Department county maps).
47 R.W. Hirt, op. cit., Figure 2.
Plate 30: Ulladulla Harbour and Breakwaters

Three constructions project into the harbour from its southern shore - a wooden 'T'-shaped jetty; a stone, dog-leg jetty with white railing and trawlers alongside; and a jagged granite breakwater, recently constructed. Fishermen's Co-operative building at the extreme right.

Bridges

Plate 31: Bridge across Tantawanglo Creek

Some thirty miles upstream from the mouth of the Bega River, this low-level wooden bridge typifies many constructed by shire councils along secondary rural roads; flooding compels farmers to make long, circuitous detours.

Plate 32: Clyde River Bridge at Bateman's Bay

Opened in 1956 to replace a ferry, this concrete-surfaced, five-span bridge (with one lifting span) carried Prince's Highway across the widest South Coast estuary. Constructions of such dimensions are carried out by the Department of Main Roads.
Plate 33: Bridge across Candelo Creek

A single-lane timber structure designed to cope with periodic flooding, but liable to be replaced eventually by a concrete structure such as that shown in Plate 34. The Candelo bridge is characteristic of many on rural main roads linking coastal and plateau areas.

Plate 34: Brogo River Bridge at Brogo

Like the Candelo bridge, elevated to withstand quite voluminous floods, but much more rigidly constructed as it leads Prince's Highway into the northern Bega Valley.
from Nowra to Bateman's Bay by 1859, and from Bodalla to Bega by 1864. In 1893, a coach managed to cover the 150 miles from Nowra to Cobargo in 31 hours.

Through this unification - through the replacement of small, hand-operated ferries by larger steam-driven ones and eventually bridges, through the elimination or regrading of such steep pitches as the Brogo Pass or the 'Dirty Butter Pass' above Araluen, and through a transition from horse-drawn, iron-tyred vehicles to pneumatic-tyred motor vehicles - the South Coast overcame its former fragmentation into isolated, river-valley agricultural communities dependent upon specific ports, and by thus surmounting its deprivation of a railway, readily enough transformed its twentieth century economy to satisfy the motoring vacationist.

6. Reorientation Inland towards the Goulburn-Monaro Railway.

Despite this contemporary, piecemeal improvement of Prince's Highway, South Coast citizens of the 1880s and early 1890s predicted almost nothing of its future importance, but foresaw the advent of their own economic millennium only in the chimerical railway. Disgruntled with the I.S.N. Co.'s monopoly but defeated in every attempt to break it, irritated by the irregularity and uncertainty of

48 Cobargo Watch, 16 June 1893.
49 O. Rietmann: Wanderungen in Australien und Polynesien, St Gallen, Verlag von Scheitlin und Zollikofer, 1868, p. 93.
50 In 1872, a militant prospectus was issued for the abortive Twofold Bay, Bega and Monaro Steam Navigation Company Limited (Bega Gazette, 22 March 1872): a decade later, the Tasmanian Steam Navigation Co., briefly operated rival steamers to Sydney (Bega Gazette, 18 January 1882): about 1890, as railway expectations dwindled, another hopeful prospectus appeared for the equally abortive I.S.N. Co.'s rival, the South Coast Farmers' Co-operative Steamship Company (Bega Gazette, 15 May 1891): in 1894, the I.S.N. Co. withdrew temporarily from the Moruya trade, rebuffed by the short-lived Moruya S.N. Co., whose only vessel - S.S. Trident - was wrecked four months later (Moruya Examiner, 11 May and 7 September 1894); another Bega Co-operative Shipping Co. was launched in 1902, a mere paper boat which foundered with no survivors in 1903 (Moruya Standard, 28 October 1902 and 21 April 1903): in 1908, after trading with Far South Coast ports for a few months, the Melbourne Steamship Company withdrew 'owing to lack of support' (Bega Budget, 26 September 1908): the Sydney shipping agents, Huddart, Parker & Co., Ltd., ran steamers to Berry and Bomaderry in 1891 (Nowra Colonist, 24 June 1891): and as recently as 1945, a prospectus was issued for another merely embryonic firm - the South Coast Co-operative Shipbuilding Canning and Development Society Ltd, The Illawarra and South Coast Steam Navigation Co., buried them all, only to disintegrate itself in 1957, broken by the road hauliers of Prince's Highway.
steamship arrivals, financially thwarted by late deliveries to the Sydney market, and harassed beyond endurance by their own barred harbours, South Coast primary producers exuberantly acclaimed Government plans to continue the Illawarra railway beyond Bomaderry to Eden (and later to Orbost in Victoria) and the Monaro railway beyond Cooma to join the coastal line at Wolumla.

After reaching Goulburn in 1869, railway construction abated temporarily for political (financial) expediency, although South Coast agitation grew in fanatism, culminating in a series of Railway Leagues at Candelo, Pambula and Wolumla in 1881, at Moruya in 1891, and elsewhere. In response, trial surveys were made from Jervis Bay to Bega in 1882-86, from Eden to Bega in 1884-86, and from the Eden-Bega survey alignment to the Monaro by 1890, but only long-winded, parsimonious negotiations and counter-suggestions ensued - all geared to camouflage the plain fact that none of these railways could ever recoup the State treasury. Miles of continuous forest separating the few pockets of farmland expected to support a coastal railway, dozens of streams to be bridged at what appeared to be excessively high capital costs, steamship company opposition, the inevitable annual loss on any Bega-Eden line unconnected to any other, and the well-founded official disbelief that Bega farmers would patronise a railway to Eden (40 miles away) instead of nearby Tathra (11 miles away) - all irrevocably undermined the already slight prospect of any South Coast railway. As early as 1891, barely two years after the tablelands railway had reached Cooma, coastal agitation was shrivelling.

51 Bega Gazette, 18 March 1865 - editorial entitled 'Steam Boat Monopoly'.
52 Milton and Ulladulla Times, 27 June 1891, for an example; for summation - E.J. Brady: The Overlander - Prince's Highway, Melbourne, 1926, p.83.
53 Policy speech of Henry Clarke, M.L.A. - Bega Gazette, 23 February 1872; the typical secondary disabilities of blocked river mouths, as exemplified by Tathra, are well outlined in The Australian Town and Country Journal, 17 April 1886, p.801.
54 Bega Gazette, 21 April 1881.
55 Moruya Examiner, 22 May 1891 - 'The Moruya South Coast Railway League'.
56 Bega Gazette, 20 September 1882; Bega Standard, 2 October 1886; Moruya Examiner, 15 May 1891.
57 The Australian Town and Country Journal, 30 January 1886, p.223
58 Bega Gazette, 16 April 1890. See also the map showing 'suggested deviation of the Cooma-Bombala railway' in the Bega Standard, 14 May 1909.
into despair - 'We have almost ceased to regard this word "railway" as possessing any significance for Bega'.

Accordingly, a partial inland reorientation of South Coast trade and communications followed the Monaro railway's completion to Cooma in 1889, Nimmitabel in 1912 and Bombala in 1921. Coastal settlements north of Ulladulla gravitated towards the Bomaderry rail terminal after 1890; during the 1880s and 1890s, two coaching lines conveyed passengers and mail from Moruya to the plateau railway at Tarago and Goulburn, merely confirming an established inter-regional connexion; and when steamer and train time tables attained complementarity, many passengers and some produce from the Bega and Towamba Valleys joined the Monaro train for Sydney. The train's relative regularity and comfort trumped even the speedier shipping passages: about 1900, two alternatives confronted a Bega passenger bound for Sydney - a 24 hour sea journey from Tathra to the Phoenix Wharf in Darling Harbour, with meals and bunks on board, or a train journey from Cooma of 24 hours and 25 minutes, following a 75-mile coaching ordeal and a probable overnight delay in Cooma. The increasing choice of the latter route discloses the depth of local disillusionment with shipping - with cramped steerage accommodation, uncertain tides and harbour depths, loading delays, animal cargoes for companionship, and meaningless time tables.

In the wake of general South Coast disappointment, however, railway agitation did touch the regional economy in three telling ways. First, in 1885, having inspected coastal forests, the Goulburn-Cooma line contractor decided to secure 100,000 ironbark sleepers - the portentous beginning of a new local industry. Secondly - at one time perhaps to soften the railway's rejection - horse tramways were

59 Bega Gazette, 28 January 1891.
60 Kingsland and Malone's 'Telegraphic Line of Mail Coaches' (later Keating and Malone's, and later still Malone Bros. and Keating); see Moruya Examiner, 25 June 1881, 26 June 1891, and 28 June 1901.
61 Bega Standard, 19 February 1897.
62 The Southern Star (Bega), 5 January 1901.
63 From the Shoalhaven to Sydney, steerage passengers and horses each travelled for 15/- by I.S.N. Co. steamer in 1871 - Shoalhaven News, 24 June 1871.
seriously considered for connecting rural service centres and ports – Bega with Tathra, Bodalla with Wagonga, Moruya with Broulee, and Terara with Greenwell Point or Jervis Bay. And thirdly - between Bega and Cooma, Moruya and Tarago, and Ulladulla and Nowra – long-distance coaching services to railheads broke the narrow bounds of previous disposal hinterlands, shattered the indispensability of shipping, and pioneered the direct overland approach to Sydney which ultimately transformed the region.

7. Urban Industrialization

The last phase of urban development to antedate the 'demographic divide' of c.1900 witnessed the accelerated emergence of industrial establishments and their concentration in favoured towns. Enhanced by this trend after c.1890, both local self-sufficiency and local urban centralization achieved pinacles never to be recaptured. This was the period when the region's town-dwellers first outnumbered its farm-dwellers, a period full of ascendant country towns in which all kinds of ambitious and able breadwinners might confidently foresee the culmination of their careers and might choose to settle for life. Metropolitan magnetism, though mounting, had yet to demoralise local initiative. This was also the period when farm butter-making was superseded first by the dairy factories, creameries and condensaries of the N.S.W. Fresh Food and Ice Co. Foley Brothers, the Bacchus Marsh Fresh Food and Ice Co.

None of three such schemes was implemented – see Bega Gazette, 7 July 1883; Bega Gazette, 5 December 1895; and The Southern Star, 27 April and 18 May 1907, and Bega Standard, 11 February 1908.

Mort's scheme did operate briefly, one horse pulling 'with ease ... as much as three could pull on the road' - Moruya Examiner, 13 October 1883 and 13 September 1884.

Motivated by the prospect of shipping local timber to London, and Broulee potatoes to Sydney, yet powerless to open the Moruya River's mouth, local landholders advocated the horse tramway in 1887 - Moruya Examiner, 11 June and 8 July 1887.

The Empire, 20 February 1860. A 'gale' was feared to have destroyed the existing Shoalhaven shipping channel.
Concentrated Milk Co.\(^{68}\) and other externally-owned firms, and latterly by the farmers' own co-operative factories; when almost every small town had its tannery, cordial works, brewery, flour mill and sawmill, saddlery, boot factory, joinery works, newspaper and printing press\(^{69}\), and coach-building establishment; when blacksmiths were also 'engineers' and 'farm implement and machinery manufacturers', and there existed an ostrich farm at Termeil\(^{70}\) and a rabbit-canning factory at Wyndham\(^{71}\); in short, a period when rural-urban inter-dependence was never more close.

Near the roots of urban industrialization lay the co-operative movement, which attached the region's most productive dairy factories to Milton (1896)\(^{72}\), Nowra (1902)\(^{73}\), Moruya (1892)\(^{74}\), and Bega (1900)\(^{75}\) - endorsing their already dominant nodality - and offered to individual farmers the stability, security and integration of activities previously attainable only by such enormous, diversely-utilized estates as those of Alexander Berry, T.S.Mort and Robert Lucas-Tooth.\(^{76}\) Between 1890 and 1910, as Figure 12 illustrates, hubs of rural industry were scattered more diffusely yet in closer juxtaposition than at any other period of South Coast history. Concurrent with the region's highest rural population density, this zenith of the rural service centre lingered into the twentieth century as long as farm families could satisfy their major needs conveniently in only one almost undisputed local centre.

When Anthony Hordern and Sons sowed the seeds of discontent by

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69 In 1965 seven South Coast newspapers were published; in 1900, there were 21. (1900 figure derived from the *Union List of Newspapers in Australian Libraries, Part 2 - Newspapers published in Australia, Canberra, 1960*).
70 Milton and Ulladulla Times, 28 June 1901.
71 Bega Standard, 7 July 1911. The factory was the first of its kind in New South Wales.
72 W.A.Bayley: *op.cit.*, p.19.
73 Ibid., p.23
74 Moruya Examiner, 9 September 1892.
75 Bega Standard, 3 August 1900.
76 Bruce Ryan: 'Kameruka Estate, New South Wales, 1864-1964', *New Zealand Geographer*, 20, 2, October 1964, pp.103-121.
pioneering the mail order catalogue, when posted patterns and sewing machines eliminated many a village dressmaker, and when motor transport brought Sydney retailers within the grasp of rural communities, South Coast 'self-sufficiency' in its nineteenth century guise was doomed.

The Twentieth Century

Besides the catalogue of trends prefacing this chapter, the demographic divide of c.1900 heralded a period of rapidly diminishing isolation and inaccessibility, as the following tabulated comparison of travelling times reveals. (Table 22).

Until the regional advent of automobiles about 1901, the fastest journey between Bega and Sydney required a full 24 hours by I.S.N. Co. steamer, having decreased in duration by 10 hours (or 29.4 per cent) over the previous 40 years, but then seeming capable of only slight future improvement. Within a decade of their appearance — and notwithstanding the abominable state of what was to become Prince's Highway — motor cars had bettered these steamship times by three hours or more, and had halved them by 1933. Improvements in vehicle capabilities, however, sponsored speedier travel only in part. The previous inaccessibility of many farming enclaves, for example, was rapidly curtailed when the newly-inaugurated local Government Councils of 1911 began to implement shire roads programmes geared to construction standards introduced by the Public Works Department: 'picks, gads, shovels, wheel barrows, with an occasional horse and cart or farm plough' were gradually superseded by the graders, rollers, drag and wheeled scoops, crawler-type tractors, front end loaders, mechanical shovels and heavy rippers required for more than mere chain-wide clearing or filling rutted wheel tracks.

77 Bega Standard, 23 April 1901.

78 Sydney Morning Herald, 2 December 1916 — Sydney newspapers were delivered to Bega in 19 hours — 'a considerable saving'.

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<th>Details of Conveyance</th>
<th>Travelling Time</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Average Rate of Travel</th>
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<td>Latitude of Merimbula to Botany Bay</td>
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<td>8 days</td>
<td>c.220 miles</td>
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<td>Mail coach</td>
<td>75 mins</td>
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<td>Sydney to Kiandra</td>
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<td>378 miles</td>
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<td>Sydney (Neutral Bay) to Bega</td>
<td>C.R. Tuckfield's Studebaker hire car (overnight stop in Milton)</td>
<td>21 hours</td>
<td>c.280 miles</td>
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<td>10 hours</td>
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<td>17.6 miles/hr</td>
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<td>Bega to Sydney</td>
<td>Gyde &amp; Haigh's Motor Coach</td>
<td>12 hours, 19 mins.</td>
<td>272 miles</td>
<td>22.12 miles/hr</td>
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<td>'Daylight Express' train to Nowra, motor coach to Bega</td>
<td>11 hours, 15 mins.</td>
<td>272 miles</td>
<td>24.18 miles/hr</td>
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<td>Fox Moth aeroplane (Capt. Fowlett of Mastra Airways)</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
<td>210 miles</td>
<td>105 miles/hr</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Moruya to Sydney</td>
<td>Butler's Daily Air Service</td>
<td>1 hour, 20 mins.</td>
<td>163 miles</td>
<td>122.3 miles/hr</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Eden to Sydney</td>
<td>A.F. Kydd's fish transport truck</td>
<td>19 hours</td>
<td>312 miles</td>
<td>16.35 miles/hr</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Bega to Sydney</td>
<td>Haigh's Motor Service to Nowra; 'Daylight Express' train to Sydney.</td>
<td>11 hours</td>
<td>272 miles</td>
<td>24.72 miles/hr</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Sydney to Merimbula</td>
<td>Airlines of N.S.W. (Fokker Friendship)</td>
<td>1 hour, 30 mins.</td>
<td>232 miles</td>
<td>154.6 miles/hr</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Route</td>
<td>Details of Conveyance</td>
<td>Travelling Time</td>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>Average Rate of Travel</td>
<td>Key to Appended Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Sydney to Bega</td>
<td>Train to Nowra, then motor service bus.</td>
<td>8 hours</td>
<td>272 miles</td>
<td>34 miles/hr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Sydney to Bega</td>
<td>Private car (ordinary drive)</td>
<td>7 hours</td>
<td>272 miles</td>
<td>38.8 miles/hr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sources for Table 22:

2. Ibid., pp.22-23.
3. Bega Gazette, 5 October 1885.
4. Bega Gazette, 6 November 1889.
5. Bega Standard, 29 June 1891.
7. Cobargo Watch, 16 June 1893.
17. Bega District News, 29 June 1933.
23. Department of Civil Aviation (courtesy of Mr Howard Quinlan).
Wherever bridges succeeded ferries, travelling times diminished, and the initial exuberance of motor service pioneers promptly linked South Coast towns with Cooma (1909), Kosciusko (1911), Bombala (1910), Orbost, Canberra, Goulburn, Moss Vale, and - after 1928 - with Sydney and Melbourne. Just as swiftly and efficiently, co-ordinated time tables and common tariffs were adopted by some dozen early firms, concentrating their vehicle depots and bus route terminals at Nowra, Moruya, Narooma, Bega and Eden, and creating indispensable feeder services to the railways at Cooma, Goulburn and Nowra. Since 1910, however, burgeoning private car ownership has failed to eliminate from business only those long-distance services joining Bega to Cooma, Eden and Nowra, despite the post-1945 proliferation of local bus runs delivering school-children, shoppers and commuting workers to the major agricultural centres. By 1948, for example, such local bus services tethered Nowra's hinterland to Kangaroo Valley, Berry, North Nowra, Comarong Island punt, Greenwell Point, Huskisson and Curramong.

However urgently tourism promoted personal (or passenger) transportation throughout the region, both the dissemination of mail and the consignment of produce to market continued to command the concern of many South Coast communities. While motor coaches expedited postal deliveries, especially to those centres strung along Prince's Highway, road hauliers have slowly reduced the region's isolation to a level approaching that of other parts of New South Wales equally remote from Sydney. No longer need bulky, perishable commodities be spurned by local producers, as the extension of the Sydney milk supply zone to Ulladulla in 1949 and the equivalent Canberra zone to Bega exemplify. Despite the Government's continuing reluctance to subsidize road freight within a railway-deprived region, and despite even its retention of road-rail co-ordination policies which impose a tax on hauliers who compete with 50 miles or more of railway (for example

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operators between Nowra and Sydney)\textsuperscript{81}, privately-owned South Coast trucking firms now sustain the regional economy no less decisively than coastal shipping did before 1890. Indeed, the region's key distribution nodes now coincide with its truck depots - near the Bomaderry railhead, at Bega amidst one of the region's two pre-eminent agricultural districts, and at Eden, where oil storage shipping terminals, a trawling fleet and important sawmills discharge a constant trade.

For setting the course of twentieth century South Coast urbanization, this displacement of steamships and horse-drawn vehicles by the single common denominator of motorized road transport has been crucial in three conspicuous ways - by substituting one north-south communications axis along Prince's Highway for the succession of east-west axes once passing from plateau railheads to coastal ports; by precipitating a radically different system of regional logistics - that is, of provisioning and marketing - which transformed local agriculture and society; and by releasing the flood of metropolitan holiday-makers. The first effect has been elaborated already, producing as it has the present orientation of South Coast interests towards Sydney, along Prince's Highway following earlier orientations towards the ports and plateau railheads.

How the region's towns have been sustained logistically, however, cannot be explained simply, although certain trends are obvious. In 1860, for example, at the zenith of the Kiandra Rush, ships supplying Eden\textsuperscript{82} generally unloaded bulk quantities of provisions (bags of oatmeal, salt, onions and flour; casks of butter and 'sundries'; tea chests, cases of gin), building materials and household equipment (pine boards, sashes, candles, bales of drapery, doors, table legs, bedsteads, cedar, moulds, earthenware, galvanized iron, palings, wooden buckets and musical instruments) and farm requirements (baled

\textsuperscript{81} For these South Coast examples of State-wide policy, I am indebted to Mr Winston Spence of Spenco Pty., Ltd., Bega, and Mr C.M. Hewitt, of Grand Transport Service, Nowra.

\textsuperscript{82} Twofold Bay and Maneroo Telegraph, 3 July, 10 July, 3 August and 21 August 1860.
leather, harness, boots, ploughs and harrows, blacksmith's bellows, spades, whitelead, a horse and dray, shingles and baled hay). By 1960, South Coast imports had diversified radically both in composition and mode of conveyance. 83 Instead of mixed cargoes with diverse destinations, bulk-loading truck contractors delivered such individual items as petrol, bitumen, road metal, beer, fertilizer, gas-works coal, cement and stock-feed, either directly from extra-regional sources to South Coast retail outlets, or from peripheral distribution points - Bega-bound coal, for example, is now trucked from the Nimmitabel railhead, while road tankers convey petrol to Cooma and Moruya from the Eden storage installations which trans-oceanic tankers replenish.

Besides bulk-loading - financially the most rewarding form of road-haulage - merchandise now enters the South Coast in mixed loadings either directly or from trains, the latter delivering the least tonnage to areas around Nowra itself. Distribution throughout the region has assumed three essential forms. First, co-ordinated with freight-trains to Bomaderry, three transport firms load 6-16 ton lorries at the rail terminus, and split between themselves the Prince's Highway trade in groceries, hardware and 'general merchandise', Nowra General Agents serving the 100 miles between Nowra and Moruya, a Narooma-based carrier serving the 53 miles between Moruya and Cobargo, and Spenco (of Bega) delivering furthest south of all, to Bega and Eden. Secondly, other long-distance hauliers operate independently of the Sydney-Bomaderry rail co-ordination system, retaining the flexibility needed to bring petrol, machinery, fertilizer and bitumen from Wollongong, or seeds, fodder, softwood timber and wheat from inland areas along the Snowy Mountains Highway; pharmaceutical supplies from Queanbeyan warehouses and most Melbourne merchandise also reach South Coast customers via independent hauliers.

83 These descriptions are derived from informative discussions with Messrs Winston Spence and C.W. Hewitt, and from - New South Wales Department of Main Roads: Traffic Survey for Australian Advisory Council Committee of Transport Economic Research, 1958 (essentially an origin-and-destination survey undertaken during the latter half of October, 1958 in Bega, and at two localities outside the South Coast).
many of whom conduct local sales agencies for the products they deliver, as Hayes & Hydd Pty. Ltd. do in Bega for seeds, fertilizer, stock-feed and farm machinery.

Thirdly, to distribute these loads among farms and subordinate villages, dozens of short-haul local carriers ply between the truck depots of major rural service centres and specific, specialized outlets: one Candelo firm collects salt-lick at the Bombala rail terminus, Harrison's passenger coach delivers small parcels between Nowra and Moruya, and milk-collection trucks at Nowra back-load with miscellaneous items ordered by farmers and villagers. A fourth supply system, excluded from consideration here by its external ownership and horizontal integration into metropolitan manufacturing concerns, furnishes South Coast retailers with such packaged, standardized wares as confectionery, ice cream (notwithstanding the existence of freezing depots at Nowra and Moruya), cigarettes and certain groceries — a system descended from the bygone commercial travellers and the hotel sample room, and of little consequence for South Coast urban growth.

The disposal of regional production, by contrast, continues to promote urban growth quite differentially, particularly where processing and packing plants are situated. Whether distributing goods brought into the region or products taken from it, however, the system of road transportation revolves around three elements — (i) the sources and destinations of material conveyed, at railheads and metropolitan stores; (ii) truck depots within the region from which the delivery routes of short-haul local carriers radiate; and (iii) the road arteries linking these intra-regional distribution centres with extra-regional markets or production centres. Along practically identical routes, for example, postal delivery services and milk collection vans respectively diverge from and converge upon Nowra; coal trucks descend Brown Mountain between Nimmitabel and Bega while Canberra-bound milk tankers ascend the same escarpment; and the very lorries bringing groceries from Nowra to Bega return laden with butter, cheese and sawn timber — in short, so far as routes are concerned, collection and distribution practically reciprocate.
The actual composition of loads, however, reveals why the disposal of South Coast products has fostered urban centralization more effectively than has the distribution of imported commodities. Whereas in-loading consists predominantly of items destined for almost every house or farm — whether or not delivered in bulk — out-loading consists almost exclusively of homogeneous products destined, initially at least, for one specific recipient — sawn timber for Wollongong and Sydney builders, fluid milk for Canberra and Sydney, fish for Melbourne, livestock for particular abattoirs, and butter, cheese, vegetables and hides for several metropolitan markets. Because such out-loading encourages the concentration of preliminary processing, packing and loading facilities, towns boasting sawmills, dairy factories, milk bottling or processing plants, fish canneries or livestock sale yards, almost inevitably contain vital trucking depots. Accordingly, the employment nodes of South Coast secondary industry have steadily diminished in number since c.1900, with the attendant decline of village populations alluded to above.

Improved roads and motor vehicles not only reduced isolation so markedly that many farmers could afford to by-pass the nearest village and depend increasingly on larger, more distant towns, but movement was facilitated into the region as a whole from neighbouring areas. Immediately it appeared, in fact, motor transport was recognised as tourist bait by local entrepreneurs: as early as 1905, Bombala residents were seeking respite from Monaro winters by clamouring for a motor omnibus service between inland Bega and seaside Tathra, for ‘people anxious to get to Tathra during the summer’; and at Moruya, the harbingers of motor tourist traffic from Sydney appeared in 1912.

In October 1958, by tonnage, road freight entering and leaving Bega (southern approach only) consisted primarily of dressed and undressed timber (22.5 per cent), gravel and rock (19 per cent), petroleum (12.5 per cent), fish (10 per cent), machinery (8 per cent), livestock (5.5 per cent), milk and milk products (3 per cent), and ‘general merchandise’ (3 per cent) — Department of Main Roads, New South Wales: Traffic Survey, 1958, op. cit., Table 9.


Bombala Times, 15 August 1905.

Moruya Examiner, 26 October 1912.
How the region's coast-hugging constellation of holiday resorts evolved is traced elsewhere (see Chapter 11), but to conclude the present chapter and clarify the transition from nineteenth century shipping to twentieth century tourism, it remains simply to suggest how the first South Coast recreational zones materialized.

This third effect of better roads and motor vehicles took root initially at the existing steamship ports for two reasons - because the earliest Sydney vacationists penetrated the region through these gateways, arriving by steamer in search of a 'salubrious maritime climate', and secondly, because the annual outdoor entertainments of settled South Coast communities were already congregating into the ports. On Seven Mile Beach, for example, near the mouth of the Shoalhaven, Boxing Day races were held in 1867, with saddles, whips and spurs offered as prizes for such 'other sports' as 'catching a pig with a greasy tail', 'climbing a greasy pole' and 'jumping in sacks'.

Before the turn of the twentieth century, other seaside rendezvous were regularly providing regattas on Anniversary Day (Merimbula) and St Patrick's Day (Eden), Athletic Sports on Boxing Day (whimsically bracketing the Maiden Plate, Tathra Handicap, Hop-Step-and-Jump, and Three-legged Race), professional foot races (Carrington Rules), boating parties, and - to occupy the evening - pantomimes and concerts at Christmas, and a New Year's Ball.

So intricately has such a history of urbanization involved South Coast transport, that some justification exists for proposing a final, perhaps sweeping correlation between the two. Essentially and inherently, three very distinct 'transport environments' or degrees of


89 The News - Shoalhaven and Southern Coasts District Advertiser, 24 December 1867.

90 Bega Gazette, 24 December 1891.
'surface friction' lie juxtaposed in this southeastern corner of Australia - a perennially navigable ocean, which mid-nineteenth century communications and trade found most amenable; a relatively level inland plateau, which hampered movement more seriously than the coastal waters, but nevertheless afforded the easiest overland access; and between plateau and ocean - isolated from one by cliffed escarpments and mountain ranges, and from the other by bar-blocked estuaries and ocean-exposed harbours - the South Coast, its steep and dissected terrain, thick forests, and branching, deepwater inlets obstructing transportation most onerously of all. As each 'transport environment' was conquered in turn - by coastal shipping, by the Southern Tablelands railway, and by Prince's Highway respectively - the vanguard of urban growth passed from ports to rural service centres and finally to holiday resorts; and since 1900, amidst rural depopulation and village decline, a South Coast urban future has been assured by the swelling seasonal pilgrimage of holiday-makers from Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra and the adjacent provincial cities.