

Department of Urban and Regional Planning

Past Lives, Present Values: Historic Cultural Values in the South-West Forests of Western Australia

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Doctor of Philosophy
of
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DECLARATION

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Penelope Gomm".

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the processes surrounding the assessment of places of cultural significance in Australia, and the extent to which they are achieving some of their key objectives.

In the 1970s, Australia challenged the conventions of many other countries by developing a methodology for heritage assessment that aimed at identifying *all* the qualities that make a place significant. This contrasted with traditional practices that focussed on architectural style, design or historic associations. The Australian paradigm identifies four key evaluative criteria against which to assess the evidence about a place: aesthetic, historic, scientific and social value. This systematic, criterion based approach is now nationally regarded as representing best practice and has been adopted in all state heritage legislation. Internationally, several countries have developed codes of practice substantially on the basis of the Australian model.

One consequence of the widespread acceptance of the principles used in Australia is a lack of investigation into their successful application. The methodology has come to function as a ‘primary frame’, a way of thinking that is so widely accepted it is applied without question. The concern with any primary frame is that those working within its parameters can become ‘frame blind’ and fail to recognise any disjunction between the frame’s objectives and the outcomes it achieves. One of the aims of this thesis is to draw attention to the presence and dominant nature of this primary frame and encourage greater critical reflection on the professional practice of cultural heritage.

The research program undertaken for this thesis focuses on the particular issue of how the primary frame allows for the identification of cultural heritage values held by past communities. In examining this subject it addresses several key questions: Which places did historic communities value? Can such places be assessed in terms of contemporary heritage values as set out by the primary frame? What other forms of assessment may be valid? To what extent do places identified by today’s society as having heritage values correlate to those valued by historic communities? What implications does the identification of places valued by historic communities have

for contemporary land management agencies? Are there other forms of assessment that could be developed to uncover historic community places and values?

In addressing these questions, this thesis challenges many of the conventions that have developed around the current assessment methodology; conventions that work to undermine the holistic objective of the primary frame. The study does not, however, seek to develop an alternative model for heritage assessment and the approaches it uses are consistent with the primary frame. Nevertheless, the approaches may be confronting to many practitioners.

The research program focussed on the physically and temporally discrete historic community living in what is now the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River in Western Australia between 1832 and 1880. From the extensive collection of letters, journals and diaries written by settlers held in local archives, places that were significant to the historic community were identified. Omissions were then identified by comparing these to places identified on other heritage lists.

The findings demonstrate the extent to which the primary frame is being reframed through conventions and unofficial practices, and the degree to which this is overlooked, despite being inconsistent with the broad objectives of the primary frame. Some places that were significant to the historic community have been identified as important, but there is little acknowledgement in these assessments of past cultural associations. Other places have not been identified because they no longer have the same degree of significance that was accorded to them by the historic community.

This thesis concludes that the potential for the primary frame to result in more holistic heritage assessments has yet to be realised, and that the assessment process is being constrained by conventions and reframing. In order to effect change, the evaluative criteria need to be more rigorously and expansively applied.

In line with the regulations of Curtin University, this thesis is presented as a series of eight papers published in refereed publications. They are supported by four chapters, which introduce the topic, provide a theoretical context, explain the methodological approach and draw together the conclusions of the research. Each paper also has a brief introduction. Together, the papers and supporting material form the thesis.

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Penny O'Connor

December 2011

LIST OF PAPERS SUBMITTED

1. O'Connor, P. (1998) Framing Attitudes Towards Cultural Heritage Planning: Conservation in Thought, Word and Deed, in: Dibble, B. Ed. *Proceedings Second Annual Humanities Postgraduate Research Conference 12 - 13 November* (Perth, Western Australia, Humanities Graduate Research and Studies, Curtin University of Technology), pp. 133-141
2. O'Connor, P. (2000) All in the past - a call for reconciliation between heritage and history, in: Espák, G. & Tóth, S. Eds. *Third Annual Curtin Humanities Postgraduate Research Conference Proceedings 1999* (Perth, Western Australia, Black Swan Press), pp. 63-76.
3. O'Connor, P. (2000) Your Place - My Place : heritage studies and concepts of place, in: Stephens, J. Ed. *Habitus 2000, a Sense of Place* [CD] (Perth, Western Australia, School of Architecture, Construction and Planning, Curtin University).
4. O'Connor, P. (2001) Heritage and landscape: a new role in Comprehensive Regional Assessments, in: Cotter, M. M., Boyd, W. E. & Gardiner, J. E. Eds. *Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place and Communities* (Lismore, Australia, Southern Cross University Press), pp. 443-455.
5. O'Connor, P. (2002) A time and a place - the temporal transmission of a sense of place in heritage studies, in: Holland, P., Stephenson, F. & Wearing, A. Eds. 2001, *Geography - A Spatial Odyssey: Proceedings of the Third Joint Conference of the New Zealand Geographical Society and the Institute of Australian Geographers, New Zealand Geographical Society Conference Series No. 21* (Dunedin, New Zealand, New Zealand Geographical Society (Inc)), pp. 88-95.
6. O'Connor, P. (2006) Women's Values and Valuing Women: the challenge for heritage assessments, in: McMinn, T., Stephens, J. & Basson, S. Eds. *Proceedings Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand XXII: Contested Terrains* (Fremantle, Western Australia, SAHANZ), pp. 401-407.

7. O'Connor, P. (2008) The Sound of Silence: valuing acoustics in heritage conservation, *Geographical Research*, 46, (3) pp. 361-373.
8. O'Connor, P. (2011) Turning a Deaf Ear: acoustic value in the assessment of heritage landscapes, *Landscape Research*, 36, (3) pp. 269-290.

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LIST OF ADDITIONAL RELEVANT MATERIAL NOT SUBMITTED

Journal Articles

1. O'Connor P (2000) 'Heritage Conservation in Australia: A Frame in Flux', *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, March, pp 56-72.

Conference Papers

1. O'Connor P (1999) *Old Growth – Regrowth: Identifying and Understanding Framing Disputes in Australia's Forests*, Environment & Society Conference, University of the Sunshine Coast, Maroochydore, Queensland, 14-16 July 1999.
2. O'Connor P (2001) *Social Value – A Sense of Place*, 'Riding the Rapids of Change' 8th Biennial National Local Government Community Development Conference, Perth, Western Australia, 20-23 March 2001.
3. O'Connor P (2001) *Past Lives : Present Values – knowledge and meaning in heritage assessments*, First World Planning Schools Congress, Shanghai 11-15 July 2001.
4. O'Connor P (2001) *The Sound of Silence: sense of place, heritage conservation and acoustic ecology*, 5th Annual Humanities Post Graduate Research Conference, Curtin University of Technology, Western Australia, 8-9 November 2001.
5. O'Connor P (2002) *In the Realm of the Senses – the role of the intangible in Australian heritage assessments*, Institute of British Geographers Conference, Belfast 2-5 January 2002.
6. O'Connor P (2002) *A Woman's Place – Gender and place-making in the historic south-west*, 5th Annual Humanities Post Graduate Research Conference, Curtin University of Technology, Western Australia, 7-8 November 2002.

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PART A

INTRODUCTION

“No one but those who have embarked in a similar adventure can imagine the feelings on entering a country so different and so entirely new to what they have been accustomed to” (Turner James W, 1831)

Every generation attaches meaning to places for different reasons, because meaning is socially constructed in time. Meanings change as the values people share change, and also as places change; as fabric fades and decays, as buildings become remnants and ruins, until eventually places only survive as memories.

One form of meaning that is increasingly attached to places is heritage listing. This thesis explores the methods currently used to identify and assess heritage places to see how well they capture the meanings that were held by historic communities, and whether they actually identify the places that people in the past felt were important; the places they valued. The thesis raises questions about whose values we seek to acknowledge and conserve through heritage listing – ours or those of the past – and what heritage listed places can tell us about ourselves and our ancestors.

Identification and assessment are both highly subjective and value-laden processes. Strong guidance and frameworks have therefore been developed in Australia and around the world to increase consistency in decision making, and to inform and regulate practice. Such guidance can also establish benchmarks for best practice. In Australia, this formalisation has resulted in the way that heritage places are identified and assessed becoming very complex.

This thesis builds on research I undertook previously that proposes the presence of a strong primary frame that guides professional heritage practice in Australia (O'Connor, 2000c), that has its origins in the 1970s with the passing of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* and publication of the *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* (commonly known as The Burra Charter) in 1979. The term ‘primary frame’ is a metaphor for a way of thinking that is so widely accepted it is widely applied and without question. The concern with primary frames is that those working within its parameters can become ‘frame blind’ and fail to

recognise any disjunction between the frame's objectives and the outcomes it achieves. One of the aims of this thesis is to draw attention to the presence and dominant nature of this primary frame and encourage greater critical reflection on the professional practice of cultural heritage.

There are three broad principles at the heart of the primary frame:

- That the identification and assessment of heritage places is important;
- That important places should be protected by law; and
- That any and all categories of sites may have heritage significance and should be carefully assessed for their cultural heritage values (O'Connor, 2000c).

For the purposes of this thesis, the evaluative criteria for assessing heritage places are those that define cultural significance: aesthetic, historic, scientific, and social/spiritual value. These values are at the heart of the primary frame and are also intrinsic to the assessment processes applied in Western Australia, where this thesis is situated.

By comparing places valued by past communities to those included on today's heritage lists, this thesis demonstrates that there are problems with key aspects of the primary frame that result in some of its principles being misapplied, some values and places not being comprehensively assessed, and important places being omitted from heritage lists and registers.

Past values and valuing the past

The primary frame very deliberately emphasises the concept of *place*. The aim of choosing this term was to foster a more holistic understanding of heritage, and move away from the more limited European perception that heritage is the preserve of fine architectural buildings and monuments (Marquis-Kyle & Walker, 1992). Although it is the values attributed to a place that make it significant, the focus on *place* as a physical location has strongly influenced the way that sites are identified as having potential cultural heritage values. Finding a place or knowing about one has become the starting point for the process of identifying and investigating cultural heritage values. Finding a place is usually triggered by a range of basic indicators that are, largely by necessity, based on extant remains (Belsey, 1985). The indicators are usually physical – standing remnants that show age, architectural style, technological

innovation, etc. The process is therefore diachronic - it begins here in the present, and looks back, through and across time and with the benefit of accumulated knowledge and experience, to determine a place's history (Kerr, 1996). The analysis of significance is therefore made on the basis of contemporary values – *why is the place important to us?*

This diachronic approach is symptomatic of the ambiguous and paradoxical relationship that heritage has with both the past and the present. Most heritage places that are identified, assessed and listed are *of* the past, in that it is rare for a building or site to be deemed ‘heritage’ as soon as it comes into being. The issue of how significant a place is, that is the extent and nature of its heritage, is determined by people today; it is not, to any great extent, based on the views of people *in* the past.

The Burra Charter incorporates our relationship with the past in its most fundamental of definitions, stating that ‘cultural significance is the aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual value for past, present or future generations’ (Australia ICOMOS, 2000, p.2). The semantics of this statement enable places to be considered as heritage if they are valued by any one of three communities: people in the past, people in the present, or people in the future. There has, however, not been any debate about the extent to which places that are heritage listed today will actually be valued by future communities.

While we as tourists, travellers, educators, and voyeurs appreciate today the efforts of those who led the conservation crusades of previous centuries, Burrows (1997) suggests that even Generation Y, my most immediate descendants, may attach very different values to the material fabric that has been so strenuously protected on their behalf because of their increasing engagement with various forms of virtual reality. Such a shift in the meaning and value attached to extant fabric represents a potential threat to the key objective of conservation through heritage listing that has not been debated, although the retention of heritage values through virtual interpretation has already been suggested as a viable and reasonable alternative to the conservation of material fabric.¹ While we may not have the foresight to predict what will be valued

¹ When demolition was proposed for *Cherrita*, the home of Western Australia’s former Premier, Sir Charles Court, the National Trust of W.A. suggested that the place might be represented through a detailed computer replica (Post Newspapers, 2006)

in the future, we can with some qualifications know something about what was valued by past generations and how their values are revealed in physical places.

Because our knowledge of history, of the past, is always limited and the facts of history do not belong to what is present and observable, but instead are in the realm of phenomena that are past and are therefore unobservable (Stanford, 1998), we cannot make ‘truth claims’ about the past (Jenkins, 1995), or divine any ultimate or definitive meaning from the past (White, 1966), any more than we can about the future. Our knowledge of the past is limited by the information or records (including memories) that remain, what research has been done on those records, and how widely the findings have been disseminated, for unless past events are known in the present, the places associated with those events cannot be identified. But the past can be endlessly investigated, and knowledge and information that was once lost can be uncovered or rediscovered. Historiography and written history can therefore also be considered forms of ‘extant remains’, and a revised past can alter our identity in the present (Lowenthal, 1985). It can even be argued that the mere fact of discovering and thereby knowing about a place in the present, endows it with some significance (Baer, 1998).

Yet when places are being identified and assessed for their cultural significance, the main focus of analysis is on the value they have to contemporary society and their contemporary meaning. The counterpoint to this diachronic process, which is proposed in this thesis, is a synchronic approach, where places are identified and assessed in time, rather through time. Using this methodology, places are evaluated in the context of historic cultural mores and meanings, as well as those of contemporary society – *why was this place important to people in the past, and what does that mean for us today?*

If the concept of *place* as a physical location influences the identification process, the way evaluative criteria are conceived, defined and understood fundamentally underpins the depth and breadth of the assessment process. For this thesis, rather than starting with identified *places*, I have instead begun with values. Because the issues I am examining are in the past, it would seem logical that my emphasis would be on *historic* value, however because I am uncovering community values shared by people this indicates that *social* value should be the focus. As social value also address issues of aesthetics, aesthetic value is also critical to my analysis. What has

eventuated is consideration of all three of these values: aesthetic, historic and social value because, as discussed throughout this thesis, the distinctions between these values are artificial, and they constantly overlap and intersect.

Bearing in mind that perceptions and values towards heritage places change over time (Lowenthal, 1985), I anticipated at the outset that my research would reveal different impressions of places to those that we hold in the present, and new values would be uncovered for places already identified and assessed, thereby adding an extra dimension to their significance. New places, not currently thought to be of value, might also be revealed. However, finding new values and places in this way raises questions about the extent to which our current heritage lists are comprehensive and the underlying primary framing paradigm that has been used in their analysis. The question about heritage posed by this new approach becomes – *what values were important and in what places can they be found?*

The primary objective of the papers in this thesis then is to examine the validity of the primary frame's evaluative processes. This is done through a comparative assessment of places identified as having cultural heritage value in the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River in the south-west of Western Australia. The cultural heritage of this area has been extensively studied, most recently in 1998 when a Comprehensive Regional Assessment (CRA) for the wider south-west forests of Western Australia was undertaken. Part of the CRA was a Community Heritage Program that identified places important to people today through extensive community consultation (Pearson, 1997a). The Shire has also compiled a detailed Municipal Inventory of locally significant heritage places and several other agencies have identified other significant places in the area. This thesis compares the places identified in these contemporary studies to those that the historic community felt were important. These historic places have been identified by examining first hand accounts and records of the earliest colonial residents in the area, such as diaries, journals, letters, travelogues and personal papers, using a method derived from the contemporary Community Heritage Program to give this historic community its voice.

Objectives

This thesis aims to address the following questions:

- I. What places were valued by historic communities?
- II. Can such places be assessed in terms of contemporary heritage values as set out by the primary framing paradigm?
- III. To what extent do the places identified by contemporary society as having heritage values correlate to those valued by historic communities?
- IV. What implications does the identification of places valued by historic communities have for contemporary land management agencies?
- V. Does the primary framing paradigm need to be revised?
- VI. Are there other forms of assessment that could be developed to uncover historic community places and values?

Research Significance

A strong correlation between the places valued by the historic and contemporary communities would confirm that the processes set out in the primary frame are an accurate way to identify significant places for both communities. Significant discrepancies would indicate that additional methods may be required to ensure the places and values of historic communities are represented along with our own. Such a conclusion would challenge the extent to which current practices are achieving one of the avowed aims of heritage listing and conservation: that conserving these places illuminates the past for present and future generations. This thesis therefore aims to contribute towards the development of a revised model for the identification and assessment of places with cultural heritage values.

The fact that historic community values have been largely neglected in the heritage assessment process raises questions about the extent to which the places we have already identified are representative of the past. Not only may existing heritage assessments be incomplete but, more significantly, current assessment processes may mean that heritage registers offer only a limited indication of the full extent of our cultural heritage to present and future generations.

The principles of the primary framing paradigm are increasingly dominant, and were most recently endorsed in the federal *Environment Protection of Biodiversity and Conservation Act 1999*, which created the National Heritage List. By adding to our knowledge of how cultural heritage values change over time, this research will

provide valuable insights into the current assessment process operating in Australia. The model developed in this study for assessing historic cultural values, and identifying places with those values, will therefore be important in future reviews of heritage legislation and guidance.

Position Statement

I have practiced in the field of cultural heritage for 17 years in a variety of different roles. I have a Bachelor of Arts (Anthropology) from the University of Western Australia, and a Master of Science (European Urban Conservation) from the University of Dundee in Scotland.

Since 2003 I have worked in the Assessment and Registration section of the Heritage Council of Western Australia. Prior to this, I combined part time lecturing on cultural heritage, heritage planning and the history of building at Curtin University, and employment as a local government Conservation Officer, with heritage consultancy work. I continue to provide guest lectures to students at Curtin University and the University of Western Australia in my current role at the Heritage Council.

Although I grew up in Western Australia, it was my post-graduate studies in Scotland in the mid 1990s that introduced me to Australian heritage practice. At that time in the U.K. there was little detailed guidance on how to assess the cultural or heritage significance of important places. This contrasted sharply with the detailed assessment methodology and holistic evaluative criteria in the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 1979), which was increasingly being hailed as a benchmark of best practice. Indeed during my studies in Dundee, the conservation plan methodology (Kerr, 1982), based on the Burra Charter, began to be incorporated into the requirements for funding applications to the Heritage Lottery Fund (Heritage Lottery Fund, 1998).

While in Dundee, I was successful in obtaining a research grant from the Nuffield Foundation to compare heritage legislation, agencies, policies and practices across the state and federal governments in Australia. Coming to Australian heritage practice from a Scottish perspective, I was effectively an outsider in my own country. It became evident to me that there were significant discrepancies between what was recognised, advocated and promoted as ‘best practice’ in Australia, and what was

actually occurring. Yet Australian heritage professionals and practitioners rarely acknowledged these inconsistencies.

It was towards the end of my Nuffield Foundation research trip in 1996, that I began to develop my ideas for a thesis topic to examine divergences between theory and practice in Australian heritage conservation. These ideas were further focussed when I wrote up my findings in a research paper for the School of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Dundee (O'Connor, 1997).

Thesis Topic Evolution and Devolution

During the course of my candidacy, my thesis topic has changed several times in both focus and scope. As my thesis includes papers published at all stages of my candidacy, the evolution and devolution of my research topic is briefly explained here. Full details are provided in Part C.

My initial research topic, which was accepted in 1998, was provisionally titled *Evaluating the Evaluation: an assessment of the compilation and implementation of Conservation Plans for heritage places in Australia since 1975*. The aim of this topic was to explore variations and inconsistencies associated with the compilation, use and implementation of conservation plans in Australia, and determine why these were occurring. Conservation plans provide detailed conservation guidance developed on the basis of a thorough assessment of cultural heritage values. They are based on the principles of the Burra Charter and are therefore consistent with acknowledged best practice. However, during the late 1990s, many conservation plans had become behemoths; weighty and unwieldy tomes that were perceived as ends in themselves rather part of the ongoing practice of conserving heritage values (Somerville, 1997). As a result, there was growing concern regarding their practical application and usefulness (Brooks, 1997; Stark, 1997). Key problems identified were the interpretation of the Burra Charter that had been adopted, the translation of conservation management plans into action and the lack of information and policy to guide on-going decision making (Committee of Review: Commonwealth Owned Heritage Property, 1996). Even the originator of the modern Conservation Plan brief, James Kerr, had begun to question the way the process had evolved (Kerr, 1997).

My initial doctoral candidacy aimed to explore the concerns raised by Brooks (1997), that conservation plans were increasingly being tailored to suit the objectives of the client and no longer related directly to an objective statement of significance, an approach that runs contrary to one of the fundamental tenets underpinning heritage conservation in Australia. I proposed a comparative analysis of conservation plans for places in three states: Western Australia, New South Wales and Victoria. In each state a minimum of five conservation plans were to be selected, with places in the same category chosen in each state (eg office block, residential dwelling warehouse etc).

From the outset, I identified framing theory as a useful way to explain how decisions that were inconsistent with best practice were being defended or justified, often unknowingly, by heritage professionals and agencies. Much of the early phase of research on my thesis involved exploring different framing processes in relation to both heritage places and the documents associated with them including heritage assessments, conservation plans, charters, guidance documents. I presented some of my preliminary findings on heritage and framing in 1997 to a seminar at the Research Institute for Cultural Heritage, and at the 1998 Curtin Humanities Postgraduate Conference, on which Paper I of this thesis is based.

While my research into framing was productive, data collection on conservation plans proved increasingly problematic. Despite preliminary investigations indicating that data access would not be a problem, by mid 1998 it became clear that I would not be able to access accurate information from the heritage databases in Victoria and New South Wales.² Alternative comparative studies involving other states proved unviable, due to the newness of conservation legislation in all states except South Australia at that time. As a result, in 1999 my supervisory team and I agreed that a substantial variation to the original topic was required in order for my candidacy to continue.

My revised topic developed out of consultancy work I had undertaken for the Australian Heritage Commission in 1997 to identify contemporary social and aesthetic values for places in the south-west forests of Western Australia (Pearson,

² In 1998, Heritage NSW closed their electronic database for 12 months to reconfigure their system and cross check data as it had been found that much of the information it contained was out of date or inaccurate.

1997a). The findings of this Community Heritage Study, and the way they were derived, led to the development of this thesis as it raised questions for me about whose places and whose values are acknowledged through the standard processes used to identify and assess heritage places, and whether the places that are recognised as significant using this process tell us more about ourselves than about our ancestors. Specifically, this thesis therefore examines whether places valued by historic communities have been identified, and whether the values held by historic communities have been assessed. My revised thesis topic was approved in 1999.

The study area for this revised topic was originally the area covered by the Comprehensive Regional Assessment for Western Australia; a 4.25 million hectare band of mainly forested land reaching 96km inland from Perth and running 409 km south-east to Albany and 320km south-south-west to Augusta. However in 2001, it became apparent that there were several problems associated with researching this area that resulted in further changes to the parameters of the case study, which was rationalised both spatially and temporally. Spatially, my focus was reduced to the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River, in the far south-west of the State. Through consultancy work in Busselton I became aware of a rich archive of private letters and journals held by the Battye Library in Perth detailing the experiences of settlers at the towns of Augusta and Margaret River further south. From a preliminary review of the archives, and from what I knew from those letters that appeared in published collections (Hasluck, 1955, Lines, 1994), I was confident that they would provide sufficient detail to enable me to identify the places that the historic community felt to be significant. These findings could then be compared to several contemporary sources.

In addition to the places identified in the Community Heritage study for the Comprehensive Regional Assessment, the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River has a detailed Municipal Inventory of locally significant heritage places that describes each place and broadly analyses its cultural significance (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996). At that time, six places had been listed by the Heritage Council of Western Australia on the State Register, 14 had been classified by the National Trust (WA Branch) and 16 had been included on the Register of the National Estate compiled by the Australian Heritage Commission, although many individual places had heritage multiple listings.

My research was also refined temporally by being limited to the period between 1830, when settlers first arrived at Augusta, to 1880 and the start of the successful timber industry that extensively and permanently altered both the landscape and the communities in the area. The socio-economic changes that resulted from this industry represent a clear and distinct break from the early pioneering phase of development, which could be defined and assessed as a discrete period.

Thesis as a Series of Published Papers

This thesis is submitted as a series of papers that have been published in line with Curtin University's *Guidelines for Thesis by Publication*. These stipulate that all papers included in such a thesis must have been published in refereed scholarly media. While there is no set number of papers for a doctoral thesis by publication, the Guidelines suggest a minimum of four to five substantial papers. A copy of the guidelines is provided at Appendix II.

This thesis includes eight published papers. The figure is higher than that suggested in the Curtin guidelines as some papers are comparatively short due to prescribed word limits. At the time of beginning this thesis, there were few high impact journals dedicated to cultural heritage. As a result, the papers in this thesis have been published in a variety of publications. Five have been published in refereed conference proceedings, one is a refereed book chapter based on a conference paper, and two are journal articles. All papers submitted for consideration are my own work. None have been jointly or co-authored.

Three of the conference papers had a limited Australian readership. Papers I and II are derived from presentations I gave at post-graduate conferences held in Western Australia. These conferences attracted students from around Australia in a range of humanities subjects, although most attendees were from Western Australia. As the assessment processes outlined in my thesis have particular relevance to Western Australia, I considered it important to present specifically to this audience. Paper IV is based on a paper I presented at a national conference on heritage landscapes sponsored by the Australian Heritage Commission. This was a specialist heritage audience, and the resultant book was also targeted at this readership. The book is

held in 36 libraries around Australia, most of which are university libraries open to the public.³

The three other conference proceeding papers had wider national and international audiences. Paper III was presented at the international *Habitus 2000* planning conference, which had a strong heritage stream. Paper V developed from a presentation at a joint conference of the Institute of Australian Geographers and the New Zealand Geographical Society, which also had a strong heritage stream. Paper VI was presented at the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand annual conference.

Two papers have been published in refereed journals. Paper VII was published in *Geographical Research*, the journal of the Institute of Australian Geographers, which regularly includes papers relating to heritage matters. Paper VIII was published in the international journal *Landscape Research*.

As noted at the preliminary section to this thesis, I have presented another six conference papers on topics related to my doctoral research during my candidacy that do not form part of this thesis. However, some of the papers formed the basis of subsequent conference presentations and publications. My presentation at the Curtin Humanities Post Graduate Conference in 2002, for example, informed the subsequent paper I gave at the SAHANZ conference in 2006, which was then published in the conference proceedings. While not all conference presentations resulted in publications, they nevertheless were important in the development of my ideas about the different ways that heritage is framed, and the different ways historic relationships with places can be understood.

In addition to submitting exact copies of publications, Curtin University requires that a thesis submitted as a collection of published papers must include a full explanatory overview to link the separate papers and to place them in the context of an established body of knowledge, a literature review, and detailed data and descriptions of methods if these are not otherwise provided (Rule 10 (e)).

To address these requirements, Chapter 1 uses the concept of framing to explore the nature of heritage and specifically the processes around identification and

³ This information was sourced from the TROVE online catalogue on 3 November 2011 at <http://trove.nla.gov.au>.

assessment. It also provides an overview and discussion of the development of criterion-based assessment to situate my thesis in a national and international context. Chapter 2 outlines my research approach and the rationale for applying a case study to this subject. It addresses issues relating to the use of private archives and records in this context. Chapter 2 goes on to summarise the sites that were revealed through the archive research and their historic values, and compares these to the values in contemporary listing documents.

In addition to these chapters, each paper is preceded by a brief introduction. Each introduction sets out the rationale for the paper in terms of the thesis, provides additional background and contextual information that explains the origins and development of the paper, and establishes links to other papers in the thesis. Original reprints of each paper are presented in the thesis in line with the Curtin Guidelines, with only minimal adjustments to reproduction size in order to enhance readability, or meet the required A4 format. All references cited in the individual papers are included in the consolidated list of references at the end of the thesis along with citations from the supporting chapters and sections.

The Curtin Guidelines for submitting a thesis by publication require that proof of peer reviewing is included. This evidence is provided in Appendix III.

The thesis is set out in five parts, which are organised to be read in sequence:

- Part A contains the Introduction and Chapter 1: Framing Heritage.
- Part B contains Papers I – IV each of which has an introduction that summarises the rational, background, context and objectives of the paper. These papers explore framing issues surrounding the assessment of cultural heritage.
- Part C contains Chapter 2: Research Approach and Findings. The methodological chapter is presented at this point in the thesis so that it can be read in immediate conjunction with Part D, which contains the papers that discuss the empirical findings of this research project.
- Part D contains Papers V – VIII each of which has an introduction that summarises the rational, background, context and objectives of the paper. These papers explore the places and values of the historic and contemporary communities.

Part E concludes the thesis by identifying key findings and summarising their implications for heritage conservation theory and practice.

Additional supporting material is provided in Appendices IV –IX, which the reader is referred to at appropriate points throughout the text.

The Papers

Paper I “Framing Attitudes Towards Cultural Heritage Planning: Conservation in Thought, Word and Deed” (1998) Dibble, B. Ed. *Proceedings Second Annual Postgraduate Studies Conference*, (Perth, Western Australia, Humanities Graduate Research and Studies, Curtin University) pp. 133-141.

Paper I introduces the concept of framing, and explores of the ways it can influence the way that heritage places are ‘read’ and understood. It examines extra-textual framing and circum-textual framing in detail to highlight the way that pre-existing knowledge and evidence about a place can influence interpretation and understanding.

Paper II “All in the Past: A Call for Reconciliation between Heritage and History” (2000) Espák, G. & Tóth, S. Eds. *Third Annual Postgraduate Research Conference Proceedings 1999* (Perth, Western Australia, Black Swan Press) pp. 63-76.

Paper II brings framing down to the level of an individual place, using historical research in a conservation plan to illustrate the different ways a place can be understood and interpreted, and explores the role that misinformation can have in influencing the researcher. The research process is discussed in light of the persistent criticisms levelled at the heritage industry by historians.

Paper III “Your Place, My Place: Heritage Studies and Concepts of Place” (2000) Stephens, J. Ed. *Habitus 2000, A Sense of Place* [CD] (Perth, Western Australia, School of Architecture, Construction and Planning, Curtin University).

The concept of *place* that underpins heritage best practice has largely been appropriated from humanistic geography. Paper III explores the different ways that places are identified and assessed in these two disciplines using the example of the

community heritage study done for the south-west Comprehensive Regional Assessment.

- Paper IV** “Heritage and landscape: a new role in Comprehensive Regional Assessments” (2001) Cotter, M.; Boyd, W. & Gardiner J. Eds. *Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place and Communities* (Lismore, Australia, Southern Cross University Press) pp. 433-455.

Paper IV examines the way that community values were identified in the Comprehensive Regional Assessment for the south-west Regional Forest Agreement in Western Australia, and the community’s anger when these failed to be recognised in management decisions. The different ways that *forest* was framed in the debate is explored and a concept of *landscape* based on the principles of humanistic geography and environmental psychology is proposed as an alternative way of understanding people’s connection with the environment.

- Paper V** “A time and a place - the temporal transmission of a sense of place in heritage studies” (2002) Holland P, Stevenson, F & Wearing A Eds. 2001- *Geography A Spatial Odyssey: Proceedings of the Third Joint Conference of the New Zealand Geographical Society and the Institute of Australian Geographers, New Zealand Geographical Society Conference Series No. 21* (Dunedin, New Zealand, New Zealand Geographical Society Inc.) pp. 88-95.

Paper V compares places identified through archive research as important to the first settlers in the town of Augusta to those identified in contemporary heritage assessments. It reveals that both values and places have been overlooked in contemporary heritage listings.

- Paper VI** “Women’s Values and Valuing Women: the challenge for heritage assessments” (2006) McMinn, T., Stephens, J. & Basson, S. Eds. *Contested Terrains: Proceedings Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand XXII* (Fremantle, Western Australia, SAHANZ) pp. 401-407.

Paper VI looks at the way that women's values are overlooked in heritage assessments by examining the way that the values and meanings held by women in the past are embedded in the historic fabric of Ellensbrook Homestead in the study area. It argues that this place is symbolic of the wider historic community of women who lived and worked in the Augusta-Margaret River area.

Paper VII "The Sound of Silence: Valuing Acoustics in Heritage Conservation" (2008) *Geographical Research*, 46 (3), 361-373.

Paper VII focuses on the intangible heritage value relating to sound – acoustic value. Using examples from the south-west forests, it looks at the way that sound in place is often overlooked in heritage assessments. Examples of places that were valued for their acoustic qualities by past communities illustrate both how places and the meanings we have for places change over time.

Paper VIII "Turning a Deaf Ear: Acoustic Value in the Assessment of Heritage Landscapes" (2011) *Landscape Research*, 36 (3), pp. 269-290.

Paper VIII takes the examination of acoustic value explored in Paper VII further by outlining a method for capturing textually the way places sound. The approach is based on research that developed from the principle of the soundscape as an analogy for the visual landscape. The technique is consistent with the principles of the primary frame and can be applied in the standard heritage assessment format. Case studies demonstrate the importance of understanding historic acoustic values in evaluating whether sound is a significant aspect of a place.

FRAMING HERITAGE

Introduction

This chapter is the literature review section of this thesis and sets out the overarching theoretical framework within which heritage is discussed. However, because the thesis is submitted as a collection of published papers, several other theoretical perspectives have also been used to address specific issues raised in the papers, often in response to the genre of the publication or the theme of the conference that stimulated the paper being written. Additional information on these issue-specific theories is provided in the introductions to the individual papers, rather than included in this chapter.

The principle that underpins much of the discussion about heritage and its associated practices in this thesis is framing. While framing is helpful in understanding what goes on in heritage, I have also applied it to explain some of the inconsistencies in the discipline, particularly in relation to the specific processes around assessing places of cultural significance. Although all the published papers, but particularly Papers I – IV, explore aspects of framing in heritage, publishing limitations curtailed the depth of analysis that was possible. This chapter augments the information in the published papers, without repeating them directly.

I have been applying framing theory to the understanding Australian cultural heritage practices since the mid 1990s. The findings of my 1996 Nuffield Foundation grant highlighted the presence of disjunctions between theory and practice around the country that were poorly recognised or acknowledged by those in the industry (O'Connor, 1997). I argue that these contradictions indicate the presence of a particularly strong framing paradigm, or primary frame, that is so dominant it is difficult for people within the Australian heritage industry to recognise that some common patterns of behaviour are inconsistent with the frame, and that these

inconsistencies are being explained or justified by subtle reframing (O'Connor, 2000c).⁴

This chapter is broadly divided into three sections. The first section provides an overview of the development of criterion-based assessment. It begins with a brief summary of framing research, and then discusses the English category-based way of framing heritage as a context and contrast for the following discussion about the development of more holistic criterion-based assessment in Australia, with its emphasis on *places* rather than *categories of places*. The development, evolution and refinement of the evaluative criteria that are a key element of the frame are then discussed.

The second section of this chapter looks at four framing mechanisms that contributed to the holistic frame that developed in Australia becoming a strong primary frame. The final section explores in more detail the three evaluative criteria that are particularly relevant to this thesis: aesthetic value, historic value and social value. It argues that values are being reframed and mis-framed, both formally and informally, in ways that are contrary to the objectives of the primary frame and, moreover, that these challenges to the frame have not been recognised.

An Overview of Framing

The concept of framing provides a metaphor for the way in which information about events and situations is arranged within the memory, thereby guiding interpretation and meaning (MacLachlan & Reid, 1994). Framing theory has its origins in the concept of the schema (pl. *schemata*) developed in cognitive psychology and the behavioural sciences in the early 20th century which posits that knowledge of stereotypical events and situations is located in easily accessed clusters in the memory, rather than being scattered (MacLachlan & Reid, 1994). These clusters have variously been described using terms such as frames, schemata, and scripts. It is through the knowledge and experiences contained within these memory clusters that people assess the events that take place around them. Memory clusters/schemata/frames allow people not only to make sense of events, derive meaning from them and fit them into a wider pattern or context with which they are

⁴ A copy of this paper is provided in Appendix IV for background information but does not form part of this thesis.

familiar, but also to make assumptions about what the likely consequences of an event might be, or what other events might be expected to follow.

Framing is commonly understood to refer to schemata that are specifically socially constructed. In this context, a frame is a structure of knowledge, experience, values and meaning that is brought to a process by those who participate in it (Manning & Hawkins, 1990). Frames provide the rules and principles that guide us in understanding of the meaning of experienced events (Goffman, 1974). Framing is rarely, if ever a simple, single process. More often it is highly complex, involving the interpretation of information in a variety of ways on several different levels (MacLachlan & Reid, 1994).

The concept of framing was popularised in the social sciences by Erving Goffman in his seminal work *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. A *frame*, according to Goffman (1974) provides the rules and principles that guide a person's understanding of the meaning of experienced events. Stimulated by the work of Kahneman and Tversky (1979) on behavioural economics, framing theory has since been applied to various disciplines including: an analysis of the way issues are presented in the media (Goshorn & Gandy Jnr, 1995, Liebler & Bendix, 1996) and particularly the news (Entman, 1991, Parisi, 1997); politics (Drunkman, 2001, Acharya, 2004) and policy formation (Campbell, 2002); law (Manning & Hawkins, 1990); social movements organizations (SMOs) such as those supporting nuclear disarmament, ending capital punishment and others (Benford, 1992, Ashley & Olson, 1998); literature and literary interpretation (Matthews, 1985, Reid, 1988, Reid, 1990); film (Monaco, 1977, Bordwell, 1989) and art (Carter, 1990, Pearson, 1990). It has also been used in organisational science to discuss different aspects of the inter-workings of business (Peterson, 1998) and decision-making (Fiol, 1994).

Framing is a particularly relevant theoretical approach for the study of heritage in this thesis because it has been applied in research on both conscious/deliberate action, as well as actions that are unconscious but strongly guided. As discussed later in this chapter, both formal and informal/conscious and unconscious framing processes are important in the way heritage practice is undertaken in Australia. Furthermore, although most framing research has focussed on largely informal social constructs and organisations, there has also been some work on its role in the more formal contexts of law and policy formation that resonates with the focus of this

thesis on aspects of professional heritage practice. For this thesis, I define professional heritage practice as a suite of interconnected formal processes, largely defined by law, guidance and regulation, that includes identification, assessment, listing and registration, as well as resultant processes relating to conservation and management.

Heritage practice is nevertheless also influenced by a range of less formal processes, particularly in relation to the way places as visual entities are interpreted and ‘translated’ through description and historical narrative into text as part of the heritage assessment process. The application of framing in the analysis of both texts and visual media further supports its relevance to the subject of heritage and this thesis. Most importantly for this thesis, framing provides a way to understand how and why the guidelines for heritage practice in Australia have become so influential, not only in this country but also internationally.

Some researchers use the frame metaphor to refer to structures that are analogous to a picture frame that encapsulates and encloses (Shanke & Abelson, 1977, Minsky, 1980). In this context the frame appears as a rigid, sequential mental process that is imposed on events and experiences in order to derive their meaning or to increase understanding. Such a rigid approach to interpretation does not favour social scientists who must deal with the framing of culturally mediated events and experiences. Although heritage research is typically situated in the social sciences, the bounded metaphor of a rigid frame is more relevant in the context of this thesis, as it focuses on the role of law and guidance on practice, which set out very deliberately to constrain and regulate action. In social movements and other inherently less formal and more fluid organizations, there are often times when not all participants share the same frame (Goffman, 1974). In these situations, frame disputes can arise. Such competitions for frame supremacy are about determining whose interpretation of ‘reality’ will dominate and guide future action (Benford, 1992). By contrast, widespread frame disputes should be less likely to occur in practices associated within formal structures with particularly dominant primary frames, and there should be less chance of them being successful if they do occur.

Frames have the capacity to make norms acceptable – to validate or create normative behaviour (Campbell, 2002). “Normative ideas lie in the background of policy debates but constrain action by limiting the range of alternatives that elites are likely

to perceive as acceptable and legitimate..." (Campbell, 2002). In Australia, however, a frame has been used to try to establish new norms for the professional dimension of heritage using formal structures such as government policies and guidelines, rules and laws. These are particularly deliberate ways of developing frames to guide behaviour and can be highly influential as they are often very visible, and strongly articulated and promoted. This does not mean, however, that such frames will necessarily override norms or contradictory informal framing processes.

Much framing occurs in response to individual cultural experiences and therefore varies from person to person. To some extent this explains the often marked variations in people's perceptions of what constitutes cultural heritage. As discussed by Lowenthal (1985) and Samuels (1994), heritage is a multifaceted construct. The term is used to make wide and varied associations that range across memorabilia, mimetic architecture, tourism, building conservation, museums, marketing, stories, legends, customs, beliefs and other more intangible factors that contribute to cultural identity, such as a sense of place and ethnicity. While such societal norms can support the general principle of heritage protection, in terms of heritage practice, other norms have also been influential,

As outlined in Papers II and III of this thesis, heritage practice in Australia has its origins in a range of different disciplines. Most prominent among these are architecture, history, and geography. Each of these disciplines had a long and well documented history and theoretical development before heritage as a discipline developed and brought them together in a new hybrid form. These diverse antecedents mean heritage practice continues to be evaluated in terms of some of the conceptual and theoretical norms of these disciplines. As discussed in Paper II, history continues to critique heritage for its lack of depth and rigour while, as discussed in Paper III, geographical concepts of place and how we can (or cannot) understand and describe places challenge the descriptive processes required in heritage assessments.

The development of the primary frame in Australia, and particularly its role in encouraging assessment against a standard set of criteria, cannot be understood in isolation from the history of criterion-based assessment more generally, particularly in view of the high international regard for Australia's processes.

Identification and assessment are commonly understood as interrelated - a two-stage process. Identification refers to knowing the location of a place while assessment relates to understanding its meaning (Lennon, *et al.*, 2001). This implies a linear progression, where identification is the precursor to assessment. However, while this is necessarily the way the process works, at a systemic level the relationship is actually circular through time. This is because in order to *identify* a place as the location of some potential, cultural heritage significance, it has to be evaluated or *assessed* as having this quality, albeit at a superficial level. Identification is therefore a form of assessment as well as precursor to it. Similarly, the process of assessment in the present progressively informs the process of identification in the future as more detailed information on heritage comes to light.

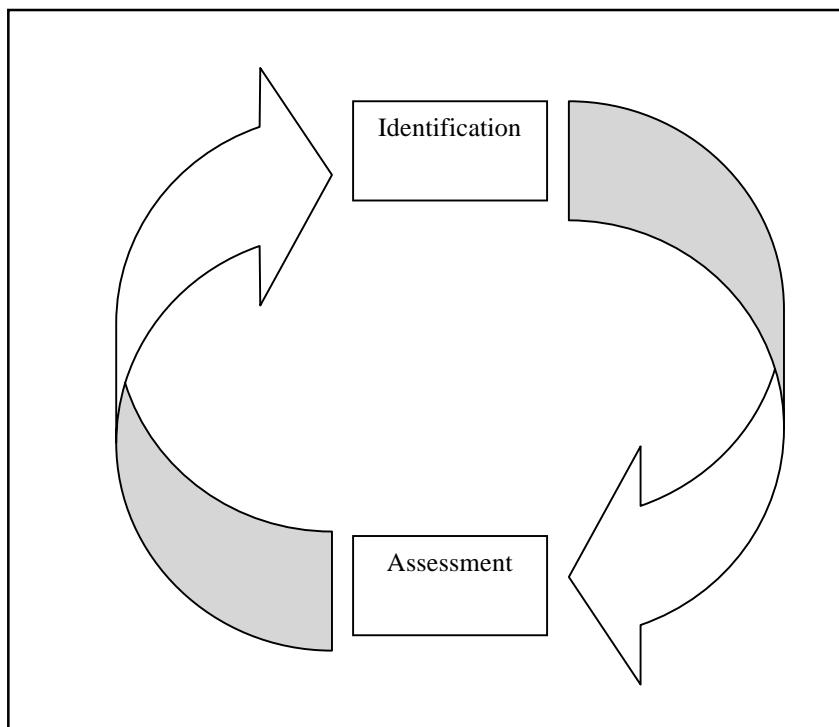


Figure 1 Heritage Identification and Assessment Cycle (Source: Author)

Origins of Criterion-Based Assessment

No process of identifying or categorising places is possible without an understanding of the criteria of inclusion. However vaguely articulated these may be, there is always an underlying sense of why one place is being separated or singled out from the rest as important or special.

Historically, categories and sub-categories have been the dominant historical frame for identifying and assessing heritage places. As Aplin's (2002) overview of international frameworks for heritage identification and protection shows, at the broadest level, heritage is typically demarcated by different legislation that distinguishes between natural and so-called cultural sites. In some jurisdictions, such as most Australian states, there is an additional category of legislation that specifically addresses Indigenous or Aboriginal heritage. In many instances, legislation based on sub-categories of places has also been developed within these broad categories.

The category-based approach reflects gradual changes in the appreciation of different types of heritage places over time. Rather than acknowledging that many different types of places or sites can have heritage value at the outset, new provisions – legislation and criteria – are typically introduced for each new type of place as the significance of the new category is recognised. In a category-based frame, the first types of heritage to be appreciated are usually the oldest. As a result, age typically becomes a defining assessment criterion.

The following section uses the example of the development of English heritage legislation (in conjunction on occasion with Welsh, Scottish and Northern Irish provisions) to reveal the key features of the category-based frame and its approach to identifying and assessing heritage. The English model not only provides a contrast to Australian practices, it is particularly relevant historically as it was one of four approaches that were considered in the development of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* which helped to establish the Australian primary frame.

The earliest of England's cultural heritage provisions, the *Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882*, provided no definition of how this category of site is defined or assessed, presumably because it was considered obvious and therefore unnecessary. The lack of any definition of what was an 'ancient monument', or any guidance on how 'national significance' was to be determined, was nevertheless controversial (UK Parliament, undated, 1877-1913) and as a result in 1908 when the Royal Commission was established to compile an inventory of these sites, age and construction material were identified as important criteria. The Commission's terms of reference were the first to introducing a cut-off date for inclusion, specifying that

ancient monuments had to have been constructed before 1714, and age continues to be a defining criterion throughout English heritage provisions.

The terms of reference for the Royal Commission on ancient monuments also mention three specific types of structures that constitute ancient monuments: earthworks and stone constructions and buildings, although only those that were uninhabited at the time of assessment (Dobby, 1978). These criteria meant that occupied but similarly ‘ancient’ buildings, as defined by their age, were unprotected, a situation that caused increasing concern as rates of demolition increased after WWI. In response, rather than amending the existing statutory mechanism to broaden its scope, new legislation was introduced for this category.

The listing of occupied buildings was first provided for under the *Town and Country Planning Act 1932*, but only for those constructed before 1840. In addition, such buildings also had to demonstrate that they possessed ‘...special architectural or historic interest’. Although such value-laden criteria may seem similar to those found in more modern heritage legislation, including that found around Australia, they were very limited in scope and not intended to be applied to other types or categories of sites.

Perversely, while some types of places, such as bridges, barns, guildhalls and industrial buildings, could be considered as both ancient monuments and buildings (Dobby, 1978), other types of places fell outside both categories. Provisions were therefore introduced under the *Civic Amenities Act 1967* for local authorities to recognise and protect precincts or conservation areas. The somewhat convoluted definition of these as ‘...areas of special architectural or historic interest, the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance...’ provides the broad evaluative criteria for this category. The focus of the criteria is still very visual and specifically architectural, but the introduction of the concept of ‘character’ introduced for the first time an awareness and appreciation that the way people use and interact with places is also important and should be considered when assessing significance.

Although the *National Heritage Act 1983* brought together ancient monuments, listed buildings and conservation areas under a single statute, each category of place is separately defined in the legislation. The Act also added an additional category of

site – gardens and designed landscapes – which it acknowledged had not yet been recognised or provided for in previous legislation. This led to the compilation of the *Register of Historic Parks and Gardens* of “...special historic interest...” (1983) – another category of place assessed against a different set of criteria.

England appeared to move towards a more holistic approach towards heritage with the *National Heritage Act 1997* which identified land, objects and collections as the three major categories of interest. Each of these broad categories nevertheless continues to have slightly different evaluative criteria, although these have moved beyond the limited historic focus on age, architecture and aesthetics. However, from an Australian perspective, the distinctions between some of the new criteria are difficult to appreciate at face value, such as the difference between aesthetic and scenic interest, or between engineering and scientific interest.

The category-based approach is also evident in English regulatory processes for the natural environment, which includes Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs) and National Nature Reserves, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (ANOBs), and National Parks, managed by a different agency to cultural heritage sites. Each of these types of places are identified and protected under different legislation with different criteria, yet many have more than one listing or listings that overlap and intersect. Many also contain individual cultural heritage elements, which demonstrates one of the fundamental problem of designating by even the broadest of categories.

The category-based frame continues to dominate practice in England. In 2007, English Heritage published assessment criteria for a range of individual building types, such as places of worship, suburban and country houses, military structures, agricultural buildings etc, all of which were recently updated (English Heritage, 2011). The category-based frame that guides English practice contrasts dramatically with the guiding frame that developed from the 1970s onwards in Australia.

Criterion-Based Legislation in Australia

The first legislation to list and protect non-Indigenous heritage in Australia was passed in Victoria. As the name suggests, the scope of the *Historic Buildings Act 1974* was reminiscent of the British category-based approach to heritage. However

statutory heritage provisions that developed after this were influenced by other factors.

The Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate (1974) that informed the development of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* considered English statutory mechanisms as part of its investigation of international models. The other two countries examined were the United States and Canada, both of which have a federal structure that was relevant in considering governance under Australia's federal system. Both these countries had developed a more holistic approach than European countries, in that they established one central federal agency with responsibility for buildings, places and natural sites. It is nevertheless still the case that within the Canadian and U.S. heritage agencies there are multiple lists of different types of sites. The US National Parks Service maintains lists of National Heritage Areas, National Historic Landmarks, National Parks and the National Register of Historic Places. Places on each list are assessed against different sets of criteria. Similarly, Parks Canada lists National Parks and places of National Historic significance against different criteria (Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate, 1974).

The other international jurisdiction that was considered by the Committee of Inquiry was the *Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO, 1972). The report notes that this was in fact the starting point for defining Australia's national estate (Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate, 1974, p 35). The Convention separates cultural and natural heritage, however aesthetic and scientific value are criteria in both categories. Value in terms of history and art were important only in terms of cultural heritage, as were ethnographic and anthropological perspectives. For natural sites, "conservation" was an additional consideration (Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate, 1974).

The Committee of Enquiry also looked for guidance from within Australia from the National Trust. The first state branch of the Trust was established as early as 1947 in New South Wales, and by 1963 there were branches in all States. In 1965 the Australian Council of National Trusts was established to represent the interests of the Trusts at the federal level, and coordinate the exchange of information. The state branches of the Trust had been cataloguing places of heritage significance for many years, most of which were buildings (Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate,

1974). In 1972 they redefined their criteria and simplified their listing process, as well as formally expanding it to include other categories of places, particularly those of natural heritage value. The new criteria were similar to those adopted by UNESCO, reflecting the increasingly holistic international perspective of the day. In addition to historical (as opposed to historic), scientific and social significance, the Trusts also assessed places in terms of their architectural, cultural, environmental values (Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate, 1974, p.137)

After deliberating the various options, the Committee of Enquiry decided to frame the national estate holistically. Borrowing from humanistic geography, heritage in Australia was to be identified in terms of *places* rather than by different categories or types of sites. The *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975 (The AHC Act)*⁵ that resulted from the Committee of Enquiry represented a fundamental shift in the way that heritage was conceived at this time and is one of the fundamental principles of what has become the primary frame of heritage in Australia. Place is defined as a site, area or region, a building or other structure (including internal equipment and fittings), or a group of buildings or structures and their fittings, and it extends to the immediate surrounds, what is often referred to as the curtilage. But a place does not have to have structures, or to have been built, or to stand out in the way that the term *monument* might imply in order to be valued or significant. Instead it can be subtle, spiritual, natural, geological, or botanical. As discussed in Paper III, this holistic understanding of place borrowed from the principles of traditional humanistic geography where place is a physical entity distinguished from space by value and meaning.

Identifying heritage holistically by place, rather than by category, necessitated the development of a similarly holistic single set of evaluative criteria. Four criteria were explicitly stated in the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*: the aesthetic,

⁵ The *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999* which replaced the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* is not analysed in great depth in this thesis. Although it came into effect on 16 July 2000 its application has been slow and there are currently less than 100 sites listed across Australia, of which about half have been acknowledged for their ‘historic’ cultural heritage value, with the remainder a mixture of places acknowledged for natural and Indigenous values. Furthermore, the application of the Act is still evolving, as evidenced by the number of amendments that have been passed. As at September 2011, there are 13 sites in Western Australia on the National List, of which four are ‘historic’ heritage sites. There are no nationally listed sites in the study area.

historic, scientific, social values so widely understood today, together with a fifth catch-all criterion of “any other special value” (1975, s.4(1)). The Australian Heritage Commission subsequently reconfigured these four key values into eight more detailed criteria (Appendix V), and 14 sub-criteria, against which places were assessed for the Register of the National Estate.

In some cases, the sub-criteria provide helpful insights into the scope and range of issues to be considered. Social value, for example, is largely encompassed under Criterion G, the sub-criterion for which explains that this relates to places that are “...highly valued by a community for reasons of religious, spiritual, symbolic, cultural, educational, or social associations” (Australian Heritage Commission, undated). In other cases, such as aesthetic value (Criterion E), there was little elaboration. This is defined in the criteria as “Importance for a community for aesthetic characteristics held in high esteem or otherwise valued by the community”.

Although the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* was in many ways a revolutionary piece of legislation, it had its limitations in that it offered only very general guidance on *how* to go about identifying or assessing places of cultural heritage value. As a result, these processes occurred in a relatively ad hoc manner around the country, with practitioners reliant on a range of other guidance and principles. Several charters, most notably the *Venice Charter* (International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1974), were used, while some state branches of the National Trust began to establish their own standards for heritage practice.

In 1977, the Australian branch of the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) sought to establish a set of unified basic principles for heritage practitioners, based on the collective wisdom of the industry in Australia and overseas (Marquis-Kyle & Walker, 1992). The document was released in 1979 as the *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* (commonly known as the *Burra Charter*), which set out guiding principles for assessing cultural heritage in Australia.

One of the major achievements of the Charter was its clarification of the aim of heritage conservation, that is, the retention of ‘cultural significance’ (Australia ICOMOS, 1979). Identifying the cultural significance of a place underpins all future action – be it heritage listing or conservation. The Charter defines cultural

significance as the aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value of a place, for past, present or future generations (Australia ICOMOS, 1979), which reflects the same values set out in the AHC Act. The Australian ICOMOS definition has subsequently been expanded to include spiritual value (Australia ICOMOS, 2000), although this has not been universally adopted in other jurisdictions.⁶

Unlike the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*, the Burra Charter was initially largely intended to be applied to places associated with non-Indigenous history – places often also referred to as ‘historic places’. While this term continues to be used, it is more common to refer to non-Indigenous heritage as ‘cultural heritage’, a term derived largely from the Charter. The convention is misrepresentative because cultural heritage is not the preserve of non-Indigenous communities, and places valued by Indigenous people also have cultural heritage value. Conversely, non-Indigenous people also value places that are significant to Indigenous people. Furthermore, a broad understanding of the definition of cultural heritage does not exclude places formed by natural or geological forces, provided they have demonstrated cultural associations as well. Such is the case in Western Australia, where geological features and rock art sites have been identified as warranting assessment for possible inclusion in the State Register.⁷ It is nevertheless the case that places that are primarily of Indigenous significance, particularly those associated with traditional practices, are most often assessed and evaluated at the state level using different criteria, and are listed under different legislation⁸.

Many places associated with Aboriginal people have, nevertheless, been included on ‘cultural heritage’ lists, but these tend to be places with post-colonial associations, such as missions and contact sites,⁹ or sites that are widely regarded as being exceptional examples of traditional Aboriginal practices and have therefore acquired

⁶ Because spiritual value has not been separated from social value in Western Australia, it has not been examined as a separate value in this thesis.

⁷ Examples include the Wolf Creek Crater and the aboriginal rock art on the Burrup Peninsula.

⁸ Examples include the Western Australian *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1972*, and the South Australian *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1979*.

⁹ Sites with Aboriginal associations that have been listed under ‘cultural heritage’ legislation are: Burra Bee Dee Mission (New South Wales Heritage Register); Ebenezer Mission (Victorian Heritage Register); The Pinjarra Massacre Site (Western Australian State Heritage Register).

cultural significance beyond their Indigenous community, such as fish traps.¹⁰ Despite such listings, the convention around the term ‘cultural heritage’ remains dominant in Australia, and therefore where it is used in this thesis, the terms refers *primarily* to the values of non-Indigenous people, unless otherwise specified.

The impact of the more consolidated Federal approach to assessing heritage can be seen in the New South Wales (1977) and South Australian (1978) legislation that came into effect after the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*. Both these acts are much broader in scope than the earlier Victorian legislation.

Although the NSW legislation refers to ‘places’ it also specifies four other types or categories of sites: building, work, relic, moveable object and precinct (1977, s.4(A)). In terms of criteria, aesthetic, historical (sic), social and scientific values were augmented by cultural, archaeological, natural, and architectural values (1977, s.4(A)). In South Australia, the term ‘item’ is used instead of ‘place’ and encompasses any land, building or structure or parts thereof (1978, s.4(1)). A separate section of the act specifically deals with the listing of area or precincts (1978, s.13). The assessment criteria for both are the same however. To aesthetic, historical (sic) and scientific values were added cultural, technological, archaeological and architectural (1978, s.12 & s.13).

In 1988, the first set of Guidelines for the Burra Charter were released which expanded the definitions of several of the core heritage values (Australia ICOMOS, 1988). While not all of these definitions have been fully accepted in practice or legislation, there was until recently widespread agreement that aesthetic value “...includes all aspects of sensory perception...” including smells and sounds (Australia ICOMOS, 1988, Article 2.2). Of particular relevance to this thesis was the application of this multi-sensory understanding of aesthetic value in the Comprehensive Regional Assessment process that informed the Regional Forest Agreements around Australia (Pearson, 1997a).

From Frame to Primary Frame

Because the *Australian Heritage Commission Act* and the Burra Charter and its associated Guidelines use the same terms in relation to cultural heritage: particularly

¹⁰ The Brewarrina Fish Traps on the Barwon River are on the New South Wales Heritage Register.

place and aesthetic, historic, scientific, social value, they jointly established a new holistic way of thinking about heritage. As the preceding summary illustrates, this particular frame was one of several frames that were being utilised around Australia during the late 1970s however, at some point, it became dominant to the exclusion of all others and now informs all cultural heritage practice in Australia.

The presence and strength of a primary frame is indicated by several factors. Firstly the incorporation of its key principles in the heritage legislation that was developed in Australia's other states and territories in subsequent years: Western Australia in 1990, the Northern Territory in 1991, Queensland in 1992¹¹, and finally Tasmania in 1995,¹² which have been acknowledged as reflecting what is understood as 'best practice' and which I denote as the principles of the primary frame (James, 1994, Purdie, *et al.*, 1996, Marshall & Pearson, 1997).

Most recently, Western Australia has begun reviewing its heritage legislation and one of the proposals under consideration is whether to adopt the Burra Charter definition of place, and also its definition of cultural heritage values – aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual value – on the basis that it is '...widely acknowledged as providing the key elements that need to be assessed in determining the significance of a place" (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2011, 19). This indicates that the principles of the frame have been so enthusiastically and universally accepted by government agencies and practitioners they are now applied automatically and largely without question (O'Connor, 2000).

Since the Burra Charter enshrined the concept of *place* and the four key heritage values developed in the Act, there has been little criticism of these fundamental principles of the primary frame. There has been criticism of the variability of methodologies used to assess heritage places around Australia, and the obvious omission of certain types of places and places associated with certain themes from heritage lists, but these discrepancies have been attributed to the lack of a thematic approach to assessment, a reactive rather than proactive response to the need to assess places, an accumulation of places waiting to be assessed, and a lack of

¹¹ The earlier *Heritage Building Protection Act 1990* in Queensland was an interim measure to protect this category of site while broader cultural heritage legislation was being drafted.

¹² The Australian Capital Territory only developed specific heritage legislation in 2004, although heritage provisions had existed prior to this in other legislation.

political will (Lennon, *et al.*, 2001, Lennon, 2006). Again this is consistent with a frame that is functioning as a primary frame; a way of thinking that is so dominant it is difficult to conceive of challenging its primacy (Goffman, 1974, Benford, 1992, Levy, 1999).

In the case of the identification and assessment cultural heritage, frame blindness has resulted in the following contradiction. While there is a widespread, almost universal, consensus that heritage agencies around Australia have adopted the principles of the primary frame, there has been no critical reflection on whether these principles are actually being applied as intended. There is particularly little reflection on the evaluative criteria. These have changed little since the 1970s, with only the additional evaluative criteria of spiritual value being added to the Burra Charter in 1999. However there is no evidence that the amendment was made on the basis of critical analysis that indicated that spiritual values were being overlooked in heritage assessments.

The four framing processes outlined by McLachlan & Reid (1994) played a pivotal role in establishing the frame and have been influential in its subsequent evolution into a primary frame:

- circum-textual framing – framing that occurs around the text or object¹³
- extra-textual framing – framing of the text or object as an entity
- intra-textual framing – framing that occurs within the text or object itself
- inter-textual framing – framing that occurs between texts or objects.

Circum-textual and extra-textual framing are often the initial framing processes to occur as they relate to the physical attributes of what is being framed, and any previous information that might be relevant to understanding it. They therefore provide the most obvious messages about the type of element and manner in which it should be read or observed. These framing processes are discussed in Paper I in relation to Conservation Plans, the content of which are also highly regulated by the principles of the primary frame. The following section discusses some of the ways

¹³ Most of the discussion in this chapter refers to the way texts are framed, however Paper I discusses the influence that circum-textual and extra-textual framing can have on the way places can be perceived.

these framing processes contributed to the establishment of a primary frame in heritage practice in Australia.

Circum-textual Framing

As MacLachlan and Reid (1994, 106) note, circum-textual framing is a ‘liminal or threshold phenomenon’ that mediates our passage from the ordinary world into the genre in question. It can therefore be the location of meta-messages that are seeking to control the meaning of the text (Bateson, 1972). Circum-textual framing is often the first type of framing that occurs because it concerns those features that are closest to what is being framed. It therefore provides the most obvious messages about how or in what manner the element should be read. The framing of other aspects or features may subsequently serve to reinforce or disagree with this initial framing.

In the case of texts and documents, circum-textual framing relates to the factors that surround the main body, the notational frames of publishing (Freedman, 1987) such as the presence of titles, table of contents, covers, acknowledgements, footnotes, prefaces, glossaries, indexes, appendices and the authors, all of which make a significant contribution to establishing the genre of the text and thereby influence how it is read.

The two key documents that make up the primary frame of heritage conservation in Australia both disclose their genres in their titles: the Australian Heritage Commission *Act* and the Burra *Charter*. Circum-textual framing nevertheless still plays a role in the creation and maintenance of the cultural heritage frame. Mostly this is through the outline formatting of the two documents, and information about the authors, commissioning agents and publishers.

The statutory nature of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* is further highlighted by the presence of a crest, the fact that a government is listed as the author, and that there is a highly structured table of contents with many numbered headings and sub-headings, clauses and sub-clauses. At the time it was developed, the genre of the Burra *Charter* was less likely to be familiar to a general readership, who may not be aware that such documents are commonly aspirational and not statutory, and aim to set out best-practice rather than legal requirements. However, the fact that the Burra Charter was compiled by the Australian branch of the *International Council for Monuments and Sites*, implies authority at a high level, and

add gravitas to the document (Waterton, *et al.*, 2006), even if the reader has no knowledge of the organisation.

Where texts can be obtained also affects circum-textual framing, and thereby meaning and interpretation. The transformation of the Burra Charter from its original form, as a short, succinct document with a circulation limited to heritage professionals, into the widely available and very popular *Illustrated Burra Charter* (Marquis-Kyle & Walker, 1992) which was reprinted in 2004 (Marquis-Kyle & Walker, 2004) expands the Charter's principles with numerous case studies and example. While reprinting served to reassert its influence and restate its relevance, it also represented a fundamental shift in the circum-textual framing, by translating a specialist document into a more populist form for a general readership, a shift that further supports the perception of this document as authoritative containing information that 'everyone' should know about.

Extra-textual Framing

The interpretation and understanding of a text or object depends in large part on background knowledge. This can either be of an experiential or socio-cognitive kind, or based on broader ideological, socio-cultural, and institutional concepts (MacLachlan & Reid, 1994). Framing processes that are reliant on or determined by such background knowledge are termed extra-textual, that is, they relate less to the physical features of an element, and more to known concepts, contexts and philosophies. The degree and extent of extra-textual framing is therefore dependent on the depth and extent of knowledge and experience that can be applied or related to what is being framed.

It is often this presupposed knowledge that authors depend upon in order for meaning to be clear. For this reason, the extra-textual framing intended by the author lies embedded but unspecified in the text (MacLachlan & Reid, 1994). For example, in defining and delimiting conservation practices and processes, the Burra Charter in its original iteration makes a basic assumption that conservation is or will be taking place and does not tackle the moral arguments surrounding the issues of why conservation should occur (Australia ICOMOS, 1979). The Charter is therefore aimed at facilitating "...making good decisions about the care of important places" (Marquis-Kyle & Walker, 1992) and is not directed at the question of whether or not

conservation should be taking place at all, or the objectivity/subjectivity of ‘importance’, or the need for a Charter to guide practice in these areas.. Here and elsewhere, the Charter makes no attempt to justify or explain its existential assumptions (Smith, 2006). Heritage legislation similarly assumes heritage listing is a given and does not set out any rationale for this action, which further reinforces the commonalities between legislation and the Burra Charter.

In the case of the Burra *Charter*, a reader familiar with this form of document would assume it would share common characteristics with other charters, normally principles and objectives for codes of conduct or ‘best practice’. Public awareness of charters may come from a range of sources, including the now common practice for organisations and government agencies to list their aims and objectives in the form of a charter. This type of generic extra-textual framing is, however, unstable (MacLachlan & Reid, 1994) and the popularity of the Burra Charter and its principles in Australia and abroad has served to change perceptions of the genre of *charters*, and reshaped professional attitudes in some areas. The Burra Charter’s impact on the genre is indicated by the adoption in the late 1990s of the euphemism ‘Green Burra Charter’ to refer to the Australian Natural Heritage Charter (Australian Heritage Commission & World Conservation Union, 1997).

Intra-textual framing

Intra-textual framing relates to the internal features of the text being framed which serve to guide interpretation. In the case of both the texts that make up the frame in Australia, it is a process that occurs at two levels. Firstly, as experience is a temporally bound activity, what has immediately gone before serves to frame what comes next. This differs from the knowledge and experience upon which extra-textual framing relies in that intra-textual knowledge is discrete to the experience of the text itself. Experiences are thereby also spatially limited to the text in question.

Although factors relating to font, typesetting and outlining, highlighting, indenting, the presence of section-titles, etc are part of the circum-textual framing that serves to clearly indicate that the two documents that make up the primary frame are not discursive texts, some of these features also influence perception at an intra-textual level. The highly structured layout of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* with its text separated into numbered Parts, Divisions, Sections and Clauses,

reinforces its statutory nature, but also contains many examples of internal cross-referencing that reinforce its messages. The title of Part IV establishes the concept of the Register of the National Estate, and its clauses set out how such places will be identified. Part V then goes on to outline *Protection of the National Estate*.

Like legislation, the Burra Charter is similarly divided with a preamble and numbered Articles and clauses. While its format is not identical to that of legislation, to a reader unfamiliar with both genres, it is a similarly formal structure, and a definite departure from flowing text. Furthermore, if the legal status of Australia ICOMOS is not known to the reader, the way the Burra Charter is formatted, could also support the conclusion that this is a government document, with some formal status in terms of process or procedure.

The original and subsequent versions of the Burra Charter internally cross-reference key terms and principles in a similar way to the legislation. Key concepts such as *place* and *cultural significance* are defined in Article 1, and then repeated as conservation principles and processes are discussed in subsequent Articles.

Inter-textual Framing

Many features that can be framed circum-textually and/or extra-textually can also be framed inter-textually. Inter-textual framing, as the name suggests, establishes relationships between other similar ‘texts’ or objects. As noted above, the basic nature of the Burra Charter is inferred by circum-textual framing, which identifies it as part of the genre of *charters*. Framing at this level could, however, be based on a reader’s very general knowledge of the concept of a charter, rather than any detailed knowledge of or interaction with any particular charters. It is through inter-textual framing that such direct connections and comparisons are made.

Both the elements that form the primary frame of cultural heritage in Australia have been consciously inter-textually framed by their authors. There are inter-textual relationships between the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* and ICOMOS via UNESCO. As noted previously, the Committee of Enquiry that led to the development of the Act considered UNESCO’s *Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972). The International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is named in the Convention as one of the three formal advisory bodies to the World Heritage Committee. The report from the

Committee of Enquiry specifically noted their intention to develop legislation that was compatible with the World Heritage Listing process, and this is strongly evident in the evaluative criteria that were developed.

The first line of the Burra Charter is overt in its inter-textual framing, guiding readers to other ICOMOS charters by noting its ‘...regard to the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter 1966)’ (International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1974), a canonical text of modern heritage (Starn, 2002), and the cornerstone of Australian and increasingly international heritage practice at that time.

At the time the Burra Charter was developed, such inter-textual framing was highly significant. Not only did it link the fledgling organization of Australia ICOMOS to a highly respected international network of national branches and specialist committees, it also validated Australian conservation principles, processes and methodologies. This enabled the Charter to embody familiar principles without ever having to state them explicitly (Waterton, *et al.*, 2006). Such linkages continue to be significant as evidenced by the joint venture between the Australian Heritage Commission and the Australian Committee of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (now the World Conservation Union) in developing the *Australian Natural Heritage Charter* (Australian Heritage Commission & World Conservation Union, 1997).

The Burra Charter can also be inter-textually framed on the basis of the documents that it has affected. Australia ICOMOS (1996) attests that the Charter has provided a model for the development of guidelines developed by other national branches of ICOMOS, specifically the Appleton Charter in Canada (1983) and the Aotearoa Charter of ICOMOS New Zealand (1993). Other countries have also adopted the Charter’s definition of cultural significance in their statutory process such as Historic Scotland (2008).

Within Australia, inter-textuality is also evident between the Burra Charter and James Semple Kerr’s guide to the *Conservation Plan* (Kerr, 1982),(Kerr, 1996), which states that the Charter forms the basis of the approach it sets out. The fact that Kerr’s methodology in turn formed the basis of aspects of conservation planning in the U.K. (Heritage Lottery Fund, 1998, Heritage Lottery Fund, 2005) creates an

international inter-textual link back to the Burra Charter. Further inter-textual links are present in guidance relating to the application and interpretation of State heritage legislation, most often in relation to the Conservation Plan methodology¹⁴, which relate back to the Burra Charter.

There are also obvious inter-textual links between the Burra Charter and the *Australian Heritage Commission Act* in terms of the use of the same key terminology; most importantly in terms of this thesis the use of the term *place* and the identification of the four evaluative criteria – aesthetic, historic, scientific and social value. Although there is no acknowledgement in the Burra Charter that these terms were previously adopted in the Act, it is implicit that the Charter sought to build upon and enhance the operation and application of the Act. For its part, the federal government (through its heritage agency) acknowledged in 1997 that the Burra Charter had become the accepted ‘...voluntary or *de facto* standard for the conservation of cultural heritage places for the past 18 years’ (Australian Heritage Commission, 1997, 11), and more recently recommended it as the guideline for best practice in relation to national heritage sites (Australian Heritage Council, 2008).

Framing the Heritage Assessment Criteria

Although processes vary across agencies, there is a consensus around Australia that the determination of a place’s significance should be established through the application of a criterion-based assessment process. Criterion-based assessment provides a sanctioned basis for delimiting the forms of knowledge that can be used in discussions of heritage significance. The process of assessment, against criteria, maintains cultural authority and refines the process’s inner cognitive structure (Manning & Hawkins, 1990, 207). Attention is drawn away from information that can be defined as lying outside the boundary established by the evaluative criteria, which can be disregarded.

Although there is universal recognition that cultural significance is defined as places with aesthetic, historic, scientific and social/spiritual value, these are not always referred to as evaluative criteria in legislation. In summarising statutory provisions around Australia, James (1994) refers to the values as “definitions”. Although the

¹⁴ Examples include the *Consultant’s Brief Conservation Plan* (1996) issued by the Heritage Council of Western Australia and the

values are individually defined in the Burra Charter, statutes rarely provide these definitions. Instead, the values are most often included as part of the definition of cultural significance. For the purposes of this thesis, I refer to the four/five values as criteria because this is consistent with the way that cultural significance is assessed in Western Australia. In terms of framing, however, it is important to understand that these values/criteria have been expanded in many jurisdictions into slightly different sets of what are commonly referred to as assessment criteria or evaluative criteria, with the intention of providing greater clarity about the nature, scope and application of the values.

The strength of the boundaries established through the application of evaluative criteria is often enhanced by their refinement into sub-criteria that explain in greater detail their specific meaning. The boundaries of criteria and sub-criteria are further stabilized and protected from change or erosion when they become the ‘rules’ of heritage agencies operating through statute. Once an event has been framed, the frame can be used to map other similar activities, and in this way becomes a code that shapes, typifies and informs the nature of choice (Manning & Hawkins, 1990, 207). In the case of heritage assessments, the frame determines what information is sought in an assessment, what is considered relevant or important, how that information is synthesised and conveyed, and how its presence is justified.

In Western Australia the four criteria have been retained, but the additional considerations of Rarity and Representativeness have been added. The Heritage Council of Western Australia (HCWA) does not refer to the latter as *assessment* criteria but as criteria that determine the “Degree of Significance” of a place (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 1996c, 4-5). Rarity and representativeness are nevertheless applied in the same way as the other four evaluative criteria used in Western Australia. These six criteria have been expanded into seventeen sub-criteria (Appendix VI).

In the late 1990s, there was concern at the lack of a coordinated approach and agreed set of guidelines relating to heritage around Australia. In response the Australian Heritage Commission developed a set of national guidelines that included a set of model criteria for heritage places, the so-called HERCON criteria (Commonwealth of Australia, 1998) (Appendix VII). Since then, the Environment and Heritage

Protection Council (EHPC) has been working towards the goal of all states and territories incorporating the HERCON criteria into their assessment practices.

In reviewing the Burra Charter in 1999, Australia ICOMOS tried to address some of the concerns that had been raised about what were seen as biases in the primary frame. The concept of cultural significance was broadened “...to include not only fabric but also use, associations and meanings...[and] encourage the co-existence of cultural values, particularly when they are in conflict...” (Australia ICOMOS, 2000, 4). The new evaluative criterion of spiritual value was added to the existing four criteria. Spiritual associations had already been recognised in the HERCON criteria so this move brought the Burra Charter back into alignment with the federal dimension of the primary frame.

Although Western Australia has yet to adopt the HERCON criteria, there is a high degree of congruency between the HERCON criteria and the criteria already being applied in this State. Nor has Western Australia adopted spiritual value into its statutory assessment practices. This is already incorporated and specifically referred to under the definition of social value. However, as noted previously, the current review of the *Heritage of Western Australia Act 1990* proposes adopting social value as part of the Burra Charter definition of cultural significance, and also adopting the detailed list of HERCON criteria (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2011).

Re-framing and Mis-framing

The strongly articulated criteria of the primary frame *should* mean that attention is focussed exclusively on ‘heritage’ related matters. However, as discussed in Paper I, the physical qualities of a place can also influence the way it is framed. This in turn could influence how significance is ascribed in ways that are contrary to the principles of the primary frame. One of the key aims of developing a unified primary frame was to counteract contrary framing processes such as these. However, although the primary frame is the dominant meta-frame for heritage practice, it has not succeeded in completely over-riding other framing processes. As will be discussed, there are other, often older, frames that influence the way the primary frame is understood, and these do not always work in sympathy with it or support its objectives.

Agencies, authorities and heritage professionals are also constantly informally interpreting and reinterpreting the scope and meaning of evaluative criteria. But because this reframing occurs very firmly within the broad understanding of what is meant by aesthetic, historic, scientific and social value, it is not perceived as challenging the primary frame. In fact, as this thesis illustrates, it is barely perceived at all.

Past Values

One area where there has been significant reframing is in relation to the community that defines cultural significance. Although the Burra Charter defines cultural significance as values held by past, present and future generations, the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* excluded the values of past communities. This exclusion has carried through to the current federal legislation, the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1990*. Several states, including Western Australia and Queensland, similarly limited the definition of cultural heritage in their heritage legislation.

As discussed in Chapter 2 and Papers VII and VIII of this thesis, places that were valued by past communities may continue to be valued by the present community, but sometimes for very different reasons. Such differences cannot be appreciated, however, unless some effort is made to identify and analyse the values of the historic community. However, the emphasis on the values of the present community in the heritage assessment process has led to the development of conventions that work to exclude consideration of historic community values. In particular, aesthetic and social value (which intersect and overlap in a variety of ways) are commonly defined as contemporary values (Johnston, 1994, Ramsay & Paraskevopoulos, 1994).

Aesthetic and Social Values

The Burra Charter defines aesthetic value as a multi-sensory value that may relate to any or all of the senses: sight, sound, smell, touch or even taste (Australia ICOMOS, 1988). Western Australia has adopted a similarly sensory understanding of aesthetic value. In practice, the assessment of aesthetic value is usually limited to visual aesthetics, and other sensory values are overlooked. This issue is discussed in detail in Papers VII and VIII.

Although aesthetic value is identified as a value in its own right it overlaps with social value, which also has an aesthetic dimension. Social value relates to the qualities that make a place the focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment for a community or community group (Australia ICOMOS, 2000). It may also be derived from religious, aesthetic or educational associations (Heritage Council of Western Australia, undated). Such places often tie the present and the past together, or provide an important reference point that helps to define a sense of place. Sometimes they provide a basic community function over a long period of time and, as a result, are then valued above and beyond their utility (Johnston, 1994).

Johnston (1994, 7) identifies seven broad categories or types of places that are likely to have social value:

- public places, such as squares and piazzas
- places of meeting, such as “under the clock tower”, or “in front of the railway station”
- places of resort and public entertainment
- places that are associated by others with particular community groups such as a ‘China Town’ area
- places associated with significant events in the recent past
- commemorative places and places of remembrance
- places with a special meaning to particular communities or community groups, such as churches and other places of worship

In all instances, a degree of collective attachment is essential to defining social value – the value must be *shared* to be culturally significant. This does not mean, however, that people or communities have to engage with places collectively for them to have social value. Places that people visit or engage with on an individual basis can also have important social values.

Historic Value

Theoretically, the perceptions of past communities can be included under the criterion of historic value, which the Burra Charter defines as including the history of aesthetics, science and society (Australia ICOMOS, 1988). However, in Western

Australia, where the case studies in this thesis are located, there are many historic themes that remain unexplored, the aesthetic values held by historic communities for specific places being one of them. More importantly, the diachronic way that historic value is currently assessed emphasises the evaluation of people, places and events through and across time, principally from the perspective of the present day.

Because the process of identifying historic value is initiated in the present, and largely on the basis of a contemporary evaluation of what happened in the past, assessments tend to focus on establishing temporal links and associations that support contemporary values. Confirming and supporting the length of an historic association considered important today therefore becomes the more important consideration. In this way past values are used to underpin present values rather than being recognised as important in their own right. As a result, historic value in a heritage assessment will not necessarily equate to, or even reference, the values that an historic community had for a place. What this means in practice is that contemporary values are identified first and historic values that support these are sought in support of the argument of cultural significance (Pocock, 2002).

Even in the case of social value the primary frame requires places to be “time dense” (Smith, 2006, 11). Places must have a length of contemporary association, usually upwards of ten years although there is rarely any set figure, but this was the threshold used in the Community Heritage Studies for the Comprehensive Regional Assessments of Australia’s forest areas (Pearson, 1997a). Future generations will therefore not necessarily be afforded the opportunity of appreciating the full range of places that are valued by present communities, just as contemporary society is not being presented with the full range of values held in the past. Although all the papers in this thesis touch on the issue of the present-centred (diachronic) way of assessing significance and the contrasting synchronic approach, which looks at values at a particular point in time, Paper VII provides the most detailed discussion of this topic.

In considering the extent to which the primary frame facilitates the assessment of the values held by past communities, it must be acknowledged that the frame has been criticised for its lack of community inclusion, participation and consultation on heritage matters (Waterton, *et al.*, 2006). The frame is seen to privilege the views of the professional heritage community over those of the wider community, and to preference the experience and values of the elite social classes over other alienated

groups (Smith, 2006). Until relatively recently, it was certainly the case that historic value in heritage assessments was often limited to ‘great men and great deeds’. The acceptance of this interpretation can be seen in many early heritage listing documents where women, labourers, workers, and children are all but invisible. Similarly, architectural and design excellence was often emphasised in listings at the expense of other values that today’s more in-depth analysis would consider.¹⁵ Entries on the Western Australian State Register of Heritage Places had particularly superficial analysis prior to the development of more detailed assessment criteria in 1996¹⁶. However, as the research and papers presented in this thesis demonstrate, expanding evaluative criteria to make them more detailed and providing explanatory notes about their scope does not necessarily ensure that all the cultural heritage values of a place will be comprehensively assessed.

Davison (1991, 73) has called for heritage to take a more synchronic approach to the assessment of historic value, where ‘social historical significance’ is assessed in time as well as across time. His argument is that heritage practice should give greater recognition to the values that historic communities had for important places – not over those of the present community but in addition. These historic community values are what I refer to in this thesis as *historic social values*.

By identifying four (or five) evaluative criteria to comprehensively assess the cultural significance of a place, the primary frame implies that there are clear distinctions between the criteria. In defining historic value as the history of aesthetics, science and society, and noting that it therefore underlies all other values

¹⁵ The heritage assessment for Perth Girl’s School in East Perth, which is on the Western Australian State Register, is an example of the way both these themes were given preference over other values. The documentation barely mentions the prevailing philosophy toward the education of girls in the 1930s when the building was constructed, or the girls who attended and their experience of this place. Instead, it focuses on the Public Works Architect who designed the complex, Mr A. E Clare, his two associates, Len Green and Len Walters, whose roles in the project are not specified, and a speech by the then Director of Education, Mr C. Hadley, about the merits of the building and its award winning design (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 1995a).

¹⁶ Places entered on the Western Australian Register of Heritage Places before 1996 typically had statements of significance that simply reiterated a paraphrased version of a listing by another heritage agency, such as the National Trust (W.A.) or the Australian Heritage Commission. Old Perth Boy’s School, which was placed on the State Register in 1992, is one of many such examples (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 1992b).

(Australia ICOMOS, 1988, Article 2.3), the Burra Charter alludes to a key issue discussed throughout this thesis, that the distinctions between the values are blurred. It can be argued that all places identified as having *any* cultural heritage value (whether aesthetic, historic or scientific) also have evidence of social value through the conscious, deliberate and shared process of recognising such places as important and thereby distinct from other places. This is because the other heritage values cannot even be conceived of outside of the social environment in which we exist (Byrne, *et al.*, 2003).

Byrne et al (2003) argue that the concept of equal, in-line values established by the 1970s heritage frame has impeded community engagement in the identification and management of cultural heritage, and propose an alternative model where aesthetic, historical (sic) and scientific values are assessed within social value, not alongside it. I argue that the emphasis the primary frame places on contemporary perspectives and values, whether they are held by the wider community or a sub-community of professionals, has drawn attention away from the need to also consider the values held by historic communities. As one of the key questions posed by this thesis asks: *do the processes surrounding the identification and assessment of heritage places tell us more about ourselves than our ancestors?*

From the perspective of those involved in developing and maintaining the primary frame, issues of interpretation and re-interpretation of values are likely to be viewed as framing errors or mis-framings (Goffman, 1974). In these situations, the appropriate framing process is not considered to have been applied to the event in question. Perception and interpretation is therefore felt to be incorrectly oriented. Concerns such as these may lie behind ongoing argument for universal adoption of a standard set of evaluative criteria in Australia. Such a move is consistent with Goffman's assertion that institutions in these instances are not simply concerned with maintaining standards but 'they are also concerned with maintaining clarity with respect of framing' (Goffman, 1974, 337). However, as the following discussion of recent decisions that re-frame/mis-frame the key principle of holistic assessment indicates, the use of specific words in the primary frame may work against this objective because they remain associated with other frames that the primary frame has failed to over-ride.

Primary Frame vs Other Frames

Although the Burra Charter set out definitions of aesthetic, historic, scientific and social value as early as 1998, other jurisdictions have left these terms undefined in law. In Western Australia, where they are still applied directly in the statutory assessment process, they are defined in a policy document (Attachment V). The problem of the lack of statutory definitions for these terms first became evident in 1993 in a decision by the Planning and Environment Court on a successful appeal against a heritage listing in Queensland. The judgement in this case hinged on definitions that were given to the four values that define cultural significance and the definition of place.

In interpreting the *Queensland Heritage Act 1992*, the judge determined that the ‘... plain English meaning of words should be adopted, particularly where those words are in common parlance’ (*Advance Bank Australia Ltd v. The Queensland Heritage Council, 1993*, 12). In the *Queensland Heritage Act 1992*, *historic* value was included in the list of values that describe cultural heritage significance. *Historical significance* forms part of the definition of place in the Act. As the legislation uses both terms in different contexts, the judge took the view that, despite the fact that these terms are often considered interchangeable, the way they appeared in the legislation implied they had been chosen for precise and specific reasons and did not share the same meaning.

Referring to the common meaning of these two words, the judge concluded that *historic* value referred to events of particular significance in the past, whereas the term *historical* referred to events that merely occurred in history and are part of history. As the Queensland Heritage Act, like many others, delimits the scope of its listing process to places that are valued by present and future generations, consideration of historical values, i.e. those in the past, is inconsistent with the Act, and therefore only *historic* value of the place could be considered in the case.

Aesthetic value was also defined in this judgement according to its ordinary meaning, ‘...pertaining to the sense of the beautiful...having a sense of beauty...as opposed to relating to the science or philosophy of aesthetics’ (*Advance Bank Australia Ltd v. The Queensland Heritage Council, 1993*, 15-16). The judge went on

to state that such a commonly used term should not be defined according to the adapted meaning of experts.

Finally, the judgement also defined social value according to its common meaning as relating to ‘...people or human society’ (*Advance Bank Australia Ltd v. The Queensland Heritage Council*, 1993, 16). The judge determined social value was limited to the present community, which he defined as the residents of Queensland, or an organization of members of the public in Queensland. He did, however, acknowledge that places closely identified with a public organisation or a public undertaking might also have social value.

The *Advance Bank Australia Ltd v. The Queensland Heritage Council* decision clearly shows that frame dominance should not be taken for granted. While the definitions in the Burra Charter for aesthetic, historic and social values may have been accepted by the heritage industry in Australia and elsewhere, they have not been universally accepted outside that domain and are not inviolate.

Until recently, it appeared there had been no repercussions outside of Queensland as a result of the legal decision about the Advance Bank. Certainly no steps were taken in Western Australia to amend the current definitions of aesthetic or social value, or revise the interpretation of historic value. Although the judgment challenged the Burra Charter definitions of the values, it did not discount or dismiss them outright. Its challenge to the primary frame may therefore have been perceived by the heritage industry as minimal and the frame was perceived to be intact.

However, in 2009 a set of *Guidelines for the Assessment of Places of the National Heritage List* (Australian Heritage Council, 2009) were published that provide detailed definitions of the key values that reflect the earlier decision in Queensland to emphasise the ordinary meaning of terms used in relation to heritage. The Guidelines define the term *aesthetic* by its ordinary meaning, that is relating to beauty or having a sense of the beautiful. In discussing this definition, they note that aesthetic responses can be in response to non-visual aspects, such as sound and smell, which is consistent with the multi-sensory understanding of aesthetic value set out in the Burra Charter. However, they also note that the concept of beauty relates to “pleasure” (Australian Heritage Council, 2009, 34), a definition that potentially excludes other understandings of aesthetic, such as the *sublime*.

According to the *Macquarie Dictionary* (2005), which the federal guidelines quote for the ordinary meaning of terms, the sublime does not relate to beauty, but to grandeur, power, awe and veneration, or something that is supreme or perfect. Historically, the ideas of beauty and the sublime were considered mutually exclusive (Burke, 1759 reprinted 2008), and included such extreme emotions as fear, pain and terror (Ruskin, 1888?). This earlier understanding of the sublime was an important consideration in the process of attributing cultural significance to natural landscapes in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries, and was transported to Australia by colonial settlers and coloured their perceptions of the landscape. Later it was an important driver for architecture and design, including landscape design, and is reflected in the popularity of fern houses and grottos during the Victorian era. Such features were not intended to be beautiful in the sense of being simply pleasurable, but were intended to elicit a *frisson*: a strong feeling of fear or excitement. Limiting the interpretation of aesthetics in cultural heritage to *beauty* not only negates the ongoing importance of other emotional responses to the senses that the present community may have, but also their importance in the past.

The Guidelines also set limits on the type of community that can identify aesthetic value. As noted previously, heritage has been criticised for emphasising the views of expert elites over the wider or more general community (Byrne, *et al.*, 2003, Smith, 2006). Possibly as a result, the Guidelines specifically exclude professional groups (such as architects) or special interest groups (such as the Art Deco Society) from the definition of a community or community group. Ironically, such groups have historically been influential in campaigning for heritage listing and conservation of places that are not highly valued by the present community in anticipation of them being valued by future generations, an objective which is consistent with the scope of all heritage legislation in Australia as well as the Burra Charter.

No ordinary meaning is given for historic value, nor is any distinction drawn between historic and historical value in the Guidelines on national listing. They are nevertheless careful in the way this value is described, and the interpretations given reinforce the way this value is currently framed. Historic value falls under several of the federal criteria. The need for places to demonstrate they are associated with events or themes that had a long-term impact on Australia's historical development is stressed several times in the Guidelines on Criterion (a), which relates to places that

have outstanding heritage value to the nation because of their importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history (Australian Heritage Council, 2009, 15-22). The emphasizing of depth of association reinforces the diachronic understanding of historic value, where significance can only be evaluated in the context of present values (Australian Heritage Council, 2009, 21-22).

The diachronic approach is counterbalanced somewhat by Criterion (c) which relates to places that have outstanding heritage value to the nation because of their potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's natural or cultural history (Australian Heritage Council, 2009, 26-28). This criterion suggests a more synchronic approach, which focuses on enhancing our understanding of a period or periods of Australian history. While this criterion does not require the period of history to be considered significant today, in the context of the National Heritage List, the research capacity of the place must be of national importance.

Such re-interpretations of the assessment criteria could be seen as an indication that the primary frame is weakening. However, this does not appear to be the case, and the frame remains strong (Smith, 2006), despite some challenges to its universal acceptance (Byrne, *et al.*, 2003). This is because, firstly, neither the judicial decision nor the *Guidelines for National Heritage* suggest changing or moving away from the core set of values/criteria that define cultural heritage significance. The mantra of aesthetic, historic, scientific, social/spiritual remains the same, and therefore there is a perception that these decisions do not challenge the primary frame.

Secondly, because the Queensland decision and the guidelines for the National Heritage List both refer to ordinary meanings, the definitions they have adopted for aesthetic, historic and social value align with the underlying way these terms are framed in the ordinary world. As is discussed in Chapter 2 and Papers VII and VIII of this thesis, there is evidence that the heritage profession has been applying ordinary meanings in relation to the four key evaluative criteria for many years, contrary to the principles of the primary frame, without this being acknowledged. As a result, there is little sense or awareness of a challenge to the primary frame as these ordinary definitions reinforce the way that some practitioners have been thinking already. However, ordinary definitions are more limited than those set out in the Burra Charter and are therefore not consistent with one of the key principles of the

primary frame – that places should be assessed against a comprehensive set of values.

Conclusion

The identification and assessment of places with cultural heritage significance is, at its core, an institutionalised activity. Although different processes operate in situations where framing is influenced by formal structures, the establishment of frames in any domain is inherently about the establishment, clarification and ownership of meaning. In heritage, the frame provides clarification about what is heritage, and thereby also what is not heritage. It sets out how we understand heritage and identify, describe and assess it appropriately, and thereby also how not to go about these processes.

However, all forms of communication are mediated, which enables differences, discrepancies and variations in interpretation and meaning to occur, differences that can be highlighted through theories of framing. It is in order to try to ensure greater consistency of interpretation that specific framing devices are incorporated into documents. However, individuals also bring their own ideas to the framing process, and this means interpretation, reframing and mis-framing that was not intended by those who developed the frame can also occur. Interpretation therefore becomes an ongoing struggle between the ‘reader’ and the ‘text’ for control of the textual field (MacLachlan & Reid, 1994). At the same time, framing processes form part of a circular inter-relationship with culture, where culture informs framing, framing determines meaning, and meaning, in turn, determines action. All elements of this relationship then shape and reinforce culture and the process becomes iterative.

Although there is widespread implicit acknowledgement of the existence of a primary frame guiding heritage practice in Australia, there is evidence that the frame has not been as effective at controlling definitions in heritage as may have been thought. Values have been informally reframed over time without any acknowledgement that they may be challenging the frame:

- historic value is understood to be largely a diachronic value,
- social value is limited to the contemporary community and

- aesthetic value is largely limited to the assessment of visual qualities, most specifically those relating to beauty.

In the case of social and aesthetic value, much of this reframing appears to have occurred as a result of the unofficial application of ordinary meanings that are contrary to those in the primary frame, specifically the Burra Charter. This unofficial reframing has now been formalised in the federal Guidelines on national listing, although the interpretations these set out have yet to be adopted in Western Australia.

The reframing does not challenge the values that the primary frame says define cultural heritage, and aesthetic, historic, scientific and social/spiritual value are still intrinsic to the assessment process. Nevertheless, unless questioned, the reframing has the potential to limit the extent to which heritage assessments are comprehensive and include the full range of values that make up cultural heritage. As there is no evidence in the literature that the objective of comprehensive assessment should be abandoned, the exploration of the relationship between framing and heritage in this chapter, and the conclusions it draws about the way the three values have been reframed, raises the following practical questions for heritage practice and for those who influence the primary frame:

- How can historic value be understood as a synchronic as well as diachronic value?
- How can social value be extended to include the values of historic communities?
- How can aesthetic value be better understood as a multi-sensory value?

I address these questions in the published papers and chapters that follow, and return to them in the Conclusion. The questions are extensions of several of the key objectives of this thesis. In particular, they relate to the questions of whether places of historic social value can be identified using the principles of the primary frame, or whether the frame requires revision or new assessment methods are required.

In Part B which follows, Papers I – IV describe different aspects of the primary frame’s relationship with heritage practice, and explore how conceptual contributions from other disciplines, in particular history and human geography, might inform and improve that relationship.

PART B

Paper I

O'Connor, P. (1998) Framing Attitudes Towards Cultural Heritage Planning: Conservation in Thought, Word and Deed, in: Dibble, B. Ed. *Proceedings Second Annual Humanities Postgraduate Research Conference 12 - 13 November* (Perth, Western Australia, Humanities Graduate Research and Studies, Curtin University of Technology), pp. 133-141

Paper I: Framing Attitudes towards Cultural Heritage Planning

Rationale

The rationale for Paper I is to begin to outline some of the ways that framing processes can influence cultural heritage practice. Specifically, it explores the role that circum-textual and extra-textual framing can have on how places are perceived by researchers drafting conservation plans, a fundamental tool in Australian heritage conservation based on the principles of the primary frame.

Background and Context

This Paper developed from a paper I delivered at the Second Curtin Humanities Postgraduate Conference in 1998, which was subsequently published in the conference proceedings (Dibble, 1998). It is the first of four papers that explore framing influences in relation to cultural heritage at a broad level, in contrast to Papers V-VIII, which are focussed on the study area and individual cases/places.

At the time this paper was written, I was researching my original thesis topic: *Evaluating the Evaluation: an assessment of the compilation and implementation of Conservation Plans for heritage places in Australia since 1975*. The focus of the analysis of framing influences is therefore on conservation plans, rather than heritage assessments, which later became the focus of my thesis.

However, the observations in Paper I are also applicable to the heritage assessment process. This is because the first section of a conservation plan contains the same information as a heritage assessment, including an analysis of the same values (aesthetic, historic, scientific and social) and a statement of significance. This information then forms the basis for the conservation policies and guidelines that are developed in the second half of the plan (Kerr, 1996).

The framing processes explored in this paper are the two that are most likely to influence how places are perceived when the initial research for a conservation plan is being undertaken. As such, these processes would also equally apply and have the potential to influence the way places undergoing a heritage assessment are perceived.

Of particular relevance to the places discussed in this thesis, is the brief examination of different attitudes people may have towards ruins, both from the perspective of the present looking into the past, but also in the past and within the historic community examined for this thesis, who also experienced and valued the ruins of their own very recent past.

Objectives

The main objective of Paper I was to introduce the concept of the primary framing paradigm that dominates and regulates attitudes towards practice in the context of my PhD research.

I also wanted to highlight in this paper some of the contradictions at play within heritage practice, and identify the types of framing forces that have the capacity to work against the primary frame and potentially circumvent best practice.

Framing Attitudes Towards Cultural Heritage Planning: Conservation in Thought, Word and Deed

PENNY O'CONNOR BA, MSC

Abstract

Conservation plans for significant cultural heritage places now form an integral part of the planning process. That their 'success' is increasingly an issue of concern (see for example Roache, 1997) presents a challenging dichotomy, for it has long been held that conservation plans of themselves ensure the retention of cultural heritage values (Australia International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1979). Despite the tacit acceptance of national guidance on cultural heritage conservation, distinct variations in policy and practice persist across Australia, variations that may be explained by differences in cultural attitudes. Such attitudes may similarly impact on conservation plans at three key stages in their development and use – conception, inception and application – thought, word and deed. This paper seeks to identify some of those attitudes through an examination of two culturally determined framing processes that guide perception and interpretation of cultural heritage places and their values.

Introduction

Conservation in Australia has been guided and informed by two key documents, the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* (the Act) and the *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance*, commonly known as The Burra Charter (Australia International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1979). The Act set down the basis for the holistic assessment of all types of places (natural, indigenous and non-indigenous)¹ for the Register of the National Estate according to four main values – historic, natural, social and scientific. Expanding on the Act, the Burra Charter went on to define and clarify much of the terminology associated specifically with cultural heritage conservation and, more importantly, established the parameters for when each of these processes is appropriate or justifiable. So while most conservation related activities – maintenance, preservation, restoration, reconstruction and adaptation – are in common usage, each of these terms is carefully and specifically defined for the heritage profession by the Charter.

Significantly, the Burra Charter also developed the concept of cultural significance by amalgamating the four values stated in the Act. Together these two complementary documents have shaped perceptions relating to cultural heritage and its conservation in Australia. They have also influenced conservation practices elsewhere, inspiring International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) charters in New Zealand and Canada (Australia International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1996) and in other fields (Australian Heritage Commission and Union, 1997), as well as providing the basis for the on-going development of statutory national heritage standards and principles (Australian Heritage Commission, 1997). Although the concept of cultural significance theoretically relates to the identification of significant values held by any cultural group, the development of separate systems for evaluating places of indigenous significance, particularly at the level of State government, has resulted in the majority of assessments of cultural significance focussing on the values of non-indigenous peoples (O'Connor, 1997). It is within this more limited understanding of cultural significance then, that the conservation operations defined by the Burra Charter are most often interpreted.

In establishing a conceptual framework for the way in which cultural heritage has come to be defined, interpreted and understood, the Act and the Burra Charter may be seen as representing a primary framing paradigm (Goffman, 1974) which has guided and informed meaning and action in this field for the past twenty years. The concept of framing is a metaphor for the manner in which information about events and situations is arranged within the memory (MacLachlan and Reid, 1994). It is through the knowledge and experiences contained within memory clusters that people assess what takes place around them. The process allows them to make sense of events, derive meaning from them and to fit them into a wider pattern or context with which they are familiar. It also, therefore, guides their behavior. Such is the apparent strength of this primary frame, it is now the case that when dealing with issues of cultural heritage and its conservation, the majority of professionals will inexorably situate or frame these in relation to the principles established by the Burra Charter and the Act. The compilation of conservation plans is therefore also influenced by this frame.

Framing heritage

Perhaps the key principle of the primary framing paradigm is the rigorous assessment and evaluation of the values that attend significant places. The Burra Charter first recommended that detailed studies of significant places be undertaken prior to carrying out any conservation related activities. It briefly outlined a two stage process for the development of conservation policy that firstly established the cultural significance of the place, and on the basis of this, developed justifiable conservation procedures (Australia International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1979). Although ICOMOS Australia went on to elaborate this process in subsequent guidelines (Australia International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1984; Australia International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1985), it was primarily through the work of James Kerr that the methodology became popularised as the 'Conservation Plan' (Kerr, 1982 and subsequent editions). In expanding on the principles of the Burra Charter, Kerr provided a conceptual tool of great value to the burgeoning heritage profession, one which is widely perceived as having underpinned much subsequent conservation work (Roache, 1997). Conservation plans for significant places now form an integral part of the planning process.

The primary objective of a conservation plan is the retention of cultural significance as manifested in its values and as such, in order to ensure that significant places are retained for future generations, conservation must take place. The inclusion of a place on a list, register or inventory, even if it forms part of a legislative process involving protection, development control or punitive measures, does not guarantee its future. Without the most basic maintenance regime, historic fabric deteriorates and may be lost, most likely resulting in a diminution of values. In most instances, registration on its own affords no safeguards that a heritage place will be maintained and therefore, conserved. Therefore the compilation of a conservation plan should provide a degree of certainty that the values of a place will be retained and maintained (Kerr, 1996). However, despite being based on a seemingly dominant framing paradigm, there is no guarantee that the aims and objectives of a conservation plan will be carried out. In fact, conservation plans are such an unreliable indicator of the actual condition of significant cultural heritage places that they have recently been discounted as a useful environmental indicator (Environment Australia, 1998).

It may be argued that financial constraints and considerations are likely to be the primary factor influencing the application of conservation plan policies and recommendations. While undoubtedly these will impact on conservation outcomes, there is evidence to suggest that

cultural factors are also significant. Divergences in cultural heritage legislation, for example, cannot simply be explained in financial terms, but appear to relate more to cultural differences (O'Connor, 1997).

Table 1: State and Territorial Legislation Relating to Cultural Heritage

State	Legislation	Year of Cultural Heritage Legislation
Victoria	Historic Buildings Act 1974	1974
New South Wales	Heritage Act 1977	1977
South Australia	Heritage Act 1978	1978
Queensland	Heritage Buildings Protection Act 1990	1990
Western Australia	Heritage of Western Australia Act 1990	1990
Australian Capital Territory	Land Use (Planning and Environment) Act 1991	1991
Northern Territory	Heritage Conservation Act 1991	1991
Tasmania	Historic Cultural Heritage Act 1995	1995

Not only have the States and Territories developed heritage legislation at very different times (see Table 1), thereby indicating differences in attitude towards cultural heritage, but they have also adopted markedly different interpretations of what types of places can be included on State heritage registers - that is, what constitutes cultural heritage (O'Connor, 1997). For example, initial cultural heritage legislation in Victoria limited registration to buildings, a situation which was only revised by the more comprehensive *Heritage Act 1995* which broadened the scope to include shipwrecks, objects, gardens, trees, historic precincts and archaeological sites. By comparison, in the Northern Territory heritage legislation has been written with the intention of adopting a more holistic perspective similar to that of the Register of the National Estate. Thus under the *Heritage Conservation Act 1991* registration ranges across places of indigenous, non-indigenous and natural significance. Such variations suggest that similar cultural attitudes may similarly impact on the application of conservation plans, particularly at the three key stages of their development and use – conception, inception and application.

The concept of framing provides a particularly useful metaphor for the identification and analysis of cultural attitudes. The nature of framing theory, centred as it is on perception and interpretation, has resulted in it being used extensively in the analysis of both visual elements - such as art (Carter, 1990), film (Monaco, 1977; Bordwell, 1989) and the physical framing of works of art (Pearson, 1990)- and text based elements - such as news reports (Benford, 1992; Entman, 1991), expository texts (Meyer, 1985; Mayer, 1985) and literary prose (MacLachlan, 1990; Reid, 1988; Freedman, 1987). Both these applications have relevancy to the study of conservation plans, for while successfully undertaking conservation recommendations may be partially dependant on the form and content of the document, it may also be influenced by cultural attitudes towards the place for which it was compiled. Such is the adaptability of framing theory that it allows for the both places and documents to be analysed as visual elements and as forms of text. This paper however, is focussed on those framing processes which relate to places, and not to the plans themselves.

Framing is a highly complex process, involving the interpretation of information in a variety of ways, often on many different levels. In summarising the use of framing theory in the social sciences and humanities, MacLachlan and Reid (1994) set out four major framing process, two of which, circum-textual and extra-textual framing, are particularly important. Any element will usually be framed in more than one way, with each adding additional layers of meaning to interpretation. However, as circum-textual and extra-textual framing are often the first interpretative processes to take place, they usually provide the initial and most obvious messages about the type of element under consideration and manner in which it should be considered or 'read'.

Circum-textual framing

Circum-textual framing is often the first type of framing to take place because it concerns those features which immediately surround the element. It therefore provides the most obvious messages about how or in what manner the element in question should be interpreted and, together with extra-textual framing, is often instrumental in determining its genre. Other types of framing may subsequently serve to either reinforce or contradict this initial framing perspective.

The circum-textual framing of heritage places can take place in response to a range of features. Most obviously it is likely to relate to the immediate setting or location of a place. In the same way that the frame surrounding a painting provides a visual context that can enhance interpretation, so too can the physical surroundings of heritage places influence the way they are perceived. Arguments for conservation are therefore likely to be more easily sustained when the physical context is sympathetic to the place, as in the case of a 19th century building surrounded by others of a similar age and scale. Changes in urban development and land use however, mean that most historic buildings no longer exist in either their original or intended setting, and often this can result in an unsympathetic context. For example, in terms of initial circum-textual framing, a low rise domestic dwelling surrounded by light industry might appear incongruous, an unfortunate relic of a period whose time has past. Similarly when significant industrial buildings become subsumed by suburban development they often appear as undesirable elements. Interpretations such as these may fuel arguments for demolition on the grounds of inappropriate context.

The extent of degradation and decay of a place can also powerfully influence circum-textual framing, both enhancing and detracting from conservation imperatives. Circum-textual framing of severe dilapidation may result in a place being categorised as a ruin as opposed to a building, and each of these terms carries with it quite different implied potentialities for conservation. Processes considered appropriate for ruins often vary significantly from those considered for buildings, with preservation (the retention of a place in the condition in which it was found and the arresting of further decay) tending to be favoured for ruins over more restorative methods of conservation. Thus the framing of a place on the basis of decay may have serious implications for its development potential.

Signs, plaques, labels, the inclusion of places in guidebooks, and other forms of interpretation can also affect circum-textual framing. While the registration of heritage places distinguishes them from everyday surroundings, it is largely an official process. Therefore, unless heritage values are clearly manifest or there are other indicators, most people are likely to remain unaware of their presence. Where indicators are present, circum-textual framing as 'heritage' is assured. Plaques and signage are therefore among the most powerful framing indicators, particularly in instances where physical evidence is vestigial or obscure. In some instances, recognition through such

formal indicators may be the only thing that gives public credence to a place's heritage value (Lewis, 1997). However, the increasing expectation that heritage must be attended by interpretation may also influence circum-textual framing, leading to a tendency for places without identifying markers to be regarded as less-significant or even insignificant.

Extra-textual framing

Interpretation and understanding depends, in large part, on the extent of relevant background knowledge already in existence. This can either be of an experiential or socio-cognitive kind, or may be based on broader ideological, socio-cultural, or institutional concepts (MacLachlan & Reid, 1994). Framing that is influenced by such background knowledge is termed extra-textual, that is, it relates less to the physical features of an element and more to associated information and related concepts. The degree of extra-textual framing is therefore dependent on the depth and extent of knowledge and experience that can be applied or related to the element being framed.

The extra-textual framing of places can take place at different levels depending on the observer. At its simplest, extra-textual framing categorises and groups places, most often according to their form. It is this culturally mediated information which readily enables distinctions to be drawn between different building types. On the basis of this, more sophisticated extra-textual framing can take place, such as the extrapolation of a range of possible associated uses. So, for example, a single storey building on a large block of land with external features such as verandahs, garages and driveways, all set in garden grounds, is likely to be interpreted as a domestic dwelling. Even where a change of use has resulted in alterations to key indicators, features often remain which subvert extra-textual framing solely on the basis of usage. So the original purpose of a warehouse converted into apartments will often remain evident; large suburban houses used as day-care centres, offices or restaurants retain their suburban character and form; and corner shops converted to residential use continue to exhibit features which indicate their origins. Indeed, it is one of the principles of good cultural heritage conservation that such features should be retained for precisely this reason, to facilitate the interpretation of the place through time (Australia International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1979).

Extra-textual framing may also be influenced by the architectural tradition of incorporating messages into building design. Some of these were deliberately overt, such as the biblical stories told in sculpture, frieze and stained glass in ecclesiastical buildings. Only slightly more subtle are the use of particular architectural styles in an attempt to influence popular opinion, a device most often used in public buildings. Imposing architectural devices such as porticoes, colonnades, and other ornamentation were designed to symbolise the strength, grandeur and enduring presence of government, often drawing both moral and architectural inspiration from early empires. The presence of such features, which are associated with power and influence, as well as often fashionable or famous architects, is likely to lend strength to arguments for conservation. Conversely, it may be more difficult to conserve examples of domestic architecture that contain few of these easily recognised symbolic indicators.

The greater the knowledge of the observer, the deeper their understanding of a place. An awareness of architectural styles, building techniques and materials, local and national history, urban planning and development, and social and political change will all aid detailed extra-textual framing. However, as the popularity for pastiche, mimetic architecture and retrospective design continues, and the technology to facilitate it becomes more accessible and sophisticated, extra-textual framing becomes problematic. Not only does it become harder to distinguish between originals and reproductions, but habituation to the newness of replicas increases the perception

that originals should also look fresh and complete (Lowenthal, 1985), a factor which may work against the retention of original fabric in significant places.

As one of the main generic indicators, extra-textual framing may significantly influence subsequent framing processes. First impressions of a place, based often on limited site-specific knowledge, may therefore prove difficult to overcome, even in the light of more detailed information which does not validate initial extra-textual framing. Furthermore, strong perceptions formed through extra-textual framing may create an interpretative context that is actively prejudicial towards the acknowledgement of contradictory framing processes, making opposing information more difficult to discern (Entman, 1991). Such impressions may establish a precedent that influences the path of research and assessment, despite the fact that this would directly contradict the principles of the primary frame (Australia International Council for Monuments and Sites, 1979). Although there are increasing arguments for conservation plans to address owners' requirements (Brooks, 1997; Warr, 1997), such information may influence the extent of research and assessment in a conservation plan, biasing it in favour of the owner's objectives. Knowledge of an owner's desire to extend a building into surrounding garden grounds, for example, may result in the conservation plan down-playing any values relating to their spatial integrity or the extent to which they provide an appropriate setting in order to facilitate this objective.

Conclusion

Just as written texts are detached from their authors who are no longer in a position to ensure that they are interpreted in the intended manner, so too are places detached from their origins - their designers, builders, commissioners, and their historical socio-economic context. One of the aims of the primary frame and its devices, such as the set structure of conservation plans, can therefore be seen as an attempt to ensure greater consistency and objectivity. However, individuals cannot help but bring their own knowledge and perceptions to the framing process, and interpretations of cultural heritage will therefore continue to influence conservation plans. This may have potentially serious implications for the success of current attempts to develop and apply national heritage principles and standards. However, framing and interpretative processes also form part of a circular inter-relationship with culture, where culture informs framing, framing determines meaning, and meaning, in turn, determines action. All elements of this relationship then shape and re-inform culture and the process continues in an iterative fashion. It is in this way that the Burra Charter has become part of the primary framing paradigm of cultural heritage, and the concept of the conservation plan has gained such widespread popularity. The fact that neither is applied consistently or objectively should not detract from the impact they have both had on perceptions of cultural heritage and its conservation. So, while in the short-term the strength of some perceptions may continue to subvert the primary frame, on-going reinforcement of its principles should eventually lead to further positive changes in attitude.

Endnote

¹ The generic term 'place' was specifically chosen in *the Act* and the *Burra Charter* to denote sites with cultural heritage significance in order to move away from delimiting categorisation and the traditional emphasis on the built environment.

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Paper II

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Paper II: All in the past - a call for reconciliation between heritage and history

Rationale

Paper II is the second paper in this thesis to address framing issues in cultural heritage. Using the case study of an historic building in the Western Australian town of Busselton, it explores conflicting epistemological and hermeneutic relationships that history and heritage have with the past in order to establish the context in which much research into cultural heritage takes place. By exploring the different ways that a place can be framed, it exposes the contradiction between the rigidity of the listing processes and the fluid nature of historical research, interpretation and reinterpretation. The paper also explores my methodology for uncovering historic social value.

Background and Context

Paper II developed from a presentation I delivered at the 1999 Curtin Humanities Postgraduate Research Conference. At that time, my thesis topic had recently changed from being focussed on the effectiveness of Conservation Plans, to looking at historic social values in the south-west of Western Australia. This paper therefore represents my initial exploration of historic social value.

In order to test the methodology I intended to use in my research, I reanalysed the findings in a conservation plan I had written as a private consultant on ‘The Gulch’, a small vernacular building in the coastal town of Busselton (O’Connor, 1999a). The research I undertook for the Conservation Plan does not form part of this thesis and the Conservation Plan is only one of several reference documents used in this paper.

At the time this paper was written, Busselton was in the area I intended to research for historic social values, the Regional Forest Agreement area. However, as explained in the Introduction, my research area was subsequently consolidated to the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River, and from then on excluded Busselton. The paper nevertheless has strong resonances with the final study as Busselton was settled incrementally from the mid-1830s onwards by people who relocated from Augusta. The records left by the Molloys and the Bussells in particular were key sources of information, and the places they valued at Augusta and elsewhere are discussed in Papers VI – VIII.

Objectives

This paper had two main aims. The first was to address some of the criticisms directed at heritage and heritage practice by historians. Having undertaken historic research on the Gulch as a heritage practitioner, and in light of my work for the Regional Forest Agreement, I was concerned that the observations of many historians were not based on an understanding of the rigorous historic research undertaken in a professional context.

But exploring the critiques of historians raised questions about the way that heritage listings can fix knowledge about a place, thereby limiting re-engagement, reinterpretation and re-analysis. Heritage listings set down the significance of a place, but only at a single point in time – the date of listing. Heritage theory acknowledges that our understanding of what is significant changes all the time, yet the listing process actively works against this. Although historians do not dwell on this side of heritage practice, their observations that it is history that allows free and open analysis and reanalysis of events and things in the past has validity.

The second objective of this paper was to begin to develop a methodology that would uncover the places that historic communities felt were important. As discussed elsewhere, and in Chapter 2 and Papers VIII, contemporary social value only began to be extensively researched with the Comprehensive Regional Assessments (CRA) for Regional Forest Agreements. The CRAs established a process based on a combination of community and stakeholder consultation, and documentary research. This paper tested the extent to which archive records can provide information on the presence and nature of *historic* social values, and what broader cultural heritage values might result from that exploration.

Outstanding Issues

On the matter of the debate between history and heritage, the paper concludes that these disciplines have much to contribute to each other. There is little evidence, however, that heritage practice has engaged with the hermeneutic and epistemological debates historians have raised. No alternatives to the current listing processes, that encapsulate significance at a moment in time, have been proposed or adopted. Instead, the listing process has been expanded to include places of national significance under the *Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999*.

Methodologically, this paper demonstrates that if sufficient archive information is available, deductions can be made about the perceptions and values of the historic community about specific places. Paper II therefore represents an introduction to Papers V – VIII which utilise archive research in the assessment of historic community values in the Shire of Augusta- Margaret River.

All in the Past – A Call for Reconciliation between Heritage and History

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Introduction

Over the past two decades, much has been written concerning an apparently growing crisis in history, that is, its perceived decline in popularity and relevancy.¹ Paradoxically, this has occurred simultaneous with a dramatic resurgence in public interest in the past through the increased profile of all things heritage.

Despite widespread popular support for heritage, negative aspects of this preoccupation are also often presented. Implicit in many of these is the criticism that heritage provides a flawed lens through which to view the past (Lowenthal 1996, p. 104), one steeped in nostalgia and sentiment rather than based on the academic rigour of traditional historical studies. Conversely, some forms of heritage practice are accused of being too academic, too far removed from public sentiment and values. Processes such as those associated with the identification and conservation of heritage places, for example, often serve to highlight the contested nature of place, sometimes leading to conflict and the polarisation of public opinion.

What is often not adequately addressed in such debates is the fundamental question of *why* the temporal transmission of heritage is important. Such omissions perpetuate the perception that heritage practice, unlike historical study, lacks a strongly articulated philosophical basis. These developments have contributed to the perception that a schism has arisen between history and heritage. History appears to lack much of the popular relevancy that heritage has attracted, while heritage appears to lack a well-articulated philosophical underpinning. To what extent however, is the disjunction between the two a reality?

Examining the debate between history and heritage is a complicated undertaking. Both focus principally on relationships with the past, and this common ‘heritage’ should mean that they are faced with similar challenges, particularly in terms of epistemology and hermeneutics. However, the common ground between the two is rarely recognised or discussed. Partly this is due to the multifarious meanings, definitions and aims that are ascribed to each, from both within and without. This paper discusses some of the perspectives of the past presented by history and heritage, with the aim of discovering commonalities that may facilitate a mutually advantageous reconciliation between the two disciplines.

History on history

Historians have debated at length the nature and aim of their discipline. One of the most pertinent aspects of this debate, of particular relevance to its relationship with heritage, has been history’s philosophical examinations of the nature and extent of truth, objectivity, knowledge and meaning. Although widely discussed in direct relation to history, only a small number of historians have considered heritage within the context of these deliberations, and only a few of those have gone as far as to examine the comparative relationship between history and heritage.

Historians continue to disagree about the aim of history. Traditional historicism has commonly been associated with the idea of wanting to make the past present again. This perspective has widely been superseded by post-modern and post-structuralists perspectives. As a result, hermeneutic debate regarding the extent to which the past can be known is vivid in many historical studies.

Arguments about the illusory nature of historic truth can be traced back as early as White’s comments that history is as much fact as fiction, and visa versa (1966). White even went so far as to claim that the invention inherent in historical pursuit renders history meaningless—that is, its meaning cannot be divined in any ultimate or definitive manner. Commenting on White’s views, Jenkins agrees that:

... the attempt to make truth claims about the past beyond the level of the statement and/or the chronicle, based upon some sort of correspondence between the stories they tell and the stories lived in the past, breaks down when it is realised that there are no stories in the past to correspond with (1995, p. 134).

Similarly, Stanford observes that facts do not belong to what is present and observable and able to be confronted, rather that they are the realm of ‘... phenomena that are past, unobservable and (in any normal sense) non-existent’ (1998, p. 4.).

Taking this perspective, historical evidence can be collected, but the interpretation of that evidence cannot be undertaken entirely objectively—the challenge of Nagel's 'view from nowhere' (1986). Nevertheless, '... objectivity remains the holy grail for even the most engage historian', although he acknowledges that achieving it is another task entirely (Lowenthal 1996, p. 109).

The reframing by post-structuralists of the traces of history and the constructs of culture as texts and discourses, '... requiring ever fresh and renewable "construction", rather than the pseudo-empiricist model of "documents" and "facts" to be "read-off" in the effort of definitive reconstruction,' (Felperin 1991, p. 82) changed history's relationship with the past from one characterised by stability and structure, to one that is dynamic and ever changing. As Davidson says, 'history is not "what happened in the past"; rather it is the act of selecting, analysing and writing about the past' (1986, p. xix). It is worth bearing remembering however, that the inert data on which constructions necessarily depend, may often be scattered and obscure. A course of historic investigation into a subject may not always be apparent, and certain topics may therefore fail to attract investigated by historians, not because they are not worthy of attention, but simply because it has not become evident that a story exists to be told.

History on heritage

Many of the criticism directed towards heritage, by those historians who debate the issue, centre on its apparent lack of engagement with the hermeneutic and epistemological concerns raised by post structuralist rethinking of the past.

Lowenthal is one of the most vociferous critics of heritage and its relationship with the past. He asserts that heritage is known in ways utterly unlike history, the main thrust of his argument being that, in contrast to history which aims to elicit testable truths, heritage is a declaration of faith (1996, p. 121.). Lowenthal maintains that '... history strives to know as much of the past as well as possible' whereas heritage '... is helped by imprecise impression and sketchy surmise' (1996, p. 135). This accusation accords with Davies' comment that heritage is constituted by appropriations, validations, commemorations and other uses of the past, all of which renders it politically unstable (Davies 1998).

Critics in both UK and USA see the heightened appetite for the past characterised by heritage as less as of a direct engagement with history, and more as either nostalgia or a way of celebrating the present. Lowenthal complains that the popularity and commercialisation that appear to be inherent in contemporary perceptions of heritage reduce the extent to which it can be considered meaningful

(1996, p. 104). As Lasch says, if we really cared about the past, we would try to understand how it shapes ideas and actions. Instead, we lock it up in museums or reduce it to another object of commercialised consumption (Lasch 1978, p. 68). After all, 'A past enjoyed nostalgically does not need to be taken seriously' (Lowenthal 1985, p. 7).

What these critics appear to indicate is that what distinguishes history from heritage is the exploration of linkages and meanings between the past and the present, the implication being that heritage based examinations of the past are inadequate in this regard, being commercialised, sanitised, and ultimately a commercially generated consumable that must be supplied to the voracious market of the general public.

Lowenthal maintains heritage lumps the past together regardless of continuity or context. But in making this assertion, and grouping together all beliefs and practices that fall under this moniker, he is as guilty as heritage of generalisation. Heritage may range across gentrification, the construction of museums and monuments, restorations and recreations of both of places and events, such as re-enactments (Kaye 1991, p. 18), but it is not an amorphous mass that can be analysed as a whole. Some of the historians' criticisms may be valid for some incarnations of heritage, however this cannot be said to be universal, and there are certain forms of heritage practice in particular where the similarities with history outweigh the differences.

Heritage on heritage

Isolating debate from within heritage to compare and contrast with understandings of history is problematic. The 'nomadic' nature of the term *heritage* means that it accommodates widely discrepant meanings (Samuel 1994, p. 205). The result is a concept characterised by extremes. At a very general level, there appears to be a general consensus that heritage refers to that which we inherit from the past and pass on to the future. As such, it may be tangible and physical or intangible and spiritual. In this way heritage therefore establishes temporal links between the past, present and future, and also connects the realm of human endeavour with that of nature.

In Australia, as in most countries, the definition of heritage extends at one end to populist notions, within which there are numerous different interpretations, ranging from oral histories, through a raft of cultural traditions, to a fondness for National Trust tea towels, and reproduction antique furniture. More significantly for the purposes of the debate under examination in this paper, at the other end of

the spectrum there are a range of professional disciplines associated with heritage and heritage studies.

In Australia, much of what takes place within this specific understanding of heritage is guided and informed by a detailed primary frame which has its basis in praxis (O'Connor 2000). This primary frame has at its heart legislation and guidance designed to facilitate the identification and assessment of places with cultural heritage significance.² The Burra Charter defines cultural heritage significance as '... aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations' (Australia ICOMOS 1999, Article 1.2), a definition designed to encompass the full range of values which might be associated with a place. It is the interface, between history and this particular interpretation of heritage, based on praxis, that is most pertinent to the history/heritage debate because it is here that common ground can be found between the two in terms of the philosophical and theoretical challenges they face.

One of the stated *raison d'être* for heritage conservation, and therefore heritage practice, is that in doing so we come to know, understand and realise things about the past that otherwise would either have remained unknown, obscure or unclear (Australia ICOMOS 1999). Part of the problem with articulating heritage to the public, and one of the reasons why it tends to be popularised to the enragement of historians, is that heritage practice undertaken within the context of the primary frame is usually a very academic exercise. Significance is often couched in an array of remote and obscure values, and terminology is either technical, inaccessible or used in precise ways that differ from the common interpretations.³

The purpose of heritage assessments is to ensure that cultural significance is identified. This information then informs decisions about the retention or conservation of that significance. To effect this often requires the implementation of a range of statutory controls, and therefore information on significance must be unequivocal in order for it to be able to stand on appeal in a court of law if necessary. All stages of the identification and assessment process are problematic in terms of the way in which knowledge about the past and its meaning are presented and represented.

Challenging the paradigm

Praxis dictates and demands that heritage values are currently evaluated in a way that is as empirical as possible. The drive for greater objectivity in the process is evidenced by the introduction of progressively more refined assessment criteria and the development of an ever increasing raft of

historic themes to which information about a place can be related and contextualised.⁴ Great emphasis is placed on divining the ‘definitive’ facts surrounding a place using a variety of techniques, most of which continue to be centred on the use of different types of documents (c.f. Kerr 1996).

The presence and thorough application in Australia of the primary framing paradigm of cultural heritage has epistemological and hermeneutic implications for the relationship that heritage practice establishes with the past. These issues are particularly relevant to the listing and assessment processes that surround the identification of heritage places.

I Listing

It is easy for knowledge to become entrenched, and for supposition and speculation to become accepted fact, through the listing of heritage places. This process can be illustrated by looking at the listing history of a small vernacular building in the south-west town of Busselton, Western Australia, known as ‘*the Gulch*’. Statements by the local Historical Society that the three roomed building was believed to have been built during the 1850s as a customs officer’s residence, and was later used by the police force for unspecified purposes, led to the building being listed for those associations by the National Trust (WA Branch) in 1976. This listing provided information for the Shire’s Municipal Inventory, compiled in 1995, although the association with the police force had by this time been enhanced to that of a former police station (Hocking Planning and Architecture Pty Ltd 1995). This information was then submitted to the Australian Heritage Commission as a key component of the building’s nomination for inclusion in the Register of the National Estate.⁵

By 1997, these ‘facts’ about ‘*the Gulch*’s’ history had become embedded in the Busselton community, and were recounted during research into the building for a 1999 conservation plan. This research revealed that ‘*the Gulch*’ was built in 1856 principally to serve as a temporary warehouse for bonded goods (O’Connor 1999). The extent of its association with policing in the area was limited to a resident police officer who served as guard for the warehouse and also as assistant to the Resident Magistrate who used one room as his office.

What appears to have happened in the case of ‘*the Gulch*’ is that the histories of several buildings, both extinct and extant, became fused and confused with one another. Matters were further complicated by variations in the individual histories of places with similar associations. Taylor’s (1976) book on the history of the old court house complex, for example, notes that an old bond store in West Street (near the location of the Gulch) was used as a temporary lock-up before the complex

was completed in 1856. However the store in question, erected adjacent to '*the Gulch*' to provide additional storage, was only built in 1857. There has also been a suggestion that 'the old bond store' served as an overflow facility for gaol, however there is no indication of which store was used in this way (Taylor 1976).

Another study of the court house complex maintains that a bond store was built contemporaneously with the rest of the development in 1956 (Molyneux 1979). Although it was certainly the intention of the Government to provide a bond store as part of the complex (O'Connor 1999), this did not form part of the initial building works and was only added in 1861 (Public Works Department 1860). There even remains some doubt as to whether the building now known as '*the Gulch*' is in fact the building that was traditionally given this name, or whether the name was in fact given to the other, larger stone bond store (Taylor 1976).

The location of the Gulch, on land that until the turn of the century lay beyond the limits of the designated town site, may have further confused matters as reference was made in correspondence to the inconvenient location of the first lock-up 'at the extreme end of town' (Hocking Planning and Architecture Pty Ltd 1995, p. 13).

It is unlikely that new and detailed information about the Gulch, or any of the associated buildings, would have come to light had not a conservation plan necessitating a review of primary sources to confirm evidence about the origins of the place, been commissioned. The most recent study of the Gulch highlights the benefits of recurrent reassessment by showing the ways in which knowledge about the place was held and maintained within the listing process. Currently, however, the primary frame of cultural heritage makes no direct reference to or provision for the need or benefit of such iterative assessment. Furthermore, what is the process fails to make clear is that meaning and significance and values are not inherent in objects or places, but are present as a result of the contextualisation and narratives associated with them.

II Assessment

The absence of iterative processes in the primary framing paradigm not only impacts on the amassing of raw data about places, it also affects their interpretation. Heritage professionals just like historians are not privy to historical 'reality' any more than other disciplines, and therefore the veracity of their assessments should be open to interpretation in the same way as any other dialogue with the past. If the traces of history that heritage professionals use in their assessments are reframed using the post-

structuralist model as ‘texts’ and ‘discourses’, the implication is that assessments are not finite and complete, but instead must be periodically re-examined and revisited. Only in this way can new ‘constructions’ of the history of a place be achieved.

Currently the listing and assessment process implies a definitive reconstruction of the past that establishes values in perpetuity. For Bennett the origins of this assumption can be found in many of the original stated aims and objectives of listing and conservation processes, which imply that the preserved past comprises a singular set of meanings that can be understood in the same way by all Australians (1988, p. 22). Again, the example of *‘the Gulch’* is illustrative of this issue, as the reassessment precipitated by the conservation plan raises questions about the accepted meaning of certain events in the history and pattern of development of the area.

Busselton lies approximately 220km south of Perth, the capital city of Western Australia. Farmers moved into the area early in 1834, early in the colony’s history. They were led by a group of settlers who had originally been based at Augusta, 100km further south. The Augusta settlement had struggled since its establishment by the Government, partly due to its extreme isolation, but also because of inherent problems associated with soil types in the area. When one of the residents, John Garrett Bussell, discovered what he believed to be good grazing land along the Vasse River further north, he quickly arranged to exchange his land in Augusta and moved his family to the new area. Several other Augusta residents soon followed suit, and in 1839, the populations of the two locations had changed so dramatically, the Resident Magistrate responsible for the district, left Augusta and relocated to the Vasse.

Farming in this new area proved to be far more productive than it had been at Augusta, and in 1839, a town was surveyed and lots laid out. The town of Vasse (now Busselton) grew slowly however, and for the first twenty years after settlement there was an absence of Government funded infrastructure. Until the building of the court house complex in 1856, the town was without an adequate post office, lock-up, bond store or Government offices. Explanations for the paucity of support have commonly centred on two factors—a general lack of labour in the colony prior to the arrival of convicts in 1851, and the establishment of a settlement at Wonnerup only 6km away.⁶

The settlement at Wonnerup was established in the late 1830s by the Colonial Government, who indicated their support for the township immediately by posting a barrack of soldiers there that was larger than the existing force at the Vasse, despite the significant difference in their populations. In 1939 there was speculation that the Government was intending to establish permanent barracks at

Wonnerup, leading to fears that soldiers at the Vasse would be withdrawn. This, coupled with an increase in conflicts with the local Aboriginal population, led several settlers to move their land holdings to Wonnerup in anticipation of greater security, thus further affecting the ability of the Vasse to establish itself as a viable settlement. However, the community at Wonnerup floundered in the early 1840s due to the low-lying nature of the area that made it prone to flooding, and plans for a substantial settlement were subsequently abandoned in favour of the Vasse. Despite the failure of Wonnerup, a perception lingered among the residents at the Vasse that there continued to be a lack of Government support for the town, particularly in terms of infrastructure provision (Jennings 1983).

As a range of historic uses associated with Government services had speculatively been associated with '*the Gulch*', it was necessary to research the provision of both policing, and customs and warehousing during the early years of the Vasse, in order to determine the building's origins and subsequent patterns of use, and this research cast certain historical events in a new light.

As stated before, it was found that '*the Gulch*' had been built to address two infrastructure shortfalls in the settlement—warehousing and office space. What is of particular interest however is that it was erected by a private individual, Captain Molloy who was the serving Resident Magistrate at the time. Molloy had been concerned about the lack of adequate services at the Vasse almost since the settlement's inception. However, his repeated requests for Government funding for a range of work, had repeatedly been rejected. Eventually he was forced to rely on his own resources.

Tracing the community's response to the infrastructure shortfall revealed other instances where private individuals had addressed the provision of essential services. It had long been known that John Herring, the first post master at the Vasse, had built his own post office in 1845. What had not been known was that as tide waiter, Herring was also responsible for customs and warehousing, and therefore part of this building was also used as a bond store. Furthermore, Herring also served as clerk to the Resident Magistrate, and another part of the property was therefore rented out to Molloy for use as an office (O'Connor 1999, p. 14). Before this, Molloy had been forced to undertake his duties, including hearing criminal cases, from his home at 'Fairlawn', where he lived with his daughters.

The other well known instance of the community's response to the prevailing Government attitude was the building of the first lock-up at the Vasse in 1852, nearly twenty years after the area was first settled. Government support in this case appears to have been similar to that which was extended to Herring. A loan was granted by the Government to the officer, in this case Police Constable David Earnshaw, which he used to erect a lock-up adjacent to his house. This building was then rented back

from him by the Government until the loan was reabsorbed. To these examples can then be added the temporary bond store known as '*the Gulch*', and the larger stone store built nearby to provide more secure storage for alcohol, and also erected by Molloy.

The Government's attempt at establishing a settlement at Wonnerup when one had already been founded nearby at the Vasse appears a strange move in times of great restraint. Jennings (1983) speculates that the reasons behind this move lay in the way the Vasse had been settled. Unlike Augusta, the decision to settle at the Vasse was taken by private individuals. Perhaps there was an element of resentment on the part of the Government that the influential Bussell family had taken matters into their own hands, and were not following whatever plans the Government had for the development of the colony. Wonnerup may therefore have represented an attempt by the Government to regain control of settlement expansion.

However Government services, particularly the provision of soldiers and barracks, were stretched thinly across the state at this time and the establishment of a settlement at the Vasse, in addition to the one that had still to be sustained at Augusta, must have exacerbated this problem. This make the Government's establishment of an additional barracks at Wonnerup an even more curious logistical decision, indicating that other considerations may well have been behind the decision.

Whether Government prejudice towards the Vasse after the failure of Wonnerup, can be said to be born out in their attitude to the provision of infrastructure in the town cannot yet be determined. It may be that the persecution residents felt directed at them was merely symptomatic of an overstretched colonial government struggling to address the tyranny of distance with limited resources. Certainly the town does not appear to have been alone in Australia in having a privately owned bond store, as the profitable nature of the arrangement to owners is outlined in correspondence from the Colonial Secretary's Office, possibly as an attempted inducement (O'Connor 1999, p. 16). Nevertheless, it may be that the residents at the Vasse were expected to provide more infrastructure than elsewhere. Only further comparative research will clarify the issue.

The theme of infrastructure provision forms a key part of the statement of significance for '*the Gulch*'. Such statements, particularly if made within the context of State heritage legislation, underpin all subsequent land management decisions about a place. Praxis dictates therefore, that statements of significance are presented and interpreted as immutable fact. In reality, such studies are subject to the same epistemological and hermeneutic uncertainties of all historic research. Furthermore, knowledge of the past is not only based on fragmented remnants and relics which do not always come to light

simultaneously, and are also strongly influenced by the perspective of the researcher. So while the theme of infrastructure provision may have struck the researcher of the Gulch as important in terms of its significance, subsequent analysis could just as readily focus, for example, on the role of smuggling on the provision of law and order at the Vasse, as this was certainly a major concern at the time, and lay behind Molloy's concern at the absence of a warehouse. Such a re-evaluation could result in a shift in the emphasis of the statement of significance, thereby possibly effecting conservation practices, and certainly influencing any interpretation of the Gulch.

Conclusion

It is easy to see the origins of the history/heritage debate. History is discrete and disciplined—heritage is expansive and unruly. History is perceived as the preserve of philosophy—heritage of practice. Of course neither of these statements is entirely true. While there are often accusations that heritage that has its roots in nostalgia, this is not an affliction that is solely its preserve, but it is one that history suffers by association as well. Whimsy and wistfulness are, after all, the preserve of historical romance—and there is, as yet, no genre of heritage fiction. Similarly as has been outlined above, not all heritage is unruly. Much of it is excessively disciplined, possibly restrictively so and to its own detriment.

What historians in their criticism have failed to do is discriminate between the popular interpretations of heritage, and its practice at the professional level. This omission is to the detriment of the general debate about the different ways in which we engage with the past. As the example of the Gulch indicates, heritage assessments require investigative historical rigour, and this should be acknowledged. Unfortunately their role in the primary frame of cultural heritage means they also entrench notions of historical veracity. However, by engaging heritage practice in genuine hermeneutic and epistemological debate, historians could make a valuable contribution to the ways in which heritage practice takes place.

Conversely, as Samuel says, historians would do well to recognise the worth of what has been done in the name of heritage to expand the domain of historical knowledge, particularly in terms of scholarly input (1994, p. 274). The popularity of heritage presents a positive opportunity to history, a challenge for academic historians to break down the barriers and re-engage with what Hamerow (1987) refers to as the 'extra-academic' domain of popular, spontaneous and endemic interest in the past. Exponents of history should acknowledge that in their drive for professionalisation and academization they may have become out of touch with and unresponsive to the growing popular demands for the past' (Kaye

1991, p. 35). But that this is not beyond the realms of academic study, but something they must engage with in order to remain relevant. This then is the challenge to history.

The issues of truth and objectivity, and the hermeneutic problems associated with dealing with the past do not currently feature in heritage practice, particularly when it is based in legislative process. It is doubtful that any protection and conservation would take place if the ‘facts’ of a place’s history were framed in terms of a consultant’s ‘impressions’. However, this is the reality of all investigations into the past, whether undertaken in the realm of academia or the heritage profession. While the primary frame of cultural heritage may aim to codify and regulate the process of heritage assessment, ultimately consultants are forced to make subjective, value judgements. This too should be acknowledged.

History and heritage share at their core a common preoccupation with the past. As it is for history, so too the challenge for heritage must be to acknowledge that it

... is always in practice a reading of the past. We make a narrative out of the available ‘documents’ ... we interpret in order to produce a knowledge of a world which is no longer present. And yet it is always from the present that we produce this knowledge; from the present in the sense that it is only from what is still extant, still available that we make it; and from the present in the sense that we make it out of an understanding formed by the present (Belsey 1985, p. 1)

¹ See in particular Kaye (1991), Lowenthal (1996), Wright (1985) and Appleby et al. (1994) for general discussions on this subject.

² For a more detailed discussion of the primary framing paradigm of Australian cultural heritage practice see P. O’Connor, ‘Heritage conservation in Australia: A frame in flux’, *Journal of Architecture Conservation*, Vol 1, (2000), pp. 56-72.

³ Although the Burra Charter defines and delimits the distinctions between heritage conservation terminology and these are used rigorously in the profession, they tend to be used indiscriminately by the general public who fail to appreciate the often subtle distinctions between them, a situation which often causes problems in explaining certain processes such as ‘reconstruction’ and ‘restoration’.

⁴ See for example *Conservation Plans: A Standard Brief for Consultants*, Heritage Council of Western Australia; and *Criteria for the Register of the National Estate*, Australian Heritage Commission.

⁵ The listing for this place can be found at <http://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/heritage/register/site.pl?009489>.

⁶ See for example R. Jennings, *Outstation on the Vasse 1830-50*, Shire of Busselton, 1983.

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Paper III

O'Connor, P. (2000) Your Place - My Place : heritage studies and concepts of place, in: Stephens, J. Ed. *Habitus 2000, a Sense of Place [CD]* (Perth, Western Australia, School of Architecture, Construction and Planning, Curtin University).

Paper III: Your Place - My Place : heritage studies and concepts of place

Rationale

The rationale for Paper III is to explore the approach of humanistic geography to defining and assessing *places*, in order to locate heritage practice in a wider theoretical context, and explain some of its philosophical origins and practical limitations. The focus on assessment facilitated a detailed discussion of the intricacies of applying some of the evaluative criteria in the primary frame, drawing on the results of the Community Heritage Study undertaken for the Comprehensive Regional Assessment of Western Australia's south-west forests. The discussion in this Paper about places and their values, and how to identify and record them also provides a theoretical context for the in-depth discussion in Papers VI - VIII on the way social and aesthetic value in particular have been interpreted and applied.

Background and Context

Paper III was presented at the international conference *Habitus: a sense of place* held in Perth in 2000 and subsequently published in the proceedings, which took the form of a CD (Stephens, 2000). Inevitably, the theme of the conference influenced the focus of the paper, however examining concepts relating to place as defined by a discipline that had an inspirational role in the development of heritage principles raised interesting hermeneutic and epistemological issues about the key process of assessing significance under the primary frame of cultural heritage. As a result, however, this Paper does not include any detailed exploration of framing processes.

At this stage of my doctoral research, the study area for my examination of historic social or cultural heritage values was still the area assessed under the Comprehensive Regional Assessment (CRA) for the Regional Forest Agreement (RFA), and had not yet narrowed to the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River.

Objectives

This Paper has three main objectives. As in Paper II, one objective was to look at aspects of accepted heritage practice from a different theoretical perspective. As heritage is an under-theorised discipline in Australia and there is little evidence of critical reflection and praxis in the industry, this Paper was an opportunity to reflect on the way *place* is defined and assessed in humanistic geography and compare and contrast this with heritage practice.

Flowing from this theoretical discussion, another aim of this Paper is to introduce several of the conventions and practices that have developed within the primary heritage frame in Australia, and highlight some of the statutory and procedural limitations that influence the processes around identifying and assessing heritage places.

Finally, this Paper begins the detailed examination of the key values that are the focus of this thesis, variously referred to as historic social or historic community values, which also includes aesthetic values.

Your place – my place: heritage studies and concepts of place

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INTRODUCTION

The term *heritage* is nomadic by nature (Samuel, 1994, p205), encompassing as it does a range of widely disparate meanings. The result is a concept that, while broadly relating to inheritances from the past to be passed on to the future, is often characterised by extremes of interpretation. These may range from whimsy and nostalgia for ‘the way things were’, to a fondness for retro chic and reproduction antique furniture, through a raft of cultural traditions, both tangible and intangible, oral and written.

The nature of heritage has impacted on the professionalisation of heritage into a range of practices, as this too presents itself as somewhat of hybrid discipline. Its development owes much to principles and theories developed in a range of academic realms: in humanistic geography, anthropology, sociology, environmental psychology and history, to name but the most obvious associations. Such diverse origins are advantageous, providing a wealth of varied research with potential relevance to heritage, from which it can draw inspiration, thereby feeding discourse and debate. These discourses can, however, also result in discord. The often bitter, one-sided, even vitriolic, criticism of heritage by some historians is perhaps the most well publicised conflict, reaching as it does from the pages of academia (c/f Lowenthal (1996) & (1985), Kaye (1991) and Hewison (1987)) into the popular press and public debate.¹ At the heart of the history/heritage debate lie the divergent perceptions of what constitutes *heritage* mentioned above. The engagement of history and heritage in hermeneutic and epistemological debate, however, has the potential to make a valuable contribution to the ways in which heritage practice takes place (O'Connor, 2000a).

The appropriation of *the past* by *heritage* cannot be laid at the door of heritage practice alone, for it appears to have occurred more generally, throughout society as a whole. Other appropriations have been far more considered, however. In Australia, the most deliberate of these has been the very deliberate adoption of the term *place* as one of the fundamental tenets of cultural heritage practice. While theories of place have been developed within many of heritage’s parent disciplines, an enduring emphasis on *genius loci* – a ‘sense of place’, in heritage literature (c/f Garnham, 1985), indicates a strong inspirational connection with humanistic geography. Unlike

¹ Recent public debate that has examined the role heritage plays in providing a window to the past include that centred on the retention of the wheat silos at Fremantle Port (Western Australia).

history and heritage, there has been little specific debate between this branch of geography and heritage. In terms of the extent to which heritage practice can be regarded as praxis, it is, however, an important one. Heritage practices may have originated in disciplines rich in philosophical discourses, but it is debatable whether that theorisation has been on-going.

This paper sets out to examine a range of concepts of place, and also by implication space, with the aim of addressing several questions. Broadly, it seeks to explore the extent to which concepts of place developed in humanistic geography relate to and accord with those developed in heritage practice. Can paradigms of geographical place help to theorise heritage places? And conversely, in what ways do heritage places relate to geographical places, if these are in fact construed differently? The two key processes inherent in cultural heritage – identification and assessment – provide the framework for discussion. While it may be possible to argue that to identify is, by default, to assess, in cultural heritage the two processes can be and are separated. The distinction is also useful in examining geographical understandings of place as it sets the discussion of what place *is*, apart from how we *know* place.

A word on some of the boundaries of this paper. The definition of humanistic geography has been extremely loosely drawn for this discussion, with some commentators possibly more often described as sociologists than geographers. As the ideas of phenomenological humanistic geographers have come to dominate this paper, the views of some philosophers who tackle this concept have also been included. Finally, as there is an on-going debate about the extent to which the concept of ‘heritage’ is relevant to indigenous Australians (see for example Ah Kit (1995), the discussion in this paper is limited to places with non-indigenous heritage values.

PLACES IN GEOGRAPHY

I Identification

There is no consensus among humanistic geographers as to what constitutes a place. ‘It (place) is not just a formal concept awaiting precise definition, but is also a naive and variable expression of geographical experience’ (Relph, 1976, p4). Much of the debate about the nature of place has its origins in the different ways in which space is perceived to relate to, or be distinct from, place. The relationship between the two has been the subject of particular attention among phenomenological geographers. Broadly their views can be classified in terms of distinctions between place as object and place as happening.

For some of the more traditional humanistic geographers, space is seen as a tabula rasa onto which we map cultural meaning, with places being the result. ‘What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value’ (Tuan, 1977, p6). Places under this precept are ‘carved out’ (Sack, 1997, p8) ‘come out of’ (Frake, 1996, p235), are ‘constructed from’ (Relph, 1976, p4) or ‘made from’ (Low, 1994, p66) infinite meaningless space. Some critics argue that this reduces place to a type of object or thing, as place is portrayed as something comparatively inert to be experienced (Pred, 1984, p279), rather than dynamic and changeable. It is for this reason that sociologists, such as Giddens (1979, p207) argue

in preference for the use of the term ‘locale’ to describe the interactive settings in which human activities take place and acquire meaning.

Other theories describe places as discrete, and yet ‘elastic’ areas which people identify with through their social relations (Agnew, 1993, p263). Such ‘primary places’, which ‘...involve human actions and intentions and have the capacity to change things’, contrast with secondary places that are simply the distribution of things (ie objects) through space (Sack, 1997, p32).

Another alternative reframes place as a dynamic dialectic force. Developing the idea of phenomenologists Husserl and Merleau-Ponty that perception is primary to an understanding of place, Casey (1996) maintains that as humans are perceptual beings, we are always not only in place, but through our actions, occasion place. The coming together of space and time in place means that it is more an *event* than a *thing*, ‘...(places) not only *are*, they *happen*’ (Casey, 1996, p26-27). Pred similarly views place as a process ‘...another by-product of the continuous dialectical becoming of individual and society’ (Pred, 1984, p279).

II Assessment

Just as there is no single concept of place, so too there is no single set of criteria that humanistic geographers agree can universally be used to describe the qualities of a place. Phenomenological principles dictate that the assessment of places should be approached with as few presuppositions as possible about its character and form (Relph, 1976, p7), because ultimately rather than reflecting definite qualities such as physical, spiritual, cultural or social, ‘...a given place takes on the qualities of its occupants’ (Casey, 1996, p27). This experiential nature of place, while not perhaps a criteria in itself, is widely considered essential to the humanistic geographer’s understanding of the nature of place. But what is meant by ‘experience’ in this context, and how does it in turn relate to the characteristics of places?

The theme of the direct experience of and interaction with places is a recurrent one, and is closely linked with the fundamental way that places are believed to occur, ‘...constructed in our memories and affections through repeated encounters and complex associations’ (Relph, 1985, p26). The assumption is that not only do we have to physically be located in a place, with our ‘knowing bodies’ (Casey, 1996, p45), in order to develop a sense of place, but that contact must be iterative. Two forms of contact have been distinguished. On the one hand there is contact that is grounded in the day-to-day (Pred, 1983, p51), where the meaning of places can only be revealed in terms of human responses to an environment that is used as a framework for daily living (Violich, 1985, p113). At other times, simply visual contact with places can be made meaningful through various forms of prior knowledge, either of the place itself or similar places. It is this prior knowledge that will then dictate the associated set of values. In this way, for example, that monuments always appears as a place of public symbolism (c/f. Tuan (1977)). Not all places need be as visually prominent as a monument however, and some may only be known viscerally (Tuan, 1977, p162). Even so, such places will still be defined through the ‘feel’ that is acquired as a result of repeated experiences and associations built up over years. It is for this reason that phenomenologists believe attachments to places are rarely acquired in passing.

Experience is not therefore simply defined as seeing. Developing the definitions and distinctions outlined by phenomenologists Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger regarding sense of sight, Protevi (1998) notes the metaphorical nature of their discourses. ‘Sense of sight (bodily vision) becomes dependant on the ‘sense’ (the meaning-giving/receiving power) of ‘sight’ (existential understanding)’ (Protevi, 1998, p213). Viewing a place does not therefore equate to sensing place, which requires a dialogue between the vision, and the interpretation of meanings associated with it. For phenomenologists, this does not mean that a grasp of significance or meaning or understanding always requires reflective thought, because the body can also grasp significance through perceptual and motor actions (Weiner, 1990, p344).

In stressing the necessity for intimate, iterative experience, geographers and phenomenologists in particular, create an impression that much of the defining and naming of places comes from localised communities of concern. As ethnographic researchers however, geographers also undertake to describe places which they do not have those intimate relationship with, their aim being to translate and record the meanings ascribed by others, while also acknowledging their own experiences of place. In their resultant ‘thick descriptions’ of places, it can often appear that phenomenological geographers (c/f Violich (1985), Wilson & Slack (1989), have mimesis as their aim, the uncovering and articulation of a naked truth about place. Statements such as ‘..phenomenology is concerned with essences’ (Tuan, 1971, p181) add to this perception. But this rigorous description must be weighed against their acknowledgment that there is an inchoate sense of ‘otherness’ or ‘wildness’ (Casey, 1996, p35) inherent in places, a factor that defies description, which cannot be pinned down, defined or accounted for. For them, the nature of place is therefore more than the sum of its constituent parts, or the collected description of its qualities.

As has already been stated, associations are an inherent part of what give places meaning. In this way, the accumulated and diverse experiences of individuals and society, many of which will have been vicarious, can be taken into account. It is interesting to note, however, that only passing reference has been made by humanistic geographers to places that are *wholly* known vicariously – places that have never been directly experienced, where there has been no gradual build-up of meaning through contact and interaction. Relph (1976) contextualises such places within the established experiential parameters of place by focussing on their relationships with other places where intimate knowledge already exists. ‘When the depiction of a specific (vicarious) place corresponds with our experiences of other familiar places – we know what it is like to *there* because we know what it is like to be *here*’(Relph, 1976, p53). In a world where the transcendental and virtual have become increasingly meaningful, it may no longer be acceptable or reasonable to limit ‘experience’ to ‘being there’. Presence and absence, experience and transcendence, have become intermingled, particularly through new forms of communication (Urry, 1996, p162). Furthermore, an interpretation of vicarious places that focuses on their associative values makes no allowance for meanings which may be attached to places precisely because they are *not* the same as what we know here.

Removing the formation of sense of place from the realm of direct experience, and redefining it instead as something that may be vicarious attributed, or may be based on more tenuous associations, is a challenging prospect. It raises the spectre that a sense of place can be ‘created’ through processes other than organic, iterative contact,

processes such as planning, urban design or other developmental controls. Studies aiming to distil landscape qualities that ‘...infuse a site with a sense of place’ undertaken by environmental psychologists under the aegis of phenomenological study (c/f Fishwick et al., 1992) feed into debates about the ways in which places can be substituted for one another when development threatens loss (O'Connor, 1999b). Sense of place thereby becomes a commodity, a value that can be created, transferred and applied by tapping into existing notions of place that *are* based on direct experiences of other places. The creation or recreation of places in this way has not, however, had an illustrious history, as countless urban renewal and regeneration programs, particularly those undertaken during the 60s and 70s, will testify.

Heritage Places

Much of what takes place in Australia, within the particular understanding of heritage under examination in this paper, is guided and informed by a detailed primary framing paradigm based on federal legislation and guidance from key non-government organisations (NGOs).² The principal aim of the primary frame is to facilitate the identification and assessment of places with significant cultural heritage values – the ‘places in the heart’ of the Australian people.

I Identification

‘Place’ is one of the most dominant concepts of the primary framing paradigm. The term was chosen in a conscious attempt to move away from more traditional, Eurocentric heritage terminology that focussed on structures, such as ‘buildings’ and ‘monuments’. It was felt that the term would not only facilitate the consideration of all the features associated with structures – views, vistas, contents, setting, curtilage etc,³ but would also enable sites that had no built component to be considered under the same moniker, such as places with indigenous associations or natural heritage values eg biodiversity. Under the primary frame, the concept of ‘place’ can therefore include individual items, such as road-side marker stones; range from individual buildings, to whole areas of urban development (eg heritage precincts); encompass small areas of endemic flora, fauna or unique geological features; and ultimately extend to large natural and cultural landscapes.

While the expansive nature of ‘place’ was attractive to the originators of the primary frame, it is important to remember that its ability to be delimited was also essential. Legislative, managerial and conservatorial requirements all necessitate the determination of a definitive understanding of place, with clear boundaries and scheduled features and qualities. Leaving aside, for the moment, the ways in which these attributes may be determined, the effect of the primary frame on an understanding and appreciation of ‘place’ has been largely to render it an object. Places are presented as physical entities, represented in plans and elevations, and as

² Principal among these documents are the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* and associated guidance, *the Burra Charter* (1999), produced by the Australian International Council for Monuments and Sites, and Kerr’s (1996) *Conservation Plan* by the National Trust (NSW Branch). For a discussion of the primary framing paradigm in Australia see O’Connor (2000c).

³ According to the *Burra Charter* ‘...place means site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views.’ (Australia ICOMOS, 1999, Article 1.1).

locations on maps. Distinguished by their ‘unique’ documentation, they are defined, bounded, and demarcated sites. The listing of places captures and holds their qualities at a particular moment in time, giving them a static quality. And the lack of iterative hermeneutic re-examination in heritage processes exaggerates this impression.

Principles of the primary frame that emphasise the importance of a place’s ‘fabric’(Australia ICOMOS, 1999), create places with a precious, untouchable physical presence. This reinforces the perception that there are no longer dynamic experiences to be had with such places. The control and regulation of change exacerbates the situation. Heritage places often lack any sense that they are *happening*. Rather, through their identification as different and distinctive places that have been set apart, the dialogues they have with the present change irrevocably. The perception that places become objects through cultural heritage identification processes lies at the heart of much criticism directed towards heritage practices. For opponents, conservation and preservation reduce dynamic, living places to live-less museum pieces. Atrophication, seen as inherent in heritage practices that restrict and control change and natural development, leaves places lifeless, hence the widely used expression ‘the dead hand of conservation’ (Hewison, 1987).

The practice of identifying (and assessing) heritage places occurs in many different situations – across all levels of Australian government (local, state and federal), initiated by a range of statutory and legal obligations. It also takes place within a variety of NGOs, most notably the State branches of the National Trust.⁴ The primary frame stresses that places should be of value to the community, and as a result, agencies with heritage responsibilities make provisions for members of the general public to nominate significant places for consideration under their listing processes. In reality, however, the majority of places are identified through the efforts of a very select group of individuals, either people with a passionate personal interest in the past, such as volunteers working in historical societies), or professionally trained experts – historians, architects, archaeologists, planners and heritage consultants etc.

Identification is only the first stage in determining the heritage status of a place, an initial flagging-up of the possibility of significance. Superficial as the process is, the mere identification of a place’s potential for heritage significance nevertheless often manages to be contentious. Even before the process of determining what qualities and values are associated with a particular place, there can be fierce disagreement about whether or not a site should even be considered for ‘placehood’. In Fremantle, Western Australia, public opinion has been deeply divided from the outset about the possibility of heritage values being associated with the vast wheat silos that dominate the port and the surrounding landscape. Dismissive comments by State Minister for Planning, the arbiter of the eventual dispute, that the community had somehow ‘got it wrong’ have done little to raise community confidence that they do in fact have an important role to play in the identification of heritage places, and that their views and values will be taken into consideration.

⁴ Other examples of NGOs might include historical societies, professional organisations such as the Royal Australian Institute of Engineers, or specialist organisations such as the Art Deco Society of Western Australia.

II Assessment

While there is scope for public involvement in the initial identification of places with heritage value, the second stage of the process, the assessment of associated values and the ultimate determination of significance, is almost exclusively undertaken by professionals. As such, the determination of whether or not a location can be deemed a 'place' under the terms of the primary frame, is the preserve of a very narrow group of individuals.⁵

The issue of who ascribes meaning to places under the primary frame, outsiders or insiders, is further complicated by the extent to which priority is given to the consideration of present-day values over the values of past or future generations. It is not clear whether there is agreement across the key documents of the primary frame on this issue. The Burra Charter allows for the consideration of the values of past, present and future generations, while the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* is more circumspect, excluding the values of past communities, and focusing only on present and future generations. The distinction is interesting in light of one of the key objectives of heritage conservation, that the retention of significant places helps to illuminate an opaque past. If, however, the values of past communities are discounted, and the values of future generations are speculatively based on those of the present, then what is actually being reflected in our determinations of 'place' may only be our own, contemporary values. Working against this bias however is the fact that to a large extent, significance comes automatically with identification and understanding. So the very process of establishing that a place was valued by past generations, almost inevitably results in values being ascribed to that place by present-day communities (eg historic value), even if previously the details of the place and its values had been unknown.

According to the primary frame, places themselves are of prime importance. (Marquis-Kyle et al., 1992). It is however the values associated with places that give them that importance. In attempting to quantify this *cultural significance*, the frame identifies four main evaluative criteria by which places are assessed – aesthetic, historic, social and scientific values.⁶ There are several distinctive differences in the ways in which these values are determined. The assessment processes associated with historic and scientific values tend to be undertaken through the consideration of the fabric of a place (its physical remains and associated elements), and also any relevant documentary evidence. The evaluation of places with these values, and therefore what largely determines their status as 'places', is almost exclusively established by specialists. There is no requirement for researchers involved to have had any prior experience or knowledge of the place, either directly or indirectly. They will not necessarily have established any meaningful connection with the place, have no memories or associations with it, and in line with the 'noble dream' of objectivity (Novick, 1988), this may even be considered advantageous as the emotional distance facilitates a more balanced investigation of the 'facts' of a place.

⁵ In some Australian States, the ultimate decision on the status of a 'place' is left to the relevant Minister (see O'Connor (2000c)).

⁶ Until recently, spiritual value was deemed to fall under the definition of social value. A 1999 review of the Burra Charter has now separated this value out as being distinct from social value. However, no information on how this distinction will operate in practice has yet been released and it therefore falls outside the discussion of this paper.

In contrast to the process of assessing historic and scientific values, the assessment of social value, and also some forms of aesthetic value, necessitates public consultation in order to determine shared meanings and values (Johnston, 1994). This process usually takes the form of community workshops. The primary framing paradigm deliberately sets no limits on what constitutes 'a community'. In this way, groups that might more commonly be perceived as sections of the community, such as migrants or specific social groups, can be accommodated, as well as more traditional communities defined at a spatial level, such as towns or suburban areas. The aim of public workshops of this type is to try to achieve cross sectional representation of the community as a whole, in order that a commensurately wide range of places, with a similarly wide range of values, will be recorded. There is no guarantee, however, that either of these desired goals will be achieved. Community heritage workshops recently held in Western Australia raise several questions about the processes of identifying places with community values.

It is not always possible to ensure a representative cross-section of the population will attend a community workshop. If there are known to be contested meanings, sections of the community who share views and values may be particularly motivated to attend a workshop in order that their meanings are recorded. Alternatively, groups may be unwilling to attend if they feel that the weight of public opinion is against them and they feel their values will be ignored or marginalised. Both of these scenarios were played out at workshops across the south-west of Western Australia, undertaken as part of the Comprehensive Regional Assessment (CRA) that formed the basis of the Regional Forest Agreement for the area. In Mundaring, lying just beyond the metropolitan area of the city of Perth, the workshop was well attended, and dominated by individuals vociferously opposed to the logging of native old-growth forests. This contrasted diametrically with Manjimup, a town further south lying in the heartland of the region's logging industry. Here the large turn-out consisted entirely of individuals who supported the continuance of old-growth logging. In addition to workshops attendance being weighted towards particular interest groups, the age profile of those attending further reduced representativeness. Young people were particularly noticeable by their absence at all the community heritage workshops conducted for the south-west CRA (Pearson, 1997b).

A similarly unbalanced situation can arise if a workshop is seen as pandering to a hidden agenda. Judging by the interests of people attending a recent workshop to identify places with community heritage values in the northern coastal reaches of Geraldton (O'Connor, 2000b), the process was perceived as being relevant primarily to those associated with windsurfing. Few of those attending had interests outside this activity. The fact that part of the area being looked at had been earmarked for industrial development, and the windsurfing fraternity had organised to form a lobby group to oppose this move, gave the impression that this was an attempt to identify places in line with 'Industry Inland' priorities, and that views of community members with other priorities, values and interests were not relevant or being sought.

Another area of concern in terms of the representativeness of community heritage places lies in the sheer number of people attending workshops. During the south-west CRA, there were instances where either large geographical areas, or areas with high

populations, were represented by workshops attended by as few as five people⁷. Places were therefore nominated for their ‘community values’ by single individuals. The follow-up research by consultants required under the primary frame, may have confirmed that the nominated values were indeed present at a wider community level. It remains debatable however, whether values identified in this way, when confirmation occurs subsequent and outside of the initial workshop scenario, are the same as values that would have come from greater community participation in the workshop process. A degree of confirmation that the ascribed values were representative of those held in the wider community could have been achieved by referring statements of significance drawn up for places back to the community for verification. Unlike similar studies undertaken in the eastern states, in the south-west, no time was factored into community heritage study to facilitate this process.

In addition to the problems outlined above, the cultural heritage framing paradigm makes no provision for quantifying the information from community workshops. No information is collected on either the number of times individual places are nominated, or the actual extent to which participants experienced direct contact with the places they nominate. The impact of these latter ‘unchosen alternatives’ may have been significant in people’s deliberations and influenced the places they nominated. People often have values for places that they have heard of, but may never have actually visited. Uluru is a classic example of this type of attachment. In the case of the south-west forests, people may have been driven to nominate forest places, not because they have chosen to visit these places themselves and in doing so developed an intimate relationship with them, but more because they seek reassurance that such places will be there for them, their children or grandchildren, to visit in the future, should they choose to do so.

For the majority of heritage places, it is not usually feasible to identify community heritage values through a workshop process. As a result, for places where other values are more readily identified, such as buildings with historic or architectural aesthetic values, social value will only be assessed on the basis of whatever relevant information has come to light during the course of research into these other values. This may mean that the social value of a place is determined on the basis of a mention in the newsletter of the local historical society and a limited number of oral histories casually retold (c/f O’Connor, 1999a).

Conclusion – my place: your place

The discussion of theories of place developed by humanistic geographers and heritage practitioners highlights two areas where there are distinct differences in their understandings of place. The first relates to the dualism of place as happening, and place as object. The legislative implications of heritage listing virtually dictate that places are framed in terms of their objective qualities. The transitory nature implicit in theories of place as *happening* do not fit well within bureaucratic frameworks that stipulate mapped boundaries and defined criteria. While the identification of social value makes some tacit acknowledgment of the idea that places are constituted by dynamic experiences rather than consisting of only static objects, current assessment

⁷ The workshop in Collie in the south-west was attended by five people, and only two more attended the workshop held in Perth to represent the views of the capital city (Pearson, 1997a)

processes give an incomplete picture of what those experiences might be, and who they have meaning for. The assessment of community values of the sort undertaken in CRAs are rare. For the majority of heritage places, there is no scope for consultants to undertake public workshops. Wider community attachment to places therefore often only becomes apparent when they are threatened, or where community values appear to have been disregarded in decision making processes. As the number and range of heritage place increases across Australia, the need to address the issue of the dynamic and dialectic nature of place becomes more pressing. It may be that the recently added new criteria of spiritual value will go some way to trying to address this shortfall.

Phenomenological geographers argue that the nature of places will ultimately always remain unknown, and herein lies the second area of distinctive difference. In contrast to this understanding, the primary framing paradigm aims to comprehensively identify all the values that may be associated with places. This is evidenced by the progressive introduction of more refined assessment criteria, and the use of an ever increasing raft of historic themes, often specifically developed for individual areas of research, such as mining, and migrant heritage. A system based on accountability of this sort disallows the inchoate and unexplainable – those qualities of place that phenomenologists feel lie beyond words. This in turn makes it difficult to accommodate the idea that the value or significance of places is more than the sum of their constituent parts and values.

Humanistic geographers and heritage practitioners alike are continually faced with the challenge as outsiders of trying to contextualise and put into words the views, values and meanings of others – the insiders. Unlike humanistic geographers however, those involved in cultural heritage rarely theorise their roles and responsibilities towards place beyond the precepts of the primary frame. As Duncan (1993, p53) points out, processes of representation, of which the defining and understanding of place is one, are always mediated through historically contingent institutions, structures, classes, and historical and scientific assumptions, all of which inevitably render such processes ethnocentric. Such qualifiers and filters will always be present in the processes by which we come to know, realise and understand places. If heritage studies is to be regarded, as it desires, as an academic discipline in its own right, then it must begin to address some of these qualifiers and filters, examine the assumptions and delve further and deeper into the philosophical debates that extend beyond practice. Only in this way can processes surrounding heritage identification and assessment come to be regarded as dynamic, responsive praxis.

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Paper IV

O'Connor, P. (2001) Heritage and landscape: a new role in Comprehensive Regional Assessments, in: Cotter, M. M., Boyd, W. E. & Gardiner, J. E. Eds. *Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place and Communities* (Lismore, Australia, Southern Cross University Press), pp. 443-455.

Paper IV: Heritage and landscape: a new role in Comprehensive Regional Assessments

Rationale

The rationale for Paper IV is to further explore framing processes in relation to heritage and its practices. In this instance, the dimension of heritage that I considered are the contemporary community values identified in the Comprehensive Regional Assessment (CRA) of Western Australia's south-west forests. The different ways the concept of *forest* was framed in the public debate is explored and the alternative concept of *landscape* is proposed to describe these areas, as an alternative way of understanding people's connection with the environment.

Background and Context

Paper IV is based on a presentation I delivered at the *Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place and Communities* conference in Lismore in 1999, which was later published as a chapter in a refereed book (Cotter, *et al.*, 2001). The conference was aimed at practitioners and academics dealing with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritage. The conference organisers particularly wanted papers to focus on issues relating to the management of cultural heritage.

Like Paper III, this paper also draws on theories from humanistic geography about the nature of place and how it is conceptualised. It was written at a time when there was passionate debate in the media about the outcomes of the CRA of Western Australia's south-west, and the scope of the resultant Regional Forest Agreement (RFA) which had not long been signed by the State and federal governments. The paper uses extracts from newspaper articles to highlight the contrasting ways the different groups framed the key issues of concern.

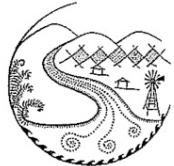
Paper III also marks the beginning of my engagement with the more quantitative approach to researching and assessing landscape of environmental psychology, and how its theories and approaches and techniques relate to the assessment of aesthetic value in relation to cultural heritage. I explore this subject in greater depth in Papers VII and VIII.

Objectives

I had one main objective in writing this paper; to use framing to explore the public outcry about the outcomes of the CRA and RFA process to try to understand the origins of the dissatisfaction of key stakeholder groups. As noted in the Introduction, I had worked as a heritage consultant on the Community Heritage Program part of the CRA, gathering information on places of community heritage value; one of many layers of information that were complied. I intended to use the methodology adopted for the Community Heritage Program as the basis for developing my methodology for identifying places valued by the historic community. It was therefore important to see whether the backlash about the CRA/RFA was indicative of flaws in the methodology, particularly as many of the arguments raised in the media related to the same shared meanings and values that had been identified through the Community Heritage Program.

The paper highlights the power that individual words can have in shaping perception, and how existing knowledge can over-ride new or different meanings and usages. In the case of the Regional Forest Agreement, the use of the term *forest* was critical as it established an expectation in the public's mind that the Comprehensive Adequate Reserve system (CARs) created by the RFA would mostly contain forests. For many there was an added expectation that those forests would also be composed of old-growth trees. Not surprisingly, in thinking about the RFA, the community applied the ordinary meaning of the term *forest* as an area characterised by tall trees. However the eventual CAR system that was proposed included many other types of ecosystems that did not resemble forests, and although there was some support for these areas being conserved, their inclusion in the RFA agreement did not meet the expectations of those who had focussed their attention on this process being about *forests*.

My finding in this paper about how there can be disjunctions between the way words are officially framed and the way they are more generally framed according to their ordinary meanings had a significant impact on the direction of the research that followed for this thesis. As a consequence, I began to look more closely at the individual words used in the primary frame, and in particular at how aesthetic value is defined and understood, which is the focus of Papers VII and VIII.



Heritage and landscape: A new role in comprehensive regional assessments

Penny O'Connor

Introduction

The Comprehensive Regional Assessment methodology, on which Regional Forest Agreements are based, has now been utilised in five States and represents the prevailing methodology for assessing large areas of Australia. While at the micro level of cultural heritage, it is increasingly regarded as a particularly useful model for a discipline more used to *ad hoc* nominations and reactive assessments, at the macro level of the region, the process has not been universally successful in reaching acceptable compromises between conflicting interest groups.

The Comprehensive Regional Assessment methodology operates on the basis of breaking down an area into its component parts and themes (ecology, cultural heritage, Indigenous issues, silviculture, forestry, settlement, historic economic development *etc.*) both to facilitate ease of assessment and to ensure comprehensiveness. Judging by the extent of public outrage precipitated by the Regional Forest Agreements for the south-west forests of Western Australia however, the process appears to be failing at several levels. Evidence that Comprehensive Regional Assessment process failed to adequately take into account particular values attached to the area by certain communities and groups raises the question of whether a process based on categorisation and criteria can ensure that all views and perspectives are recorded, delineated and acknowledged. Following from that, does such an itemised approach to assessment actually result in a representation of place that people find satisfactory? Finally, to what extent have these problems been precipitated by the framing paradigms that the Comprehensive Regional Assessment / Regional Forest Agreements process established for the environment?

This paper proposes that an alternative frame for regional assessments, based on the concept of landscape, could address some of these problems. Values and sentiments that communities felt were not adequately represented in the Comprehensive Regional Assessment are examined within this context through a review of data from the south-west Comprehensive Regional Assessment and other arenas of public discourse. The extent to which the concept of landscape could help to address these shortfalls and aid in the development of a more refined and holistic comprehensive regional assessment methodology is then discussed.

In: Cotter, M.M., Boyd, W.E. & Gardiner, J.E. (eds), 2001. *Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place and Communities*. Southern Cross University Press, Lismore, NSW, pp. 443-455.

It is important to note that the consideration of landscape has not been entirely absent from the Comprehensive Regional Assessment / Regional Forest Agreements process. In most Regional Forest Agreements, areas that can best be understood as cultural landscapes have been identified (Australian Heritage Commission & Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, Victoria, 1994). As criteria in their own right, such landscapes have not, however, been part of the assessment process. Instead, they have been identified on the basis of concentrations of information that has come out of Comprehensive Regional Assessments, where clusters or common themes become apparent on a scale that extends beyond what can be delimited by the concept of site or location. Examples of such landscapes might include areas of forest which contain a range of features, such as dams, railway cuttings, pit saw sites, mills etc. Most Regional Forest Agreements areas will therefore contain several areas that can be defined as cultural landscapes. Currently cultural landscapes represent another environmental category, rather than an alternative framing paradigm for the environment as a whole.

Values and criteria: comprehensive assessment or restrictive methodology

Across the Regional Forest Agreements area, a extensive range of variables were assessed in the Comprehensive Regional Assessment. Broadly speaking these were divided into variables that related to social and economic objectives centred on the assessment of timber production and the associated timber industry, tourism and recreation, mining and other mineral resources, a range of other forest products such as honey and wildflowers as well as the issue of ecologically sustainable forest management. Variables, on the other hand, relating to environment and heritage objectives, focussed on biodiversity (flora, fauna and ecosystems), old-growth, wilderness, and national estate and world heritage values. (Joint Commonwealth and Western Australian Regional Forest Agreement Steering Committee, 1998). Where direct community consultation took place, it did so within the confines of whichever specific value was being assessed. The examination of the findings of one of these studies is useful in assessing the comprehensiveness of the processes as a whole.

The identification and assessment of contemporary values attached to forests and forest places by non-Indigenous communities was undertaken through a series of community workshops held across the region. A similar study looked at the perspective of Indigenous communities towards the forest and identified places significant to their communities. This study of social value fell under the category of national estate values, and the assessment followed the guidance issued by the Australian Heritage Commission (Blair, 1993; Johnston, 1994; Packard & Dunnett, 1992). This states that social value relates to a place's "strong or special associations with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons" (*Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*, Part

I, Section 4, 1A). Associations may be spiritual, political, cultural, educational or social, and may be considered significant under the terms of the frame regardless of whether they are held by large or small communities (Johnston, 1994). It is therefore a strictly limited value, one that draws a distinction between values that the community might commonly regard as being social, such as economic value, and the very specific cultural heritage concept of social value.

The primary frame of cultural heritage can be seen as comprising the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* and associated guidance, and the Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter) produced by the Australian International Council for Monuments and Sites. (1979) and is based on the notion of place. Workshop participants were therefore encouraged to identify discrete areas of significance to their community, small places that could be easily delineated. While most nominations from the social value study related to such places, workshops also recorded responses which indicated that people found it difficult to separate out individual places from a valued whole. Blanket nominations were made for all old-growth forest, (Pemberton), all forests in the Regional Forest Agreements region, (Perth), all southern forests, (Mundaring), old growth remnant forest, (Dwellingup), and all State forests, (Mundaring) (Pearson *et al.*, 1997). These were in addition to nominations for karri forest - all blocks at Mundaring, and jarrah forest - high quality areas at Dwellingup. Such responses indicate a degree of symbolic attachment to forest as a whole, as distinct from individual sites. Despite instructions that it would not be possible to individually evaluate such blanket nominations in the assessment process, workshop participants put forward their own symbolic packaging of forest in competition with that of the paradigm established by the cultural heritage primary frame (Eder, 1996), albeit to little avail.

Regional Forest Agreements: fantasy and reality

Protests regarding the extent to which the southwestern Comprehensive Regional Assessment was indeed comprehensive began long before the reserve system set out in the Regional Forest Agreements was announced. Key environmental groups, most notably the WA Forest Alliance and the Conservation Foundation, decided from the outset to boycott what they regarded as a flawed process, with the result that only a very small number of representatives from localised environmental groups made representations at workshops where community values could be recorded.

After the *Agreement* was signed on May 4th, 1999, the level of public dissatisfaction rose dramatically, and continues to swing across both sides of the debate while the situation remains unresolved. On one side, the concern has centred on the lack of icon forest blocks included in the Regional Forest Agreements. This disquiet has been exacerbated by the public's late realisation

that an Regional Forest Agreement is not principally about the conservation of forests, an awareness brought home by the fact that over one third of the reserves set aside in the Regional Forest Agreements were of non-forest vegetation and landforms.

Nearly 70 per cent of West Australians want the Court Government to stop the logging of the State's so-called icon or high-conservation value forest blocks not protected by the Regional Forest Agreements (Results of Westpoll survey, reported in Irving (1999)).

There are the forests that the Regional Forest Agreements should have protected but instead avoided in favour of wetlands, rocky outcrops, sand dunes, cow paddocks and non-commercial woodlands. The decision by the architects of the Regional Forest Agreements not only to avoid protecting virtually any new forest, but to strip 53,000ha of previously approved reserves of their conservation status shows what a fraud the Regional Forest Agreements is (Peter Robertson, West Australian Forest Alliance convener, cited in Burns, 1999a).

The general public will not accept the continued logging of old-growth forests. It is the people's forest. It is irreplaceable and there's too little of it left (Liz Davenport, Fashion Designer and forest protester, cited in Armstrong, 1999a).

The State government's backflip barely a month after the *Agreement* was signed, indicating it was prepared to consider reducing further the level of old-growth logging, inflamed those involved in the timber industry, while only partially allaying environmentalists' fears.

The changes are a genuine attempt to bring logging practices into line with community feeling while at the same time maintaining a viable timber industry (Richard Court, West Australian Premier talking about changes to Regional Forest Agreements that would result in 1500 job losses, cited in Burns, 1999b).

Attempts were made to reassure the public by stressing the science and methodical approach of the Comprehensive Regional Assessment / Regional Forest Agreements process.

The scientific assessment and mapping has been very explicit. We are absolutely sure about what it is that we have included. If they ('the reasonable person in the street') were to go down to the forest they would see that it would construe (sic) of swamps and rocky outcrops and that is the life of the forest, the biodiversity. That's what they enjoy. They don't want to see a plantation of karri or a

plantation of jarrah. The forest is much more a living thing than just the tree species (Cheryl Edwardes, West Australian Environment Minister, cited in Burns, 1999c).

Those in the timber industry also invoked science, accusing those against the Regional Forest Agreements of being over-emotional, sentimental, misinformed and lacking in objectivity:

There is no pretence of science in this, it is pure politics (Bob Pearce, Forest Industries Federation executive director, cited in Burns, 1999b).

People in the south-west feel city people have become increasingly misinformed about forest issues (Townsend, State coordinator of the Forest Protection Society (a pro-logging association), cited in Perkins & Rechichi, 1999).

Misinformed protesters should tour South-West forests instead of basing their ideas on emotional pictures of clear-felled forests (Telfer, Mill Manager, in Rechichi, 1999).

People don't understand they are actually being bloody duped up there in Perth. Everybody thinks old-growth forest is (all virgin) forest. But it's not. The greens' 'old-growth forest' is forest we have been logging for a hundred years. Now they tell the people we destroy it. Sustainability means nothing now. It's just bloody propaganda. All the science in the three years over the Regional Forest Agreements has all been thrown out the window (Graham Duncan, manager of Bunnings Nannup sawmill cited in Moran, 1999).

While environmentalists often drew on the heritage angle of the forest debate in their arguments, the historic connections between the area and the timber industry were also invoked:

One must respect the social history of the timber industry, and its history, of people living in the forest, working hard, looking after their families. But technology changed everything, and one must respect their human problems too (Scourfield, 1999).

Among the people who enjoy and best understand forests are the foresters and the timber industry. Some of the most ardent critics of what is happening in the forest are former loggers, sawmillers and foresters. It may occur to some timber and Department of Conservation and Land Management workers that as the remaining forest is destroyed, so too will be their history, their reason for being and their very culture (Weir, 1999).

The heritage of the South-West is being lost because of the city people in Perth. And it is going to get worse. This is only the beginning (Steve Newman, retrenched quality control officer, Whittakers mill, Greenbushes, cited in Rechichi, 1999).

Disjunctions in forest and landscape

The issue of what people perceived the Regional Forest Agreements to be about is central to understanding much of the debate in the south-west. Certainly it was behind some of the public outrage at the composition of the reserve system. The dichotomy lay between those who understood forest to relate to tall trees alone, and those who saw that it encompassed a far wider diversity of ecosystems and places.

People think when we're talking about the forest we're talking about trees. They don't expect gravel pits, rocky outcrops or even cleared farmland. We need to be sure we are fully protecting biodiversity but including old gravel pits, cleared farmland and parts of prison farms (in reserves) isn't doing anything for biodiversity. The public wants nothing less than old-growth logging to be stopped. High conservation value timber on the register of the national estate is being logged while old rubbish tips are being put into the Regional Forest Agreements as reserves. It's a joke. The public has quite clearly been duped. To the community forest is tall trees that need protection (Dr Judy Edwards, Opposition (Labor) Environment spokeswoman, cited in Burns, 1999c).

They (the government) have used all these little tricks to fudge the figures and mislead the public (Beth Schultz, Conservation Council of West Australia spokesperson on forests, cited in Armstrong, 1999b).

But when you look at the detail, the Regional Forest Agreements doesn't deliver, a spin has been put on the outcome that is highly misleading (Christine Sharp, West Australian Greens MP, cited in Armstrong, 1999c).

The problem is that they have deceptively tried to say that these reserves are forests, meaning trees, when in fact they are non-forest ecosystems. The Regional Forest Agreements was not meant to be protect cow pastures (Peter Robertson, West Australian Forest Alliance, cited in Armstrong, 1999c).

While the public, conservationist and even the timber industry had presumed that the Regional Forest Agreements related primarily to forests, what in fact the process was examining was a much wider range of concepts, both

'vertical' and 'horizontal' in nature. Clearly something went very wrong with the south-west Regional Forest Agreements. As Christine Sharp, a West Australian Green MP said "how on earth have we managed to get ourselves into this mess where the Regional Forest Agreements is so clearly inappropriate" (cited in Butler, 1999). In part, the problem is conceptual, and stems from the profligate use of the word "forest" throughout the process.

In many ways, the title *Regional Forest Agreement*, is a misnomer, as it emphasises unduly forests over other types of ecosystems and places with other types of values. The origins of the Regional Forest Agreements program lie in the Regional Assessment Program initiated in 1990 by the Australian Heritage Commission. Ironically, the first of these assessments, which formed the blueprint for both subsequent Regional Assessment Programs and the Regional Forest Agreements, was undertaken in the southwest of Western Australia. While the region as a whole is notable for its forest cover, the full range of ecosystems was examined during the course of the Regional Assessment Program, and this pattern was adopted in the Comprehensive Regional Assessment / Regional Forest Agreements process. The intention was that Regional Assessment Programs would examine the full range of national estate values in an area, not solely those relating to natural heritage. In the south-west Regional Assessment Program, however, only natural values were assessed as there was insufficient existing information available, particularly on historic and Indigenous values (Craig & Erlich, 1995). The Regional Forest Agreements programme expanded the RAP model by taking into account aspects beyond the remit of national estate values, such as economic values and issues of social impact. As such they began to combine both the utilitarian and the moral and aesthetic qualities that Tuan (1979) sets out as being characteristic of landscape.

While there were no specific references in the media that framed the southwest as a landscape, some of the public responses in the Comprehensive Regional Assessment indicated that this was a concept they could relate to the region. As mentioned above, participants at the social value workshops were concerned at having to identify discrete forest places out of a valued whole. Furthermore, in addition to their nominations for broad areas of old-growth forest, there was also a nomination for the southwest region as a whole from the Nannup workshop. Together with Mundaring, these workshops voiced their concerns regarding the identification process stating that the "exercise of identifying particular places is not useful as the whole of the South West Forest Region is so important" (Pearson *et al.*, 1997:72). It is also interesting to note that while some of the blanket forest nominations mentioned earlier specified the age or quality of the forest in question, most made no distinction between old-growth or regrowth. Together, these factors indicate that people conceptualised the southwest as a dynamic landscape, potentially a very different notion to a region defined in terms of its old-growth forest.

Even more significant was the response from the Manjimup workshop, which put forward a community statement to the effect that the entire Southern Forest Region had community heritage value. Their statement outlined a range of values including historic, cultural, economic, social, scientific, aesthetic, and stressed the interconnectedness of these values and that they were held concurrently (Pearson *et al.*, 1997). As Lowenthal (1975) maintains, these feelings of "continuity, duration, accretion" and links with the past indicate that communities value their surroundings in terms of an historic landscape.

Landscape and meaning

The manner in which space is conceptualised determines the methods used to understand it. From this point of view, the phenomenon of landscape is an interesting one in that it has attracted much research from very disparate disciplines, using a wide range of techniques. Zube *et al.* (1982) identify four main paradigms or approaches: expert, psychophysical, cognitive and experiential. By far the majority of studies have taken place in the expert and psychophysical fields.

Environmental psychologists have dominated the psychophysical field, aiming to distil a range of visually pleasing elements (Herzog & Smith, 1987; Kaplan & Herbert, 1987; Kaplan *et al.*, 1989; Ruddell *et al.*, 1989), and associated emotional responses such as danger and mystery from a variety of landscapes (Herzog *et al.*, 1988; Zube *et al.*, 1982). The emphasis in these studies centres on what combinations of features are liked or disliked, the rationale being that the visual qualities of landscapes can be appreciated directly without cognitive processing (Zube *et al.*, 1982:7). Much of this research, and that in the expert field, feeds into landscape architecture, landscape planning and design, and into related fields such as forestry management. By far the majority of studies in these areas have focused on the aesthetic or scenic qualities of landscapes (Ribe, 1989). However, few studies in both the expert and psychophysical disciplines, utilise qualitative data to delve into the meaning behind people's preferences (Schroeder, 1991). By far the majority of this literature takes landscape as a given, that is, it focuses on *how* landscape can be assessed, as opposed to *what* a landscape is or is not. There is very little discussion on what features distinguish landscapes from other related spatial and aesthetic concepts such as scenery, view, area or region, and how the transformation from one to the other might take place.

Tuan (1979:89) argues that although all landscapes are different and exist in an infinite variety, they have a family likeness. This likeness is not necessarily based on the presence of shared elements, but on a common principle of organisation which he argues is a fusion of the functional and the moral-aesthetic perspectives.

Landscape is an ordering of reality from different angles. It is both a vertical view and a side view. The vertical sees landscape as domain, a work unit, or a natural system necessary to human livelihood in particular and to organic life in general; the side view sees landscape as space in which people act, or as scenery for people to contemplate (Tuan, 1979:90).

Tuan (1979) attempts to draw a distinction between environment and landscape, with environment the realm of unreflective, instinctive responses, and landscape the realm of cognitive responses which come from the union of objective and subjective action. The distinction is somewhat problematic because, as Weiner (1990:344) points out, "a grasp of significance does not always require reflective thought because the body grasps significance through its perceptual and motor actions". Rather than landscape being the significant sub-set of environment as Tuan suggests, using Weiner's argument, environment and landscape are potentially equally significant in terms of their meanings and values.

Both of these phenomenologists appear to be trying to separate responses that result from sedimented knowledge, that is knowledge laid down from past experience, and responses that have their origins in spontaneity, that is new experiences of which there is no prior knowledge. The concept of sedimentation was developed by Merleau-Ponty (1962) on the basis of the body of work by Martin Heidegger. However, Merleau-Ponty maintained that the two types of experiences, sedimented and spontaneous, are indivisible. All impressions and all experiences are therefore influenced by sedimented thoughts, even if they relate to spontaneous events or encounters. By the same token, impressions that rely on sedimented knowledge, what might be regarded as cognitive responses, may also be influenced by unexpected spontaneous interactions. Tuan's (1979) demarcation of landscape as relating to cognitive responses would therefore appear to be too restrictive, as it does not take into account the possibility of spontaneous and unreflective responses.

Tuan's (1979) understanding of landscape as the union of the objective and subjective is further challenged by Weiner's (1990) concept of *inhabiting* which denotes the active and interactive relationship between people and their environments. *Inhabiting* is not merely a passive indifferent situating of person in space, but is rather the "reciprocity between habit and inhabiting" (Weiner, 1990:342). This concept highlights the inexorable link between the world and our perceptions of it, and the habits we develop which give that interaction meaning. Any examination of a phenomenon, such as a part of our environment for example, should therefore take both sides of this interaction account. What this suggests in terms of methodologies to understand and define landscapes, is the exploration of interactive relationships.

One other aspect of landscape needs to be examined. For Tuan (1975) the relationship between people and landscape is based on an experiential

connection, that is, being in the landscape or in direct visual contact with it. In today's virtual world, however, it can be argued that values and associations can develop between people and landscapes without direct contact. Uluru is a good example of this type of vicarious association, where a landscape is regarded as a national icon regardless of the fact that many Australians do not have a relationship with the place that is based on direct personal experience. The appreciation of a landscape by a distant population, even if it represents a largely unchosen experiential alternative, may therefore still be significant.

How, then, can a landscape of this interactive nature be assessed? Tuan (1979:95) maintains that, "scientific analysis leads to abstractions and removes us from any personal involvement with landscape or nature". Furthermore, he states that "landscape is not to be defined by itemising its parts. The parts are subsidiary clues to an integrated image" (Tuan, 1979:89). As Zube *et al.* (1982) state, elemental approaches concentrate on the *what* of landscape perception, and not on the *how* or *why*. What is required, then, is a greater conjoining of different sets of qualitative and quantitative data, from all four paradigms. Unsurprisingly, this is potentially very difficult as "landscapes can simultaneously provide redundant, inadequate, ambiguous, conflicting and contradictory information" (Zube *et al.*, 1982).

Conclusion

It appears that public disquiet is inevitable unless future Regional Forest Agreements focus solely on what is commonly regarded as forest, that is tall trees and old growth. Such a one-dimensional approach would be an impossibility, however, in view of the complex interconnected nature of our cultural and natural environments. There is a case, therefore, for reframing both Regional Forest Agreements and the Comprehensive Regional Assessments on which they are based. As the current emphasis on forest is misleading and has led to anger and accusations of duplicity on the part of those behind the process, a primary concern must be shifting the focus to a concept that is biased and, above all, is more representative of the full range of factors under consideration in regional assessments. Landscape appears to offer such a concept as it acknowledges the environment as a cultural construct. Such a reframing would not overcome contestations and conflicts altogether. It would, however, present a broader context for discussion and debate, one that encompasses more accurately the depth and breadth of factors examined in a Comprehensive Regional Assessment than that presently suggested by the forest framework.

As for the assessment process itself, while the aim of objectivity through a tight methodical approach is a noble one, it has been acknowledged that where analysis involves human endeavour, it is also an impossibility (Nagel, 1986). Responses from both within the Comprehensive Regional Assessment and from the media indicate that people do not readily make demarcations between the

various different values they hold for a place or area, regardless of whether these are based on national estate definitions or other values. Such parameters are an unnatural artifice that conflicts with the holistic way in which people regard their environment.

The restrictive nature of the present Comprehensive Regional Assessment process, with its scientific approach based on categories and criteria, is not able to fully take into account the full range of values held for areas such as the southwest, nor does it permit the public to articulate their own conceptualisation of a region. In particular, as illustrated in the southwest, the process does not facilitate an appreciation of an area as a dynamic whole. As Per Christensen, a consultant ecologist who has worked in the south-west, said, "science does not claim to provide the truth, the argument for preserving more old-growth forest is a debate about culture and ideology, not about science" (Christensen, 1999). A more interactive approach is therefore necessary, one that can draw together the elements into a cogent reality.

John Hyde, Senior Fellow of the Institute of Public Affairs argues that the key aim of an Regional Forest Agreement is acceptance not agreement, "a process that would command respect for losers to accept the outcomes" (Hyde, 1999). The polarisation of views both during the southwest Comprehensive Regional Assessment, and in the aftermath of the resultant Regional Forest Agreements, was almost inevitable under a process that placed so much weight on the concept of forest, about which there was no conceptual agreement. Reconciling the conflicting viewpoints within such a scenario has proved commensurately difficult. In the case of the southwest, even Premier Richard Court (cited in Burns & Grove, 1999) had to acknowledge that while it was his belief that the Regional Forest Agreements was a good agreement, "the community said to us loud and clear 'you haven't done enough'". While this statement related directly to the lack of protection for old-growth forests, it can just as readily be related to the inadequacies of Comprehensive Regional Assessment methodology as a whole.

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PART C

RESEARCH APPROACH AND FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter sets out the way the historical research for this thesis was undertaken and summarises my findings. The first half of the chapter explains the rationale for using a case study approach, how the parameters of the study evolved, and the research methods I used. It begins by setting out the research processes I developed for identifying places valued by the historic community because these ultimately influenced the structure of the study. The chapter then explains the changes that were made to the scope of the study, as these are integral to understanding and validating the way the research was undertaken.

The second half of the chapter summarises and discusses the findings of my research. I have provided this overview of my findings because, although many of them are reviewed and discussed in the published papers, no paper addresses all of them comprehensively. The differences between the historic and contemporary values for each of the places are then summarised in a series of tables towards the end of this chapter, where the disjunctions between the aims of the primary frame and the reality of what is being achieved are discussed.

In setting out my methodological approach and summarising my findings, this chapter also addresses two of the questions that I posed at the end of Chapter 1: Framing Heritage:

- How can historic value be understood as a synchronic as well as diachronic value?
- How can social value be extended to include the values of historic communities?

These questions are further discussed in Papers V – VIII in Part D, and in the Conclusion.

The Case Study Approach

The process of identifying and assessing places of heritage significance is most often linked to some form of formal recognition, such as a listing, registration or designation. This means places need to be located geographically. As one of the key objectives of this thesis is to test the methodology used to identify and assess such places, a form of case study was an obvious choice for my research approach.

A case study is not only a way to choose the parameters of what is to be examined Stake (2003), it is also a methodological approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, Creswell, 2007). Yin (1993) advocates the case study approach for enquiries that need to cover contextual material, not only specific phenomenon, and where multiple sources of evidence are used. Creswell (2007) supports this view arguing that a case study is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a defined or bounded system or systems over time through detailed in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information. Such definitions of case study research are consistent with research approaches advocated and used in the identification and assessment of places of cultural significance, further supporting the choice of a case study research approach.

In describing, understanding and analysing the cultural significance of a place, practitioners analyse a range of data over the course of a place's history, most commonly maps, plans, reports, letters, journals, certificates of title, images, newspapers, authored histories, interviews and oral histories, and Government publications, records and archives. A similar approach is used in this thesis to identify places with historic social or cultural values. However, this thesis also involves analysing a second set of documents, contemporary heritage lists, to determine if the places of historic social value have been identified as significant today, and if so, for the same reasons. As my study had to be bounded spatially, and in view of the varied sources of data that needed to be examined, a case-study approach was considered the most suitable methodological approach for this thesis.

It is important to acknowledge, nevertheless, that the status of case studies has been regarded as suspect because they often fail to adequately document the rationale, parameters and methods chosen for data collection, management and analysis (Gerring, 2007). To address this criticism and because the papers that make up this

thesis do not cover methodological issues, this chapter explores in detail the way the case study was conceived and subsequently evolved and progressed.

The research approach adopted in this thesis is actually a case-within-case study, in that not only was an overall case study area chosen, but individual cases (in this instance the *places* I identified in the study area with historic social or community value) and the values held by the historic community were then compared and contrasted to those of today's community. My study also needed to be temporally bounded, to distinguish the historic and contemporary communities from one another. In my study, the final decisions about the spatial and temporal boundaries of my study were strongly influenced by what processes would be required to identify the individual historic places.

Identifying Places of Historic Social Value

In this thesis I support Davison's (1991) argument that more consideration needs to be given to *social historic value* in the process of assessing cultural significance. Social historic value in this context is a synthesis of historic value and social value. However I take Davison's advocacy a step further by arguing that a synchronic approach to history, and social history in particular, offers a new way of actually *identifying* places of value - in the past rather than in the present. Two key questions of this thesis flow out of consideration of the impact of a more synchronic approach:

- whether the processes used to identify important places today identify places that were valued by historic communities; and,
- whether the places we have already identified as significant acknowledged the values of historic communities

To achieve these objectives, the places and values of an historic community have to be identified or uncovered and then compared and analysed against those of a contemporary community.

As my aim was to test contemporary methodologies for identifying and assessing heritage places, not necessarily to replace them with a new process, I needed to develop a research approach for uncovering places with historic social values in a way that would be consistent with what is considered standard practice today. The model I developed is based on the most detailed method for the identification of

places with contemporary social value: the Community Heritage Programs developed for the Comprehensive Regional Assessment (CRA) program, which were undertaken in several states around Australia as part of developing Regional Forest Agreements.

The Community Heritage Program advocates a multi-layered approach based on information gathered through facilitated community workshops. Each workshop is held in a local community and typically only local people attend and participate.¹⁷ Social value, as understood in cultural heritage practice (Johnston, 1994), is explained to participants who are then urged to identify, describe and locate places they feel meet the definition. Most of the places identified are located in the immediate area, although a small number of well-known, high profile places outside the local area are often also identified (see for example Pearson, 1997a).

Heritage consultants then corroborate the information on each place provided by the community by investigating other sources, such as art, literature, tourism data etc, for supporting information (Ramsay, 1999). Sometimes, expert field assessments are also required to validate the community's value statements (Ramsay, 1999). In the CRA studies, each place was then further analysed to determine if the social value met an agreed threshold for possible heritage listing (Pearson, 1997a). Uncovering historic social values required a comparable yet different approach based on texts rather than interviews. These texts would form the corpus for the study of cases that are places.

Developing the argument of Roland Barthes, Bauer (2000) argues that three factors are particularly helpful in designing a corpus for case study research: relevance, synchronicity, and homogeneity. Firstly, and most obviously, the corpus must contain information that relates to the study: in this case the material must contain evidence of historic social value. Secondly, the materials should be as homogeneous as possible. Not only should different forms of materials not be mixed in the study, for example photographs and letters, but the materials should also be of a similar type across the corpus. Finally, the materials should be chosen from within a natural cycle or cross section of history (Bauer & Aarts, 2000) in order to be synchronous.

¹⁷ In the case of the Community workshops held in Western Australia, one workshop was held in Perth, as the wider metropolitan area includes some of the northern-most sections of the RFA area.

The issue of synchronicity was the easiest to determine, at least initially. The Swan River Colony was founded in 1827, which marked the beginning of the study period from the outset. Population statistics indicated that 1901 was an appropriate cut-off point for the corpus: one hundred years before I began the process of trying to identify my cases/places. The cut-off date was based on the 2000 census, which indicated that by 2001, there would be few people living who would remember events from before 1901 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2000). The cut off date also coincided with the forming of the Federation of Australian states and the end of the self-governing Swan River Colony, and was therefore a turning point in Western Australia's history. As will be discussed later in this chapter, this time frame was later reduced to a shorter period.

After considering the historic records from the 19th century available to researchers in Western Australia, I determined that the historic documents most likely to contain relevant observations about special places that could serve as the corollary to the submissions obtained through contemporary community workshops were personal papers (particularly letters, diaries and journals) written by people living in what was then the Swan River Colony. Such documents are often referred to as private records or private archives because they were not originally intended to be public documents. Public sources of information, such as newspapers and government reports, were excluded from the corpus not only to maintain homogeneity, but because they are a poorer source of information on historic social value for several reasons.

Personal letters are rich in intimate observations of day-to-day life. These are important when identifying places of social value as they demonstrate iterative use and the development of attachments over time that this criterion requires. Most importantly for a place-based community study, they contain a range of information that makes it possible to link people to times and places. They are usually addressed to a specific person and signed and dated by the author, or occasionally authors as family members often made contributions to a single letter. And they often contain other helpful details about where they were written such as the name of a farm or homestead, or the nearest town.

This level of detail contrasts with letters published in print media such as newspapers, magazines and periodicals. Such letters were often edited for publication, most obviously through the conscious decision to publish them in

preference to other letters. Some early, published letters were originally private correspondence. Possibly because of this, many of those printed in British papers about the Swan River Colony were published anonymously and personal information was usually removed (Berryman, 2002). So it is not possible to know whether the author is part of the community whose values you are looking to uncover. Details could also have been removed that related to private matters, which it was considered inappropriate to disclose, or which were thought to be of little interest to readers. Sometimes, published letters were further edited to remove commentary that was not in line with the editorial view the publication was promoting (Berryman, 2002).

Letters written specifically for publication often focus on a narrow topic of particular concern to the author. Many of the letters published in the *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News* (1848-1864) for example, focus on issues of strategic concern in the Colony such as labour shortages, relations with Aboriginal people, the possibility of bringing out convicts, taxes and duties etc. Those sent to the *Our Letter Box* section of the *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times* (1864-1874) tended to be more general and occasionally humorous. Established for the purpose of "...for free exchanges of opinion on topics of public interest..." a wide range of issues were debated in this section, often between authors, such as education, religion and the cultural and moral condition of the colonies, as well as politics, and economics.

Published letters do mention places, but linking this information to geographic locations is often difficult. References to places are often vague because they assume the reader has local knowledge, which the reader today cannot be relied upon to have. Authors often revealed very few personal details, and some wrote under pseudonyms, so it is difficult if not impossible to know where the author was based. Such information would not only be helpful in terms of pinning down the location of places that are mentioned, it would also confirm whether the author was part of the historic community whose values are being researched. Limiting the 'participants' of the study to those of a defined community is important in this study as one of the objectives is to find a corollary for the way places of community heritage value are identified today that can be applied to a community that is now entirely in the past. For this reason, I determined that letters published in newspapers were not a rich

source of data about places valued by my historic community, and did not use them in this thesis.

Writing for official purposes, such as in the role of a Government officer or in providing advice to Government, is usually similarly constrained by the nature of the topic or task. Correspondence to and from the Colonial Secretary's Office was largely focussed on matters to do with running the Colony, including the Office's relationships with Aborigines, Resident Magistrates (local government officers), Police Magistrates, and the Comptroller General in charge of convicts, as well as broader issues to do with mining, harbours, pensioner guards, policing, paupers, the military, and land related issues such as surveying. As such, they provide relatively limited scope for identifying places that were of value to communities in the Colony.

Lines (1999) argues that early Australian explorers noted only features that were likely to yield profit. For this reason, expedition reports contain mostly factual information about the terrain and number of miles travelled each day, compass headings, the presence or otherwise of fresh water, tree and vegetation cover, suitability of the land for agricultural development, the ease of river crossings, locations of good building stone, topography etc (Western Australian Department of Lands and Surveys, 1827-1871). They do not typically contain value judgements of the sort that support cultural significance, although occasional observations about beauty of the scenery can be found (see for example Wilson Dr. Thomas Braidwood, 1829). However, where explorers took their own private field notes while on expeditions, these can be rich in personal observations of use when researching social value. So while the "Report of an Excursion by Mr J G Bussell from Augusta to the Vasse River 1832" contains technical information about the journey and the landscape typically found in such a document, the field notes include romantic comparisons, quotes from classical literature, humorous asides, and poetry (Bussell John Garrett, 1832a). As these notes are often situational, they can help to link places and cultural significance.

Because I defined my historic community geographically, rather than socially (such as through ethnicity or a shared interest) or by being self-defined (Johnston, 1994, 19), it was important to identify as many different views from community members as possible. Another important benefit of private records over other archive records is that they were written by a wide cross-section of the population. Public officials

and those providing information to the Colonial government, such as explorers, were mostly well-educated men. As far as can be determined, it was also mostly men who wrote letters in the print media, and women and less well educated authors appear under-represented (Berryman, 2002). By contrast, the private archives in the State Library of Western Australia contain items written by authors from a range of age groups, from both sexes and across the social classes. Private records discuss many of the day-to-day activities that made up colonial life.

As survival in a frontier environment required cooperation across all social classes, early 19th century authors in particular often make references to all the people who shared their lives and experiences, including labourers, servants, soldiers and Aboriginal people. So while literacy among these groups was less common than it was among middle and upper classes, and there are far fewer first-hand records as a result, their perceptions and involvement in the community often come through in the writings of others.

Private records are not, however, without biases and imbalances. Letter writing in the 19th century was a highly structured activity amongst educated people. Letter writing was taught in schools (Austin-Jones, 2007), but both male and female writers were also influenced by manuals on letter writing, such as those published by Frederick Warne in the 1870s. These guided people in choosing the appropriate style, tone and content for letters for different situations and topics, such as courtship, friendship, family, love, betrothal, and a variety of social situations within and across different social classes, as well as for business. They also provided models that less confident writers could copy or adapt to their own purposes. It is difficult to determine the influence of formal instruction on letter writing, what is certain is that it served to reinforce the rules of social order and hierarchy (Dauphin, 1997).

Social rules and etiquette influenced the tone and content of letters in a variety of ways. Letter writing was an opportunity for the author to demonstrate and reaffirm their level of education, and thereby their virtue, as learning and virtue were increasingly perceived as intertwined (Finegan, 1998). As a result, references to religious, classical and historic literature were common in 19th century letters. Such texts were important points of reference and inspiration for colonial settlers (Beasley, 2009), and provide a context for the way they evaluated and later valued the new

environment they found themselves in. Many of the references are highly favourable. In describing a deep river with overhanging banks and trees on an expedition north of Augusta, John Garrett Bussell compares it to the place where Hylas met the Nymphs (Bussell John Garrett, 1832a), a reference to the seduction of Hylas in the epic Greek poem, the *Argonautica*, written in the third century BC by Apollonius Rhodius about the mythical voyage of Jason and the Argonauts. In a letter to a friend, Georgiana Molloy (1834) relates her ‘...strange life...’ at Augusta to the circumstances described in the romantic and adventurous novel by Porter (1831) titled *Sir Edward Seaward’s Narrative of His Shipwreck, and Consequent Discovery of Certain Islands in the Caribbean Sea: With a Detail of Many Extraordinary and Highly Interesting Events in His Life from the Year 1733 to 1749, as Written in His Own Diary*. In a similarly romantic vein, Frances (Fanny) Bussell (Jnr) (undated, 29) compares colonial life to the ‘...pretty and Arcadian...’ life described in James Montgomery’s 1813 poem, *The World Before the Flood*. Uncovering the origin and significance of esoteric references can be difficult, and at times impossible, if the author or their work is unfamiliar to modern readers.

Social propriety also regulated the detailed discussion of the hardships and sorrows of colonial life. Often these were glossed over or omitted in letters either because Victorian manners made it unseemly to complain too greatly, or so as not to alarm family and friends at home. While such reserve is common in 19th century letters, emotion and passion are not absent, and the boundaries of social niceties were not always rigidly observed. So although Georgiana Molly waited three years to write to a close friend about the death of her baby daughter just after arriving in the Swan River Colony, several years later she unburdened her grief at the loss of her infant son in a letter to a stranger, Captain James Mangles, for whom she had begun collecting plant specimens (Lines, 1994). Her request that he forgive her ‘...for thus using towards a Stranger the freedom and minute details that Friendship warrants and desires’ (Lines, 1994, 200) shows her awareness of the social transgression she had committed.

Although the tone of some letters was restrained, others were rich with romantic descriptions of colonial life. The Bussell family recognised this quality in their letter writing to such an extent that Charles Bussell was concerned that his brother’s fiancé

might be disappointed on her arrival at the Swan River as “...all our descriptions having been made con amore have been rather highly coloured”.

The rules of etiquette and propriety that applied to 19th century letter writing do not apply in the same way to journals and diaries as these were usually, although not always, intended to be private records. However guides to diary writing had also been published in the 19th century and there had developed a sense of morality around keeping a diary. In part this was simply associated with the discipline of making regular entries. However at a more complex level the diary allowed for self-examination and self reflection that was increasingly characteristic of this age (Corbin, 1990). So while diaries and journals include details of many everyday activities and descriptions of the irritations and annoyances of Colonial life, as well as highly personal feelings and impressions, and intimate responses to tragedies, loss and bereavement, these are often recorded with a tone that is either confessional or judgemental.

Again, the temperament and disposition of the writer also influences what topics were recorded in journals and how. Reverend (later Bishop) John Wollaston, whose life in the colony appears to have been no more difficult than that of many of his fellow settlers, complains continuously in his diary about the hardships that faced him and was often critical of the behaviour of fellow settlers who appeared to feel these less acutely. The environment appeared to unsettle him, and his perceptions of the landscape were often contradictory. So while he found the silence was “melancholy & distressing” (Wollaston, 1842) he was also moved to “shed tears of desolation” when that silence was broken by the “horrid screech” of the cockatoo (Wollaston, 1841).

The diary of Anne Turner is one of the most matter-of-fact records researched for this thesis in that it is limited to short entries of the daily comings and goings of her family and she includes few emotional observations even though she had recently been widowed and was being courted by the local surgeon, Dr Green. The diary of Frances Brockman (nee Bussell)(1872-1905) is similarly focused on details of the cattle and dairy farming enterprise she and her husband, John Brockman, were establishing. However these domestic entries are interspersed with others that record the dark thoughts of abandonment, loneliness and insecurity that periodically

overcame her, particularly while her husband was away pursuing a series of unsuccessful business ventures (Brockman, 1872-1905).

Although there are biases in historic journals, diaries and letters, the impact these have on uncovering places with community heritage values needs to be qualified by comparing them to the limitations of contemporary community heritage values through workshops such as those held for to inform the Comprehensive Regional Assessments, which are similar (Ramsay, 1999). Workshops tend to be attended by people already interested in the idea of recording heritage and sharing their stories and perceptions with others. Nevertheless, suspicion about the motives for community consultation can influence the way people respond. Information might be withheld or shared only reluctantly, and political agendas can sometimes dominate (Pearson, 1997c).

People attending workshops have varying abilities to articulate the values they feel for special places. Some may provide florid descriptions while others provide very little detail. For the heritage professional, collectivising community heritage values from such disparate information is often challenging. Every place has to first be located and then investigated to determine its values (Pearson, 1997a). This often requires reference to secondary sources that may have their origins outside the community itself (Ramsay, 1999). Looked at in this context, the constraints of the historic records are largely comparable to those found in the raw data from community heritage workshops. The major difference however, is that the contemporary community can be asked the direct question: *Tell me about the places that are important to you?* whereas this can only be inferred from the historic community.

Identifying the Case Study Area

As already noted, my initial choice for the case study area was that part of south-west of Western Australia covered by the Regional Forest Agreement during the period the first settlement of the Swan River Colony in 1827 to the year of Australian federation in 1901. Figure 2 shows the RFA area and the eventual study area, the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River.

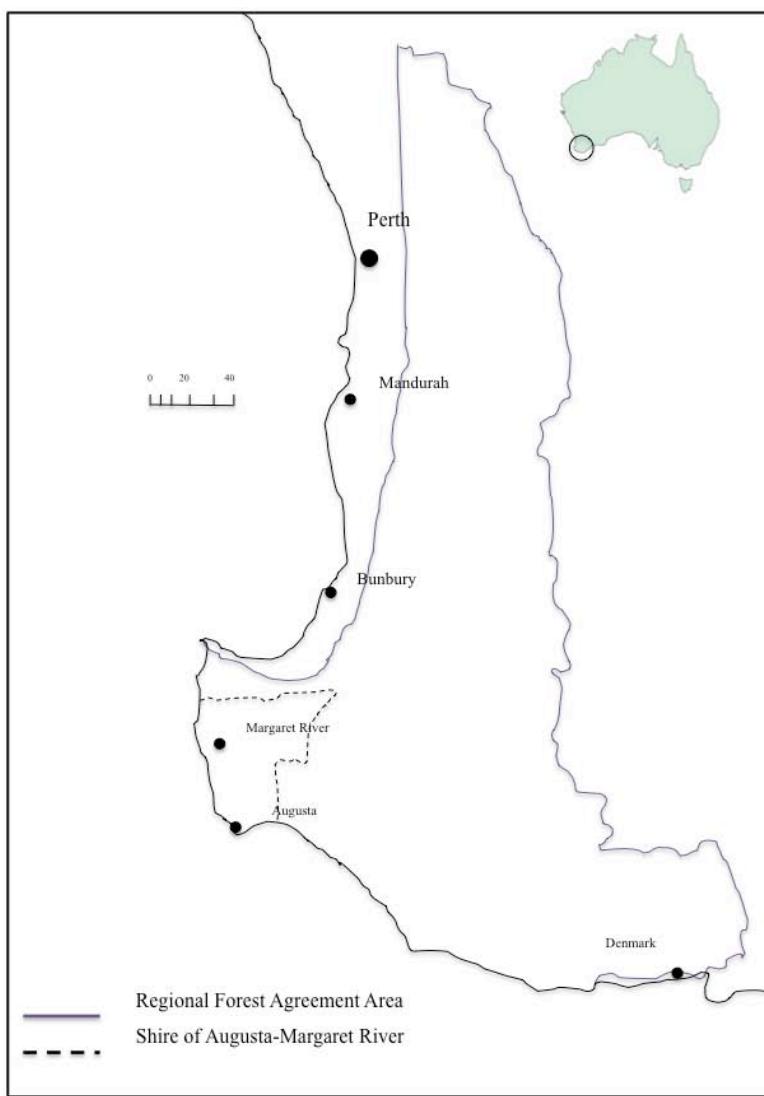


Figure 2 Map showing the Regional Forest Agreement area and the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River

Once places valued by the historic community had been identified from the archives, these had to then be compared to places in the same area that have been identified as significant by the contemporary community. This required two substantial data sets to be correlated within the study area. Firstly the archive documents that would reveal the places the historic community regarded as significant, and secondly, the places on various heritage lists that had already been compiled against which the historic places and values would be compared. When I began to review these two collections in detail, it became evident that the study would need to be reduced, both spatially and temporally.

Constraints of the Historic Archives

The main source of private archive records in Western Australia is the J.S. Battye Library of West Australian History, commonly known as the Battye Library, a branch of the State Library of Western Australia in Perth. It has an extensive collection of original papers by and about Western Australians, including architectural plans, baptismal, marriage and burial records, correspondence, diaries, maps and microforms, manuscripts, newspaper cuttings, station accounts, and unpublished reports. It also has copies of many documents that are held in other collections, such as those of local historical societies.

Items in the Battye Library are catalogued against a variety of fields, none of which could be easily or directly related to the RFA study area to derive a corpus of archive documents to research. The RFA area includes partially or wholly five of the nine Western Australian regions established under the *Regional Development Commissions Act 1993*: the South West, the Great Southern, the Wheatbelt, and the Peel Region, as well as including some of the outer suburbs of Perth, the capital city of Western Australia. Searching the Battye archives by region did not, however, bring up significant numbers of records as most of the archives are catalogued using other criteria. Furthermore, where a place has been linked to a region in the catalogue, these are rarely consistent with current regional boundaries or official names. A search of records relating to the ‘south-west’ for example, includes documents relating to Albany, which is today included in the Great Southern Region and lies outside the RFA area. Other regions used in the catalogue are not formally defined or understood, such as the ‘Margaret River Region’.

Searching against the 30 local government areas that intersect with the RFA area also proved unsatisfactory in relation to the archive documents, as cataloguing is again inconsistent against this field. Furthermore, as local government boundaries and names have changed over time, it is not possible to rely on the accuracy of this as a search criterion.

Many archives in the Battye Library are catalogued by the name of a place. In most cases this is the name of a town or settlement, but homesteads, farms, notable houses and even businesses are also used. When research for the RFA program was undertaken, the area included 11 towns with populations over 1,000 including Augusta, Bridgetown, Boddington, Donnybrook, Harvey, Manjimup, Margaret River

and Waroona, and another 22 smaller towns with populations between 100 and 1,000 (Joint Commonwealth and Western Australian Regional Forest Agreement (RFA) Steering Committee, 1998). There were also many smaller settlements in the area, as well as hundreds of individually named private properties. While extant towns and settlements within the RFA area could be readily located, privately owned places proved more difficult to place.

For the researcher of history there is the additional problem that some towns and settlements that flourished in the past have since been abandoned or destroyed. Holyoake and Nanga Brook, for example, were small timber milling towns established in the early 20th century in the RFA area. In 1961, Holyoake was severely damaged by the devastating Dwellingup bushfires and never rebuilt, while Nanga Brook was completely destroyed. While the names of abandoned towns still appear on maps, so also do many other types of historic places where there were no settlements, such as the railway sidings of Farmers Crossing and Chadoora, which lay on the railway line out to Holyoake (Department of Land Information, 2006). A review of maps of the RFA area indicated that adding historic locations to those that are still extant was likely to result in over 500 mapped ‘places’ in the RFA area to search against in the Battye Library catalogue. Searching the Battye catalogue against identified place names resulted in many more archive listings than searching by other geographical criteria, which was promising.

Finally, the archives in the Battye Library are also catalogued by the names of the people who wrote them. Knowing the names of the residents in the study area, the catalogue could be searched against each name to see if any of their documents had been accessioned. Personal details were included in early population counts and censuses undertaken in the Swan River Colony, however the government records from after 1837 have been lost, and those that exist from the later period do not include individual names.

Finally, in considering the catalogue listings at the Battye Library, it needs to be remembered that these are meta-data, and do not represent, or even often indicate, the number of individual archive documents contained in each listing, or their size. Many listings are for the collected papers of either a single author, or on occasions an entire family. A single listing in the catalogue can therefore include numerous individual documents. The Battye’s private archive collection for Charles Bussell,

which was researched for this thesis, contains 32 pieces of inward and outward correspondence (some of which run to many pages as they were drafted over a period of months), four diaries and a set of account books. The list of individual archive documents for Charles's brother, John Garrett Bussell, whose writings were also researched for this thesis, runs to 15 pages.

My initial investigations of the archives indicated there were potentially thousands of individual documents that could contain relevant information on historic social value across the RFA area.

Constraints of the Heritage Lists

There are five main contemporary heritage lists that include places in Western Australia, which reflect the values of the contemporary community, that is people alive today:

- The Register of the National Estate (RNE) compiled and maintained by the Australian Heritage Commission under the provisions of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*.
- The National and Commonwealth Heritage Lists compiled under *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999* which has superseded the RNE
- The State Register of Heritage Places (RHP), compiled and maintained by the Heritage Council of Western Australia under the provisions of the *Heritage of Western Australia Act 1990* through the Office of Heritage
- The list of places classified by the National Trust (WA Branch), established under the *National Trust of Australia (W.A.) Act 1964*
- Municipal Inventories (or Municipal Heritage Inventories) compiled by local governments, also under the provisions of the *Heritage of Western Australia Act 1990*

In addition, there is a variety of other lists and surveys compiled by special interest groups, such as the Institute of Engineers, the Art Deco Society, the Australian Institute of Architects, as well as a range of designations relating to the natural environment, such as National Parks and Conservation Parks, which were also considered.

As noted in Chapter 1, although there are subtle differences in the assessment criteria used across the above lists, broadly speaking they apply the principles of the Burra Charter and evaluate places according to aesthetic, historic, scientific and social value, while also considering the issues of rarity and representativeness (Australia ICOMOS, 2000). However, the enduring importance accorded to architectural significance and important historic events and individuals, despite the development of more comprehensive assessment criteria, means that early heritage assessments and listings tend to have a narrow focus, and overlook or even omit community and social values, which are more recent considerations in the evaluative process. Ascribed social value, as in a heritage listing, is therefore not always a good indicator of actual social value (Byrne, *et al.*, 2003).

The database maintained by the Heritage Council of Western Australia (HCWA) provides the most up to date and comprehensive indication of the population for this thesis (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2010). The HCWA database is a consolidated inventory of places with any type of heritage listing or indication of cultural heritage value in the State. When I began researching in 1999, the Heritage Council of Western Australia was in the process of building up their database. At that time, over 13,000 places had been entered, the majority of which had been identified through Municipal Heritage Inventories. Since then, another 6,000 places have been added, again mostly from Municipal Inventories. Today (2011) it contains over 23,000 places. While the majority are individual buildings or groups of buildings there are also monuments, ruins and archaeological sites; gardens, landscapes and parks; historic towns, conservation areas and streetscapes; geological monuments, Aboriginal sites and even individual trees. Thematically, these places are linked to the many story lines that contributed to the development of Western Australia at the local, regional and State level. Many also incorporate narratives that are part of the national history of Australia. As the formal process of identifying heritage places did not begin in Western Australia until the 1970s, places that have been heritage listed since then may not necessarily represent the values held by communities in the more distant past.

Places in the database can be searched by region, local government, town or suburb, however for the same reasons stated above, none of these criteria could readily determine whether or not a place fell within the RFA area. Full street addresses that

could locate places more precisely are missing from many database entries, which often list only a street name. In some case, such as Old Bolinda Vale Farmhouse, the street is the South West Highway, which runs 422km from Perth to Walpole (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2010).

The time frame for the study had also become an issue. Reviewing the Municipal Heritage Inventories revealed that each local government area had identified their own key periods of development based on local events and themes. While some of these development phases were common to many areas, e.g. the late 19th and early 20th century Gold Boom, others were geographically specific, such as the development of the timber industry (Augusta-Margaret River) or the expansion of the Group Settlement Scheme (Manjimup). This indicated that while the time frame I had originally determined met the parameters for researching historic social value, and coincided with the significant State and national events surrounding Foundation and Federation, it was not synchronous when considered at the local government level where most heritage listing has occurred, on which much of the contemporary analysis would be based.

Refining the Study - places with historic social value in the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River 1829-1880

The constraints of searching the archive records in the Battye Library and the contemporary heritage listings strongly indicated that the spatial limits of my study needed to be revised to relate to a contemporary local government boundary. This would enable easy identification of all contemporary heritage places through the Heritage Council's database.

In considering the redefinition of the study area it was important that the local government area intersected with the RFA area to maintain consistency with the original thesis proposal, and also to enable the findings from the community heritage study to be used in the analysis of the places valued by the historic community. For practical and administrative reasons, it was therefore important that the whole of the LGA fell within the RFA boundary, rather than only part of it, as this avoided the problem of identifying the intersections between the different datasets. There also needed to be a clear temporal demarcation in the history of the local government area

that fell prior to 1900, which could form the cut off point for the case study research. However the beginning and end points of the study period had to be meaningful, rather than arbitrary, and overall the period had to be long enough to ensure there would be sufficient archive records to examine.

I was aware from prior historical research that the early private archives for what is now the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River were particularly rich in descriptive data. The area is one of the oldest settled areas of Western Australia and is associated with many well-known pioneering families and individuals, several of whom have had biographies and historical fictions written about their experiences. Furthermore, the Shire falls entirely within the RFA area and the community fully engaged with the community heritage workshop process, identifying a range of important places. In terms of other contemporary listings, the Shire's Municipal Heritage Inventory (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996) is comparatively well researched and analysed, and each place has a relatively detailed entry and summary of its significance. Several of the early extant buildings in the area have been listed on the State Register of Heritage Places and have full and detailed heritage assessments.

Despite its long history, the population of Augusta-Margaret River grew very slowly until the 1880s when it rose sharply with the rapid development of the timber industry. Prior to this, the population was small and therefore the amount of archive data was not overwhelming. For these reasons, the final corpus of texts I used to uncover places of historic social value were those written by people living in the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River between 1830 and 1880.

Appendix VIII provides a history of the development of the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River during the study period. Although Papers V – VIII contain some background information, additional information is provided particularly for readers not familiar with early Western Australian history. Appendix VIII also provides historical context for the following discussion of the authors who wrote the documents I used in my research, and the places they identified as significant.

Uncovering the Authors

My research of the private archives from the study area revealed evidence of places of social value in documents written by 14 residents in the study area – seven men

and seven women.¹⁸ Many of them wrote several documents or diary entries that contained relevant information. At Augusta the authors were:

- the Bussell Family (John Garrett, Charles, Lennox, Vernon, Alfred, Frances Snr, Frances Jnr (Fanny) and Elizabeth (Bessie)).
- Georgiana Molloy
- Edward Pearce (servant to the Bussells)
- James Turner, and his daughter, Anne Turner

In the case of records for Georgiana Molloy, the archive documents were supplemented by two detailed and scholarly biographies of her life, *A Portrait with Background*, originally written by Alexandra Hasluck in 1955 and reprinted in 2002, and *An All Consuming Passion* written by William Lines in 1994 , both of which quote extensively from her original letters. These works represented a significant saving in terms of archive research because, as noted previously, much of Georgiana Molloy's correspondence from her time at Augusta is particularly difficult to read due to her habit of writing across her own work.¹⁹

At Margaret River the records were written by:

- Ellen and Alfred Bussell (also noted above)
- Frances (Fanny) Brockman, the daughter of Ellen and Alfred, who was also known as Mrs John Brockman

Evidence written by visitors to the area did not form part of the corpus being studied and was only uncovered incidentally during the initial period of research for this thesis when the study area covered the whole RFA region. Such recollections were nevertheless useful in supporting the resident community's perceptions in the same way that external sources are often used to support contemporary social values

¹⁸ Additional records are constantly being added to the Battye Library's collection and more are now accessible than were available at the time the research for this thesis was undertaken.

¹⁹ In 2007, after the archive research for this thesis had been undertaken, the State Library of Western Australia purchased 11 diaries from the early colonial period. Most were written by Frances Louisa (Fanny) Bussell and Joseph Vernon Bussell, with two others written by John and Georgiana Molloy. These records were not reviewed as part of this thesis.

(Ramsay, 1999). Evidence supporting social value was also found in documents written by two people who visited the area periodically:

- Reverend (later Bishop) Wollaston
- Henry Ommanney

In light of the history of the area, the above list of authors raises a methodological issue that needs to be addressed concerning how representative these people are of the wider historic population of Augusta-Margaret River.

When places of contemporary social or community heritage value are identified, the issue of how representative the people involved in the process are of the wider community is not addressed from a quantitative perspective. The Community Heritage Study undertaken in Western Australian to develop the Regional Forest Agreement illustrates why this is the case. For this program, organisers worked with local people to develop invitation lists of possible participants from a wide variety of interest groups including business, community service, conservation, the timber industry, local government, mining, primary industry, tourism and recreation, and special interest groups such as heritage associations and community arts groups (Pearson, 1997a). While steps were then taken to identify omissions from the invitation lists and to ensure there was good representation across ages, gender and both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, the actual number of people who attended the workshops varied enormously. Attendance ranged from six people at the workshop in Dwellingup to 31 at the workshop in Manjimup.

Overall, 178 people attended the 10 Western Australian community heritage workshops (Pearson, 1997a). Bearing in mind that the estimated population of the RFA area at this time was 155,000 (Joint Commonwealth and Western Australian Regional Forest Agreement (RFA) Steering Committee, 1998), this represents a fraction of 1%. Of greater relevance in terms of representativeness is the fact that the majority of people who participated in the workshops (94%) lived and worked in the RFA area (Pearson, 1997a), and were therefore familiar with it from direct personal experience. This indicates that when determining social value it is less important how many people are involved, but that those who are involved have close connections to the area being examined. Nevertheless, for this thesis, it was essential

to build up an understanding of who was living in the Augusta-Margaret River area during the study period in order to identify potential authors of archive documents.

A variety of forms of population records were kept from very early in Western Australia. Unfortunately, the early census records have been lost and the only detailed record that remains for the study period is from 1837. The annual reports to the Colonial Office (commonly referred to as the *Blue Books*) do provide colonial population figures from 1837 onwards, including a breakdown by district up until 1854. However the figures for the Sussex District, which includes the Augusta-Margaret River area, also included the settlements of Busselton and Wonnerup to the north, which were outside my study area. As the Blue Books do not provide population data for specific towns, it was not possible to exclude Busselton and Wonnerup from the population figures, so data from these records was of limited use.

The Catholic Church also undertook a census in 1854, which provides a snapshot of this particular population. In this case, the south-west region is referred to as the “Vasse”, with no differentiation between people who were living at Augusta or around Margaret River, or in the towns further north (Salvado, 1854). For all the shortfalls of the population figures for the south-west, they have been useful in providing a general indication of the overall population of the District and the Colony in general.

As noted previously, about 80 people settled at Augusta in 1830 and the immediate years thereafter. However, by the time the Governor lodged the Population Return for 1836, only 46 remained due to the gradual exodus of settlers to the Vasse and elsewhere. Thirty-one of these were adults who could have written accounts of their perceptions of their new environment. While these figures may seem small, they need to be read in the context of the overall population of the Swan River Colony which the Blue Book of 1837 lists as 2,025 (Colonial Secretary's Office). Eighty people were living in the Sussex District at this time making Augusta the largest population centre. Archive records were uncovered for this thesis written by 11 of the 31 adults living at Augusta in 1836, which represents 35% of the local adult population.

It should be noted that Aboriginal people were only occasionally included in population returns and then only those living or working with colonists. In years

where there was a count of Aboriginal people, separate figures were provided. Although it is clear from the archives that there was relatively peaceful interaction between Aboriginal people and colonists at this time, which is likely to have enhanced the process of colonial place-making and attachment, this subject falls outside the scope of this thesis, as explained in the Introduction.

To gain a better understanding of who was living in the area, and ensure that I had examined as many records as possible, I applied the principles of nominal record linkage (Wrigley, 1973), whereby I linked/cross-referenced records containing the names of individuals to each other in order to built up picture of each person's life as it related to the study area for the period 1830 - 1880. This information is provided in two spreadsheets in Appendix IX – one for Augusta and one for Ellensbrook/Margaret River. The private archives were then searched against these names. In most cases, there were no public records. In others, the archives contained no information that related to community or social value, in which case this nil result was also noted.

While no legitimacy or validity is given to the views of one person over another in community heritage studies (Pearson, 1997a), it is nevertheless preferable to have input from as wide a cross section as possible. The richness of the archives from the Augusta-Margaret River area means that many different views are represented. The authors noted above are from a range of age groups and importantly both sexes. They include people with different levels of education and therefore expression; from John Garrett Bussell who studied at Oxford, to his servant Edward Pearce, whose letters indicate that he had only a basic education. While differences in education often mirror differences in social class, other distinctions were also important in determining the hierarchy. So while James Turner was undoubtedly one of the wealthiest colonists to move to Augusta, and from his letters and diaries was a well-educated man, he and his family were not considered genteel by the Bussells or the Molloys as James was a merchant. As a result, the families socialised only very occasionally. People educated in the Colony before formal schooling was available are also represented in Ellen Bussell and her daughter Fanny. The views of these women are particularly important because, while immigrants could compare the Colony to Britain and other countries they had visited en route from direct experience, colonial-born settlers had only limited or vicarious knowledge of other

places and landscapes to influence their value judgements. This particularly applied to colonial-born women who, once they had settled, tended not to travel around the colony in the same way men did, as is discussed in Paper VI. What the following analysis of the archives demonstrates is that despite this diversity of backgrounds, education and experience, the historic community at Augusta-Margaret River shared perceptions and ideas about which places were important to them and for what reasons.

Places of Historic Community Value

It was not one of the aims of this thesis to make full transcriptions of all the archive documents. Even with the reduced study area and population, the number of individual items that had to be read was still substantial, so only relevant extracts of the letters, reports and journals I read in the archives were transcribed for analysis. The risk of this approach was that information that might later prove insightful would not have been noted. For this reason, the widest possible range of issues that could possibly relate to social value was transcribed from the archives, many of which on closer examination did not indicate either places or values. All place-based information was transcribed, as were all accounts of social or recreational activities. Explorations were also recorded as it was not always clear what the motivation was of those involved. From the tone of some expedition notes, such journeys seemed to offer relief from the drudgery of clearing land and building settlements, and the records of those involved often have an adventurous or pleasurable tone that can assist in revealing places of social value. Broad value judgements and observations about the landscape and the environment were also recorded to allow these to be compared to other records that were site specific. References to any multi-sensory aesthetic observations were particularly sought, as well as descriptive terms that combined aesthetic sensibilities, such as ‘peaceful’. All indications of collective activities were also noted, as well as the names of those involved. It nevertheless remains one of the main limitations of this study that only relevant sections of the archive documents were transcribed due to time constraints, and the full corpus could not be analysed. Some of the challenges of transcribing from private documents from this period are outlined in Appendix X. The places that were important to the historic community quickly became evident as the transcription process continued,

and references could easily be located and linked using the standard search functions of a word processing program.

Many places were mentioned in the archives, as well as values that fall under the category of social value, however few of these values could be geographically linked to a specific place or location. In some instances this is because no information survives today about precisely where they were, such as the “house” where people gathered to wait for ships to arrive at Augusta (Bussell John Garrett, 1832b). In other instances, a place could be at more than one location. Several, for example, wrote about visiting the “beach” at Augusta, which was a popular spot to take a walk (Turner Ann, 1839), and for children to play while adults looked for ships on the horizon (Molloy, 1834). However as there are beaches on both the Flinders Bay side of Augusta, and within the Harvey Inlet from where ships could also be seen, it is not possible to determine whether both beaches were significant or one in particular.

Many historic aesthetic observations about the study area were too general to locate spatially. So while several authors refer to Augusta as “beautiful” (Bussell John Garrett, 1831a, Bussell Frances (Snr), 1834, Bussell Frances (Jnr), 1841), from the context of these descriptions it appears they are not referring to the settlement but to the wider setting. Historic aesthetic values in the study area are discussed in more detail in Papers VII & VIII in Part D.

It was nevertheless possible to identify nine places that were important to the historic community from the archive documents. Five are closely associated with the earliest period of settlement, at Augusta:

- The Molloys’ House
- The Turners’ House
- The Bussells’ town house
- *The Adelphi* – the Bussells’ house upriver
- The lower reaches of the Blackwood River

Three places are linked to the period during which Alfred Bussell and his family were developing the pastoral industry around what is now Margaret River:

- Ellensbrook Homestead

- Wallcliffe House
- The Boranup Sand Patch

The final place is the trail that linked Augusta with the later settlement at the Vasse. The locations of these places are shown in Figure 3. Their contemporary listings are set out in Table 1.

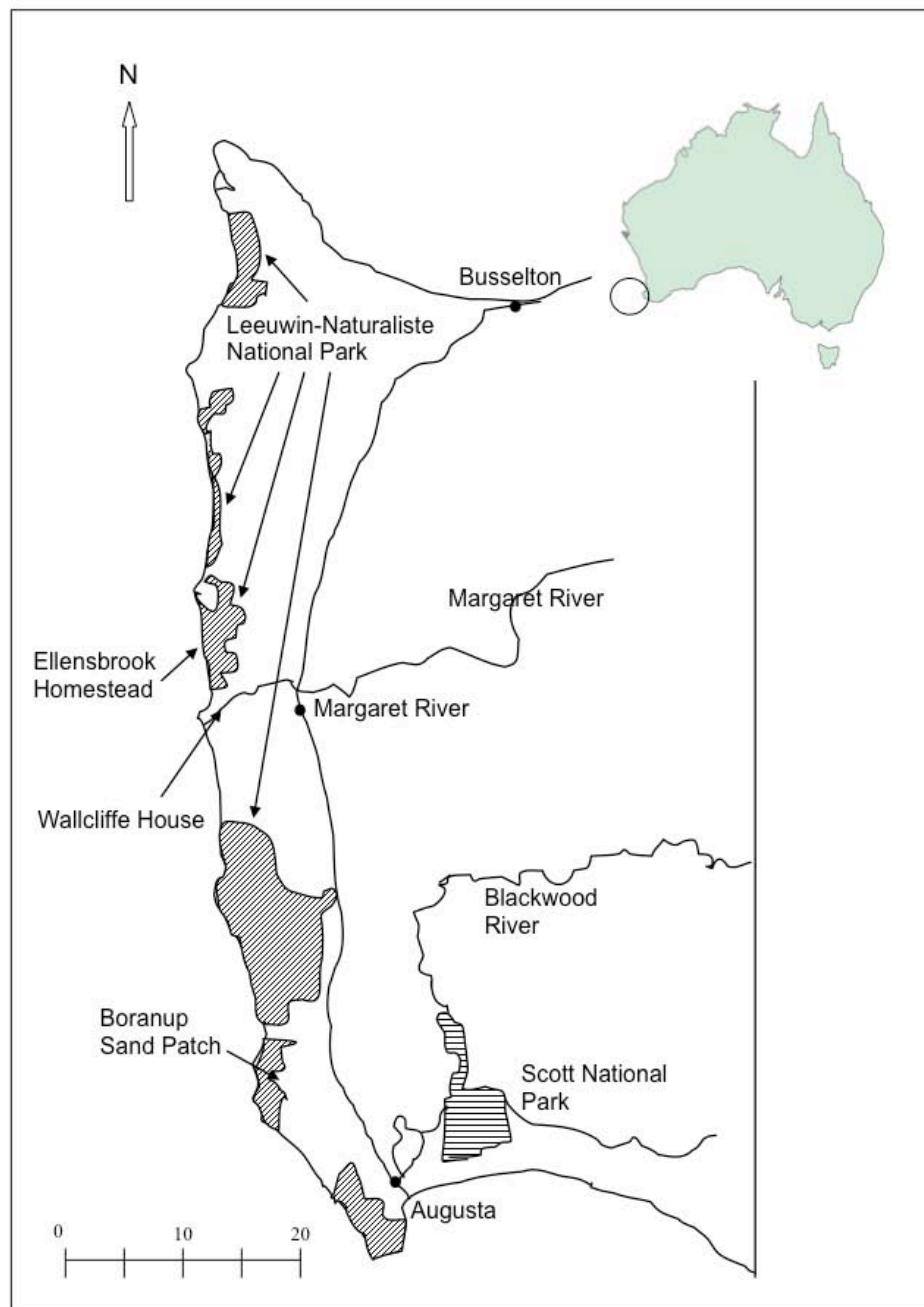


Figure 3 Map showing key towns and places in the Augusta-Margaret River study area.

Place	Municipal Heritage Inventory	State Heritage Register	Register of the National Estate	National Trust (WA) Classification	Community Heritage Study (CRA/RFA)	Other
The Molloys' House at Augusta (site)	√					
The Turners' House at Augusta (ruins)	√					
The Bussells' town house (site)	√					
<i>The Adelphi</i> – the Bussells' house upriver (site)	√					
The Lower reaches of the Blackwood River					√	
Ellensbrook Homestead	√	√	√	√		
Wallcliffe House	√	√	√	√	√	
The Boranup Sand Patch						
The Augusta-Vasse Trail					√	Heritage Trail Brochure

Table 1 Contemporary heritage listings for places with Historic Community Value in Augusta-Margaret River 1830-1880

What this shows is that the at the majority of *places* that were important to the historic community have also been recognised as significant to people today, as evidenced by their inclusion on contemporary heritage lists and other forms of recognition. Comparative analysis was then undertaken to determine whether the *values* held by each community for these places were the same, or different.

Although the Augusta-Busselton Heritage Trail was identified as highly significant to the historic community because it linked the two settlements during the earliest period of their development, little contemporary information was available about the place. It was identified in the Community Heritage Program study for the Regional Forest Agreement (Pearson, 1997b, p 141) as an important place, but the only reference provided was a brochure (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 1999a). In the 12 years since the brochure was published, detailed information about the route has disappeared from the public domain. This meant that, unlike all the other significant places identified in my research, it was not possible to visit the trail or travel along its length to gather contemporary perceptions. As a result, there is little discussion about this place in the published papers in Part D.

There is one other historically important place that is no longer formally identified as having contemporary social value: the Boranup Sand Patch. Although the western portion of the Sand Patch falls within the Leeuwin-Naturalist National Park, and also within the area listed on the Register of the National Estate for the Leeuwin-Naturalist Ridge, the values of the Sand Patch have not been individually identified, and there is therefore no evidence that this portion of the Sand Patch has been included for its intrinsic qualities. This is supported by the fact that the eastern half of the Sand Patch lies outside the National Park and has been identified as a potentially valuable source of lime-sand, as discussed in Paper VII.

The Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River is similarly not specifically identified in contemporary listings. It is, however, contained with in the Blackwood River Conservation Park, and the contemporary values attributed to the larger river are shared across its length.

There are three places that have been included on contemporary heritage lists that were contemporaneous with the study period and were either mentioned in the historic documents, or could have reasonably been expected to have been mentioned, but were in fact not considered significant to the wider historical community at

Augusta. They are the site of Thomas Turner's house; *The Spring*, the landing site of the ship that brought the first settlers to Augusta, and Molloy Island in Hardy Inlet.

The site of *The Spring* is located in coastal scrub south-west of Augusta townsite down on the Leeuwin Peninsula. *The Spring* is included on the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River's Municipal Inventory, and is promoted as a tourist destination, where visitors can still see the water source that gave it its name. Described as a '...tiny hut among the trees...' (Turner James W, 1831), it was built by James Turner's sons, Thomas and George, in an attempt to set up their own independent farming establishment. The place is mentioned several times in the archive records written by James Turner and Anne McDermot (nee Turner), as other members of the Turner family regularly visited the brothers. However there is no evidence in the archives that other members of the historic community visited the Turner brothers, and therefore there is insufficient information to support this as a place that was valued by the historic community collectively.

The Landing Site of the *Emily Taylor* which brought the settlers to Augusta in 1830 is marked with a cairn on the foreshore of Flinders Bay. There is no information in the Municipal Inventory listing to support this being the actual landing site, or even when the cairn was erected in commemoration. Today, a short gravel drive next to the cairn leads down to a boulder strewn shoreline, which makes it difficult to envisage boats coming ashore here. The historic records do talk about parts of the shore being visited regularly, and these are discussed in Paper V, however it was not possible to determine where these historic locations were. As in the case of *The Spring*, none of the records mention the site where the first settlers landed as being of any importance. Both these sites were not examined further in this thesis.

Molloy Island was identified as important through the Community Heritage Program study of places of contemporary social value as an important tourist destination with a distinctive sense of place and a high degree of privacy (Pearson, 1997b). In the 1830s, the island was owned by Captain John Molloy, and farmed by one of his indentured servants (Lines, 1994). It is mentioned in archive documents written by the Molloys on a small number of occasions, but there is no evidence that the island held any social value to the rest of the community at Augusta, so this site too was excluded from further research.

To gain a better understanding of the places and the values that have been ascribed to them by both past and present communities, I visited those that were publicly accessible during the course of my thesis. I undertook four site visits: in May 2001 up the lower reaches of the Blackwood river by boat, in winter 2001 to Boranup Sand Patch, in January 2003 to the town sites in Augusta, and in the winter of 2005 to Ellensbrook. Only Wallcliffe, which is in private ownership, and the site of *The Adelphi*, which is on private land, were not visited, although the site of the latter was viewed from the river.

The historic and contemporary values attributed to the seven places that have both historic and contemporary heritage values are set out in Tables 2 - 8. Table 9 sets out the historic values of the Boranup Sand Patch.²⁰ The historic values have been uncovered from the archive records and many are discussed in detail in the papers in Part D, which follows. As the format and content of the contemporary listings vary, sometimes quite significantly, only the statements of significance have been cited here. The date of the listing is provided in each case, as is the name given the place in the listing.

What the tables illustrate are the differences between the synchronic and diachronic ways of assessing cultural heritage values. Most of the values from the heritage listings are diachronic in that they ascribe significance to places through and across time, as opposed to *in* or *at* a particular time. Values relating to founding industries and their subsequent longevity or success, the long associations of families that became notable through time, and the way places can demonstrate changing uses and practices, can only be ascribed with the benefit of time and knowledge and perspective of history. In this way John and Georgiana Molloy are valued because of their respective contributions to colonial justice and governance, and research into the botany of the south-west. Similarly, the Bussells are valued because of their colonial endeavours and as founders of the pastoral industry in the south-west. The historic values, by contrast, relate to the immediate experiences and concerns of the community at that point in time. So the historic community held few shared aesthetic values for the places they built. Instead, they were valued for their functions as de facto civic centres. Used for a range of community activities particularly dances, social gatherings and religious services, the private homes in the

²⁰ The names given for the places in italics in Tables 2 – 9 are as they appear in the different listings.

study area were particularly important to women who travelled less than colonial men, and therefore had far fewer opportunities to socialise, particularly with people outside their own settlements, an issue which is explored in Paper V. The community did, however, hold a range of aesthetic values for predominantly natural places in what was a new and challenging landscape to them. These values are discussed in detail in Papers VII and VIII.

The Molloys' House at Augusta (site)	
Historic community values	<p>A place for community activities, particularly religious services and magistrate related activities</p> <p>A place of aesthetic value, particularly in relation to the successful cultivation of a pleasure garden containing exotic species</p> <p>A place of refuge in times of trouble</p> <p>A place for travellers to rest and stay</p>
Municipal Heritage Inventory (1996) <i>Molloy House</i>	<p>“The Molloys were among the first settlers of the Augusta district, arriving on the “Emily Taylor” with families such as the Bussells and Turners. John Molloy was the first Resident Magistrate for the new Colony and Georgiana was the first significant resident collector of botanical specimens for the south-west. Their house was one of the first to be built in the shire and although it no longer exists, it has been commemorated by a plaque on the site. The names Molloy and Georgiana are synonymous with the history of Augusta and Margaret River and sites such as Georgiana Park and Molloy Island.” (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996)</p>

Table 2 Historic and Contemporary heritage values for the Molloy's House at Augusta

The Turners' House at Augusta (ruins)	
Historic community values	<p>A place for community activities, particularly dances and social gatherings</p> <p>A place of refuge in times of trouble</p> <p>A place for travellers to rest and stay</p>
Municipal Heritage Inventory (1996) <i>Turner's Cellar and Fig Tree</i>	<p>James W Turner was one of the original pioneers of the Augusta district, and so one of the first to build a home in the new settlement. The cellar and fig tree, location in what is now known as Turner Caravan Park, are all that remains of this first home <i>Albion House</i>.” (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996)</p>

Table 3 Historic and Contemporary heritage values for the Turners' House at Augusta

The Bussells' House at Augusta (site)	
Historic community values	A place for community activities, particularly dances, social gatherings and religious services. A place for travellers to rest and stay
Municipal Heritage Inventory (1996) <i>Bussell Home Site</i>	“The Bussell family was among the first white settlers to the Augusta area. They also had homes in the Vasse and Margaret River districts (see Ellensbrook and Wallcliffe) and were of great importance to the pioneering, exploration and development of the Augusta/Margaret River Shire.” (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996)

Table 4 Historic and Contemporary heritage values for the Bussells' House at Augusta

<i>The Adelphi – Bussells' House Upriver</i>	
Historic community values	A place for community activities particularly social gatherings and expeditions A place of remembrance of the Bussells and, by associations, others past endeavours A place of great aesthetic value for its natural attributes which include the presence of the quiet peaceful river, and the visual beauty of an attractive bend in the river.
Municipal Heritage Inventory (1996) <i>The Adelphi</i>	“Although the Adelphi home has a relatively short history, it is still important in that it was one of the early homes built in this area. The house was representative of the two faces of colonisation: the great dedication that was involved in pioneering and adapting to the foreign environment, as well as to conquer the new landscape and establish much of the old country in the new colony.” (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996)

Table 5 Historic and Contemporary heritage values for *The Adelphi – Bussells' House Upriver*

The Lower reaches of the Blackwood River	
Historic community values	<p>A place of great aesthetic value, particularly for the reflective qualities of the water, the peacefulness of the environment, its winding course, and wooded banks</p> <p>An important travel route through a heavily forested landscape</p> <p>A place to gather food</p>
Community Heritage Study (1997) <i>Blackwood River Conservation Park</i>	<p>“The Blackwood River Conservation Park is significant to the community for its aesthetic values as a major river, riparian vegetation, adjoining forest pools and as a place for calm reflection.</p> <p>The Blackwood River is the largest river in the southwest of Western Australia and is significant to the community and tourists for the recreational activities that it supports including canoeing and swimming. It has had a special social value attachment throughout generations of communities. It is also a key organising element of the town plan of Nannup”. (Pearson, 1997b, p10)</p>

Table 6 Historic and Contemporary heritage values for the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River

Ellensbrook Homestead	
Historic community values	A place for community activities, particularly social gatherings A place for travellers to rest and stay
National Trust (WA) <i>Ellensbrook – Farmhouse, Dam and Waterfall (1978)</i>	“Built, probably in the late 1850s, by Alfred Pickmore Bussell, an original Augusta settler, and named in honour of his wife, Ellen, nee Heppingstone. Its original construction is partly wattle and daub and partly vertical laths and battens, and it is particularly interesting to note the use of drift-wood spars in the roof structure and the lime(?) parge coat into which lime spalls have been embedded. The original house has been altered and added to over time & parts sheeted in timber weatherboard and others in asbestos cement panels but the whole retains a great unity and charm. Roofs are of corrugated iron sheeting. The house is beautifully sited, near to a former mill pond, not far from the beach and close to a waterfall. The fall was called by the aborigines “Meekadanabee” or the moon’s bathing place”.
Register of the National Estate (1980) <i>Ellensbrook Farmhouse (fmr)</i>	“Beautiful setting above the Ellens Brook, near coast. Built in late 1850s, wattle and daub construction and driftwood spars used in roof.” (Department of Sustainability Environment Water Population and Community, 1978)
Municipal Inventory (1996) <i>Ellensbrook</i>	“The home of Ellensbrook is synonymous with Margaret River and the Bussell family. The buildings were part of the first in the Bussell saga in this region. The early years, especially for Ellen, were bound up in Ellensbrook as it was here that she raised five daughters and lost three sons. It must have been a terrible tragedy to lose their only sons: Christopher, their first born, at birth: Jasper, at the age of 12 months, and later their only other son, Hugh. Her peppermint grove where the gravesites are, must have had many visits from a grieving mother. This site shows so clearly the joys and sorrows experiences by the early settlers and Aboriginal folklore, which were so important to the heritage of the Margaret River region.” (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996)
State Register (1992) <i>Ellensbrook Farmhouse, Dam and Waterfall</i>	“The building is in a fine setting above the Ellens Brook, and is important for its association with the Bussell family, and the first settlement of the area. Beautiful setting above the Ellens Brook, near coast. Built in late 1850s wattle and daub construction, and driftwood spars used in roof.” (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 1992a)

Table 7 Historic and Contemporary heritage values for Ellensbrook Homestead

Wallcliffe House	
Historic community values	<p>A place for community activities, particularly dances, social gatherings and religious services</p> <p>A place of great aesthetic value, particularly for its visual setting and view across the Margaret River to the wooded slopes beyond</p> <p>A place of refuge in times of trouble</p> <p>A place for travellers to rest and stay</p>
National Trust (WA) (1973) “ <i>Wallcliffe</i> ”, <i>Margaret River</i>	<p>“Historical interest and architecture”</p> <p>“Strong association with pioneering family”</p>
Register of the National Estate (1980) <i>Wallcliffe Homestead (fmr)</i>	“Built by Alfred Pickmore Bussell, a member of the very prominent pioneering family. The house itself is a rare combination of English country manor style with Australian peculiarities. A grand spacious house built in the times when most pioneers were forced to live in very primitive shacks.” (Department of Sustainability Environment Water Population and Community, 1978)
Municipal Inventory (1996) <i>Wallcliffe Homestead</i>	<p>“As one of the original houses of the shire, Wallcliffe remains one of the focal points for exploring the lives and times of the pioneering Bussell family and those they lived and worked with. It reflects the aspirations of the Bussells in trying to establish some of the old world in the new one. The fact that much of the building was done by ticket-of-leave convicts; and that Wallcliffe was the refuge for the “Georgette” wreck survivors, adds to its historical and social importance.</p> <p>It also has a significance to the local Nyungar community who had originally named the Wallcliffe site <i>Wainilyinup</i>, which means <i>the dying place</i>.” (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996)</p>
Community Heritage Study (1997) <i>Wallcliffe, Prevelly and Kilcarnup</i>	“The Wallcliffe, Prevelly and Kilcarnup area has social significance as a regional recreation place in a series of natural and culturally modified settings attracting visitors from all parts of Australia and abroad. Historic buildings, caves, Aboriginal sites, Prevelly Park and the café on the beach at Gnarabup, beaches reefs and surf breaks include the socially significant features, most of which have been valued by the community over a long period of time.” (Pearson, 1997b, p 100)

Table 8 Historic and Contemporary heritage values for Wallcliffe House

State Register (2005) <i>Wallcliffe House and Landscape</i>	<p>“the place is important in bringing together a diverse range of exceptional elements significant for their Aboriginal, European and natural values;</p> <p>the place is a site of great beauty. The attractive natural landscape first drew settlers to this area and many of the views and vistas have changed little since the start of European settlement. The picturesque siting of Wallcliffe House marks a European influence on the landscape, without intruding on the natural magnificence of the site;</p> <p>the establishment of the dairy and pastoral industries at Wallcliffe House & Landscape by the women of the Bussell family represents the important role that women played in the early rural development of the Colony;</p> <p>Wallcliffe House is an excellent and well-crafted example of a Victorian Georgian homestead, and its design represents the aspiration of many early colonists to emulate a British country gentleman’s residence. It is rare as a two-storey residence of this type constructed in stone;</p> <p>the place marks the beginning of agricultural development in the Margaret River region and was the focus of the pioneering agricultural enterprise of the family of Alfred and Ellen Bussell;</p> <p>Wallcliffe House is a distinct and important landmark due to its isolated location and the contrast of its limestone walls against the darker bushland vegetation;</p> <p>the place has long associations with the Terry and Hohnen families, each long standing families in the Margaret River community and in WA business circles; and,</p> <p>the place demonstrates changes in land use and agricultural practices, and the economic fortunes of owners from first settlement to the present time.” (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2005)</p>
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Table 8 (cont.) Historic and Contemporary heritage values for Wallcliffe House

Boranup Sand Patch	
Historic community values	<p>A place of great aesthetic value for its distinctive aesthetic qualities as a large white patch in coastal scrub and also at close range for its distinctive lime formations. The eerie atmosphere is accentuated by the effects of the strong onshore winds</p> <p>A place to visit, with friends or alone</p>

Table 9 Historic heritage values for Boranup Sand Patch

It could be argued, however, that the apparently diachronic contemporary values for these places are also synchronic in that they are argued in the present. These are our values, at this particular point in time, for these places and also these people. Values that are specifically understood or defined as contemporary values, such as social and aesthetic value, are always accepted as synchronic. As historic and scientific values are also determined in the present, it could be argued that they too are also determined through an inherently synchronic process as they represent what the community today considers important. This interpretation is consistent with the directions in most heritage legislation, that preference contemporary (and future) values, and also the legal ruling in Queensland discussed in Chapter 1 that historic value must relate to historic events, rather than events in history (*Advance Bank Australia Ltd v. The Queensland Heritage Council*, 1993, 12).

Heritage assessments are always carried out at a point of time from within a certain set of values, and there is therefore no way to overcome this inherently synchronic dimension. Nevertheless, historians have the capacity when assessing cultural heritage to examine places from both a diachronic perspective, which values places looking back through the lenses of history, and from an historically synchronic perspective, which looks at values during discrete phases of history.

The historic cultural values uncovered from the archives in my research are largely historically synchronic in that they are based on the perceptions of a discrete community during a specific, short period in time. Because the settlers did not identify themselves with the Aboriginal people of the south-west, they did not compare or relate their perceptions and experiences to this existing community and their connections to places through associations with Aboriginal people are therefore limited. As these were the first wave of settlers, they believed there were no forebears whose achievements and stories they could celebrate, honour or acknowledge over time at particular places.

The absence of historical reference points in the new world meant that when settlers did link places together they used references points in other domains. Natural places were often compared to places in Britain (Molloy, 1830), even though such comparisons were often acknowledged as unsatisfactory due to the essential differences of the Australian landscape (Bussell Charles, 1832). Perhaps because of this, sometimes places were compared to references in art and literature (Bussell

John Garrett, 1832a) and biography (Brockman, 1874). Because most of the archive records were letters home, such comparisons were useful to help build a picture of the new environment for the reader. Importantly, they provide us with insights into the attitude of the historic community towards literature, art, and aesthetics, which we can compare to our own. The differences and similarities between our values and those of the historic community are discussed in Papers V – VIII.

Conclusion

Like many researchers who adopt the case study method, I had an intrinsic interest in my study area (Stake, 2003). I had become aware of some of the original settlers who moved to the far south-west region of Western Australia during previous research, and found many of their stories compelling and deeply moving: stories from women of births and deaths, isolation and deprivation; stories from men of exploration and adventure, trials and tribulations. Stories of a strange and sublime environment, and the attachments people formed to it. The stories were written in the main for private consumption in letters and journals, and therefore revealed many of the authors' private thoughts, hopes and aspirations. Reading them I found I identified and sympathised with the individuals and felt I came to know them to some degree.

I was drawn to the earliest phase of colonial settlement where settlers experienced a new and challenging landscape, and intrigued by the processes involved in moving from Old World perceptions and judgements to New World attachments, the creation of places from undifferentiated space (Tuan, 1977), and I was particularly interested to find out what those places might be.

Despite my personal engagement with the south-west, the decision to make the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River between 1830 and 1880 my study area evolved as research into the region and the archives progressed. This thesis is not, therefore, an intrinsic case study (Stake, 2003), where the time and place have been chosen because of a distinctive or interesting history, and what that reveals about the specific historic social values of that distinct community. Instead, it is what Creswell (2007) describes as a single instrumental case study, where the issue of historic social value is explored within a temporally and spatially bounded area, with the aim of providing insights into heritage practices more generally (Stake, 2003). Many other parts of

Western Australia have similarly interesting and engaging histories to that of Augusta-Margaret River and, as outlined above, the archives are rich with information that may reveal places that were important to their historic communities. Although the findings are site specific, the methodological approach I have developed to identify places with historic social value is intended to be generalised and applicable to heritage researchers and practitioners throughout Australia, and internationally.

Bearing in mind that best practice in heritage advocates the need to identify and assess *all* the values associated with a place when considering cultural significance, and that *all* the values should be encapsulated within the parameters of the four/five evaluative criteria, how do we account for the largely diachronic approach to determining cultural significance and the overlooking of historic synchronic values, particularly bearing in mind how illuminating they are when related to or compared to our own value systems – differences and similarities highlighted in Paper VII. I believe that the framing processes discussed in Chapter 1 and the papers in Part B have established the biases and blind spots in the assessment process and shaped our attitudes towards places and how they are analysed.

Papers V – VIII in Part D, which follows, discuss the empirical findings of my research.

PART D

Paper V

O'Connor, P. (2002) A time and a place - the temporal transmission of a sense of place in heritage studies, in: Holland, P., Stephenson, F. & Wearing, A. Eds. 2001, *Geography - A Spatial Odyssey Proceedings of the Third Joint Conference of the New Zealand Geographical Society and the Institute of Australian Geographers, New Zealand Geographical Society Conference Series No. 21* (Dunedin, New Zealand, New Zealand Geographical Society (Inc)), pp. 88-95.

Paper V: A time and a place - the temporal transmission of a sense of place in heritage studies

Rationale

Paper V begins the in-depth exploration of places valued by past communities and their relationship with present communities that is further developed in the other three papers that make up Part D of this thesis. The rationale is therefore to begin to identify individual places with both historic and contemporary cultural significance and begin to analyse the similarities and differences to test the methodology I had developed to identify places with historic social significance. The paper was also an opportunity for me to begin to explore the inter-relationships between aesthetic, historic and social value.

Background and Context

This is the first paper in this thesis that was written after the study area had been narrowed to focus on the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River. It therefore contains my earliest analysis of the archive material that was reviewed for this thesis. The paper was presented at the Third Joint Conference of the New Zealand Geographical Society and the Institute of Australian Geographers in Dunedin in 2001 and subsequently published in the refereed proceedings. As was the case with Paper III, the geographical nature of the conference influenced the content of this paper, which discusses geographical concepts of place over other perspectives and understandings.

Paper V is the only paper that deals with the issue of how well represented places valued by the historic community are on contemporary heritage lists across the study area as a whole. Past and present values are also compared and contrasted in Papers

VII and VIII, but in much greater depth and only in relation to a small number of sites.

At the time of writing this paper, my analysis of the places and how significant they were to the past community was still evolving and I had not completed my review the archive documents from the latter half of the study period, when the area around what is now Margaret River began to be settled. As a result, the places established during this later period (Ellensbrook and Wallcliffe) are not discussed in this paper. There are, however, two variations between the discussion of places that were significant for the first wave of settlers in this paper and the findings outlined in Chapter 2, which relate to the trail from Augusta to Busselton and the Boranup Sand Patch.

At the time of writing this paper, it appeared that more contemporary information would be available about the trail from Augusta to Busselton. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, this proved not to be the case and I was not able to compare past and present values for the trail. Paper V does not discuss the Boranup Sand Patch as a significant place during this early phase of settlement, even though it was mentioned in the documents from this period. This is because the evidence about its significance only became apparent after I researched the archive documents from the second half of the study period, when the establishment of Ellensbrook and Wallcliffe brought more people into direct contact with this unusual place.

Objectives

The main objective of this Paper is to begin to address the one of fundamental questions posed in this thesis:

To what extent do the places identified by contemporary society as having heritage values correlate to those valued by historic communities?

The Paper addresses this topic by comparing local heritage listings for the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River with the findings from my initial analysis of the historic archives.

The Paper also looks at the difficulties of geographically identifying places from historic archives. In examining the history of the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River, the Paper argues that researching and identifying historic community values provides contrasts with our own values, thereby enriching both our understanding of place and ourselves, a theme that is further explored in Papers VI – VIII.

A Time and a Place: the Temporal Transmission of a Sense of Place in Heritage Studies

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Introduction

The process of identifying and assessing places of cultural heritage significance is not a given, nor has it remained static. Old World paradigms, such as those operating in England for listed buildings, have tended to emphasise the importance of historic value in determining significance, often in conjunction with aesthetic value (cf. Department of the Environment/Department of National Heritage, 1994). This contrasts with current practice in Australia which increasingly stresses the need for places to be significant to present day communities (Pearson and Sullivan, 1999:17). Hence the growing emphasis placed on determining social or community heritage values.

The shift in emphasis away from the historic towards the contemporary may have implications for the way we interpret the values used in heritage assessments. These values determine the significance of a place, and therefore the level of statutory regulation applicable to them. Emphasising values that accord with or validate contemporary perceptions of significance, rather than values that are at variance with modern sensibilities, is likely to impact on both the types of places we identify, and the understanding of the past we gain through their conservation. The situation is further exacerbated by the inherent difficulty of transcending our general value systems, regardless of how hard we may strive for a detached 'view from nowhere' (Nagel, 1986).

One of the stated aims of retaining places of cultural heritage value is that they provide a window, albeit one that may be flawed and distorted (Lowenthal, 1996), that illuminates an opaque and foreign past. However, under the current terms of reference, where contemporary relevance dominates, our heritage places may tell us more about ourselves and our values than about those of our ancestors. This paper seeks to address this question by examining the application of the current cultural heritage paradigm to the far south west corner of Western Australia. It takes as its case study the first wave of settlement at the town of Augusta. The

assessments compiled for previously identified heritage places are analysed for historic community values. This evidence is compared to places and values identified in first hand accounts of early settlers. Both processes are contextualised within the practice of assessing social and community heritage values.

Framing heritage significance

Heritage practice in Australia is guided and informed by an extensive set of principles and practical frameworks, and this primary framing paradigm provides strong guidance on the range of heritage values that should be considered when assessing places (O'Connor, 2000). These values do not exist of themselves, however, but are held for places by communities. The two key documents of the primary frame set subtly different limits for whose values should be considered in the determination of significance. The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (1999), commonly known as the Burra Charter, states that cultural significance relates to values that may be held by past, present or future generations. By contrast, the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975* confines the Register of the National Estate to places of special value "to future generations as well as for the present community" (Section 4,1). State legislation has been relatively evenly split between these two variants and the alternative that does not make generational specifications. Western Australia has chosen to follow the lead of the Australian Heritage Commission, wording its legislative definition of cultural heritage significance as applicable to "the present community and future generations" (Heritage of Western Australia Act 1990: Part1,3,1).

Are the distinctions between these definitions real? It may be argued that if places are identified as having been important to past generations and communities, this knowledge means they will automatically have some significance to the present generation. By revealing information about the values of past communities, we may establish the 'fields of care' and 'emotional ties' that Tuan (1977:412)

cites as essential to place making. Certainly, knowing that a place was significant to a past community changes the way we respond to it today. As Pred (1983: 50) points out, however, structurated processes such as cultural heritage practice may constrain our thinking about what constitutes place. And there is a difference between knowing what occurred at a place, who lived and died there or how it was built, and determining why it was important to a past community. We need to determine whether the assessment criteria being used facilitate the identification of both sets of values by examining their current use.

Setting the limits

The primary frame denotes five key heritage values for the assessment of significance. Scientific, social, aesthetic and historic value are the four best known. In 1999, spiritual value was added as a separate value by Australia ICOMOS in its updating of the Burra Charter, but there has been little guidance issued as yet on how it can be distinguished and interpreted. It therefore lies outside this discussion. To these criteria are generally added the issues of rarity and representativeness. These broad and general values have been broken down into sets of evaluative criteria for each State, guided by Australian Heritage Commission (AHC) criteria.

The sub-criteria that cover Historic Value can be broadly grouped into two themes – patterns of development and issues of rarity and representativeness. This is the common interpretation of ‘historic’ found in cultural heritage assessments – a look through or along the past that relates places and events to one another. As Davison (1991: 66) points out, there is another interpretation of historic, that of “an important part or item of history; noted or celebrated in history”. This understanding of historic relates to things that were valued by past communities, a value that Davison (1991: 73) calls ‘social historical significance’.

The assessment of historic heritage is increasingly guided by thematic structures developed from those of the AHC. Themes are useful in categorising and compartmentalising the way we look at the past that facilitates comparative assessment, a key consideration in the determination of rarity and representativeness. The development of themes also provides a checklist that aims to ensure that all aspects of a place’s historic significance have been identified. For example, the long and

seemingly comprehensive AHC thematic list as an example covers an extensive range of historic activities – migrating, displacing, resisting, exploiting, planning, shipping, fishing, breeding, and dying to name but a small selection. However, simply because an activity occurred at a particular location does not mean that the historic community considered the place significant. As none of the themes or criteria raise the issue of community value, using historic themes does not provide information about whether places were important to historic communities.

In contrast to historic value, the criteria of social value does explicitly acknowledge the values people have for places. It is defined as relating to places that are valued by ‘a community’ for reasons of religious, spiritual, symbolic, cultural, educational or social associations. Although referred to in legislation and guidance from the late 1970s onwards, little progress had been made in developing a methodology for identifying and assessing until Johnston’s *What is Social Value* (1994), which remains the key reference on the subject. In discussing how communities appreciate place, Johnston focused significantly on the work of geographers such as Tuan (1975) and Meinig (1979), who deal with the perception of place as a contemporary construction. As a result, social value is currently interpreted as relating to the values of present day communities.

The criterion of aesthetic value also references the need to look to the community for the identification of valued places. In this context, aesthetic value may relate to a range of different features, including the function of a place as a visual landmark, views and vistas, the contribution of an element to a wider landscape, townscapes and streetscapes, and encompasses the full range of sensory experiences, not solely the visual. There is often a strong correlation between this type of aesthetic value and social value that makes it difficult to consider them in isolation. Because of this, and the need for community consultation in their identification, social and aesthetic values are increasingly being identified and assessed together under the generic term ‘community heritage value’.

Interpreting community heritage values as a preserve of contemporary society creates a paradoxical situation. Because it is considered impossible to gain a ‘true’ indication of significance simply on the basis of short-term public interest or popularity (Pearson and

Sullivan, 1995: 154), a degree of historical association is also required in order to substantiate the values. Ten years of continuous association is often taken as the minimum (cf. Pearson, 1997). However, the longer the association, the greater the *degree* of significance. Furthermore, this applies regardless of whether or not the associations and values for the place have changed over time. The *degree* of significance accorded to a place is the principal factor in determining whether or not it becomes protected under statutory mechanisms. There is often an imperative, therefore, for community heritage assessments to show as much depth of historic association as possible, a process that largely contradicts the interpretation that this is a contemporary value. It is in this way that some of the values that past communities had for places may be evident. Unfortunately, once analysis moves away from the contemporary and into a consideration of the past, there is a tendency for the assessment of community values to be reframed in terms of activities – farming, logging, settling, living, dying etc. Just as in the case of historic value, the process of identifying and assessing community heritage values may not be identifying the places that past communities actually valued.

Past values

The emphasis of heritage assessment processes on contemporary community heritage value, and the framing of historic value in terms of activities raises two questions. Have we identified the values that past communities had for places that are significant to contemporary society, and have we identified the places that were important to historic communities? The south west of Western Australia provides an interesting case study due to the extensive data that has been identified under the present paradigm and which can be examined for its relevance to historic communities.

During the 1990s, the south west was the subject of a Comprehensive Regional Assessment (CRA) as part of the development of a Regional Forest Agreement (RFA). While widespread criticism of the parameters of the CRA/RFA programme raise doubts as to whether or not the assessment was indeed comprehensive, it brought together disparate information, and initiated new studies to address gaps in our knowledge. It therefore represents the most recent application of the primary frame of cultural heritage. The information from the CRA/RFA can be considered in conjunction with

information already on local, state and federal heritage databases.

Within the south west, the town of Augusta provides a useful case study. The area is one of the oldest settled regions in Western Australia, with a history that has yet to be thoroughly documented. There is, however, a quite extensive collection of papers written by early settlers of the region. Diaries, letters and personal papers survive from three key families in the area – the Bussells, the Molloys and the Turners.

Augusta is one of several towns in the south west that were largely abandoned after initial settlement, only to be resettled later. Other examples are Wonnerup and Australind, which also failed early on in their history. This case study focuses on the first period of settlement at Augusta, from 1830 to 1850. The documents from this period are often harrowing. The privations suffered by the first settlers were extreme, even by the general standards of the Colony. Settlers had been attracted to the area by the dense forest cover, which they incorrectly assumed indicated fertile subsoil. The tall timber they needed to clear from the land consisted of several species of eucalypts. Most significant amongst these were the karri trees. A tall and elegant species, it has extremely hard wood which could not be fashioned without power tools, and for which the settlers could therefore find no economic use. As the Colony of Western Australia was not founded on convict labour, settlers were either free or indentured to a sponsor. All labour was intensive and leisure time was scarce, even for writing letters, as many often note apologetically in their correspondence.

Expecting that they would be able to improve their lives in Australia, the major landowning families in Augusta had left comfortable lives in Britain where they had been successful in the military, clergy and private business. To their dismay, what they encountered in Augusta exemplifies Blainey's (1982) 'tyranny of distance'. In 1830, the major settlements in Western Australia were Perth on the Swan River, and Albany in the south east. Augusta lay isolated between the two, 400km from either settlement. Its failure to attract more settlers, the excessive labour required to clear the tough forest, the lack of support from the Colonial Government in terms of infrastructure and the provision of essential services quickly led settlers to look elsewhere (Hasluck, 1955). Only two years after Augusta was founded, the influential Bussell family had undertaken an expedition

north and found more open countryside closer to Perth that appeared to afford better farming and grazing land. The exodus from Augusta had begun, and over the next 20 years all but one of the original settlers left, the majority exchanging their land for new holdings in the Vasse area discovered by the Bussells.

Table 1: Places with potential historic, social significance (from Pearson et al., 1997, www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/heritage/register and www.register.heritage.wa.gov.au)

Place	Listing
Bussell home site	Municipal Inventory (Local Significance)
Molloys' House	Municipal Inventory (Local Significance)
The Landing Place	Municipal Inventory (Local Significance)
Turner's Cellar & Fig Tree	Municipal Inventory (Local Significance)
Leeuwin-Naturaliste Ridge Area	Register of the National Estate & Comprehensive Regional Assessment
Blackwood River Conservation Park	Comprehensive Regional Assessment
Molloy Island	Comprehensive Regional Assessment

As Table 1 shows, the majority of places that have been identified in Augusta as significant are considered important because of their associations with early settler families. Their statements of significance refer to many of the historic themes mentioned earlier – building, settling, pioneering, adapting and conquering the land. They therefore provide no direct information about the historic community's perceptions of these places.

The CRA identified several other places that have contemporary community heritage value, and which may also have been significant to the historic community. These places are listed as having a special connection to communities from the present day to the latter part of the 19th century (Pearson, 1997). The entries outline the uses to which these places were put (farming, logging, tourism, transportation and recreation), but only one touches on values of the historic community. The entry for Molloy Island, 5km north of Augusta up the Blackwood River estuary, notes that "It has been highly valued for a long period of time by the local community, and by tourists over a sustained period as a holiday destination with a high degree of privacy

and sense of place" (Pearson, 1997: 75). There is no elaboration, however, of what 'sense of place' the historic community appreciated here.

Overall, it appears that the current interpretations of our assessment criteria have not determined the values that past communities had for these places. It may therefore be the case that the places we have identified are also not those that were actually valued by the historic community at Augusta.

Distant voices

Cultural heritage practice has been significantly inspired by the work of cultural geographers. In discussing the nature of social value, Johnston (1994) refers to the work of key academics such as Relph (1985), Tuan (1975), Seamon (1985) and Duncan (1973), all of them key exponents of the experiential nature of place. As a result, experiential information is considered essential in the determination of community heritage values. Heritage guidance advises that such experiential information should come from individuals (Johnston, 1994). A common practice is to hold community workshops where information can be shared and collected. It is considered unacceptable to gauge significance through media that collectivise and generalise public opinion, such as newspapers or television. These sources can add to and substantiate information given in workshops, but the initial nomination must come from first person accounts (cf. Pearson et al., 1997).

The information must relate to places that are valued by the community and the boundaries can be tightly or loosely drawn (Johnston, 1994:19). If the values of present communities require direct consultation, then a comparable methodology should be adopted when searching for the values of past communities about their special places. Letters, memoirs, journals, diaries etc. providing first hand accounts are therefore preferable to published material. Such recollections can indicate, overtly or by inference, that the place was valued by more than the individual; i.e. that there was community consensus as to its value. As Pred (1983:58) points out, by reconstructing some of the daily 'paths' and common exposures and projects of people at any time and place we can recover the feelings, meanings and memories that made up their sense of place.

From surviving documents, several places can be identified as having been significant to the early

community at Augusta. Not all, however, can be tied to specific geographical points. Georgiana Molloy (1834), for example, talks of taking her daughter to the beach at Point Lewis every evening after the heat of the day had worn off, and while the toddler played with the remains of cuttlefish, Georgiana watched for the sail of a ship that she daily expected to bring her husband home from one of his extended trips to Perth. While this is a very personal recollection it would be reasonable to assume that Georgiana was not the only woman to take her children to play by the sea as there were several other mothers with young children in the settlement at this time. Nor is she likely to have been the only person to look aching out to sea for the sight of a sail. As stated before, Augusta was not provided with a regular shipping service. Supplies of flour and other staples ran low on several occasions during the first few years of settlement (Hasluck, 1955:91), and later, a full year passed without a ship calling (Molloy, 1838). At times it appears that American whalers were more regular callers to the town than government ships. It was often possible to exchange fresh produce directly with these ships, and whalers also delivered mail to the isolated settlement (Turner, 1839).

Georgiana refers to this beach as being "on a line with Cape Lewis" (Molloy, 1834), but this name does not appear on maps. Alexandra Hasluck (1955:121) states that the beach was at Duke's Head on the east coast of the Leeuwin Peninsula. This site is consistent with the location of the original landing place of the 'Warrior', which brought the settlers to Augusta, and with the natural approach of ships into Flinder's Bay at the mouth of the Blackwood River. Certainly the beach area opposite would not have been too far to take a small child on a walk. Hasluck (1955:105) also talks of the pretty walk that wound through across the dunes and through low scrub from the landing site to the cottages, implying a well worn path. Cape Lewis may therefore have been the historic name for what is now known as Point Frederick on the opposite side of the Blackwood inlet. Such evidence is circumstantial and will remain so until a definite location for Cape Lewis can be confirmed.

Other places named in the documents have long since been lost. As there was no inn or lodging house in the area, all visitors had to be accommodated in people's homes. Similarly, the lack of a town hall meant that all socialising also took place at home. There were times when relationships with the local Aboriginal

population became violent, when people, particularly women temporarily alone with their children, felt it necessary to congregate for security. For this reason, it is likely that that several private residences were valued by the wider community.

The Turners had one of the largest houses in the settlement, partly because theirs was such a large and mature family from the outset. Perhaps for this reason they regularly entertained the captains of visiting whaling boats that anchored in the Bay, playing host on at least four occasions during the 1839 season, in February, April, July and August. They also had regular visitors from the Vasse, once that settlement developed. For those, such as Charles Bussell, who had relocated to the Vasse but still retained property in the Augusta area, staying at the Turners' house was the only option for comfortable accommodation. Again in 1839, Charles Bussell is recorded as staying with the Turners in January, and with Robert Heppingstone when visiting in April (Turner, 1839). On occasions when they had visitors, the Turners would often have music, dancing or play card games to entertain their guests and themselves (Turner, 1839). One of the surgeons who serviced the area was also a regular visitor. Dr Green's interest appears to have been largely personal, however, as he had been wooing Anne Turner since they met on the ship out to Australia.

The Turners and the Molloys opened their homes as sanctuaries to others in times of distress. Georgiana writes of sheltering a distraught Dr Green, who had burst into their home in the middle of the night believing that someone had attempted to shoot him, a delusion caused by excessive drink (Molloy, 1833). Green clearly found the Molloys more hospitable under the circumstances than the Bussells, because he returned again the next morning after he had been relocated to Charles Bussell's house, and stayed until he had recovered the following day. This may have related to the different religious persuasions of the two families. The Turners brought Mrs Brion and her children from their isolated cottage at the other end of town to their home during a period of unrest with the local Aborigines.

Not all families at Augusta were regarded as equally hospitable. Georgiana Molloy (Molloy, 1833) notes that the Bussell family were "genteel nice people ... but terribly close-fisted", observing that while she had been hospitable to members of the Bussell family on several

occasions, she and her husband had not once "broken their bread". She clearly felt that her kindness had not been repaid, an issue that contributed to a festering resentment between the two families that lasted many years (Hasluck, 1955). Although there are extant remains of the Turners' house and garden, the homes of these early settlers were destroyed or relocated many years ago. Their original locations have been identified on the local Municipal Inventory, and their memory celebrated by small civic memorials.

One significant place can be identified from the historic records and is still extant. From 1832 onwards, most of the correspondence and diaries mention people taking the journey from Augusta to the Vasse. The route was picked out by the Bussell brothers on their search for good agricultural land to the north. Once they had established themselves at the Vasse, others followed. The dearth of ships visiting Augusta meant that travel between the two settlements was usually quickest undertaken on horseback. It was a relatively short trip, only two nights sleeping under the stars. The route wound through densely forested country that gradually opened up as it neared Geographe Bay, and many considered it a relatively pleasant trip. In September 1836, the Bussell brothers took Thomas Turner, James Turner's eldest son, on a trip to the Vasse to view prospective land. Charles Bussell (1835) noted that "Mr T Turner – something of an artist – is struck with the shadow of the picturesque grouping of the timber, and with the shadow of them plainly defined along the ground – two new features to an inhabitant of Augusta, where the trees are huddled together in one dense mass, and where the green-sward gives place to a high and almost impenetrable understorey utterly obscuring the surface of the earth".

Many of the people who relocated to the Vasse still retained property at Augusta, and therefore this route was relatively well travelled. Hasluck (1955:184) speculates that when Georgiana Molloy left Augusta for the Vasse in 1839, she would have found it interesting to see the route her husband and others had travelled so often. For the families who remained at Augusta for the next 10 years, the route was an important link with the outside world.

Conclusion

These then are the places that we know the community at Augusta valued, and if we

compare this information with that from the official databases, we find that several continue to be regarded as significant to present communities. The home sites of the Turners, the Bussells, and the Molloys are listed in the Municipal Inventory for Augusta. Although the original landing site of the 'Warrior' is also listed on the Municipal Inventory, the beach below it, which may be the one referred to by Georgiana Molloy, is not.

Two places were identified in the CRA as having high natural heritage values, the Leeuwin-Naturaliste Ridge Area and the Blackwood River Conservation Park. It is unlikely that these places would have been spatially identified by the historic community, nor would they have attached the same values to them. While Georgiana Molloy (Lines, 1994) and John Garret Bussell (1832) both showed an amateur interest in botany while living in Augusta, this might best be described as a scientific vision of Australia, rather than an ecological concern that would lead to nature conservation on this scale (Heathcote, 1972: 84). More prevalent at Augusta was a romantic landscape vision, particularly that of the picturesque (Lines, 1994). This aesthetic dictated that beauty lay in the contrast between different elements in the landscape (cf. Price, 1801). It is no surprise, therefore, that Charles Bussell (1832) states "The scenery around us at present is decidedly monotonous altho', if it were possible to remove a part selected almost at random and place it in a cultivated country, it would not only afford a pleasing variety, but would be pronounced a grand and beautiful object." Georgiana Molloy (1832) agreed, stating "This is certainly a very beautiful place – but were it not for domestic charms the eye of the emigrant would soon weary of the unbounded limits of the thickly clothed dark green forests where nothing classical can be described to feast the imagination". Furthermore, they regarded what they saw as a lack of exploitation of this bounty as a waste, Charles Bussell (1832) noting that "Nature has been permitted to run to waste, and man, not to mention his fairer partners, is sadly wanted to correct her too great luxuriances".

Finally to the route that linked Augusta and the Vasse. This has been developed into a walking trail by the local government, and was identified at a CRA community heritage workshop as being significant. However it was subsequently assessed by consultants as having insufficient national estate heritage value to be listed – that is, it did not meet the criteria to be

nominated for inclusion in the Register of the National Estate. It was therefore not incorporated into the management strategies of the RFA and is not protected. It is interesting to speculate whether the assessment would have been the same had the route's importance to the historic community and their views been known and taken into consideration.

From this small case study, it is evident that the process of identifying social historic value can add greatly to our understanding of the past and the places we associate with it. An assessment of values that gives primacy to the values of contemporary communities, and that generalises or overlooks the values of past communities, results in a shallow understanding of the depth of association that people have for places. Gaining an appreciation of the way that values change over time, often in contrasting ways, also throws our own values into sharper relief. It is therefore important we make greater efforts to hear the distant voices of past lives.

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Paper VI

O'Connor, P. (2006) Women's Values and Valuing Women: the challenge for heritage assessments, in: McMinn, T., Stephens, J. & Basson, S. Eds. Proceedings Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand XXII: Contested Terrains (Fremantle, Western Australia, SAHANZ), pp. 401-407.

Paper VI: Women's Values and Valuing Women: the challenge for heritage assessments

Rationale:

As noted in Chapter 2, half of the historic documents studied for this thesis were written by women. Although I found a strong concurrence of values for places between men and women, I was nevertheless intrigued to explore what specific values may connect women and place, particularly because this is an area that has been acknowledged as poorly recognised in the field of heritage (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 1999b). The rationale for Paper VI is therefore to explore in depth the link between women and place using the example of Ellensbrook Homestead, one of the case study sites identified as significant to the historic community in Chapter 2. In this way, the Paper moves the thesis beyond the more general observational discussion of historic values in Paper V to a direct engagement with extant fabric and the physical nature of places, and the analysis of the values they demonstrate, themes that are further explored in Papers VII and VIII.

Background and Context

Although Paper VI was presented and published at the 2006 SAHANZ conference, it built on an earlier paper presented in 2002 at the Sixth Annual Humanities Postgraduate Conference *Liveable Communities* called “A Women’s Place – Gender and Place-making in the Historic South-West”. Using the argument that “...undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value” (Tuan, 1977, p. 6), the 2002 paper examined this transformative process with specific reference to the role played by colonial women. It argued that, despite evidence to the contrary, historians continue to embody inequalities of power and influence in their depictions of female colonists, presenting them as largely passive respondents rather than active participants in the development of the place that is the south-west. The paper challenged this perception by contrasting the extent to which the place-making activities of women have been acknowledged by looking at the different ways the actions of Grace Bussell, Georgiana Molloy and Frances Louisa Brockman have been represented in contemporary publications.

Cresswell's (1989) popular history of Margaret River, and Terry's (1978) book on the Bussell family at Ellensbrook and Wallcliffe that blends fiction with extracts from historical documents, both emphasise the important role women placed in establishing secure and welcoming homes in the south-west of the colony, a theme that is further explored in this Paper (VI) and Paper V.

Terry (1978) and Cresswell (1989) rarely mention the participation of women in place making outside of the domestic realm, with two notable exceptions. Terry (1978) devotes two chapters to the story of how the young Grace Bussell, together with Aboriginal stockman Sam Issacs, rescued passengers from the steamer *Georgette* which had been wrecked in heavy seas near Calgarup. The event was linked by the media at the time to a similar incident in England several years before where a young Grace Darling had rescued five survivors from a shipwreck. Grace Bussell therefore became famous as the "Australian Grace Darling". The site is memorialised and the nearby town bears her name - Gracetown.

The other well-known counterpoint to domestic place-making is the story of Georgiana Molloy, the most widely written about female settler in the south-west, whose correspondence forms the basis of two biographies: Alexandra Hasluck's *A Portrait with Background* (2002) and William Lines' *An All Consuming Passion* (1994). Unlike many other colonial women, Georgiana's plant collecting actively engaged her with the bush around her home, and transformed her attitudes to the environment and those of others. The botanical collections she compiled gave the south-west landscape a tangible identity in Britain. Most recently she has been depicted as an ecological pioneer (Mulligan & Hill, 2001) and an important force in redefining our relationship to the natural environment.

Frances Brockman was the eldest daughter of Ellen and Alfred Bussell. In Terry's historical fiction she is described on her wedding day as "A beautiful bride, capable girl. Too managing perhaps?" (Terry, 1978, 91), and the story of her life bears out the latter observation. On marrying John Brockman, the couple moved into Ellensbrook and aimed to raise cattle, but John was convinced that greater opportunities lay in the north west. A succession of speculative business ventures aimed at raising money to fund his dream failed and left them deeply in debt. They also took John away from Ellensbrook for long periods of time, during which, Frances was left to manage the property on her own.

Managing the farm at Ellensbrook would have presented no great challenge to Frances as she had assisted her father for many years prior to this at Wallcliffe (Terry, 1978, 171), were it not for the fact that there were problems with the nutritional balance of the pasture on the farm. This meant that unless the herd was regularly driven to feed elsewhere, they failed to thrive and eventually died.

The Brockmans drove their cattle to two other farms leased from Alfred Bussell, one at Cowaramup and the other at Karridale. But John Brockman's long absences meant that Frances was largely responsible for looking after the stock. So in addition to managing her home and the farm, Frances also became a drover. Often with the help of her sisters, Grace and Bessie, these women drove large herds of cattle through and across the south-west landscape, creating paths and trails, opening up and helping to define the area.

The role that Frances, and her sisters, played in the development of the cattle economy does not feature in Hardwick's unpublished history of the industry where he describes the division of labour along traditional gender divisions: "the womenfolk running the farm and maintaining their families' domestic affairs while the boys were off tending the mobs of cattle in the bush" (Hardwick, 2002).

My research of the archive documents from the study period clearly indicates that women's work beyond the domestic realm was highly significant in the eventual success of pastoral settlement. The focus of the SAHANZ conference on buildings provided an opportunity to engage with the story of Frances Brockman, and her mother Ellen Bussell, through the fabric of Ellensbrook, and to draw out the connections between their stories and values as evidenced in the tangible built fabric.

Objectives

The primary objective of Paper VI was to determine what direct links can be identified between the fabric that remains at Ellensbrook today and the women who lived and worked there in the mid 19th century. Based on my research of the historic archives, I wanted to address two types of values associated with women in this paper and link these back to the fabric: the values women had for this place, and the value their work had in terms of the physical development of this place.

Ellensbrook is one of only two of the settler homes identified as significant to the historic community that is extant (along with Wallcliffe) and is the only one

accessible to the public. It therefore affords a rare opportunity to link the detailed recollections in the archives to the remaining fabric. This type of analysis does not typically occur in heritage assessments, and therefore another objective of this paper was to demonstrate that it is possible to gain a richer understanding of place and significance by linking values and fabric, and that such an analysis is consistent and compatible with the standard way that values are typically assessed.

The third objective of this paper was to highlight the way that the economic value of the women's work can also be inherent in significant fabric. Again, this theme is rarely acknowledged in heritage assessments. From the archives, I was aware of the extent to which the economic success and physical expansion of Ellensbrook had depended on the efforts of two generations of women, first Ellen Bussell and then later her daughters, but particularly Fanny Brockman. The paper links these different women and their work to the different phases of construction at Ellensbrook to build an argument that the structure we see today would not have been possible without their endeavours.

Women's values and valuing women: the challenge for heritage assessments

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ABSTRACT

Ellensbrook Homestead in Western Australia's south west consists of a series of timber slab, stone and weatherboard rooms constructed in the mid to late 19th century. The place is legally protected through its inclusion in the State Register of Heritage Places. However, the assessment documentation on which the listing is based was compiled in 1992 and does not include the detailed analysis now required of heritage listings. One obvious omission in the documentation is the lack of any acknowledgement of the important role that women played in the place's establishment and development. By chance, Ellensbrook has not progressed through the final stage of the listing process and is still waiting to be permanently registered. This rare opportunity to contest the assessment documentation of a registered place enables the ways that the women are associated with place to be explored and uncovers new options for their incorporation in heritage listings.

INTRODUCTION

By its very nature, the process of listing heritage places disinherits those sections of the community who can identify no link or association to themselves. While such dissonance cannot be removed through refinement of the assessment process,¹ a rigorous methodology should aim at the very least to limit factual omissions. It is with the aim of achieving this objective of 'comprehensive' assessment that detailed criteria-based methodologies have increasingly been developed for use in heritage practice.²

Although Western Australia has adopted a set of evaluative criteria derived from Australian best practice, many heritage assessments fall short of being inclusive and continue to overlook associations outside the traditional parameters of great men and great deeds. The Heritage Council of Western Australia (HCWA) has recognised this imbalance and highlighted migrants, workers, indigenous Australians and women as sections of the community that are particularly under-represented in the State Register of Heritage Places.³

While drawing the attention of heritage practitioners to the need for more fulsome historical research and analysis is important, consideration also needs to be given to how this can occur within HCWA's highly prescriptive assessment process. In this paper, I aim to address this issue by working within the HCWA strictures to reveal new ways of uncovering associations and meanings relating to women that can be incorporated into heritage listings. Through a re-analysis of Ellensbrook Homestead in Western Australia's south west, I explore different ways this place can be read as significant in terms early colonial women.

Establishing connections in heritage listings between places and colonial women is one of the important ways of recognising the contribution they made during this period. As Hetherington notes, together with children and Aboriginal people, women underpinned the economic success of the Swan River colony during the 19th century.⁴ Yet few of places registered in Western Australia from the colonial era have established this link. Heritage listing is of course not the only way to recognise women's associations with place. As Hayden and others illustrate, there are many different ways that women's relationships with place can be meaningfully interpreted.⁵ However interpretation discussions are primarily relevant to places in the public domain. For privately owned or inaccessible places it is important that heritage listings establish what resonance exists between women and place, as this may be the only opportunity for such connections to be explored.

Although the methodology I have adopted in reassessing Ellensbrook is located within the existing HCWA framework, it nevertheless challenges conventional practice in terms of both its scope and emphasis. The range of women I relate to Ellensbrook extends beyond those who actually lived there to encompass others in the wider south west community during the period 1830-1880. My argument is that Ellensbrook has a resonance with the lives of these other women, and just as the efforts of important individuals associated with this place should be acknowledged, so too should generic recognition be made of 'the invisible women of history'.⁶ A further departure is the emphasis I place on the fabric of Ellensbrook. While part of the historic significance of a place is permanently imprinted in its fabric through the actions and

events that surround the people who created it,⁷ in re-examining Ellensbrook I seek to identify the ways that associations with women are embodied in its remnant built fabric.

My re-evaluation of Ellensbrook offers a rare opportunity for praxis as by chance, the place has yet to proceed through the final stages of the heritage registration process. Before it does, the existing assessment documentation will need to be revised to meet current standards. The reassessment in this paper offers ways to uncover new values that could be incorporated into a revised listing.

ELLENSBROOK: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Ellensbrook lies isolated in the dunes of a national park mid way between Cape Naturaliste and Cape Leeuwin (Figure 1). Construction began in 1857 and it is therefore the oldest extant homestead in the Augusta-Margaret River region.⁸

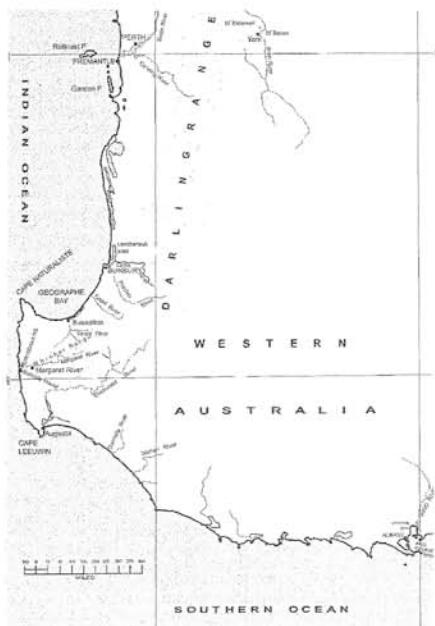


Figure 1. Western Australia's southwest
Gil Hardwick, Castle Dangerous, Hesperion Press, Carlisle, 2003, p.25.

The first settlement in the southwest was established in 1830 at Augusta near Cape Leeuwin. However Augusta failed and by the 1850s most of its settlers had taken up land further north at Busselton where farming was easier.⁹ The establishment of Ellensbrook by Ellen and Alfred Bussell therefore represented a second, more successful, attempt to settle the south west.

Alfred Bussell and his brothers had relocated to Busselton from Augusta by the 1840s. His wife, Ellen Heppington, had been born at Augusta before her parents also moved north to Busselton. Alfred and Ellen farmed at Ellensbrook for almost ten

years before moving to Wallcliffe further south on the Margaret River. They then rented Ellensbrook to their daughter, Fanny, and her husband, John Brockman from 1873. Fanny managed Ellensbrook after separating from her husband in the late 1870s until her father's death in 1882, when she took over management of all his landholdings until her brothers came of age.

Ellensbrook was extensively restored during the 1980s through the efforts of the National Trust (WA), and several accretions were removed during this process. It currently forms a T shaped complex of rooms constructed at different stages and in different materials. Two pairs of timber slab rooms faced with random rubble and cut limestone rooms follow the fall of the land east-west. They are believed to be the oldest rooms at Ellensbrook, built by Ellen and Alfred Bussell during the initial phase of construction before they left in the mid 1860s. The original paperbark roof has been covered with corrugated galvanized steel. A random rubble granite chimney finishes the western gable, while a c.1900 detached weatherboard and iron room on the eastern end completes the east-west suite. Adjoining the middle of this wing at right angles are two stone rooms with chimneys in each gable that are believed to date from c.1872, soon after Fanny and John Brockman began renting the property. The walls are mostly field granite with some cut limestone, and the roof is galvanized steel.

The current heritage listing for Ellensbrook was compiled in 1992 and forms the basis of its interim registration. Three of the four statements of significance it includes are dedicated the place's inclusion on other heritage lists. The fourth briefly captures what were seen at the time to be the key aspects of the site's significance:

the building is in a fine setting above the Ellen Brook and is important for its associations with the Bussell family, and the first settlement of the area.¹⁰

The type of analysis in this statement is consistent with the diachronic reading of the past that currently dominates heritage assessment practice in Western Australia, where values are attributed on the basis of significance through time. While the Burra Charter acknowledges the importance of this approach, it also states that places should be assessed for their value to past generations,¹¹ that is, their value in time. To uncover historic values requires a synchronic reading of the past. However, it is important that assessments demonstrate that past values were shared across a 'community', and not confined to individuals. As this paper shows, the limited amount of research into Western Australia's history can make it difficult to establish these wider thematic connections without reference to primary sources.

Two reports have been compiled on Ellensbrook since it was heritage listed, with the initial conservation study by Oline Richard's forming the basis of Cathy Day's more detailed conservation plan.¹²

Although both reports include information that demonstrates the richness of women's associations with this place, they fail to thoroughly analyse the evidence to uncover ways that synchronic and diachronic values are embodied at Ellensbrook. In terms of women's economic contribution, both reports provide evidence that highlights the crucial role women played in the establishment and development of Ellensbrook, which in turn led to the successful expansion of the pastoral industry in the Augusta-Margaret River region. Yet neither explores how this diachronic historic value might be evident in the built fabric and, as a result, this association is underplayed.

The reports also include substantial amounts of primary evidence relating to the day-to-day lives of women at Ellensbrook. This valuable material could have been used as part of a wider discussion of the cultural values shared by women in the south west and how these can be related to the fabric at Ellensbrook. However, synchronic historic values relating to women are glossed over in the generic statement that:

the place demonstrates the nature of domestic and agricultural working life in the colonial period and early 20th century in the south west of the state and points to the particular role of women in the rural economy.¹³

Not only does this underplay the embodiment of women's values in the fabric at Ellensbrook, but the synchronic connection it makes between this place and women in the wider rural community is not supported by evidence in either report.

The following section of this paper uses episodes from the lives of the two women most closely associated with the establishment of Ellensbrook; Ellen Bussell and her daughter Fanny Brockman, to develop a sense of women's cultural values associated with this place. The final section uses the recollections and experiences of the women who settled at Augusta in the 1830s to establish a resonance between Ellensbrook and the values of the wider community of colonial women in this region. The discussion is limited to women in this area on account of the shared conditions and limitations of the two locations.

Augusta was an early outpost established in an isolated location, a situation that was exacerbated by poor provisioning and resourcing. Labour was particularly difficult to retain, and as a result, middle-class and genteel women found themselves having to work to help their families survive. Labour shortages meant that building work progressed slowly and homesteads were constructed incrementally. Most settlers relied on materials that could be won from the local environment: timber, stone, clay and paperbark, and building was undertaken by people with little or no experience. The privations and isolation at Augusta had a particularly profound impact on the social and family lives of the women, the effects of which were intensified by racial and class distinctions.

The experiences of the first wave of settlers at Ellensbrook were very similar to those at Augusta. The inaccessibility of the location precluded transporting building materials from Busselton, where milled timber and bricks were available.¹⁴ The early sections of the homestead are therefore fashioned from very similar materials to those at Augusta and were constructed in the same incremental fashion by people with no professional building experience. As will be discussed, the isolation and primitive living standards at both Augusta and Ellensbrook had the greatest impact on the women who lived there. No buildings remain from the first wave of settlement at Augusta, which is why establishing a resonance between the lives of women from this period with Ellensbrook is important in terms of recognising shared women's histories in the south west.

ELLENSBROOK READING WOMEN IN THE COLONIAL BUILT FABRIC

On arriving at the site that was to become Ellensbrook homestead in April 1857, two detached timber slab huts were immediately erected. One was for the family: Ellen, Alfred and their three young daughters, and possibly a female domestic. The second accommodated at least three, but probably more, employees and ticket-of-leave men who worked on the farm in this early period.¹⁵ Neither room had a chimney, and Ellen had to cook outside on a campfire throughout that first winter.¹⁶ By November 1857, a dairy was almost complete and work could begin on a kitchen, which concluded the first wave of construction at Ellensbrook. It is believed that the two small rooms at the western end of homestead date from this initial phase: the western room with the tall chimney being the kitchen, and the adjoining room being the original family hut. (Figure 2)

These two rooms have the weakest associations with the women of Ellensbrook. Their value is limited to the generic relationship that women have to their homes as places of domestic activity. The connection between women and these rooms is therefore no more distinctive than what would be found at other colonial homesteads. While it is important to acknowledge the significance of these everyday associations, what sets Ellensbrook apart is the way that later rooms demonstrate a more direct connection with women.

While Alfred hoped to run lucrative beef cattle on his leases, it was Ellen's industry in the dairy, making butter and cheese for the local market, which sustained the family initially. Such was her success, that the money Alfred subsequently made selling cattle was entirely profit,¹⁷ and could be reinvested in extending his leases and improving the buildings at Ellensbrook. The physical evidence of Ellen's economic contribution to the family's financial security was the completion in 1859 of a substantial extension to the homestead consisting of at least two, but possibly three, larger timber slab rooms.¹⁸ Two of these remain in situ and comprise

the middle section of the east-west wing. (Figure 2.)

These two rooms have the strongest connection with the endeavours of Ellen Bussell. Their construction can be directly attributed to the economic contribution she made through her work in the diary. While the building program, which involved the hire of two additional workers over an extended period, might have been financed from the sale of Alfred's cattle, this surplus was dependent on the income from Ellen's dairy, which underpinned the family's economic success.



Figure 2. Timber slab and weatherboard rooms at Ellensbrook (O'Connor 2005)

While the fabric of the second set of rooms constructed at Ellensbrook demonstrate the importance of women's work to the development of the homestead, the uses to which they were put can be related to women's cultural values. The building of these additional rooms resulted in a significant improvement in the family's living standards. Prior to this, the cramped conditions in the conjoined hut and kitchen had been exacerbated by the birth of a fourth daughter in 1858. However the impact of overcrowding, particularly on the children, was most dramatically highlighted with the death in 1859 of a much longed for son soon after birth. Although infant mortality was very much a fact of life during the early colonial period, particularly in rural areas, the loss was still keenly felt. The construction of more bedrooms at Ellensbrook can therefore be linked to two themes: the importance that colonial women placed on having large families, and their concern to improve the physical conditions under which their children lived.

Another important consequence of the additions to Ellensbrook was the creation of the first reception room. Having space to entertain guests was particularly important for isolated rural women. Although the challenging conditions of colonial life meant that the lives of women in the south west, like those elsewhere in the British Empire, were not defined by confinement,¹⁹ they nevertheless travelled far less frequently than colonial men. A substantial part of women's social life therefore relied on the arrival of visitors and passing travellers, and it was important to have space to receive and

accommodate them appropriately. The impact that a reception room had on Ellen's life is evidenced in her diary, which shows a marked increase in the number of people calling at Ellensbrook from 1859 onwards. These 'nice days' stand out against the majority of her dry, factual entries detailing life at the homestead.²⁰

Financial viability at Ellensbrook continued to depend substantially on women's work after Ellen and Alfred's daughter Fanny and her husband John Brockman began renting the property in 1872. John's business ventures took him away from Ellensbrook for long periods of time. In 1874 Fanny notes that he had been home only 326 days in the previous three years.²¹ During his absence, Fanny built up large herds of sheep, cattle and dairy cows, which she ran over her father's leases. Her success is indicated by the fact that in her first year she produced 680kg (1,500 pounds) of butter.²²

Operating a successful pastoral lease in the southwest was particularly labour intensive. In addition to the daily cycle of milking, stock had to regularly be driven to different areas to feed due to nutrient deficiencies in the grass that could be fatal. The responsibility for droving the herds, some up to 200 head strong, across the family's extensive leases every few months fell largely to Fanny, who was often helped by her four younger sisters.²³ Periodically, Fanny also coordinated the relocation of the entire dairy operation to one of the lease outposts to streamline production.²⁴

Fanny's skill at pastoral management is particularly evident in the speed with which she recovered after the contents and stock at Ellensbrook were auctioned off in 1874 to pay John Brockman's debts. Despite this setback, by the end of 1876, she had rebuilt her dairy herd to 64 head, and sent 478kg (1,055 pounds) of butter to market.²⁵

The physical evidence of Fanny's contribution to the economic success of Ellensbrook is particularly strong. During the time she lived there, another two rooms were added, however unlike the earlier timber slab rooms, these were built in stone and to a much higher standard of workmanship. They remain extent today, abutting the earlier timber slab section at right angles. (Figure 3) As Fanny's husband was away for long periods of time leaving her to manage the property alone, and in light of the failure of his business ventures, the construction of these two rooms can largely be attributed to her business acumen. The more substantial nature of the structures and the use of stone, which was more labour intensive, is indicative of the strong financial position she was in. This was no doubt also due in part to the fact that she and John Brockman had no children.

As with the second wave of construction at Ellensbrook, women's cultural values can also be linked to the uses to which these new rooms were put. Again, the standard of living at Ellensbrook improved substantially with the construction of the new rooms. However the impact on the home-



Figure 3. Ellensbrook showing the stone wing at right angles to the two sets of timber slab rooms (note the change in roof levels) (Penny O'Connor, 2005)

stead's reception areas is particularly significant as one of the rooms became a formal parlour. New forms of entertaining became a possibility as Fanny moved her piano to the homestead. And a new level of comfort could be offered to guests as the new parlour had a fireplace.²⁶ This was still an important consideration at Ellensbrook as the combined effect of the homestead's isolated location and the poor condition of the track made the journey long and arduous well into the late 1870s.²⁷

Although Fanny's diary shows that she was regularly visited by her sisters and other friends and acquaintances, there are also many poignant entries that highlight the loneliness imposed by Ellensbrook's isolation. This was exacerbated not only by her husband's long absences, but also by social conventions that separated people of different races and classes:

I can just hear the happy voices of my colored (sic) servants in the kitchen as I sit here_ all all alone to think and muse and sigh.....What a time it seems since I have been left battling my way against everything with no one to help and no one to cheer me.²⁸

So while there were always farm workers or Aboriginal helpers at the homestead, with whom Fanny had good relations,²⁹ class distinctions appear to have prevented her from socialising with them. Furthermore, the presence of her staff and their sociability accentuated her sense of physical and social isolation.

The links between the fabric of the second and third phases of construction at Ellensbrook and the economic contribution made by Ellen and Fanny Bussell has not been developed in either of the heritage reports that have been written on the homestead since it was listed. Instead, the significance of the fabric is limited to the way the construction method reflects pioneering building techniques and the use of local materials. From my analysis, however, it is clear that there are strong

connections between the built fabric and the women who lived and worked Ellensbrook during the early colonial period which have yet to be acknowledged. While the strongest associations link women's economic contribution directly to the various phases of construction, the use of the new spaces thereby created, and the impact this had on women provides a physical link to some of the cultural values they considered important.

RESONANCE WITH COLONIAL WOMEN

Having uncovered ways that the significant contribution colonial women made to the development of the built fabric at Ellensbrook can be acknowledged, and drawing associations between that fabric and some of women's cultural mores, I turn now to the question of how resonance can be established between this place and the wider community of early colonial women in the south west. I define this community as pre-dating the establishment of the first successful timber-milling venture in the area in 1880, which substantially changed the region's economic fortunes. Settlements and communities developed rapidly after this date, and the isolation experienced by early settler women was tempered, if not entirely alleviated. In terms of the built environment, the development of a local timber industry meant that milled timber became the most commonly used building material in the south west. Its impact was evident at Ellensbrook in the large weatherboard extensions that were constructed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, of which only the stand-alone room to the east survives. (Figure 1)

One of the challenges of trying to incorporate more synchronic historic associations into heritage listings, such as cultural values held by women during a particular period of time, is how to do this within the limitations of the statutory process. While heritage has been accused of being 'indifferent to linear chronology',³⁰ this generalisation does not hold true for the listing process used in Western Australia, which requires the historic evidence about a place to be organised in chronological fashion. While this provides limited scope for incorporating more collective values, these can be included under the section for Comparative Information. Although listings are making greater use of this section, the emphasis still tends to be to provide a context for architectural style, construction materials or associations with significant individuals, such as the body of work of an architect. As the following discussion of women in the wider south west highlights, the comparative section of heritage listings also has the capacity to include information that forges other types of thematic links, which can in turn be used to develop arguments for the way that individual places, such as Ellensbrook, are able to represent collective values.

At Augusta, as at Ellensbrook, women's work was essential to economic viability. As noted before, settlers found it increasingly difficult to retain staff during this period, and even indenture servants often left prematurely. Middle-class and genteel

women therefore increasingly found themselves having to take greater responsibility for menial domestic tasks, as well as child-care, labouring and dairy work. While some younger members of the settlement looked upon these activities as part of an Arcadian, colonial adventure,³¹ others worried that the rigours of work left little time for the proper care and tuition of the next generation.³²

The letters of Georgiana Molly record the wide range of responsibilities she had at Augusta. As wife of the Resident Magistrate, she often undertook official duties and managed the farm during her husband's frequent absences. During one such period in 1834, she officiated at a funeral, ordered out the 21st Fusiliers to guard against thefts by Aboriginal groups, dealt with her husband's official correspondence and organised the harvest. As an amateur botanist, she had taken an active interest in the way the wheat was sown, and had washed the seed in brine to ensure a mould-free crop.³³ These duties were in addition to her regular domestic chores and caring for her baby, and were undertaken during a period when she had no domestic servants and was expecting another child. Like Ellen Bussell, Georgiana Molloy also operated a successful diary, which provided food for the family, but also an additional source of income.

Although Georgiana's circumstances were unique to her situation, the important contribution made by women was repeated in other families at Augusta. The arrival of the Bussell sisters at Augusta in 1833, three years after the first of their brothers, for example, relieved the boys of many domestic responsibilities. Their support enabled the family to expand their landholdings north to the Busselton area and for several years the sister's helped to maintain households here and at Augusta.³⁴

Apart from the Turners, who had brought a kit home with them from Britain,³⁵ homesteads at Augusta were constructed using similar building techniques to those used at Ellensbrook and expanded in the same incremental pattern. The first huts or rooms were usually constructed from timber slabs and roofed with paperbark. They rarely incorporated a chimney meaning cooking had to be done on an open hearth outside until time and resources allowed for the construction of a kitchen.³⁶

Public rooms were usually the last to be built. At Augusta, as at Ellensbrook, these spaces were particularly important to women. Despite the rigours of work, the 'elegant occupations' of music, dance and social gayety remained an important part of life in this remote outpost.³⁷ Small impromptu house parties were a regular occurrence, particularly

among families like the Bussells and Turners who had children in their teens and early twenties. The families were often joined by neighbours, travellers, crew from American whalers and visiting military officers. The Turners particularly enjoyed entertaining and Ann's diary records dinners and parties occurring every few weeks;³⁸

Maintaining social contact was also an important way for women at Augusta to deal with the loneliness and isolation of this remote location. Like the women at Ellensbrook, those at Augusta also had to cope with the periodic absences of the men. The Bussell brothers, John Molloy and the elder Turners were all involved in expeditions across the southwest. As Resident Magistrate, John Molloy also had to make frequent and sometimes lengthy trips to Perth on official business and was occasionally absent for months at a time.³⁹

While memorials and sparse ruins are all that physically remain of the homesteads built at Augusta, this contrasts with the rich documentary evidence found in the letters, journals and diaries of the women who lived there. The examples used above illustrate the resonance the lives of these women have with those at Ellensbrook. The two sets of women experienced similar built environments in isolated locations. In both places, their economic contribution was essential to the comfort and well-being of them and their families. They also shared cultural values, the example used here being the importance they placed on maintaining active social lives. So although there are no buildings left at Augusta that demonstrate the values and industry of women in this place, they can be represented through their association with Ellensbrook.

CONCLUSION

My aim in this paper was to challenge some of the accepted processes and conventions that surround heritage listing in Western Australia through a reanalysis of Ellensbrook Homestead as it relates to early colonial women. In doing so, I wanted to draw some aspects of the academic and theoretical debates about heritage into the realm of applied practice, which I see this as an important and under-explored area. Critiques of heritage listing often highlight deficiencies, omissions and inadequacies with little appreciation of the strictures imposed by bureaucratic and statutory practices that cannot be easily changed. Yet, as this paper shows, there is scope, within the Western Australian system, for richer understandings of place to be uncovered within the parameters of the existing process, provided shifts in current perspectives and approaches are accommodated.

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² Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter*, 1999, Article 5.

³ Heritage Council of Western Australia, *Proforma for Documentation Of Places for entry in the Register of Heritage Places*, August 2006.

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- 21 Brockman, *Diary of Francis Louisa*, 24 June 1874.
- 22 Brockman, *Diary of Francis Louisa*, 1 November 1874.
- 23 Brockman, *Diary of Francis Louisa*, see for example 18 October 1872, 1 January 1873 & 6 June 1877.
- 24 Brockman, *Diary of Francis Louisa*, 18 March 1874.
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- 26 Brockman, *Diary of Francis Louisa* 16 August 1874.
- 27 Fanny's diary notes in 1877 the ongoing difficulties of the journey to Busselton. Brockman, *Diary of Francis Louisa* 1 June 1877.
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Paper VII

O'Connor, P. (2008) The Sound of Silence: valuing acoustics in heritage conservation, *Geographical Research*, 46, (3) pp. 361-373.

Paper VII: The Sound of Silence: valuing acoustics in heritage conservation

Rationale:

The rationale for Paper VII is to explore in greater depth the omission of historic cultural values from heritage assessments through an examination of acoustic value. The paper argues that acoustic value itself is poorly understood in cultural heritage, adding to the problems of assessing it in an historic context. Drawing on theories from landscape preference and acoustics, the paper uncovers historic acoustic values that both contrast and concur with contemporary experiences of places still extant today in the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River. It concludes by highlighting how vulnerable acoustic values are to changes in land management practices if not identified and assessed and argues for a greater acknowledgement of the strong connections between sound and sense of place.

Background and Context

This article developed from a conference paper I delivered at the 2001 Curtin Humanities Postgraduate Conference *Undisciplined Thoughts* (O'Connor & Scott, 2002). Until this conference, my exploration of how historic community values could be identified through the existing parameters established by current best practice had been largely focussed on achieving this through the criterion of historic value, because of the obvious logic of addressing the significance of events that occurred in the past under this criterion, with reference also to social value, because it is through this value that the emotional connections people today form with places are acknowledged (Australia ICOMOS, 2000), as set out in Papers I – IV. However,

as I explored the values held by historic communities in greater detail, I realised that by conceptualising them primarily as historic values, my earlier analysis had overlooked other evaluative criteria; namely aesthetic and scientific value. As I had already discovered evidence that the early historic community in Augusta, and later at scattered locations around Margaret River, were not only acoustically aware of their new environment, but very quickly began to attach specific values to the sound of certain places, I chose to delve into this value rather than scientific value.

As with almost all the papers published for this thesis, the first two sections provide background information on the way that cultural heritage is defined and understood in both Australia, and Western Australia more specifically, in view of the more general readership of the Journal. Paper VII however goes on to provide a more detailed discussion and analysis of the framing of acoustic value by the federal and state agencies than other papers to help explain why historic acoustic values have been overlooked in the assessment process.

When I presented the conference paper on which this publication is based in 2001, the theory of the soundscape had received only limited attention outside the field of acoustic ecology. In the five years between presentation and publication, this situation changed dramatically. Several books were published in that time on the way the past sounded, such as those by Smith (2001), Picker (2003), and Rath (2003). The contrasts they revealed helped to stimulate a re-engagement with the sound of contemporary acoustic environments. This was also partly driven by increasing concern regarding the assessment and management of environmental noise, particularly in Europe where the European Parliament issued a direction on this issue in 2002. However, to understand the negative impact of noise, and the positive consequences of its removal, it is first necessary to identify the nature of the acoustic

environment that is being impacted upon. In addressing this issue, acousticians have increasingly adopted the concept of the soundscape as the basis for further detailed scientific study of the way places sound.

Objectives

As Australian cultural heritage practice has relied substantially to date on early landscape preference research to inform its understanding of acoustic value, one of the key objectives of this paper is to critically review this field in terms of its capacity to identify the positive inter-relationships between sound and place. However, as a practitioner, I felt strongly that it was necessary to present an alternative theoretical basis for valuing sound, as without this, it is unlikely that progress will be made in this area of assessment. A second objective of this paper is therefore the presentation of the concept of the soundscape, as espoused initially by F. Murray Schafer (Schafer, 1977) and subsequently developed by acoustic ecologists, as an alternative theory to underpin the important role of sound in cultural heritage.

The concept of soundscape establishes a strong theoretical connection between sound and place that is applicable across Australia. While the paper goes on to demonstrate the educational potential of historic acoustic values using two case studies from Western Australia's south-west, the finding that sounds can both resonate and contrast with current values, thereby adding a new dimension to our understanding of the past and also the present, has relevance nationally and internationally.

My final objective is to highlight the vulnerability of acoustic values, both historic and contemporary. This is achieved through critical examination of the extent to which acoustics have been recognised or protected in policies and guidelines that

cover the two case study sites. Paper VII concludes that cultural heritage needs to pay greater attention to the identification and assessment of acoustic value in order for it to be considered and where necessary conserved through land management strategies.

Outstanding Issues

Paper VII does not engage with more recently-published research on soundscapes by acousticians for two reasons. The paper was submitted for consideration by *Geographical Research* in early 2006 before several key references had been published, particularly the collection of papers published in 2006 in Volume 92 of *Acta Acoustica united with Acustica*. Although discussion of this research could have been added to the paper during the review phase, the referees had requested more detailed examination of the way cultural heritage values are framed. The word limit of the journal precluded addressing both these issues, so more recent soundscape research by Schulte-Fortkamp (2006), Manon Raimbault (2005), Botteldooren, De Conseul and De Muer (2006) and others has been investigated in Paper VIII, where some of their findings are used to develop a method to assist heritage practitioners in describing and analysing the acoustic dimension of significant places.

The Sound of Silence: Valuing Acoustics in Heritage Conservation

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Abstract

This paper explores the reasons behind the omission of historic acoustic values from heritage assessments in Australia. Best practice dictates that all cultural heritage values associated with significant places should be assessed in order to make informed conservation and management decisions. However, the multi-sensory nature of aesthetics has been reframed in guidance documentation in ways that run counter to the primary frame. Conventions that have developed around the way places are assessed also work against comprehensive identification of values. As a result, the consideration of aesthetics in cultural heritage is limited to contemporary visual qualities. Furthermore, because the assessment of historic value takes a diachronic rather than synchronic approach, we have little knowledge of the places past communities valued for the sounds they experienced there. Research into landscape preference and acoustic ecology highlights the importance of identifying the inherent acoustic dimension of places and the role sound plays in developing a sense of place. Two landscape areas in Western Australia's south-west with historic acoustic values, the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River, illustrate how historic soundscapes can provide insightful contrasts and resonances with contemporary values, and how vulnerable such places are when the sound of place is overlooked in land management policies.

KEY WORDS *cultural heritage; acoustic value; landscape preference; acoustic ecology; soundscape*

ACRONYMS

AHC	Australian Heritage Council
CRA	Comprehensive Regional Assessment
HCWA	Heritage Council of Western Australia
ICOMOS	International Council for Monuments and Sites
MHI	municipal heritage inventory

Introduction

The way a place sounds can be just as much an indicator of community identity as architecture or customs, and may therefore be a key factor in the development of a sense of place (Schafer,

1977). And in the same way that other elements of our cultural heritage are increasingly pressured and threatened by accelerated social and physical change, so too are unique soundscapes: the patterns of sound that define and distinguish

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places from one another. The primary frame that guides and informs heritage conservation in Australia recognises that sensory values, including sound, can contribute to a place's significance and includes them under the broadly defined criteria of aesthetic value (O'Connor, 2000). When places are assessed for heritage listing, however, aesthetic value is usually limited to visual aesthetics, most commonly those relating to architectural styles or landmark qualities. The acoustic values of places are rarely noted, and may be overlooked even in instances where they are clearly important. In some cases, acoustic values can be inferred from documented visual assessments, but rarely are they stated overtly or presented in a way that might facilitate conservation management. Furthermore, there is little consideration given to identifying historic acoustic values, that is, places valued by communities in the past for the way they sounded. This paper explores the way that the assessment of acoustic value has been framed and reframed in Australia, looking specifically at the differences between federal guidance and that developed in Western Australia. It highlights the important relationship between sound and place through a discussion of the different approaches taken by landscape preference research and acoustic ecology to the study of place-based acoustics. Places that have historic acoustic values in the southwest of Western Australia are then identified, and the way these values enhance our understanding and appreciation of heritage is analysed. The paper concludes by looking at the impact that historic acoustic values can have in the development of management and conservation policies for important places.

Australian heritage practice

In Australia, guidance on what constitutes best practice in heritage assessment and conservation originated through the passing of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*. The basic principles the Act espoused regarding how to identify cultural heritage significance were then expanded upon by the Australian Branch of the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) through the Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (commonly known as the Burra Charter). The principles that these mutually supportive documents espouse are widely regarded as representing best practice, both in Australia and abroad, although it is the Burra Charter alone that is consistently cited as the benchmark.

At the heart of these documents is the principle that all the values for which a place is significant should be identified and assessed (Australia ICOMOS, 2000). To guide practitioners in this process, four evaluative criteria were identified that were believed to encompass the full range of cultural significance: aesthetic, historic, social, and scientific value (*Australian Heritage Commission Act*). These values now underpin all cultural heritage legislation around Australia, and are also increasingly referenced at the local government level.¹

The principles guiding cultural heritage practice, in particular the application of the four evaluative criteria, are so widely accepted they can be viewed as a primary frame (O'Connor, 2000). Goffman (1974) describes a primary frame as a concept or way of thinking that is so dominant it is difficult to conceive of challenging its primacy, and it is applied automatically and largely without question. The dominant nature of a primary frame should ensure its universal and standard implementation. However, in the case of the evaluative criteria, this has not been the case. While both State and Federal legislation has enshrined the criteria, subsequent guidance on how the values can be identified and understood has blurred distinctions (O'Connor, 2000). Reframing of the criteria is also occurring through informal practices adopted by consultants and the development of conventions that have consciously or unconsciously been accepted by government agencies. The cumulative effect of these practices results in heritage assessments that overlook key values and are inconsistent with the objectives of the primary frame.

One area where there has been significant reframing is the identification and assessment of aesthetic value. The primary frame defines aesthetic value as multi-sensory in that it encompasses all the senses: sight, sound, smell, taste and touch (Australia ICOMOS, 2000). The Australian Heritage Council (AHC) makes a clear distinction between aesthetic value and social value (Australian Heritage Council, undated), but in Western Australia the demarcation between aesthetic and social value is blurred by cross-referencing.

The Heritage Council of Western Australia's (HCWA) definition of aesthetic value is comparable to that of the AHC: importance to a community for esteemed or otherwise valued aesthetic characteristics (Australian Heritage Council, undated). There is a marked difference, however, between the scope of social value in

the Western Australian guidance compared to that of the AHC. The AHC defines social value in terms of importance to a community for reasons of religious, spiritual, symbolic, cultural, educational, or social associations. But the HCWA guidance also includes aesthetic associations under the criterion of social value (Heritage Council of Western Australia, undated). In Western Australia, community aesthetics can therefore be considered under both aesthetic value and social value.

The HCWA guidance provides no direction on how to differentiate between a community appreciation of aesthetic characteristics under aesthetic value and the aesthetic associations of a community under social value. As a result, conventions have developed around the assessment of these two values that run contrary to the primary frame. The most notable of these is the convention of assessing aesthetic value in terms of formal architectural or landscape style.² While this practice ensures that the professional community's views are represented, it does so at the exclusion of the wider community's views, thereby discounting the extent to which popular aesthetics can differ significantly from expert opinion (Lamb, 1994).

While community aesthetics could be recognised under the HCWA definition of social value, little effort is currently made to identify this value beyond noting the inclusion of a place in a local heritage list or municipal heritage inventory (MHI). But the listing of a place in an MHI is a poor indicator of community sentiment as it is not standard practice for local governments to seek community input in the local listing process. Furthermore, analysis of the four evaluative criteria in MHIs is often very limited. For example, in the MHI for the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River, the local government that covers the far south-west of Western Australia, the only analysis of values is in short statements of significance developed for each place. Only a small number of these statements reference aesthetics, and these are limited to the acknowledgement of visual attributes such as landmark qualities, architectural style or beauty (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group and Claughton, 1996).

Other conventions relating to aesthetic value further undermine its comprehensive assessment. The current Australia-wide interpretation of both aesthetic and social values is that they are contemporary values (Johnston, 1994; Ramsay and Paraskevopoulos, 1994), as the aesthetic percep-

tions of past communities can be included under the criterion of historic value. However, the diachronic way that historic value is currently assessed emphasises the evaluation of people, places and events through and across time, principally from the perspective of the present day. In terms of aesthetics, this means that contemporary values are identified first and historic values that concur are sought to support cultural significance (Pocock, 2002).

Davison calls for a more synchronic approach to assessing historic value, where 'social historical significance' is assessed in time as well as across time (Davison, 1991, 73). The synchronic approach he advocates offers an alternative starting point for assessing the values of places; in the past. Using this method, places can be evaluated for being 'noted or celebrated in history' (Davison, 1991). In terms of aesthetics, a synchronic approach may reveal information that supports contemporary values, but could also uncover contrasting perceptions that highlights changing attitudes and philosophies about aesthetics.

While the reframing of aesthetic value in guidance documents and through the adoption of conventions associated with professional practice has confused the issue of which criterion it should be assessed against, reframing within the value itself has a far greater impact on the assessment of acoustic value. The primary frame is emphatic that aesthetic value includes all the senses (Australia ICOMOS, 2000, 12). Yet despite the constant iteration of its multi-sensorial nature in guidance and texts (Ramsay and Paraskevopoulos, 1994; Pearson and Sullivan, 1995; Marquis-Kyle and Walker, 2004), most heritage assessments across Australia, at both the State and Federal level, only consider the visual qualities of place. As a result, acoustic value is largely ignored, or at best implied in heritage assessments, even for places that are acoustically dynamic. The heritage assessment of Beedelup Falls, a 106 m stretch of rocky cascades in the forests of Beedelup National Park in Western Australia's south-west, illustrates the inconsistent results of such reframing.

Beedelup Falls was assessed through a Comprehensive Regional Assessment (CRA), which aimed to identify significant places in Western Australia's south-west that would be recognised in a Regional Forest Agreement. A Community Heritage Program, overseen by the Australian Heritage Commission, formed part of the CRA. This Program had the stated objective of identifying places of aesthetic and social value

according to the AHC criteria. However, the assessments that resulted focus principally on social rather than aesthetic value. Furthermore, where aesthetic value is considered, it is largely limited to the visual qualities of places. In the case of Beedelup Falls, the assessment notes the visual impact of the juxtaposition of tall forest and rapids (Pearson, 1997), but makes no mention of the acoustic values that also define this place. This is a glaring omission as the rush of the water against the rocks can be heard hundreds of metres away, particularly during the winter and spring when water levels are high. The report on the Community Heritage Program gives no explanation as to why acoustic, or other multi-sensory aesthetic values, were not addressed (Pearson, 1997). HCWA similarly fails to acknowledge or explain why acoustic values are omitted from its heritage assessments. For example, the assessment of St Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Perth makes no mention of the church bell that has been in use on the site since 1864 (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 1995).

The reframing of aesthetic value in heritage guidance has led to confusion about where and how it should be discussed. This has resulted in assessments that are inadequate in terms of the primary frame, particularly in relation to determining aesthetic values held by the wider community, both past and present. Further reframing of aesthetics disregards acoustic and other multi-sensory qualities over visual attributes. Under these parameters, places with historic acoustic values, the focus of this paper, are highly unlikely to be identified.

Understanding acoustics

Apart from the work by Ramsay and Paraskevopoulos (1994) and Pocock (2002), there has been little research in Australia on the relationship between acoustics and cultural heritage. But the associated connection between sense of place and acoustics has been explored in two other very divergent fields: landscape preference research and the emerging field of acoustic ecology. As cultural heritage has looked to the early work of landscape preference research for connections to the acoustic environment, but has yet to explore acoustic ecology, the following section outlines the differences and commonalities of the two disciplines. What is interesting is that, while in some respects their research methods are diametric opposites, their conclusions about the acoustic environment are increasingly converging.

Landscape preference research

Landscape preference research is a highly diverse field involving disciplines such as environmental psychology, geography, and landscape architecture. Traditionally, research in this area has focused on identifying preferences for different types of landscapes in terms of responses to physical features such as:

1. the density of vegetative cover, for example, sparse, dense, mixed, desert (Herzog, 1987; Kaplan *et al.*, 1989; Ribe, 1989; Ruddell *et al.*, 1989; Schroeder, 1991);
2. the form of terrain, for example, rough, even (Herzog, 1987);
3. the type of forest cover, for example, deciduous, evergreen, native, exotic (Kaplan and Herbert, 1987; Purcell, 1992), and
4. the presence or absence of other landscape features such as water, rocks, ravines, human elements (Zube and Pitt, 1981; Lamb and Purcell, 1984; Herzog and Smith, 1988; Fishwick and Vining, 1992; Purcell, 1992).

While most of these studies use the term 'aesthetics' in their discussions, the emphasis has been solely on the visual qualities of places.

Some researchers have looked beyond the limited interpretation of landscape as a purely visual phenomenon and have examined the way that sound can impact on people's recreational enjoyment of landscapes and the environment. Several studies have compared different types of natural settings with urban landscapes, concluding that the most preferred sounds are those of nature, such as bird song and water (see for example Anderson *et al.*, 1983; Carles *et al.*, 1999). Others have looked at the impact that sound levels have on enjoyment. Kariel (1990), for example, has found that loudness alone is not a good predictor of annoyance as some sounds, particularly those relating to machinery, can be intrusive at even very low levels. The faint sound of a distant chain-saw is therefore more disturbing than the dominant sound of a nearby waterfall. More recently, several studies have focused on the debate over whether visitor experiences of wilderness areas, particularly iconic sites such as national parks, are negatively affected by the specific noises from plane and helicopter tourist flights (see for example Tarrant *et al.*, 1995; Mace *et al.*, 1999; Pearlman *et al.*, 1999).

The acoustic-related landscape preference research indicates a strong connection between sound and the way that landscapes are perceived,

and that scenic landscape values can be negatively affected by inappropriate noises. As a result, people's emotional responses to the environment can also be negatively affected. While these findings are valuable they only discuss half the acoustic dimension of place as they focus on sound as noise, a negative intrusion. In terms of heritage assessments and conservation, there is a need to move beyond this and consider sound as a positive or inherent factor of place making. As Carles *et al.* conclude, 'there is [now] a need to identify places or settings where the conservation of the sound environment is essential' (1999, 191). While landscape preference research can assist land managers in removing or restricting intrusive noises, it provides little awareness of the acoustic environment that is thereby protected. One discipline involved in assessing acoustic environments, or soundscapes, is acoustic ecology.

Acoustic ecology

Acoustic ecology is an eclectic discipline that brings together researchers and practitioners from extremely diverse backgrounds. It has its origins in the work of music teacher R.M. Schafer (1977), who argued that the acoustic environment should be listened to as if it was a musical composition, and that individually and collectively, we should all take responsibility for its composition. The discipline continues to be dominated by researchers working creatively with sound – particularly musicians and installation artists – but Schafer's work has relevance for a wider audience.

Schafer's central thesis is that just as visual features can contribute to a sense of place, so too can sound. Each place, he argues, has a unique soundscape which can be broken down into three layers of sound:

1. 'keynotes' – background sounds that form the base of the soundscape;
2. 'sound signals' – foreground sounds that are more distinct, and
3. 'soundmarks' – sounds that have a particular meaning for local communities or punctuate the sound signals and keynotes, that is sounds that are analogous to landmarks in the built environment (Schafer, 1977, 9–10).

As Westerkamp (2000) points out, whether urban or rural, the sounds of our home environments give us – often unconsciously – a strong 'sense of place'. Furthermore, as globalisation progresses, we may actually be losing some of our unique soundscapes as our acoustic environ-

ment threatens to become more homogenised (Wrightson, 2000). It is for this reason that the concept of acoustic ecology has also become popular with environmentalists concerned with the issue of noise pollution (see for example Karlsson, 2000). Their argument, supported by Schafer (1977), is that technology has resulted in a comparatively low fidelity environment: one where we are constantly surrounded by sounds that often mask each other to such an extent we no longer consciously distinguish one from the other. As a result our responses become polarised – sound is either loud or quiet, good or bad. As Wrightson (2000, 12) notes,

In the developed world, sound has less significance and the opportunity to experience 'natural' sounds decreases with each generation due to the destruction of natural habitats. Sound becomes something that the individual tries to block out, rather than to hear: the lo-fi, low information soundscape has nothing to offer.

The increasingly lo-fi nature of modern soundscapes has increased interest in researching the comparatively richer, hi-fi soundscapes of the past (Smith, 2001; Picker, 2003; Rath, 2003). The identification of historic acoustic values in cultural heritage assessments contrasts with these thematic histories in that sounds are located in space as well as time, that is, they are linked to specific and identifiable places. The consequence for heritage managers of exploring sounds of the past is the possibility of highlighting contemporary acoustic experiences that have a strong historic resonance, or through their dissonance contrast with the past.

Historic acoustic values in the south-west of Western Australia

Researchers of the historic acoustic environment have based their discussions on a variety of source material. Picker (2003) extracted soundscapes from Victorian literature; Rath (2003) used a combination of early published essays and writings as well as letters and diaries, while Smith (2001) combined these with legal cases, published contemporary accounts and articles from historic newspapers, journals and periodicals. If historic acoustic values are to be included in Australian heritage assessments, particularly those leading to heritage listing, then the methods used to uncover them must be consistent with the principles of the primary frame. This means applying a comparable method to that used in the assessment of contemporary aesthetic

value. This limits the options for primary sources of information.

The most extensive program to identify community heritage values (that is social and aesthetic values) was through the Comprehensive Regional Assessments (CRA) undertaken around Australia during the late 1990s. The CRAs used information from community workshops to identify and locate places. Collective values were then extrapolated from individual nominations, and cross-checked against other data for verification or substantiation of significance (Pearson, 1997).

In the case of historic communities, where no members survive, other first-hand recollections of site specific activities and perceptions have to be relied upon to provide the equivalent of nominations; sources such as diaries, journals and letters. These records also contain information about the extent to which experiences and perceptions were shared. In this way they indicate which places were valued by the community, and for what reasons. Using this method I sought to identify places of historic acoustic value in the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River, one of the oldest settled regions in Western Australia. The period I studied begins in 1830, with the arrival of the first European immigrants who founded the town of Augusta, and ends in 1880. This fifty-year period was one of relatively slow and steady environmental change, and contrasts with the rapid period of development that followed with the expansion of the timber and dairy industries in the south-west.

Although the method is a good corollary for the contemporary approach, there are potential limitations to applying it to such an early period in colonial history, most significantly in terms of the amount of data available. Certain sections of the community are better represented than others in the public archives. Educated people from the middle or merchant classes wrote most of the records that survive, and labourers and servants are therefore under-represented as primary sources. However, because there were so few settlers, particularly in isolated outposts like Augusta, people of all classes were forced to live and work together more intimately than they would have in Europe, simply in order to survive. This led to a more egalitarian attitude, where hospitality was afforded without restraint to 'friends or mere acquaintances, of equals or inferiors' (John Garrett Bussell, *ca.* 1832). The social conventions of Europe that separated people of different classes could simply not be maintained

in the same way in Western Australian colonial society. Moreover, as one of the early residents of Augusta, Charles Bussell, noted, the smallness of the community led to 'a sort of friendship beyond that of common acquaintances ... and we appear in great measure like members of one family, such is the present state of society in Augusta' (Charles Bussell, 1831). This shift in social relations means that the letters and diaries of educated and wealthy settlers frequently mention the names of servants and labourers who participated in community events, social gatherings and expeditions, and provide a wider sense of historic community value.

Another notable characteristic of the historic records is the different subjects discussed by men and women. Men recall far more of their impressions of the landscape and the events that played out within it. As they travelled and explored, they had more opportunities to discover and experience new and interesting places, and these are often described very vividly. Women's writings are much more focused on sharing personal information about family and friends. As they tended not to travel as frequently beyond the home or farm, their recollections provide only limited information on places outside this domain.

Few of the acoustic recollections I uncovered from the historic documents could be linked to specific places in a way that could inform heritage listing. Bird song, for example, was commonly mentioned but only in general terms and never at a precise location. In two places, the Margaret River and at Chapman's Pool, the sound of tumbling water could be assumed from references to rapids. However, none of the recollections actually mentions the sound of the water at these places. In one instance, the rapids were part of a wider landscape that was described as 'picturesque' (John Garrett Bussell, undated), but more often rapids were described either in negative terms, as a hindrance to navigation, or practically, as good locations to cross. There was, however, sufficient evidence to link historic acoustic values to two specific locations: a mobile dune system called the Boranup Sand Patch, south of the town of Margaret River, and the lower reaches of the Blackwood River before it empties into the expanse of the Harvey Inlet (Figure 1).

Boranup Sand Patch

The Boranup Sand Patch is a relatively inaccessible system of mobile dunes situated in low, coastal scrub about 500 m inland from the

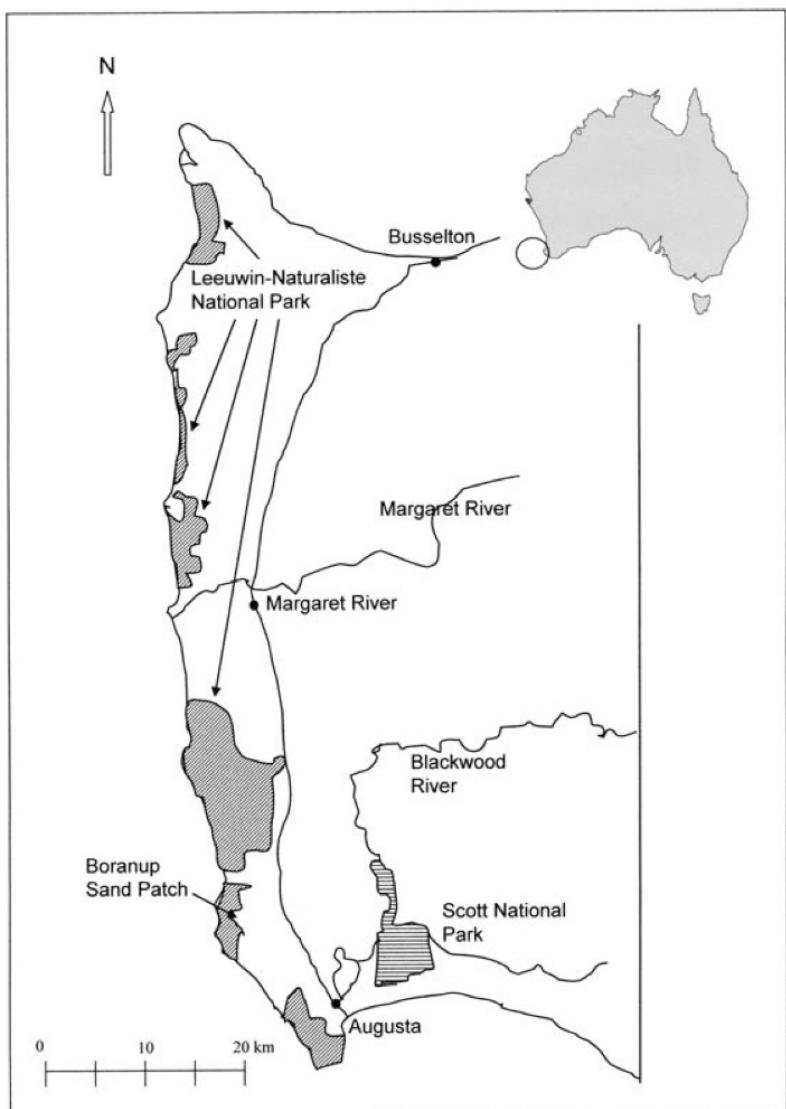


Figure 1 Western Australia's south-west region.

Indian Ocean. It is approximately 5 km long and over a 1 km wide in most places, but historical records indicate that it may have been much larger (Southcombe, 1986). The Sand Patch was first recorded in detail by John Garrett Bussell who encountered it during an expedition in 1831. From his account, it is clear that even at this early stage it was quite a well known feature,

and something of a landmark in a landscape that settlers often observed had few distinguishing features. JG Bussell (1831) described very graphically the visual qualities of the area he called the White Patch:

... above the surface on every side of me may be seen strong excrevences [sic] resembling

the stems of shrubs, sometimes very slender, sometimes as large as the timber of a small tree. One might imagine with the poet that Nature had first given birth to a thicket.

The formations he referred to are rhizoliths: the calcified tracts, or sometimes fossilised remains, of plant roots that have been exposed through wind erosion. Protruding up to half a metre above the sand and covering the dunes entirely in some places, they create an alien landscape (Figure 2).

The historic acoustic values for the Sand Patch originate from the sound of wind and waves. The wind was an important navigational indicator on JG Bussell's 1831 expedition. As he approached what he believed to be the coastline, he wrote of his anticipation of hearing the sound of the sea carried on the wind. In later reminiscences of his early life, he noted more specifically that where the shore is exposed to the ocean '... surf may be heard at the distance from 15 to twenty miles' (24–32 km) (John Garrett Bussell, undated). The sound of sea and the wind would also have enhanced the eeriness of Boranup Sand Patch for early colonists, adding to its sublime appeal.



Figure 2 Rhizoliths at Boranup Sand Patch; densely crowded and rising up to 0.5 m above the sand in some places, they create an eerie atmosphere which is enhanced by the sound of wind and the absence of any of the noise of modern life (Source: Dr J-P Thull, University of Lincoln, New Zealand: personal communication).

By the 1870s, the Sand Patch had become something of a local attraction to the small number of settlers who had established themselves nearby, judging by the diary of JG Bussell's niece, Frances Brockman. In 1874, she wrote:

We all went down to see the white sand patch. I had never seen it before. The sides of the hill leading up to the plain above are almost perpendicular. We had a great scramble to get up. The view from the top is very beautiful. You can see for miles upon miles over the tops of the tall trees all round (Brockman, 1872–1905).

Although Frances did not mention the sound of the sea on this occasion, in other diary entries she commented on 'the restless triumphant music of the bubbling ambitious sea' along this stretch of coastline. (Brockman, 1872–1905).

The wild landscape of dunes and limestone ridges that flank Boranup Sand Patch is still valued for its 'satisfying sense of remoteness' (Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1999). Evidence of human activity is minimal, limited to a small number of unmade roads and walking tracks. Because of the continued isolation of the Sand Patch, the fragile rhizoliths remain largely intact, in contrast to many other locations (such as Nambung National Park) where there has been extensive damage. The only sounds today are those of nature and therefore the strange environment experienced by the early settlers can still be appreciated. However, the isolation that has preserved the rhizoliths at the Sand Patch has also caused this unusual place to fall out of general knowledge. Although the western half of the Sand Patch lies within the Leeuwin-Naturaliste National Park, it is not noted as a feature in the Park's management plan (Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1989). Nor was the Sand Patch identified through the Community Heritage Program, although the wider Park was considered significant (Pearson, 1997, 69).

In contrast to the western half of the Sand Patch, the eastern half has been identified as significant, but for the potential value of its lime sand, not its cultural heritage. A mining reserve was first created over this area in 1962, and in 1970 a mining lease was vested in the local government. Subsequent studies indicate the presence of large amounts of high quality lime sand at Boranup, and it is possibly one of the best deposits in the south-west region not contained in a National Park (Denman, cited in

Abeysinghe, 1998). In 1985, in an apparent attempt to attract a large commercial investor, the State government blocked applications for small mining tenements over the Sand Patch by gazetting a temporary mining reserve. The quality and extent of the lime sand at Boranup was highlighted again in 1998 by Abeysinghe, but to date there has been no commercial interest in mineral extraction.

Mining in such close proximity to a national park is not viewed as inappropriate. While the areas adjacent to the National Park, including the Boranup Sand Patch, form part of the Leeuwin-Naturaliste Protection area and have been identified as having important natural landscape values (Ministry for Planning, 1998), the *Statement of Planning Policy* which governs management of the Protection Area recommends 'the timely exploration of land for mineral resources ahead of the creation of ... conservation areas' (Ministry for Planning, 1998, 37). Furthermore, mitigation of the impact of mining on the aesthetics of the area is not likely to be perceived as problematic due to the limited scope of the *Leeuwin-Landscape Assessment Study* (Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1997) that informed the development of the Planning Policy. Although the original intention of the Landscape Assessment Study was to assess the full range of aesthetic values associated with this area, as well as historic and social values (Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1997), only visual aesthetics were examined.

The Landscape Study identified the area containing the eastern section of Boranup Sand Patch as significant and recommended that any development should be temporary or unseen from travel routes with moderate to high volumes of traffic, or tourist route classifications, or recreational, cultural or scenic sites of national, interstate or State significance (Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1997). As the landscape containing the Sand Patch is a system of ridges and dunes, it may be relatively easy to conceal the visual impact of an open cast mine from the nearby travel routes that meet the criteria. However, as the Study also noted, Boranup is subject to high, onshore winds (Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1997), and the historic acoustic accounts verify that these can carry sound far inland. Noise from a sand mine could therefore readily be carried into inland parts of the National Park, and negatively affect visitor experiences of popular tourist attractions, such as the unique

Boranup forest or the Cape to Cape Walk Track. Had the scope of the Landscape Assessment Study included acoustic value as intended, planning and land management strategies may have considered the acoustics of this area as well as its visual aesthetics.

The Boranup Sand Patch represents an example of where a synchronic approach to identifying historic acoustic value reveals a place where values held in the past differ from those of the contemporary community. In the early colonial era, Boranup was regarded as an important landscape feature, in terms of both exploration and recreation, and acoustics formed an essential part of the experience that people associated with this place. Today, although the wider landscape of the Leeuwin-Naturaliste National Park is valued in part for its acoustic qualities, the Boranup Sand Patch is no longer well known, and its values are therefore particularly vulnerable.

The Lower Blackwood

In its lower reaches, the Blackwood River is relatively broad and its banks are well wooded with endemic species, principally marri or red gum (*Corymbia calophylla*) and paper barks (*melaleuca sp.*) (Figure 3). In most places this forms a thick riparian border, giving the illusion of a vast forest beyond. There are, however, places where that border has been thinned and is now permeable, revealing the open, agricultural land beyond.

The lower Blackwood was an important transport route for early settlers, who eloquently recorded their perceptions in diaries and letters. In contrast to the sound of wind and waves that characterised Boranup Sand Patch, it was the lack of noise here that was most often remarked upon. In part, this may have been because the calm and tranquil nature of the river contrasted so dramatically with the rougher water of the Harvey Inlet and the surf of the southern ocean. As Charles Bussell (1831) wrote: 'We have pursued the noiseless tenor of our way in one uninterrupted scene of tranquillity'. His sister Frances commented similarly after a trip up river with friends and relatives: '... we could not help grieving to think we must soon quit the quiet country for the Town' (Frances Bussell (Jnr), 1835). Georgiana Molloy described the river as 'magnificent and peaceful' and found it an emotional 'struggle' to resettle at the Vasse further north (cited in Hasluck, 1955, 242).

This appreciation of peace and quiet is particularly notable in view of the size of the colony



Figure 3 The highly reflective waters of the lower reaches of the Blackwood River contrast visually and acoustically with the pounding surf of the nearby southern ocean (Source: author).

and its towns at this time. In 1840, when Georgiana Molloy left Augusta, there were only 98 people living in the surrounding district of Sussex (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1840), and most of these were at Busselton or Wonthaggi further north. As the entire Swan River Colony at that time numbered only 2311 people (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1840), few places would have been as noisy as the towns and villages of Europe the colonists had left, making observations about peace and quiet even more striking.

The Blackwood River is valued today for a range of qualities. The river has been identified as a Nationally Important Wetland (Environment Australia, 2001), while its eastern banks mark the boundary of the Scott National Park, which is managed for wildlife conservation rather than recreation. In terms of social/aesthetic values, the river was identified in the Community Heritage Program as an important 'place for calm reflection' (Pearson, 1997), indicating an acoustic dimension to people's appreciation. The historic acoustic values of the settler community, identified through synchronic research of the period,

support the contemporary association of quietude with this place. However this value has not been addressed in management documents for the river, and as a result, many activities that are incompatible with quiet enjoyment also occur here.

In contrast to the east banks, the western banks of the Lower Blackwood river are zoned for livestock and fodder crops (Ministry for Planning, 2000), and in some areas there has been residential subdivision. Mechanical and technological noises therefore increasingly form part of the contemporary soundscape, despite the riparian boundary. Even more significant for the acoustic environment is the popularity of power boating and water skiing on the river (Waters and Rivers Commission, 2001).

The presence of conflicting uses along the river is due in part to management by several State Government agencies, a situation that is complicated by an historic demarcation in responsibility for land and water in Western Australia. The State Government has been trying to address this issue through the Waterways WA Program, which aims to develop comprehensive management strategies for waterways across the State (Waters and Rivers Commission, undated). Although the Draft Statewide Policy for the program contains social principles that include both heritage and landscape values, the only reference to aesthetics is an acknowledgement that waterways offer a range of 'scenic attractions', and there is a community expectation that they should 'look attractive' (Waters and Rivers Commission, 2000, 17). There is no mention of or allusion to acoustic values.

The Policy also recognises that waterways are a focus for recreational activities such as 'swimming, boating, aquatic sports, picnicking, camping and bushwalking' (Waters and Rivers Commission, 2000, 17). Apart from observing that this can sometimes result in intensive use, there is no sense that the Waters and Rivers Commission appreciates the interaction between acoustics and landscape perception, or that the enjoyment of several of the recreational activities listed in the Policy may be mutually exclusive. The enjoyment of bush walking, picnicking and camping, for example, could be negatively impacted by the noise from intensive boating activity or motorised water sports.

In 2007, the Policy was still in the process of being developed into a strategy for Statewide management of Western Australian waterways (Waters and Rivers Commission, 2001). The

draft Strategy now lists aesthetic value among the attributes that are expected in the environment, but does not define the term or link it to other guidance, such as the Burra Charter. It is therefore unclear whether the multi-sensory nature of aesthetic value, as understood in heritage practice, has been recognised. Furthermore, as in the Policy before, rivers are noted as important for their recreational uses, including boating. But, again, there is no evidence that the important interplay between acoustics and landscape has been appreciated. So although the Draft Strategy specifically mentions the increasing pressure placed on the Blackwood River from tourism and recreation, it does not discuss monitoring their impact (Waters and Rivers Commission, 2001). This is despite the need to consider the consequences of 'excessive human activity' on nationally significant wetlands, activities such as the annual power boat race, the Blackwood Classic, which runs the length of the river.

It may seem incongruous to argue that this quiet environment should be managed in part for its historic acoustic values. The people who described those qualities were, after all, settlers intent on shaping the environment for capital gain. Had they remained on the Blackwood River instead of relocating further north, their farming activities would have impacted on both the visual and acoustic environment we see today. While they aimed to gain financially from exploiting the resources available to them, they were also of the naive belief that 'a life-time would make little or no impression in the vast surrounding forest' (Charles Bussell, 1833). They were, of course, proved wrong, and it is estimated that now only 15% of the original old growth forest remains in the south-west (WA Forest Alliance, 2002). It would nevertheless be consistent with the values the historic community attached to the river, and their perceptions of the wider environment as eternal and unchanging, to argue for greater consideration of historic acoustic values in management decisions for the lower Blackwood River and its forested banks.

Conclusion

Landscape preference research and acoustic ecology demonstrate the strong connections between sense of place and sound. While cultural heritage guidance has also recognised this association, the reframing of aesthetic and other values means acoustics are rarely addressed directly in heritage assessments. The very limited

interpretation of aesthetic value currently being applied provides only a partial understanding of the multi-sensory significance of special places, as greater weight continues to be given to visual qualities over the other senses. The uncovering of places with historic acoustic values in Western Australia's south-west using a synchronic method illustrates the new dimensions to understanding and relating to our cultural landscape such an approach can reveal. While places like the lower reaches of the Blackwood River still resonate acoustically with the contemporary community, others, like the Boranup Sand Patch, challenge our perceptions, and our senses, highlighting the differences between our values and those of our ancestors.

Because acoustic values are poorly understood, they are also poorly managed. Tourism and recreation, which are often seen as the economic saviours of heritage, can bring with them intrusive sounds that diminish the very values that make places significant attractions. Similarly, the noise of industry and agriculture can impact negatively on important soundscapes, even at a distance. As appropriate management can only occur when detailed information is available, it is important that heritage assessments more closely adhere to the principles of the primary frame and assess all the values associated with our most significant places, before some of their most fragile and elusive qualities are lost forever.

NOTES

1. The 2000 edition of the Burra Charter has differentiated between spiritual and social values. However, the Australian Heritage Council and the Heritage Council of Western Australia still conflate these criteria under social value.
2. The current standard texts in Western Australia are Apperly *et al.* (1989), Ramsay (1991) and Richards (1997).

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Paper VIII

O'Connor, P. (2011) Turning a Deaf Ear: acoustic value in the assessment of heritage landscapes, *Landscape Research*, 36, (3) pp. 269-290.

Paper VIII: Turning a Deaf Ear: Acoustic Value in the Assessment of Heritage Landscapes

Rationale:

Paper VIII is the final paper in this thesis and further explores acoustic value in relation to the cultural heritage values held by the historic community in the southwest of Western Australia. Drawing from theories and findings in landscape preference, soundscape and acoustic research, environmental psychology, and other disciplines it moves the thesis into praxis by setting out a structured technique to assist cultural heritage practitioners in describing the qualities of sound that characterise predominantly natural heritage landscapes. The paper revisits the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River, which were explored in Paper VII, and applies the method to the contemporary landscape. Descriptive passages in a form that could be incorporated into heritage assessments are developed for each place to demonstrate the applicability of the process and its value to understanding cultural heritage.

Background and Context

Like Paper VII, this article also developed from the conference paper I delivered at the 2001 Curtin Humanities Postgraduate Conference *Undisciplined Thoughts* titled “The Sound of Silence: Valuing Acoustics in Heritage Conservation” (O’Connor & Scott, 2002). As my exploration of how historic community values could be identified through the existing parameters established by current best practice developed, it became apparent that there were no tools or method available to heritage practitioners to guide their understanding of sound-in-place and how it might be described and incorporated into a heritage assessment. I argue that the lack of a suitable method accounts in part for the absence of acoustic values in most heritage assessments.

Like previous papers, the early sections of Paper VIII provide background information on the way that cultural heritage is defined and understood in Australia, and Western Australia more specifically, in line with the international readership of

the Journal. The paper goes on to discuss the common constraints around the process of assessing places of cultural significance in Australia, to establish the parameters within with a more detailed acknowledgement of acoustic values currently has to occur.

In 2001, when the conference paper on which this publication was based was presented, the theory of the soundscape had received only limited attention outside the field of acoustic ecology. In the years since, this situation has changed dramatically and soundscape theory has been used as the basis for research into sound-in-place in a wide variety of disciplines.

Objectives

As noted previously, Australian cultural heritage practice has relied substantially to date on early landscape preference research to inform its understanding of acoustic value. One of the key objectives of this paper was therefore to critically review cultural heritage research in this field to see whether a methodology had been developed to textually capture acoustic values in heritage assessments.

Finding that the visual emphasis of landscape preference research had precluded a more multi-sensory understanding of place, my second objective was to look at a variety of other approaches to understanding landscapes and their particular qualities in order to develop a method that could assist heritage practitioners to describe and analyse acoustic values at significant places. Building on the findings of Paper VII that the concept of soundscape establishes a strong theoretical connection between sound and place, Paper VIII explores the research by acousticians such as Brigitte Schulte-Fortkamp, Manon Raimbault, Dick Botteldooren and Bert De Conseul. The limitations of their highly technical approaches are discussed and a simpler method that combines their findings with Shafer's breakdown of the soundscape into keynotes, sound signals and soundmarks (Schafer, 1977) is proposed.

The final objective of Paper VIII is to demonstrate the benefits of analysing acoustic value using the outlined approached. This is done by applying the method to the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River to develop descriptive passages of the type typically found in heritage assessments. These are then analysed against the historic recollections and values to derive value statements. The statements demonstrate the potential importance of a more detailed

consideration of acoustic value, by highlighting that critical issues, such as the rarity and intactness of the acoustic dimension, could otherwise be overlooked.

Outstanding Issues

The scope of this paper is limited to places that were valued by the historic community of Augusta-Margaret River. This obviously precluded applying the method it develops to a wide range of places. Furthermore the nature of the places I chose to examine constrained the focus to the natural environment.

During the course of researching for this paper, it was evident that there is a significant body of research into different environment types, particularly urban soundscapes (De Coensel, *et al.*, 2003, Rimbault, *et al.*, 2003, Ge & Hokao, 2004, Rimbault & Dubois, 2005, Yang & Kang, 2005, Dubois, *et al.*, 2006, Guastavino, 2006, Kull, 2006, Lavandier & Defréville, 2006, Rimbault, 2006, Schulte-Fortkamp & Fiebig, 2006, Semidor, 2006, De Coensel & Botteldooren) that could form the basis of guidance for heritage practitioners on how to better understand the nature of sound in other types of places, such as places in towns and settlements or in a more mixed environment. Paper VIII acknowledges that further research would be required into these areas.

Turning a Deaf Ear: Acoustic Value in the Assessment of Heritage Landscapes

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ABSTRACT *Aesthetic value is one of the fundamental criteria used to determine the cultural heritage significance of important places. In Australia, however, cultural heritage has had only a limited engagement with theories on aesthetics, and as a result, no practical methodology has been developed to identify, describe and assess the acoustic dimension of aesthetic value. This paper critiques the literature on aesthetics that cultural heritage has focused on to date, highlighting its emphasis on the visual qualities of place over other multi-sensory understandings. Recent research into acoustics, particularly based on the concept of the soundscape, is explored in order to develop a qualitative methodology to assist heritage practitioners and others in understanding, describing and evaluating the acoustics of place. The applicability of this approach is demonstrated through the analysis of two cultural landscapes in the south-west of Western Australia.*

KEY WORDS: Heritage conservation, soundscape, acoustic value, Western Australia

Introduction

The profession of cultural heritage in Australia owes much of its hybrid nature to the disparate principles and theories it has explored for epistemological and hermeneutic inspiration.¹ These have come from a range of academic fields, but some of the most significant have originated from humanistic geography, anthropology, sociology, environmental psychology and history. Key principles derived from this holistic review have defined and redefined heritage practices nationally and internationally (Qian, 2007; Taylor, 2004). Two of the most important principles have been the adoption of the term *place* to describe sites of cultural significance (Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975), and the phenomenological principle that all the qualities of a place should be identified and assessed in order to determine significance (Australia ICOMOS, 1979).

Breaking away from the traditional concept that values are predominantly associated with buildings and monuments has enabled Australia to consider a great diversity of sites for heritage listing, including natural landscapes with strong cultural associations. However, so enthusiastically have the principles that guide

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heritage practice in Australia been accepted by government agencies and practitioners they are now applied automatically and largely without question (O'Connor, 2000), and therefore function as a primary frame: a concept or way of thinking that is so dominant it is difficult to conceive of challenging its primacy (Goffman, 1974).

Underpinning this frame is the formal process of assessing cultural significance by evaluating places against a set of four broad evaluative criteria: aesthetic, historic, scientific and social value. Developed first in federal legislation by the Australian Heritage Commission in 1975, and popularised by ICOMOS Australia through the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 1979), these criteria continue to underpin heritage conservation in Australia. They are reflected in the current federal Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999 and in heritage legislation developed at the state level. There are, nevertheless, some differences among the state and federal governments in terms of their heritage processes and conventions (O'Connor, 2008). As a result, the broad reference point of the Burra Charter is used in this paper, rather than that of any one Australian jurisdiction. Furthermore, it is the Burra Charter that has been influential internationally, with similar assessment criteria being advocated or adopted in several other countries (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2005; Historic Scotland, 2008; ICOMOS New Zealand, 1993).

The Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 2000) defines aesthetic value as a multi-sensory value relating to the form, scale, colour, texture and material of a place as well as the smells and sounds associated with its use. It encompasses all the sensory qualities of a place, and is not limited to visual aesthetics. This paper examines one aspect of aesthetic value: acoustic value. This relates to the sounds associated with a place, sounds which for a variety of reasons have cultural heritage significance. They may be distinctive, or even unique in some instances, and can be contemporary or historic (Australia ICOMOS, 2000).

While it is theoretically possible that a place could be significant for its acoustic values alone, it is far more likely that sound will be one of the many attributes that collectively make a place important. Church bells and calls to prayer are easily identifiable examples of acoustic cultural heritage values. But, as this paper discusses, sounds do not have to be created by human activity in order for them to have cultural significance.

The strength and widespread acceptance of the primary frame, in Australia and internationally, has resulted in a lack of critical reflection on the practices that have evolved in cultural heritage: the absence of literature on this subject reflects the hegemony of convention. As a result, there has been little recognition that sounds associated with significant places are not being identified, described or analysed in heritage assessments, even where there is a significant acoustic element or component. Examples include the omission of the seventeenth-century church bell at St Mary's Catholic Cathedral, Perth (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 1995) and the magnificent 1960s organ at Winthrop Hall, University of Western Australia (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 1996) from the State heritage listings for these places. Similarly, the sound of the 100 m long rapids at Beedelup Falls, Western Australia is not noted in its nomination to the Register of the National Estate (Pearson, 1997b), although the sound of water is intrinsically important to the character of this place.

Even where sound has been determined as an important element in the cultural significance of a place, the *nature* of the acoustic dimension has not been described and is therefore poorly understood. The national listing for the Australian Alps National Parks and Reserves, for example, states that 'natural sounds' are one of the features of this place that '... evoke strong aesthetic responses' (Department of Environment Water Heritage & the Arts, 2008). But the listing does not explain what the sounds are or their qualities. Some indication can be gathered from the description in the listing of the area's geomorphology, flora, fauna and climate, but this does not take into account the way these features interact, or how the sonic landscape is experienced. In the Alps, these interactions are particularly important as this is the only area of mainland Australia with seasonal snow cover (Department of Environment Water Heritage & the Arts, 2008).

Acoustic, and other multi-sensory values, have been neglected because cultural heritage has not engaged with theoretical discourses on aesthetics beyond the visual paradigms that have traditionally dominated Western art and architecture (Pocock, 2002). Researchers in fields related to heritage have been exploring inter-relationships between sound and place (Bull & Black 2003; Erlmann, 2004; Howes, 2005), and some even include a heritage perspective (MacKinnon & Coleborne, 2003). However, the agencies guiding cultural heritage practitioners in Australia have not revisited the issue of sound and place since Ramsay and Paraskevopoulos's work in 1994. Furthermore, no practical methodology has yet been developed to facilitate the incorporation of acoustic values into heritage assessments. As a consequence, the sounds associated with special places are not being consciously managed to ensure they are conserved into the future.

The absence of a practical methodology to textually describe acoustic values became apparent through recent research into places valued by historic communities in the south-west of Western Australia. A review of archive records revealed two cultural heritage landscapes with acoustic qualities that were valued by the historic community and remain extant: the Boranup Sand Patch, and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River (Figure 1). As historic observations on sound are rarely site specific, or relate to places which have long since disappeared (Picker, 2003; Rath, 2003; Smith, 2001), the discovery of this congruency was unusual. However, to determine if the historic acoustic values are significant at these places, the sounds of the past need to be analysed against those of the present.

This paper sets out a methodology to describe the sound of natural landscapes in a way that is consistent with the operational norms of cultural heritage practice. Using the case studies of the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River, it builds on previous research that identified these two landscapes are vulnerable to unsympathetic change because their acoustic values have not been recognised (O'Connor, 2008). It begins by establishing the current conventions and constraints under which heritage assessments are commonly undertaken, particularly in Australia but increasingly elsewhere as well. The literature that has guided Australian cultural heritage practice to date on the aesthetics of landscapes is then critically reviewed. Research into the inter-relationship of acoustics and place is then examined for methodological guidance. From this, an approach based on descriptive listening structured on the concept of the soundscape is proposed and then applied to the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood.

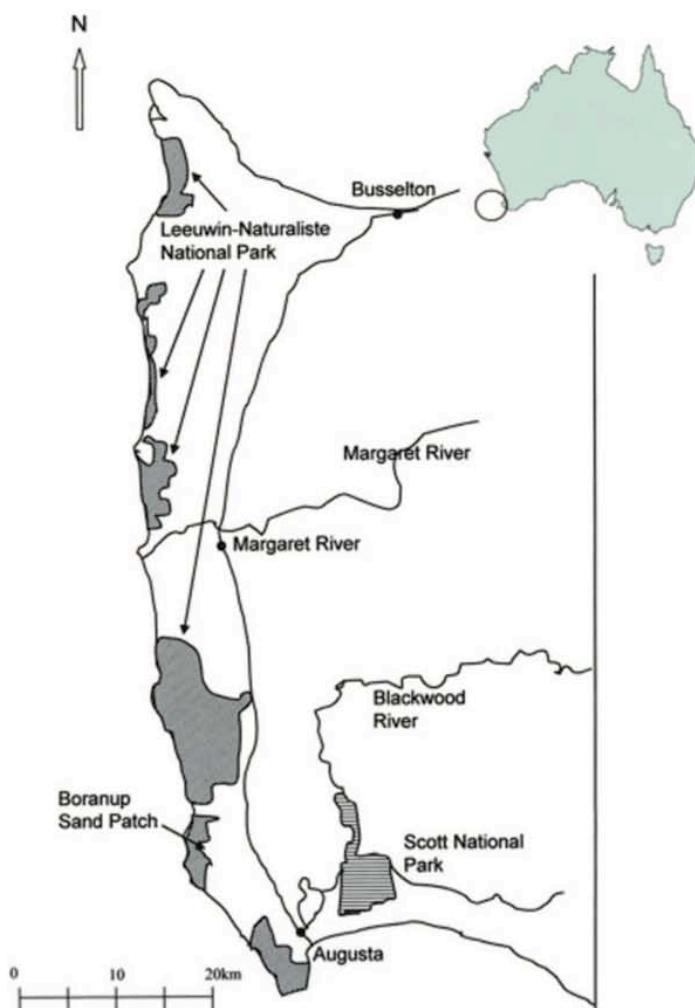


Figure 1. The south-west region of Western Australia.

The resultant descriptive passages reflect a level of detail consistent with the description and assessment of other cultural heritage attributes.

Constraints of the Current Assessment Process

Heritage assessments are most often undertaken to help determine whether a place should be registered, classified or listed. They are not definitive, and provide only sufficient information to understand a place and justify listing (Department for Culture Media and Sport & Welsh Assembly Government, 2007). As such, their

scope is broad and the level of information they contain is far less detailed than in a conservation plan (Heritage Lottery Fund, 1998; Kerr, 1996) or a management plan (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2005). Nevertheless, the Australian convention of recording a brief history for each place and a description of its broad physical attributes in heritage assessments is increasingly applied (New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1993) or advocated (Department for Culture Media and Sport & Welsh Assembly Government, 2007) internationally. As aesthetic and acoustic attributes are physical qualities, albeit ones that may be transitory, intermittent or seasonal, they would conventionally be described in the physical evidence section. Information supporting the cultural significance of an acoustic value would then be provided in the history or documentary evidence section.

Physical evidence in a heritage assessment usually provides only a broad description of a place, and its elements and features. It is not a detailed survey of the standard required for a conservation or management plan. To give an architectural example, while an assessment will note the presence of moulded cornices, it will not necessarily describe the specific profile, even in the case of a place included on the Australian National Heritage List (Department of Environment Water Heritage & the Arts, 2006). Similarly for landscapes, an assessment will record the species and maturity of trees (young/mature/full grown), but not their individual health and senescence (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2004b). The more general level of information required for a heritage assessment helps to keep cost down.

The smallest possible team of an historian and an architect are usually engaged on heritage assessments, as this meets the minimum standards of best practice (Kerr, 1996). Other professionals, such as archaeologists, landscape architects and horticulturalists, are engaged if cultural significance cannot be revealed without their expertise. Often however, specialists are not deemed necessary. This was the case with the assessment of several national parks in Western Australia, which did not involve a landscape architect or horticulturalist (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2004a, 2006). The current limited use of specialists in heritage assessments means acousticians and sound engineers are unlikely to be engaged in the assessment of acoustic value except in exceptional cases.

Furthermore, it is often the case that only one member of the assessment team will visit a site being examined, most often the architect, particularly in the case in regional and remote Australia. Site visits tend to be brief, lasting only two to four hours. Only what is experienced, heard and seen during the visit will be described in the assessment, although features and qualities that are known to exist but were not observed will often be acknowledged as areas requiring further research (Australia ICOMOS, 2000). In this context the use of sound specialists is further limited as typically their methods focus on recording sound physically (e.g. in digital format) and describing its nature in terms of mathematically calculated and expressed sound levels (Botteldooren *et al.*, 2006). This is a detailed and time consuming procedure and while it may provide valuable information for the development of a conservation or management plan, expressing sound in this format is not consistent with the descriptive text conventionally used in heritage assessments.

Finally, although the broad nature of heritage assessments means they can be comparatively quick and cost-effective,² there are often still long delays in the process. In England and Wales, the average time for listing decisions is six months

(Department for Culture Media and Sport & Welsh Assembly Government, 2007), while in Western Australia, limited funding and expertise mean it could take as long as six years for a place to be assessed (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2008). Any methodology for capturing acoustic values should not, therefore, add significantly to existing time frames.

A methodology to document acoustic values in a standard heritage assessment environment needs therefore to be consistent with these operational parameters if it is to be accepted and implemented by heritage agencies and practitioners: it must be cost and time effective; be able to be applied by a generalist heritage professional rather than a specialist acoustician; and must result in a textual description of sound that is consistent with the way other physical attributes are described.

Historic Acoustic Landscape Values

This investigation into how acoustic values can be described in heritage assessments was stimulated by two places: the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River. They were identified during an archive study undertaken to discover what places were important to the historic community living in the south-west corner of Western Australia during the initial phase of European settlement between 1830 and 1880.

In community heritage studies, no legitimacy or validity is given to the views of one member over another (Pearson, 1997a). This can be difficult when dealing with an historic community, where 'voices' are dependent on the availability of historic records. The archives for the south-west of Western Australia for this early period, however, are particularly rich, with a diversity of personal documents available to researchers, as well as several published collections. The authors are from all age groups and importantly both sexes. Significantly, there are also records from poorly educated people, whose perceptions are often under-represented in historic research.

One of the largest families in the historic community was the Bussells. John Garrett Bussell was 25 when he settled near Augusta near the southern tip of Western Australia. He brought with him his younger brothers, Charles, Vernon, Alfred and Lennox, and sisters Frances (Fanny Jr) and Elizabeth (Bessie), and their mother, Frances Sr. Like many settlers, they also brought several indentured labourers and their families, including 14-year-old Edward Pearce. Other important archives are from the Molloy and Turner families. John Molloy was the Resident Magistrate and his wife, Georgiana, was a passionate amateur botanist. The Turners were a large, wealthy but 'middle-class' family compared to the genteel Bussells and Molloys.

By 1840, most of the original settlers at Augusta had relocated 93 km north to the area around the Vasse River, where the town of Busselton was founded, named after the Bussell family. But in the mid-1850s, the youngest Bussell brother, Alfred, moved back to the south-west with his wife, Ellen, and their young family and established an extensive pastoral enterprise. The diary kept by their daughter, Frances (Fanny) Brockman, is an important record of the later period of settlement.

The Boranup Sand Patch is a mobile dune system about 500 m inland in an area of otherwise dense coastal scrub near the south-west corner of Western Australia. It is approximately five kilometres long and over one kilometre wide in most places,

but historical records indicate it may once have been larger (Southcombe, 1986). John Garrett Bussell made the first detailed description of the place in 1831, four years after the Swan River Colony (now Western Australia) was founded. During an expedition, he led his party to a point on the coast he referred to as 'the White Patch' (cited in Western Australian Department of Lands and Surveys, 1827–1871), which corresponds to the present location of Boranup Sand Patch. J. G. Bussell's journal does not record his party discovering the White Patch, indicating it was already a known feature in the new landscape, but he evocatively describes the numerous fine calcified tracts of tree roots, or rhizoliths, that protrude up to half a metre above the sand as "... hazel wands turned to stone ..." (Bussell, John Garrett, 1831b) (Figure 2).

J. G. Bussell sought out Boranup Sand Patch on subsequent expeditions through the south-west (Bussell, John Garrett, 1832a), using it as a distinctive visual



Figure 2. Densely crowded rhizoliths at Boranup Sand Patch rise up to half a metre above the sand, creating an eerie atmosphere that is enhanced by the sound of wind and the absence of any of the noise of modern life (Source: Dr J-P Thull, University of Lincoln, New Zealand, Autumn 2001).

navigational aide in an otherwise heavily vegetated landscape (Bussell, John Garrett, 1832c). But at the same time he looked for the white scar in the scrub, he also navigated aurally, listening for the sound of the sea. In his personal notes of an expedition in 1831 he remarks that while approaching the site where he expected the Sand Patch to be, he would frequently stop and listen for the sound of the sea before progressing (Bussell, John Garrett, 1831b). While the sea could be heard at a distance of 15 to 20 miles (24–32 km) inland (Bussell, John Garrett, undated), for Bussell this sound was only an important adjunct to navigation in the specific situation of trying to locate the Sand Patch. So although the sound of the sea was a generic acoustic feature of this coastline, and for some distance inland, it was particularly important in terms of its relationship with this visual feature.

By 1881, Boranup Sand Patch was noted on maps as a ‘conspicuous’ feature (Nicolay, 1881). While this may further indicate its use as a navigation point, the annotation could also be highlighting that it had also become something of a local attraction. Visitors to the region were regularly brought here to enjoy the ocean and coastal views (Brockman, 1872–1905). Without the need to navigate, local residents in this later period were able to appreciate “... the restless triumphant music of the bubbling ambitious sea” (Brockman, 1872–1905) for its own intrinsic qualities.

The Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River run almost 20 km due south through wooded banks before emptying into the Harvey Inlet near Augusta. As the river formed the main inland transportation route for settlers, and many took up land along its banks, its physical qualities were often recorded in diaries and letters. Charles Bussell’s eloquent description of:

[...] a calm and copious river in which the reflection of the surrounding objects is as perfect as the objects themselves, [...] while not a breath disturbs the never-dying verdure of the gigantic trees upon its banks. (Bussell, Charles, 1832)

summarises the qualities valued by many in the community. The calmness of the water and the absence of wind and waves were particularly noted as they contrasted with the rougher waters of the Harvey Inlet, and the “ever agitated waves of the Southern Ocean” beyond (Molloy, 1834). Settlers developed deep emotional attachments to this tranquil area (Bussell, Charles, 1831), and struggled to leave the “Magnificent and peaceful River” (Molloy, cited in Hasluck, 1955, p. 242) when Augusta was largely abandoned in the 1850s due to its extreme isolation.

Settlers also contrasted the seclusion and peacefulness of the Lower Blackwood River with the noise of towns (Bussell, Charles, undated; Bussell, Frances (Sr), 1835), indicating they quickly found the sounds of settlement jarring in comparison to the relative quiet of the natural environment. Such observations are particularly striking as the district through which the Blackwood River runs had only 98 residents in 1840, and the population of the entire Colony was only 2668. Few towns existed at this time, and none had over 1000 inhabitants (Colonial Secretary’s Office).³ Furthermore, they lacked the physical qualities of British towns and villages, such as surfaced roads, masonry buildings, and a dense urban form, and therefore bore few acoustic similarities. Nevertheless, even the small town of Augusta was described negatively as “thronged with sailors and grog drinkers, of all descriptions” (Bussell, John Garrett, 1832b) when compared with the quietude of the Lower Blackwood River.

The acoustic values revealed in the historic documents for Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Blackwood River are not particularly distinctive or unique, and other similarly quiet places undoubtedly existed elsewhere in the region at this time, and may also have been valued by the community. However, these were the only places uncovered in this research project where historic acoustic associations could be linked to specific places that remain extant today. Many other sounds were described in the archives, such as bird song (Wollaston, 1841), rapids (Bussell, John Garrett, undated), and the crackling of bush fires (Bussell, John Garrett, 1831a), but these were either noted as occurring generally in the landscape, or could not be linked to a geographical location. The Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Blackwood River are therefore rare examples where an historic acoustic value can be correlated with an identifiable place.

The historic observations of the acoustics of these two places could readily be incorporated into the documentary or historical narrative section of a heritage assessment as factual information. But in order to determine whether the acoustic dimension is of cultural significance, the historic recollections have to be analysed against contemporary information, to determine their authenticity, that is, the extent to which the place is in its original state or retains original fabric (Australia ICOMOS, 1988). Contemporary information will also indicate whether the place continues to be valued for similar reasons today.

While each Australian state has its own heritage agency, the driving forces behind the establishment of best practice in heritage analysis have been the Australian Heritage Council (prior to 2004 the Australian Heritage Commission), and the Australian branch of the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). The Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 1979) has been particularly influential in shaping state, national and international assessment practices, and has come to be regarded as the benchmark for best practice in the field (Blair, 2000). However, although the Burra Charter specifically notes that aesthetic value encompasses all the senses: sight, sound, smell, taste and touch (Australia ICOMOS, 2000), it does not provide any methodology for describing or analysing the way places sound.

Early discussions in Australia on how to assess the aesthetic qualities of landscape areas advocated approaches developed in landscape preference research (Fabos & McGregor, 1979), but also did not result in the development of a methodology heritage practitioners could use. This became problematic in the early 1990s when large areas of mixed-use forest were heritage listed with little detailed appreciation of their cultural heritage values (Ramsay & Paraskevopoulos, 1994). Subsequently, the Commonwealth Government was faced with making decisions about issuing licences for woodchip logging in these areas with little or no understanding of the impact this might have (Australian Heritage Commission & Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1992).

To address the general lack of data on forested areas, several Commonwealth and state governments initiated a series of Comprehensive Regional Assessments (CRAs) to identify *all* values associated with these areas, including those relating to cultural heritage. The CRAs then formed the basis for Regional Forest Agreements (RFAs) between the states and the Commonwealth Government, with the dual aim of providing greater certainty to forest based industries and forest communities, while at the same time addressing environmental concerns (Commonwealth of Australia,

1995). Much of the current guidance on identifying and assessing the aesthetic cultural heritage values of landscapes in Australia originates from this program.

The CRA/RFA program prompted an extensive and detailed exploration of aesthetic value in relation to forests (Packard & Dunnett, 1992), and how aesthetic values interact/intersect with other values communities have for special places (Johnston, 1994). Significantly, however, the program re-engaged with landscape preference research in its deliberations on how to understand aesthetics (Ramsay & Paraskevopoulos, 1994), rather than engaging with other approaches that explore ways to understanding sound-in-place, such as recreation opportunity spectrum analysis (Clark & Stankey, 1979) or tranquillity mapping (Campaign to Protect Rural England & Countryside Commission, 1995).

Landscape Preference and Acoustic Value

The re-engagement of cultural heritage with landscape preference research in the mid-1990s (Ramsay & Paraskevopoulos, 1994) did little to progress the identification and assessment of acoustic values in landscapes. The body of work in landscape preference is extensive and dynamic, with many studies taking more than one theoretical approach (Zube *et al.*, 1982). Broadly speaking, however, they focus on one or more of the four domains of landscape attributes identified by Kaplan *et al.* (1989):

- Physical or psychophysical attributes relating to landform, for example, slope, relief, or contrast and diversity in elevation, landforms, or land cover;
- Broad land cover types, for example, forest types, meadows, scrubland, agricultural land, deserts, mountains, or canyons;
- Informational or cognitive variables, for example, coherence, complexity, legibility, or mystery;
- Perception based variables, for example, openness, smoothness, or ease of locomotion.

As one of the original aims of preference research was to inform land management decisions that might impact on scenic landscape quality, studies generally emphasised visual aesthetics or beauty, with little acknowledgement that the experience of landscape is multi-sensory. Explanations for preference therefore tend to be one-dimensional and discount the role of acoustics and sound. Herzog (1987), for example, suggests a low preference for narrow canyons relates to Appleton's (1975) prospect-refuge-hazard theory, proposing that a lack of spaciousness, very close vantage points and the possible consequences of a fall evoke feelings of danger and insecurity. However, sound in a canyon can be magnified by reverberation, which obscures the source and confuses listeners (Hedfors & Berg, 2003), and this could also increase feelings of unease and depress preference.

Landscape preference research similarly overlooks the role acoustics plays in explaining preferences for different forest types. Ribe (1989) for example, argues that species preferences may be influenced by cultural, regional, contextual or subjective expectations. However, coniferous and deciduous forests also sound different (Fégeant, 1999; Hedfors & Berg, 2003). The lack of high frequencies in coniferous

forests and the fact that strong winds are needed to generate sound from needles and branches, result in a perception they are particularly quiet, which is accentuated by their relative lack of birdsong. By contrast broadleaf forests are rich in high frequencies, as sounds are easily generated by even gentle breezes (Yamada, 2006). Even forests of similar species, such as eucalypts, sound different depending on the density and height of trees and the terrain in which they grow (Cummings, 2003).

Much landscape preference research is based on perceptions of images. Although it has been acknowledged that the context in which these are presented and labelled can affect visual perceptions (Anderson *et al.*, 1983; Ribe, 1989), labels also carry acoustic associations. Wilderness areas and national parks, for example, are assumed to be relatively quiet with an absence of intrusive technological noises (Brambilla & Maffei, 2006). Commercial forests, however, are associated with a range of intermittent noisy activities, such as chain saws, falling timber and logging trucks. Given this, Anderson *et al.*'s (1983) finding that sites labelled 'wilderness' were preferred over 'commercial forest' could also have been influenced by the acoustic expectations of participants.

Certain landscape features are associated with particular sounds, the most obvious being water features, many of which have an inherent acoustic dimension. Waterfalls, rapids, raging torrents, babbling brooks – each has its own distinctive visual *and* acoustic signature. Yet such distinctions are glossed over in many landscape preference studies identifying water as a preferred feature (Purcell, 1984; Schroeder, 1991; Zube, 1981). Fishwick and Vining (1992, p. 60), for example, generalise a preference for water as an appreciation of its "calm and soothing" quality, overlooking the different acoustic experiences of the water landscapes they surveyed, which included waterfalls and a variety of calmer areas suitable for fishing, swimming and windsurfing.

The emphasis cultural heritage placed on landscape preference research has not fostered a multi-sensory awareness of place. While the definition of aesthetic value developed for the CRA/RFA largely rejected the 'objective scientific approach' of landscape preference in favour of an experiential understanding grounded in community responses to the environment (Ramsay, 1999), the lack of preliminary discussion about acoustics reinforced the already evident visual bias resulting from the long and close association heritage has had with architecture and the visual arts (Pocock, 2002). So while the definition acknowledged that aesthetic value can be derived from non-visual features, including sound, practitioners received no guidance on how to understand community descriptions of sound, or describe the nature of sounds in heritage assessments. As a result, visual aesthetics dominate the place descriptions from the CRA/RFA community heritage studies. Where acoustic qualities are noted, they are only broadly described, using terms such as 'calm', 'peaceful', 'tranquil' and 'secluded' (Pearson, 1997a) or 'quiet' and 'serenity' (Ramsay, 1999) without reference to individual sound sources that would assist in conservation planning and management.

An Acoustic Methodology for Heritage Assessments

Since the mid-1990s, when cultural heritage last explored aesthetic value, a variety of disciplines have researched the inter-relationship of place and sound. However,

many of the methodologies they use are problematic in the context of cultural heritage assessments. Tranquillity mapping (Jackson *et al.*, 2008; McFarlane *et al.*, 2004), for example, with its focus on measurable distance from noise generating sources, provides insufficient detail about the specific acoustic qualities of individual tranquil places that would be required for heritage assessments. Similarly, while the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (Clark & Stankey, 1979; More *et al.*, 2003) brings mapping down to individual locations, and includes sound as a mapping layer, it is similarly defined by "... the absence of human sights and sounds" (More *et al.*, 2003, p. 7) and does not require the nature of natural sounds to be described.

The methodologies used by acousticians and sound engineers are also of limited applicability to cultural heritage. These use physical measurement and statistical analysis of the sonic environment to determine the meaning of individual sounds in specific landscapes (Ballas & Howard, 1987; Botteldooren *et al.*, 2006; Ge & Hokao, 2004; Rimbault, 2005; Schulte-Fortkamp, 2002; Schulte-Fortkamp & Fiebig, 2006). Acoustic qualities are described using factors such as sound pressure or reverberation, the duration of temporal conditions, reflection patterns, or temperature, humidity and lighting (Zhang & Kang, 2007), or spatial attributes, such as location, and time history (Rimbault & Dubois, 2005), or by using sound recordings to create acoustical images (Semidor, 2006). Technical information in these formats is not consistent with the largely generic vocabulary used in heritage assessments.

Furthermore, in common with much landscape preference research, acousticians often use semantic differentials to survey the meanings people attach to sounds in the environment (Brambilla & Maffei, 2006; Lavandier & Defréville, 2006; Zhang & Kang, 2007). As this approach requires interviewing visitors, it is not suitable for the many heritage places in private ownership, or where public access is restricted. Semantic differential studies also require expertise in questionnaire development (Dubois *et al.*, 2006; Hatfield *et al.*, 2006; Rimbault, 2006), and statistical analysis, neither of which are commonly required of heritage professionals.

Acoustic research nevertheless provides valuable insights into the relationship cultural heritage practitioners currently have with sound, which highlight areas for future methodological direction. The descriptions of acoustic values identified in the Community Heritage Programs, of quiet, tranquil or peaceful places, are consistent with "holistic hearing" (Rimbault, 2006) as there has been no processing of the individual sounds that make up the whole. This contrasts with "descriptive listening" (Rimbault, 2006), where individual sounds and their sources are identified and described, rather than the overall impression. This indicates that for sound-in-place to be described in a heritage assessment to the same level of detail as other physical features, practitioners need to be guided towards a standard form of "descriptive listening".

Schafer (1977) set out the basis of such a descriptive process in his research on the soundscape. Arguing that sound contributes to a sense of place in the same way visual features do, he developed three analytical concepts to aid in the analysis of the perceptual and cognitive attributes of sound:

- 'keynotes' or background sounds;
- 'sound signals' or foreground sounds; and,
- 'soundmarks' or sounds with a particular meaning to local communities, which are analogous to landmarks in the built environment (Schafer, 1977, pp. 9–10).

These broad categories continue to be used by acoustic researchers to provide an overview of the way places sound, often as a precursor to more detailed acoustic examination and recording (Hiramatsu, 2006; Yang & Kang, 2005).

For heritage practitioners Schafer's comparatively straightforward categorisation of the nature and position of sounds draws attention to acoustic sources, whether they are quiet or ambient or dominant. However, different acoustic environments have specific qualities, which practitioners need to be aware of for accurate descriptive listening. In quiet environments, like those examined in this paper, background noise can still be easily overlooked because it is the ambient backdrop against which other sounds from obvious sources are heard. This contrasts with urban environments where there are numerous sounds masking one another making it difficult to identify their source (Dubois *et al.*, 2006). In quieter places, sounds do not tend to mask one another, unless their frequencies are close together (Wrightson, 2000), and it is this very quality that sets quiet environments apart from noisier places (Schafer, 1977).

Background noise, more than anything else, actually defines quietude or silence, as it creates the spaces between the identifiable sounds (De Coensel & Botteldooren, 2006). But for this reason, background sounds can appear monotonous to the untrained ear, increasing the likelihood they will be described holistically, without any semantic processing of the source (Raimbault, 2006), as occurred in the Community Heritage Programs. In describing soundscapes in heritage assessments, therefore, a conscious effort needs to be made to determine the sources of background sounds. This is particularly the case in natural landscapes where background sounds are likely to be an inherent element of the soundscape, such as those of wind and water, rather than a negative quality, such as the background sound of traffic in the city. In environments characterised by a lack of human intervention, keynote or background sounds are usually determined by geography and climate (Schafer, 1977).

Another important aspect to consider in the quiet environment is the role of the listener. The absence of semi-distant sounds in a quiet environment accentuates the clarity of sounds from nearby sources, including those generated by the listener (Hedfors & Berg, 2003). Where such sounds are audible, they too form part of the soundscape experience, as in other noisier locations they would often be drowned out or masked.

Because acoustic research to date has focused on measurable aspects of sound, few protocols have been developed to guide textual description. Hedfors and Berg (2003) maintain both the descriptive characterisations of what is heard and the sources that generate them should be provided, and recommend using:

1. words that express emotions and atmospheres;
2. onomatopoeia whenever possible;
3. technical or neutral words; and
4. judgements about whether the sonic conditions are suitable or not to the specific site (Hedfors & Berg, 2003, p. 259).

Schafer's (1977) positional identifiers (background, foreground and soundmarks) and guidance on the general nature of quiet landscapes and how to textually describe sounds provide a basic methodology for heritage practitioners to describe the sound

in place. In the following section, this approach is applied to the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River to demonstrate how it can assist in the assessment of the cultural significance.

The Soundscapes of the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Blackwood River

The researcher undertook a visit to Boranup Sand Patch in the winter of 2001. The weather was fine but windy, which is consistent for this stretch of coast, which experiences strong on-shore winds over 40 km/h all year (Bureau of Meteorology, 2008). Travel was undertaken with a companion due to the remoteness of the location. Notes but no sound recordings were taken.

In the natural environment of Boranup Sand Patch almost all sounds stem from geography and climate. Several keynotes are obvious on approaching the Sand Patch, walking south into the wind along Boranup Beach. Most insistent is the overwhelming roar of the wind as it blows off the Southern Ocean, which makes conversation difficult, and obscures any signal sounds and soundmarks. Almost equal in magnitude and insistence is the complex sound of the ocean pounding the shore. Close to the waterline, there is the clear sound of each wave sighing backwards and forwards as it runs up over fine sand. Over this, the huge breakers crash and pound rhythmically, leaving the deeper water churning and hissing with grit.

Moving into the dunes towards the Sand Patch, the individual sounds of the sea blend together to become an increasingly uniform but still penetrating roar. They mask any sound the wind makes as it blows through the low, open coastal scrub. The onshore winds mean there is no transmitted sound from the tall forest inland. Up in the Sand Patch itself, the loudness of the wind and waves rises and falls between sheltered and exposed positions. Out of the wind the quiet is profound. Smaller noises of this largely desert environment become audible; soft sand spilling down a rock formation, or sighing underfoot; the occasional insect or bird in the surrounding coastal scrub.

Returning up the beach, walking with the wind, the individual waves on the shore are more easily distinguished, and the occasional gull, wheeling overhead, can be heard. Most distinctive is the sound of fine particles of sand squeaking underfoot, that hiss as they are blown horizontally ahead.

This description shows the limited extent of the acoustic palette of Boranup Sand Patch and its environs. The keynotes of the interaction of wind, waves, water and sand dominate and are only punctuated by a small number of signal sounds (insects and birds). There are no distinguishing soundmarks. What was particularly notable on the site visit was the absence of any technological or human sounds, other than those of the researcher and companion walking and talking.

The site visit to the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River occurred in autumn 2001 (May). The researcher journeyed with a companion up river in a dinghy, stopping the motor at various points to listen. Again, no sound recording was taken. The river here is relatively broad and tranquil with gently rising banks that are, for the most part, still well wooded with endemic trees, principally paper barks (*Melaluca* sp.) and marri (*Corymbia calophylla*) (Department of Environment & Heritage, 2000). In some sections, however, there are breaks in the riparian forest where low-density residential development has occurred. Elsewhere, the forest has

been reduced to a permeable buffer that allows glimpses of open farmland beyond. The lack of walk trails or paths along the river mean this place can only be experienced along its length by boat (Figure 3).

The initial acoustic impression is one of an absence of sound, or silence because the main keynotes are again those of geography. There is a continuous gentle sound of lapping water, only faintly audible against the bank from the middle of the river, but constant against the side of the boat. The surrounding geography breaks up the southern gales, reducing them to lighter gusts that are further absorbed by the tall trees. The sound of the distant canopy tossing in the wind is carried across the soundscape as a soft perpetual sigh. Up close, the trees along the banks rustle intermittently. These keynotes are broken by several different signal sounds. Bird song rises from the forest in bursts, and towards dusk, flocks of cockatoos wail as they come home to roost. Insects hum as the day warms, and are replaced as dusk falls by the distinctive doinks and ticks and chirps of frogs in the banks.

There are human signals in this soundscape too. The dinghy is joined by the occasional slow moving motorboat; a gun cracks and a tractor engine lumbers on a farm beyond the trees. There are domestic sounds – children playing, people talking, dogs barking, car engines, lawnmowers, someone chopping wood.

Like the Boranup Sand Patch, the acoustic palette of the lower Blackwood River is relatively limited, particularly in terms of the dominant environmental keynotes of water, wind and trees. But there are many more signal sounds here, with a range of human and technological noises adding to those of nature. As with Boranup Sound Patch, there are however no apparent soundmarks.



Figure 3. The highly reflective waters of the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River at Alexandra Bridge (Source: author, Winter 2001).

Discussion

The descriptions of the contemporary soundscapes at Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River provide information that is valuable to the assessment of the cultural significance of their acoustic dimensions. The evidence indicates the historic soundscape at Boranup Sand Patch is exceptionally authentic, that is, the sounds appreciated by early settlers remain substantially intact. At Boranup, there continues to be an absence of technological or human sounds that could negatively impact on the clarity of the soundscape of wind and waves, which together with the distinctive visual qualities, create an unusual and eerie atmosphere.

Although this finding is based on a single site visit, it is supported by documentary evidence, which is often used to help substantiate the assessment of aesthetic value (Ramsay, 1999), and physical evidence more generally in heritage assessments. Vehicle access is banned on Boranup Beach (Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1989) and the National Park is subject to only sporadic scenic flights (Department of Conservation and Land Management, undated). The only track from which the Sand Patch can be viewed is inland (Department of Conservation and Land Management, 1989), and any noise from four-wheel-drive vehicles would therefore be carried inland by the dominant off shore winds rather than into the Sand Patch.

As noted before, Boranup Sand Patch was one of only two places in the southwest of Western Australia where an historic acoustic value can be linked to an extant site, indicating it was already an unusual place. Its rarity is enhanced, however, by the intactness of the historic soundscape. In analysing its cultural significance, it could therefore be described as a *rare intact example* of its type.

The soundscape description of the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River is similarly supported by other evidence. The entry for the Lower Blackwood in the *Directory of Important Wetlands* lists the notable fauna as birds (mostly ducks and cormorants) and frogs (Department of Environment and Water Resources, undated). Other water birds, such as darters (*Anhinga meanogaster*) and Caspian terns (*Sterna caspia*) are also common near the water (Birds Australia Western Australia Inc., 2005), while the adjacent forests contain numerous songbirds and cockatoos (Thomson-Dans & Hunter, 2002). Of the 14 species of frogs found along the Lower Blackwood River, the commonest is the bull or banjo frog (*Limodynastes dorsalis*). Its slow, distinctive *doink-doink*, like the sharp pluck of a banjo string, contrasts with the high-pitched *chicks* and *clicks* of smaller species (Frogs Australia Network, 2005), which the researcher documented on the site visit.

The presence of technological sounds on the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River indicates the acoustics of this landscape are less authentic than those of the Boranup Sand Patch. Colonial settlers could not have heard many of the sound signals that punctuate the ambient background today. While human sounds are not specifically noted in the archive records for the Blackwood, they are often implicit in references to boats passing regularly up and down the river (Bussell, John Garrett, c. 1832; Turner, 1839), and groups of Wardandi (the traditional Aboriginal custodians of the area), camping along the shores (Bussell, Vernon, 1833a; Pearce, 1832). The settlers also brought with them guns and dogs (Bussell, Vernon, 1833a), the sound of which can still be heard today. But in the mid-nineteenth century there were no

motorised or mechanised sounds on the Blackwood River. This is an important temporal difference and indicates the historic acoustics of the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood are only moderately authentic today. This assessment could be revised in the future, however, in response to changes in management practices, such as the current program to restore and deepen the riparian tree line (Blackwood Basin Group, 2007), which would reduce the amount of mechanised noise drifting from farms and homes out to the river.

Conclusions

The parameters and conventions surrounding the way places are assessed for their cultural heritage significance limit on the way acoustic value can be documented. Sound needs to be described textually rather than physically recorded, and its translation has to be carried out by practitioners who are not acousticians or sound engineers, using simple and accessible yet consistent descriptive terms. Furthermore, the process needs to be cost effective and time efficient.

Although current conventions for soundscape studies often utilise measurements and recordings, and apply semantic differential analysis, there is no generally accepted approach to the study of the soundscape (Schulte-Fortkamp & Fiebig, 2006). While the methodology outlined for heritage assessments above involves few of the standard conventions used in acoustic studies, these cannot readily be applied in this context as their complexity and need for specialist technical and professional expertise are inconsistent with operational norms.

The simplified, textual methodology for describing soundscape qualities applied to the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River informs the assessment of the cultural significance of these two places. Identifying that Boranup Sand Patch may be rare for the authenticity of its acoustic dimension enables consideration to be given to the management of this distinctive quality, possibly through heritage listing. For the Lower Blackwood River, the analysis confirms its historic acoustic dimension is less authentic. It nevertheless retains a peaceful quiet quality that has value of itself, which could be managed for its contemporary value, rather than its cultural heritage associations.

As this paper is limited to an investigation of the description of sound in quiet natural landscapes, it does not present a universal approach. While Shafer's (1977) positional indicators are applicable to any soundscape, further engagement would be necessary with acoustic research to provide guidance to heritage practitioners on the particular nature of different types of soundscapes, such as noisy urban areas like a vibrant café strip or street market, or quiet suburban areas. The methodology outlined above, nevertheless, provides a valuable starting point for further exploration on how to describe and evaluate the acoustic dimension of these important places.

Notes

1. In this paper, 'cultural heritage' excludes places shaped by the traditional practices of indigenous people, or valued by them for traditional associations. This is because there is as yet in Australia no single set of principles or criteria for the assessment of indigenous values. While the Commonwealth

- Government uses the same criteria to assess indigenous and non-indigenous sites, most of the states have separate legislation governing the identification and protection of places of indigenous significance (O'Connor, 2000).
2. In Western Australia, where assessments are outsourced to consultants, they cost between AU \$5000 and \$6000 per place, compared with AU \$20 000 for a conservation plan (Office of Government Procurement, 2001).
 3. This figure largely discounts Aboriginal people who were only counted sporadically and then only when they had assimilated into settler society to some extent.

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PART E

CONCLUSION

Introduction

My main objective in this thesis was to see whether the processes we apply today in the assessment of cultural significance identify the places that were valued by historic communities. And if we do identify the same places, do we identify the same values? These questions arose through my involvement in the community heritage study of the south-west forests of Western Australia that were done as part of the formulation of the Regional Forest Agreement. I found the way that the community was engaged in the process somewhat arbitrary. Some workshops were well attended, some very poorly attended. Although there was a good mix of men and women, there were very few young people. As consultants we wrote up statements of significance for places we had never visited or seen, seeking out additional information in secondary sources or private contacts to support the submission from the community. Some places were determined to warrant assessment on the basis of a single submission, others as a result of multiple submissions from different workshops. Although it seemed haphazard, the process nevertheless resulted in documentation that appeared to represent the views of most of the community, and community groups. It was the subsequent management decisions about the south-west forests that drew criticism as discussed in Paper IV.

As a consultant, it was my responsibility to translate the community's submissions into what might become statutory documents, to convert the 'vibe' into words on the written page so that others could understand and appreciate the emotional connection, and to analyse the values against the heritage criteria. Perhaps, as a consultant recently returned to Australia, I was particularly conscious of following to the letter the instructions we had been given, that community heritage related to both social and aesthetic value and that aesthetic value is multi-sensory. But when I later reviewed the work that the consultancy team had done for this project, I realised that aesthetic value had mostly been assessed in terms of visual aesthetics, and there were few references to other senses.

The experience of assessing unseen places from written submissions to identify places of community heritage value made me wonder if it was possible to apply a similar process to uncover historic community values. I was also curious about whether the places we had identified in the Community Heritage Program were the same or similar to those that an historic community might have thought were important.

Out of these deliberations, I identified six Research Objectives that I wanted to address in this thesis:

- I. What places were valued by historic communities?
- II. Can such places be assessed in terms of contemporary heritage values as set out by the primary framing paradigm?
- III. To what extent do the places identified by contemporary society as having heritage values correlate to those valued by historic communities?
- IV. What implications does the identification of places valued by historic communities have for contemporary land management agencies?
- V. Does the primary framing paradigm need to be revised?
- VI. Are there other forms of assessment that could be developed to uncover historic community places and values?

Each of these is addressed below. The Conclusion ends with a few final thoughts on the implications of my findings for heritage practice.

I What places were valued by historic communities?

My research into the historic community of what is now the Shire of Augusta Margaret River shows that this historic community identified with and valued a surprisingly diverse range of places, characterised by natural features as well as cultural associations. Natural features included the Boranup Sand Patch and the Lower Reaches of the Blackwood River, along with other features that could not be definitively or spatially located. Places with cultural associations were linked to early colonial families and their endeavours in the difficult phase of early settlement. Particularly significant were the houses of the large and/or notable families in the

area: the Bussells, the Molloys and the Turners. Although their length of association with these places was not long, their emotional attachments were often very strong.

The early settlers, exemplified by these three families, quickly established links with the natural environment, sometimes despite its strangeness, other times because it was so different from what they had known elsewhere. While they looked for similarities with what had been familiar and drew comparisons, not always complimentary, they were also able to appreciate places for their own intrinsic qualities.

It is impossible to be definitive about the list of places I uncovered from the archive documents for several reasons. Unlike a contemporary community, the historic community is not here to confirm whether or not my findings accurately reflect their values. The information about the population of the study area makes it clear that not everyone ‘contributed’ to the list through their diaries and letters, and the community was not evenly represented across the social spectrum. However, biases in community representation is also a problem when determining contemporary cultural heritage, and particularly in social value studies. The process is not quantitative and is not carried out by survey or referendum, or following a process that would make the findings statistically valid. It is a qualitative exercise, based on the views of interested individuals backed up by corroborating or supporting evidence that the features to which the values have been ascribed exist, but not one that questions whether the values themselves are ‘real’ or ‘true’. Furthermore, not everyone in a community will be interested or comfortable in sharing their views at a workshop, and will be content to let others represent or speak for them. And this also held true for the historic community. Illiteracy and poor literacy obviously limited the extent to which people in those early years could record their thoughts and values, but this is not just an historic problem and I continue to encounter it periodically as a heritage professional in the 21st century. Nevertheless, my findings are biased towards the values and sentiments of those who were educated, and more specifically the educated classes who wrote letters and diaries, and shared their thoughts and values in their writings.

II Can such places be assessed in terms of contemporary heritage values as set out by the primary framing paradigm?

Although the values in the primary frame were designed to be comprehensive for a contemporary evaluative process, this thesis shows they work equally well in the context of considering an historic community. My research shows that places valued by historic communities can be assessed against the values set out in the primary frame.

Because of the nature of my study, I was very conscious of the way the criteria are defined in the primary frame, particularly in the Burra Charter, and also in Western Australian guidance, which strongly correlates with the frame. This made me more aware of the full definition of the values and, as a result, how these have been reframed over time so they now are no longer applied in the way intended by the primary frame.

As discussed in Papers VII and VIII, historic social and aesthetic values were particularly easy to uncover, particularly in relation to predominantly natural sites. The new environment stimulated richly descriptive prose, which meant that a range of aesthetic values were clearly articulated in the archive documents. By contrast, historic community or social values that were not aesthetic were harder to uncover in relation to the historic built environment because they were far more subtly expressed in the archive documents. While there was a natural tendency for authors to describe in value-laden terms the landscapes they experienced, they did not do this in relation to the built environment. Mostly their values for these places related to their functions. As discussed in Paper V, such values tended to be generic in that they applied to several dwellings from the period and were directly related to the lack of civic infrastructure at the time.

Paper VI takes the analysis of built fabric down to the level of an individual building, Ellensbrook, with a particularly rich history. Again there were challenges in uncovering historic social values for this place, many of which were again generic. Again, the values were often not overtly articulated in the archives, and were uncovered by association and inference rather than direct reference.

III To what extent do the places identified by contemporary society as having heritage values correlate to those valued by historic communities?

Most of the places that were valued by the historic community continue to be valued today, although not always for the same reasons. As summarised in Chapter 2, even places from the study period where there remains little or no built fabric have still been included on various heritage lists, indicating their enduring value to the contemporary community. There is, therefore, a strong correlation between the *places* valued by the historic and contemporary communities.

What this thesis shows, however, is that the *values* the historic community had for their special places are largely absent from contemporary listings. The contemporary listings emphasise contemporary values that are often based on an assessment of significance over and across time, and there is almost no reference to historic values. Even generic historic values that applied to many places during the early period of settlement, such as value as a place of social interaction, have not been included in contemporary listings, as discussed in Paper V.

Only one place that was valued in the past does not have strong contemporary cultural heritage value: the Boranup Sand Patch. Shifting settlement patterns and land management practices have seen logging end in this area, and settlements have been removed. The area is not marked on maps and is difficult to access. These factors have contributed to it fading from contemporary consciousness. While any heritage associations have passed out of our collective memory, the site is still well known in local government and mining circles for its potential as a site for lime-sand extraction. If mining is eventually proposed for the site, it may be controversial in light of how close the extraction area is to the Leeuwin-Naturaliste National Park. It will be interesting to see whether the historic aesthetic values I uncovered in this thesis, based on the combination of its unusual visual qualities and its remote and windy location, will be rediscovered, and whether heritage will feature as part of any debate about the suitability of mining this site.

IV What implications does the identification of places valued by historic communities have for contemporary land management agencies?

As discussed in the papers in Part D, the linking of people, places and events together at specific points in time, provides an understanding of how places were regarded within their temporal milieu, adding a counterpoint to the diachronic approach which reveals more about contemporary values and what people today believe to be important from the past. Papers VII and VIII highlight the important role that such information can have in terms of supporting contemporary values, particularly in relation to assessing the authenticity of features, which include sensory experiences such as acoustic value. Because aesthetic value is currently largely limited to consideration of visual features, land managers cannot take into account the impact their decisions may have on other sensory dimensions. This is an area where Western Australia appears to be behind other jurisdictions, such as the UK and USA, where sound and noise have begun to be consciously considered in land management decisions.

V Does the primary framing paradigm need to be revised?

My findings do not support a comprehensive review of the primary frame. They do, however, highlight the need for some revision and greater critical reflection by the heritage industry and professionals.

Aesthetic value has historically been assessed largely on the basis of visual characteristics. Despite the multi-sensory definition in the primary frame, this bias continues and there is little recognition of this contradiction in the heritage profession. The decision by the Australian Heritage Council to specifically limit aesthetic value to visual characteristics associated with beauty and attractiveness is contrary to the expansive quality the frame intended for this evaluative criteria. As discussed in Papers VII and VIII it also moves Australian practice away from more sensory understandings of place that are being explored elsewhere in the world, particularly in Europe.

If the aim of assessing aesthetic value is to examine all the sensory experiences that relate to a place, the continued use of the word *aesthetic* works against achieving this objective. This is because the word *aesthetic* has several different meanings. The

ordinary definition of *aesthetic* does not strongly support considering all sensory values because it focuses on the idea of aesthetics being directly related to ideas of beauty to the exclusion of other emotional responses. The more esoteric/academic definition of *aesthetics* as the evaluation of sensory-emotional responses is similarly problematic. Not only does this understanding also primarily focus on notions of beauty, art and taste, it also includes its own internal process of evaluation. Using this understanding *aesthetic value* becomes a doubly value-laden criterion that is assessed on the basis of the extent to which a place is important for what it can tell us about the way beauty is evaluated. The broader historic understanding of aesthetics developed by Burke, Ruskin and others most closely aligns with the original objectives of the primary frame in encompassing sensory responses to places that may be positive or negative, but this meaning is not well known or widely understood. Despite the strength of the primary frame and its advocacy until recently of the need for aesthetic value to be considered as multi-sensory, the frame has not been able to dominate or displace the more ordinary meaning of aesthetics, even among heritage professionals.

I suggest that a new term should be considered to replace aesthetic value: *sensory value*. The term de-emphasises the predominantly visual connotations that are associated with the word *aesthetic*, placing all the senses on a more equal footing. It acknowledges that our experience of place is multi-sensory in a way that cannot be easily overlooked by heritage practitioners.

Similarly, there needs to be greater critical reflection on the way historic value is defined and assessed. As my research shows, the current synchronic approach, which focuses evaluation on the values of the present community, means historic community values are prone to being overlooked. However, if one of the stated aims of retaining places of cultural heritage is that they provide a window, albeit one that may be flawed and distorted (Lowenthal, 1996) that illuminates an opaque and foreign past, it is important that as far as possible historic values as well as contemporary values are identified in heritage assessments. While uncovering historic values can be challenging, they are an important dimension to understanding what makes places significant, and they have the potential to enrich our understanding of the past and also ourselves.

VI Are there other forms of assessment that could be developed to uncover historic community places and values?

As stated above, the overall process of assessing *places* against a set of comprehensive evaluative criteria is robust and can be used to identify places valued by historic communities, although I argue that it could be further enhanced with some amendments and greater critical reflection. Within that overarching paradigm, however, there is a need for new methods to assist in identifying and assessing individual *values*. In this thesis I have proposed new ways of assessing historic and aesthetic value.

The methodology I set out for identifying and assessing community values in time, as well as across time, builds on the type of historic research that is already undertaken by historians around Australia as part of the assessment of cultural significance under the primary frame. However, existing research practices emphasise outlining the history of a place and its enduring impact through to the present. By contrast, my method calls for a conceptual shift where *historic* value also includes consideration of historic *value*, on the basis that the identification of the *values* held by an historic community are as important to our understanding of the past as is the process of evaluating history.

The evidence in this thesis shows that historic value can be understood as a synchronic as well as diachronic value, and thereby that social value can be extended to relate to historic as well as contemporary communities. As indicated by the findings in Paper VII, historic community values could be noted against either historic or social value, depending on whether the values are synchronic with those of the present, or whether they contrast with those of today.

As discussed in Paper VIII, heritage practitioners also need more tools to assist them in understanding their sensory experiences of places, and how these can be textually recorded in ways that are consistent with the standard operating environment. This thesis proposes a method in relation to places where natural sounds happen to dominate, but further research will be necessary to understand the qualities of a wider range of acoustic environments, as well as how the other senses (smell, taste and touch) can be considered in a heritage context. Guidelines and standards need to be developed to assist heritage practitioners assess sensory values, as without them it

is likely these values will continue to be overlooked in the assessment process. Together with changing the term used to describe *aesthetic* value to *sensory* value, guidelines and standards will also help to address the final question posed at the end of Chapter 1 of how the multi-sensory quality of this value can be better understood.

Conclusion

Frames established by formal methods such as policy, law, guidelines etc., will not necessarily override pre-existing frames and norms. In heritage practice it appears that the tension between the formal definitions of the evaluative criteria set out by the primary frame, and the normative or ordinary definitions of key terms is destabilising the primary frame and working against the key objective of comprehensive assessment. The process of assessment is meant to be holistic and should include an examination of all four/five values, but many heritage assessments are incomplete because some dimensions of the individual evaluative criteria are constantly overlooked. As discussed in this thesis, the multi-sensory nature of aesthetic value is poorly assessed, and the values that historic communities had for special places are often overlooked.

While academics have been critically engaging with heritage practice at the level of the evaluative criteria (Pocock, 2002, Smith, 2006, Waterton, *et al.*, 2006) this has largely been limited to critiques of the way social value is being assessed. As this thesis shows, the problem of framing and reframing is broader than that. Heritage practice and heritage practitioners appear to be largely unaware of or unconcerned about the changes that are occurring within the primary frame. If, as appears to be the case, it is still considered important that heritage assessments are holistic and address all cultural heritage values, then it is essential that there is greater critical reflection by all levels of heritage practice (including legislation, guidance, policy etc.) with a view to revising processes in ways that will expand and enhance the accuracy of the way places are assessed against the evaluative criteria.

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Copyright transfer FAQs



CHECKLIST

(a) Completing the Publishing Agreement

- I have [not published my Article previously](#).
- I have **not** submitted my Article to another journal, and I confirm that it is **not** under consideration by any other journal.
- I intend to publish the Article [exclusively with Taylor & Francis](#).
- I am only [claiming Crown Copyright](#) if I or one of my co-Authors is a **Minister or civil servant**.
- I am [only claiming U.S. Government non-Copyrightable Status](#) if I or one of my co-Authors is an **officer or employee of the Federal Government of the United States of America**.
- If I or one of my colleagues is a [National Institutes of Health \(NIH\) employee](#), I have attached an **NIH Addendum** instead of signing the Publishing Agreement.
- If I or one of my colleagues is a [contractor of the U.S. Government](#) (including NIH contractors), I have included my **contract number** and understand that I am still required to **complete the form in full**.
- I understand that if I am working in a university as a researcher/lecturer but am grant funded and am submitting this work as part of my normal research, my work does not qualify as a '[work for hire](#)'.
- I have acknowledged any/all [third party funders](#), giving full names and grant numbers.
- I have **not** used an electronic signature.

PERMISSION TO USE COPYRIGHT MATERIAL AS SPECIFIED BELOW:

"Heritage Conservation: A Frame in Flux"(2000) *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 13, pp. 56-72.

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Permission to use this material is subject to the following conditions: *[Delete if not applicable]*


Signed:

Name: Vicky Morland

Position: Publishing Manager, Donhead Publishing Ltd

Date: 29 November 2011

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Name: ZOFIA CARTER

Position: PUBLIC OPERATIONS Co-ordinator

Date: 26 November 2011

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APPENDIX II – Guidelines for Thesis by Publication

Guidelines for Thesis by Publication (Series of Published Papers)

Higher Degree by Research Students



These Guidelines should be considered in conjunction with Rule 10: Degree of Doctor by Research and Rule 11: Degree of Master by Research. These documents are available on the ORD website at: <http://research.curtin.edu.au/forms/policies.cfm#rules>.

1. Who should consider preparing a thesis in the style of a series of published papers?

- 1.1 Publishing papers during candidacy is highly regarded in some fields of study. Candidates whose future careers would benefit from having several papers published during their candidature should consider this type of thesis.
- 1.2 Candidates whose research area involves several relatively discrete stages, topics or components that could form the basis for a series of papers may consider this type of thesis. Candidates whose research degree is based on creative practice should consider preparing their thesis in the form of creative work(s) and exegesis.
- 1.3 The decision to present a thesis as a series of published papers needs to be made early in candidacy and with advice from the candidate's Thesis Committee.
- 1.4 Once a decision is made to undertake a thesis by published papers, attention to thesis format needs to be considered in conjunction with the relevant sections of the Rules. (See Section 5 "The Rules" below.)

(Please note that a thesis in the style of a series of published papers is different from the 'hybrid' style of thesis, as outlined in section 10.)

2. Benefits of publishing during thesis candidature

- 2.1 Experts in the field who are external to the University will referee the work, thus providing valuable feedback to the student.
- 2.2 Writing for publication provides a track record which will benefit the candidate if they opt for a career in academia or research.
- 2.3 Publishing may enhance a candidate's career prospects, particularly if the discipline places a high value on published papers.
- 2.4 Publishing provides opportunity to co-author papers with other academics, either within the University or with associate supervisors external to the University.
- 2.5 Preparing papers for publication is likely to lead to additional opportunity to present work at conferences.

3. Issues to be considered carefully

- 3.1 Identifying the most appropriate journals to approach for publication is important and should be discussed with the candidate's supervisor and Thesis Committee. Publishing in journals that have a high impact factor will carry more weight with examiners and potential employers.
- 3.2 Candidates who have published previously may find this type of thesis more suitable than the student who has no publishing experience.
- 3.3 Guidance early in candidature, especially from the supervisor, is essential as the diversity of disciplines on a range of issues (such as publishing timeframes) needs to be considered.
- 3.4 Some journals take a long time to finalise the review process and waiting for papers to be accepted can delay thesis submission. Time management and selection of journals/publishers is critical.
- 3.5 Writing a thesis in a book-length manuscript form enables the learning of a set of valuable skills that are different from those learned when writing a series of papers.

4. Suggested Format of Thesis by Series of Published Papers¹

4.1 Title Page

4.2 Declaration: "To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university."

4.3 Abstract

4.4 Acknowledgements

4.5 List of publications included as part of the thesis

List all of the included published work with the full bibliographic citations in the order they appear in the thesis. If necessary, include a statement that the publication is refereed and provide the evidence in an appendix.

Provide a statement at one end to indicate that permission regarding copyright has been obtained from publishers, where necessary. For example, the statement may say "I warrant that I have obtained, where necessary, permission from the copyright owners to use any third-party copyright material reproduced in the thesis (e.g. questionnaires, artwork, unpublished letters), or to use any of my own published work (e.g. journal articles) in which the copyright is held by another party (e.g. publisher, co-author)." (See Section 8.1.)

4.6 Statement of Contribution of Others

The purpose of this statement is to summarise and clearly identify the nature and extent of the intellectual input by the candidate and any co-authors. The statement must be signed by the student and supervisor. A written statement from each of the co-authors must be provided to the University Graduate Studies Committee via the Thesis Examinations Officer separately at the time of submission of the thesis and should be included as an appendix in the thesis. (See Section 5.14.)

4.7 List of additional publications by the candidate relevant to the thesis but not forming part of it

List additional publications and conference presentations which have relevance to the thesis, but are not included in it. List these alphabetically and chronologically.

4.8 Table of Contents

4.9 Introduction and Overview

An introduction, or explanatory overview, is required to link the published papers together so that a coherent story is told. This may include sections for Literature Review, Research Design and Review/Discussion. Not all of these sections may be necessary. Choose the format that tells the "academic argument" in the most coherent way so that the contents of the thesis are established as a substantial and significant body of work, but without unnecessary repetition.

4.10 List of References

List all references cited in the Introduction and Overview.

4.11 Published papers

An original reprint of each paper must be bound directly into the thesis, or photocopied on A4 size paper. Papers should be separated by a sheet of coloured paper on which is stated the full bibliographic citation of the publication.

4.12 Appendices

Appendices may include statements from co-authors, permission letters regarding copyright, evidence supporting refereed status of publications such as conference papers, and acceptance of papers which have not yet appeared in print.

4.13 Bibliography

List all references cited in all papers included in the thesis.

¹ This format is particularly suited to empirically-based research. The student contemplating a thesis by publication from other disciplines/other methods should consult closely with the Chair of his/her Faculty Graduate Studies Committee, and through her/him, the Dean, Graduate studies to devise and receive approval for a comparable format.

5. The Rules

- 5.1 The provisions of Section 11 (Thesis Submission For Examination), subsection (e), parts (i) – (vi) of *Rule 10: Degree of Doctor by Research* have been reproduced in text boxes and italic type below. These provisions for doctoral degrees are identical to those within *Rule 11: Degree of Master by Research*, with the exception of sub-section (e)(v) which has been extracted and included from both Rule 10 and Rule 11. The information following each text box provides supplementary guidance/explanation.
- e (i) *a full explanatory overview shall be included to link the separate papers and to place them in the context of an established body of knowledge;*
- (ii) *a literature review shall be included;*
- (iii) *If detailed data and descriptions of methods are not otherwise given, they shall be included as appendices;*
- 5.2 The explanatory overview, or exegesis, will comprise an Introduction, and possibly three other sections with the headings: Literature Review, Research Design and Review/Discussion. An exegesis presents an academic explanation of the submitted work and/or a description of the linkages between the works, thus presenting the thesis as a coherent whole. It will identify a theme that focuses on a particular topic area, placing ideas in the broader context of the field of study, and identify the main contribution of the research to knowledge. In the case of both a doctoral and masters degree, the entire thesis must, in the opinion of the Examiners, be a substantial contribution to the knowledge or understanding of a field of study and demonstrate the capacity of the candidate to conceive, design and carry to completion independent research. The Doctoral candidate should uncover new knowledge either by the discovery of new facts, the formulation of theories or the innovative re-interpretation of known data and established ideas.
- 5.3 The Introduction must establish a coherent and logical framework for the research. It must state the research problem/question, the specific aims and overall objectives of the research, the design of the research project and explain how the papers are linked. This is important to provide continuity for the reader. The introductory chapter must be entirely the candidate's own work (that is, no joint authorship). It must demonstrate original and independent critique of other research relevant in the field of study and place the candidate's research in the context of current knowledge.
- 5.4 The Literature Review must contain a clear statement of the significance of the project aims, a critical review of relevant literature, identification of knowledge gaps, and the relationship of the literature to the research program. If the published papers include a comprehensive coverage of the relevant literature, then a short section within the introduction chapter which overviews (and references) key ideas from the literature will suffice. If the published papers together provide a more limited or piece-meal literature review (perhaps because of journal page limits), then a more substantial literature review will be required and may form a separate section of the exegesis.
- 5.5 Research Design: If the published papers contain detailed data and a full description of methods/approaches used, then an overview of the research design may be provided as part of the Introduction. Sometimes, due to journal space limits, full data/results may not appear in the included papers. If extensive, these data or results may be included as appendices.
- 5.6 The Review/Discussion section must integrate the significant findings of the thesis, identify the limitations of the research and highlight future directions. The review chapter must be entirely the candidate's own work. If there are separate sections for the literature review and research design, this section will also be separate, otherwise it will be the concluding section of the introduction.
- 5.7 The overall aim is to provide the examiner with a full and coherent story of the research program without unnecessary repetition. The body of most theses by publication will contain first the introduction (serving the purpose of the explanatory overview), covering points 5.3 – 5.6, and the published papers.
- e (iv) *Only papers published in refereed scholarly media and based on research conducted during the period of enrolment may be included in a thesis submitted in the form of a series of published papers. However, papers which have been accepted for publication in such media but have not yet appeared in refereed scholarly media may also be included as part of the thesis;*
- 5.8 Publications prepared/researched prior to enrolment in the Higher Degree by Research may not be included.

- 5.9 Papers submitted for publication and still under review may not be included (this includes papers under revision following referees' reports) – only those accepted for publication may be included (even if not yet published).
- 5.10 Conference papers published in conference proceedings can only be included where there is evidence of full paper peer reviewing. Proof of this will be required.
- 5.11 Only full papers may be included, the publication of only an abstract is not acceptable.

Extracted from Rule 10: Degree of Doctor by Research

e (v) *The number of papers submitted should be sufficient for the body of work to constitute a substantial and original contribution to knowledge;*

Extracted from Rule 11: Degree of Master by Research

e (v) *The number of papers submitted should be sufficient for the body of work to constitute a substantial contribution to knowledge;*

- 5.12 There is no set number of published papers; as a general guide the suggested minimum number is 4 or 5 substantial papers. It is expected that the papers are the result of research that is substantially the candidate's own work, albeit under the supervision of the Thesis Committee. The candidate is expected to be the lead author, however, in different disciplines, students may not be the sole or first author, but may still be acknowledged as having made a substantial contribution to the paper. How many papers are needed will depend on the overall objectives and the contribution the combined body of work makes to the discipline. It may also depend on the length of the papers, and what contribution the candidate has made to co-authored papers. It is also better to have papers published in high impact journals than in low impact journals.

e (vi) *Any published paper of which the candidate is a joint author may only be included in the thesis provided the work done by the candidate is clearly identified. The candidate must provide to the University Graduate Studies Committee at the time of submission of the thesis a written statement from each co-author attesting to the candidate's contribution to a joint publication included as part of the thesis.*

- 5.13 The thesis should have a section at the front titled "Statement of Contribution by Others" (see 4.6).

- 5.14 The written statements of the co-authors may take the following form and copies of these statements should be included as appendices at the end of the thesis:

To Whom It May Concern

I, [Full Name of Candidate], contributed (insert details of the Candidate's contributions to each component of the research reported in the publication) to the paper/publication entitled (insert reference details).

(Signature of Candidate)

I, as a Co-Author, endorse that this level of contribution by the candidate indicated above is appropriate.

(Full Name of Co-Author 1) (Signature of Co-Author 1)

(Full Name of Co-Author 2) (Signature of Co-Author 2)

(Full Name of Co-Author 3) (Signature of Co-Author 3)

6. Style

- 6.1 The publications forming chapters in the thesis should be exact copies of the journal publications. If not already printed on size A4 paper, they will need to be copied to this size. See also the section on "Copyright" below.

(Note: Published papers are not reproduced in the digital version of the thesis that is lodged with the Library as part of the Australasian Digital Thesis project).

7. Bibliography

- 7.1 The Bibliography will include, in one place, all of the references cited in the published papers together with any additional references cited in the exegesis. Although this may be repetitive, research indicates that examiners like to peruse a reference list, often prior to reading the thesis, so it is a courtesy to have the references all in one place which can be referred to easily.

8. Copyright

- 8.1 The candidate must check with each Publisher whether or not there are any restrictions regarding copyright, format and style before inclusion of the paper in the thesis. When papers are published the copyright is usually assigned to the journal, therefore the candidate must take steps to avoid copyright infringement. Laws may differ from country to country, therefore it is important to check with each publisher. This should be done at the time the paper is accepted for publication. The candidate must also indicate in the thesis that they have obtained permission from the Publisher, as follows:

I warrant that I have obtained, where necessary, permission from the copyright owners to use any third-party copyright material reproduced in the thesis (e.g. questionnaires, artwork, unpublished letters), or to use any of my own published work (e.g. journal articles) in which the copyright is held by another party (e.g. publisher, co-author).

Copies of the permission statements should be included in an appendix to the thesis.

(A sample letter requesting permission to reproduce material in a thesis is available online at http://www.copyright.curtin.edu.au/docs/hdr_students_permission_request.pdf.)

- 8.2 An electronic copy of your final thesis should be lodged with the Australasian Digital Theses Programme. This is mandatory if you enrolled after January 1, 2005. Much of your thesis will contain copyright material that is owned by publishers. You will need to submit all those parts of the thesis for which either you hold the copyright (for example, the exegesis) or for which the copyright holders have provided clearance for submission to the ADT (for example, from a journal paper publisher). In the absence of receiving copyright clearance from publishers it may be that you choose to lodge only the exegesis part of the thesis. Please read the "Guidelines for the Submission of Digital Theses of Higher Degree by Research Students" available online at: <http://research.curtin.edu.au/forms/forms.cfm#digital>, and also the information available in the "Copyright Guide for Research Students: What you need to know about copyright before depositing your electronic thesis in an online repository" available online at <http://www.oaklaw.gut.edu.au>.

9. Quality

- 9.1 It is recommended that the candidate publish in refereed journals of high quality within their discipline/field.

10. The Problem of Delayed Publication

- 10.1 These Guidelines provide advice relevant to a thesis that is presented in the format of a series of published papers (see Section 11 (e) of *Rule 10: Degree of Doctor by Research* and *Rule 11: Degree of Master by Research*) which is an alternative to a typescript, the most common thesis format [see Section 11 (b)-(d)]. Given publishing delays it may be difficult to achieve sufficient publications (i.e. papers are at least 'accepted for publication') during the period of candidature (4 years full-time equivalent for Doctoral and 2 years full-time equivalent for Master by Research). There is however another option that is essentially a 'hybrid' or amalgamation of the two formats.
- 10.2 The 'hybrid' format is predominantly a typescript format, and is submitted as a typescript, containing some chapters which are papers submitted, but not yet accepted for publication, or even one or two which have been accepted for publication but are insufficient by themselves. If considering this 'hybrid' format, the candidate must ensure that the thesis as a whole forms a coherent and cohesive narrative. It is important to avoid repetitive passages and to organise chapters into a logical and cogent sequence. A footnote at the beginning of any chapter that is a paper, either submitted or accepted, should explain its status, and also the contribution of any co-authors. Such chapters may benefit from editing to avoid redundancy and repetition and assist the "flow" of the thesis.

APPENDIX III – Evidence of Refereeing

The following information is provided to address the requirement for evidence of full paper peer reviewing in a thesis by publication.

Paper 1	O'Connor, P. (1998) Framing Attitudes Towards Cultural Heritage Planning: Conservation in Thought, Word and Deed, in: Dibble, B. Ed. <i>Proceedings Second Annual Humanities Postgraduate Research Conference 12 - 13 November</i> (Perth, Western Australia, Humanities Graduate Research and Studies, Curtin University of Technology), pp. 133-141	The Introduction to the proceedings notes the papers were refereed. A copy of the relevant page is attached.
Paper 2	O'Connor, P. (2000) All in the past - a call for reconciliation between heritage and history, in: Espák, G. & Tóth, S. Eds. <i>Third Annual Curtin Humanities Postgraduate Research Conference Proceedings 1999</i> (Perth, Western Australia, Black Swan Press), pp. 63-76.	The proceedings note that they have been refereed. A copy of the relevant page is attached.
Paper 3	O'Connor, P. (2000) Your Place - My Place : heritage studies and concepts of place, in: Stephens, J. Ed. <i>Habitus 2000, a Sense of Place</i> [CD] (Perth, Western Australia, School of Architecture, Construction and Planning, Curtin University).	The Editorial in the CD notes that papers were refereed. A copy is attached.
Paper 4	O'Connor, P. (2001) Heritage and landscape: a new role in Comprehensive Regional Assessments, in: Cotter, M. M., Boyd, W. E. & Gardiner, J. E. Eds. <i>Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place and Communities</i> (Lismore, Australia, Southern Cross University Press), pp. 443-455.	The Acknowledgements section in this book notes that all the papers have been reviewed. A copy of the page is attached.

Paper 5	O'Connor, P. (2002) A time and a place - the temporal transmission of a sense of place in heritage studies, in: Holland, P., Stephenson, F. & Wearing, A. Eds. 2001, <i>Geography - A Spatial Odyssey Proceedings of the Third Joint Conference of the New Zealand Geographical Society and the Institute of Australian Geographers, New Zealand Geographical Society Conference Series No. 21</i> (Dunedin, New Zealand, New Zealand Geographical Society (Inc)), pp. 88-95.	The Editor's Forward notes that each paper was sent to at least two referees. A copy of the page is attached.
Paper 6	O'Connor, P. (2006) Women's Values and Valuing Women: the challenge for heritage assessments, in: McMinn, T., Stephens, J. & Basson, S. Eds. <i>Proceedings Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand XXII: Contested Terrains</i> (Fremantle, Western Australia, SAHANZ), pp. 401-407.	The proceedings notes that papers were double-blind refereed. A copy of the relevant page is attached.
Paper 7	O'Connor, P. (2008) The Sound of Silence: valuing acoustics in heritage conservation, <i>Geographical Research</i> , 46, (3) pp. 361-373.	The Journal's Author Guidelines state that manuscripts are assessed by at least two independent referees using a double-blind process. An extract is attached.
Paper 8	O'Connor, P. (2011) Turning a Deaf Ear: acoustic value in the assessment of heritage landscapes, <i>Landscape Research</i> , 36, (3) pp. 269-290.	The Journal's Notes for authors state that manuscripts are considered anonymously by two referees. A copy of the Notes is attached.

Dibble, B Ed. (1998) *Proceedings Second Annual Humanities Postgraduate Research Conference 12 - 13 November* (Perth, Western Australia, Humanities Graduate Research and Studies, Curtin University of Technology)

Introduction

The Second Humanities Graduate Student Conference has both succeeded and exceeded the first one in that the papers were of comparable quality and there were 39 presentations instead of 25 presentations. This year, as last, it was encouraging to see such participation by students of Humanities right across our range of disciplines from A (Architecture, Construction and Planning) to S (Social Sciences and Asian Languages)...

I was pleasantly surprised to learn that Honours students had proposed and presented papers. This resulted from the assumption of one thesis adviser that her Honours students should be treated as graduate students rather than undergraduates, a sentiment always echoed by members of the Divisional Graduate Studies Committee (DGSC). To mix metaphors, we prefer to regard Honours as the stepping stone to Masters and Doctoral work rather than the capstone to undergraduate careers.

I have been the Humanities Division's Director of Research and Graduate Studies since 1994, a position I am relinquishing in 1999 to have more time for my own research. In doing so I would like to say that my work with graduate students, their supervisors and with members of the Humanities Divisional Graduate Studies Committee has been some of the most rewarding work of my more-than-30 years of university teaching; our DGSC is fortunately constituted of people who regard graduate student proposals as divisional rather than school-based and who provide rigorous but constructive criticism meant to help orient our higher-degree candidates towards significant research and successful writing of their dissertations.

Teaching has been likened to casting bread upon the waters. However, in these last years of the millennium, with ever-reducing budgets and a new metaphor of the student as a client to be courted for her or his custom rather than a colleague with whom to share one's research passions, teaching sometimes feels more like trying to write upon water. For the second year, the Humanities Graduate Student Conference has been an epiphany for me, as I see dozens of presentations which shows that hard and imaginative and often compassionate research continues to produce good – sometimes brilliant – results in this Division. It is testimony to the talent of our academic colleagues as well as their good will that they persist in an environment which seems increasingly less congenial to their concerns and efforts.

These *Proceedings* illustrate why I feel as I do. And they should explain why I look forward to being in the audience when the Third Annual Humanities Graduate Student Conference is held in 1999.

My thanks to the students who presented papers, and their supervisors who helped, as well as to the staff and students who attended and provided a constructive audience; to colleagues on the DGS Committee who helped plan and run the event and referee the papers for publication; to staff in the Divisional Office, especially Ms Rhian Kraus; and to Mr Vic Unwin and Mr Robert Friend who set up the rooms and then restored them for use as examination venues the next day.

Brian Dibble
Professor of Comparative Literature
and
Director of Graduate Studies (Humanities)

Espák, G. & Tóth, S. Eds. (2000) *Third Annual Curtin Humanities Postgraduate Research Conference Proceedings 1999* (Perth, Western Australia, Black Swan Press)

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Aluminium and photo-transfer taken from the series 'I Love Women, Don't You Know?'
The series investigates how bodily attributes in women signify femininity. The investigation is concerned with issues of desire, codification, an active female gaze, along with questions of stereotyping, gender and dress codes used to define or signify belonging and identity.

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Stephens, J. Ed. (2000) *Habitus 2000, a Sense of Place* [CD] (Perth, Western Australia, School of Architecture, Construction and Planning, Curtin University)

The Conference Organising Committee

Jean Hillier (Chair)

Lynn Churchill

David Dolan

David Wood

Xing Ruan

John Stephens

Reena Tiwari

Referees

The Conference acknowledges the contribution of the
following people who freely gave time to referee papers

Adrian Fisher	Dennis Wood	John Willis	Peter Scriver
Ana Lucia dos Santos	Dianna McCullum	Jonathan Hale	Phil McManus
Angela Barbanente	Dora Marinova	Julie Davidson	Pia Ednie-Brown
Angus Barnes	Doug Evans	Leoni Schmidt	Priya Metcalfe
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[return](#)

O'Connor, P. (2001) Heritage and landscape: a new role in Comprehensive Regional Assessments, in: Cotter, M. M., Boyd, W. E. & Gardiner, J. E. Eds. *Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place and Communities* (Lismore, Australia, Southern Cross University Press), pp. 443-455.

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A book like this represents much work, effort and support. We take this opportunity to thank the many people who have made it possible to finalise what seemed, at the outset, an easy task: book publishing, as we should have known, takes considerable time and effort. Without the support of many individuals and groups, we would undoubtedly be still preparing the manuscript.

First, we thank Southern Cross University Press for its support of this publication. The School of Resource Science and Management (Southern Cross University) and its staff are also thanked for their ongoing support of our endeavours to explore the cultural landscapes of northern New South Wales. We remain grateful to Amanda Reichelt-Brushett for designing our conference logo. Bundjalung Elders, Fay Smith and Agnes Roberts, are also sincerely thanked for their welcome to our publication, and for their generosity in allowing us to publish two of their paintings.

The book would be nothing without either the contributing authors or the reviewers. The authors who so promptly worked up their conference presentations for publication are also thanked for their patience during the slow process of publication. We also appreciate the work of some of the contributors who organised paperwork, such as copyright agreements; you so lessened our load. All the papers have been reviewed, and we thank our volunteer reviewers. They have freely donated their time and thoughts on the papers, providing much thoughtful and useful comment.

We also acknowledge the following libraries for their kind permission to publish selected images from their collections: Fryer Library, University of Queensland; the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland; the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales and the State Library of Victoria. Each image provides an historic perspective and thus gives depth to our interpretations of landscape. Likewise the authors of *Arrawarra: meeting place* and UNE Press are sincerely thanked for allowing us to publish the front cover of their work in our book. It makes a valuable contribution to one story within our book that, in turn, enables our book to present a wider reading of heritage landscapes.

Production has been a long and arduous process. Stephen Cotter's contributions to typing, design and internal layout of the book are most appreciated. Sandra Black and Barbara Bowden of Southern Cross University Press are likewise thanked for their advice on printing matters and their praiseworthy efforts to publish the volume in a timely fashion. Moreover, we fully appreciate their extreme patience when we kept changing our submission deadlines. The fine work of Vicki and Phil is displayed in the cover design and overall layout of the book and their patience with an editor "who didn't want to give birth to a premature baby" is very much appreciated.

Holland, P., Stephenson, F. & Wearing, A. Eds. (2002) *2001, Geography - A Spatial Odyssey Proceedings of the Third Joint Conference of the New Zealand Geographical Society and the Institute of Australian Geographers, New Zealand Geographical Society Conference Series No. 21* (Dunedin, New Zealand, New Zealand Geographical Society (Inc)).

Editors' Foreword

Conference participants who wanted their papers included in the published Proceedings were asked to submit manuscripts in 'camera-ready' format and to observe a limit of six pages. The Editors wish to thank authors for their forebearance and cheerful assistance over the past twelve months and hope that the published proceedings will be sufficient compensation for the extra work we asked of them.

Each paper was sent to at least two referees, and the Editors acknowledge the expert advice provided by the following people:

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To assist all who read this collection, the Editors decided to cluster the 67 papers finally accepted for publication under eight broad headings, 'Indigenous Peoples', 'Labour Geography', 'Land, Place and Time', 'Physical and Environmental Geography', 'Planning, Politics and Governance', 'Population and Migration', 'Rural Studies', and 'Tourism and Leisure'. They are fewer than the session titles in the Conference programme, some bring together papers from several sessions, and a few involve words different from those that appear in the programme, but we believe that they convey a clear impression of the principal themes addressed during the Conference and of the current research interests of geographers in Australia and New Zealand.

Finally, the Editors acknowledge generous financial assistance from the Department of Geography, University of Otago and technical support from Ray Jackson and William Mooney, both members of staff at the University of Otago. Elaine Bliss in the Head Office of the New Zealand Geographical Society, currently located at the University of Waikato, arranged printing and distribution. Throughout the process of assembling these Proceedings Elaine was a ready source of advice, and we are grateful to her. The cover photograph was taken by Alan Dove.

Peter Holland, Fiona Stephenson and Alexander Wearing

Dunedin

January 2002

McMinn, T., Stephens, J. & Basson, S. Eds. (2006) *Proceedings Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand XXII: Contested Terrains* (Fremantle, Western Australia, SAHANZ).

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Papers for this conference went through a double blind referee process, i.e. full papers (only) were refereed by two referees. The referees and the authors were kept anonymous. Where doubt remained after this process, the papers were reviewed by a third referee.

The referee criteria included: purpose and focus, methodology, structure and organisation, conclusions and relevance to the conference theme.

Papers were matched, where possible, to referees in the same field and with similar interest as the authors. The organising committee wishes to thank the referees and authors for their cooperation and assistance in this process.

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O'Connor, P. (2008) The Sound of Silence: valuing acoustics in heritage conservation, *Geographical Research*, 46, (3) pp. 361-373.

include a summary (as appropriate) of the aims, methods and main findings. It should be informative and add meaning to the title. The abstract should not act as an introduction to the text and anticipatory statements such as 'this is discussed' and 'conclusions are given' should be avoided. In general, the abstract should not contain mathematical symbols and statements should not be amplified by examples.

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Editorial correspondence should be addressed to: Maggie Roe, School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape, Claremont Tower, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU, UK. Email: m.h.roe@ncl.ac.uk. All submissions are now made online (see Notes for Contributors).

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APPENDIX IV – “Heritage Conservation in Australia: A Frame in Flux”

Heritage Conservation in Australia: A Frame in Flux

PENNY O'CONNOR

Abstract

The Burra Charter produced by the Australian branch of the International Council on Monuments and Sites is internationally respected for providing some of the clearest guidance on the assessment and evaluation of heritage sites. The holistic nature of other elements of Australian ‘best practice’, such as the Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975, are also to be envied in countries such as Britain where the problems attendant to a piecemeal system of heritage designation are increasingly debated. With the Charter and the Act providing the cornerstones of conservation ideology in Australia, it comes as a surprise that policies and practices that have developed at State level have often been less than ideal in their content and application. This paper examines the framing that guides and informs the highly complex process of heritage management in Australia, and looks at the variations that have developed in policy and practice. It is based on research generously funded by the Nuffield Foundation.

Introduction

As a federation of States and Territories, responsibility for cultural heritage in Australia ranges across three levels of government. The Commonwealth or Federal government is largely limited in its remit to issues of national concern. In terms of cultural heritage, this broadly translates to responsibility for places in Commonwealth ownership or on Crown Land, or places that have been identified as internationally significant (e.g. World Heritage Sites). Legislation that regulates property in other types of ownership is principally the remit of State governments. Local government responses vary across the States and Territories (the States). Some authorities utilize the provisions of local government acts to provide

Heritage Conservation in Australia: A Frame in Flux

protection for cultural heritage places (e.g. Hobart City Council), while others, such as those in Western Australia, have only recently begun to compile lists of significant places for general use in local planning processes.

Guidance relating to 'best practice' in cultural heritage has been available to all levels of government throughout Australia since the mid-1970s. In light of the presence of overarching national legislation in the Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975 (the Act), and the guiding principles of the Burra Charter,¹ one could assume that State government processes relating to cultural heritage, which have developed subsequently, would be relatively standard across Australia. However, while there are some broad similarities, overall State heritage legislation continues to be characterized by its differences, both laterally between States and vertically when compared to national guidance. This paper outlines those differences through an examination of the interrelationship between the broad culture of conservation in Australia, and the specific framing processes that guide, correct and regulate heritage conservation.

The concept of framing provides a metaphor for the manner in which information about events and situations is arranged within the memory, thereby guiding interpretation and meaning.² Much framing occurs in response to individual cultural experiences and therefore varies from person to person. Beyond the level of the individual, however, there is framing at the community or societal level. In many instances, such framing processes have long been established within a culture and therefore form part of unwritten lores or codes. However, in highly organized societies, framing can also become established through official or bureaucratic means, such as legislation or guidance documents. When such a frame becomes dominant or primary, the majority of people will apply it when they feel that it is relevant.³

Within the context of framing theory, Australian heritage conservation is particularly interesting in that, while there is a widely recognized and accepted primary frame, this is not being universally applied in its intended form. While framing may be regularly revised, reframing of a primary frame based on documentation acknowledged as representing 'best practice' would not be expected to take place to any significant degree. That such reframing continues to occur in Australia is cause for concern, and possibly active intervention.

The culture of conservation

Like most countries, the Australian culture of conservation has been formed and informed by disparate factors. Undoubtedly it has been influenced by many 'old world' heritage organizations, most evident in the enduring influence of the State branches of the National Trust, modelled largely on their British counterparts (Figure 1). Branches of international heritage organizations have also been influential, such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). Professional institutes and associations, such as the Royal Australian Institute of Architects and the Garden History Society, have also been involved in compiling lists of places with heritage values, as have smaller organizations such as local history societies. Nature conservation groups have been similarly influential at local, regional and national levels. The Australian culture of conservation is also more diffusely evident in the deeply shared public sentiments associated with heritage icons; those 'places in the heart' that are deeply treasured, be they wilderness areas of Tasmania, natural features such as Uluru (Ayres Rock), or structures such as the Sydney Opera House and the Sydney Harbour Bridge (*frontispiece*).



Figure 1 Clarendon House, built by the pioneering Cox family and now one of the great Georgian homesteads of Australia, was extensively restored by the National Trust of Tasmania.

Until the mid-1970s, what heritage conservation there was in Australia was largely undertaken in a differentiated and piece-meal fashion, with separate pieces of legislation designed to identify and, where appropriate, protect sites and features with heritage significance. Their application broadly related to three categories – places of either natural, indigenous or historic/cultural significance. At this time, however, there was evidence of a move away from such traditional demarcations. Australia's burgeoning international confidence during the mid-1970s manifested itself in conservation terms through a growing awareness of the need to develop new methods for the identification, assessment and conservation of Australian heritage places; methods unlike those that had been developed according to largely European priorities. It was felt, that both physically and culturally, conditions in Australia were significantly different to warrant a new approach.

The development of a distinctively Australian approach to heritage places was first evidenced in the passing of the Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975. This provided for the compilation of a Register of the National Estate which had two unique features. In contrast to conservation legislation in much of Europe, the Register adopted an undifferentiated approach to site identification; that is, all types of sites – whether natural, indigenous or historic, either locally, regionally or nationally significant – could be included. Secondly, these sites were to be assessed according to a wide set of evaluative criteria, and not solely in terms of aesthetics, age or architectural value.

In seeking to expand and develop the principles set down in the Act, while still situating these within the existing global culture of conservation, the Australian branch of ICOMOS continued the break with tradition. Their attempts to modify the Venice Charter,⁴ then the cornerstone of international heritage conservation, on the grounds that its focus on monuments did not adequately address many of the heritage issues pertinent to Australia, met with international resistance. The response was the *Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance*, commonly known as the Burra Charter,⁵ which was designed to provide guidance relevant to local conditions. While still paying homage to the Venice Charter, the Burra Charter draws much of its reference directly from the Australian Heritage Commission Act, and the two documents complement each other.

Together, the Act and the Burra Charter form the primary frame of heritage conservation in Australia. The presence of such guidance was

particularly timely in the late 1970s. The impetus for passing the Act was a wave of public and professional concern at the increasing loss of high-profile heritage places. Of greater concern were discrepancies in the incidence and extent of heritage legislation at both the State and Federal level, reflecting differing perceptions of what constituted 'Australian heritage'. Part of the role of the primary frame was, therefore, to guide and educate those with responsibility for heritage conservation. In this way, the Act, the Register it engendered, and the Burra Charter can be seen as providing a blueprint of best practice that could be adopted throughout Australia. What, then, are the messages or principles this triumvirate has established, and to what extent have these informed processes at State level?

Framing conservation – the words behind words

The first, and certainly the most fundamental, message implicit in the primary frame of Australian heritage conservation is that the identification and assessment of heritage places is important. If, however, the intention of the Federal government had been to gain acceptance of this message alone, then the release of the Hope Report in 1974, which first identified heritage loss as an issue of concern, might have been sufficient.⁶ It is apparent that such a limited Federal response was considered inadequate. While comprehensive protective legislation would have appeared an obvious option, then, as now, there were perceived and actual limits to the extent that the Federal government could become involved in matters that were constitutionally the remit of the States. What was possible, however, was legislation that exerted a degree of influence over heritage places in Commonwealth ownership. Furthermore, this process could take place within the context of a more comprehensive listing of heritage places (i.e. the Register of the National Estate), thereby hopefully creating a more widespread and heightened moral imperative to protect and conserve. To effect this aim, the Act contains a requirement for Federal government agencies to consult the Australian Heritage Commission regarding development proposals for Registered sites in Commonwealth ownership.

Disseminating these two somewhat obvious messages was particularly important in view of the dearth of State heritage legislation in place by the mid-1970s. While, by 1975, six of the eight States had introduced legislation relating to the identification and/or protection of significant



Figure 2 In Tasmania, the highest concentration of eighteenth and nineteenth-century buildings in Australia (such as these in Arthur's Circus, Hobart) had to rely on planning legislation for protection until the state ratified its heritage legislation in 1997.

indigenous sites, somewhat fewer – five out of eight – had introduced legislation relating to sites of natural significance. Only one had legislation relating to non-indigenous cultural heritage (Figure 2).⁷ Raising the States' awareness of issues relating to heritage conservation in general was, therefore, an obvious priority which could be effected by the primary frame. Furthermore, the Act offered a model that could be used by the States in developing their own heritage legislation.

As stated before, one of the most notable characteristics of the Register of the National Estate was its breadth. There was sound logic behind the adoption of such an holistic perspective, in view of the complications often attending fragmentary systems of heritage identification, and the negative effect that can have on site management. It was in order to move away from the problems inherent in such piecemeal systems⁸ that the emphasis in the Australian Heritage Commission Act was situated well away from the consideration of specific types of sites, and focused instead on the idea of heritage 'places', defined broadly as:

... those places, being components of the natural environment of Australia, or the cultural environment of Australia that have aesthetic, historic,

scientific or social significance or any other special value for future generations as well as for the present community'.⁹

In stating that all types of places could be included in the Register, the third principle of the primary frame is clear: that any and all categories of sites may have heritage significance and should therefore be carefully assessed and evaluated. The Register covers the full spectrum of heritage places, albeit somewhat unevenly. The distribution across the three main categories is as follows:

- 9,473 places of historical significance
- 2,086 places of natural significance
- 898 places of indigenous significance.¹⁰

The Register includes places ranging from significant trees to buildings of high architectural value; from historic gardens to areas of native bush; from geological outcrops and mineral deposits to examples of modest domestic architecture (Figure 3).

The need to encourage an undifferentiated approach to heritage identification is illustrated by the limited and varied extent of State heritage

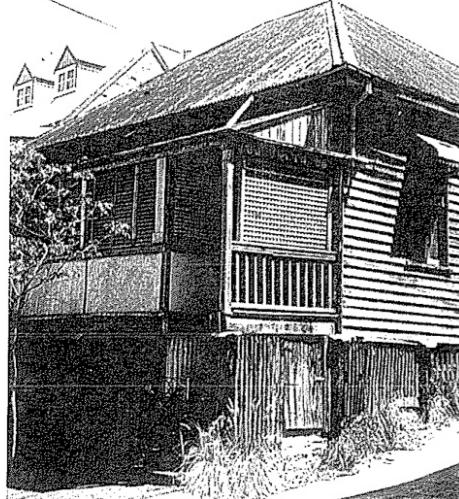


Figure 3 Infill development and urban consolidation are constant threats to old 'Queenslander' houses, which can be relocated easily from their stump foundations and replaced by modern high-density apartments. At the State level, the protection of streetscapes continues to be problematic.

legislation in place by 1975 cited earlier. In setting no restrictions and adopting an integrated holistic approach, the Act sent a clear message regarding the types of sites the States should be considering in their own heritage legislation.

A sense of 'place'

The concept of a heritage 'place' also had a profound impact on site assessment, as it implicitly stresses the need for research and evaluation to take into account all factors, past and present, that contribute to a place's significance. Where the focus of assessment is limited to one particular category or type of heritage, such as a building, then other elements that add to its significance and value, such as plant material in surrounding garden grounds, may be overlooked. The implicit depth of assessment inherent in the term 'place' is reinforced by the Act's four evaluative criteria – aesthetic, scientific, historic and social significance. That these criteria have become so deeply embedded in the consciousness of most Australian heritage professionals is testament to the early expansion and refinement of these basic concepts in the Burra Charter and the strength of this fourth principle.

The Burra Charter

In many ways the impact of the Burra Charter has been far greater than the Act, despite the fact that, broadly speaking, it simply reiterates the latter's four assessment criteria. It does so, however, by collapsing them into one overarching concept of cultural significance. This term is then reiterated throughout the Charter, and continually related back to the fundamental aims of conservation, namely the retention or recovery of cultural significance. As a result, 'cultural significance' has become a mantra in Australian conservation. In creating this readily understandable concept, Australia ICOMOS both simplified and clarified the basic tenet of heritage conservation in Australia. Furthermore, they did so in a forum that was, on the one hand, closely allied with the aims and objectives of the Australian Heritage Commission and, on the other, part of an extremely reputable international organization that represented the vanguard of global cultural heritage conservation.

Other features of Burra contributed to its popularity. As a legal document, the wording of the Act was not readily accessible to practitioners. More significantly, its terminology lacked clarity. By clarifying the definitions of widely used conservation terminology, such as 'restoration' and

'reconstruction', and drawing immutable distinctions between them and the conditions under which they should take place, the Burra Charter removed much of the confusion surrounding conservation practice in Australia. It is through this continuous provision, repetition and reinforcement of words and meanings, that guidance documents such as the Act and the Burra Charter precipitate framing.

Such is the clarity of the Burra Charter that it has gone on to influence the international culture of heritage conservation. Not only has it been used by heritage professionals in Latin and North America, Europe and Asia, but it has also provided a model for the development of similar conservation guidelines in Canada and New Zealand.¹¹ The methodology for the compilation of conservation plans that it spawned has also been influential,¹² most recently forming an integral part of funding applications to the Heritage Lottery Fund in Britain.¹³ The very name 'Burra' has become a heritage icon in its own right. It is now synonymous with the establishment of clear processes, procedures and definitions of conservation in fields other than cultural heritage. This appears to be particularly so where such developments are undertaken through the co-operative association of several organizations. The use of the aphorism 'Green Burra Charter' in relation to the Australian Natural Heritage Charter¹⁴ seems fitting, in view of its joint development by the Australian Heritage Commission and the Australian Committee of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (now known as the World Conservation Union). Such is the degree of consensus in Australia that the concepts developed by Burra represent 'best practice', that there is a commensurate perception that these concepts now underpin most of the activity in the field of heritage conservation.¹⁵

Conservation in thought, word and deed

In view of the fact that over half the Australian States did not pass cultural heritage legislation until the 1990s, there was ample time for the messages contained in primary frame to be disseminated, absorbed and incorporated into State legislation. There are, however, very real discrepancies across all States in the way that the primary frame has been interpreted and applied.

Clearly, the first three messages of the primary frame are interlinked, that is, if the importance of heritage has been recognized, holistic legislation should be established to identify and conserve places with those

values. Even before the Act was passed, certain elements of Australian heritage were regarded as significant, as evidenced by the consideration of certain heritage issues through either primary legislation or within local planning processes in all States except the Australian Capital Territory (Canberra and its environs).¹⁶ At that time, however, there were discrepancies in the focus of that provision and, in the wake of the Act, these discrepancies continued to be apparent, most notably in the area of cultural heritage. Prior to 1975, only Victoria had passed comprehensive legislation in this category, although New South Wales and South Australia followed shortly after in 1977 and 1978 respectively (Figure 4). However, this early rush of enthusiasm was not maintained, and, during the 1980s, no cultural heritage legislation with a similarly broad remit was passed. Subsequent to the change in economic climate at the end of the 1980s, all the remaining States have passed cultural heritage legislation. Tasmania was the last to do so as recently as February 1997. The spread of legislation relating to both Aboriginal and natural heritage has been similarly disparate across the States.¹⁷

What is evident, then, is that while the States did consider heritage values, there was no consensus on which types of heritage should be

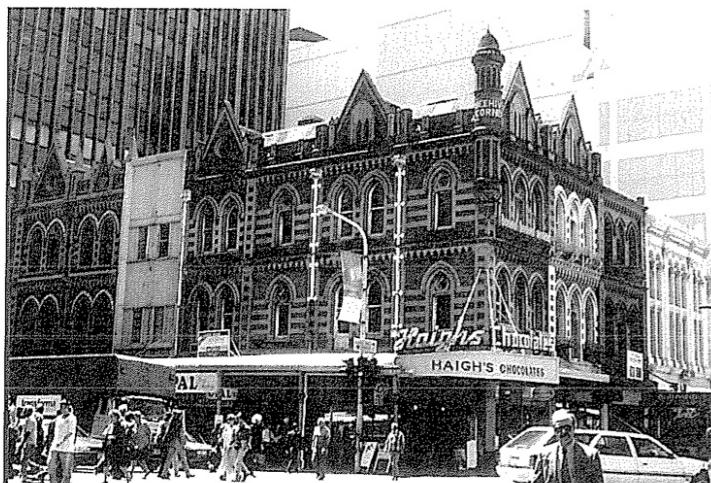


Figure 4 The progressive restoration of Beehive Corner, with financial support from Adelaide City Council, epitomizes the enlightened approach to conservation in South Australia, the third state to initiate historic cultural heritage legislation.



Figure 5 Erected in the 1830s, Chapman's Mill at Busselton is one of only a small number of early colonial buildings in this area listed on the Western Australian Heritage Register, as places must be of significance to the 'State' in order to meet the threshold.¹⁸

covered by legislative processes (Figure 5). The development of heritage legislation across the States illustrates the differences in perception of what constitutes 'heritage' and also illustrates the degree to which the third principle of the Act was largely ignored. In developing their own heritage legislation, none of the States has followed the example of the Register, instead continuing to address different categories of heritage under separate legislation. A series of interviews with State heritage officials undertaken in 1996 offered insights into the rationale and justification for the current lack of holistic practices.¹⁸

Differentiation and duplication

In some instances, the struggle to gain political acceptance of the value of cultural heritage was long and arduous. While ideally a more holistic form of legislation would have been preferred, officials were grateful for the achievements they had made and were prepared to wait until there

was greater public and governmental support for a less differentiated system (Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania). For others, the argument against a more holistic approach centred on the existence of legislation for natural and indigenous heritage, which made integrating them with cultural heritage unnecessary (New South Wales). Even in the Northern Territory, where legislation makes an integrated register possible, there appears to be little impetus to effect this from within the Territorial government. Effecting such a process was viewed by Territorial officials as a wasteful and unnecessary duplication of existing listings and registrations under other legislative provisions.

Fundamental differences in the perception of cultural heritage between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples were viewed by many as particularly problematic, making integration difficult and therefore largely undesirable (Queensland, Northern Territory, Victoria). Despite this prevalent attitude, and a recent judicial review of indigenous heritage legislation that recommended a separate Federal Aboriginal Heritage Authority be established,¹⁹ officials interviewed from the Australian Heritage Commission continue to maintain that the strength of the Register lies in its holistic approach. There were also concerns that the isolation of indigenous heritage from the rest of Australia's cultural heritage could prove detrimental both to it and to conservation as a whole. While separating the two spheres would hopefully help to resolve indigenous concerns about 'white' heritage-framing paradigms,²⁰ it may also exacerbate the lack of understanding by non-indigenous people of indigenous values by highlighting their 'otherness'. It could also make the comprehensive assessment of all aspects of a place's significance more difficult to achieve.

Reframing assessment

In terms of the acceptance of the fourth principle, that assessment should be undertaken according to sound conservation principles, again it is possible to say that State heritage legislation is characterized more by difference than consensus, and there are many factors that work actively against the implementation of the guiding principles espoused in the primary frame. Most worrying are those processes that obstruct the use of cultural significance as the determining factor of registration, the major area of concern being the consideration of extraneous factors beyond the question of cultural significance. In some States there is a deliberate blurring of the demarcation between the assessment of significance and

the consideration of management issues, and so the conservation potential of places becomes an element in their assessment (Queensland). This criterion is applied not only to places in danger of imminent collapse or beyond reasonable conservation, but also in instances where the zoning of a property for high density development may mean conservation is unreasonable in economic terms, as is increasingly the case in many inner-city areas.

In the decision-making processes of other States, provision is made and priority given to the consideration of public opinion over more objective evaluation, particularly where appeals against decisions on registration regularly take place (Northern Territory, Australian Capital Territory, Victoria). In practice, this means that not only has public opposition to a nomination resulted in the place not being registered (Northern Territory), but also that nominations have failed when there has been insufficient public support (Victoria). This consideration of public support for registration would not be quite so worrying were it not for the fact that it is widely felt that the public awareness of heritage issues in many States is inadequate.²¹

Registration and protection

Another key factor affecting the degree to which cultural significance alone determines registration is the actual approval process. Decisions regarding registration at State level are taken either by a heritage council or by the relevant minister, and there are problems inherent in both approaches. Only three State heritage councils are entirely composed of individuals with professional expertise in cultural heritage, such as conservation architects and planners, historians and archivists (South Australia, Australian Capital Territory and Victoria). Even in these cases, appointees are either nominated or vetted by the relevant minister, leaving councils vulnerable to political manipulation. In other States, representatives must be included from interest groups not directly concerned with cultural heritage, such as farmers and graziers associations in Tasmania and the Labour Council in New South Wales. To ameliorate the effect of such appointments, representatives from the National Trusts are specifically included on heritage councils in all States except South Australia.

Ministerial involvement, on the other hand, is a paradoxical situation. In some instances, the participation of elected members is viewed as increased public accountability (Northern Territory). In others, some Ministers have, at times, been perceived by their officials as actively

obstructive, unwilling to take difficult decisions regarding registration (Western Australia, Victoria).

Although the absence of a comprehensive protective mechanism within the primary frame is in line with the distribution of State and Federal responsibilities under the Australian constitution, and with the role of non-government organizations, this weakness has devalued the frame in the eyes of some States. In particular, the perceived lack of Federal government commitment to heritage conservation under the Act has made some States (Northern Territory, Queensland) unwilling and slow to take up this responsibility. Furthermore, some States felt that the Act did not provide an appropriate model for State legislation, because it was too idealistic and out of touch with reality. In this case, if the primary frame did stimulate State legislation, it was more because of its weaknesses than its strengths (Northern Territory).

Conclusion

There are clearly many instances where Australian cultural heritage policy deviates from 'best practice' as established by the primary frame. This issue has been identified by the Australian Heritage Commission as one of the most pressing problems of heritage conservation in Australia, and lies behind recent debate on the development of National Heritage Standards.²² From the discussion above, however, it is clearly not the case that the primary frame is being entirely discarded in favour of alternatives. Instead, we can see that it is coming into conflict with other cultural processes that influence the framing of heritage, and shape the responses of both individuals and States. It is at the point where these factors interact with the primary frame, that reframing is taking place. For example, arguments by the States that local conditions presently preclude an approach more in line with national guidelines, criticisms that the primary frame's principles are overly idealistic and not readily applicable, and that these and other factors necessitate the development of policies and practices tailored to local conditions, are not unique to heritage conservation, and appear to be an endemic part of the Australian Federal system.

All aspects of framing involve selection and salience.²³ In reframing the primary frame of cultural heritage, States are placing a greater emphasis on those features of the legislation that are compatible with it, while de-emphasizing those that remain incompatible. So while the fact that heritage legislation has been developed indicates that the first three

messages of the frame – that all types of places are worthy of State protection – have been broadly accepted and acknowledged, these principles are being reframed by the setting of different conditions for identification and protection in each State. Similarly, in reframing the fourth principle – that a place's significance is embodied in the full range of its values – emphasis has been placed on a range of considerations extending well beyond heritage significance alone. Hence we see the inclusion of factors such as dilapidation and economic viability in some assessment processes, and limited professional input in the registration process masquerading as political accountability in others. And so, when asserting their commitment to heritage conservation, the States emphasize the presence of their heritage legislation, while de-emphasizing the limitations and inadequacies of its application.

To what extent, then, is there cause for concern at such reframing? In asking this question it is important to stress that the primary frame of heritage conservation in Australia has been established through processes that the States and Territories were under no obligation to acknowledge or follow. That there exists a broad degree of consensus on its principles, particularly among professionals, and that these principles have had such a dramatic influence on the Australian culture of conservation in such a relatively short period, is a significant achievement and a testament to their perceived usefulness. This is particularly so in view of the fact that this has occurred under a political system that accentuates individuality and diversity. The failure of States to utilize the primary frame in its intended or complete form is, therefore, less an indictment on its worthiness or even its effective transmission than it is an indication of how entrenched attitudes towards State policy development and implementation can slow change and hinder progress. Changes in such attitudes will not easily be effected. It is in this area, however, that the Australian Heritage Commission should direct its attention if the more widespread application of the primary frame of heritage conservation in Australia is to be achieved.

Biography

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Penny O'Connor is currently undertaking a doctorate in the School of Architecture, Construction and Planning at Curtin University, Western Australia. Prior to 1997, she worked in the School of Town and Regional Planning, University of Dundee, and was a founding member of their Centre for Conservation

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Notes

- 1 Australia ICOMOS, *The Australia ICOMOS Guidelines for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance*, Australia ICOMOS (1979); amended to become *The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* (*The Burra Charter*) (1981). Also refer to Marquis-Kyle, P. and Walker, M., *The Illustrated Burra Charter: Making Good Decisions about the Care of Important Places*, Australia ICOMOS, (1994).
- 2 See MacLachlan, G. and Reid, I., *Framing and Interpretation*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria (1994) for an overview of framing theory in the social sciences.
- 3 Goffman E., *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1974).
- 4 The International Council on Monuments and Sites, *The Venice Charter*, ICOMOS (1974).
- 5 Australia ICOMOS, *op. cit.* (1981).
- 6 Hon. Mr Justice R.M. Hope, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the National Estate*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra (1974).
- 7 James, P., *A Guide to the Legal Protection of the National Estate in Australia*, HJM Environmental Strategies for the Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra (1994). Only in Victoria was legislation specifically designed to identify and conserve a range of places of cultural heritage significance. In other States, cultural heritage legislation was limited to specific types of heritage, such as shipwrecks under the Maritime Archaeology Act 1973 (Western Australia), or related to the establishment of State branches of the National Trust.
- 8 For example: Butlin, R., 'Thinking About Historic Landscapes in Britain: Context and Overview', *Historic Landscapes in Europe: Towards a Policy for the Future*, Royal Society of Edinburgh Symposium, November 1995; and also discussions on cultural landscapes by the ICOMOS Landscapes Working Group.
- 9 The Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975, Section 4.
- 10 Australian Heritage Commission, *Annual Report 1997/98*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra (1998), p. 61.
- 11 Australia ICOMOS, *Understanding the Burra Charter: A Simple Guide to the Principles of Heritage Conservation in Australia*, Australia ICOMOS, Canberra (1996).
- 12 Kerr, J.S., *The Conservation Plan: A Guide to the Preparation of Conservation Plans for Places of European Cultural Significance*, National Trust of New South Wales, Sydney (1982) and later revisions.
- 13 The Heritage Lottery Fund, *Conservation Plans for Historic Places*, The Heritage Lottery Fund, London (1998).
- 14 Australian Heritage Commission and the Australian Committee of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (now World Conservation Union), *Australian Natural Heritage Charter* (1997).
- 15 Australia ICOMOS, *op. cit.* (1996).
- 16 James, P., *op. cit.* (1994).
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 O'Connor, P., *Lessons in International Conservation Practice: Strengths and Weaknesses of the Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975*, unpublished report for the Nuffield Foundation (1997).

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- 19 Hon. Elizabeth Evatt, *Review of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra (1984).
- 20 See, for example, Ah Kit, J., 'Aboriginal Aspirations for Heritage Conservation', *Historic Environment*, Vol 11 No 2/3, 1995, pp. 34–36; and James., P., 'Anglo-Australian Law and the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage', *Historic Environment*, Vol 11 No 2/3, 1995, pp. 52–56.
- 21 Representatives from the National Trusts in Queensland and the Northern Territory voiced their concerns about the lack of public awareness regarding heritage matters, as did State government officials across Australia.
- 22 Australian Heritage Commission, *National Heritage Standards: A Discussion Paper*, Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra (1997) and Australian Heritage Commission, *National Heritage Convention: Key Outcomes*, Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra (1998).
- 23 Entman, R.M., 'Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm', *Journal of Communication*, Vol 43 No 4, 1993, pp. 51–58.

APPENDIX V – Register of the National Estate Criteria

Criterion A: Its importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history

A.1 Importance in the evolution of Australian flora, fauna, landscapes or climate.

A.2 Importance in maintaining existing processes or natural systems at the regional or national scale.

A.3 Importance in exhibiting unusual richness or diversity of flora, fauna, landscapes or cultural features.

A.4 Importance for association with events, developments or cultural phases which have had a significant role in the human occupation and evolution of the nation, State, region or community.

Criterion B: Its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history

B.1 Importance for rare, endangered or uncommon flora, fauna, communities, ecosystems, natural landscapes or phenomena, or as a wilderness.

B.2 Importance in demonstrating a distinctive way of life, custom, process, land-use, function or design no longer practised, in danger of being lost, or of exceptional interest

Criterion C: Its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's natural or cultural history

C.1 Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of Australian natural history, by virtue of its use as a research site, teaching site, type locality, reference or benchmark site.

C.2 Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of the history of human occupation of Australia.

Criterion D: Its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of: (i) a class of Australia's natural or cultural places; or (ii) a class of Australia's natural or cultural environments

D.1 Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of the range of landscapes, environments or ecosystems, the attributes of which identify them as being characteristic of their class.

D.2 Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of the range of human activities in the Australian environment (including way of life, philosophy, custom, process, land use, function, design or technique).

Criterion E: Its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group

E.1 Importance for a community for aesthetic characteristics held in high esteem or otherwise valued by the community.

Criterion F: Its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period

F.1 Importance for its technical, creative, design or artistic excellence, innovation or achievement.

Criterion G: Its strong or special associations with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons

G.1 Importance as a place highly valued by a community for reasons of religious, spiritual, symbolic, cultural, educational, or social associations.

Criterion H: Its special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history

H.1 Importance for close associations with individuals whose activities have been significant within the history of the nation, State or region.

(Department of Environment Water Heritage & the Arts, undated)

APPENDIX VI – Western Australian Heritage Criteria

CRITERIA OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE FOR ASSESSMENT OF PLACES FOR ENTRY INTO THE REGISTER OF HERITAGE PLACES

Nature of Significance

1. AESTHETIC VALUE

Criterion 1. *It is significant in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics .*

- 1.1 Importance to a community for aesthetic characteristics.
- 1.2 Importance for its creative, design or artistic excellence, innovation or achievement.
- 1.3 Importance for its contribution to the aesthetic values of the setting demonstrated by a landmark quality or having impact on important vistas or otherwise contributing to the identified aesthetic qualities of the cultural environs or the natural landscape within which it is located.
- 1.4 In the case of an historic precinct, importance for the aesthetic character created by the individual components which collectively form a significant streetscape, townscape or cultural environment.

2. HISTORIC VALUE

Criterion 2. *It is significant in the evolution or pattern of the history of Western Australia.*

- 2.1 Importance for the density or diversity of cultural features illustrating the human occupation and evolution of the locality, region or the State.
- 2.2 Importance in relation to an event, phase or activity of historic importance in the locality, the region or the State.
- 2.3 Importance for close association with an individual or individuals whose life, works or activities have been significant within the history of the nation, State or region.
- 2.4 Importance as an example of technical, creative, design or artistic excellence, innovation or achievement in a particular period.

3. SCIENTIFIC VALUE

Criterion 3A *It has demonstrable potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of the natural or cultural history of Western Australia.*

- 3.1 Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of natural or cultural history by virtue of its use as a research site, teaching site, type locality, reference or benchmark site.
- 3.2 Importance for its potential to yield information contributing to a wider understanding of the history of human occupation of the locality, region or the State.

Criterion 3B *It is significant in demonstrating a high degree of technical innovation or achievement.*

- 3.3 Importance for its technical innovation or achievement.

4. SOCIAL VALUE

Criterion 4 *It is significant through association with a community or cultural group in Western Australia for social, cultural, educational or spiritual reasons.*

- 4.1 Importance as a place highly valued by a community or cultural group for reasons of social, cultural; religious, spiritual, aesthetic or educational associations.
- 4.2 Importance in contributing to a community's sense of place.

Degree of Significance

5. RARITY

Criterion 5 *It demonstrates rare, uncommon or endangered aspects of the cultural heritage of Western Australia.*

- 5.1 Importance for rare, endangered or uncommon structures, landscapes or phenomena.
- 5.2 Importance in demonstrating a distinctive way of life, custom, process, land-use, function or design no longer practiced in, or in danger of being lost from, or of exceptional interest to, the locality, region or the State.

6. REPRESENTATIVENESS

Criterion 6 *It is significant in demonstrating the characteristics of a class of cultural places or environments in the State.*

- 6.1 Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a range of landscapes or environments, the attributes of which identify it as being characteristic of its class.
- 6.2 Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristic of the range of human activities (including way of life, philosophy, custom, process, land-use, function, design or technique) in the environment of the locality, region or the State.

Condition, Integrity and Authenticity

Condition refers to the current state of the place in relation to each of the values for which that place has been assessed. Condition reflects the cumulative effects of management and environmental events.

Integrity is a measure of the likely long-term viability or sustainability of the values identified, or the ability of the place to restore itself or be restored, and the time frame for any restorative process.

Authenticity refers to the extent to which the fabric is in its original state.

APPENDIX VII – HERCON Criteria

- (a) Importance to the course or pattern of our cultural or natural history.
- (b) Possession of uncommon rare or endangers aspects of our cultural or natural history.
- (c) Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of our cultural or natural history.
- (d) Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of cultural or natural places or environments.
- (e) Importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group.
- (f) Importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period.
- (g) Strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons. This includes the significance of a place to Indigenous peoples as part of the continuing and developing cultural traditions.
- (h) Special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in our history.

APPENDIX VIII – A History of Augusta-Margaret River Shire

As it is not one of aim of this thesis to provide a definitive account of the early history of the Augusta-Margaret River area, the following is only an overview. Beginning with a description of the region's physical attributes, it goes on to outline the historic development of the area based on some primary, but mostly secondary sources. Some of the sources are not scholarly works but still provide important insights. For example *They Came to the Margaret* by Frances Terry (1978) is largely a work of historic fiction. Frances Terry is however a descendent of the Bussell family and had access to oral histories as well as private documents, some of which are referenced in her book.

The south-west corner of Western Australia is part of the State's major forested area, but also contains a range of other ecosystems and unique geological features. A broad ridge of Tamala limestone runs down the western coastline separating the forests from the coastal heath lands. This type of limestone has a coarse to medium grain and is largely composed of the fragmented remains of micro-organisms. The limestone was laid down as sand dunes comparatively recently (two million years ago) and is therefore very soft compared to the more crystalline limestone found in many other parts of the world. As a result, the area is riddled with caves and subterranean caverns (Playford, *et al.*, 1976). The granite that lies under limestone is exposed throughout the area, either as coastal headlands or as inland outcrops called monadnocks. Shifting sand dunes continue to be a feature in this area, engulfing coastal vegetation and forests in their path. As the sands move, the calcified tracts of roots and stems are exposed as eerie limestone forests called rhizoliths. Sometimes, the outline of tree trunks can also be seen.

The forests here are generally dominated by two species: jarrah (*Eucalyptus marginata*) and marri (*Corymbia calophylla* previously *E. calophylla*), with some notable intrusions of karri (*E. diversicolor*). All species form tall forest with a dense closed canopy. On the coastal heaths, there are lower growing eucalypts such as bullich (*E. megacarpa*) and yate (*E. cornuta*) mixed with the dominant peppermint trees (*Agonis flexuosa*), which vary in size from a low shrub to a medium-sized tree in more sheltered parts (Scott, 1999), depending on how exposed they are to the strong winds that characterise this area of coastline (Bureau of Meteorology, 2008).

There are many colourful flowering plants in the area, ranging from the large Banksias with huge candle-like flowers, shrubs such as yellow wattles (*Acacia sp.*), blue fan flowers (*Scaevola sp.*) and bright pink Pimelea (*Pimelea sp.*) and climbers such as the native wisteria (*Hardenbergia comptoniana*), red coral vine (*Kennedia coccinea*) and white clematis (*Clematis pubescens*). But the area is also known for its smaller flowering plants, particularly its delicate orchids (Scott, 1999).

There are three major rivers in the area. The Blackwood is the one of the longest rivers in Western Australia. It winds 300km from the north-east and was navigable for much of its length. It was therefore an important transport corridor after settlement. In the south, it broadens to form the Hardy Inlet just north of Augusta before emptying into the southern ocean at Flinders Bay, east of Cape Leeuwin. Typically for rivers in the southern half of Western Australia, the mouth of the river is periodically blocked by a sand bar. The Scott River runs east off the Hardy Inlet, narrowing quickly and then feeding into a large area of coastal wetlands. The Margaret River is in the northern half of the study area and is about 65km long. It runs west before discharging into the Indian Ocean near Cape Mentelle where the mouth is regularly blocked by a sand bar. Historically, there were several sets of rapids along its length, making it of little use in terms of inland navigation.

The Augusta-Margaret River area was first inhabited and shaped by Aboriginal people. It is part of the traditional home of the Wardandi (also Wadandi) (Berndt, 1979), a branch of the Noongar people who populated the whole of the south-west of Western Australia. It is difficult to estimate how many Wardandi were living in the area at the time settlers arrived. One anonymous visitor to Augusta in 1830 stated that the people of the town had told him that ‘natives’ were “...only seen at a great distance, very rarely and few in number...” (Berryman, 2002, 201). However other accounts indicate that the Wardandi probably outnumbered the colonists. About 80 people were settled at Augusta by 1832 (Berryman, 2002) and the town did not grow significantly larger before it began to decline in the late 1830s. Yet John Garratt Bussell observed in 1832 ‘...about 50 savages...’ waiting for a ship to arrive , while two years later his brother, Lennox Bussell described finding at least one group of ‘native’ huts every day on an expedition into the forests around Augusta to look for stray cattle. The Bussell’s servant, Edward Pearce was more specific, stating that the Aborigines around Augusta lived “...in tribes of 130 and above” (Pearce, 1832).

Most of the colonists who eventually settled in the south-west arrived at Fremantle on the *Warrior* on 12 March 1830 having been enticed to the Swan River Colony by letters and advertisements in Britain that made extravagant claims:

‘The Emigrant will not have to wage hopeless and ruinous war with interminable forests and impenetrable jungle, as he will find prepared by the hand of Nature extensive plains ready for the ploughshare [...] Nor will he be separated from the lofty protection of his native country nor hardened in his heart by the debasing influence of being obliged to mingle with, and employ those bearing the brand of crime and punishment’ (Sempill cited in Berryman, 2002, 10)

Sempill had a vested interest in circulating such a glowing account, sight unseen, of the new colony as he had chartered the *Warrior* to travel to the Swan River and then on to Sydney and needed to fill it with passengers and cargo (Berryman, 2002).

However, by the time the *Warrior* arrived there was little good land readily available because the way in which the first allocations of land had been conceived and effected. Vast tracks of land along the banks of the Swan and Canning Rivers had been allotted to officers who had arrived in 1829 on H.M.S. *Sulphur* and H.M.S. *Challenger*, with the result that much of the river frontage had quickly been taken up. This disadvantaged settlers who arrived later, who were offered land that was either far upstream, or had no river frontage (Hasluck, 1955). As rivers were the quickest transport routes through the colony during this early period the absence of a river frontage made getting to and working the land difficult, as well as limiting access to sources of fresh water. Furthermore, unlike the richer alluvial soil of the flood plains, many of the later allocations were often ‘nothing but sand’ (Turner James W, 1831).

In 1830, at the personal encouragement of Governor Stirling, a group of settlers from the *Warrior* agreed to take up land near Cape Leeuwin and establish a new town. The area had not yet been explored by colonists and in convincing the settlers Stirling relied on descriptions of the area provided by sealers who said the area contained tall forest and wide inlets (Hasluck, 2002). Captain John Molloy was appointed the Justice of the Peace or Resident Magistrate for the Stirling (later Suffolk) area that would be administrated from the new town.

In May 1830, the settlers sailed for Cape Leeuwin in the *Emily Taylor* together with Stirling, four sailors from H.M.S. *Sulphur* and the Assistant Government Surveyor, John Kellam, who would assist in surveying the town and land allocations. The river the sealers had spoken of was located, and named the Blackwood. It was found to be navigable for at least 30 miles. The settlers erroneously assumed that the tall timber along the riverbanks indicated fertile subsoil below giving them great confidence in establishing the new settlement of Augusta, which they believed would be excellently positioned to trade with the Cape of Good Hope and the colonies on the east coast of Australia (Berryman, 2002, 197).

It was estimated that about 50 people initially settled at Augusta (Berryman, 2002). Forty-six of these came from the three main families who came out on the *Warrior* with their servants: the Bussells, the Molloys and the Turners (Perth Dead Persons Society, 1996-2002). The four Bussell brothers brought only one servant with them in 1830 as the rest of their party were travelling on the *Cygnet*, which arrived in 1833, and the *James Pattison*, which arrived in 1834 (Erickson, 1987a). The Turners were a large family in their own right and brought with them two other large families to work for them, the Dewars and the Smiths, as well as several individual servants. The Molloys similarly brought out the Heppingstone family and several individual servants. There was also one independent settler who moved to Augusta who also came out on the *Warrior*, a Mr Herring. The instructions from the Governor to the Surveyor, Mr Kellam in 1830 show that, in addition to the settlers noted above, land was also allocated at this time to Captain McDermott of the *Emily Taylor*, and Mr Kellam himself (Hasluck, 2002, 97-98).

The new town was sited on the banks of the Blackwood. Town lots, some as large as 20 acres in the case of the Turners, were allocated to all the new arrivals near the entrance of the inlet to the Blackwood River. Land in the surrounding heavily wooded countryside was then allocated to the Turners, the Bussells and Captain Molloy before it was opened up to other settlers (Hasluck, 2002).

A small group of sailors under the command of Lieutenant Richard Dawson had been left at Augusta to provide temporary protection and assist the settlers. But at the end of 1830, they were replaced by a detachment of troops that arrived on H.M.S. *Sulphur* under the command of Lieutenant McLeod, who also brought Dr Simmons to the settlement (Hasluck, 2002, 100). It is not clear how many enlisted men were

stationed at Augusta. The intention had been to send 60 (Berryman, 2002, 187), but the final detachment arrived from Port Leschenault to the north (Hasluck, 2002, 102), where only 15 soldiers had been stationed (Berryman, 2002, 187). For the most part, the settlers do not appear to have either associated with or entirely approved of the troops and their families. Several years after their arrival, Georgiana Molloy wrote of their ‘...wickedness...’ noting that the wives often left Sunday prayers to hold ‘..their enebrious (sic) orgies’ (Molloy in Hasluck, 2002, 102). The exception was Lieutenant McLeod, who the Bussells regarded as an intimate member of their ‘society’ (Bussell John Garrett, 1831a).

A small number of other settlers joined the initial group soon after the settlement was established. By 1831, the Chapman brothers, James, George and Henry, had taken up their allocation of 1,200 acres (nearly 500 hectares) on the Blackwood. They had arrived at the Swan on the *Egypt* in February 1830 with their sister Ann, who does not appear to have joined them at Augusta having married soon after arriving in the colony (Erickson, 1987a). George Layman arrived at the Blackwood at about this time too, and took up his allocation of 500 acres (about 200 hectares). He had come to the Swan in 1829 at the age of 19 on the *Orelia*, having left Van Diemen’s Land (Tasmania) where his brother had been killed. Smaller town lots were also allocated to John Cook (Bussell John Garrett, c.1832) who together with Layman had been contracted to build the barracks at Augusta (Jennings, 1983) and John Dawson, a labourer. Dr Alfred Green, who had come out to the Colony on the *Warrior*, also joined the settlement in 1831 after succeeding Dr Simmons (Hasluck, 1955).

The Wardandi helped the settlers to acclimatise to the new environment in several different ways. Their traditional migratory way of life, which followed seasonal abundances of food, meant the forest and coastal heath landscape was threaded with paths and tracks, which inadvertently made exploration comparatively easy for the colonists when they arrived in the region in 1830 (Bussell John Garrett, 1832a). Some of the Wardandi served as guides on expeditions (Ommanney, 1840), although it is unclear under what terms and conditions. The Wardandi also communicated information about the landscape, and native flora and fauna that assisted the settlers, telling them which plants were good to eat and which to avoid (Bussell John Garrett, 1832a), and passing on their names and words for places and things, many of which

still remain in the south-west landscape today²¹. Contrary to some accounts, the archives indicate that during this initial period of settlement, relationships between settlers and Wardandi were generally cordial for the most part, and the settlers did not live in “constant dread” (Reynolds, 1996, 10) of encounters with Aboriginal people. This was most likely due to the small number of colonists in the area and the fact that the slow progress they were making clearing land made relatively little impact on the traditional Wardandi way of life. As settlement continued and expanded, however, relationships between the two groups became more strained.

Initially, the settlers viewed their new land as a rich paradise filled with wildlife, game, fish and good prospects. However, their vision for a brave new world was sorely tried over the coming years. The colonists at Augusta found themselves faced with many of the conditions that Sempill had assured them would not exist in the colony, and worse. The land along the Blackwood was cloaked in a vast forest of giant hardwoods that were difficult to fell. The only plains were boggy areas filled with sedge and insects. And despite Augusta’s coastal location between the only other major colonial settlements of Perth and Albany, the new town was not well supplied. If the Swan River Colony struggled to survive once news of dire conditions began to filter back to Britain after 1830 (Berryman, 2002), then the settlement at Augusta struggled even more.

It quickly became apparent that the major impediment to progress at Augusta was the ‘...grand difficulty clearing away trees of stupendous magnitude, and great hardness’ (Bussell John Garrett, 1830). The karri trees that dominated the landscape are incredibly hard, and would not yield readily to the settlers’ axes and land was cleared painfully slowly. Cultivation was at a subsistence level and dried goods and staples had to be brought in by ship. These arrived increasingly infrequently, and although the archive records show the settlers were able to catch plentiful amounts of fish, birds and kangaroo on a seasonal basis, they nevertheless worried they might starve (Jennings, 1983).

Because of these uncertainties, John Garrett Bussell had been in no hurry to take up his family’s full land allocation of 6,000 acres (2,428 hectares) without ‘... a good

²¹ Aboriginal place names in the south west often end in ‘up’ which means “place of” so Cowaramup, is place of the cowara – the Purple Crowned Lorikeet (Landgate).

inspection', so during early 1831 he undertook several expeditions upriver and overland to explore the surrounding area (Bussell John Garrett, 1831a). In April that year he chose 2,000 acres (810 hectares) 12 miles (19 km) up the Blackwood River where a peninsula extends into waters that could easily be fenced to secure livestock and which was comparatively free of the rocks and great trees that were such an impediment elsewhere (Bussell Vernon, 1833b). He nevertheless continued his exploration of the area to the north of Augusta later that year, reporting his findings to the Resident Magistrate, Captain John Molloy. The news was not particularly encouraging. The tree cover was similarly dense with underlying rock evident in many places, and any open land he encountered was either swampy or sandy (Bussell John Garrett, 1831b).

While the families and employees of those who came on the *Warrior* continued to arrive at Augusta during the mid 1830s, few new settlers came. Some who had taken up land, like John Cook and John Dawson, gave up their allocations and moved away (Jennings, 1983). The settlement did not thrive. Labour was in short supply, so gentlemen had to work the land along with their indentured servants. Gentlewomen had few servants, and had to undertake many basic, menial domestic and farming duties. Aside from the accommodation required by the troops, there is no evidence that the Colonial government provided any further infrastructure for the settlement, and no public or civic buildings such as churches or halls were constructed.

By 1832, John Garrett Bussell was becoming increasingly concerned about the slow progress at Augusta and on his family's holdings in particular. His letters talk of them being reduced '...to the greatest extremities...', (Bussell John Garrett, c.1832) as ships repeatedly failed to call with fresh supplies. The shortage of labour and the problems of clearing the land meant crops had not been sown, let alone begun to yield (Bussell John Garrett, 1832b). In October 1832 he formed an expedition with Mr Edwards, a surveyor, and three soldiers with the aim of surveying land on the Vasse Inlet at Geographe Bay, an area that he and others had 'imperfectly' or 'superficially' examined on several previous expeditions (Bussell John Garrett, 1832d).

John Garrett Bussell's personal notes of this expedition describe the land in his characteristic dramatic style as "...so clear that a farmer would hardly grudge the fine spreading trees of the red and white gum and Peppermint the small portions of

ground that they occupied only to ornament' (Bussell John Garrett, 1832a). More pragmatically, he later notes that '...the soil was always good - sometimes very light red sandy loam, at other times stiff particularly where the white gum prevailed' (Bussell John Garrett, 1832a). From this point on, the fate of Augusta was largely set.

Over the next 30 years, Augusta and its hinterland were progressively depopulated as settlers transferred their grants to the Vasse or abandoned them. The Bussell's were among the first to begin the move. A devastating fire in 1833 destroyed their homestead upriver, *The Adelphi*, and decided their plans to exchange all land at Augusta for land at the Vasse. The town of Busselton that was ultimately formed is named after the family. Vernon and John Bussell moved to their new grant, *Cattle Chosen*, in 1834 to begin construction and their sisters, Bessie and Fanny, and mother, Frances Snr, moved late in 1835. Charles Bussell stayed at Augusta for much longer as he had been appointed the Government Store Keeper (Bussell Vernon, 1832).

The Colonial Government resisted the colonists' informal choice of the Vasse as the site of a new settlement as they had established a garrison at Wonnerup 14km to the east with the intention that this would be the site of a new town. Captain Molloy as Resident Magistrate for the Sussex District therefore remained at Augusta with some of the soldiers, although he too had taken up a large grant at the Vasse.

In 1832 the Chapman brothers, Henry and James, exchanged their land at Augusta for land at Wonnerup, although it took them until 1837 to finalise their move from Augusta (Jennings, 1983). George Layman moved to Wonnerup at about the same time, as the birth of his daughter Mary was registered at the Vasse in 1837 (Molloy, 1830-1841). By 1836 the population of Augusta had dwindled to about 12 adults with '...no hope of influx...' until the disadvantages of the situation could be addressed (John Garratt Bussell cited in Jennings, 1983, 114). In 1839, Captain Molloy and his family and servants finally relocated to the Vasse, together with most of the troops.

Governor Hutt was not entirely supportive of Molloy's relocation to the Vasse, which was still an unofficial town. Molloy therefore had to agree to visit Augusta once a quarter and organise for regular reports from the town. For a short time, he

also left a small number of officials at Augusta including a Post Master, a Commissariat Clerk and a Constable (Jennings, 1983), probably to attend the whaling fleet that called each season (Hardwick, 2003). A small detail of troops was also left to protect those who remained. However, all these officers were progressively relocated to the Vasse during the early 1840s (Jennings, 1983).

Of those left at Augusta, the family of James Turner was the most significant. Turner had brought 30 people out with him to the Colony (Jennings, 1983) and in 1833 took up his full allocation of 20,026 acres (8,104 hectares) at Augusta (Turner James W, 1830-1849). He did not consider relocating to the Vasse with other settlers in the mid 1830s and only became anxious about the viability of Augusta after Captain Molloy left the settlement. By this time, the conditions being offered to those wanting to exchange land had altered and Turner did not believe they adequately took into consideration the improvements he had made at Augusta, and so he chose not to relocate (John Garratt Bussell cited in Jennings, 1983, 120). Fortunately, in terms of Turner's capacity to work his land, his adult sons also chose to stay at Augusta, and in 1838, Thomas Turner established his own cottage at Cape Leeuwin called *The Spring*. The family also managed to retain a small number of labourers and their families, so a sense of ongoing community was maintained at Augusta Bell, #734}. This was enhanced by the regular travel that took place between Augusta and the Vasse, and the seasonal arrival of American whaling ships (Jennings, 1983). Nevertheless, by 1840 the population at Augusta had dwindled to only a few families.

In 1844, the Turners attempted to diversify their interests and built a ship, the *Alpha*, at Augusta to begin trading up the coast. This boat was quickly followed by the *Bee*. Although the Turner's trading enterprise was not a success, others saw the potential of Augusta as a location for fishing and trading and during the mid 1840s the Turners were joined Bill Ellis, George Cross, William (Bill) Moriarty and Peter Brennan and their families (Hardwick, 2003). Of these, only the Ellis and Brennan families stayed for long.

James Turner and his family remained at Augusta until 1849 when his eldest sons, who by this time were also his main labourers, decided to leave the area. However the continued presence of a small population at Augusta had maintained the road linking Augusta to the Vasse, and pastoralists travelling through had became

increasingly interested in taking up land between the two settlements, a movement that eventually led to the development of the area around what was later to become Margaret River.

In the 1850, new laws led to large pastoral leases being granted across the Swan River Colony. By 1857, over 70,000 acres (28,327 hectares) of pastoral leases had been issued in the Augusta-Margaret River area. Some of this land had previously been owned by the settlers at Augusta, and was subsequently granted to families who had been in the district for many years, such as Sam Bryant who had been born at Augusta (Fall, 1974).

Renewed attempts at commercial timber cutting also occurred during this time. In 1851 a party of convicts was sent to Augusta to cut timber for export on behalf of Messrs Shenton and Davey, merchants of Perth. However the venture proved so costly it was almost 20 years before another attempt was made (Fall, 1974).

The first of the new wave of pastoral settlers was the youngest of the Bussell brothers, Alfred. In 1854, he and his wife Ellen moved south from Busselton to take up farming at *Ellensbrook*, about 30km south of the Vasse, which was by this time had been renamed Busselton. At *Ellensbrook*, the family gradually developed a successful dairy and cattle enterprise with assistance from labourers and convicts, as well as Aboriginal workers (Heritage Today, 2004).

Throughout the 1860s an increasing number of pastoral leases were granted for the area around the Margaret River. Stewart Keenan and his partners James Forrest and Thomas Abbey were granted 1,214 hectares (3,000 acres) (Cresswell, 1989). It was still sometime, however, before these leases resulted in people settling permanently in the area. And the changes had little impact at Augusta, which continued to stagnate. In 1864, the surveyor Quinn noted there were only four families living in the area: the Brennans and the Longbottoms at Augusta; the Brady family nearly 5 miles west and Charles Layman who retained a property near Cape Leeuwin (Cresswell, 1989). The Phillips family had also arrived by this time and settled at “Muddy Bay” (Erickson, 1987c).

In 1865 Alfred Bussell expanded his land holdings and built *Wallcliffe*, a grander house for his expanding family a few kilometres south of *Ellensbrook* on the banks of the Margaret River. He retained *Ellensbrook*, however, and in due course passed

management of this property over to his daughter, Frances (Fanny) and her husband, John Brockman. The establishment of the two Bussell properties led to an increase in people moving through the western section of what is now the Shire of Augusta-Margaret River.

During the 1870s there were renewed attempts to cut timber in the far south-west. In 1875 John Eldridge was granted 14 year lease to cut timber from 75,000 acres in the Augusta-Hamelin area (Fall, 1974). Eldridge's operation involved pit-sawing the timber, which was then hauled by jinker (a four-wheeled, flat topped vehicle drawn by bullocks) to either Flinders or Hamlin Bay. The jinkers were walked into the ocean where the timber was loaded onto lighters to be shipped out (Bosworth & Brady, 1997). The process was slow and dangerous, and during the loading of the first shipment, two of Eldridge's men were drowned (Cresswell, 1989).

The cost of transportation made Eldridge's timber operations unviable and he sold his concessions in 1878 (Bosworth & Brady, 1997). Nevertheless, the renewed interest in the timber industry led to a significant increase in travellers to the southwest, and in 1878 a bridge was constructed over the Margaret River in response. Alfred Bussell built a wayside inn, later known as Old Bridge House, at the bridge to provide accommodation and refreshments to travellers (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996).

More significant to the expansion of the timber industry was the arrival of Maurice Coleman (M. C.) Davies in the Colony in 1875 to inspect the four large steam-driven timber mills at Canning, Quindalup, Lockville & Jarrahdale (Fall, 1974). Impressed with the potential of the industry, he bought shares in the Rockingham Jarrah Timber Company, and learned from its operations that for timber ventures to be successful in the Swan River Colony, mills had to have good access to ports and railways (Cresswell, 1989).

In 1878 Davies purchased Eldridge's timber lease at Coodardup (now Kudardup) near Karridale, midway between Margaret River and Augusta (Mills, 1986), the same year that there was great interest in woods from the Swan River Colony at the Paris Exhibition. By 1880, he had established the Karridale Estate and had begun laying tramlines from Coodardup to Augusta. His first mill was built at Coodardup in 1881 and employed 100 men 24 hours a day. The workers represented a dramatic

and concentrated increase to the local population. A year later he began work on a railway line to Hamelin Bay where he established a summer port, and a year later he began construction of a similar line to Flinders Bay, at Augusta for a winter port (Mills, 1986). Long jetties were constructed at each port to enable the timber to be loaded directly onto waiting ships (Southcombe, 1986).

In 1882 Davies dismantled the mill at Coodardup and relocated it to nearby Karridale where he doubled his operations. In October that year, Davies was granted a 42 year timber lease over 18,615 hectares (46,000 acres) for an annual rent of £150 (Cresswell, 1989). The M. C. Davies Karri and Jarrah Company Limited quickly developed to be one of the most successful timber companies in Western Australia, and in 1897 Davies successfully floated the company in London (Cresswell, 1989).

The rapid growth of the population in the Augusta-Margaret River region that came with the success of M. C. Davies' timber business and others from 1880 onwards marks the end of the study period for this thesis. Up until this time, the area around Augusta and Margaret River had developed gradually on the basis of pastoralism and agriculture. The settlements that developed with the timber industry, by contrast, were highly structured. Timber companies in Western Australia established private towns for workers and their families. Accommodation was free but wages were often paid in a currency that could only be spent at the local company store, rather than in standard currency. This resulted in the development of close-knit, self-sufficient patriarchal societies (Robertson, 2006). As an example, by 1899 the town of Karridale had over 800 inhabitants. In addition to barracks and a communal dining room for the single men and houses for families there was a school, a public hall, a library, a church and rectory, a sports ground and a racecourse. By the following year a hospital and a veterinary hospital, primarily for horses, had also been built (Fall, 1974). The diversity of infrastructure provided at mill towns such as Karridale not only contrasted sharply with the lack provided in earlier settlements, it drew independent timber workers into the area and away from more rough bush camps (Cresswell, 1989), further concentrating the population.

It has been suggested that the point at which the historic direction of the Augusta-Margaret River area began to change was with Eldridge's initial timber enterprise in 1875 (Shire of Augusta-Margaret River Heritage Group & Claughton, 1996). Although Eldridge's operation did mark the beginning of the shift from pastoralism

to timber in the area, his operations did not have a dramatic impact on the wider population or the landscape. These changes only occurred with the arrival of the intensive timber industry associated with Davies' steam driven mills, railways and the concept of the company mill towns that he introduced. The first manifestation of these developments occurred in 1880 with the establishment of the Karridale Estate and its associated railway. For this reason, the cut off date for the archive research in this thesis was determined as 1880.

APPENDIX IX – Population Databases

Augusta 1830-1880

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 -	Dawson	John	Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 has having land at Augusta (p.45)	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i> (Cresswell)	arr. 1830 on <i>Egyptian</i> . Carpenter and farmhand at Augusta 1830 and Busselton 1839 employed by Layman and Mrs Molloy. Farmer at Newbury in the Vasse in 1850s.		No listings in LISWA
1830 - ?	Postans	Henry	Servant to Turner. Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 18. ²³	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	arr. 1830 on <i>Warrior</i> servant to Turner	Not noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA

²² This reference is to the four volumes of *The Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians pre 1829-1888* (1987) by Rica Erikson.

²³ I have used the consolidated passenger list for the *Warrior* compiled by the Dead Persons Society, Perth (2001)

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - ?	Reilly	John	Baptism of son John 7/8/30 b.1/8/30. Member of the 63rd Regiment	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	arr. 1829 on <i>Sulphur</i> with wife Esther and one child Thomas b. 1829 WA. A Private in the 63rd Regiment. Later stationed in Upper Swan.		No listings in LISWA
1830 - ?	Reilly	Esther	Baptism of son John 7/8/30 b.1/8/30	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	arr. 1829 on <i>Sulphur</i> with husband John and one child Thomas b. 1829 WA. John was a Private in the 63rd Regiment and was later stationed in Upper Swan.		No listings in LISWA
1830 - ?	Robinson	Thomas	Servant to Turner. Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 16.	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	arr. 1829 in WA. Father John was a Private in the 63rd Regiment. Later stationed in Upper Swan.		No listings in LISWA
1830 - ?	Syred	Daniel	Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 has having land at	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i>	arr. 1830 on <i>Hoogly</i> . m. 1834 Hannah Melody, widow of William. Carpenter at Augusta then Guildford. Left the		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
			Augusta		Colony 1845.		
1830 - ?	Welburn	John	Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 has having land at Augusta (p.45)	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i>	arr. 1829 on <i>Marquis of Anglesea</i> . Carpenter and later building contractor on government offices Perth 1836 and Guildford gaol 1840. No record of living at Augusta.		No listings in LISWA
1830 - ?	Willy	Thomas John	Servant to Turner. Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 32	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> as servant to Turner. Worked at Augusta briefly. Had relocated to Beverley by 1850s	Baptism of son William on 26/9/1830 b.8/6/30. Noted as Labourer. Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	No listings in LISWA
1830 - ?	Willy	Susannah (Susan)	Servant to Turner. Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 21	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> as servant to Turner. Worked at Augusta briefly. Had relocated to Beverley by 1850s	Baptism of son William on 26/9/1830 b.8/6/30. Husband noted as	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
						Labourer. Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	
1830 - 1832	Dewar	John	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 46. Servant to the Turner Family	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Dewar	Mary	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 40. Servant to the Turner Family	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Dewar	Ann	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 17	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Dewar	Alexander	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 15	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Dewar	Janet (aka Jessie)	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 13	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Dewar	Robert	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 10	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - 1832	Dewar	Ralph Thomas	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 9	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Dewar	Mary	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 5	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Dewar	John	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 3	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Dewar	William Smart	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 1	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Moved to Perth in 1832		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Higgins	Thomas	Baptism of son John 19/9/30. b. 8/9/30. Member of the 63rd Regiment	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	No entry in Erickson		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1832	Higgins	Mary	Baptism of son John 19/9/30. b. 8/9/30. 63rd Regiment	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	No entry in Erickson		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - 1832	Earl	George	Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 has having land at Augusta (p.45)	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i>	arr 1830 on <i>Egyptian</i> with several servants. To Augusta where he was assigned 2 town lots in 1831. Clerk to Molloy. Departed 1832 on <i>Monkey</i> for Pt. Essington and returned to England 1835.		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1834	Bussell	John Garrett	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 25	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> 1830. Farmed at Augusta. Moved to Vasse c. 1834	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	Multiple references in LISWA
1830 - 1834	McDermott	James	Ships Captain and Explorer. Allocated land in first wave of immigration to Augusta. Married Anne Turner in 1832.	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	arr. 1830 on <i>Emily Smith</i> . Received town lot at Augusta after transporting settlers in 1830. Master of <i>Cumberland</i> which went down in a storm en route to Vasse transporting the Bussell's goods		LISWA references but nothing relating to study area
1830 - 1834	Pearce	Edward	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 14 servant to the	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Intended to leave Perth 1834	Not noted in 1836 WA Population	LISWA references

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
			Bussells.			Return at Augusta.	
1830 - 1834?	Bussell	Alfred Pickmore	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 14.	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> 1830. Moved to Vasse with brothers. Later to Ellensbrook and Margaret River.	Not noted by name in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta but another unnamed Bussell is noted in the return.	Multiple references in LISWA
1830 - 1834?	Bussell	Joseph Vernon	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 17.	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> 1830. Farmed at Augusta with brothers. Moved to Vasse with family.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	Multiple references in LISWA
1830 - 1835	Heppingstone	Robert	Baptism of children John 21/10/31 b. 27/8/31 & Ellen 1/2/35 b.1/12/33. Noted as Labourer	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	Died 1835 washed off rocks		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - 1835	Salkilld	Thomas	Servant to Turner. Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 24.	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	arr. 1830 on <i>Warrior</i> . Left 1837 and returned with wife Elizabeth and brother John. Spent 5 years at Augusta. Went to Perth after returning in 1837.	Not noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	LISWA references
1830 - 1835	Smith	Andrew Adam	Baptism of daughter Mary Anne 29/3/35 b.27/1/35	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	Arr. 1830 on <i>Warrior</i> indentured labourer to Turner at Augusta. Later moved to Perth	Not noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1835	Smith	Mary	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 36. Servant to the Turner Family. Baptism of daughter Mary Anne 29/3/35 b.27/1/35	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i> . Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	Arr. 1830 on <i>Warrior</i> with husband Andrew Adam - indentured labourer to Turner. Died 1835 at Augusta possibly giving birth to daughter Mary Ann b. 1835.	Not noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1835	Smith	William	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 3	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived with Father and Mother (Mary and Andrew) 1830 on <i>Warrior</i> .	Not noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - 1835	Smith	James	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 1	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived with Father and Mother (Mary and Andrew) 1830 on <i>Warrior</i> .	Not noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1836	Dawson	Elijah	Baptism of children: George 12/05/30 b.8/5/30; Mary Anne 21/10/31 b.9/10/31; Maria 26/4/35 b.6/4/35. Noted initially as Labourer later as an Agriculturalist.	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> as indentured servant to Captain John Molloy with three children Robert (9), Charlotte (7) and Ann (11 months). Lived at Augusta for 6 months but was later police constable in 1835.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1836	Dawson	Anne	Baptism of son George 12/05/30. Born 8/5/30. Came out on <i>Warrior</i> as labourers	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> as indentured servant to Captain John Molloy with three children Robert (9), Charlotte (7) and Ann (11 months).		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - 1836	Kellam	John	Noted as a 30 year old Yeoman	1836 WA Population Return	Arr. 1829 on <i>Lotus</i> . Worked as Assistant Surveyor at Augusta 1830. Notable journey to Perth 1831 with Ludlow and Welbourne.		LISWA references
1830 - 1836	Kellam	Henry	Noted as a 28 year old Yeoman	1836 WA Population Return	Agriculturalist with brother John at Augusta. Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> 1830	Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 has having land at Augusta, <i>Light of Leeuwin</i> (p.45)	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1836	Ludlow	Frederick	Noted as 42 year old Labourer	1836 WA Population Return	arr. 1829 on <i>Parmelia</i> with wife Mildred d. 1836. Went to Augusta with Molloy 1830.		LISWA reference to expedition from Vasse to Swan River 1834. This contains no details of the area around

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
							Augusta/Margaret River. Also in Exploration Diaries
1830 - 1836	Ludlow	Mildred			arr. 1829 on <i>Parmelia</i> with husband Frederick. Went to Augusta with Molloy 1830 d. 1836.		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1836	McDermott/ Green (nee Turner)	Ann Elizabeth	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 18	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	m. James McDermott 1832. Widowed 1834. m. Alfred Green 1844. He was Res. Medical Officer Toodyay by 1856.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta as a widow with two children.	LISWA references
1830 - 1836	Staples	James	Servant to Molloy. Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 35	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> as servant to Molloy	1836 census lists him in Albany working as a gardener	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 – 1837	Layman	George	Baptism of daughter Harriett 8/9/35 b. 25/5/35 to Mary Anne at Augusta but baptism of Mary 30/3/37 is noted as having been at the Vasse.	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	Arr 1829. Took up land first in Augusta then in Wonnerup 1835.	John Layman noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta - no George? No John Layman noted in Erickson. Light of Leeuwin notes land assigned to George and Mary in Nov- Dec 1830 9p.45).	LISWA references but only after family had moved to Wonnerup
1830 - 1837	Layman (nee Bayliss)	Mary	Baptism of daughter Harriett 8/9/35 b. 25/5/35 to Mary Anne at Augusta but baptism of Mary 30/3/37 is noted as having been at the Vasse.	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	m. George Layman 1832	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta. <i>Light of Leeuwin</i> notes land assigned to George and Mary in Nov- Dec 1830 9p.45).	LISWA references but only after family had moved to Wonnerup

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - 1837	Turner	Thomas	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 16	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> with father and family. Worked at Augusta with father and later brothers until 1837. Settled at Cometville, Dunsborough by 1840.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	LISWA references inc. sketches of Augusta. Also expedition up the Blackwood River in 1834. Technical notes on tree coverage, soil, and water.
1830 - 1839	Molloy	Georgiana	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 25	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> in 1830 with husband John. Moved to Vasse 1839.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta as well as three children under 4	Multiple references in LISWA & two biographies

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - 1840?	Herring	John	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 50	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	d. 1866 in Busselton. Postmaster Augusta. Tidewaiter Vasse 1840s-62	Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 has having land at Augusta, <i>Light of Leeuwin</i> (p.45)	No LISWA references but referred to in correspondence of others esp Bussells
1830 - 1841	Cooke (Cook)	John Taylor	Cut timber at Augusta and built the barracks in 1841 (p.69)	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i> ,	b. 1808. Arr. Per <i>Lotus</i> as carpenter on Latour's party. M. Mary Ann Morgan 1836. Several children. Ran a wayside Inn at Katrine, Northam in 1842.	Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 has having land at Augusta (p.45). Also noted in The Turners at Augusta (p.77)	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1844	Turner	Maria	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 8	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> with father and family. Lived at Augusta. Married Dr. Green, her brother-in-law. 1844 who lived at Vasse.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - 1847?	Turner	James Woodward	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 50	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> with family 1830. Moved to Augusta. Went to England 1847 after Augusta was abandoned to plead support.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	LISWA references
1830 - 1847?	Turner	Maria	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 39	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> with husband and family. Settled at Augusta until c.1847.	Noted as Elizabeth aged 24 wife of James W Turner in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1847?	Turner	George	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 14	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> with father and family. Farmed with father and brothers at Augusta.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1847?	Turner	Selina	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 11	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Not listed in Erickson	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830 - 1847?	Turner	John	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 9	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> with father and family. Farmed at Augusta with father and then brothers.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1847?	Turner	James Augustus	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 3	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> with father and family. Worked with father and brothers at Augusta.		No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1855	Longmate	W. Henry	Servant to Turner Family. Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 21	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Servant to Turner. Augusta Tidewaiter 1844. Murdered by convict John Scott 1855.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta as 22 year old Yeoman	No listings in LISWA
1830 - 1858	Bussell	Charles	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 20.	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> 1830. Farmed with brothers at Augusta. Moved to Sandilands, Wonnerup.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	Multiple references in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1830-1839	Molloy	John	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 50	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> with wife Georgiana 1830. Moved to Vasse 1839.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta as Government Resident Captain Rifle Brigade	Multiple references in State Records Office but little descriptive material relating to study area.
1830s - ?	Isaacs	Samuel			Absconded from an American whaler. Child Samuel to an Aboriginal mother c. 1845. Employed in the Augusta region.		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1831 -	Pratt	Charles	Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 has having land at Augusta (p.45)	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i> (Creswell)	arr. 1830 on <i>Eagle</i> with wife and family. Owner of <i>Eagle</i> with brother in law. To Tasmania 1830-33. Merchant in Fremantle. Sailed many journeys from Fremantle to Eastern Colonies before returning 1833 to live at Guildford 1836. No mention of living at Augusta.		No listings in LISWA
1831 - ?	Langridge	James	Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 as having land at Augusta (p.45)		No entry in Erickson for a Langridge in the Colony at this time.		No listings in LISWA
1831 - 1836	Green	Alfred	Married Ann McDermott (nee Turner)	Hasluck	Arr. <i>Warrior</i> . Appointed to Augusta 1831 then Vasse. m. Anne McDermott (nee Turner) 1844. Moved to Toodyay 1856.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No LISWA references but referred to in correspondence of others esp

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
							Bussells
1831 - 1837	Chapman	Henry	Exchanged land for Wonnerup in 1832 but took until 1837 to relocate	Jennings	Arrived on <i>Egypt</i> in 1831 and moved to Augusta.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1831 - 1837	Chapman	James	Exchanged land for Wonnerup in 1832 but took until 1837 to relocate	Jennings	Arrived on <i>Egypt</i> in 1831 and moved to Augusta.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1831 - 1837	Chapman	George	Exchanged land for Wonnerup in 1832 but took until 1837 to relocate	Jennings	Arrived on <i>Egypt</i> in 1831 and moved to Augusta.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta. Noted in Land Allocation List for Nov-Dec 1830 has having land at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1832 - ?	Hughes	Thomas	Baptism of daughter Jane 7/10/32 b. 14/9/32. Member of the 63rd Regiment	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	No entry in Erickson		No listings in LISWA
1832 - ?	Hughes	Margaret	Baptism of daughter Jane 7/10/32 b. 14/9/32	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	No entry in Erickson		No listings in LISWA
1833 - 1834	Bussell	Frances (Fanny) Jnr			Arrived on <i>Cygnets</i> 1833.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	Multiple references in LISWA
1833 - 1834	Bussell	Elizabeth (Bessie)			Arrived on <i>Cygnets</i> 1833.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	Multiple references in LISWA
1833 - 1836	Mould	Emma	Baptism of son Henry John (III) to Charles Bussell on 5/4/35 b.17/2/35	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	arr. 1833 on <i>Cygnets</i> servant to the Bussells. m. Thomas Sweetman 1836.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta and her son, Henry Mould.	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1833 - 1836?	Bussell	Lenox			Arrived on <i>Cygnet</i> 1833. d. 1845.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	LISWA references
1833 - 1840?	Heppingstone	Robert (jnr)	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 9	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	Died 1858 at Castle Bay Whaling Station. Town lots at Wonnerup and Busselton.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1833 - 1840?	Heppingstone	Charlotte	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 7	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	No entry in Erickson	Not noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1833 - 1840?	Heppingstone	Ann	Arrived on <i>Warrior</i> aged 11 months	Passenger List for the <i>Warrior</i>	No entry in Erickson	Not noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA
1833 - 1840?	Heppingstone	Ellen			b. 1833. m. Alfred Pickmore Bussell	Not noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	Multiple references in LISWA as Ellen Bussell

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1833 - 1840?	Heppingstone/ Burnham-Bryan	Anne	Baptism of son John 21/10/31 b. 27/8/31. Married Sam Burhnam-Bryan in 1836. Baptism of children: Hannah Burnham 24/2/39 b.21/1/39; William Martin 23/8/40 b. 31/5/40.	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta		Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta as a widow.	No listings in LISWA
1833 - 1854	Welsh/Walsh	Martin	Listed as Welsh/Walsh	Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado 1854	Pte in 21st Regt. Stationed in WA 1833-1840. At Augusta in 1833. Discharged in WA 7.1840 M. Elizabeth dtr Mary Ann b 1832.		No listings in LISWA
1834 - 1835	Bussell	Frances (Fanny) Snr			Arrived on <i>James Pattison</i> 1834 with daughter Mary. Joined sons at Augusta then Vasse.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	Multiple references in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1834 - 1837	Guerin	Roy	Baptism of children: Jas Charles 1/2/35 b. 21/5/34; Mary Georgina 31/12/37 b. 3/3/36; Catherine 31/12/37 b.4/9/36. Sergeant of the 21st Foot.	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	Noted as Roger Guerin arr.1833 with family. Stationed at Augusta. Discharged 1840. Farmed at Wonnerup.		No listings in LISWA
1834 - 1837	Guerin	Ellen	Baptism of children: Jas Charles 1/2/35 b. 21/5/34; Mary Georgina 31/12/37 b. 3/3/36; Catherine 31/12/37 b.4/9/36.	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	Noted as Eleanor.		No listings in LISWA
1836 -	Bower	Phoebe	Noted as 60 year old Servant (to the Bussells)	1836 WA Population Return	Arrived 1833 on <i>Cygnets</i> . Died 1842 in Bunbury		Mentioned in many Bussell archives in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1836 - 1840	Bryan aka Burnham also Burnham- Bryan and Bryant	Sam	Married Ann Heppingstone (widow) on 18/6/36. Baptism of children: Hannah Burnham 24/2/39 b.21/1/39; William Martin 23/8/40 b. 31/5/40.	Captain Molloy's Register, Augusta	Arr. 1829? From Tasmania. Returned to UK 1831. Returned WA and m. Ann Heppingstone 1838. Farmed at Wonnerup in 1860s and 70s and returned to UK in 1880s on inheriting a large amount of property.		No listings in LISWA
1836 - 1854	Hurford	John		Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado 1854	arr. 1830 on <i>Edward Lambe</i> . Granted 1,000 acres selected at Augusta & bt. 270 ares at Wonnerup 1845. Was well established farmer & sawyer at 'Fishleigh Farm' on Wonnerup Inlet when married the widow of Patrick Larkin 1851. She poisoned him 1855 and was hanged together with an accomplice.	Noted in 1836 WA Population Return at Augusta.	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1837 - ?	Salkilld	John	Noted as indentured labourer to Turner and arrived with brother Thomas.	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i>	arr. 1837 on <i>Eleanor</i> . Brother of Thomas. Indentured as servant to Turner of Augusta and with West walked to Augusta with one of Turner's sons. Bequeathed land by Turner.		LISWA references
1840s - ?	Moriarty	William		Hardwick	bricklayer, employed by James Knight at Capel River. Busselton Farmer, postmaster @ Ludlow 1872		No listings in LISWA
1845 - ?	Coppin	James/ John	Birth of son James registered to an unknown mother (possibly Aboriginal?) ²⁴	Index of Births	Possible confusion between father and child's names - Erickson has only a James Coppin who lived in Busselton and had a child John in 1847.		No listings in LISWA

²⁴ Details of births and marriages from the mid-1840s onwards were sourced from the online records of the Department of the Attorney General in Western Australia

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1854 -	Brennan	Peter		Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado 1854	b 1817 arr 1842, m 1843. Landowner & farmer Wonnerup. Held extensive pastoral leases 1847 onwards Sussex district bt 10ac/1957, 10ac/1858, 10 ac 1859, 40 ac/1860. Employed a t/l servant 1871, Dardanup settler.	Peter 'the Devil' Brennan : the first Brennan in Western Australia : the Brennan family from 1842 by Fred Brennan	No listings in LISWA
1854 -	Brennan	Patience (Anne?)	Wife of Peter	Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado 1854	m. Peter Brennan 1843		No listings in LISWA
1854 -	Brennan	John	Son of Peter & Patience (Anne)	Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado 1854	Son of Peter, b.1845. Farmer Augusta. M 27.1.1879 Catherine Dawson.		No listings in LISWA
1854 -	Brennan	James	Son of Peter & Patience (Anne)	Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado	b. 1847 Toodyay farmer		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
				1854			
1854 -	Brennan	Mary	Daughter of Peter and Patience (Anne)	Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado 1854	daughter of Peter b.1846		No listings in LISWA
1854 -	Brennan	Allace	Daughter of Peter and Patience (Anne)	Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado 1854	daughter of Peter, b.1852. Married 1881		No listings in LISWA
1854 -	Brennan	?	Child of Peter and Patience (Anne)	Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado 1854	son or daughter of Peter - could be Ellen, or George born before 1861 and after 1852. Ellen married Michael Coonan & then Albert Coonan. George M 13.10.1886 Elizabeth Williams. Was an Augusta teamster (1889 Alm).		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1854 - 1855	Hurford/Larkin	Briget		Survey of Catholics, Bishop Salvado 1854	wife of John Hurford. M.1851. Hurford granted 1,000 acres selected at Augusta & bt. 270 acres at Wonnerup 1845. Was well established farmer & sawyer at 'Fishleigh Farm' on Wonnerup Inlet when married widow Larkin. His wife poisoned him and was hanged together with accomplice		No listings in LISWA
1861 - 1872	Phillips	Douglas Benjamin	Birth of children to Anne: Douglas Benjamin (1861) at Mt Augusta (sic), Catherine Ann (1864), William John (1866) & Charles (1872)	Index of Births	Benjamin Joseph (possibly known as McLean in the USA). Lived at Augusta at 'Muddy Bay'. Listed as a farmer in 1867 at Busselton. Worked at Wonnerup and Augusta and later 1868-71 for Allnutt at Bridgetown. Jumped ship from an American whaler mid 1850s		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1861 - 1872	Phillips (nee McShane)	Anne	Birth of children to Douglas Benjamin: Douglas Benjamin (1861), at Mt Augusta (sic), Catherine Ann (1864), William John (1866) & Charles (1872)	Index of Births	Wife of Benjamin Joseph, American whaler who jumped ship mid 1850s.		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1861 - 1876	Brady	Michael	Birth of children to Sarah: Sarah Augusta (1861), Francis Henry (1863 & 1866) (sic), Herbert Taylor (1868), Thomas Daniel (1868).	Index of Births	b. 1830 m 23.5.1851 (Wonnerup) Sarah Taylor b 1830 dtr of William. Chd. William d 1875 Augusta, Ellen Margaret (b. 1853 (Fishleigh), Marion Lavinia b 1854, Edmund Alfred b 1858, Edward Charles b 1860, Sarah Augusta b 1861 (West Bay Augusta), Francis Henry b 1863, Francis Henry b. 1866, Herbert Taylor & Thomas Daniel b 1868 (Springfield). Listed at Vasse 1854 by Salvado. Farmer at 'Fishleigh Farm' Wonnerup. At Augusta in 1860s & worked also at the timber mills. Went to Naracoorte SA in c.1900. Child of blacksmith.	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i> notes he drowned in Flinders Bay in 1876 (p.73)	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1861- 1868	Brady	Sarah (nee Tailor)	Birth of children to Michael: Sarah Augusta (1861), Francis Henry (1863 & 1866) (sic), Herbert Taylor (1868), Thomas Daniel (1868).	Index of Births	Daughter of a blacksmith. Lived at Augusta during the 1860s, later husband Michael farmed at Wonnerup. At the Vasse in the 1854 Catholic survey	Surveyor Quinn noted Brady family as being 3 miles out of Augusta in 1864, cited in <i>Light of Leeuin</i> (p.59)	No listings in LISWA
1864 - ?	Layman	Charles	Noted by Surveyor Quin as one of four families living at or near Augusta in 1864 (p.59)	<i>Light of Leeuin,</i>	b.1839. Son of George Layman and Mary . Lived at "Pigeon Grove" Wonnerup and later moved to "Mulgarnup". No mention of him farming near Augusta.	Noted in other sources as farming at Deepdene c. 1863 but later sold this property to Allnut.	No listings in LISWA
1864 - 1880	Longbottom	Charles	Birth of son Stephen George to Elizabeth 1880	Index of Births	Born in WA. Farmed at Lower Blackwood at Rose Valley but also based at Busselton. Brother to Ellen Longbottom later Thurkle.	Surveyor Quinn noted Longbottoms as one of the families at Augusta in 1864, cited in <i>Light of Leeuin</i>	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
						(p.59)	
1865 - ?	Allnutt	John	Notes him arriving c. 1865 (p.59)	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i>	b. 1833. Arr. <i>Trusty</i> with father John and family 1844. Farmed with father at Australind then held pastoral leases in the Blackwood district. Moved to the "Grange" at Bridgetown in 1865.		LISWA references but nothing relating to study area
1865 - ?	Cross	George	Notes him arriving c. 1865 (p.59)	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i>	Arr. c.1846. m. 1852 Rebecca Pettit. Listed as coastal trader at Busselton, Geraldton & Fremantle 1853-71. Extensive landholdings in Sussex District. Storekeeper in Busselton by 1873.		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1865 - 1874	Ellis	William	Birth of children to Margaret Ellis: Augusta (1871), Edwin Evans (1874).	Index of Births	Held extensive acres at Augusta including town lots in 1867.	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i> notes him arriving c. 1865 (p.59)	No listings in LISWA
1865 - 1874	Ellis	Margaret (nee Cassidy)	Birth of children to William Ellis: Augusta (1871), Edwin Evans (1874)	Index of Births	Husband William held extensive acres at Augusta including town lots in 1867.	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i> notes her arriving c. 1865 (p.59)	No listings in LISWA
1865 - 1877	Deer	Charles	Birth of unnamed daughter	Index of Births	He was a squatter and farmed at Augusta-Karridale and Marybrook. Held a leasehold in the 1870s. His Augusta land was subdivided for town lots after 1908.	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i> notes him arriving c. 1865 (p.59)	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1866 - 1880	Thurkle (nee Longbottom)	Ellen	Birth of son FREDERICK to unknown father (1866), then children to George Western Thurkle: Hannah Elizabeth (1872) & Mary (1880)	Index of Births	Confusing entry as Ellen Longbottom was about 13 at this time - no father recorded. Ellen was daughter of Stephen who was initially a servant in Middle Swan who later went to Serpentine where he was Postmaster 1861-66. He bought land east of Nannup c. 1870 and was later a pastoralist and storekeeper at Busselton. Ellen didn't marry until 1871 to Thurkle (see below)		No listings in LISWA
1871 - 1880	Thurkle	George Western	Birth of children to Ellen: Hannah Elizabeth (1872) & Mary (1880)	Index of Births	George Thurkle was contractor for Karridale Timber Station. Farmer at Lower Blackwood (1885-9). Employed T/L man at Augusta 1871.		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
1873 - 1877?	Eldridge	William	Has established a store at Augusta (p.135) but by 1835 it is failing (p.146), and worse by 1876 (p.149)	<i>They Came to the Margaret</i> , Terry (1978)	In the Colony by 1874. Applied for leasehold in Sussex for timber milling at Augusta in 1875. Timber merchant 1876-77. Employed T/L men at Lockeville 18745-76. Forfeited his lease to M. C. Davies. No mention of wife or children other than son returning to Colony with him in 1882.		No listings in LISWA
1876 -	Brady	William	Involved in an accident loading timber in 1876 when Michael Brady and Patrick Wright died.	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i>	Not listed in Erickson		No listings in LISWA
1876 -	Wayne	Anthony	Involved in an accident loading timber in 1876 when Michael Brady and	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i>	Busselton fisherman.		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
			Patrick Wright died.				
1876 - ?	Eldridge	Polly	Comes from Augusta to stay with the Bussells at Wallcliffe in 1876. Possibly daughter of William Eldridge?	<i>They Came to the Margaret</i> , Terry (1978)	No entry in Erickson		No listings in LISWA
1876 - ?	Wright	Patrick	Mill worker drowned in Flinders Bay	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i> (Cresswell)	Could be William Wright b.1818 d.14.11.75 drowned. Arr. 1864. Expiree. Employed a T/L labourer in 1868 in Sussex district?		No listings in LISWA
1877 - ?	Deer	Emily (nee Sunter)	Birth of unnamed daughter	Index of Births	Husband Charles was a squatter and farmed at Augusta-Karridale and Marybrook. Held a leasehold in the 1870s. His Augusta land was subdivided for town lots		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
					after 1908.		
1877 - ?	Wheatley	Peter	Birth of daughter Florence to Ellen	Index of Births	Erickson notes no time spent at Augusta - employed in Geraldton then Warren. By 1874 was farming at Bridgetown, Manjimup. Employed T/L man at Warren River 1868-69. Lots of foot traffic between Warren and Augusta and Ellensbrook so could explain birth.		LISWA reference is one page for Peter Wheatley of costings for clothing, fares and wages.
1877 - ?	Wheatley (nee Harris)	Ellen	Birth of daughter Florence to Peter	Index of Births	Married to Peter.		Harris family papers are from time at Pinjarra and do not relate

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²²	Cross References	Archive Data
							to Ellen Harris.
1880 -	Brennan	Thomas	Birth of son James to Elizabeth Brennan	Index of Births	son of Peter bd unknown, Augusta & Busselton, Farmer & grazier (1879-1889)		No listings in LISWA
1880 -	Brennan (nee Clifford)	Elizabeth	Birth of son James, to Thomas Brennan	Index of Births			No listings in LISWA
1880 - ?	Longbottom (nee Cross)	Elizabeth	Birth of son Stephen George to Charles 1880	Index of Births	No entry in Erickson		No listings in LISWA

Ellensbrook and Margaret River 1857 -1880

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Location	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²⁵	Cross References	Archive Data
1857 - 1857	Cheesewell (Cheswell) (Chiswell) (Chisel)	William	Ellensbrook	Died at Ellensbrook 1857 and is commemorated on a headstone with Ellen and Alfred's infant sons Jasper and Hugh	<i>Light of Leeuwin</i>	Not listed in Erickson	Ticket of leave man helping Ellen who died at Ellensbrook (p.58) <i>They Came to the Margaret</i> (Terry)	No listings in LISWA
1857 -	Bussell	Alfred Pickmore	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe	Birth of children: Grace Ellen (1860), Jasper (1863), Alfred John (1865), Violet Mary (1869), Frederick Aloysius (1872). ²⁶ History well known	Index of Births			LISWA listings

²⁵ This reference is to the four volumes of *The Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians pre 1829-1888* (1987) by Rica Erikson.

²⁶ Details of births and marriages from the mid-1840s onwards were sourced from the online records of the Department of the Attorney General in Western Australia

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Location	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²⁵	Cross References	Archive Data
1857 - ??	Bussell	Ellen (nee Heppingstone)	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe	Birth of children noted above.	Index of Births			LISWA listings
1857 -	Brockman (nee Bussell)	Frances (Fanny) Louisa	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe			b. 1851. Daughter of Ellen and Alfred. Married John Brockman 1870.		LISWA listings
1857 -	Bussell	Edith	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe			b. 1854 daughter of Ellen and Alfred		
1857 -	Bussell	Mary Elizabeth (Bessie)	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe			b. 1856 daughter of Ellen and Alfred		LISWA listings

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Location	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²⁵	Cross References	Archive Data
1857 - 1876	Isaacs (Yebbel)	Samuel (Sam)	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe	Terry notes Sam Isaacs arrives at Ellensbrook 1854 as a small boy. Still there in 1871 (p.105) & 1873 (p.131). Not laid off in 1876 when money became tight but moves out with Lucy (p.151).	<i>They Came to the Margaret,</i>	b. 1845 son of Samuel and aboriginal mother. M. Lucy Major Lowe 1870. Reared by Dawson family at Westbrook. Worked for Alfred Bussell as a stockman. Assisted Grace Bussell in the rescue of the passengers of the <i>Georgette</i> 1865 awarded medal and land "Ferndale"	Fanny Brockman (nee Bussell) refers to the farm as Ferndean	No listings in LISWA
1857 - 1866	Adams	Mary (nee Smith)	Ellensbrook	Birth of daughter, Margaret Rose to Henry Adams 1866.	Index of Births		Terry notes as Mary Bryant (her foster family). Her mother murdered her father at Augusta in 1834. Mary was at Ellen's wedding to Alfred in 1850 and worked	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Location	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²⁵	Cross References	Archive Data
							for the family. Married Henry Adams c.1860	
1857 - 1867	Adams	Henry (aka Harry)	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe	Birth of daughter, Margaret Rose to Mary (nee Smith) 1866	Index of Births	Henry Melville Adams and Mary Smith (b. Augusta 1835). Built boats in Bunbury in 1849, then worked for Alfred Bussell at Ellensbrook Took up land at Cape Naturaliste (1865) then Yallingup	Terry notes m. Mary Smith c.1860. Cutting shingles at Wallcliffe in 1865 (p.67). Left at Ellensbrook when the family moved to Wallcliffe in 1865 (p.71)	No listings in LISWA
1858 -	Bussell	Charlotte Harriet	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe			b. 1858 to Ellen and Alfred		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Location	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²⁵	Cross References	Archive Data
1858 - 1874	Maxwell	John "Irish"	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe	Birth of daughter Louisa Elizabeth to Anne 1874	Index of Births	Exhiree. Arr. 1855 on <i>Adelaide</i> . Busselton farmer and carter also worked Augusta and Blackwood.	Ticket of leave man helping Alfred raising walls and chimneys at Wallcliffe (p.57). Noted as working on the house under Sam Isaacs in 1864 (p.65). Had taken up land nearby by 1876 (p.148). Is let go in 1876 when money becomes tight (p.151)	No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Location	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²⁵	Cross References	Archive Data
1858 - 1876	Coe	"Old"	Ellensbrook	Helping Ellen in the dairy (p.57), fishing in 1875 (p.146). Is let go in 1876 when money becomes tight (p.151)	<i>They Came to the Margaret,</i>	Not listed in Erickson		No listings in LISWA
1860 -	Bussell	Grace Ellen	Ellensbrook & Wallcliffe			b. 1860 to Ellen and Alfred. Famous for her part in the rescue of survivors from the wreck of the Georgette in Dec. 1876.		LISWA listings are outside the study time frame
1861 - 1874	Maxwell (nee Pearce)	Anne	Margaret River	Birth of daughter Louisa Elizabeth to John 1874	Index of Births	m. John Maxwell 1861 in Perth.		No listings in LISWA
1864 -	Daiken	Mrs	Ellensbrook	Minded Ellen & Alfred's children for three weeks while they visit Donnelly runs in 1864 (p.62)	<i>They Came to the Margaret</i>	Possibly wife of 1860s Busselton farmer George Dakin arr. 1853.		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Location	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²⁵	Cross References	Archive Data
1865 -	Bussell	Alfred John	Wallcliffe			b. 1865 to Ellen and Alfred		LISWA listings but no information relevant to study area
1867 - 1876	Isaacs (nee Major)	Lucy	Wallcliffe	Terry notes her marriage to Sam Isaacs in 1867. She was a negress from an American whaling vessel and had cared for the Bussells' children. Moves out with Sam in 1876 (p.151)	<i>They Came to the Margaret,</i>	daughter of James Major and Mattie. Married Sam Isaacs 1870.		No listings in LISWA
1869 -	Bussell	Violet Mary (May?)	Wallcliffe			b. 1869 daughter of Ellen and Alfred		No listings in LISWA

Date(s)	Surname	Given Name(s)	Location	Notes	Initial Source	Erickson ²⁵	Cross References	Archive Data
1870 -	Brockman	John	Ellensbrook			m. Frances Bussell 1870		LISWA listings are outside the study time frame
1871 -	Bussell	Frederick Aloysius Weld	Wallcliffe			b. 1871 to Ellen and Alfred		No listings in LISWA
1872 - 1876	Haghe	Mr	Wallcliffe	Tutor to Bessie, Grace and Charlotte 1872 (p.115) 7 1873 (p.125). Is let go in 1876 when money becomes tight (p.151)	<i>They Came to the Margaret,</i>	Not listed in Erickson		No listings in LISWA
1873 -	Johnson	Alfred	Wallcliffe	Carpenter at Wallcliffe - Ellen offered to send him to help Mrs Bryant at Wonnerup (p127)	<i>They Came to the Margaret,</i>	Not listed in Erickson		No listings in LISWA
1876 -	Bussell	Filumina Mary	Wallcliffe			b. 1876 to Ellen and Alfred		No listings in LISWA

APPENDIX X – Challenges of Working with Historic Documents

Reviewing archive documents is a slow and painstaking process. In 2001 & 2002 when I undertook my primary research, few of the archive records held by the Battye Library had been transcribed, and scanning and digital photography were rarely used. Photocopying was not permitted. This meant that in most instances the original records had to be read in situ. These are irreplaceable, often delicate items that have to be handled carefully with gloves and on occasion a mask to reduce the chance of contamination accelerating deterioration.

The documents themselves are often challenging to read. Written English in the 19th century does not always conform to Modern English in terms of spelling, punctuation, grammar, syntax (Finegan, 1998), or in the formation of individual letters. Some words and expressions have fallen out of common use, with the latter particularly difficult to decipher. The educated Victorian vocabulary included many words that are now unfamiliar. Where these related to key passages, they had to be researched and understood. Frances Bussell Jnr, for example, describes Augusta as ‘...one of the fairest solitudes that anchorite could fix upon...’ (Bussell Frances (Jnr), 1841), an anchorite being a religious hermit devoted to prayer in isolation. The description is important as it shows a deep, somewhat spiritual, reverence for the landscape qualities at Augusta. And this is consistent with the observations of other settlers at this time, which indicates these values were shared.

Unfortunately, some classical references were impossible to identify, such as two lines of poetry quoted by John Garrett Bussell (1831b) and attributed to ‘the poet’ who he does not name but who could possibly be himself. Other documents also include passages written in Greek and Latin (Bussell John Garrett, 1832a). While some have been identified as passages from Virgil, others were not able to be translated because the original letters could not be photocopied, and I believed there was a risk of making errors transcribing the text for a translator.

Early Victorian spelling presents a variety of challenges. People with a limited education tend to write phonetically, which is comparatively easy to decipher. Farm hand, Edward Pearce, for example, wrote to his mother in 1832 about the large numbers of “...kangerroose and emews and wollobys and opossoms...” he had seen

at Augusta (Pearce, 1832). In the case of better educated 19th century writers, although formal English spelling had largely stabilised by 1700 (Scragg, 1974, 80) many words were still spelt differently from today. Typically for this period (Scragg, 1974), words ending in <ow>, such as *show*, ended in <ew> as in *shew* (McDermott Captain James, 1829-1844). The letters <u> and <v> were not strongly distinguished until the mid 19th century (Scragg, 1974, 81), and were often used interchangeably by colonial writers. Somewhat unusually, several early writers spell words that today end in <our>, such as *favour* and *harbour* with out the <u> (Bussell Frances (Snr), 1833, Brockman, 1872-1905), a convention that is more associated with American English during the late 18th and early 19th centuries than with British spelling (Scragg, 1974).

During the mid to late 19th century proper nouns and some verbs were often capitalised and a double ‘ss’, as in the girl’s name Bessie, was sometimes written using the Germanic esszett ligature <ß> (see for example Governor of Western Australia, 1836). Words were often abbreviated by convention but also to conserve paper. Examples include using <wh.> instead of *which*, and the use of an apostrophe <’> to replace <ugh> at the end of words such as *although* and *through* (Wollaston, 1841).

Punctuation is often missing in 19th century writing, or is used in different ways to modern conventions. The most challenging of these variations is the infrequent or erratic use of capitals at the beginning of sentences and full stops at the end. As a result, letters often read as a stream of consciousness, and when the topics are unfamiliar, it can be difficult to follow a thread or theme. In order to render quotes from the letters and archives more readable, all extracts in this thesis have been written using modern spelling and punctuation, unless original spelling has been included for a specific reason as cited.

Other technical matters also make private archive documents from the 19th century difficult to read. Both steel nibs (for ink pens) and paper were in short supply at times in the Swan River Colony. As a result, nibs had to be used for longer than would normally have been the case. Blunt, worn nibs don’t carry ink smoothly, and this often resulted in thick lettering, ink runs and spots, which some authors at the time acknowledged made their writing unclear (Bussell Frances (Jnr), 1841).

Up until the 1860s many Victorians were taught the Copperplate style of cursive writing, noted in its extreme form for its “flowery decorativeness” (Sassoon, 1999, 9), but which even in its more simple form was written with greater flourish than writing today. This, together with its distinctive slant, can make Copperplate difficult to read even when the writer was using a good nib, as illustrated by the typical example in Figure 4.

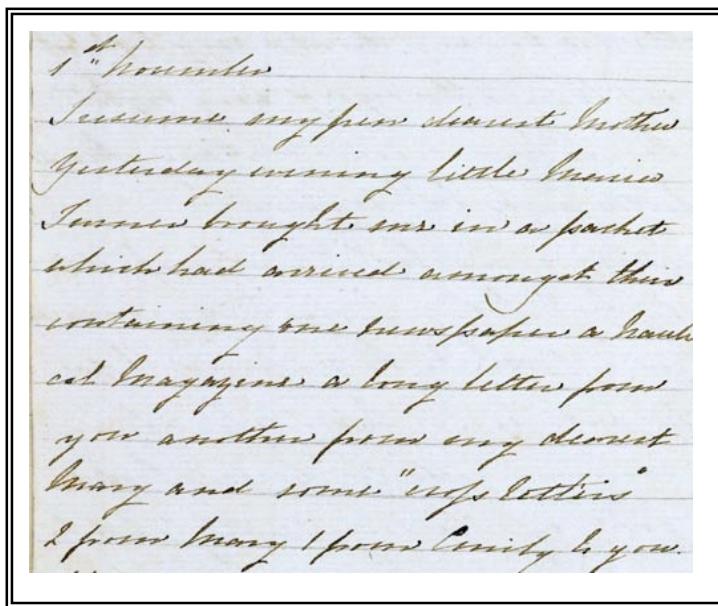


Figure 4 - Extract from the diary of Frances (Fanny) Louisa Bussell - 1 November (1833, 20)

When paper was in short supply, all writers would cramp their letters and words more closely together. Several authors read for this thesis, including Charles and Fanny Bussell (Jnr), and Georgiana Molly, took the more extreme measure of writing their letters in two directions – first horizontally as usual, and then across what had already been written at right angles. Sometimes this was done on both sides of very thin paper using poor quality nibs, which makes reading individual words extremely difficult and often only the sense of a letter and its broad theme can be determined (see for example Bussell Frances (Jnr), 1846).

The slowness of reading and transcribing the historic documents together with the volume of archives that were likely to exist across the RFA area revealed a study that far exceeded what was possible for a doctoral thesis. It therefore became necessary to limit the sample under investigation both spatially and temporally, a process that was also informed by the constraints that had become apparent with the heritage listing dataset, as discussed in Chapter 3.

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