# Pittwater Road Conservation Area, Manly Final Draft History



Report to Tropman and Tropman, architects

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## 1. European discovery and the first stockyards, 1788 to 1853

The first European acquaintance with Manly came in the first year of settlement of the colony of New South Wales. When Governor Phillip realised that Botany Bay was unsuitable, he reconnoitred Port Jackson in late January and encountered Aboriginal people in the Manly area. Two and a half months after the settlement had been established at Sydney Cove, Phillip led a flotilla of ten boats which landed in the vicinity of Manly Cove on 13 April 1788. Phillip walked across to the ocean beach and then northwards up the beach as far as 'a peice [sic] of stagnate brackish water' south of Manly Lagoon. Two days later the governor explored an inland route north, was turned back by the swamps around Burnt Bridge Creek, then returned to the ocean beach and walked up to Manly Lagoon. While awaiting Phillip's return on 16 April, Lieutenant Bradley also disembarked somewhere around Manly Cove, visited the ocean beach and encountered a number of Aboriginal people. In his journal, Bradley described how he and his companions:

walked across the neck, where some Canoes were just landing which they did with ease altho' a very great surf was running, they met us & walked over with us to the place where our Boat was laying, they staid with us half an hour, several women appear'd at a distance but would not come to us.<sup>1</sup>

On 6 June and again on 28 June 1788, the governor, with Captain Hunter, led a party overland along the coast from the northern part of Sydney Harbour to Broken Bay and Pittwater. Hunter remarked as they walked on sandy beaches and on the wooded hills between:

We often fell in with paths, which the natives in travelling along the coast had trod very well down.<sup>2</sup>

These were busy tracks in 1788, used by the numerous Aboriginal people who lived near the sea. Although disease quickly reduced the Aboriginal population around Sydney, the surviving original inhabitants sustained something of their traditional life for many decades on the northern beaches, which were only slowly occupied by permanent European settlers. As late as the 1870s a traditional camping place in Whistler St on the southern edge of the study area was 'nearly always occupied' by Aboriginal people. The site was on the north-east corner of Raglan Street adjacent to the weatherboard Catholic church of Mary Immaculate and St Athanasius built in 1868. The Aboriginal camping area was later occupied by the present stone Catholic church, built in two stages in 1892 and 1909.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> S. and G. Champion, Finding the Right Track: Governor Phillip's Inland Exploration from Manly towards Middle Harbour and Westwards: 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> April, 1788, authors, Killarney Heights, 1990, pp.1-3; W. Bradley, A Voyage to New South Wales: the Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley RN of HMS Sirius, 1786-1792, facsimile reproduction, Trustees of Public Library of NSW and Ure Smith, Sydney, 1969, p.100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> J. Hunter, *An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea, 1787-1792*, ed. J. Bach, Royal Australian Historical Society and Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1968, pp.95-96, 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> C. Swancott, *Manly*, 1788 to 1968, author, Sydney, 1933, p.56; J. Childs, *A History of St Mary's Church, Manly*, Manly, 1994, revised 2014.

The Aboriginal track from Manly to Broken Bay, as developed by the earliest Europeans, is shown very clearly by William Dawes in his map of 1791 (*Figure 1*). It passed through the western part of the present study area in a north-north-east direction, apparently closer to the line of Old Pittwater Road (now Balgowlah Road) than the present Pittwater Road. Nor did it utilise the beaches until north of Curl Curl.

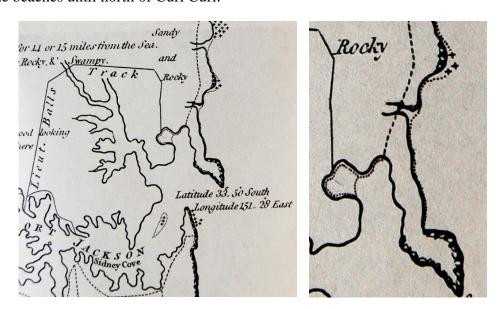


Figure 1. Two details of William Dawes' map of the colony, finalised in March 1791 and published in London in September 1792. On the right, the dotted track starts at Manly Cove and proceeds north-north-east, largely through the study area, to cross Manly Lagoon.

Source. J. Hunter, An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea, 1787-1792, ed. J. Bach, Royal Australian Historical Society and Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1968, facing p.1.

The first two land-grants in central Manly were ratified by Governor Macquarie with the notional date of 1 January 1810, both confirming surrendered grants made on 6 November 1809 in the period after Governor Bligh's overthrow.<sup>4</sup> Both grants lay to the south of the study area: the 30 acres granted to Gilbert Baker, a constable, had the later Corso as the northern boundary, extending from the ocean to the cove, while Richard Cheers' 100 acres lay to the south of Baker's land (*Figure 2*).<sup>5</sup> Both Baker and Cheers were ex-convicts. Cheers had become a successful butcher in the city while Baker worked for him as a clerk. The Manly grants operated as a unit, where Cheers ran cattle for his Sydney business. The stockyard was quickly fenced but in October 1811 Cheers complained that:

some evil-disposed Person or Persons have at different Times committed serious Depredations on my Farm in North Harbour, by destroying and burning the Paling and Railing of the Stock-yard &c.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Sydney Gazette, 19 October 1811, p.3; S. and G. Champion, *Profiles of the Pioneers in Manly, Warringah and Pittwater*, authors, Killarney Heights, rev. ed., 2013, pp.6-7, 14-15. The biographies compiled by Mr and Mrs Champion are fully and accurately referenced.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> R.J. Ryan, ed., Land Grants, 1788-1809, Australian Documents Library, Sydney, 1981, p.295.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P.W. Gledhill, *Manly and Pittwater*, its Beauty and Progress, Sydney, 1948, p.10.

Because of the recurrent damage to the fencing and the remoteness of the farm, Cheers' stock no doubt grazed on the land to the north, within the present study area.

In 1814 Cheers sold his Manly farm (including Baker's 30 acres) to Robert Campbell junior, the nephew of the prominent Sydney merchant of the same name. The younger Campbell already had a 700-acre farm promised at Mona Vale and quickly developed his own viable track from Manly Cove to Pittwater. Campbell, however, gave up these properties in 1822 and sold them to another prominent Sydney figure, D'Arcy Wentworth.<sup>7</sup>

D'Arcy Wentworth had already received the only other Macquarie grant in the vicinity of the present Pittwater Road Conservation Area. The 380 acres, promised to Wentworth in 1815, lay entirely outside the study area to the west and north-west, and included the present golf course: the official grant followed in 1818 (*Figure 2*).<sup>8</sup>

No more grants were made close to the subject area until 1842, when John Thompson, a draughtsman in the Surveyor General's department and later Deputy Surveyor General, purchased a crown grant of 100 acres, which included the southern part of the study area, from Carlton Street in the north to Raglan Street in the south (*Figure 2*).<sup>9</sup>

A month later, in May 1842, Charles Andrews and Christopher Skally jointly received title to the adjacent 100 acres to the north. This grant extended as far as Manly Lagoon, shown as Curl Curl Lagoon in the 1842 parish map, and included the entire study area north of Carlton Street (*Figure 2*). Skally and Andrews were both soldiers about to be discharged: Skally was a private, Andrews a sergeant. Skally and his wife chose to settle in Windsor but Andrews and his wife Jane came to Manly, while Charles' brother took up a farm at Pittwater. <sup>10</sup>

The subsequent development of the study area is a commentary on the way in which first Andrews and Skally and then Thompson disposed of their 100-acre grants. Within thirteen years of 1842, all but 10 acres of the two grants was owned by Henry Gilbert Smith, the 'Father of Manly'.

Andrews and Skally had sold their land in three unequal parts in 1847. The largest portion, containing 74 acres, was owned for three years by John Sims and his wife, but between 1850 and 1854 it was held first by a consortium of four, then by three of the four, who, late in 1854, sold most of the land to H.G. Smith. Henry Miles, a gardener, and Thomas Youl, a stonemason, were already resident in this portion and continued as tenants under Smith, while

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Champion, *Profiles of Pioneers*, p.15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Champion, *Profiles of Pioneers*, p.130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Champion, *Profiles of Pioneers*, p.128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Champion, *Profiles of Pioneers*, pp.4-5, 119.

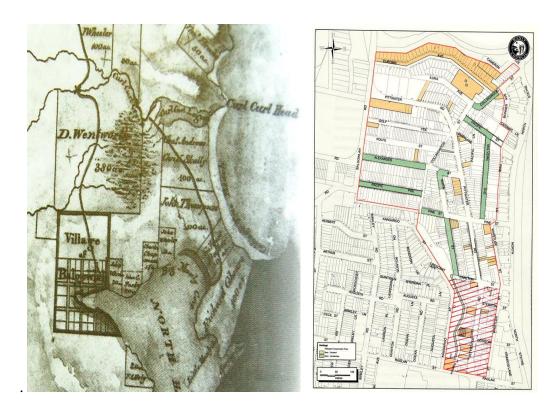


Figure 2. Parish map of Manly Cove, 1842 on the left, showing, centre right, the two 100-acre grants within the present Pittwater Road Conservation Area, to John Thompson and to Charles Andrews and Christopher Skally jointly. Manly Lagoon is shown as Curl Curl Lagoon and Queenscliff promontory as Curl Curl Head.

On the right, part of Thompson's grant is shown in red hatching overlaid on a modern map of the study area.

Source. P. Curby, Seven Miles from Sydney: a History of Manly, Manly Council, Manly, rev. ed. 2002, p.50.

Youl retained ownership of some land in the north-east near the lagoon (*Figure 3*). This land close to Manly Lagoon was not included in Smith's sub-division sales.<sup>11</sup>

Thompson retained his investment for eleven years but finally sold it to H.G. Smith in 1853 for the substantial sum of £800.<sup>12</sup>

Immediately afterwards, early in 1855, a second part of the original Andrews-Skally grant, the 16 acres sold to John Whaley in 1847, also passed to Smith.<sup>13</sup>

The main part of the study area which was never owned by Henry Gilbert Smith is what is usually known as Farrell's Paddock. This included the remaining 10 acres of the grant to Andrews and Skally, which the ex-soldiers sold to Isaac Lowry in 1847. It reached the hands of James Farrell in 1871 and in due course 'Farrell's Paddock' was sub-divided to create 60 allotments along Alexander St. and Pacific Parade (*Figure 4*). 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Champion, *Profiles of Pioneers*, p.4; Land & Property Information [LPI], Book 13 no.235; Book 35 no.799.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Champion, *Profiles of Pioneers*, p.128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Champion, *Profiles of Pioneers*, p.4; LPI, Book 35 no. 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Champion, *Profiles of Pioneers*, p.4; LPI, Book 13 no.241; State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, subdivision plans, Z/SP/M5/126a.

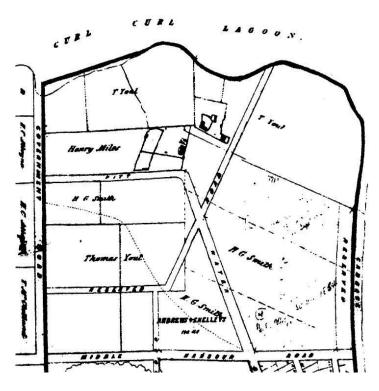
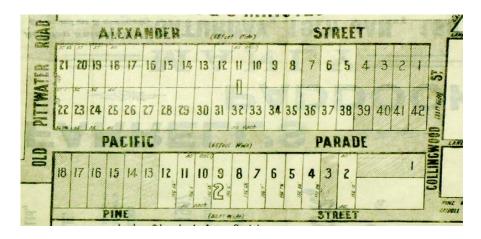


Figure 3. The lands in the study area occupied by Thomas Youl and Henry Miles in 1860, shown in a subdivision plan of Brighton. Middle Harbour Road is now partly Pine Street, while Curl Curl Lagoon is now Manly Lagoon.

Source. State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, M/series 4/810.3/A 5319/map 7.



**Figure 4.** The 1905 sub-division plan of Farrell's Paddock, formerly part of the 1842 grant to Andrews and Skally. Old Pittwater Road on the left is now known as Balgowlah Road.

Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, sub-division plans, Z/SP/M5/126a.

In the years up to the 1850s, before Henry Gilbert Smith started the transformation of Manly, the principal route to the north from Manly Cove followed the traditional Aboriginal line which created Old Pittwater Road, now in part known as Balgowlah Road, the western boundary of the present study area. But as the farms of Thompson, Skally and Andrews developed in the 1840s, encompassing the whole of the present Pittwater Road Conservation

Area, there was need of a road running northwards between Old Pittwater Road and the ocean beach.

Figure 3 shows how in the course of the 1850s this new road was regularised into the present Pittwater Road between Pine Street and Manly Lagoon, complete with the sharp turn to the west to join Old Pittwater Road. But until sub-division of the 1840s farms took place under Smith, Pittwater Road was a poorly maintained access road in the centre of the study area, subsidiary to Old Pittwater Road for north-bound traffic and not yet much frequented by tourists enjoying the harbour and ocean beaches. Even after Pittwater Road was adopted officially in 1860 as a government road to the north, it remained a 'rambling sandy track' into the twentieth century.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> T. Metherell, 'Pittwater Road, Manly, 1855-2003', 2003, p.3.

### 2. Manly and Henry Gilbert Smith, 1853 to 1886

Over four decades from the late 1820s until the early 1860s, Henry Gilbert Smith operated as a successful merchant, land-speculator, banker and developer in New South Wales. Born in England in 1802, he came to Sydney in 1827 and with his elder brother Thomas established an ambitious firm which built a ferry-boat powered by a steam-engine brought from England. The venture ended by 1832, but Henry together with a nephew expanded his business in other directions and joined the board of two banks in 1835. After some years back in England in the late 1830s, where he was married but soon widowed, he returned to New South Wales and took a prominent role in the development of the railway system. The Sydney firm passed to his nephew in 1848 and, after another trip to Britain, Henry turned his attention to Manly and to politics, remarrying in 1856 and producing three sons between 1857 and 1863. 16

Between 1853 and 1855, while still single, he acquired a consolidated estate in Manly which included almost all of the study area. He was dissatisfied with life in Sydney town, although he had had a significant house in Darling Point, and in 1854 wrote to his brother John (who had stayed in England) that he enjoying spending two days a week in Manly, where he had erected two iron houses, presumably prefabricated and imported. The precise site of these residences is unknown. By 1855 he was 'spending a good part of every week at Fairlight', where he later built a fine stone house of that name southwest of the study area.

In January 1855 Smith commissioned a plan of Manly north of The Corso as far as the present Pine Street. This was the first attempt to create a street system within the flat area which now includes the Pittwater Road Conservation Area. He simultaneously commissioned a sub-division plan of another area south of The Corso to be called Montpellier.<sup>17</sup>

The new village to the north of The Corso was to be named Ellensville, presumably in memory of Smith's first wife, Eleanor, who had died fifteen years before. He advertised the two prospective villages, Ellensville and its southern neighbour, Montpellier, as lying on a 'retired & beautiful site', laid out as 'Marine Retreats', destined to become 'the favourite resort of the Colonists', with 'Promenades and Squares' close to two ocean beaches (*Figure* 5).<sup>18</sup>

The 1855 plan of Ellensville shows that at that time there were no buildings within this part of the study area, although there were three buildings on the north side of The Corso and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> A. F. Pike, 'Smith, Henry Gilbert (1802–1886)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/smith-henry-gilbert-2671/text3725, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 26 September 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> S. and G. Champion, *Manly, Warringah and Pittwater*, *1850-1880*, authors, Killarney Heights, 1997, p.4. <sup>18</sup> State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, sub-division plans, Z/SP/M5/316, reproduced in Champion, *Manly, Warringah and Pittwater*, *1850-1880*, facing p.4, and in P. Curby, *Seven Miles from Sydney: a History of Manly*, Manly Council, Manly, rev. ed. 2002, p.57.

first hotel complex down by Manly Cove. The proposed street system contained the genesis of some of the later streets. To develop this area as a 'watering place for the inhabitants of Sydney' had become what Smith called his 'hobby'. To show the integrity of his commitment, Smith undertook for ten years to devote a sixth of the proceeds from sales of the new allotments to the establishment of recreation reserves. 20

Smith had aspirations to create a well-planned village. The street later known as Carlton was surveyed in 1855 as Calton Street, leading to Calton Hill on the west. Although local historians have assumed that 'Calton' was a simple mistake on the plan,<sup>21</sup> it is far more likely that Smith had in mind a strategic homage to Edinburgh's New Town, one of the showpieces of European urban planning over the previous half-century. The new street proposed north of Calton Street in 1855 was, moreover, called Prince's Street (now Pine Street). It cannot be a coincidence that Smith sought to create an Australian Princes Street close to a new Calton Hill. It was not an imitation of Edinburgh but the reference is unmistakable and its purpose unambiguous: Smith intended his Manly to be a landmark in Australian town planning.

The two curved terraces proposed for elevated sites outside the study area, Calton Crescent and Alma Crescent, were unrealistic but again carried intimations of Edinburgh's New Town.

Only two of the proposed street names of 1855 have survived within the study area: Denison, named after the new governor, and Whistler, the maiden name of Smith's long-dead wife. A third thoroughfare, Gilbert Street, commemorating Smith himself, still retains its 1855 name some distance to the south, closer to Manly Cove, but is outside the study area. A study area area.

The principal street running north-south was to be Belgrave Street. At this initial stage in Smith's concept, the name probably recalled Belgrave Square in London rather than Belgrave Street in the English seaside resort of Brighton. Grandly conceived, with central reserves between The Corso and the later Raglan Street, just south of the study area, the Belgrave Street of 1855 confirmed the alignment of the later Pittwater Road as well as the continuing Belgrave Street to the south.

Despite the establishment of the first regular ferry services to Manly Cove in mid-1855 and despite the construction of the first wharf there in September by Smith himself, close to his hotel, Ellensville did not attract purchasers at this time. Nonetheless, Smith continued his enthusiasm for Manly, building public baths and a tower with a camera obscura near the Cove. On the western edge of the study area, he commissioned the famous stone kangaroo in 1856, probably carved by his own tenant, Thomas Youl.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Champion, Manly, Warringah and Pittwater, 1850-1880, p.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, sub-division plans, Z/SP/M5/316.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> T. Metherell, 'Carlton Street, Manly, 1855-1930', typescript, 2005; anon., '[Manly] Street Names', typescript, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Anon, '[Manly] Street Names'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> It is conventional wisdom that Gilbert Street was named after Smith's son (anon., '[Manly] Street Names'), but young Gilbert was not born until 1861.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Champion, Manly, Warringah and Pittwater, 1850-1880, pp.10-11.

Smith remarried in 1856 and the name Ellensville became much less appropriate. Accordingly in 1859 Smith abandoned both the name Ellensville and much of the 1855 plan.

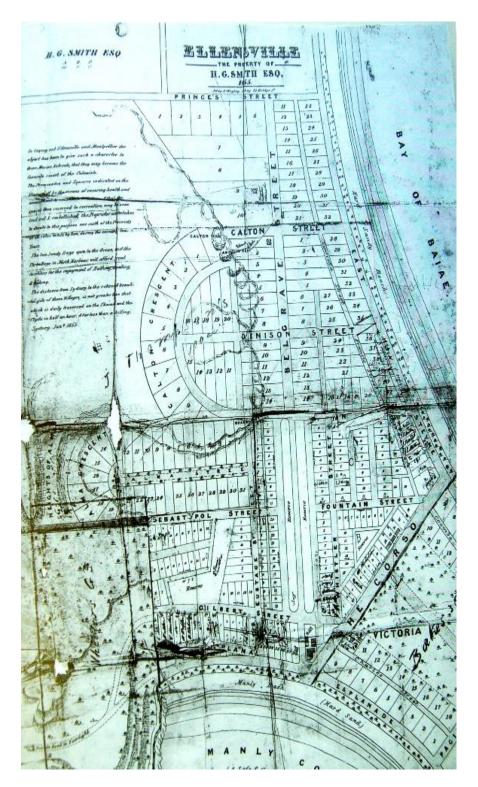


Figure 5. H.G. Smith's first sub-division plan in Manly in January 1855, of the area largely between The Corso and 'Prince's Street', the later Pine Street.

Source. State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, sub-division plan, Z/SP/M5/316.

His surveyors created a new village called Brighton in its stead. Brighton included more or less the same part of the study area as Ellensville had done, from Raglan Street north to Pine Street, and allotments were offered for sale in January 1860. Streets were renamed and the Edinburgh flavour disappeared: Calton Street became Carlton Street and Prince's Street Middle Harbour Road (later Pine Street). Belgrave Street was realigned as Pitt Water Road [sic] north of Carlton Street. Whistler was extended north to Carlton Street and on to join Middle Harbour Road, while Raglan Street and Steinton Street (named after Smith's new mother-in-law) were created (*Figure 6*).<sup>25</sup>

Although Brighton was not adopted as the official name of the district, Smith's coinage was not forgotten and in 1875 the *Illustrated Sydney News* remarked that 'Manly may be denominated the Brighton of New South Wales'.<sup>26</sup>

True to his earlier promises, Smith marked out a public reserve along the Kangaroo Street escarpment, including the new kangaroo carving on its circular stone plinth. He also converted that part of Belgrave Street which lay south of Raglan Street into a long narrow recreation area.<sup>27</sup> The survey of Brighton laid down the essential urban design of the southern half of the present study area as well as the whole area beyond bounded by Raglan Street, The Corso and Manly Cove. The western strip of Smith's projected recreation reserve, outside the study area, is represented today by the West Promenade and the eastern edge of Ivanhoe Park.

The trapezium west of Pittwater Road between Carlton and Pine Streets and bounded by the Kangaroo Street escarpment on the west was not laid out for sale in 1860 (*Figure 6*).

As a result of the promotional activities of Smith and others in the late 1850s, there was substantial public interest in the Brighton sale. The 1860 map is annotated with the names of many purchasers, and most of the allotments in Belgrave Street (now Pittwater Road) within the study area were gradually sold, some in groups to a single investor, which led to future sub-division (*Figure 6*).

As a result of Smith's activities, the state government agreed in June 1860 to develop a public road from Manly to Pittwater, including part of Smith's Belgrave Street and its extension, Pittwater Road.<sup>28</sup> Although it took many years for a satisfactory road to be created, the gazettal in 1860 was a critical step in the history of the study area.

Population grew, but was at first largely located near Manly Cove, along The Corso and along the ocean beach. By 1875, these parts of Manly had:

<sup>27</sup> State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, M/series 4/810.3/A5319/ map 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The maiden name of the mother of Ann Thomas, Smith's second wife, was Stinton (Champion, *Manly*, *Warringah and Pittwater*, *1850-1880*, p.8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Illustrated Sydney News, 16 January 1875, p.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Champion, *Manly, Warringah and Pittwater, 1850-1880*, p.46; *NSW Government Gazette*, 29 June 1860, p.1212.

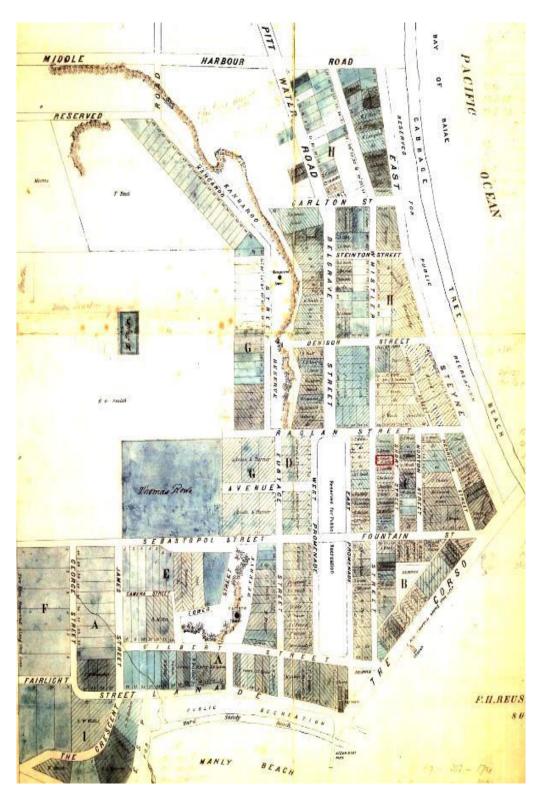


Figure 6. H.G. Smith's sub-division plan of Brighton, 1860. The present study area has Raglan Street as its southern boundary and extends north of Middle Harbour Road (Pine Street).

Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, M/series 4/810.3/A 5319/map 3.

acquired a pretty considerable resident population, chiefly men of business, who are glad, when eve returns, to escape from the worry and care of office work, and enjoy the health-giving breezes of the Pacific, removed entirely from the heat and oppressiveness of the pent-up city. ... Were it not for the occasional awakenings it experiences on holidays and Sundays, one could well imagine that the spirit of peace had chosen it for her principal abode.<sup>29</sup>

The present study area was still largely uncleared bushland at that time, with an increasing number of allotments sold but not yet developed. This is vividly shown in an 1875 drawing (*Figure 7*), where the stone kangaroo cuts a lonely figure above Pittwater Road Conservation Area.

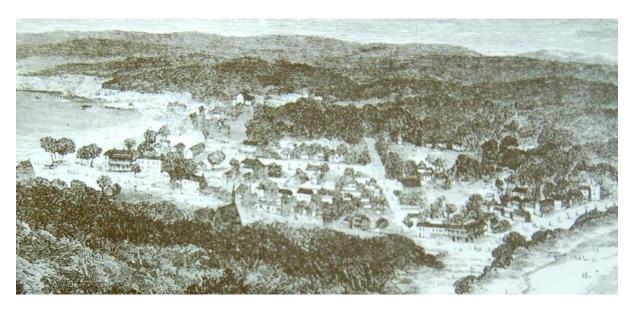


Figure 7. Manly in 1875, looking north-west. Manly Cove is on the left, the ocean beach on the right, connected by The Corso. There are buildings along The Corso and the ocean beach, but the study area in the central right is still largely uncleared bush. Its western limit is shown by the stone kangaroo.

Source. Illustrated Sydney News, 16 January 1875, p.5.

But the study area was not quite as undeveloped as the 1875 sketch suggests. Already in 1860, there were two substantial buildings on the west side of Pittwater Road between Denison and Carlton Streets. One, at what is now 59 Pittwater Road, was a large private home, called Undercliff, built in 1862 by an unrelated Smith family, owners of city businesses. It was bounded on the west by H.G. Smith's principal quarry, with the stone kangaroo above.<sup>30</sup>

The other was the public school. A school was a focal point for a neighbourhood and in 1858, before the main thoroughfare was declared a parish road, Smith had offered land for the first public school on the Northern Beaches, which was established in a stone building completed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Illustrated Sydney News, 16 January 1875, p.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Heritage Detective [P. Lofthouse], '77 Pittwater Road, Manly, Historical Summary', typescript, 2009, p.1.

in 1859 on the south-west corner of Carlton Street and Pittwater Road (*Figures 8*, 9). The teacher's residence was located on the west, behind the schoolhouse, not far from the stone quarry. The land was eventually transferred to the government in 1866.<sup>31</sup> The school buildings no longer exist. In the 1880s they were sold and incorporated into a fine new residence called The Lawn but were demolished (like Undercliff) in 1921 and replaced by a grandiose section of 77 Pittwater Road including the well-known circular tower.<sup>32</sup>

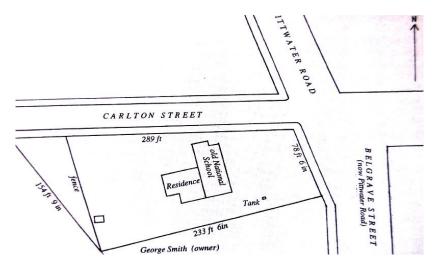


Figure 8. Plan of Manly Public School, by J. Bush, 1884, redrawn by S. Champion.

Source. Champion, Manly, Warringah and Pittwater, 1850-1880, p.105.



Figure 9. Manly Public School drawn around.1875 by the schoolmaster, Lochrin Tiddy.

**Source:** Heritage Detective [P. Lofthouse], '77 Pittwater Road, Manly, Historical Summary', typescript, 2009, p.3.

Henry Gilbert Smith left Manly, and Australia, quite soon after sub-dividing much of Brighton. His second wife died in 1866 at Fairlight, their dignified Manly home (which was demolished in 1939). The three sons of the marriage were now aged between three and eight

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Heritage Detective, '77 Pittwater Road', pp.2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Heritage Detective, '77 Pittwater Road', pp.3-12.

and Smith quickly decided that he should return to Britain and educate his sons there.<sup>33</sup> Once in England Smith married for the third time and never returned to Australia. Very appropriately, he died in the English Brighton in 1886. The three sons did not return to Australia after their father's death.<sup>34</sup>

After 1869, Smith's agents began to offer his Manly property for sale, initially his mansion at Fairlight and some tourist premises around Manly Cove.<sup>35</sup> This was followed by sales and resales of land which he had already put on the market in Brighton. Local coach proprietors such as Charles Prowse provided local transport from the ferry wharf in Manly Cove.<sup>36</sup>

To take a single example, the entire block bounded by Raglan, Belgrave, Denison and Whistler Streets was recast into 19 'villa sites' in 1877 but was acquired by only three purchasers (*Figure 10*).

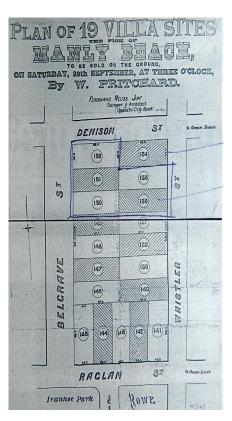


Figure 10. Sub-division in 1877 of the block of vacant land bounded by Denison, Whistler, Raglan and Belgrave Streets. This part of Belgrave Street is now Pittwater Road.

Source. State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Z/SP/M5/143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Champion, *Manly, Warringah and Pittwater*, *1850-1880*, pp.105-106; Swancott, *Manly, 1788 to 1968*, pp.26-27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Champion, *Manly, Warringah and Pittwater, 1850-1880*, p.105; A. F. Pike, 'Smith, Henry Gilbert (1802–1886)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/smith-henry-gilbert-2671/text3725, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 26 September 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Champion, Manly, Warringah and Pittwater, 1850-1880, p.120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> T. Metherell, 'Pittwater Road, Manly: 1855-2003', typescript, 2003, p.5.

A solitary villa site on the corner of Denison and Whistler Streets was sold to E. Tremain, while a member of the Windeyer family purchased the other five northern allotments. The entire southern segment, containing thirteen villa sites, was acquired by G. Everett, a Pyrmont businessman.<sup>37</sup>

As a result, some early sub-divisions did not settle into their present aspect for many years. Tremain did not build at all initially on his single villa lot, but Walton Lodge was built on the corner of Pittwater Road and Denison Street and there was another cottage built on the Windeyer purchases. Everett's large investment resulted by 1891 in four villas on Whistler Street, and three on Belgrave Street (Pittwater Road) along with institutional buildings on Raglan Street. The villas on Whistler Street survived until after 1943 (*Figure 11 a, b*), but have now been replaced, while Manly Backpackers occupy the site on Raglan Street.

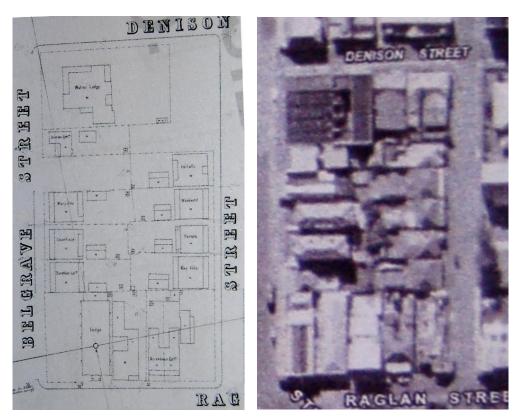


Figure 11. Development of the 1877 sub-division by 1891 (left) and by 1943 (right)

Source. (a) Water Board plan, 1891, Manly, sheet 29; (b) LPI, aerial photograph, 1943.

Such developments fit into broad themes relating to transport to Manly, transport within Manly and the pressures of increasing population both permanent and transient.

<sup>37</sup> Sydney Morning Herald, 6 October 1877, p.6; State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Z/SP/M5/143.

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### 3. The impact of the tramway after 1903 until World War I

The opening of a tramway along The Corso and up Pittwater Road in 1903 introduced a new phase in the development of Manly. The establishment of a regular ferry system in the later Victorian period had created not only an influx of tourists but also a small community of people commuting to the city, along with hotels and basic services for both trippers and residents. There was, however, a lack of reliable public transport within Manly itself, despite the efforts of coach operators such as Charles Prowse. Already in 1891, unsuccessful attempts had been made to run a tram from the wharf at Manly Cove across to the ocean beach. The Manly to Pittwater Tramway League was then formed with wider ambitions and organised a petition to the state government. The first sod for a tramway line from the jetty was finally turned in 1902.<sup>38</sup>

On 14 February 1903 the first steam tram puffed its way from The Corso to the ocean beach, turned west at Carlton Street and then followed Pittwater Road north to a depot just south of Manly Lagoon (*Figure 12a*), on a site still legible today, though occupied by a car park, a produce store and mechanics' facilities.<sup>39</sup>

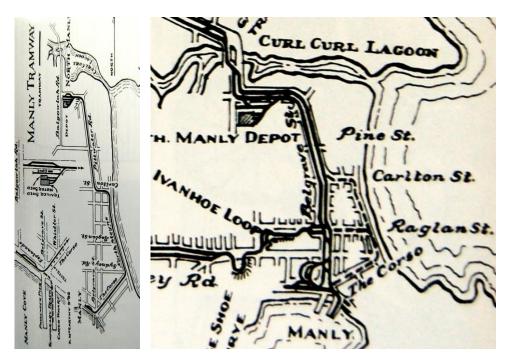


Figure 12. The tramway line from The Corso via the ocean beach and Pittwater Road to its Manly depot (a) in 1903 (left) and (b) after 1911 (right). The broken lines in 9b denote superseded routes.

Source. K.W. McCarthy, The Manly Lines of the Sydney Tramway System, ed. D.R. Keanan, Transit Press, Sutherland, 1995, pp.4, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> C.E. McDonald and C.W.T. Henderson, *The Manly-Warringah Story*, Hamlyn, Dee Why West, 2009, pp.27-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> K.W. McCarthy, *The Manly Lines of the Sydney Tramway System*, ed. D.R. Keanan, Transit Press, Sutherland, 1995, pp.4, 8.

After five months, the steam tram was replaced by a horse-drawn tram, but in 1907 steam was reintroduced. The need for a northwards extension of the line was apparent and in 1910 the tramway reached Brookvale. The number of passengers increased from an annual tally of 10,000 in 1904 to nearly 63,000 in 1910 and in the following year, 1911, the extension back from Manly to the ferry over The Spit connected the northern beaches line to North Sydney. This was soon followed by electrification and further extension northward to Collaroy and Narrabeen. These changes were reflected in the closure of the tramway line up the ocean beach and along Carlton Street, and after 1911 the substitution of Pittwater Road within the study area (*Figure 12b*).

Increased traffic was also reflected in changes to the Pittwater Road tram depot. *Figure 13* shows the depot in 1903 and the necessary extensions made in 1910 and 1911. Originally there was a run-around loop in Pittwater Road, with a siding leading to a two-road trailer shed and a single-track motor-shed. In 1910 a connecting track was installed from the sheds to the new Brookvale line and in the following year the number of lines within the sheds was expanded from three to five. Electrification removed the need for a fuel yard and a substantial office-block was built just to the east of the sheds.<sup>40</sup>

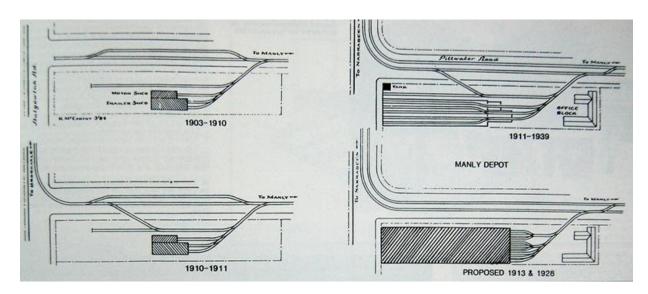


Figure 13. The plan of the tram depot at 243-259 Pittwater Road in 1903, 1910 and 1911. The fourth layout, proposed in 1913 and again in 1928, was not built.

Source. K.W. McCarthy, The Manly Lines of the Sydney Tramway System, ed. D.R. Keanan, Transit Press, Sutherland, 1995, p.21.

The last tram ran in 1939 and rails were raised in all the streets, but both the tram sheds and the office block survive in modified form and are individually listed as item I214 within the Pittwater Road Conservation Area. The complex has high rarity value, since only one other tram-shed complex is known to exist in New South Wales. But beyond the heritage significance of the specific site, its historical importance is considerable as the tangible

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> McCarthy, *The Manly Lines of the Sydney Tramway System*, pp.4-21; McDonald and Henderson, *The Manly-Warringah Story*, p.28;

reminder of the earliest public transport in the Manly area and the critical role which this played in developing the more northerly parts of the Conservation Area and beyond.

The impact of the tramway was far-reaching. The more intensive residential development of the northern area closer to Manly Lagoon and on the west as well as the east side of Pittwater Road was encouraged by the new transport link. More and more houses and a variety of shops began to appear at some distance from The Corso and the ocean beach.

Sub-division sales multiplied. In 1902, when the tramway was imminent, the Abercorn Estate just south of Manly Lagoon was sub-divided. This included the substantial late-Victorian brick house called St Ives, 226 Pittwater Road, formerly known as The Gables. In 1909 34 new housing allotments, known as the Sunlight Estate, were offered for sale along the section of Pittwater Road immediately east of the tram depot (*Figure 14*).



Figure 14. New sub-division on both sides of Pittwater Road adjacent to the tram depot in 1909.

Hutton St. is now Golf Parade.

Source. State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Z/SP/M5/212.

Golf was a socially significant game in the early twentieth century and the inauguration of the present Manly Golf Club with its club-house in 1907 created another significant element in Manly just to the west of the study area.<sup>41</sup> When eleven residential allotments in the 'Links Estate' were offered for sale in 1911 along the east side of Balgowlah Road opposite the course, the auctioneer summed up the attractions comprehensively:

Excellent Easterly Positions, having a Frontage to the Manly Golf Links, with pretty peeps of the Ocean, Convenient to the Electric Tram, and a pleasant walk from the Ocean Beach.<sup>42</sup>

A sub-division sale in 1909 opened up the area between Collingwood Street and the new golf course, on both sides of the new Rolfe Street, extending to the southern side of Hutton Street, which was soon to adopt the new name of Golf Parade (*Figure 15*). The accompanying plan gives a graphic summary of the development by 1909 just to the north on the Sunlight Estate (*cf. Figure 14*), as well as showing the existing houses on both side of Malvern Street (shown as Whistler Street) and the tentative development along the north side of Pacific Street.

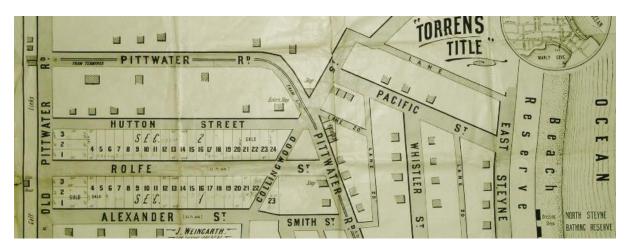


Figure 15. The sub-division plan of the Rolfe Estate in 1909, showing existing houses in this northerly sector of the study area. The golf club house is shown on the extreme lower left.

Source. State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Z/SP/M5/514.

Between 1901 and 1911 both the population and the number of houses in Manly doubled, and the changes within the northern part of the study area following the introduction of the tramway played a very significant role in this surge.<sup>43</sup>

Alexander Street, for example, close to the golf course, had a slow start: *Figure 15* shows only four houses on the south side of the street in 1909 resulting from the 1905 sale (*Figure 4*). The first of these was built in 1908 (and was demolished for a block of flats, no.23, in the 1930s). The 1909 sale saw more immediate results: by 1913 there were 16 resident households and 45 by 1914. During World War I there were no less than nine German and Jewish families in the street, but this flavour did not endure, except for the Montefiores.

<sup>42</sup> State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Z/SP/M5/113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Gledhill, *Manly and Pittwater*, pp.78-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Design Plus, 'Pittwater Road Manly', report to Manly Council, 2001, p.1.

The streets running east-west across the southern part of Pittwater Road also developed slowly. Denison Street had a very sparse population indeed in the nineteenth century. Scottish stonemasons called Taylor established a Caledonian flavour as early as 1875 and built a house called Islay, where Taylors lived intermittently. After a brief housing boom around 1887, when the local Scottish builder took up residence in Dumbarton and another builder called Whittacker also had a house in Denison Street, the unmetalled street did not attract a denser population until the tram service began. There were seven new homes by 1906 (nos.26-38) on the north side of the section to the west of Pittwater Road. These survive and are listed as individual heritage items (I134-I140). In the entire street by 1910 there was a total of 17 resident families. There were several boarding houses for tourists and a home for nurses at the nearby private hospital, while commercial premises were more common close to Pittwater Road. The row of eight fine terraces on the corner with Denison Street (35-49 Pittwater Road), with their late Victorian bullnose verandahs, gave further distinction to this area of Manly, first as Belgravia Terrace and subsequently as Roslyn Villas. The street of the street and subsequently as Roslyn Villas.

Carlton Street, where the public school was located until 1883, had no houses at all until the late 1890s. A Catholic school had opened in 1890 and the first two houses in 1897 had an Irish Catholic flavour, which continued in four of the five houses built by 1902. But once the tram service began in 1903, the modern street quickly evolved, with street numbering and 13 residents by 1910, some of them in new Federation semi-detached cottages, which survive as 7 to 21 Carlton Street. <sup>46</sup>

The Salvation Army, which had been first established in Manly in 1894, under Captain Mary Smith, but with the increase in population, the foundation stone of the original Corps Citadel was laid on 14 September 1912. The Peoples Palace next door, at 61-63 Pittwater Road, was completed in 1913. This was the first dominating high-rise building in the area and had so substantial a presence that proposals to demolish it in the 1990s aroused successful protest. <sup>47</sup>

World War I and its aftermath, however, had a substantial impact on the development of Manly, although access to the tramway remained a potent factor until World War II.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> T. Metherell, 'Denison Street, Manly', typescript, Manly Library Local Studies, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Pittwater Road Conservation Area, listing number I199; T. Metherell, 'Pittwater Road, Manly: a Heritage Walk', Manly Library Local Studies, 2006, p.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> T. Metherell, 'Carlton Street, Manly, 1855-1930', typescript, Manly Library Local Studies, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Metherell, 'Pittwater Road, Manly: a Heritage Walk, p.2.

### 4. Pittwater Road and its Hinterland in the 1920s

A corollary to the real estate boom in the first two decades of the twentieth century was the destruction or modification of most of the Victorian buildings in the older streets within the study area. Along Pittwater Road itself, survivals are intermittent: the former Methodist manse of 1894, no.15, the c.1900 terrace at nos.35-49, the late Victorian stone cottages at nos.112 to 118 and 150 (*Figure 16*), the weatherboard terrace at nos.108 to 110 (*Figure 17*), and the Gothic St Ives of c.1880 at no.226.



Figure 16. 150 Pittwater Road, stone cottage in 2001. Source. Manly Library Local Studies.



Figure 17. 108-110 Pittwater Road, weatherboard terrace in 2001.

Source. Manly Library Local Studies.

The amount of infill along Pittwater Road after World War I affected the character of the street. In particular young couples with smaller families sought upper-storey flats, often above ground-level shops.<sup>48</sup> Surviving examples from the early 1920s include at the southern end, between Raglan and Denison Streets, the Indian Pearl restaurant, nos. 26-28 (*Figure 18*).



Figure 18. Indian Pearl restaurant and flat above, 26-28 Pittwater Road, in 2001.

Source. Manly Library Local Studies.

The well-known local cinema architects, Lewis Kaberry and Clifford Chard, designed two sets of three-storey flats nearby at 16 and 18 Pittwater Road. On the opposite side of the road, close to the Carlton Street junction, flats and other dwellings were erected on the site of the fine 1862 home called Undercliff (no.59). The Undercliff Estate was sub-divided into six allotments in 1917. <sup>49</sup> The 1859 school, which had been converted to a house called The Lawn (no.77) in the 1880s, was largely rebuilt substantially after 1910, with the well-known domed tower added in 1921. The spacious curtilage of The Lawn had itself been reduced in 1909, when four pairs of cottages were erected on the Carlton Street frontage, while the remainder was divided in two in 1912. <sup>50</sup> As a result, this section of Pittwater Road south of Carlton Street totally changed its character in the 1920s (*Figure 19*).

The western side of Pittwater Road between Pine and Alexander Streets was similarly reconfigured with a row of eight shops with flats above erected in 1920 (nos. 141-155), while between Pine and Carlton Streets to the south there were comparable developments at nos.79-89 and 119-125.<sup>51</sup> North of Alexander Street there were interesting new corner shops such as 181 Pittwater Road, which became the well-known factory and offices for Stuart Blinds in 1936.<sup>52</sup>

The importance of Manly Golf Club remained considerable and its membership prestigious. When designs for a new club house were sought in 1924, no fewer than 30 architects who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Metherell, 'Pittwater Road, Manly', p.15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Z/SP/M5/7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Heritage Detective, '77 Pittwater Road', pp.3-11; Metherell, 'Pittwater Road, Manly', pp.15-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Metherell, 'Pittwater Road, Manly', p.16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Metherell, 'Pittwater Road, Manly: a Heritage Walk', p.4.

were club members tendered plans, including the successful one by Eric Apperly and Arthur Wright.<sup>53</sup> There was a lot of work for architects in Manly at this time.

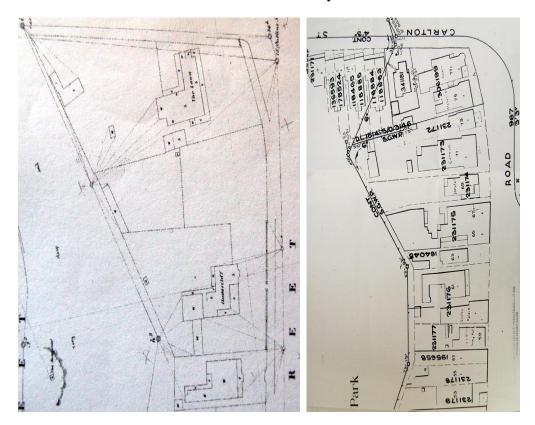


Figure 19. The west side of Pittwater Road, nos.53-77, south of Carlton Street in 1891, on left. The Lawn is at the top and Undercliff is second from the bottom. The stone kangaroo sculpture of 1856 is shown on the lower left. The same area is shown after its 1920s development in a plan of 1950.

Source. (a) Water Board plan of Manly, 1891, sheet 28, (b) Water Board, 1950

The building-stock on the streets adjacent to Pittwater Road shared in the general developments of the 1920s. Despite the Rolfe sale of 1909, there were still numerous vacant lots on the northern side of Alexander Street at the end of World War I. As elsewhere in Manly, new boarding houses and a grocery business opened among the residential cottages in the 1920s and a small block of flats in the 1930s. Despite the demolition of some weatherboard cottages and extensions to other Federation buildings, there is considerable integrity in the building stock and in the tree plantings which justify the judgment that Alexander Street remains 'a fine example of predominantly Federation cottage subdivision'. <sup>54</sup>

The development of Hutton Street, known as Golf Parade since 1925, had similarities to Alexander Street nearby, but two major timber yards and a group of working-class cottages, some semi-detached, had been erected there before World War I, giving the street an individual flavour. By the end of World War I there were 66 houses in Hutton Street but there was little family continuity, because of the number of rented properties. In the last

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> J. Walker, *One Hundred Years of Golf at Manly: Manly Golf Club*, Manly Golf Club, Manly, 2003, pp.48, 53; C.A. Bertie, *Manly Golf Club*, 1907-1946, Manly Golf Club, Sydney, 1946, pp.51-52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> T. Metherell, 'Alexander Street, Manly: 1909-1932/33', typescript, Manly Library Local Studies, 2003; T. Metherell, 'Alexander Street and Pacific Parade, 1842-2007', typescript, Manly Library Local Studies, 2007.

twenty years Golf Parade has shared in the gentrification of the entire area and many of its older homes have been substantially modified (*Figure 20*).<sup>55</sup>



Figure 20, 26 Golf Parade in 2001 before gentrification.

Source. Manly Library Local Studies.

As elsewhere in young Manly, there was a rapid turnover of house-owners and house-occupiers during World War I and its aftermath. The mixture of Federation cottages and flats and later infill in Carlton Street and its earlier associations make it an exemplar of many of the features which distinguish Pittwater Road Conservation Area and its environs. A block of new flats called Kylemore (5A Carlton Street, *Figure 21*) replaced some cottages in the early 1920s and commercial premises were erected around the same time on the site of the present Manly Beach Resort. <sup>56</sup>



Figure 21. 5A Carlton Street in 2001. Source. Manly Library Local Studies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> T. Metherell, 'Golf Parade, Manly (formerly Hutton Street): 1906-1932/33', typescript, Manly Library Local Studies, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> T. Metherell, 'Carlton Street, Manly, 1855-1930', typescript, Manly Library Local Studies, 2005.

As the remnant native bush rapidly disappeared, significant choices were made over the planting of street trees. In Smith Street native tuckeroos and brush box were used to create an avenue in the 1920s; in Collingwood Street there was a preference for araucaria and Port Jackson figs; while the Norfolk Island pines which gave Pine Street its name were also planted in Pacific Street and in Alexander Street along with bunyas from Queensland, camphor laurel and native brush box.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Pittwater Road Conservation Area, listing numbers I77, I100, I192, I193, I223.

### 5. Extension in the 1930s

The area between Pittwater Road and Manly Lagoon in the north had been relatively unaffected by the changes of the early 1920s. But in 1927 auction sales in the Manly City Estate close to Manly Lagoon created new streets, Eurobin Avenue and Iluka Avenue, and extended the residential development of the flat lands. Eurobin Street constituted a significant late architectural element in the area adjacent to the present Pittwater Road Conservation Area (*Figure 22*).<sup>58</sup>



Figure 22. Manly City Estate, the sale of allotments along Eurobin and Iluka Avenues in 1927.

Source. State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Z/SP/M5/244.

Despite the Depression, modifications to the existing built environment continued simultaneously with the Eurobin Street development. Rubimore Flats were built at 15 Steinton Street in 1932-1933. Changes include Art Deco cottages at 223-227 Pittwater Road and Californian bungalows beyond Collingwood Street, while the development of services for the age of the automobile in the 1930s included an Art Deco garage at 207-217 Pittwater Road. Further down Pittwater road at no.60, the addition in 1932 of an Art Deco façade to a late Victorian two-storey rubble-stone terrace, nos. 46 to 58, brought it into harmony with its Art Deco neighbours built in 1925.<sup>59</sup>

By the mid-1930s the built environment of the study area had taken its present form and most of the present buildings were already in existence. Only some 30 Victorian buildings survive, often with extensive alterations, mostly south of Carlton Street, but the early twentieth century is richly represented in detached houses, terraces, unobtrusive blocks of flats and small commercial buildings.

There was for many years limited control of land use in the area and this is reflected in the diversity of activity along much of Pittwater Road. The west side of Pittwater Road below

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Z/SP/M5/244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Metherell, 'Pittwater Road, Manly: a Heritage Walk', p.6.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Manly Council, 'Development Control Plan for Pittwater Road Conservation Area', 2003, p.10.

### 6. Conclusions

The present state of the Pittwater Road Conservation Area and the flat lands to its immediate north and north-west is entirely in keeping with the mature Victorian vision of Henry Gilbert Smith. Smith had initially been tempted by the planning achievements of the Scottish Enlightenment, but the world-heritage model of the Georgian New Town of Edinburgh was quickly replaced in Smith's thinking by the more realistic analogy of a successful English seaside resort such as Brighton. The parks and promenades of Smith's Manly were linked closely to the ocean and harbour beaches and to the village which quickly developed around The Corso in the mid-nineteenth century. His plans for new residential streets carved out of the bush did not extend to the most northerly part of the future Conservation Area. But the planning of the residential and commercial development of the flat land between Raglan Street and Pine Street, inland from the ocean beach, which Smith achieved in 1860, is still the basis of this integrated sector of central Manly and its immediate extensions.

The existing Conservation Area was based on the critical importance of Pittwater Road itself, the beginning of a significant coastal route from Sydney Harbour northwards during millennia of Aboriginal occupation. Pittwater Road was the indispensable axis for north-bound European land traffic from the very beginning of Manly and the core of early development a conveniently short distance away from the beach-fronts.

The establishment of the tramline along Pittwater Road from 1903 onwards not only confirmed the importance of the street to northern Manly, but also opened up easy access to the whole hinterland up to the lagoon and beyond. This in turn encouraged extensive building of houses for permanent residents, for tourist accommodation and for necessary services in new streets as far west as Balgowlah Road and as far north as Manly Lagoon. This development lasted some thirty years into the 1930s and established the character of the Pittwater Road Conservation Area.

The current Conservation Area excludes the north-western sector of the flat land, between Collingwood Road and Balgowlah Road, where Golf Parade, Rolfe Street, Alexander Street and Pacific Parade were created early in the twentieth century. The success of this new series of sub-divisions is attributable not only to the new access to public transport but also to the opening of the golf course just across Balgowlah Road in 1907. It also excludes the area just south of Manly Lagoon, defined by Eurobin Avenue and Iluka Avenue, the last major sector to be developed in the late 1920s and into the 1930s, with Californian bungalows and two-storey flats.

There are three clearly defined zones within a broader Conservation Area. The spinal significance of Pittwater Road itself creates Zone 1. Zone 2 embraces the whole western sector of the original Conservation Area but adds the north-western area from Pacific Parade north to Golf Parade, which is historically appropriate. Zone 3 extends the area closer to the ocean beach north of Carlton Street, taking in the western side of Whistler Street and both sides of its northerly extension, now called Malvern Street. It also includes the whole 1930s residential development near the lagoon, where the entire northern side of Eurobin Avenue

has already been given separate heritage recognition as well as Stella Maris College and the Convent of the Good Samaritan which opened at 51 Iluka Avenue in 1931.

The historical development of the flat land north of Raglan Street did not isolate a ribbon of residential and service buildings along the central access route of Pittwater Road. Instead the success of the Pittwater Road precinct, once it also carried the tramway, made possible waves of sub-division and re-sub-division to the east, west and north of the transport artery. The close settlement of older farmlands and ample estates took at least half a century after the 1880s and sharply accelerated after 1903. These coherent changes were contained on the west by the dedication of land to golf in the twentieth century, on the extreme north by the natural barrier of Manly Lagoon and on the east by the Victorian preoccupation with the immediate hinterland of North Steyne, overlooking the iconic ocean beach.

Henry Gilbert Smith would have relished the sequential realisation of his mid-Victorian aspirations.

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