Attachment B

Eora Journey –
Harbour Walk Historical Research

Historical Research Materials

Eora Journey – Harbour Walk

March 2019

This collection of historical writings was produced by Dr Paul Irish of Coast History and Heritage for the Harbour Walk project between December 2018 and March 2019. The items were researched to address specific questions from the project curator, or to provide context and broad themes, and did not involve exhaustive research on any topic. Research was archival only, and did not include consultation with Aboriginal people who may hold knowledge about particular places or subjects.

Many of the items included have recommendations about further potential sources of information. If specific projects are developed to implement the Harbour Walk, these and other sources are likely to provide further details that may be useful.

A copy of these writings will also be deposited in the City of Sydney Archives, so that it can be accessed by future researchers.

WARNING: Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander readers should note that this document contains images of deceased Aboriginal people.

ACN 625 442 480 / P: (61 2) 9599 7449 / E: paul@coasthistory.com.au / W: www.coasthistory.com.au / PO Box A74 Arncliffe NSW 2205

Table of Contents

1 The Original Shoreline

The following maps are approximations of the 1788 shoreline in relation to today. They are derived by overlaying the following historical maps onto current aerial photography:

1. Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

2. City of Sydney (Sheilds), 1845 [City of Sydney Archives, CRS1155]

3. *Woolcott & Clarke's map of the City of Sydney : with the environs of Balmain and Glebe, Chippendale Redfern, Paddington &c., 1854* / W. H. Baron Del. ; Engd. by J. Carmichael. Sydney. (State Library of NSW, ZM2 811.17/1854/1B).

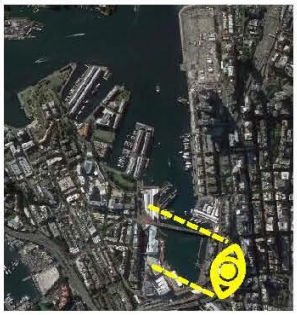
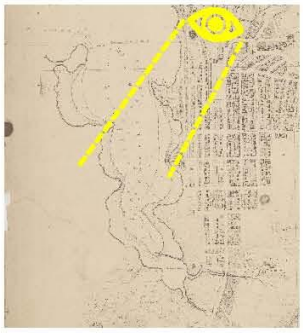
As these maps cannot be directly tied to our current mapping systems, any overlays can only be approximate. This is especially true given the relatively large area covered by the historical maps. While the recreated shorelines should be considered approximate only, they do give a sense of how much the water's edge has been shifted, rounded, covered and created over the past two centuries. A range of techniques and more detailed research could be used to create more accurate renderings of the shoreline, particular in relation to specific areas.

The approximate 1788 shoreline in comparison to a modern aerial photo.

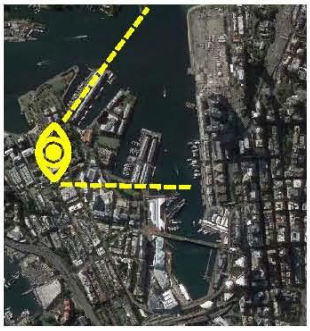
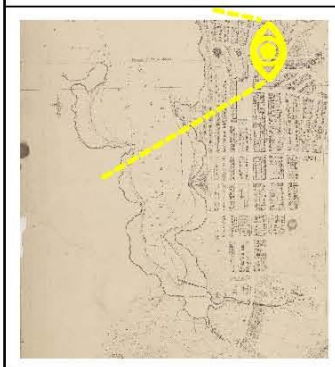
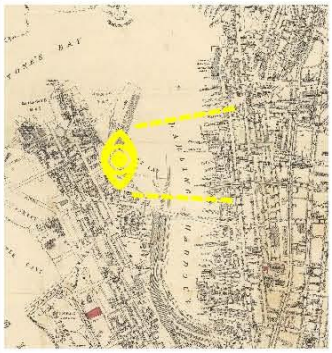
The approximate 1788 shoreline in green compared to today in grey.

2 Historical Views along the Harbour Walk

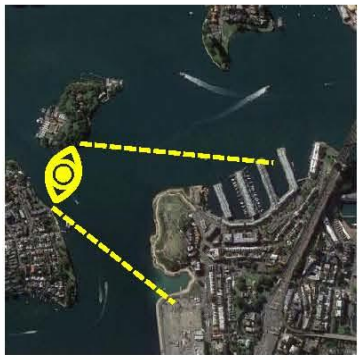
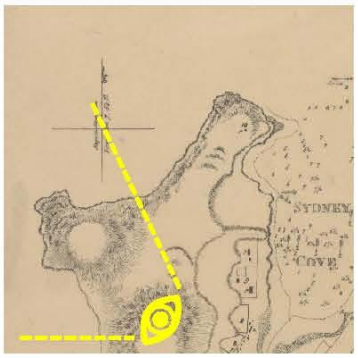
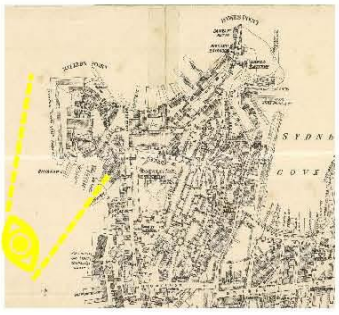
Darling Harbour/Pyrmont

	
Today[1]	Darling Harbour today[2]
	
1822[3]	Early view in about 1820 over the head of Cockle Bay from Sydney[4]
	
1843[5]	View from around King St south to the Pyrmont Bridge around 1856. Note the relative lack of development in the background towards Ultimo[6]
	
1903[7]	South end of Darling Harbour in 1920, built on top of former mudflats[8]

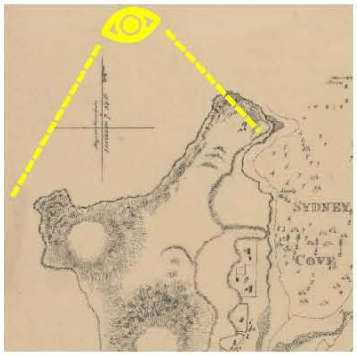
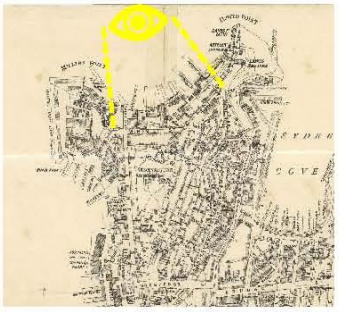
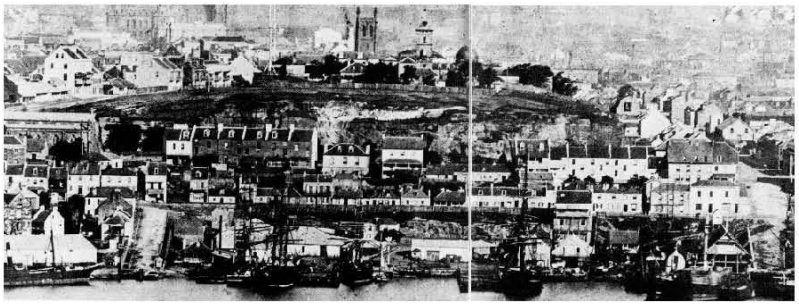
East Darling Harbour

	
Today[9]	East Darling Harbour today[10]
	
1822[11]	View from Millers Point to Cockle Bay around 1820s showing the original shoreline[12]
	
1843[13]	East Darling Harbour from Pyrmont in 1870[14]
	
1903[15]	East Darling Harbour in 1920[16]

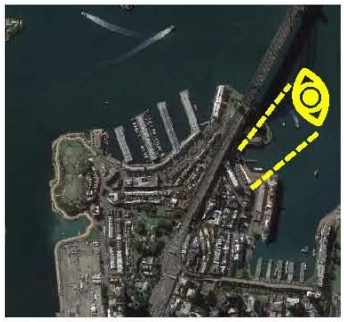
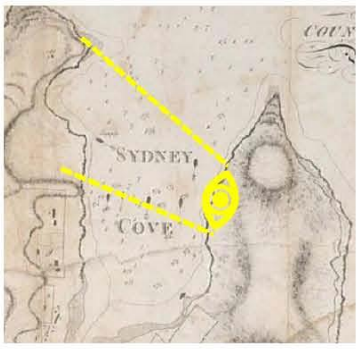
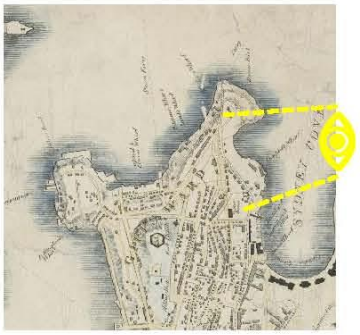
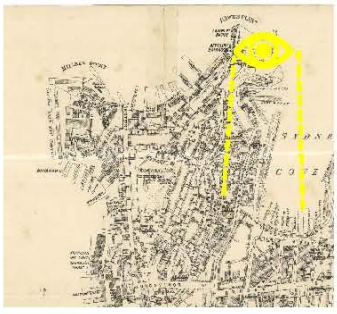
Barangaroo/Millers Point

	
Today[17]	Current image showing recreated shoreline[18]
	
1788[19]	View west to Parramatta River over Barangaroo (the hill in the centre with the stand of trees) in 1798[20]
	
1843[21]	The Barangaroo/Millers Point area viewed from the north around 1870[22]
	
1903[23]	The Barangaroo area in 1920 when in use as commercial wharves[24]

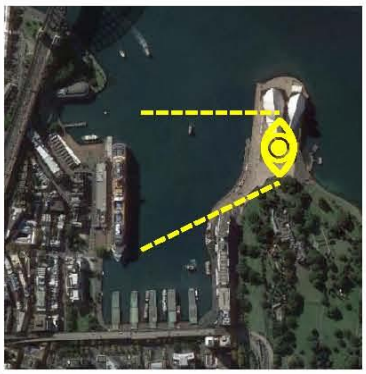
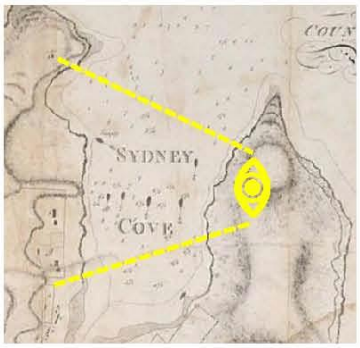
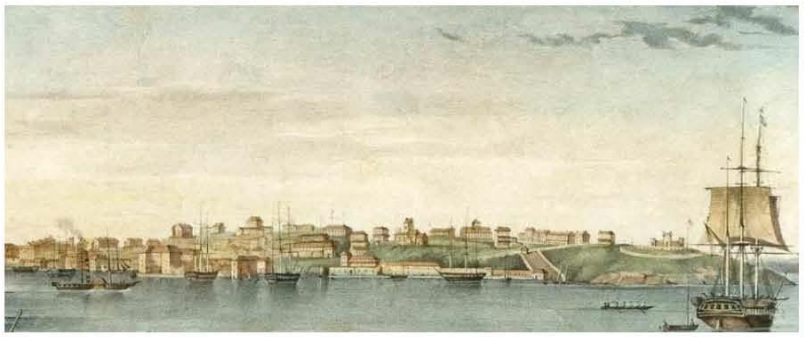
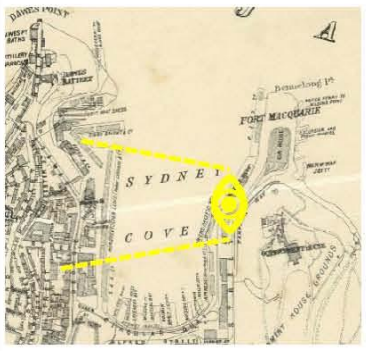
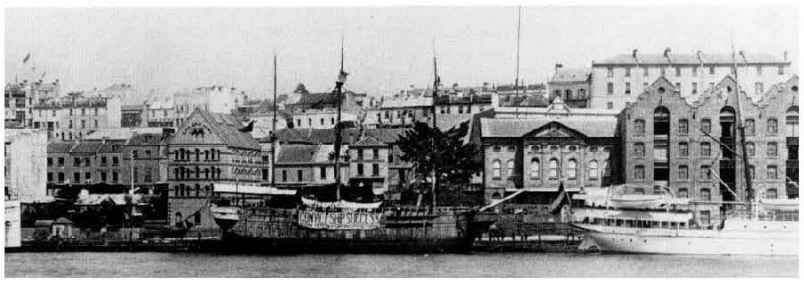
Walsh Bay

	
Today[25]	Walsh Bay today[26]
	
1788[27]	View from the North Shore over to Walsh Bay in the 1840s[28]
	
1843[29]	Walsh Bay and Dawes Point in 1858 from the North Shore[30]
	
1903[31]	Walsh Bay from the North Shore in 1885[32]

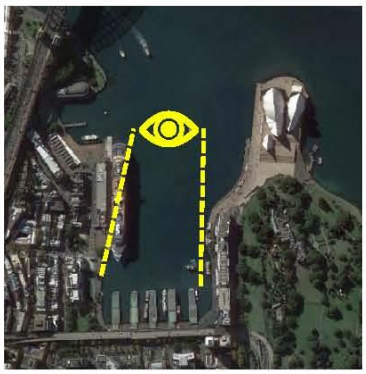
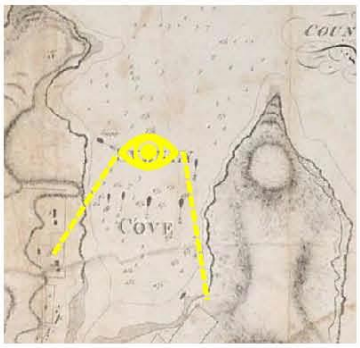
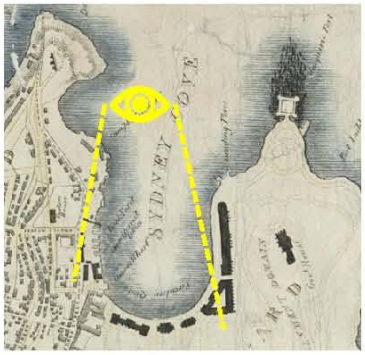
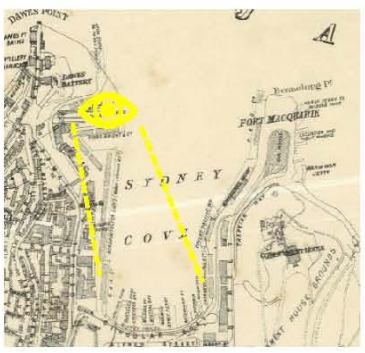
Campbell's Cove

	
Today[33]	Campbell's Cove[34]
	
1788[35]	Extract of view of the Rocks in the early 1790s showing Campbell's Cove[36]
	
1843[37]	Campbells Cove in 1858[38]
	
1903[39]	West Circular Quay in 1877[40]

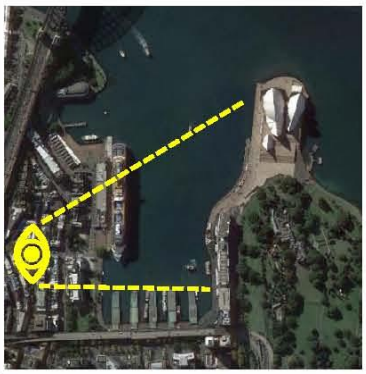
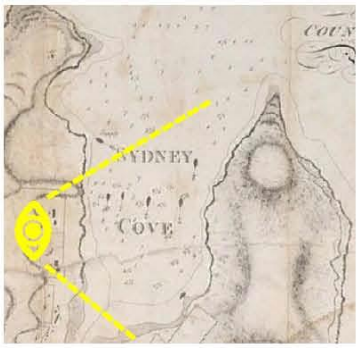
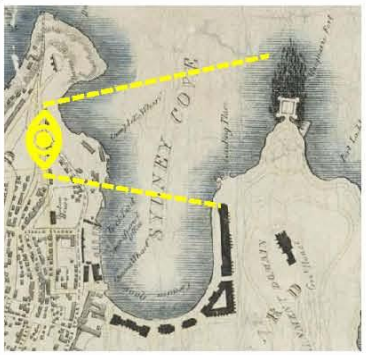
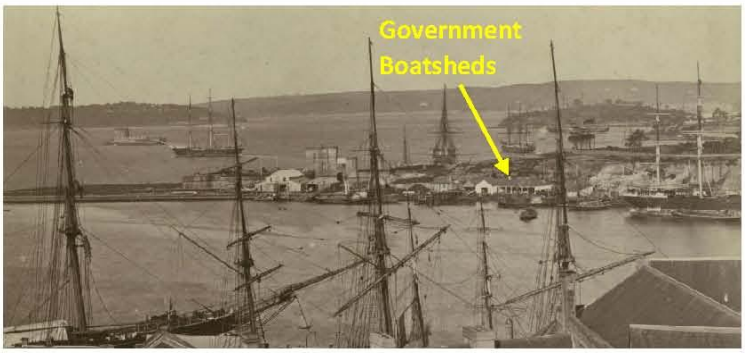
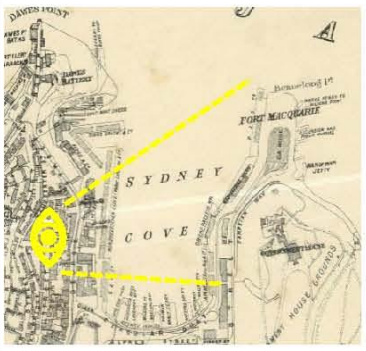
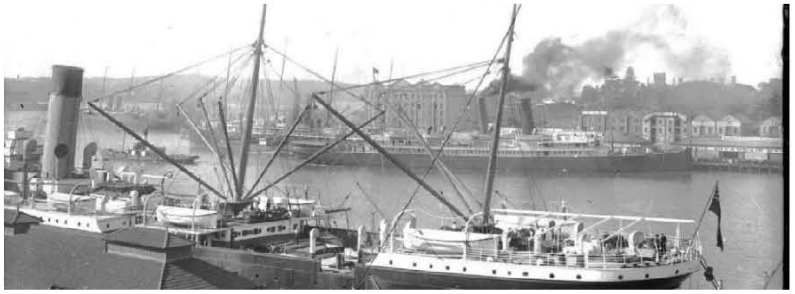
West Circular Quay

	
Today[41]	West Circular Quay[42]
	
1788[43]	View from the Rocks in the 1790s. Bennelong's Hut is visible on the end of Bennelong Point[44]
	
1843[45]	The Rocks and West Circular Quay around 1840[46]
	
1903[47]	West Circular Quay in 1892, with Cadman's Cottage at left[48]

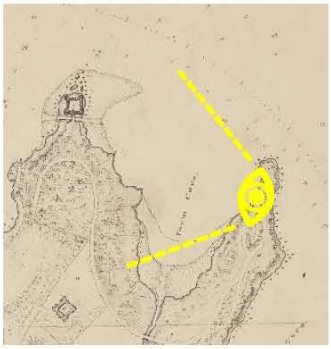
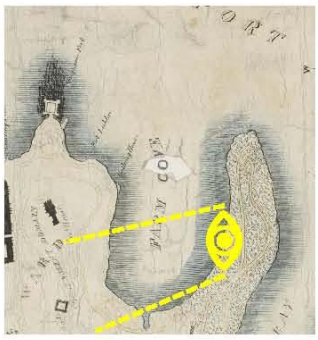
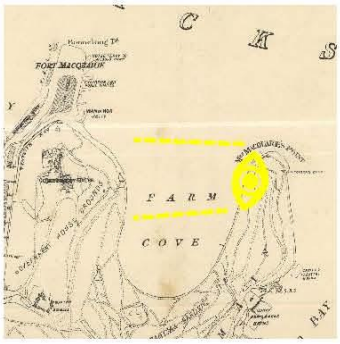
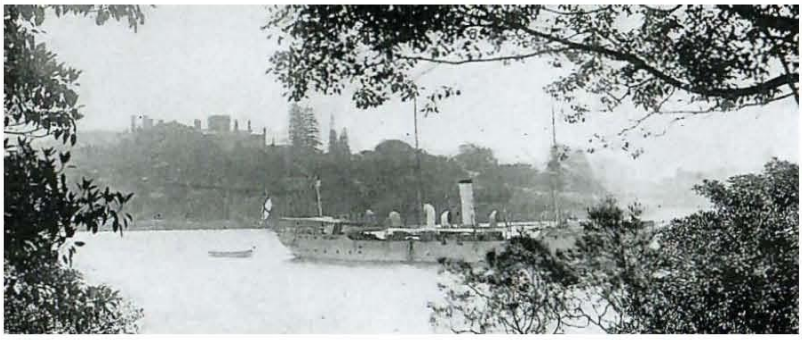
Circular Quay

	
Today[49]	Circular Quay today[50]
	
1788[51]	View of Warrane in 1788[52]
	
1843[53]	Circular Quay in 1845 just after the mudlfats were reclaimed and the first 'circular' seawall was built[54]
	
1903[55]	Circular Quay wharves in 1910[56]

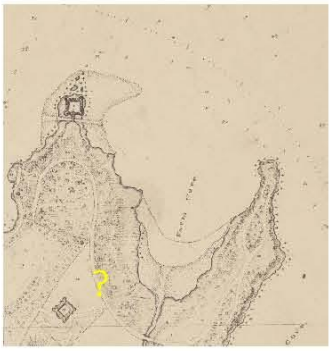
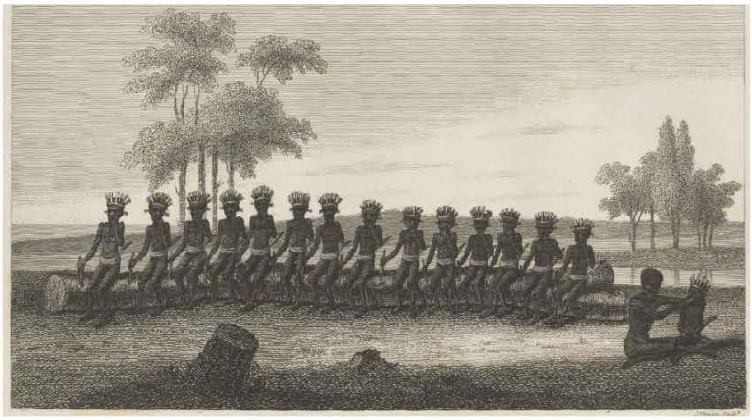
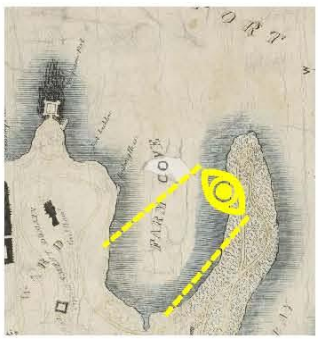
East Circular Quay

	
Today[57]	Photo from top of YHA in the rocks[58]
	
1788[59]	View from the Rocks in the 1790s. Bennelong's Hut is visible on the end of Bennelong Point[60]
	
1843[61]	East Circular Quay in the 1870s, from above around Campbells Cove[62]
	
1903[63]	East Circular Quay around 1900[64]

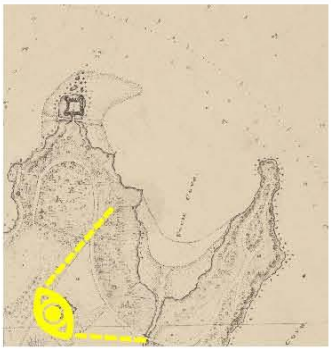
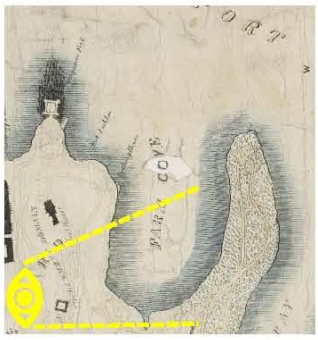
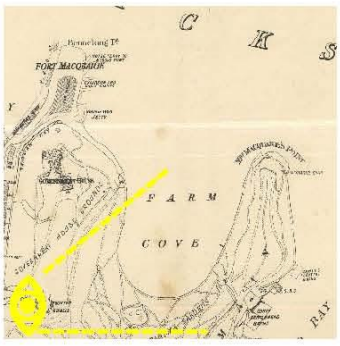
Inner Domain/West Farm Cove

	
Today[65]	View west across Farm Cove from the Royal Botanic Gardens[66]
	
1788[67]	West Farm Cove pictured in 1818[68]
	
1843[69]	West Farm Cove with St Mary's Cathedral and St James Church in background[70]
	
1903[71]	Inner Domain/West Farm Cove in the early 1900s[72]

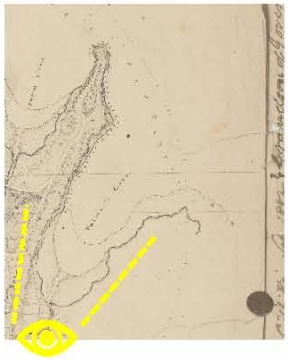
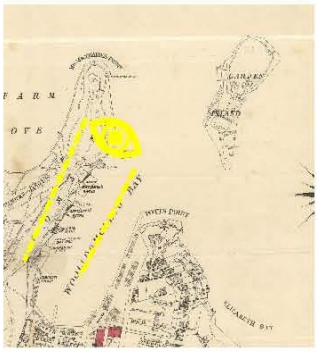
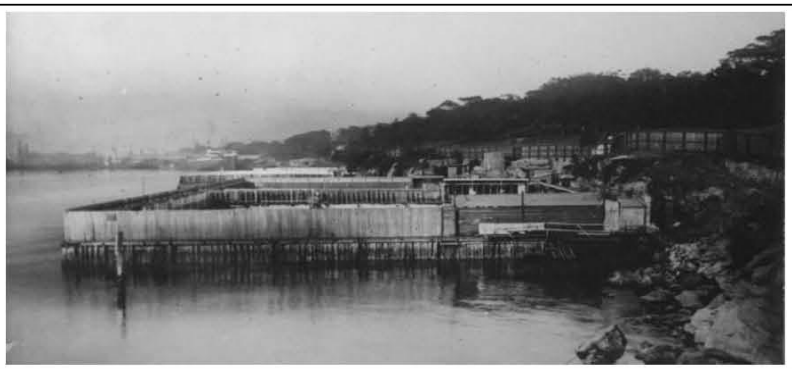
Royal Botanic Gardens/South Farm Cove

	
Today[73]	Current view into Farm Cove[74]
	
1822[75]	1795 Initiation ceremony at Farm Cove, one of the earliest images of the area[76]
	
1843[77]	The Botanic Gardens in 1853, before the construction of the seawall[78]
	
1903[79]	Farm Cove in 1882 – The Garden Palace is visible top left[80]

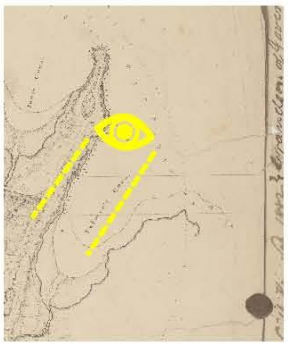
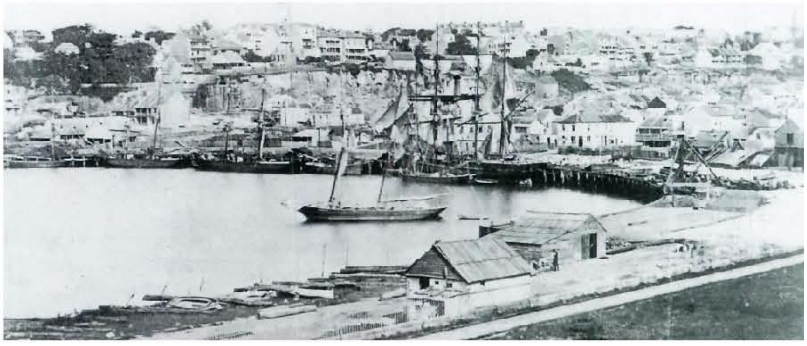
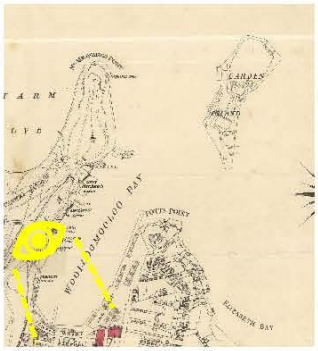
Outer Domain/East Farm Cove

	
Today[81]	The outer Domain today[82]
	
1822[83]	Segment of a panorama view of Sydney in 1829[84]
	
1843[85]	Early photo of the outer Domain in 1858[86]
	
1903[87]	Outer Domain/Mrs Macquarie's Point in the early 1900s[88]

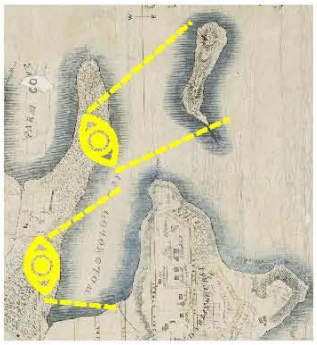
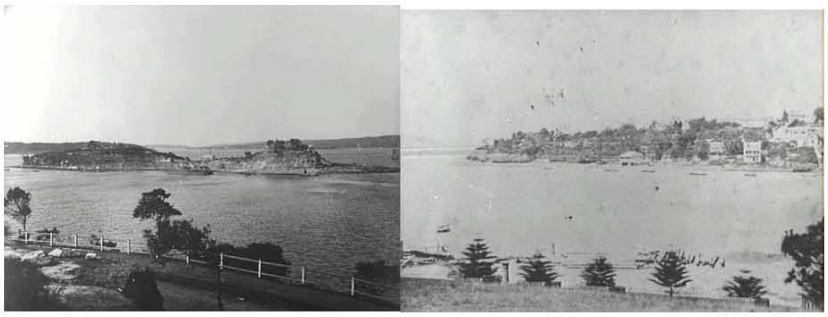
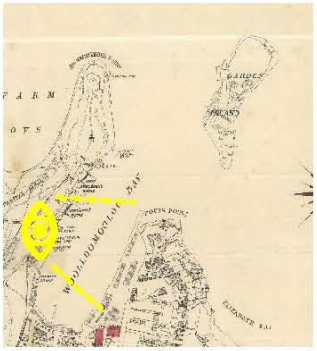
Outer Domain/West Woolloomooloo Bay

	
Today[89]	The Domain/West Woolloomooloo Bay[90]
	
1822[91]	View north from Woolloomooloo in 1833 with the Domain on the left[92]
	
1843[93]	View of west Woolloomooloo Bay (the outer Domain) in 1849[94]
	
1903[95]	View south over baths along the Domain on Woolloomooloo Bay around 1880[96]

Woolloomooloo

	
Today[97]	View from Domain Baths to Woolloomooloo finger wharf[98]
	
1822[99]	View from the Domain to Woolloomooloo in 1833[100]
	
1843[101]	Woolloomooloo around 1870 from around where the art gallery is[102]
	
1903[103]	Woolloomooloo in 1899 before the large finger wharf was built[104]

Woolloomooloo Bay East/Garden Island

	
Today[105]	View from Sydney Tower to Garden Island and Potts Point[106]
	
1822[107]	View across Woolloomooloo Bay to Garden Island from the Domain in 1835[108]
	
1843[109]	Composite view east Woolloomoolloo Bay in 1870s/80s prior to construction of naval base[110]
	
1903[111]	View of Potts Point (east Woolloomooloo Bay) around 1900 from the Domain[112]

Historical Map and Image Sources

[1] Google Earth aerial image.

[2] Google Earth. Accessed 12/2/19.

[3] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[4] Taylor, J. *Sydney looking south from Flagstaff Hill, ca. 1821* (State Library of NSW, ML69).

[5] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[6] Gill, S.T. 1856. 'Pyrmont Bridge from Erskin [i.e. Erskine] Street Wharf' in *Scenery in and around Sydney* (Sydney: Allan & Wigley).

[7] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[8] Aplin, G. & Storey, J. 1984. *Waterfront Sydney 1860-1920* (Sydney; George, Allen & Unwin): 84-85.

[9] Google Earth aerial image.

[10] www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/sep/30/the-rise-and-rise-of-barangaroo-how-a-monster-development-on-sydney-harbour-just-kept-on-getting-bigger [Accessed 5/2/19].

[11] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[12] Taylor, J. Cockle Bay now Darling Harbour, ca 1819-20 (Sydney Library NSW, ML941).

[13] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[14] '1870. Sydney from Pyrmont', www.maywaldmemories.com.au (Sydney as it was series, accessed 4/2/19).

[15] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[16] Aplin, G. & Storey, J. 1984. *Waterfront Sydney 1860-1920* (Sydney; George, Allen & Unwin): 84-85.

[17] Google Earth aerial image.

[18] www.sydney.org.au/harbours-cable-car-plan-aims-high-with-barangaroo-cruise-and-casino-connections-2/ [accessed 5/2/19].

[19] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[20] Heath, J. 1798. *By water to Parramatta; with a distant view of the western mountains, taken from the Windmill-hill at Sydney, 25 May 1798* (State Library NSW, DL Pd 764)

[21] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[22] *View of Miller's Point and Darling Harbour c.1870* (State Library NSW, DG392).

[23] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[24] Aplin, G. & Storey, J. 1984. *Waterfront Sydney 1860-1920* (Sydney; George, Allen & Unwin): 86.

[25] Google Earth aerial image.

[26] From Google image search.

[27] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[28] Boys, T.S. & Martens, C. 1842. *View of Sydney from St Leonards* (National Library of Australia, nla.obj-135722850.

[29] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[30] Jevons, W.H. 1858. Dawes Point, Sydney [University of Manchestor, JA/33/1/2, image JRL023364tr]

[31] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[32] Aplin, G. & Storey, J. 1984. *Waterfront Sydney 1860-1920* (Sydney; George, Allen & Unwin): 54-55.

[33] Google Earth aerial image.

[34] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sydney_The_Rocks.jpg [Accessed 12/2/19].

[35] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[36] McCormick, T. *et. al.* 1987. First Views of Australia 1788-1825: An early history of Sydney (Sydney; Longueville Publications):Image 23.

[37] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[38] Jevons, W.H. 1858. Campbells Wharf, Sydney [University of Manchestor, JA/33/1/2, image JRL023382tr]

[39] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[40] Aplin, G. & Storey, J. 1984. *Waterfront Sydney 1860-1920* (Sydney; George, Allen & Unwin): 31.

[41] Google Earth aerial image.

[42] Photo by Paul Irish.

[43] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[44] McCormick, T. *et. al.* 1987. First Views of Australia 1788-1825: An early history of Sydney (Sydney; Longueville Publications):Image 23.

[45] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[46] *A view of Sydney Cove, New South Wales, c1840*, http://www.knoblauch.com.au/gallery.html [Accessed 12/2/19].

[47] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[48] Aplin, G. & Storey, J. 1984. *Waterfront Sydney 1860-1920* (Sydney; George, Allen & Unwin): 37.

[49] Google Earth aerial image.

[50] Peter L Johnson [CC BY-SA 3.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)], https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PJohnson_Sydney_Skyline_March_2011.jpg [accessed 14/2/19]

[51] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[52] Bradley, W. 'Sydney Cove, Port Jackson. 1788' in *William Bradley drawings from his journal `A Voyage to New South Wales', ca. 1802* (State Library NSW Safe 1/14).

[53] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[54] Jacob William Jones. *View in Sydney Cove, N.S.W.*, 1845 (State Library NSW; DGA 32 f.4).

[55] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[56] New South Wales State Archives, https://www.flickr.com/photos/state-records-nsw/6031629514 [Accessed 13/2/19].

[57] Google Earth aerial image.

[58] Photo by Paul Irish.

[59] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[60] T. Watling, 1793-5. *North-West View taken from the Rocks above Sydney, in New South Wales, for John White Esq*. (State Library of NSW, DG V1/13).

[61] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[62] *[Circular Quay East, Sydney, from Circular Quay West]*, 1870 (State Library of NSW, SPF 774).

[63] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[64] Hood, S.J. c.1900. *SS MEDIC possibly in foreground with SS SIERRA in background at Circular Quay* (Australian National Maritime Museum, Image#35150).

[65] Google Earth aerial image.

[66] Google Earth. Accessed 12/2/19.

[67] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[68] Close, E. C. 1818, *West side of Farm Cove with distant view of the Military Hospital, the smock-mill and Fort Phillip, Sydney, ca. 1818* (National Library of Australia, nla.obj-138899518).

[69] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[70] Campbell, H.I. 'Roman Cathedral Chapel & / St James Church Sydney' in *Sydney Views, ca. 1840-1842* (State Library NSW, PXC291)

[71] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[72] Picturesque Sydney 19? (State Library NSW, Q981.1/D).

[73] Google Earth aerial image.

[74] Photo by Paul Irish.

[75] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[76] Neagle, J. 1798 Yoo-long erah-ba-diang (National Library of Australia - nla.obj-143787659-1)

[77] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[78] Leigh, W. 1853. '27. Botanical Gardens. Sydney. Sept 14/53' in *Coloured sketches. South Australia, New South Wales, New Zealand, Cape of Good Hope, 1853* (State Library NSW, PXA 1987)

[79] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[80] *1882, Farm Cove, Sydney Harbour* (National Library of Australia, nla.obj-140557231).

[81] Google Earth aerial image.

[82] Google Earth. Accessed 12/2/19.

[83] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[84] *Panorama of Sydney, N.S.W., in the year 1829* as painted by Robert Burford and exhibited in Leicester Square, London / Robert Burford, printed and published by Lake & Sons Pty. Ltd (State Library NSW DG XVIA/2)

[85] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[86] 'Farm Cove & Government Gardens/Sydney', 1858 in *Mort family – Album by W. Blackwood of Australian Scenery* (State Library of NSW, PXD 955)

[87] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[88] 'Farm Cove and Botanic Gardens' in Phillips, H. 190? *Most up-to-date Sydney panoramic views* (Katoomba, H. Phillips).

[89] Google Earth aerial image.

[90] Photo by Paul Irish.

[91] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[92] Rodius, C. 1833. *View of the Bay from Wollomollo near Sydney* (State Library of NSW, PXA 997)

[93] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[94] SLNSW SPF774 G.E. Peacock, '[Sydney from Woolloomooloo], 1849' (State Library NSW ML72).

[95] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[96] *Sea baths along the W side of Woolloomooloo c1880* (City of Sydney Archives Image #004/004803)

[97] Google Earth aerial image.

[98] Photo by Paul Irish.

[99] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[100] Rodius, C. 1833. *View from the Government Domain Sydney* (State Library of NSW, PXA 997).

[101] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[102] Aplin, G. & Storey, J. 1984. *Waterfront Sydney 1860-1920* (Sydney; George, Allen & Unwin): 121.

[103] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[104] [Woolloomooloo in 1899] Graeme Andrews Working Harbour Collection (City of Sydney Archives Image #089/089571)

[105] Google Earth aerial image.

[106] By Dcoetzee - Own work, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6828870 [Accessed 12/2/19.

[107] Roe, J.S. & Walker, F. 1822. *Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822* (State Library of Victoria, FL10177039).

[108] Russell, R. *Garden Island from the Government Domain, November 1835* (National Library of Australia PIC Drawer 61 #R211)

[109] W.H. Wells, 1843. *Map of the City of Sydney*. SLNSW Map ZM2 811.17/1843/2

[110] *View looking NE across Woolloomooloo Bay from the Domain.* 1889 (City of Sydney Archives Image #038/038631); *Looking NE across Bay from the Domain*, 1872 (City of Sydney Archives Image #040/040584)

[111] *Map of the City of Sydney, NSW, 1903* (3rd Edition). Compiled, Drawn and Printed at the Department of Lands, Sydney, N.S.W. 1903." (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney, www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/) [accessed 15/12/18]

[112] *Looking SE towards naval dock and Potts Point from Mrs Macquarie' s Point* c1900 (City of Sydney Archives Image #044/044088)

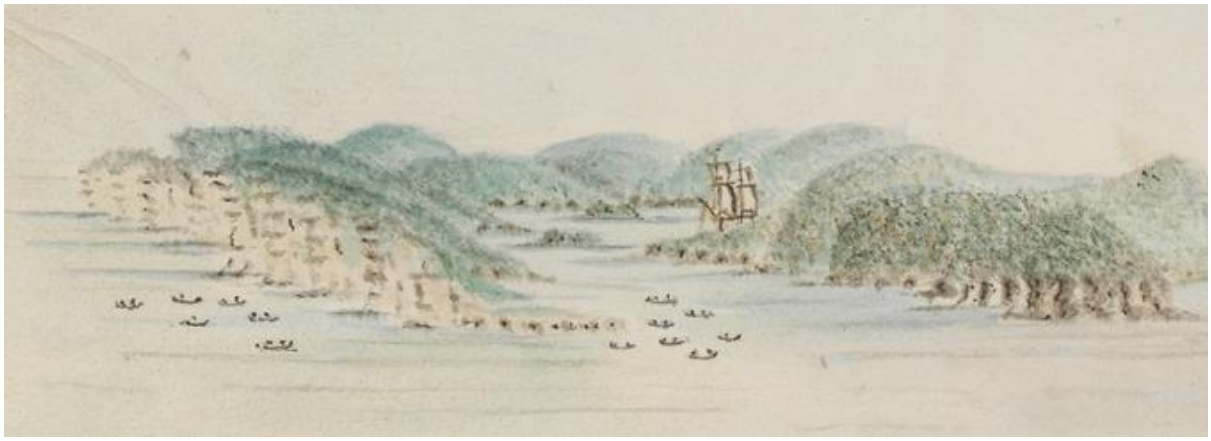
3 Water Connections

Year/s	Thousands of years ago until now
Summary	This overview investigates how Aboriginal people have used watercraft of different kinds around Sydney Harbour both before and after the arrival of Europeans. Building on a strong history of water travel and fishing in bark nawi, Aboriginal people adopted new types of vessel such as wooden rowing boats and later sailing boats. Every group around coastal Sydney had at least one boat which they used to travel between settlements and maintain connections. They also used them to fish for food and profit, and to run fishing tours. When harbour ferries and coastal steamers started regular services in the 1860s, Aboriginal people used these new ways of getting around Sydney and along the coast to strengthen rather than expand their connections. With the formation of the Aborigines Protection Board in the 1880s and the steady move of Aboriginal people away from their harbour settlements to La Perouse, Aboriginal people become a decreasing presence on and around the harbour. Over the last 20 years, the Tribal Warrior Association has put an Aboriginal presence back on the water again.

3.1 Nawi Flotillas

For thousands of years, Sydney's Aboriginal people have used water craft of different kinds to fish, but also to travel and nourish family connections. Bark nawi were the earliest known watercraft in Sydney, primarily associated with women's fishing, but they were also used to travel and connect. In the dissected and jagged landscape of Sydney's harbours, bays and rivers water travel was an essential means of communication. The shallow draft of nawi made them very versatile. They could be used up shallow bays and narrow creeks as well as in deep harbour waters. There are numerous examples from the early colonial period of Aboriginal people crossing the harbour, and even going out into ocean waves.

While major waterways sometimes represented the edge of particular clan estates or the extent of languages, they were not boundaries in any meaningful sense. People, language and ceremony flowed along, around and across rivers, bays and harbours in Sydney and were therefore places where clan and language merged. This is particularly true when we think about women's use of nawi. When Europeans arrived in the late 18th century, Aboriginal nawi were regularly seen, sometimes in large flotillas (see image below). We know that women married outside their own clans, so when groups of women went fishing, these fleets probably contained women of different clans, and possibly speaking different languages.



A flotilla of nawi in Sydney Harbour in 1788.

Source: William Bradley [1788] *View in Port Jackson from the South Head leading up to Sydney; Supply sailing in 1788.* State Library of New South Wales [a3461017 / Safe 1/14, Opp. p. 123]. Extract of original image.

3.2 Wooden boats

After the devastating smallpox epidemic of 1789, Aboriginal people around the harbour regrouped, probably amalgamating the survivors from neighbouring clans. We don't know if these new groups retained old names, but they came to be referred to by Europeans as 'tribes' based on where they commonly lived (e.g. Sydney tribe, Botany tribe etc). These names though masked the interconnections and travelling that linked these and other groups along the coast outside of Sydney, which was enabled by wooden boats.

Bark nawi continued to be used by coastal Sydney people for at least fifty years after Europeans arrived, but in the first half of the nineteenth century, Aboriginal 'tribes' (sometimes with the backing of local European landowners), petitioned colonial authorities for wooden fishing boats. This included the Kissing Point 'tribe' (1818), the Botany Bay 'tribe' (1834), Sydney 'tribe' (1844) and Georges River 'tribe' (1850).[1] They were usually patched up cast-off government boats which the authorities were glad to provide as a means of fostering self-sufficiency.

By swapping out traditional nawi for wooden boats, fishing became more of a group rather than individual activity, and one far more dominated by Aboriginal men than it had been in the past. But it also allowed Aboriginal people to use their exceptional fishing knowledge and skills to participate in the colonial economy. Some groups used their boat to run fishing tours. For example the large group living at Camp Cove near Watsons Bay in 1834 used their Europeans contacts in the city to obtain customers. On one occasion they picked up two visiting Englishmen from their ship moored at Campbells Cove and rowed them down the harbour for a memorable day's fishing at Camp Cove.[2] Botany Bay man Mahroot ran similar tours out of the Sir Joseph Banks Hotel at Botany in the 1840s.[3] The Sydney 'tribe' were using their boat in the 1840s to catch and sell fish around the harbour as well as to the Sydney markets (the site of todays Queen Victoria Building).[4] We don't know where they pulled up their boat to deliver the fish, but it was most likely at Darling Harbour around Market Street, which was the closest spot.

3.3 Steamships and Ferries

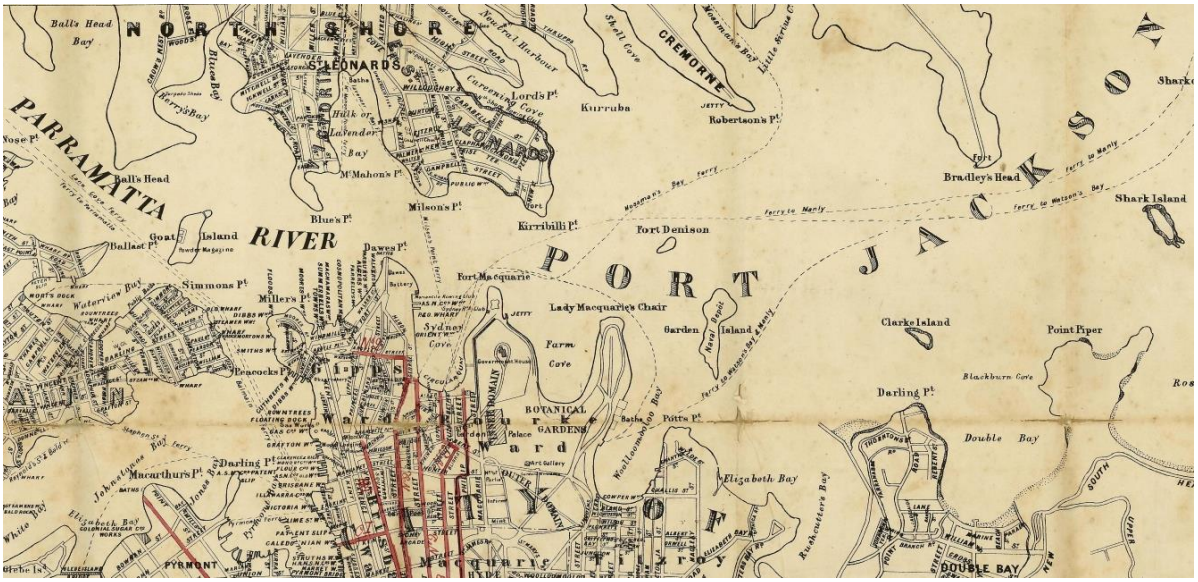
Aboriginal people living in coastal Sydney often had cultural and family connections along the coast to the south (as far as the Shoalhaven) and/or north of Sydney (as far as Port Stephens). They maintained these connections in the early colonial period by travelling overland (on foot or by horse) as well as on the boats of property owners bringing produce to Sydney. By the 1860s, steamships began operating regular weekly commercial services up and down the coast, and there is evidence to suggest that Aboriginal people were often given free passage.[5] This created new opportunities for Sydney people to travel quickly along the coast without fear of being stranded at the other end. These steamers would have operated out of Circular Quay (see picture below).

View of Bennelong Point and Sydney Cove around 1880 showing a coastal steamer of the type used by Aboriginal people. Note also the large Garden Palace building in the background, which burnt down in 1882. The government boatshed is obscured behind the pontoon at the centre of frame.

Source: C Bayliss, 1879-1882. [*Garden Palace*]. State Library of NSW SPF/267.

A really important point about this new technology is that it was used by Aboriginal people to strengthen their existing sphere of connections rather than expand it. We could expect free steamer travel to have brought many more Aboriginal people to live in Sydney from coastal areas further to the north and south. Instead we find historical evidence repeatedly showing that movement remained most strong within that connected coastal strip, and that people who visited from further afield generally did not stay in Sydney very long. The clearest example of this is in relation to the 1868 visit of Prince Alfred to Sydney (described further below), which saw Aboriginal people travel from across the state to meet him (often free on coastal steamers). But when the visit was over, those from outside Sydney and the connected coastal strip went home.[6]

The other change in boat travel that happened from the 1860s was the start of commercial ferry services within Sydney harbour.[7] By the 1880s (and probably earlier), Aboriginal people were travelling between settlements at Circular Quay, Manly, Watsons Bay and North Sydney via harbour ferries. This was well known to police and other authorities, because they used the offer of free ferry and steamer travel to move Aboriginal people on from some settlements, starting with the government boatshed in 1881.[8] In the map below you can see where the different ferries departed from at Circular Quay, Darling Harbour and Woolloomooloo Bay.



Extract of 1887 map showing harbour ferry wharves and routes leaving from Darling Harbour, Circular Quay and Woolloomooloo Bay. [A high resolution copy of the full map is in the dropbox].

Source: *Sands' Directory Map of the City of Sydney and Suburbs, 1887* (City of Sydney Archives, CRS1177). http://atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/maps/city-of-sydney-suburbs-1887/. Downloaded 15/1/19.

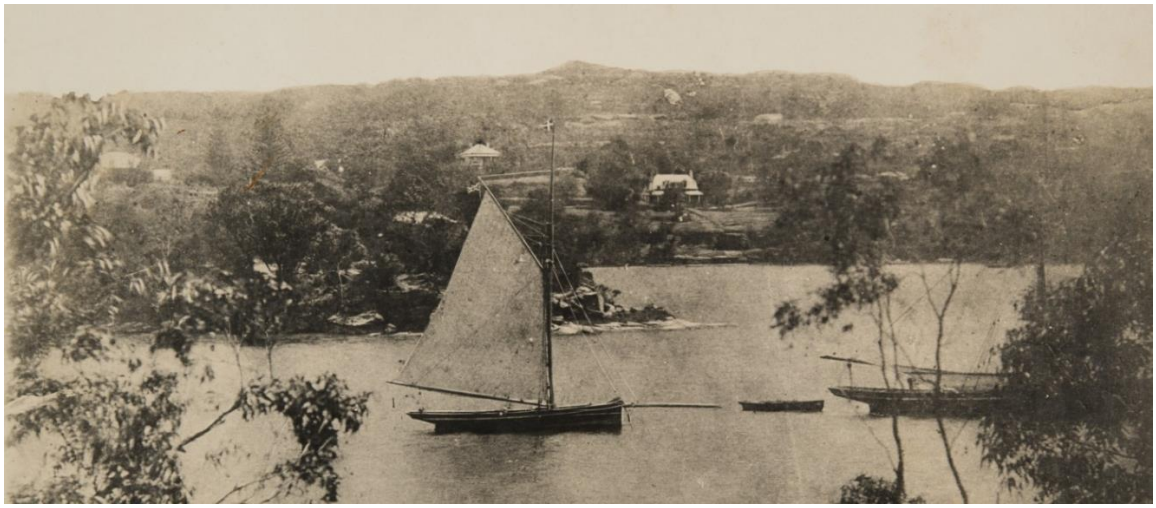
3.4 The corroboree that never was

This is possibly a little off topic but ties in to the theme of water travel and links to Circular Quay. As I mentioned briefly above, in 1867-1868 Prince Alfred (the Duke of Edinburgh) was the first member of the English royal family to visit Australia. He arrived in 1867 and was scheduled to visit Sydney in March 1868. Aboriginal people started turning up in Sydney from across New South Wales to meet him (probably recognising his higher authority over the colonial government). Many came by coastal steamer, arriving in Circular Quay. Some went across the harbour by ferry to the North Shore to camp while others probably found relatives at the other settlements around coastal Sydney. At the time, George Thornton (later to become 'Protector of Aborigines') was a member of parliament and arranged supplies for the visiting Aboriginal people and for them to perform a 'corroboree' for the Prince at Clontarf (near Manly). Thornton also arranged a special ferry to take Aboriginal people there from the North Shore, stopping at Circular Quay to pick up any extras.[9] On the 12th of March hundreds of Aboriginal men, women and children gathered at Clontarf and prepared to perform, only for proceedings to be cancelled when an assassination attempt was made on the Prince by an Irish rebel.

The reason for mentioning this is because I think it is a highly significant event in the Aboriginal history of Sydney and New South Wales. Because of the attempted assassination no detailed accounts were made of the aborted performance, so there is not much to go on. But it was the biggest gathering of Aboriginal people in Sydney in decades, and it brought together people from across New South Wales who had probably had limited contact previously. Gathered across the harbour on the North Shore, I wonder what different groups shared with each other about their experiences of the expanding colony. It is perhaps a tenuous link to Circular Quay, but it might be an appropriate story to tell.

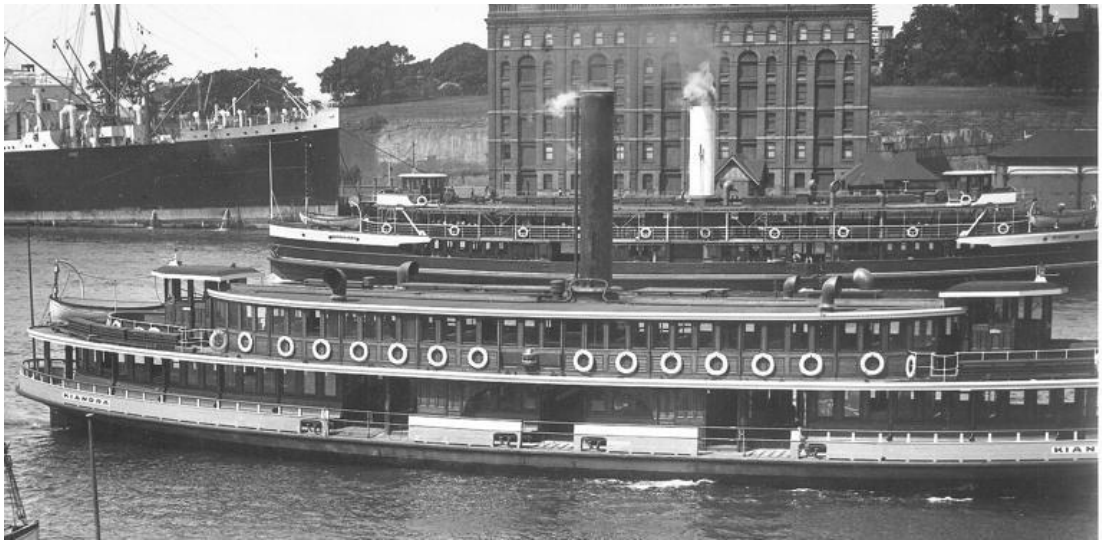
3.5 The rise of rail and road

By the later nineteenth century, Aboriginal people had begun to use larger, masted sailing boats, of the type shown below. They were used for fishing, but could also travel along the ocean coast, enabling owners to travel independently.[10] By the 1880s and 1890s, boat travel using these vessels was a very important part of Aboriginal life around Botany Bay, but had declined around Sydney harbour. This was partly because many people moved away from their harbourside camps to live at La Perouse after the formation of the Aborigines Protection Board, but also because new tram and rail services in the 1880s gave Aboriginal people a quick means of travelling around the city. Like with ferries and steamers, Aboriginal people were often allowed free travel on trams, though the Aborigines Protection Board tried to stop this on several occasions.[11]



The kind of small sailing boat used by Aboriginal people in the later nineteenth century.

Source: *'Clee Villa'. Present site of main Neutral Bay Wharf* (SLNSW PXA645/520). Extract of original image



The K-class Kiandra ferry in the 1920s at Circular Quay.

Source: Graeme Andrews' Working Harbour Collection: 78183 GKAC (City of Sydney Archives file 078/078183). Extract of original image.

At the same time as Aboriginal use of the harbour decreased, their absence was symbolically reinforced by a tradition of naming ferries using Aboriginal words from elsewhere in Australia, which continued for decades.[12] The origin of the tradition is not clear but it was not done as a mark of respect. One suggestion is that was a novel way of providing an Australian flavour to the tradition of naming company vessels using a consistent theme, and started with an existing ferry called Kangaroo. Whatever the origin, Sydney Ferries Limited (formerly North Shore Ferries), started a 'K-class' of ferries in the 1890s which continued to operate until the 1980s, all bearing names like Koompartoo, Kameruka and Kookaburra (see photo above). The names were not chosen because they were local or appropriate. They had to be 'pleasant to the ear', and were probably selected from Aboriginal word lists that appeared in the papers now and then in this period.[13]

3.6 Reclaiming the harbour

Over the past twenty years, the Tribal Warrior Association has helped make Aboriginal people visible on the harbour once more. The Associated formed in Redfern in 1998 to provide maritime skills training to Aboriginal and other Indigenous people.[14] The Tribal Warriors vessels (the Mari Nawi and Tribal Warrior, and previously the Deerubbun) have also provided numerous cultural and historical tours of the harbour, pointing out places of significance around its lands and waters. Sydney Ferries has also adopted a more respectful use of Aboriginal names since decommissioning its K-class ferries. In the early 1990s, it named its new rivercat ferry fleet after Australian sportswomen, including Aboriginal tennis legend Evonne Goolagong.[15] More recently in 2017, it named two of its six Emerald class ferries after Sydney resistance warrier Pemulwuy, and early colonial Aboriginal leader Bungaree.[16] Daily, these vessels now ply the harbour and bays, providing a constant visual reminder of Sydney's Aboriginal past and present.

The Tribal Warrior's former training vessel *Deerubbun* and Sydney Ferries' *Evonne Goolagong* Rivercat steaming up the Parramatta River in the early 2000s.

Source: Paul Irish 2004.

3.7 Possible Further Information

Another link which could be explored is the use of boats by Aboriginal people to travel the oceans, either on exploration voyages (e.g. Bungaree and Flinders), whaling and sealing ships, etc, though this is starting to pull the story away from Sydney.

4 Aboriginal Wharf Workers

Year/s	c.1800s to present
Location	Darling Harbour/Walsh Bay
Map Location	
Summary	This overview investigates the involvement of Aboriginal people in waterside work in Sydney from the early years of the colony to the present day. The best recorded periods historically were in the 1920s and 1960s/70s. There is a strong link between Aboriginal activism and the unionised workforce of the wharves, which is a significant element of the broader history of the Aboriginal civil rights struggle in Sydney and also nationally. Personal and family recollections of wharf work have not been explored in this overview but it is important to remember that there is also a more intimate family context to this work. Stories of providing for family, and of the toll of unreliable work, injuries and the deadly legacy of exposure to asbestos on the wharves.

4.1 Context

- Ships have been loaded and unloaded around the harbour since the earliest years of the colony. But until the later nineteenth century the crews of ships did this work themselves.[17] It was only from the later nineteenth century that actual wharf workers began to be employed in a formal way to unload and load cargo.

- Ships used both Sydney Cove and Darling Harbour for many years, but by the twentieth century Sydney Cove was mainly a commuter/ferry port and Darling Harbour and Walsh Bay were the main cargo wharves. In the post-war period (and possible before), there was a distinction (and rivalry) among waterside workers between those who worked 'deep sea' and 'shallow water'. 'Deep sea' meant international shipping which was based around Walsh Bay and considered to require more skill as the ships had deeper holds. 'Shallow water' meant the coastal ships which used wharves from Millers Point to Cockle Bay.[18] Aboriginal workers probably worked in both areas, but this is not often specified.

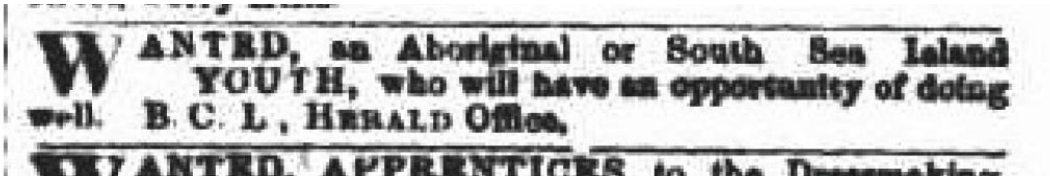
- The conditions for workers in the early days were appalling. Everything had to be loaded and unloaded by hand and it was dangerous and backbreaking work. Not surprisingly, Sydney's dockside workers had banded together to form the Sydney Wharf Labourers Union in 1882, and by 1902 the Waterside Workers Federation (the ancestor of today's Maritime Union of Australia) had formed.[19] The WWF made some gains in working conditions (such as an award in 1914) but after massive strikes in 1917 the union was banned and non-union labour began to be used.[20] This also led to the 'bull' system, where workers assembled each day and the biggest 'bulls' would be picked to work, while others would miss out. This system ended after a government enquiry in 1942, and by the 1950s and 1960s, when a number of Aboriginal workers began working on the wharves, there was a 'gang rotary' system in place. Labour was still casual but men worked in gangs, and when their gang was picked each day they would decide who worked, thereby making sure they spread the work around and no-one missed out.[21] This also did a lot for fostering personal friendships and solidarity among workers. This worker solidarity also aligned with the basis for communism, so it is not surprising that the political alignment of waterside workers was heavily socialist or communist. By the 1950s there were very strong links between the Waterside Workers Federation and the Community Party of Australia.

4.2 Nineteenth Century Waterside Workers

Aboriginal people were involved with the 'business' of the colony from very early on. They did odd jobs around the fledgling settlement around Sydney Cove, which may have involved loading or unloading ships.[22] Some (mostly men) began to work on ships, and by the early nineteenth century, Aboriginal people had become 'boatmen, sailors, sealers, steersmen, whalers, pilots and trackers'.[23] While we have some great accounts of the Aboriginal men working as sealers and whalers, and of sailors like Bungaree circumnavigating Australia with Matthew Flinders, those who worked around town or did more menial jobs are rarely discussed or identified by name.

It is highly likely that Aboriginal people were among the crews loading and unloading boats in Sydney during the nineteenth century, but we only have a few snippets of information. For example, in 1863 in the 'Ship Advertisements' section of the Sydney Morning Herald was the ad below, seeking an 'Aboriginal or South Sea Island youth', presumably to work on a particular ship (we don't know who 'B.C.L.' is). It also suggests that it was not unusual for Aboriginal people to work in this capacity, which is supported by reports earlier in the year that a 'native black' had 'strayed from the schooner Emma' at the Market Wharf by stealing a dinghy.[24] The

ship was wrecked off Tasmania the following month without loss of life, but it is not clear if the man referred to was back and one of the eight crew.[25]


WANTED, an Aboriginal or South Sea Island YOUTH, who will have an opportunity of doing well. B. C. L., HERALD Office.

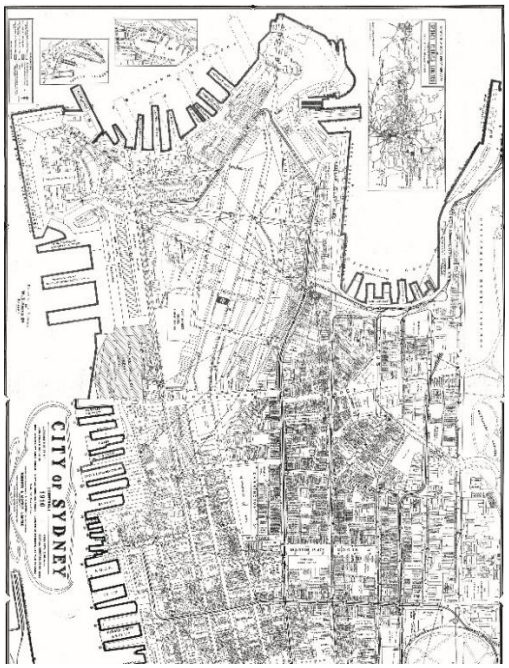
Source: 'Ship Advertisements', *Sydney Morning Herald* 8/12/1863: 1.

Whether any Aboriginal people on these ships were from Sydney is not clear, but local people were most likely using wharf areas for their own trading. For example we know that some of the 'Sydney tribe' led by Thomas Tamara and Nanny Nellola in the 1840s were selling fish and other goods to the Sydney markets,[26] which probably meant they were taking their wooden rowing boat to the Market Street wharf at Darling Harbour to unload. There are other records which place Aboriginal people around wharf areas at various times, but we don't know if they were working or not. For example there is a reference in 1859 to 'black divers' retrieving stolen goods jettisoned at Campbells Wharf at the Rocks on the request of the police, so they may have been working there.[27]

4.3 Early Twentieth Century Waterside Workers

In the later nineteenth century crews stopped loading and unloading their own ships, and the profession of wharf labouring grew. It is possible that Aboriginal people were among those early workers on the docks, but we do not have any clear references before the early twentieth century. Most Aboriginal workers were migrants who do not appear to have had prior connections to Sydney. Since the 1890s the Aborigines Protection Board and missionaries had increasingly monitored the activities of Aboriginal people across the state, and we can detect Aboriginal people moving to Sydney from more remote parts of the state than had previously been common. By the 1910s, as the Protection Board gained legal powers over Aboriginal people, as segregation was actively pursued and as Aboriginal reserves were increasingly revoked, even more Aboriginal people migrated to the city.[28] There were more opportunities for work, and also for anonymity, and partly because of this, we do not know a lot about these early migrants. Sadly, details of their lives are often only revealed if they fell foul of the law.[29] Another pathway to 'visibility' was activism, and here there is a strong link between the wharves of Sydney and the earliest organised Aboriginal civil rights movement in Australia.[30]

Apart from Aboriginal people, there were black sailors from a wide range of global backgrounds who came to Sydney on ships in the early twentieth century and possibly earlier. By this time, racial thinking had overridden any previous worker solidarity, and they were often treated harshly and differently to their white counterparts.[31] At the same time, the first black political organisations were forming in the United States, and international seamen spread the movement around the world. The 'Coloured Progressive Association' formed in Sydney around 1903 and its members were mainly African American and West Indian. It was probably a small organisation and only reached prominence because of its role in organising the highly publicised boxing tour of Australia by the African American world heavyweight champion Jack Johnson.[32] Among those present at Johnson's farewell was Hunter Valley Aboriginal man Fred Maynard (1879 – 1946, see photo below), who was living at Woolloomooloo and working on the wharves by this time.[33]



The layout of Sydney's wharves in 1910, around the time of the first documented Aboriginal waterside workers.

Source: "City of Sydney (Central), 1910. Scale, 120 Feet = 1 Inch. Compiled and Copyrighted by D. S. Cameron for the Publishers Roberts & Moffat, Limited, Proprietors of 'The Daily Commercial News and Shipping List', Bond Street, Sydney, N.S.W. Printed for the Publishers by W. E. Smith Ltd. Sydney." [www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au, accessed 4/2/19]

Fred Maynard went on to form the first Aboriginal civil rights organisation – the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA) in the 1920s. Maynard's contact with international black seamen on the wharves and learning about global black political activism helped him channel the deep injustice he felt about the experiences of Aboriginal people in New South Wales under the Protection Board in this period. The fight for workers' rights by the Waterside Workers Federation, of which Fred was a member, was also an influence on the AAPA. As Fred noted in 1927 'members…have also noted the strenuous efforts of the Trade Union leaders to attain the conditions which existed in our country at the time of invasion by Europeans – the men only worked when necessary – we called no man "Master" and we had no king.'[34] Several of the other Aboriginal leaders of the AAPA also worked on the docks, including treasurer Tom Lacey, Sid Ridgeway (1895 – 1959) and Dick Johnson (see photo below) was a returned solder and lifelong friend of Maynard.[35]

Fred Maynard at the Rocks in 1927 with his sister Emma.

Source: Maynard 2007:38.

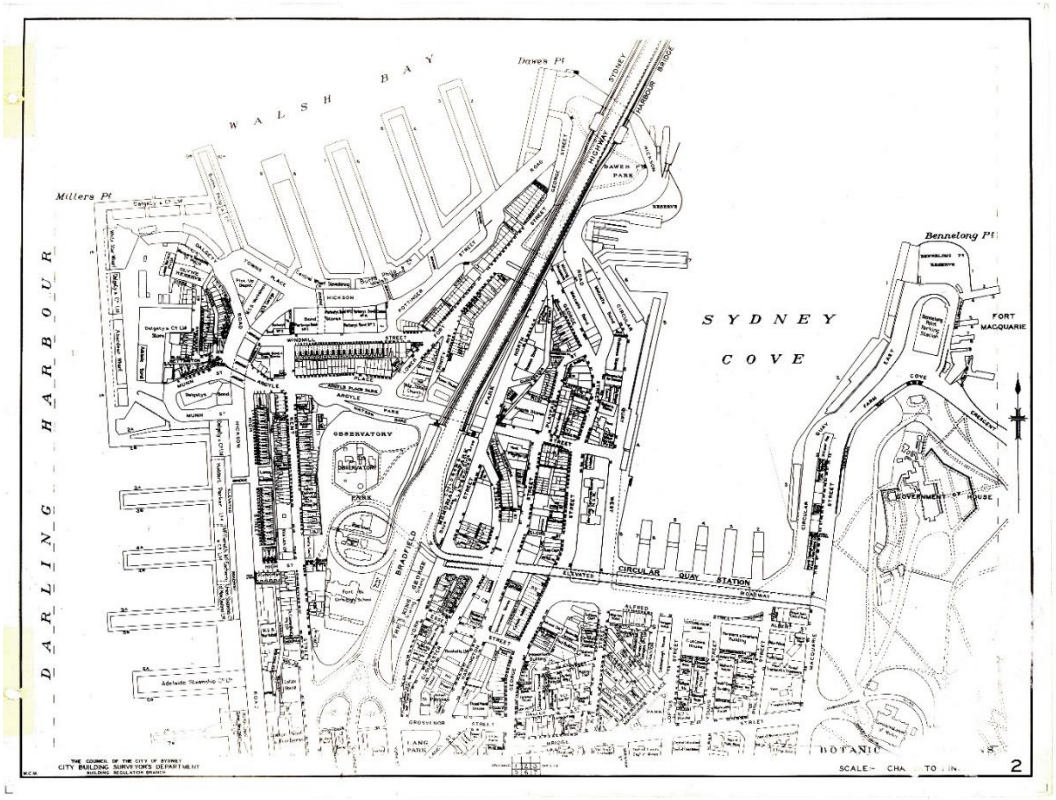
Dick Johnson, friend of Fred Maynard and fellow dock worker and AAPA leader.

Source: Maynard 2007:68.

After forming in 1925, the AAPA were highly organised and had over 500 members, which is remarkable given the relatively small Aboriginal population and the travel restrictions placed on them.[36] While the organisation fell victim to the hardships of the depression, and did not achieve lasting change, it set the scene for the Aboriginal civil rights movement of the 1930s, and in turn those the 1950s and 1960s, where Aboriginal and union politics came to merge on the docks once again.

4.4 Post-war Waterside Workers

There are few records of Aboriginal workers on the wharves in the 1930s and 1940s. The only named individual I have found on the Sydney wharves in this period is Fred Maynard, who continued to work into the 1940s. Fred was in his 60s in 1944 when he was struck by 'large bails of compressed paper falling off pulleys at the wharves' and severely injured.[37] He passed away two years later. Another article in 1949 mentions an unnamed 'aborigine Sydney wharfie' working as a hatchman in the 1940s, overseeing white and black workers loading and unloading cargo.[38] And there were probably a number of others. We know for example from the same article that two 'highly respected' Aboriginal waterside workers (John Stewart and Roy Burns) had been working on the Port Kembla wharves since the 1920s.[39] In the case of both the Sydney and Port Kembla Aboriginal workers, their non-Aboriginal workmates stood up for them in cases of discrimination. This support was rare in this period and may have made this kind of work attractive to Aboriginal men, despite the dangers.

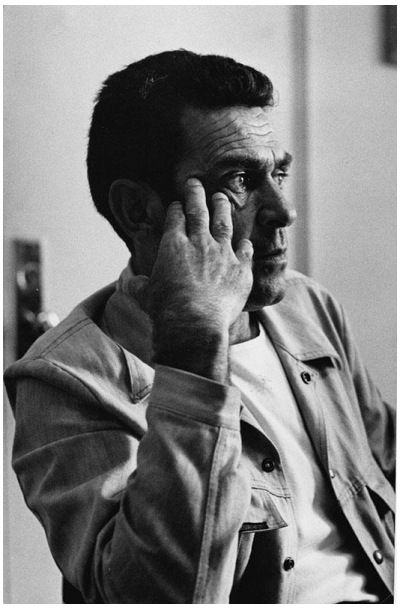


The layout of Sydney's wharves around the 1960s, when a number of Aboriginal people worked on the wharves.

Source: City of Sydney – Building Surveyor's Detail Sheets, 1949-1972: Sheet 2 – Sydney Cove [www.atlas.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au, accessed 4/2/19]

From the national journals of the two main maritime unions (the Waterside Workers Federation and the Seaman's Union of Australia), we can also detect a growing awareness and solidarity with Aboriginal economic disadvantage and social issues in the 1940s, in line with the unions' broader socialist and worker solidarity agenda.[40] There are no Aboriginal voices in these articles, which is typical of this paternalistic period when even the most well-meaning often spoke on behalf of Aboriginal people. From the late-1940s the maritime unions began to take direct action, such as supporting striking Aboriginal workers in the Pilbara, or fundraising for disadvantaged Aboriginal children on the La Perouse mission.[41] In the 1950s, the Waterside Workers Federation had a slush fund and team of volunteers to assist with natural and other disasters across the country. Aboriginal rights activist Ray Peckham (1929 -) recalls some specific assistance given to Aboriginal people in Dubbo in the aftermath of disastrous floods in 1955. Some of the 30-40 union volunteers helping out at Dubbo had spoken with 'all these Aboriginal families that was stranded on the railway station' who had nowhere to go. After their return to Sydney organised for land to be purchased and an eight bed hostel to be built, with Aboriginal activist Pearl Gibbs (1901-1983) as manager.[42]

The links between unions, the community party and Aboriginal activism grew from the 1950s, and this led directly to the hiring of Aboriginal workers on the waterfront and elsewhere. Ray Peckham recalled coming to Sydney from Dubbo around 1950 and immediately meeting workers from the Seaman's Union and others at the Trades and Labour Council.[43] Ray was working in construction and noted that the unions and the community party accepted Aboriginal people 'as a brother…not as a black fella'.[44] They were also sympathetic to the increasingly political actions of Aboriginal people from the early 1960s, as Ray and others revived the Aborigines Progressive Association of the 1930s and early 1940s. In addition to allowing Aboriginal activists to speak to their members, the Waterside Workers Federation also 'opened their books…for Aboriginal membership' and by the mid-1960s there were perhaps 10 or 12 Aboriginal workers on the Sydney wharves.[45]



Chicka Dixon in 1975.

Source: www.chickadixon.com/chicka-dixon/photo-gallery/, accessed 4/2/19. [Note permission has not been obtained to publish this photograph].

Donny Dodd, spruiking Aboriginal rights at the Speakers Corner in the Domain.

Source: www.speakerscorner.org.au/2018/11/14/vale-donny-dodd/ accessed 4/2/19. [Note permission has not been obtained to publish this photograph].

Aboriginal workers on the Sydney wharves in the 1960s and 1970s included Chicka Dixon, Roy Carroll, Jack Hassan, Donny Dodd, John Delaney, Kevin Kelly and Monty Moloney.[46] While the surrounding Millers Point area largely housed wharf workers, most Aboriginal people did not live there. Russell Taylor, whose father worked occasionally on the wharves, recalls being about the only Aboriginal family in the area in the 1950s and 1960s.[47] At this time the gang system was in place and workers would meet at 'the Pick Up' at Towns Place to see which gangs would get work.[48] It was variable and unreliable and some, like Roy Carroll, took on other work to make ends meet.[49] It continued to be dangerous and back-breaking work, even after the introduction of containers and increasing mechanisation in the 1960s. There were also silent killers such as asbestos. As Chicka Dixon noted in 2001, 'It would fly all over the place…Heaps of it. My gang, we'd sit on the bags and eat our lunch. Bags and bags of asbestos. No one knew. We usen't to take any notice. Forty years down the road, in 1997 I collapsed'.[50] Despite these dangers, Chicka recalled doing to work on the wharves as a 'pleasure…because every day was a learning exercise'.[51]

Aboriginal workers also found the unions and closely linked community party supportive of their own struggles for civil rights in the 1960s. Chicka Dixon later noted that it was on the wharves that he 'learnt to care about other people'. He was inspired by indigenous struggles around the world, realising that 'If them blackfellas can do it, I can do it.'[52] Activists like Chicka Dixon harnessed their broader networks to help support the newly established Foundation for Aboriginal Affairs, the 1967 referendum, and many other issues. Aboriginal people were continually encouraged to join the union. Aboriginal wharf worker Monty Moloney, along with construction worker and activist Ray Peckham, founded 'The Aboriginal Worker' union newspaper in the 1960s to bring Aboriginal people into the union movement. As Ray later noted, the paper feature a black and white handshake motif.[53]

Wharf workers marching in support of Aboriginal rights in the lead up to the 1967 referendum.

Source: www.chickadixon.com/chicka-dixon/photo-gallery/, accessed 4/2/19. [Note permission has not been obtained to publish this photograph].

Aboriginal people continued to work on the wharves until they closed and moved to Port Botany in 2003. While I have focussed on the political dimension of their work, there is likely to be a very rich record of personal experiences both on the wharves, and in family histories, that would emerge from speaking with former workers and their families.

4.5 Conclusions

It seems likely that Aboriginal people have always worked on the wharves in Sydney, and certainly throughout the twentieth century. There is a clear link between the solidarity and progressive politics of the unions and community party and the growth of more militant and visible Aboriginal activism in the 1960s. But more than this, the docks offered Aboriginal men a place of work, and a place where they were often treated with a dignity and respect as fellow workers which was rarely shown to Aboriginal people elsewhere. Without wanting to draw too long a bow, or ignore the harsh realities of life for Aboriginal people in broader society, Aboriginal maritime workers are an example of the interesting shared spaces that sometimes existed in colonial Australia, where the divisions between black and white were not as clear as is often imagined.[54]

4.6 List of Some Documented Wharf Workers

This list is not exhaustive but just a summary of those people mentioned in sources consulted in the preparation of this overview.

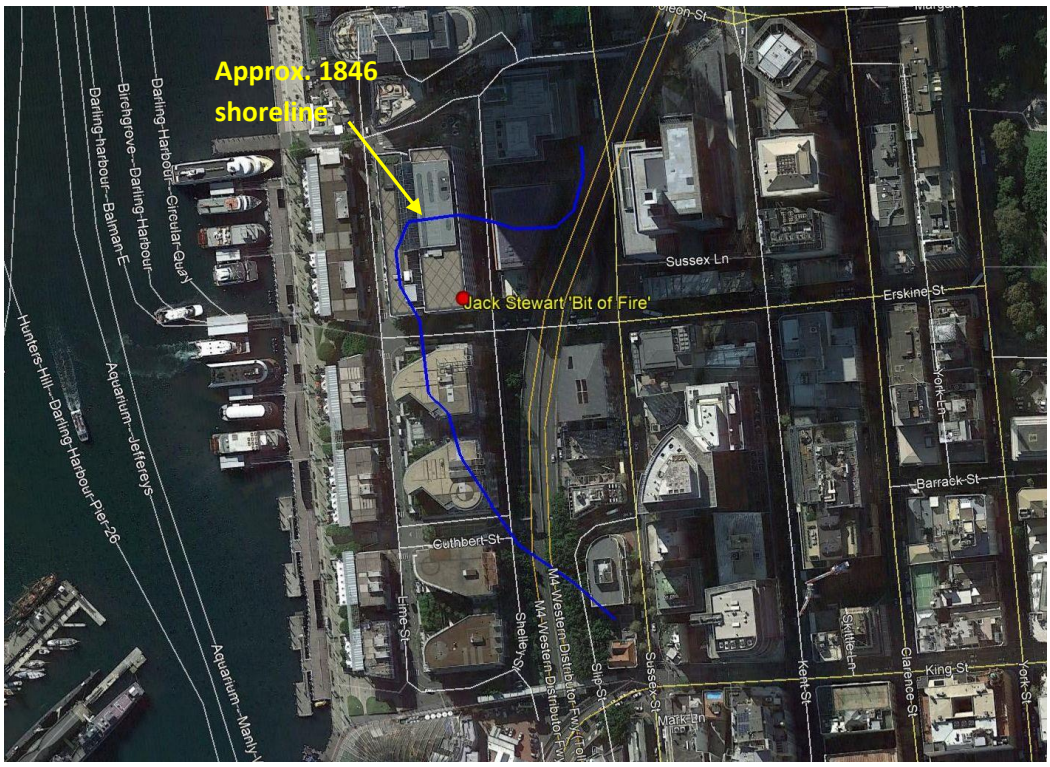
Name	Year	Details	Source
Jack Assam	1960s	Waterside worker in 1960s in lead up to 1967 referendum	Ray Peckham NLA Interview (6 tapes), Foley and Dixon 1995 [transcript) p26
Roy Carroll	1960s	Worked with Chicka Dixon on the wharves in 1963/4. Daughter Shiralee says Roy "started off working at the wharfs and then he got a job part time as a taxi drive to make ends meet"	Shiralee Carroll (daughter) interview 1998; Foley and Dixon 1995 [transcript) p14
John Delaney	1960s	Aboriginal wharf worker mentioned by Chicka Dixon	Foley and Dixon 1995 [transcript) p26
Chicka Dixon	1963 – 1970s	Charles Dixon (1928-2010) got a job on Sydney waterfront in 1963 and worked there for 10 years. Had previously worked on the wharves at Port Kembla. Joined the Waterside Worker's Federation.	Foley and Dixon 1995 [transcript) p6-8;; Tribune 31/5/1964:5
Donny Dodd	1950s/ 60s	Recently deceased (2018). From northern Queensland and came to Sydney and worked on wharves in 1960s. Later a speaker at the Domain at speakers corner.	
Dick Johnson	1920s	Came to Sydney along with other Aboriginal people after WWI looking for work and to escape the segregation of the reserves. Worked on the wharves. Was a returned soldier.	Maynard 2005:10-11, Maynard 2007:39, 68

Name	Year	Details	Source
Kevin Kelly	1960s	Aboriginal wharf worker mentioned by Chicka Dixon	Foley and Dixon 1995 [transcript) p26
Tom Lacey	1920s	Came to Sydney along with other Aboriginal people after WWI looking for work and to escape the segregation of the reserves. Worked on the wharves and associated with Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association along with Fred Maynard in 1920s. Tom Lacey became AAPA treasurer.	Maynard 2005:1; Maynard 2005:10-11, 14
Fred Maynard	1907 – 1930s	Fred Maynard (1879 – 1946) present for Jack Johnson's farewell in 1907 (photo presented) and suggests he was involved in Coloured Progressive Association and by extension potentially working on the wharves by this time. By 1914 an active member of Waterside Workers Federation. Married in 1928 and continued working on wharves until injury in 1930s made it difficult to work. Died in 1946.	Maynard 2005:7, Maynard 2007:17, 137-9: Goodall 2000 - ABD
Monty Moloney	1960s	Along with Ray Peckham, started a specific union newspaper called the Aboriginal Worker. Tape 4/48:30 "Monty was, he was a docky".	Ray Peckham NLA Interview (6 tapes)
Sid Ridgeway	1920s	Came to Sydney along with other Aboriginal people after WWI looking for work and to escape the segregation of the reserves. Worked on the wharves.	Heather Radi ADB; Maynard 2005:10-11
? Taylor	?	Russell Taylor's dad worked on wharves as subcontractor (probably 1950s/60s) and in the last decade of his working life as a watchman on the wharves.	Russell Taylor interview

4.7 Possible Further Information

- There will be much more Aboriginal community knowledge, including first hand experiences, that could be explored in future interpretation to provide a richer, personal narrative.
- I have searched some of the union journals for this period. but there are further issues of the *Maritime Worker* (from 1955 to 1993) and *Seamen's Journal* (1975-1993), and the combined *Maritime Worker's Journal* (1993 to present) which are likely to feature more stories about Aboriginal workers and issues. These are all in the Mitchell Library in hard copy and/or microfilm.

5 Jack Stewart

Year/s	1846
Location	The wharf would have been somewhere around the edge of the point at the end of Erskine Street, around where Shelley St is now. Current day Lime Street and King Street wharf did not exist then and are built on reclaimed land over what was then water. Robert McEwen was living at Sussex St in 1848 so this might have been the house if it was on the corner of Sussex and Erskine, so a little further back from the water.
Map Location	

5.1 Context

- This story is notable for the cross-cultural intimacy it describes. Clearly Edward Jones, whether he knew the Aboriginal men beforehand or not, had no apprehensions about letting them into his boss' house, where he was alone, or about going to sleep and leaving the men in his kitchen. That he served them tea also suggests an existing familiarity or else a general good disposition towards Aboriginal people. I suspect they knew each other, though it is not clear how.

- These kind of interactions were not unusual in Sydney at this time, however they didn't happen everywhere. Aboriginal people formed relationships with particular people, sometimes doing odd jobs for them, and their 'mental maps' of the city were oriented around those places where there were friendly people. In other parts of town, they could be pelted with stones or charged at by horses and carts. So it is likely that Edward Jones and/or Robert McEwen knew Jack Stewart and/or his friend beforehand. Possibly they worked on the wharf, or knew each other some other way.

- Nothing more is known about Jack Stewart so far. He or that surname do not appear in other records of Aboriginal people in Sydney from that time, though it is possible that he was known by several different names. We don't know who his companion was either.

- Erskine Street was originally a track that ran from the military barracks at Wynyard down to Cockle Bay (Darling Harbour), where the military had a bathing pavilion. There were wharves there by the 1840s and there are references to a 'McKeon's Wharf' which is probably referring to Robert McEwen. By the 1850s Balmain ferries were using the wharf.

5.2 Jack Stewart and 'A bit of fire'

On Saturday evening the 5th of September 1846 Aboriginal man Jack Stewart and another (unnamed) Aboriginal man came to the house of Mr McEwen on Erskine Street wharf asking for "a bit of fire", presumably because Jack was cold or ill - he was said to have "trembled very much…and could hardly speak from a hoarseness in his throat". McEwen's employee Edward Jones let them in to the kitchen and later described that Jack appeared to be sober. He was given tea and Jones left both men by the fire and went to bed. The men went to sleep but Jack woke shivering by the fire with a "rattle in his throat" in the middle of the night and subsequently died. His friend appeared to have stayed the rest of the night and reported the death to Edward Jones in the morning. Jack's body was then taken to the Benevolent Asylum (a poor house where Central Station is now) where an autopsy found him to have had infected lungs and died of natural causes.[55]

1835 Painting of end of Erskine Street. But this was when it was a military bathhouse and before the wharf. However the building could potentially be the one mentioned in 1846.

Source: Martens, C. 1835. *Soldiers Point, Darling Harbour, Sept. 3. 1835* (Australian National Maritime Museum Collection #00000384).

This is an 1856 view from the wharf at Erskine St south to the Pyrmont Bridge. It probably looked pretty different 10 years before, but you can get a general idea of the area.

Source: Gill, S.T. 1856. 'Pyrmont Bridge from Erskin [i.e. Erskine] Street Wharf' in *Scenery in and around Sydney* (Sydney: Allan & Wigley).

5.3 Possible Further Information

Could look more into what was going on at these wharves at the time, and try to find more about McEwen (nothing so far) and see if there is a link between him and Jack Stewart. Perhaps Jack had worked for him, or perhaps the link is with McEwen's employee Edward Jones.

6 Shellwork in the City

Year/s	c.1880 – 1900s
Location	Circular Quay
Map Location	
Summary	This overview investigates a story that Circular Quay was the departure point for Aboriginal shellwork displayed or sold overseas, particularly that of 'Queen' Emma Timbery (c.1842 – 1916). Historical evidence does not specifically support this, but there are some other interesting links between Circular Quay and shellwork. By 1880, shortly after shellwork was adopted at La Perouse from a popular English handicraft, it was being produced for sale in the city by Aboriginal women living at the Circular Quay Government Boatsheds. After the Boatshed settlement was closed down in 1881, women continued to enter the city to sell their shellwork, as well as honey and wildflowers. Shellworks was sold at La Perouse too, and when the tramline extended there in 1902, it became a popular tourist destination. Many of these visitors would have commenced their journey from Circular Quay. The only record of shellwork being displayed overseas was at the Girl's Realm Guild exhibition in London in 1909/1910, where Emma Timbery's work was on show and for sale and was very popular. Whether Circular Quay was the departure point for Emma's shellwork is not known.

6.1 Context

- Sydney's Aboriginal people, and particularly women, have been working with shell for thousands of years. Women were the main gatherers of shellfish, and for the past 1,000 years or so, have fashioned turban shells into deadly fish-hooks. There is also evidence that some shells were fashioned into body adornments (possibly beads on necklaces).[56] The particular practice of decorating objects with shells though is a Victorian English handicraft which became popular in Sydney among both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women by the 1870s.[57] Aboriginal women developed it into their own style, and by the twentieth century were the main practitioners in Sydney. If you want to know more about the history of shellwork, historian Maria Nugent's 2011 article on La Perouse shellwork is attached.

- We do not know who specifically 'introduced' shellwork to Sydney's Aboriginal women. Though missionaries at La Perouse were supporters of the practice, they only became active more than a decade after Aboriginal women were producing and selling shellwork in Sydney. It is more likely that someone like Emma Timbery (c.1842-1916), who had long -standing connections with several European women in Sydney, was made aware of the practice.

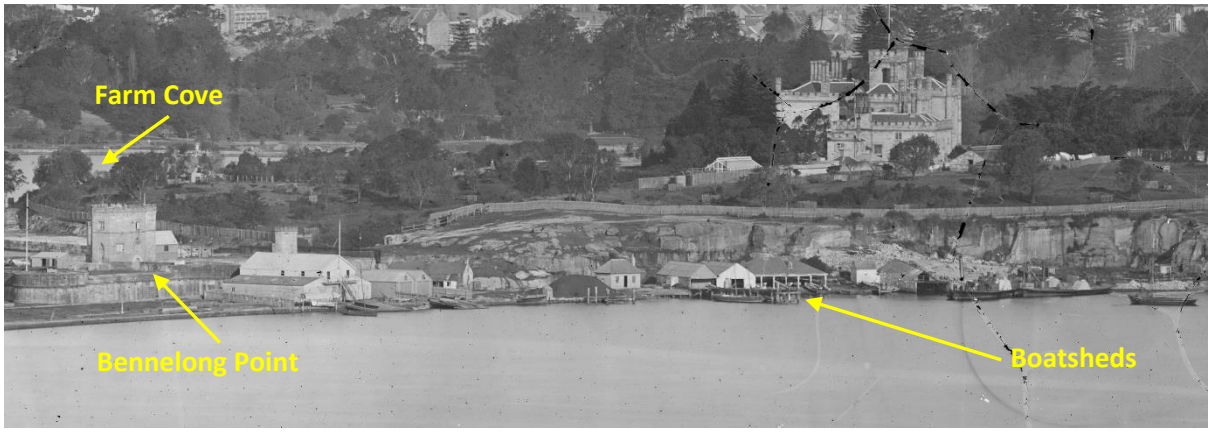
- Shellwork was not the first Aboriginal 'craft' to be sold in Sydney. There was probably trade of traditional implements (as well as considerable theft) in early colonial times, but by the 1840s there is evidence that Aboriginal people were manufacturing implements specifically for sale. For example Cora Gooseberry (1770s – 1852) and her cousin William Warrell (1790s – 1863) and others were living the Domain and demonstrating the use of boomerangs (presumably for sale).[58] And Thomas Tamara (1800s - ?), a leader of the 'Sydney Tribe' at Double in the 1840s, was an expert craftsman of boomerangs,[59] while women were collecting and selling eucalyptus gum at the Sydney markets.[60] They were also marketing their expertise as fishing and hunting guides by this time aswell.

- There appears to have been a pattern to how Aboriginal people camped around coastal Sydney in the 19th century, relating to the buying and selling of goods in the colony. Their settlements were often positioned near the shore to access fishing grounds, often a few kilometres away from the city. But when they wanted to sell things in the city, they moved a bit closer to places like the Domain.[61] This is important, because when Aboriginal people started living in the Circular Quay Government Boatsheds in the late 1870s, they appeared to have been following this pattern – in other words moving there from other camps on the north shore and Rushcutters Bay and Botany to make and sell shellwork and other things, before moving back to their main settlements again.

6.2 Making Shellwork at the Government Boatsheds

The Circular Quay Government Boatsheds was built by the early 1860s as a repair shop for government boats. By the late 1870s it had largely fallen out of use and Aboriginal people had moved in by 1879. The earliest records of women making shellwork at the Boatsheds are from 1881. Visiting Missionary Daniel Matthews described visiting the settlement in May 1881 and seeing women 'making shell baskets'.[62] Though many women lived at the camp and many probably made shellwork, the only person I have seen specifically named in historical records is Kate Foot/Bundle (nee Sims; c.1850-1930) who was 'making a shell basket' in July 1881 when her infant son tragically drowned out the front of the boatsheds.[63] Other women we know who were at the settlement included Ellen Anderson, Eliza (?) and Kate Smith. It is possible that Emma Timbery visited the settlement but she was mainly living between La Perouse, and the house of Richard Hill in the city by that time. [At this time she was not known as 'Queen' Emma. That title only appears to have been used once Lizzie Golden (nee Malone), who was the most senior woman at La Perouse, passed away in 1901]. We don't know

where the shellwork was being sold, but it was probably pretty low-key direct selling on the street at Circular Quay and in the city, like a number of other hawkers were doing at the time.



Looking south-east from the entrance to Sydney Cove across to the area between the Opera House and East Circular Quay in the 1870s, around the time that Aboriginal people began living in the boatsheds.

Source: American & Australasian Photographic Company 1870-1875. *Looking across the Harbour from cottage on Blues Point Road towards Fort Macquarie and Government House*. State Library of NSW ON 4 Box 80 No 8.

Throughout 1881 George Thornton wrote repeatedly to the governor to try to get him to shut down the Boatshed settlement. He was particularly against the government encouraging Aboriginal people to come to Sydney by providing them with rations or other supplies, as they had been doing at the Boatsheds. Eventually the police moved the Aboriginal residents on in July 1881, giving them ferry and steamer tickets to go elsewhere. This led to Thornton's appointment as the 'Protector of Aborigines' in New South Wales.

One of Thornton's aims was to keep Aboriginal people out of Sydney, but he seems to have regarded the Aboriginal fishing village at La Perouse as sufficiently out of the way. So he was happy for assistance to be provided to Aboriginal people there. Over the next decade, this brought more and more people to live permanently at La Perouse. This is why La Perouse became the centre of shellwork production in Sydney.

6.3 Making Shellwork at La Perouse

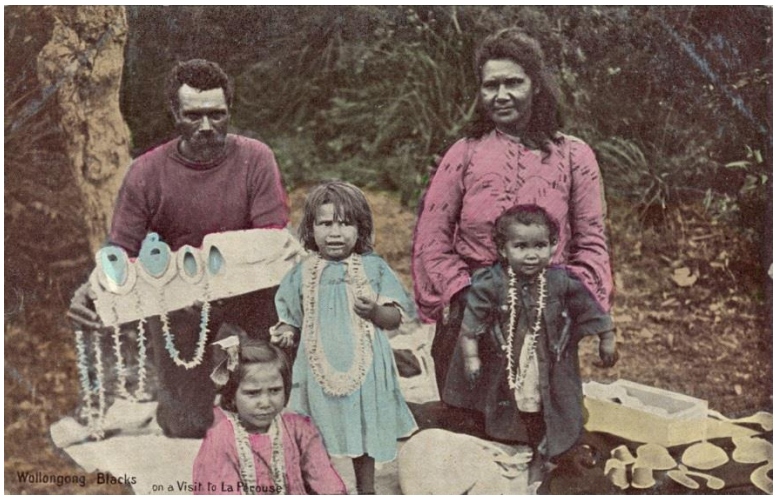
Shellwork was being produced at La Perouse by 1882 and probably earlier. A police report in January 1883 noted that the income earned through fishing at La Perouse was supplemented by women 'making shell baskets, which they sell in Sydney and the suburbs.'[64] The opening of a tram line to Botany in 1882 made this easier, and there is evidence that Aboriginal people were able to ride the trams for free and used this transport to get into the city to sell shellwork.[65] We don't know where in the city they were selling. It is unlikely to have been mainly, or exclusively at Circular Quay, but it was probably one of the locations because of the number of people who passed through each day. The Botany Tram - which was extended to La Perouse in 1902 – also went all the way there.

It is important to remember that the context of making shellwork has changed a lot over the last century. In earlier times, while shellwork had cultural aspects to it, it was primarily an economic activity. As La Perouse Elder Lola Ryan said, in the 1940s and 1950s 'you really only made it because you needed the money'.[66] Having said that, there is evidence that collecting shells, and the techniques of shellwork itself, were something passed on through Aboriginal women's travelling. These movements were often by La Perouse women

involved in the mission movement which started at La Perouse in the 1890s and began to spread up and down the coast at the turn of the century. For example Emma Timbery's son Joseph's wife Elizabeth brought shells with her on a missionary visit to Cabbage Tree Island on the NSW north coast in 1910, and may have assisted in spreading the idea or styles from La Perouse.[67] At other times women appear to have travelled independently to collect shells, such as a documented trip to the south coast from La Perouse in 1904.[68] Given the family connections that most of these women would have had down the coast, there was almost certainly a cultural aspect in these trips. A potential linkage to Circular Quay is that some of these trips were probably on coastal steamships, which departed from the quay.

By the late 1880s, Aboriginal shellwork was exhibited in Sydney, but not as works of art in the way they are viewed today. Initially they were displayed at exhibitions of 'women's work', and missionary exhibitions, where the context was very much about showing Aboriginal shellwork as a measure of 'progress'.[69] By the early 1900s shellwork was a regular display at the annual Royal Agricultural Show at Moore Park.[70] On some of these occasions it was exhibited alongside non-Aboriginal shellwork and sometimes interpreted unfavourably as less 'sophisticated'.

While these racial aspects are significant, it is equally important to consider the economics. Shellwork offered Aboriginal women a vital means of earning an income, and it seems that the missionaries were happy to facilitate that. The monthly NSW Aborigines Advocate magazine contains regular information about how this worked. In 1904 for example, preparations took place for weeks in advance of the Royal Agricultural Show, making shellwork, 'native weapons' and carved walking sticks for sale. The shellwork that women produced included baskets, button holes, slippers, wall ornaments and photo frames.[71] Women met the costs of the stall at the show, manned it alongside missionaries, and split the profits among the contributors.[72] Sometimes orders came to La Perouse via the missionaries for shellwork from people who had missed out at the show.[73]



Aboriginal people at La Perouse around 1906, selling shellwork slippers and necklaces. This is the earliest and only picture of shellwork I am aware of from before the 1920s. The people are said to be from Wollongong but are almost certainly strongly connected to La Perouse, if not 'from' there.

Source: Copy provided by Joseph Waugh from private collection. Copyright restrictions and identity of people would need to be confirmed before reproducing.

The other major market for shellwork was selling directly to visitors at La Perouse, particular after the tramline was extended there in 1902. The tramline started at Circular Quay, and some tourists made daytrips to La Perouse from the Quay. For example, one traveller in 1909 described arriving at La Perouse where Aboriginal people 'endeavoured to sell their wares made from shells gathered on the beach.'[74] Another visitor in 1912 described how Aboriginal women 'do shell-work beautifully, and in front of each of their little houses they nearly always have a little stand with necklaces, boomerangs, shell-work etc., for sale.'[75]

6.4 Where was Shellwork sold in the city?

The short answer is we don't know, so this is more of a reasoned guess. I had a look through documentary records (newspapers, police records) for references to street selling but found no references to shellwork being sold. This suggests to me that it was probably a pretty small scale, local activity, rather than a visible industry and that selling shellwork was not considered to be a problem (even in the 1879-1881 period when the boatshed was being used). I also looked at photographic collections from the 1880s/1890s to see if I could see any images of Aboriginal people, or at least get an idea of what street selling looked like in this period. I found this photo of door to door selling that may be an Aboriginal woman (based more on clothing and overall appearance than skin colour, which is hard to be certain about). What she is selling is also not clear.

Photo possibly of an Aboriginal woman in Sydney in the 1880s/1890s.

Source: Syer, A.K. ca.1885-1900. [Elderly woman speaking with man], in *Sydney street life, harbour and beach scenes, domestical animals, ca. 1880s-1900* (State Library NSW PXA2109, Image 63.

Whether or not this is an Aboriginal woman, the broader conclusions I made from looking through these photos (see examples below) is that street selling was common, and could be anything from goods on the ground to organised stalls. We know that Aboriginal women sold wildflowers too, but as the photo below shows, we should not assume that this was a 'woman's job' in broader terms.

I suspect that Aboriginal women sold shellwork in either ad hoc spots with wares on the ground for display, or possibly went door to door to sell it (remember that there were hundreds of thousands of people living in the Sydney CBD at this time). Circular Quay is a very likely place that shellwork was sold, given the number of people passing through from boats and ferries, and perhaps as a continuation of practices from when the boatshed was in use. It does seem that by the 1890s, Aboriginal people were more focussed on the Haymarket area in the south of the city to sell their goods, but they may also have continued to sell around Circular Quay. After the La Perouse tramline opened in 1902, I suspect that most sales were made around the mission and the Loop at La Perouse, rather than in the city. However, by the 1940s and 1950s, some shellwork was being sold to David Jones in the city, while other stores came to La Perouse to purchase shellwork direct from the supplier.[76]

Man selling bananas at Circular Quay around 1880 just using a basket on the ground. I suspect this was the kind of way that shellwork was sold.

Source: Maynard 2007:38.

More formal cart for sales. Possible near Sydney markets.

Source: www.maywaldmemories.com.au (Sydney as it was series, accessed 4/2/19)

Baskets for selling door to door (ca. 1885-1890).

Source: www.maywaldmemories.com.au (Sydney as it was series, accessed 4/2/19)

Men and boys selling flowers in the city around 1900.

Source: www.maywaldmemories.com.au (Sydney as it was series, accessed 4/2/19)

6.5 Showing Shellwork Overseas

In April 1909 Emma Timbery and other Aboriginal women from La Perouse had a stall at a Girls Realm Guild charity exhibition in Sydney, making baskets and shellwork.[77] It was probably through this connection that Emma's work ended up later that year being exhibited and sold at the Girls Realm Guild bazaar in London. It is likely to have been the first time that Aboriginal shellwork was displayed at the annual London charity bazaar, because it was the first time that there had been a specific 'Australasian' stall.[78] Emma's shellwork was displayed alongside that of non-Aboriginal women from Cronulla.[79] It was so popular, it was 'almost fought for', and was purchased by some high-profile 'connoisseurs of women's domestic arts and crafts'.[80]

I cannot determine whether Emma Timbery's shellwork departed Sydney from Circular Quay, but this is a possibility. It is the only instance that I have been able to find of shellwork being specifically exhibited and sold overseas, but it may have happened on other occasions such as World Fairs or other exhibitions.

6.6 Conclusions

The strongest connection between Circular and the making and selling shellwork is that it was produced there by Aboriginal women at the Circular Quay Boatsheds in the early 1880s. The other strong connection in the decades that followed is the linkage of Circular Quay and La Perouse via tram. This provided a conduit to the city for Aboriginal women to sell their shellwork, and it also brought tourists out to La Perouse (from 1902) where they could sell their shellwork directly.

The international connections are a bit more tenuous, because we can't be sure that Circular Quay was where shellwork was sent to the 1909 exhibition in London, or any others if this occurred. We also should be careful to understand the missionary and economic context of shellwork production at the time, rather than viewing it through the artistic lens we currently use. Sadly, I am not aware of any illustrations of Aboriginal shellwork (apart from the postcard above) that date back before around the 1920s to Emma's time, though they must exist somewhere.

6.7 Possible Further Information

- It might be possible to determine whether Circular Quay was the departure point for the 1909/1910 London exhibition shellwork and other material, but it will probably take some digging, so may be more appropriately done if/when interpretation is to be developed.
- Images of early shellwork may also be able to be found, though again is likely to take some time and may best be done at a later date.
- More records of the Girls Realm exhibition and other possible international exhibits of shellwork might exist.
- There is a possibility that records of Aboriginal shellwork selling might be mentioned in Sydney Council reports and this would be worth looking further into for interpretation, but it is probably a long shot.

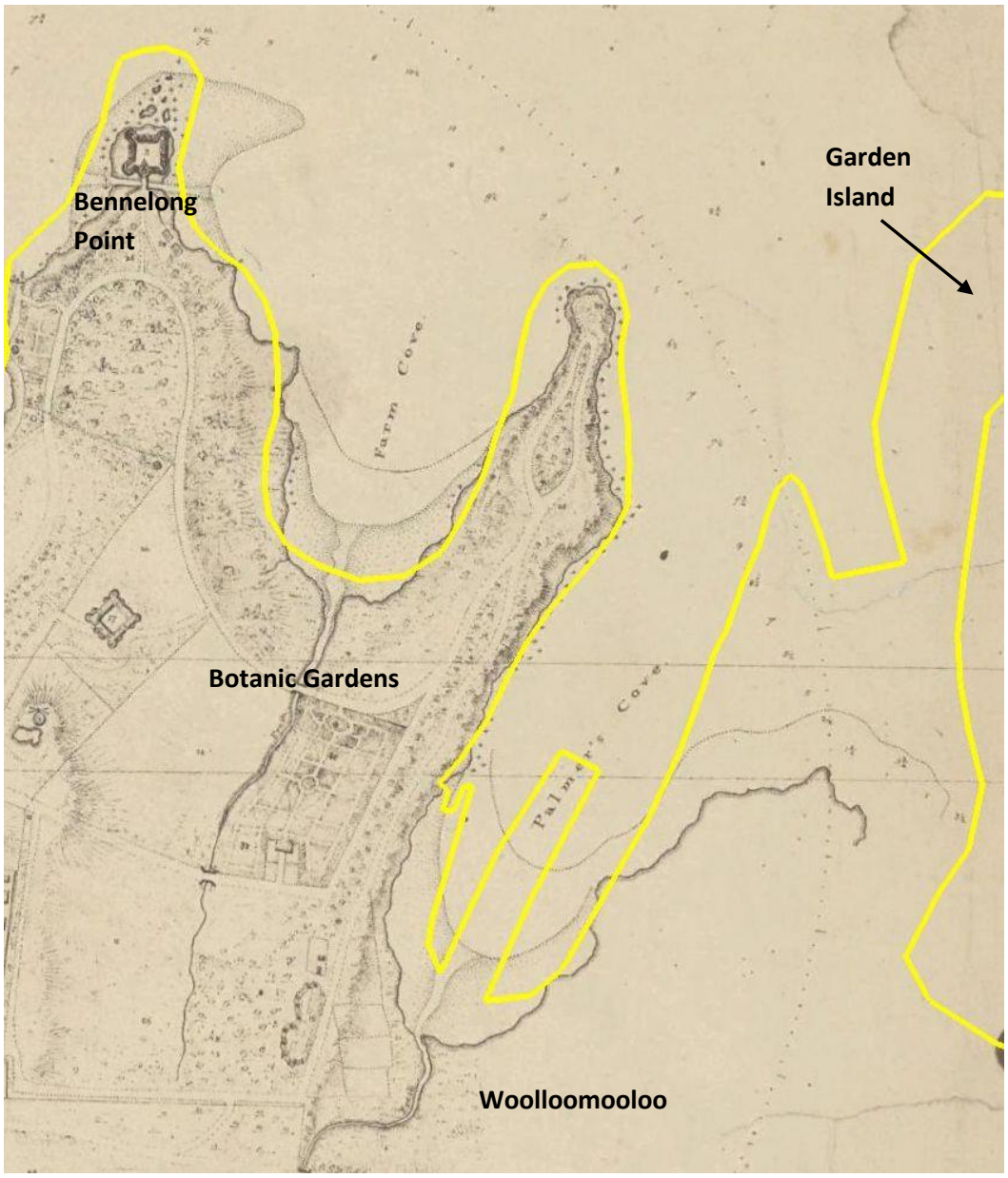
7 The Domain and Woolloomooloo

Year/s	Pre-1788 – 1850s
Location	The Domain, Royal Botanic Gardens, Woolloomooloo
Map Location	
Summary	This overview looks at the Aboriginal use of the areas known today as The Domain/Royal Botanic Gardens and Woolloomooloo from before the arrival of Europeans until around the 1850s. Ceremonies, camping and fishing all took places in these areas through that time, but there are a lot less records available after the 1850s. I think these were areas that Aboriginal people began to use as 'staging posts' to visit the city when they needed to buy or sell goods. I have not considered the more recent community that has developed around Woolloomooloo since the 1970s.

7.1 The Landscape

To understand how Aboriginal people have used the Domain and Woolloomooloo areas, we need to first come to grips with the landscape, and particularly how it has radically changed over the past 150 years or so. The map below from 1822 is a good place to start. When Europeans arrived in 1788, and for at least half a century after that time, Farm Cove (Wahganmuggalee) and Palmer's Cove/Woolloomooloo Bay had no smooth, rounded sandstone seawalls. Like Sydney Cove (Warrane), they were rocky valleys between sandstone ridgelines where creeks flowed down through oozing mudflats into the bays below. You can see on the map below just how these modern seawalls obscure the form and extent of the mudflats, and the creeks are also

hard to trace. Yurong Creek, which flowed into Woolloomooloo Bay is all underground, while the ponds and channels of the Botanic Gardens have tamed the creek there. The joining of Garden Island to the mainland in the 1930s has also completely changed the appearance of Woolloomooloo Bay.



Overlay of the modern shoreline (approximate only) on top of an 1822 map of Sydney, which more or less shows the shoreline and mudflats as they were in 1788.

Source: Plan of the town and suburbs of Sydney, August, 1822 (State Library Victoria, Accession no: H24501. www.handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/74745, accessed 14/2/19).

This landscape persisted until at least the mid-19th century. The Domain (which originally included what was later the Royal Botanic Gardens) was reserved as parkland in 1812 by Governor Macquarie. The ridge between

the city and Farm Cove was called the Inner Domain, while the ridge between there and Woolloomooloo Bay was known as the Outer Domain. It was the Outer Domain that continued to be covered in forest until the 1850s and possibly later. You can see this in the 1849 painting below. As a place of shelter and relative quiet, yet right on the edge of town, it is perhaps unsurprising that Aboriginal people continued to live in and pass through this area for a long time after Europeans arrived.

This is painting from 1849 looking north across Woolloomooloo Bay to Garden Island from around where the Art Gallery is. You can see how much forest and natural landscape is still there then.

Source: Peacock, G. E. (1849). *View in Woolloomooloo Bay Port Jackson N.S.W. taken from Lower Domain Road* (State Library NSW DG 219).

7.2 Early Connections

There are very few Aboriginal sites recorded around the Domain and Woolloomooloo, but this is not an indication of Aboriginal absence.[81] An early resident noted that 'Round the shores of Woolloomooloo and Potts Point were numerous projecting rocks, forming numbers of sheltered coves, in which the blacks in inclement weather used to " nangree " or camp.'[82] The amount of change that has occurred to the landscape over the past 100 years has no doubt buried or destroyed a number of sites before they were able to be recorded. For example, at the head of the Woolloomooloo valley, the construction of William Street over Yurong Creek in the late nineteenth century, led to soil washing downstream and covering over an Aboriginal campsite there,[83] and the construction of the roads between the Art Gallery and Mrs Macquarie's Chair appear to have covered over rockshelters which may still survive under the rubble.

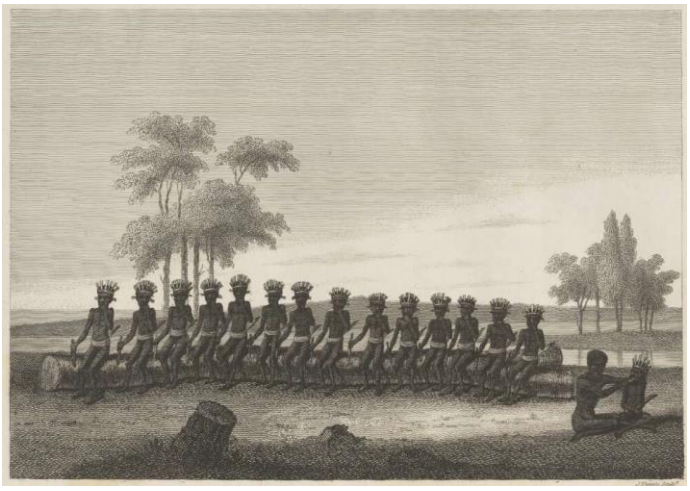
We don't know the age of any of the recorded sites, but Aboriginal people were almost certainly living around the Domain and Woolloomooloo 20,000 years ago during the last ice age, when the bays were forested valleys leading down to creeks, and Garden Island was joined to Woolloomooloo by dry land. As the waters rose, Sydney Harbour and all the bays were flooded and by around 3,000 years ago had formed the landscape we know today. These changes suggest that we should be a little cautious in assuming that Aboriginal uses of the Domain and Woolloomooloo were timeless or always took place in the same locations.

For example, some of the best documented early uses of these areas was for ceremonial purposes. In particular there was a well-recorded male initiation ceremony within the area of the Botanic Gardens in 1795, and Woolloomooloo was the scene of ceremonies in 1813 and 1831 related to the deaths of Baggarra and Bungaree respectively (more on these below). This might indicate that these areas had been places of

ceremony for centuries or millennia, but in truth we cannot be sure that the location of these events was not influenced by other factors. For example Europeans were invited to the 1795 ceremony, so this may have influenced the location, while the 1831 inquest may have been located at Woolloomooloo because Bungaree has died nearby at Garden Island the previous year. Both the Domain and Woolloomooloo were also regular camps for Aboriginal people, which means that there was no clear demarcation between places of settlement and places of ceremony, so we should probably be careful not to assume that places had to be one or the other. On the other hand, our incomplete knowledge of these nuances should not overshadow the fact that Aboriginal people regularly used the Domain and Woolloomooloo and adjacent bays for many decades after 1788.

7.3 A Place of Ceremony

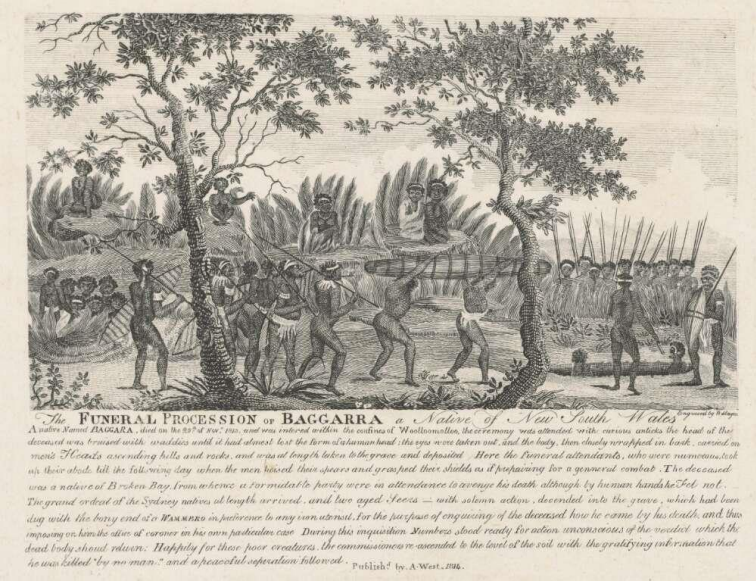
There were several recorded ceremonies that took place in the Domain and Woolloomooloo in the first 50 years of the colony. The best recorded and illustrated was a male initiation ceremony held at Wahganmuggalee in 1795.[84] The exact location of the ceremony was not recorded at the time, but it was somewhere near the water within what is currently the Royal Botanic Gardens. Historian Keith Vincent Smith has found a map from 1827 that has a place marked "Kangaroo & Dog Dance", just to the east of the large pond in the gardens, which he interprets to be the site of the 1795 ceremony. This is quite possible, though we'd need to know the source of that information to be sure. Smith has also written a summary of the ceremony.[85] The ceremonial ground was a cleared oval area about 8m x 5.5. in size. The ceremony took place over ten days and involved Aboriginal people from the harbour clans, as well as 'woods' people from further west. The 15 initiates ranged in age from 10 to 23, and parts of the ceremony were watched by Aboriginal men, women and children, as well as European men.



One of 8 images of the 1795 initiation ceremony at Farm Cove. The article by KV Smith about the ceremony has a reproduction of the full set of images (www.eorapeople.com.au/uncategorized/1795-initiation-at-farm-cove/).

Source: Neagle, J. 1798 *Yoo-long erah-ba-diang* (National Library of Australia - nla.obj-143787659-1)

In 1813, an Aboriginal man named Baggarra from Broken Bay died and was buried somewhere at Woolloomooloo (see picture below). Soon afterward warriors arrived from Broken Bay as well as from Sydney to conduct an inquest into the death. Baggarra had apparently died of natural causes, but it was common practice to investigate in these cases whether any supernatural means had been employed to cause his death. The inquest involved two 'seers' (karadji) who went into the grave to investigate and concluded that no foul play was involved. Eighteen years later Bungaree's son Young Bungaree led a ceremony to mark the death of his father nearly a year earlier at nearby Garden Island.[86] There are few details of this ceremony, other than the combat that ensued, but it shows that ceremonial rituals were still an important part of Aboriginal life in Sydney at this time. One local resident later recalled that ceremonies at Woolloomooloo in the early nineteenth century had involved 200-300 people.[87]



Baggarra's funeral procession at Woolloomooloo in 1813. The description in the caption appears to be the only source of information about this ceremony.

Source: Slager, P. 1814. *The funeral procession of Baggarra, New South Wales* (National Library of Australia - nla.gov.au/nla.obj-138099757)

7.4 A Place to Fish and Live

The Aboriginal settlements used in the Domain and Woolloomooloo in the first half of the nineteenth century appear to have been situated to interact with the economy of the adjacent city and some of its residents. Within the broader picture of Aboriginal life around coastal Sydney, I see places like this (and particularly the Domain) as staging posts for interacting with the colony. We can see Aboriginal people moving temporarily to them from other settlements further away from the town when they wanted to buy or sell goods, after which they generally returned to these other settlements. The main areas that Aboriginal people frequented were the Outer Domain (the eastern half of the Botanic Gardens and along the Mrs Macquarie's Point ridge) and above the mudflats of Woolloomooloo Bay near Yurong Creek. In addition to their proximity to the city, camps in these location also had ready access to the rich fishing grounds of Woolloomooloo Bay.

Woolloomooloo in 1825, showing Aboriginal people fishing and camped by the water.

Source: *The Residence of Edward Riley in Woolloomooloo, 1825*, by Joseph Lycett (State Library of Victoria - 30328102131561/5).

In the image above from 1825 you can see Aboriginal people camped on the shore of Woolloomooloo and fishing in their nawi. They are on the front of land granted in the 1790s to Commissary General John Palmer,

who called the house you can see *Woollamoola*.[88] Aboriginal people camped along the shore for decades and seemed to have had good relationships with subsequent owners of the property. A very evocative description from a later reminiscence talks of nights at the Woolloomooloo camp where 'fires were lit in all directions, and yarning and cracking jokes took place until nearly daylight.'[89] As the area began to be subdivided into Sydney's first suburb in the 1840s, Aboriginal people were still there camped near the bridge that once existed over Yurong Creek around the intersection Bourke and Cathedral Streets.[90] Though these people were sometimes referred to as the 'Woolloomooloo tribe', this really referred to people who were often seen in this area, and they were not a distinct group from others living in the Domain or elsewhere nearby.

There are a lot of references to Aboriginal people camping in the Domain in the first half of the nineteenth century, including both short and longer stays. We don't know exactly where they camped, but it is more likely to have been several different locations within the forested 'Outer Domain' (the eastern half of the Gardens and Mrs Macquarie's Point).[91] Aboriginal people lived at times in rockshelters and bark shelters and in 1843 there is an intriguing sketch from the outer Domain later annotated as a 'Blackfellows Hut' (see below), which suggests that Aboriginal people also lived in buildings such as this. Some of the specific references include a camp in 1828, Bungaree camping there in 1829, and some Shoalhaven men there in 1834 (and later in 1853 and 1858).[92] These Shoalhaven people were probably linked by extended family to Sydney. In 1853 for example, one of the visiting men (who died in the Domain) was Thomas Potallick, who was said to be from the Shoalhaven but was also a 'King of the Sydney Blacks'.[93] There were also a number of occasions in which 'Sydney' and 'Shoalhaven' people interacted in ceremonies and other events (such as the feast described below).

An Aboriginal hut in the Outer Domain in 1843. We don't know if the figures are Aboriginal people, but it is possible.

Source: J.S. Prout, 1843*. In the Domain, Sydney, Decr. 15, '43* (NLA nla.pic-an2431420).

One reference to Aboriginal people in the Domain in 1846 is very specific in naming individuals and where they were living. It talks of eight Aboriginal people camping 'near Centipede Rock', including senior Sydney/Botany Bay woman Cora Gooseberry (widow of Bungaree), her son Bowen Bungaree and her cousin William Warrell.[94] I have tried to locate where Centipede Rock is/was. It appears to have been an outcrop rather than an actual overhang, so Aboriginal people were not living *in* it but *near* it. I think it was located somewhere below where the art gallery is – it might even be one of the outcrops shown in the 1833 Charles Rodius drawing below. Today, it could well survive under the grass and soil introduced during landscaping of this area, though it could also have been destroyed.

Woolloomooloo in 1833, showing Aboriginal people fishing alongside the Domain. It is possible that one of the stone outcrops in the centre of the image is Centipede Rock, as it is described as being in this general location.

Source: View from the Government Domain Sydney, 1833, by Charles Rodius **(State Library of NSW - PXA 997)**

The presence of Aboriginal people in the Domain was so common in the first half of the nineteenth century that I think we can safely assume that pictures like this one below actually show some of the residents there. It is possible that the group includes some or all of the people documented in the Domain in 1846.

This group of Aboriginal people at Mrs Macquarie's Chair was included inside the cover of John Rae and John Skinner Prout's 1843 book 'Sydney Illustrated'. It was probably not an actual picture of the group, because some of the same figures appear in other images and were probably individual sketches made elsewhere. However, we do know that Aboriginal people were in the Domain at this time, and they are all likely to have been people seen by the artists somewhere in the vicinity.

Source: Rae, J. *Group of Aboriginal Australians, Sydney, 1842* (National Library of Australia nla.obj-135612093-1).

7.5 A Place to Interact

Both the Domain and Woolloomooloo appear to have served as staging posts for interactions with the city. There are several historical references that support this. For example Cora Gooseberry's group in the Domain in 1846 were said to have 'roamed about the city during the day, and…often gave exhibitions of boomerang-throwing from Hyde Park.'[95] This was presumably to sell implements that they had made themselves.

The interactions were intensely personal too. In December 1844 the 'Aboriginal tribes of Woolloomooloo and Shoalhaven' were invited by businessman Charles Smith to a Christmas feast at the rear of his house and butcher shop in the city. Smith had long been sympathetic to Aboriginal people, and they often hung out near his shop opposite the Sydney Markets (today's QVB). I think the mention of 'Woolloomooloo' and 'Shoalhaven' people is actually a reference to people who were all linked to coastal Sydney but who were living around Woolloomooloo at that time. More than 40 women and men who attended, including 'a chief called Tarban, Boatswain, and a Queen of the tribe.' Prior to the feast all of the men were shaven 'and Mr. Smith kindly presented to each of them a new shirt on the occasion as a Christmas box.'[96]

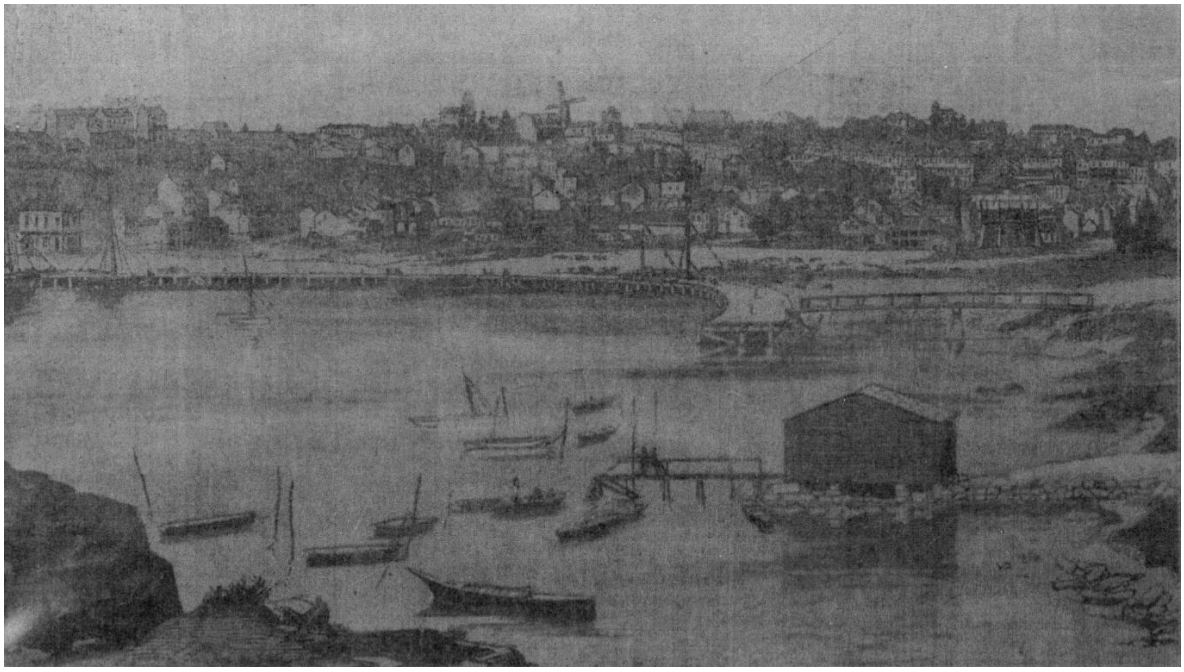
Boatswain was almost certainly Botany Bay man Boatswain Mahroot (1790s – 1850). Mahroot was a senior man in the community by this stage and had also lived with one of the owners of Woollamoola house in the 1810s.[97] There are other examples of personal relationships and interactions centred around Woolloomooloo. In 1852, the inquest into the death of 16 year old Jenny Poyne learned that Joseph Brady, the proprietor of the Shamrock Hotel (corner of Cathedral and Crown Streets) had tried to help her when she arrived ill on his doorstep. Brady had apparently 'known her for a long time, and had always been very kind to her and her tribe'.[98] And a few years later in 1858 an Aboriginal boy named Thomas Potallick (Jr) was living with James Oatley on Bourke Street. His father, who had died in the Domain in 1853, was said to be a senior Sydney man and it is likely that Oatley took Thomas Jr in after this time.[99] Oatley was known to be sympathetic to Aboriginal people and had been a member of a fund-raising committee in 1844 to supply the 'Sydney tribe' with a boat and supplies.[100]

7.6 What Changed?

After the 1860s no references have been found to Aboriginal settlements in the Domain or Woolloomooloo and it is quite possible that Aboriginal people had shifted their focus elsewhere. They had not disappeared, because we know they were living in the same period just down the road at Paddington and Rushcutters Bay, as well as on the north shore and around Botany Bay. I suspect that what changed was that the residual landscape that had survived for nearly 80 years was comprehensively changed. In Woolloomooloo for example, a rounded seawall was built in the 1860s (see picture below), which would have killed off the shellfish and fish which relied on the mudflats, as well as reducing direct access to the bay for fishing. The whole area above the bay was also getting crammed full of houses and the creek was probably put into pipes under the ground at this time. All of this would have made less developed areas a bit further east like Rushcutters Bay more attractive.

It is a little less clear what happened in the Domain. I know that by the late 1870s, the Outer Domain forests were dying or being cut down, and large temporary storage and exhibition spaces were being constructed for the 1879 International Exhibition (as well as the massive Garden Palace building to the west in the Inner Domain).[101] So this fits well with the timing of Aboriginal people moving to the Government Boatsheds as a new 'staging post' to buy and sell goods in the city. But it doesn't explain the gap in records of Aboriginal people in the Domain between the 1850s and the 1870s. I don't have an answer for that. It could be that we

have just not yet found the evidence, that they moved somewhere else in that period, or perhaps there is another reason we do not yet understand.



View south east from the edge of the Domain towards Woolloomooloo in the mid-1860s showing the construction of the seawall and the very urban landscape behind it.

Source: Anon, 1908. 'Woolloomooloo Bay, 44 Years ago' (State Library of NSW Small Picture Files – Sydney – Suburbs – Wooloomooloo).

Whatever the cause, it does not seem that local Aboriginal people were living in the area after the 1860s, and by the 1900s most had come to live at La Perouse. Around the same time, as the Aborigines Protection Board began to exert its influence, Aboriginal people from far outside of Sydney began to move there in increasing numbers. Woolloomooloo was one of a number of inner Sydney places where they came to live. For example Fred Maynard (1879 – 1946), a Hunter Valley Aboriginal man and founder of the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association was living there in the early 1900s while working on the wharves at Darling Harbour.[102] Whether there was any link between these early Aboriginal migrants and the community that has formed there since the 1970s is not clear. I have not looked into these later associations, but clearly these are stories and memories held, and most appropriately shared, by the Woolloomooloo community themselves.

Other than that there have been both negative and positive events at the Royal Botanic Gardens involving Aboriginal people in the twentieth century. On Australia Day 1938, while local and other Aboriginal people held a Day of Mourning conference and protest in the city, Aboriginal people had been brought in from western New South Wales to perform a re-enactment of the arrival of the First Fleet, and were locked up in the police stables at Redfern to stop them being contacted by the Aboriginal protestors.[103] Fifty years later, Aboriginal protestors expressed their true feelings about the day in protests on Mrs Macquarie's Point in 1988.[104] There has also been much more positive acknowledgement of Aboriginal people and culture around the Royal Botanic Gardens in that period since that time. For example an inlaid mosaic artwork along the foreshore was designed by Gurindji artist Brenda Croft to honour the Aboriginal people who have lived and conducted ceremony in the gardens area in the past, as does the *Cadi Jam Ora: First Encounters* garden and display nearby.[105]

8 Bungaree and Garden Island

These brief notes were prepared to investigate the context of Bungaree's death at Garden Island in 1830. Specifically, whether there was information about the Aboriginal use of the island at other times, and whether anything happened/changed for Aboriginal people after the death of Bungaree.

- I have found no evidence of the use of Garden Island as a ceremonial ground or burial place. There are very few mentions of it at all in fact. In 1788 there were a couple of Aboriginal raids there taking equipment, and in 1803 an Aboriginal man was shot and killed while taking food from the gardens there.[106]

- Bungaree died there on 24/11/1830 after being ill in the hospital (on Macquarie St). By the sounds of the Sydney Gazette account, he probably went there deliberately, and was with other Aboriginal people when he died (the mention of Darling Harbour tribe is not significant – these 'tribal' names were inconsistently used and this was not a separate group of people).[107] Why he chose that place I do not know. It is possible that it had either personal significance or broader cultural significance but if so it is not described.

- There is almost no description of Bungaree's death. The Sydney Gazette (27/11/1830) said it would publish a full description of the funeral at Rose Bay in its next edition but no further details were printed. There is no mention in newspapers over the following year of any ceremonies or unusual happenings that might relate to Bungaree's passing, although a full year later Bungaree's son Young Bungaree led a ceremony to mark the death of his father.[108]

- Historian Keith Vincent Smith discusses a reference in July 1831 to Aboriginal people gathered around a picture of Bungaree and refusing to say his name.[109] This is the only reference I have seen also to any kind of reaction to his death (and the custom of not naming the dead was still practiced and for at least 15 years after this time aswell). In fact just a few weeks after his death was the annual Aboriginal feast/conference at Parramatta where he had prominently featured in previous years. There is no mention of his absence.[110]

- Does this mean that Bungaree was not that significant in Aboriginal Sydney? I suspect to some degree yes – the hype about him as 'king' etc was not really coming from Aboriginal people themselves. But I also think we just lack records to understand the context of these things too. Keith Vincent Smith has extensively researched Bungaree's like and I suspect that if there was evidence of Aboriginal ceremony or other activity in the wake of his death, he would have located it.

- There are no references I have found to Aboriginal people on Garden Island in the decades after Bungaree's death, and this is unlikely to be related to his death (as other places were used later after deaths and this was not even his place of burial). In 1866 the island became a naval depot (still a separate island) and in subsequent years some of the shore was reclaimed. I suspect there would have been little Aboriginal use of the area after this time given the military presence and its small size. It was certainly not a camp, though Woolloomooloo and Rushcutters Bay on either side of the island where. [by the way, from the early 1900s there are reports of him being buried at Garden Island and later disinterred but all of these are just local legend and not based on any original records or facts].

- The only other mention of Aboriginal people at Garden Island that I have found so far ties back to wharf workers and Aboriginal activism. Northern Territory Aboriginal wharf worker and activist Dexter Daniels

addressed naval workers on the docks at Garden Island in the late 1960s and 1970s in support of the Gurindji Wave Hill strikers.[111] He was not working on the wharves there, but it might be a tie-in to broader union support for the cause and also of links between Darling Harbour and Garden Island wharfies. I have not seen evidence of Aboriginal workers at Garden Island but it is likely that at some point (whether in this period or later) there were Aboriginal people in the navy who either worked there or passed through there, or civilian workers in other capacities.

9 References

[1] *Wentworth Papers - Police Reports & Accounts 1810 – 1827* (State Library NSW, Wentworth Papers D1):175; "Letter from Bolgobrough Chief of Botany Bay to Governor Bourke, 29/1/1834," (SRNSW: NRS905, CSLR Main Series of Letters Received 34/792, [4/2238.3]); "The Sydney Blacks," *Sydney Morning Herald* 28/12/1844: 3; "Petition of Jackey Gogey to the Governor General regarding purchase of a boat, 3/9/1850," (SRNSW: NRS905, CSLR Main Series of Letters Received 50/7957, [4/2912]).

[2] Proctor, W. *Journal on the John Craig*. 1834. SLNSW: MSS B1126:122 (CY1518): 118-121 [fr71-72].

[3] Irish, P. *Hidden In Plain View. The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2017): 38-39.

[4] J.P. Townsend, "Journal, 21 July - 6 Dec. 1846," in *Joseph Phipps Townsend Papers 21 July 1846 - 24 Sep 1862* (SLNSW MSS 1461/1 [CY2477]), frame 87.

[5] Minutes from a 1894 Aborigines Protection Board meeting suggests that free travel had existed for some time; APB, "Meeting minutes 26/4/1894" (SRNSW: NRS2, AWB Archives, Minute Books 1890-1901 [4/7108]). Free travel is also inferred by the large number of travellers into Sydney in 1868 to see Prince Alfred.

[6] Irish 2017:96-98.

[7] Wotherspoon, G. "Ferries", Dictionary of Sydney, 2008, http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/ferries. Accessed 8/1/19.

[8] Irish 2017:115, 126-7.

[9] "Aborigines Feast," *Sydney Morning Herald* 12/3/1868: 8.

[10] "A Visit to the Blacks Camp at La Perouse," *Sydney Morning Herald* 16/1/1883: 5.

[11] Irish 2017:120-121.

[12] 'Naming Ferry Boats. Aboriginal Influence. Origin of Custom', *Daily Telegraph*, 25/9/1926:22.

[13] 'Naming Ferry Boats. Aboriginal Influence. Origin of Custom', *Daily Telegraph*, 25/9/1926:22.

[14] Thompson, S.L. 'The Tribal Warrior Association: Reconstructing Identity', in C. Hansen and K. Butler (eds) *Exploring urban identities and histories* (Canberra; AIATSIS Research Publications, 2013):27-49.

[15] http://www.beyondthewharf.com.au/stories/evonne-goolagong/. Accessed 8/1/19.

[16] http://www.beyondthewharf.com.au/emerald-class/. Accessed 8/1/19.

[17] Beasley, M. *Wharfies. The History of the Waterside Workers' Federation* (Sydney: Halstead Press, 1996):1.

[18] Ellmoos, L. 'The deep sea and the shallow water: masculinity, mateship and work practices on Sydney's waterfront in the 1950s' in Biber, K, Sear, T. & D Trudinger (eds) *Playing the Man: New Approaches to Masculinity* (Annandale: Pluto Press, 1999):197-8.

[19] Beasley 1996:1-4, 21.

[20] Beasley 1996:21, 51-2.

[21] Ellmoos 1999:189.

[22] Karskens, G. The Colony. A History of Early Sydney (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2009):435-6.

[23] Smith, K.V. *Mari Nawi. Aboriginal Odysseys 1790 - 1850* (Sydney: State Library NSW, 2008):9.

[24] 'Ship Advertisements', *Sydney Morning Herald* 11/2/1863: 1; 'Ship Advertisements', *Sydney Morning Herald* 12/2/1863: 1.

[25] 'The Wreck of the Emma, Near Falmouth', *Launceston Examiner*, 26/3/1863:4.

[26] Irish, P. *Hidden In Plain View. The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2017): 63.

[27] 'Central Police Court', *Sydney Morning Herald* 19/2/1863:5.

[28] Maynard, J. '"In the interests of our people": the influence of Garveyism on the rise of Australian Aboriginal political activism', *Aboriginal History* 29, 2005:10-11.

[29] Ireland, H. 'The Case of Agnes Jones. Tracing Aboriginal presence in Sydney through criminal justice records', *History Australia* 10(3):236-251.

[30] See in particular Maynard, J. *Fight for Liberty and Freedom. The origins of Australian Aboriginal activism* (Canberra: Aborigines Studies Press, 2007).

[31] Maynard 2005:2.

[32] Maynard 2005:2-4.

[33] Maynard 2005:7; Maynard 2007:17.

[34] Maynard 2007:105.

[35] Maynard 2005:10-11, 14; Maynard 2007, 39, 68.

[36] Maynard 2005:16.

[37] Maynard 2007:137-9.

[38] Maxwell, R. 'Never Mind Balts, Mr Calwell – Give the Colored Australian Workers A Fair Go', *The Maritime Worker* 27/8/1949:5.

[39] Maxwell, R. 'Never Mind Balts, Mr Calwell – Give the Colored Australian Workers A Fair Go', *The Maritime Worker* 27/8/1949:5.

[40] Ellmoos 1999:192.

[41] 'Dockies Demand Release Jailed Native Strikers', *The Maritime Worker*, 28/5/1949:3 (you can also see more about the strike at www.pilbarastrike.org/); Smith, K. 'Women's Committee News: Help Aborigines', *Seamen's Journal* March 1956:5-6.

[42] Peckham, Ray. & Willis, Rob. 2012, *Ray Peckham interviewed by Rob Willis in the Activists for Indigenous rights in the mid 20th century oral history project* [sound recording], National Library of Australia, Tape 2 (from 49m20s); see also Goodall, H. 'Gibbs, Pearl Mary (Gambanyi) (1901–1983)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, www.adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gibbs-pearl-mary-gambanyi-12533/text22555, published first in hardcopy 2007 [Accessed 4/2/19].

[43] Ray Peckham interview Tape 2 (from 28m00s).

[44] Ray Peckham interview Tape 4 (from 45m30s).

[45] Ray Peckham interview Tape 5 (from 6m30s).

[46] Dixon, Chicka & Foley, Gary, 1950- (Interviewer) 1995, Chicka Dixon interviewed by Gary Foley, National Library of Australia, transcript, p26; www.speakerscorner.org.au/steve-maxwells-passing-parade/donny-dodd-aboriginal-speaker-in-sydneys-domain-1980-2000/.

[47] Taylor, Russell. & Hiemans, Frank (interviewer), *Interview Transcript, Millers Point Oral History Project*, http://www.sydneyoralhistories.com.au/russell-taylor [Accessed 31/1/19].

[48] Russell Taylor *Interview Transcript*: Tape A 54m37s.

[49] *Interview with Shiralee Ann Carroll, Marrickville Council Aboriginal Oral History Project*, 1998 (Marrickville Library).

[50] www.mua.org.au/vale_chicka_dixon_wharfie_and_aboriginal_activist [Accessed 4/2/19].

[51] Chicka Dixon interview 1995, transcript p29.

[52] Chicka Dixon interview 1995, transcript p8.

[53] Ray Peckham interview Tape 4 (from 49m25s).

[54] Russell, L. *Roving mariners : Australian aboriginal whalers and sealers in the southern oceans, 1790-1870* (New York: State University of New York, 2012): 13-14.

[55] 'Inquests', *The Australian* 8/9/1846: 3; 'Inquests', *Sydney Chronicle* 9/9/1846: 3.

[56] Irish, P. "Bundeena Bling? Possible Aboriginal Shell Adornments from Southern Sydney." *Australian Archaeology* (2007): 46-49.

[57] Nugent, M. "'You really only made it because you needed the money': Aboriginal Women and Shellwork Production, 1870s to 1970s." *Labour History* 101 (2011): 71-90.

[58] Waterman, J.C. "Recollections of Sydney." *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 8, Supplement (1923): 359.

[59] Angas, G.F. *Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand: being an artist's impression of countries and people at the antipodes*. Volume I: Sth Aust & New Zealand (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1969 [1847]): 202.

[60] H. Laracy, "Leopold Verguet and the Aborigines of Sydney, 1845," *Aboriginal History* 4, no. 2 (1980):179.

[61] Irish, P. *Hidden In Plain View. The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2017): 47-50.

[62] Matthews, D. 'Diary entry for Entry for 4/5/1881', *Diary 1878-1881*, Daniel Matthews Papers 1861-1917, Volume 2 Part 1 No 3 (SLNSW, ZA3384).

[63] "Death of an Aboriginal Boy," *Evening News* 8/7/1881: 3.

[64] Report of Constable Byrne 17/1/1883 in Thornton, G, "Aborigines. Report of the Protector to 31 December 1882 ": *NSW Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly* 1883 Vol. 3 (Sydney: Government Printer): 897-8.

[65] 'Missions', *New South Wales Aborigines Advocate* 30/6/1903:2–3.

[66] Nugent 2011:85-86.

[67] 'Cabbage Tree Island, Richmond River', *Australian Aborigines Advocate* 28/2/1910: 8.

[68] 'La Perouse', *New South Wales Aborigines Advocate* 30/12/1904:4.

[69] 'Exhibition of Women's Industries', Sydney Morning Herald 3/10/1888:6; 'Sydney Social Items', Illustrated Sydney News 15/10/1892:7; 'The Mission's Loan Exhibition' *New South Wales Aborigines Advocate* 30/6/1903:3, 'In Brief', *New South Wales Aborigines Advocate* 30/10/1905:1. For the racial context see Anderson, K. 'White Natures" Sydney's Royal Agricultural Show in Post-Humanist Perspective', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, N.S. 28 no. 4 (2003):422-441; Nugent, M. 'Displaying the decorative: An exhibition history of La Perouse Aboriginal women's shellwork' *reCollections: Journal of the National Museum of Australia* (2015).

[70] 'La Perouse', *New South Wales Aborigines Advocate* 28April1904:4, 'The Mission' *Australian Aborigines Advocate* 30/4/1908:3, 'In Brief', *Australian Aborigines Advocate* 30/4/1910:1.

[71] 'The Main Pavilion', Daily Telegraph 28/3/1907:11, 'In Brief', *New South Wales Aborigines Advocate* 30/10/1905:1.

[72] 'La Perouse' *New South Wales Aborigines Advocate* 28/4/1904:4, 'La Perouse' *New South Wales Aborigines Advocate* 30/3/1904:4.

[73] '[NO TITLE]', *New South Wales Aborigines Advocate* 30/8/1904:3.

[74] [Adlih], 'A Trip in a Sydney Tourist Tram Car', *Blue Mountains Echo* 27/3/1909:14.

[75] 'Something More about Sydney', Weekly Times 13/1/1912:39.

[76] Nugent, M. 'An Economy of Shells" A brief history of La Perouse Aboriginal women's shell-work and its markets, 1880-2010', in N. Fijn (ed.) *Indigenous participation in Australian economies II. Historical engagements and current enterprises* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2012):223.

[77] 'In the Basement', *Sydney Morning Herald* 22/4/1909:10, 'Mainly for Women', *Star* 17/3/1909:16.

[78] 'Australia at the Girls' Realm Bazaar', *Daily Telegraph* 8/1/1910:19.

[79] 'Woman's Page', *Freemans Journal* 13/1/1910:28.

[80] 'Australia at the Girls' Realm Bazaar', *Daily Telegraph* 8/1/1910:19 and Nugent 2012:221.

[81] There is a midden and a shelter with hand stencils near the point of Mrs Macquarie's Point, but I don't think we want to highlight them too much to the general public. I have written about them here if you want to know more - http://www.sydneybarani.com.au/sites/yurong-cave-yurong-midden/

[82] Edward Hordern & Sons 1882. Old and New Sydney No1-6:25.

[83] See www.sydneybarani.com.au/sites/william-street/

[84] Attenbrow, V. 2010. *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, 2nd edn., (Sydney, UNSW Press), pp. 131-133 & Plates 24-27

[85] https://www.eorapeople.com.au/uncategorized/1795-initiation-at-farm-cove/ [accessed 14/2/19}

[86] 'Domestic Intelligence', 14 November 1831, *The Sydney Herald:* 4.

[87] Marriott. E.W. *The Memoirs of Obed West* (Bowral: Barcom Press, 1988), p. 32.

[88] http://www.sydneybarani.com.au/sites/woolloomooloo-bay/

[89] Hill, R., and G. Thornton. 1892. *Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales : with personal reminiscences of the tribes formerly living the neighbourhood of Sydney and the surrounding districts* (Sydney: C.Potter Government Printer): 1.

[90] 'Original Correspondence' Sydney Morning Herald 23/2/1853:2.

[91] Greaves, W.A.B. "Recollections of Old Sydney in 1852 and since." *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 3, no. 9 (1916): 417.

[92] Add refs – Sydney Book p48 but also Barani? Or else check SAHP records. Potarlick 'Coroner's Inquest', Sydney Morning Herald 2/3/1853:2; SAHP 1031, 1529.

[93] SAHP1400 (Benevolent Society Inmates Journals Sept 1852 - July 1853 [28/2/1853 notes])

[94] J. Waterman, "Recollections of Sydney," Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society 8, Supplement (1923): 359.

[95] J. Waterman, "Recollections of Sydney," Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society 8, Supplement (1923): 359.

[96] "Aboriginal Christmas Festivities" *The Australian* 27/12/1844: 3; "The Late Mr Charles Smith," *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* 20/12/1845: 2.

[97] Testimony of Mahroot, in NSW Legislative Council, *Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines, with appendix, minutes of evidence and replies to a circular letter* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1845), p. 2 [questions 63-64].

[98] "Coroner's Inquests," *Sydney Morning Herald* 25/6/1852: 3.

[99] "Coroner's Inquest," *Empire* 2/3/1853: 2; "Central Police Court – Thursday," *Empire* 4/1/1868: 2.

[100] G.R. Nichols, "The Aborigines of Sydney," *The Australian Daily Journal* 5/6/1844: 2.

[101] Irish, P. *Hidden In Plain View. The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2017): 110.

[102] Maynard, J. *Fight for Liberty and Freedom. The origins of Australian Aboriginal activism* (Canberra: Aborigines Studies Press, 2007):17.

[103] You can see a bit more about this here along with a photo http://www.sydneybarani.com.au/sites/significant-aboriginal-events-in-sydney/

[104] http://www.sydneybarani.com.au/sites/mrs-macquaries-chair/

[105] http://www.sydneybarani.com.au/sites/wuganmagulya-farm-cove/

[106] 'Sydney', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 10/4/1803:3.

[107] 'Death of King Boongarie', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 27/11/1830:2.

[108] 'Domestic Intelligence', *The Sydney Herald* 14/11/1831: 4.

[109] 'King Boongaree Redivivus', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 16/7/1831:2; Smith, K.V. 'Bungaree', *Dictionary of Sydney*, 2011, http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/bungaree {accessed 5/3/19).

[110] 'Annual Conference with the Blacks', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 8/1/1831:2.

[111] 'Gurindjis', *Tribune* 4/11/1970:2; 'Launched $50,000 fund for the Gurindji project', *Tribune* 12/8/1970:12.