



COX INALL RIDGEWAY

*Brief Aboriginal History of the Botany
Road Corridor and Surrounds*

Cox Inall Ridgeway for
THE CITY OF SYDNEY

FINAL

April 2021

About this document

This brief Aboriginal Historical Study has been prepared by Indigenous social change agency Cox Inall Ridgeway (CIR) for the City of Sydney Council (the City) as part of the strategic planning review of an area known as the 'Botany Road Corridor' (the Study Area). It is one of a number of reports prepared by CIR for the City, including a Project Report, Statement of Aboriginal Significance for the area, and an Archaeological Assessment.



This brief history draws on historical research including interviews conducted by CIR with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community members in 2020. It provides a brief overview of the history of the Study Area and surrounds (including Redfern, Waterloo, Eveleigh and Alexandria) and profiles a number of places which help illustrate the rich and diverse social history of the area, prioritising Aboriginal voices, views and stories. It is a short introductory history and is not intended to be a complete account of the rich and diverse histories of the Study Area and surrounds.

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Acknowledgements

CIR acknowledges and pays respects to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander nations of Australia. We acknowledge and thank the Elders, organisations, staff and community members who participated in this project and shared their advice, knowledge and insights.

Thank you in particular to: Gadigal Elders and descendants; the Metropolitan Local Aboriginal Land Council; the City of Sydney Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Panel; the City of Sydney Indigenous Leadership and Engagement team; the City of Sydney Strategic Planning and Urban Design staff; and the TZG urban design and heritage teams.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander readers are advised

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander readers should be aware that this document contains images, names and references to deceased persons.

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Brief Aboriginal history of the Botany Road Corridor

Introduction

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have a long history with the inner Sydney suburbs of Redfern, Waterloo and Alexandria, and the place defined as the 'Botany Road Corridor' (the Study Area). The connection runs deep, the spirit of place is alive still. People and culture, language and history are entwined, as roots of the giant Moreton Bay figs which stand tall throughout the region.

The area is part of Gadigal Country, within the Eora Nation.¹ The Gadigal clan is one of the 29 Aboriginal clans of the Sydney basin which make up the Eora nation.² As the City of Sydney's *Barani* website reports: "The territory of the Gadi(gal) people stretched along the southern side of Port Jackson (Sydney Harbour) from South Head to around what is now known as Petersham."³

Aboriginal people established and used this place for many generations prior to invasion and colonisation by the British. They used the heath and wetlands in this area to camp, hunt, fish, construct tools, keep and share knowledge, create art, and harvest plant foods and medicine. They maintained pathways through the dune heath that connected coastal and inland clans. When the British invaded, Aboriginal people sought refuge here.

Significantly impacted through displacement, disease and frontier conflict, Gadigal people and other clans and nations based in the Sydney basin adapted and responded. Indeed, Aboriginal people were part of the working life of the colony. As Sydney expanded, Aboriginal people became an integral part of the city, adapting, negotiating, and forging shared histories.

During the twentieth century, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people from across Australia, and NSW in particular, came together to work, reconnect with family, and build communities in Redfern, Waterloo, Alexandria, Eveleigh and Darlington. The area became known as 'Aboriginal Redfern', the most recognised and significant urban Aboriginal place in Australia.

Aboriginal Redfern was the birthplace of urban Aboriginal rights. It is a key site of protest, the home of successful campaigns for recognition of land rights, human rights and civil rights, and of the first community-controlled organisations, such as the Aboriginal Medical Service. These people, events and organisations were instrumental in driving significant change for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, and for all Australians. They played a key role in changing the law, and shaping Australia's understanding of First Nations people and itself as a nation.

It is probably no coincidence that 'Aboriginal Redfern' played such a significant role in shaping 20th century Aboriginal history. The place itself is imbued with cultural meaning. Located specifically within the Study Area are a large concentration of individual sites where important historical, political and social events, activities and organisations were formed or flourished, and where significant Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people or families were born or lived.

Much of this history is not documented or recognised in official histories of Sydney. In many ways, this project is part of this process of reclamation and the re-storying of place, where the Aboriginal voice can be restored to a more central place in the narrative.

Gadigal Country

Prior to invasion, colonisation and industrial transformation of the land, the Study Area and surrounds were a waterscape of permanent ponds and semi-permanent wetlands supporting waterbirds, freshwater fish and turtles, forests of paperbark and swamp mahogany, sedges, reeds, ferns and lilies. Freshwater springs rose near current day Surry Hills and formed streams and creeks that flowed southwards through this area towards Botany Bay.

Small watercourses flowed through the study area and can be seen depicted as culverts under Botany Road in 19th century maps. The sprawling Lachlan Swamps, located at today's Centennial Park, were three times the size of the current park and surrounded by wetland vegetation. The Lachlan Swamps held expanses of sandstone outcrops including rock shelters (many of which have been destroyed).⁴

To north of the study area, in current day Chippendale, there was a band of Turpentine Ironbark Forest with trees of between 20-30 metres in height forming an open woodland.⁵ Blackwattle Creek flowed through Prince Alfred Park and Broadway to Blackwattle Bay and was a rich mangrove habitat. The northern boundary of the Eveleigh Railway Workshops followed the creek, as did Boundary Street. One of the creek's tributaries began as a spring around Pitt Street, Redfern. Nearby Vine and Hudson Streets, as well as Stirling and Short Streets, were built on opposite banks of this tributary creek.

Sheas Creek flowed from the freshwater springs and sandhills of Surry Hills, passing just south of the study area, to where the northern end of the Alexandra Canal is visible today, 200m from Huntley St, Alexandria. Sheas Creek is a tributary of the Cooks River. In many ways, this was a place defined by water: for Aboriginal people, water has significant spiritual and cultural significance and is linked to Dreaming and Creation stories.

The Gadigal are saltwater/ freshwater people who used the productive mosaic of dune heath and wetlands in this region to hunt wallaby, source fresh water, harvest native plants and fruits, dig root vegetables, and much more. Six thousand years ago the people here butchered and feasted on dugong in a different climate to today's. Women collected the yellow summer flower of the *Wiriyagan* (old man banksia) for its nectar, soaked the blossoms, and drank the sweet water. Spear shafts were crafted from Casuarina trees and glued with resin from *Gulgadya* (the grass tree).

There are many fire-adapted plants in the area, which suggests fire was part of the landscape even though it was a wetland mosaic. Burning could occur in dry seasons. To the west, from current day University of Sydney, south through Petersham and Marrickville, Aboriginal people burned to clear undergrowth and create grasslands. Colonists called this area the 'Kangaroo Grounds'.⁶

Pollen records show abundant heath shrubs, which are small shrubs with stiff leaves and grow to about one metre tall. The red, pink or white tube-like flowers appear from late autumn to early spring. Honeyeater birds, particularly the eastern spinebill, feed upon the nectar of the flowers. It regenerates after bushfire by seed or by re-sprouting. Many varieties of the Sydney coastal heath shrubs were prized by cultivators and sent to Europe as garden and ornamental plants.

The Gadigal were adept and skilled at living and hunting on the land. The land was also the sacred container and living canvas for their stories, artistry and culture. This intimate connection between people and place can be hard to understand from a 21st century perspective. It is like walking through a forest and along a beach where every part of the landscape is vibrating with meaning, and there is an unspoken, yet deeply felt, two-way conversation between people and place.

The environmental and cultural heritage are intertwined: to Aboriginal people, they are the same thing. The dynamic and evolving system of ‘Country’ includes nature: water, air, earth, plants, animals, foods, and medicines. In the words of designer Danièle Hromek, it “soars high into the atmosphere, deep into the planet crust and far into the oceans.”⁷

Country is the material objects people designed and used, ceremony, songs, knowledge, art, story – as well as all people past, present and future. Aboriginal people have responsibilities to Country, and both exist in reciprocal relationships. Country is integral to health, wellbeing, and identity. Aboriginal people will often describe this as “the land doesn’t belong to us, we belong to the land.”⁸

Invasion and colonisation

From 1788 when the British invaded to establish a penal colony at *Warrane* (named by the British as Sydney Cove, and today known as Circular Quay),⁹ the wetlands, forests, and banksia shrubs of the sandhills provided protection and refuge to the Gadigal and other clans from the colonists who were seizing their coastal territories. Governor Phillip sent a punitive expedition through here (equipped with hessian bags to bring back decapitated heads) in a failed attempt to assassinate Pemulwuy, the warrior of the Bediagal (or Bidjigal) clan who was living near Botany Bay.

William Dawes – Lieutenant, astronomer, surveyor – at first refused to take part in the expedition. He had many Eora acquaintances and had developed a strong working relationship with Patyegarang, a young Gamaraigal woman. Patyegarang and Dawes taught each other their first language and produced the earliest written record of Gadigal/Eora words and grammar. Professor Jakelin Troy considers Patyegarang “the first Aboriginal linguist in Australia.”¹⁰

Gadigal and other clans made camps, held ceremonies, and settled disputes near the study area as their ceremonial grounds closer to the shore and city, such as Hyde Park, were taken by the colonists. These included near what is now Redfern Park, Victoria Park and Prince Alfred Park. The *Sydney Echo* newspaper reported that in the early 1800s, “their corroborees kept the few residents of Redfern awake till far into the night.”

The area over which Botany Road was established was likely the site of an Aboriginal pathway. Roads were commonly built on Aboriginal routes, including the roads in nearby Centennial Park, and the east/west rail line.



One of the earliest maps of the area, from approx. 1820-1840. The map shows Botany Road including bridges over creeks which feed into the swamps and waterways. The area shown includes the area which today includes Redfern Station and The Block to the west of the road, Alexandria Park to the south, Redfern Street and Redfern Park to the east, and the Waterloo Estate (near the location noted as the 'Waterloo Mill'). *Source: HLRV, Parish of Alexandria, County of Cumberland.*

The colonial writer Obed West recalled seeing many well beaten paths when hunting in the Study Area and south towards Botany Bay. Aboriginal people maintained the paths by burning. Redfern's high point on the terrain offered views of the trade route from Circular Quay to Parramatta, on which the colony's first railway would be built.¹¹ According to Keith Vincent Smith, "one notable path, which ran from Blackwattle Creek at the Brickfields Village (now Chippendale) southwards to the north shore of Botany Bay, was the forerunner of Botany Road".¹²

By degrees Aboriginal camps were driven away from coastal Sydney into other areas including Waterloo and Alexandria.¹³ Although the existence of recorded archaeological sites (including the midden currently recorded as near or within Daniel Day Reserve) are not confirmed within the Study Area, the history of this part of Country means that there is a high potential for as yet unrecorded archaeological resources in the area.

Many clans in the region, devastated by smallpox, violence and dispossession, formed new alliances and groups. Heath and wetlands provided refuge in the early 1800s. However, the colonists' activities such as timber gathering, tree-felling, and livestock damage (compaction and grazing), increased sediment into the wetlands, filling them.¹⁴ The Emu, brolga, black swan and other native wildlife had disappeared from the area by the 1800s.

Urban development

By late 1800s the wetland complex had been degraded and offered far fewer resources. Government and factory owners drained most of the wetlands, cleared the vegetation, eroded the soils, and polluted the waterways. Land in and around the Study Area was granted to British settlers and former convicts, including to Dr William Redfern around 1817, after whom the suburb of Redfern is named.

Country, including the creeks and waterways running through or near the area remained important for Aboriginal people into the early 20th century, when the intensification of urban development led to the draining, redirection or pollution of remaining creeks and wetlands. The pollution of the earliest water sources on which the colony relied led to legislation requiring industry to move further away from Warrane (Sydney Cove and Sydney Harbour) into Redfern, Waterloo and beyond.

In *Histories of Green Square: Waterloo, Alexandria, Zetland, Beaconsfield, Rosebery*, the authors report: “The area was also used as a source of water for the growing city. The pure water was diverted into tunnels and dams, and a pumping station was built on Lords Dam, which had been built for one of the early mills. The diversion and pumping, however, resulted in the drainage of the wetlands, as did further draining work to provide land for market gardens. By 1869, the environment had changed radically: streams had almost ceased to flow, the swamps and their diverse plants and teeming wildlife were gone.”¹⁵

Aboriginal people faced displacement, severe trauma, violence, disruption to sacred kinship and lore, and yet with remarkable resilience, adapted to new ways of urban living, trading with whites, working and living with them, perhaps returning to traditional life and back again. Aboriginal people continued to live in the area. However, there are fewer mentions of Aboriginal people in the written historical sources in this period, not because they were no longer there, but because they were deliberately excluded from the mainstream narrative of the period.¹⁶

Areas of Sydney where there were known Aboriginal settlements in the late 1870s included Rushcutters Bay, Rose Bay, Circular Quay, North Sydney, Manly, Botany and La Perouse.¹⁷ There are also records of an Aboriginal camp at Moore Park near Redfern in the 1890s.¹⁸ The La Perouse Aboriginal settlement was established on a traditional camping ground and became the main community when the Aboriginal ‘camps’ around Sydney Harbour and Botany Bay were forcibly closed.¹⁹ It was declared an Aboriginal reserve in 1895, the closest Aboriginal reserve to the centre of Sydney. The original Aboriginal owners of the land were the Kameygal. The members of the La Perouse Aboriginal settlement which was established included families with cultural association to the Redfern area.

Working life

Since the early days of invasion and colonisation, Aboriginal people played a key role in the economy of Sydney, actively trading with the colony, and providing food (particularly commercial fishing and whaling) and unskilled labour. As the colony grew, it increasingly pushed out from

Sydney Harbour and around the Tank Stream (the main fresh water source for the colony in its early decades).²⁰ Although somewhat of an industrial hub from the 1840s, by the early twentieth century, Redfern, Waterloo and Eveleigh became Sydney's busiest industrial precinct.

In addition to the established Aboriginal population with a strong sense of connection to Redfern and surrounds amongst families who had lived there for generations,²¹ Aboriginal people developed strong social bonds despite the burdens of poverty, in an area which was home to an increasingly diverse working-class neighbourhood, where the large anglo-celtic (including Irish) population was joined by Greek, Lebanese, Chinese and other cultural groups, following relaxations to Australia's White Australia policy especially after World War I.

Aboriginal people from across New South Wales and Australia migrated to the area to find work in the Eveleigh Railway Workshops, glass factories, and myriad other manufacturing jobs. Redfern Station opened in 1855.²² The Eveleigh Railway Goods Yards was Sydney's largest employer from the time it opened in 1886, and was one of the biggest employers of Aboriginal people living in Sydney.

"A lot of the Kooris came from the country. The country in those days were in missions or outside towns. ... They went to school and that, but after school there would be no work. Luckily could get a job on the railway, have to travel and that, away [so they came to Sydney]."
Gadigal Elder, interviewed by CIR June 2020

Ruby Langford Ginibi (Bundjalung) writes of her migration to Sydney, where she lived in and around Redfern for many years:

*"This great city that us country folks referred to as the big smoke was awe-inspiring to me. The year was 1949, and in those years there was a huge push of my people coming to the city to find work, because there was no employment in the country towns. There were droves of us, trying to get away from the clutches of the Aborigines' Protection Board, who had been rounding up people like cattle and putting them onto missions."*²³

Historian Heidi Norman has found that in 1945 there were as many as 158 factories in Redfern and Waterloo, and that Aboriginal people held a number of senior roles.²⁴ The Sydney Barani website states: "Aboriginal women living in South Sydney worked for the Federal Match Factory in Alexandria, which was affectionately known as Wellington Matches because so many of the Aboriginal workers were originally from the NSW country town of Wellington. Other local industries where Aboriginal people worked were the Henry Jones & Co IXL Jam Factory on Golden Grove Street in Chippendale, Francis Chocolates on Stirling Street in Redfern, and the Australian Glass Manufacturers on South Dowling Street at Waterloo."

‘Aboriginal Redfern’

As the Aboriginal population of the area grew, so did its identity as a centre for Aboriginal social and political life, from as early as the 1920s. While Aboriginal people faced discrimination when seeking accommodation, there were relatives and friends to stay with in Redfern and the inner-city.

The area included workers cottages and other low income housing. It was common for older, large houses which had been the homes of middle class families in the 19th century to be converted to boarding houses. Continuing loss of lands, revocations, and eventual close of the reserve and mission schemes saw waves of Aboriginal migration to the area, peaking in the 1960s.

“Now, when we cannot give the Aboriginal youth accommodation here, they are forced into ghetto-type dwellings in Redfern, Waterloo, Newtown, Alexandria, really congested areas where we have Aborigines living perhaps 15 and 20 to a room.” Charles ‘Chicka’ Dixon, interview featured in *The Foundation 1963–1977* (2002) documentary

“Redfern... in the 50s you had all these little cottages around the area, and three families living in each house. ... Blackfellas we didn’t own our houses, so renting was the only way to go. ... My first place by myself was renting a single room, at 16 years old. A big building, you could have 20 or 30 rooms with people living in them, but that would be a little community in itself, you know what I mean.” Gadigal Elder, interviewed by CIR June 2020

Aboriginal people migrated to Redfern and surrounds not only for work and access to transport, but because it was known to be the place where other Aboriginal people gathered. It was an important place of social connection where Aboriginal children and adults were welcome and safe.

“The one thing we all had in common, was that we were all poor. Redfern was regarded, by the rest of Sydney I suppose, as the slums, and despite there being some fairly dodgy landlords, it was a place where Aboriginal people could actually get somewhere to stay.” Gary Foley, interview in *The Redfern Story* (2014) documentary

The Empress Hotel at 87 Regent Street and the Clifton Hotel at 1 Botany Road were common meeting points for new arrivals. Another significant social venue in the community was Palms Milk Bar where ‘everyone and their bloody dog used to meet.’ It was also known locally as the ‘Greek Café’ (although its owner might have been Jack Ferry, a man with Lebanese heritage). Residents recall it had pinball machines and the ‘best milkshakes in Sydney.’

The Foundation for Aboriginal Affairs (FAA) offered important support for the Aboriginal community, especially young Aboriginal men and women migrating to Sydney. Opening in 1964 in George Street Sydney, from 1973 it was located in Regent Street Redfern.

“Government funding was pretty scarce in those days. There was no other organisation around delivering any kind of service to Aboriginal people. That’s why they had to do some

fundraising. If a Koori got off a train, they'd give them a ticket, and there was a cafe just down three or four doors down where they'd get a meal." Esther Carroll (nee Ingram) interview in *The Foundation 1963–1977* (2002) documentary

Some were part of the Stolen Generations and had come to seek lost family. At a time when there was limited communications, the 'blackfella grapevine' was important.

"Back in the old days when the blackfellas would come down from the country. Didn't have land lines, so had to turn up and look around. Go to the pubs where blackfellas drink and things like that, like the Empress." Gadigal Elder, interviewed by CIR June 2020

"[In Redfern in the 60s] if you couldn't find your relo down there, or someone who knew where he was, he was either in jail or dead." Allan Madden (undated) interview for A history of Aboriginal Sydney website²⁵

Aboriginal people migrated into areas across the inner city, but Redfern was the centre.

"The community was really strong from Alexandria, Redfern, Darlington, back down to Newtown and Erko and all that. All the blackfellas lived around there." Gadigal Elder, interviewed by CIR June 2020

Amongst the cluster of organisations provided support for Aboriginal living or arriving in Sydney was Redfern All Blacks rugby league club. The club had formed in the 1930s, and was reformed in the 1960s.²⁶ It supported the welfare of the community through sport, training, help with employment and accommodation, and social events such as dances.

By the mid to late 1960s the Aboriginal population of the area was around 35,000. It was the heart of the Aboriginal diaspora. In the words of Gary Foley, Redfern became "the biggest Aboriginal community that's ever existed in the 60,000-year history of Australia."²⁷

Activism and self-determination

Redfern and surrounds, particularly the Study Area, became the centre of the Aboriginal rights movement in Australia, with land rights, civil rights, and anti-racism its core concerns. Against a backdrop of civil rights activism in Australia and internationally, the Aboriginal-led rights movement based in and around Redfern spawned the Aboriginal Legal Service in 1970, the Aboriginal Medical Service in 1971, and the Black Theatre in 1972, all on Regent Street within the Study Area (as well as the idea for the Aboriginal Embassy in 1972).

Aboriginal Redfern as a focal point for political activism began before the 1960s and 70s. William (Bill) Ferguson, the founder of the Aborigines Progressive Association, and the leader of important civil rights actions such as the 1938 National Day of Mourning, held a number of meetings at Redfern Town Hall, and the former Boot Trade Union Hall at 122 Eveleigh Street.

In the late 1960s, young Aboriginal activists and intellectuals frustrated at the lack of progress after the goodwill of the 1967 Referendum began sharing literature associated with the United States' Black Power movement.

A collection of streets opposite Redfern Station (just outside the Study Area) known as 'the Block' became the site of the first Aboriginal housing companies in NSW. The Block included Caroline, Eveleigh, Vine and Louis Streets. It was where a number of Aboriginal extended families had moved during the 1930s Depression. It became the subject of large protests, starting in the early 1970s, when landlords in the area conducted a campaign of evicting all Aboriginal residents.²⁸ A group of campaigners, led by Bob and Kaye Belleair, successfully lobbied the Whitlam government for a grant which allowed the Aboriginal Housing Company (AHC) to commence purchasing houses in 1972.

Police harassment and violence was a key driver behind the establishment of the Aboriginal Legal Service and other community controlled organisations, and Aboriginal activism generally.

*"The war between Aboriginal people was constant. You know, it was a crime to be black. It didn't matter what the charge was. The real charge was 'walking while black.'" Marcia Langton, interviewed in *The Redfern Story* (documentary)*

*"The police harassment had a significant role in politicising all of us." Gary Foley, interviewed in *The Redfern Story* (documentary)*

Murawina, a childcare centre run by and for Aboriginal people originally started as a breakfast program, operated from purpose-built accommodation on Eveleigh Street from the late 1970s (it moved to the Redfern Public School in 2003).

Aboriginal community-controlled organisations established in Redfern served as inspiration for self-determination among other Indigenous communities around Australia. It was the place where Aboriginal people came together to hold important meetings, such as the first NSW Aboriginal Land Council meeting, and attend large social events, such as the Koori Knockout.

Aboriginal Redfern was also a key birthplace of important contemporary artistic and cultural movements including Aboriginal theatre, dance, music, art, radio and film. Several of the first Aboriginal-controlled artistic institutions were based in or directly adjoin the Study Area. The Black Theatre (originally at 181 Regent Street, in the Study Area) brought Aboriginal voices and stories to mainstream audiences and launched the careers of actors, filmmakers, and other creative artists. It became a community hub, the 'black caucus'.²⁹

*"Theatre was basically a political tool. It was a way to get our stories on the streets. It ... started with street theatre." Lisa Maza interviewed in *The Redfern Story* (documentary)*

The Black Theatre supported contemporary Aboriginal dance, and dance courses led by Carole Johnson. Like the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander political and sporting organisations which were formed in the area, these movements and institutions have had a national impact which continues today.

While the political history of this period is recognised nationally and internationally, Aboriginal people also regard it as significant for becoming a place where they felt acceptance, belonging, and strong identity. Redfern was a place of cultural revival and creation of a new shared sense of national Aboriginal identity, one which connected Aboriginal people from different nations.

At the national level, the Whitlam Labor Government formally replaced the assimilation policy with self-determination in 1972. Aboriginal organisations in Redfern were amongst the first to operate and receive support under this new policy, though under administrative requirements which in some ways constrained the work of those organisations, including by requiring accountability to government rather than directly to community members, which was a source of frustration for many activists.³⁰

Shared history

Redfern and Waterloo were also important sites of shared history and examples of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities working collectively for social change, with non-Indigenous supporters involved in the establishment and early years of a number of the Aboriginal community-controlled organisations.

As historian Johanna Perheetupa writes “Aboriginal activists needed to negotiate and maintain ... complex relationships with white supporters ... moving away from ... paternalism. ... Many of the supporters in Sydney were of a new kind; they participated in other socially radical movements and supported Aboriginal control of their organisations.”³¹

Churches, unions and students played an important role. In 1964, students at the nearby University of Sydney formed Student Action for Aborigines (SAFA), a group led by Charles Perkins, who became the first Aboriginal man to graduate from university. In 1965, SAFA organised the ‘Freedom Ride’ bus tour from Sydney University through regional New South Wales towns to raise public awareness about racism and segregation, and the poor state of Aboriginal health, education and housing.

Aboriginal activist Mum Shirl [Shirley Smith], the ‘Black Saint of Redfern’, worked closely with Father Ted Kennedy of St Vincent’s Church in Redfern Street. The support of Father Ted and the local Catholic church was significant in establishing Aboriginal ownership of the Block, and supporting the Aboriginal Medical Service, to which the church donated a site in Redfern Street where the Aboriginal Medical Service was operating. Today the Redfern Street clinic is the Aboriginal Medical Service Redfern’s office. A plaque out the front of the building and a large statue inside acknowledges Mum Shirl.

South Sydney Community Aid Coop, a neighbourhood centre, was established in 1968. It had an office at 142 Regent Street (within the Study Area), which provided the first space to the Aboriginal Legal Service, and supported the establishment of the Aboriginal Housing Company and the Aboriginal Medical Service. The second Black Theatre site, at Cope Street, was donated by the Uniting Church.

The Cope Street premises, where the Black Theatre took up residence, was owned by the Uniting Church. The Uniting Church turned that building over to the Black Theatre. Actually, it was handed over to the people of Redfern. And that was the first land settlement that the Aborigines had. Gerry Bostock, The Redfern Story

Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal local residents worked together during the period to protect existing low income housing in Redfern and Waterloo. During the 1960s the Housing Commission started addressing the problem of inner-city 'slums', which involved evicting and knocking down existing low quality housing, rezoning or sub-dividing land to attract private development, and establishing new high-rise, higher-density public housing. The construction of the 29-storey Matavai and Turanga towers in Waterloo (adjoining the Study Area) in 1977 was part of this 'urban renewal' process.

Aboriginal people had an uneasy but growing relationship with unions. Historically, sections of the union movement had opposed equal wages for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, while others had actively supported campaigns for civil rights. In the 1960s and 1970s new partnerships were formed, particularly between activists and the left-wing Builders Labourers Federation (BLF). The BLF was a sponsor of the Redfern All Blacks football team, and later placed a Green Ban on the development of The Block in the early 1970s, in support of the community's campaign to keep Aboriginal families living there.

Struggle and strength

The last decades of the 20th century were marked by the grinding work of building on the successes and aspirations of the Aboriginal civil rights activists of the 70s. Residents navigated the tensions and pressures of inner-Sydney life while juggling the demands of daily life: raising kids, working, caring for Elders, studying, playing sport, maintaining relationships with friends and lovers.

Factories closed from the 1980s on, and the jobs went with them.³² Aboriginal Redfern was heavily impacted by Sydney's heroin epidemic from the 80s into the 1990s. Aboriginal Housing Company Chair Mick Mundine says of the time:

*"In the early 1980s, this place was so beautiful, it was the caring and sharing. Our people used to sit around together of a night-time, go to sleep with their doors open. It was a beautiful community. But as you know since the 1990s, the drugs started creeping into the community and we ended up with this vicious cycle of drug-related issues, crime-related issues. It was a vicious cycle."*³³



At the same time, the number of Aboriginal community controlled organisations, or organisations working with Aboriginal communities, evolved and grew in number. Radio Redfern was established in 1981, operating out of a terrace in Cope Street (in the Study Area). Radio Redfern inspired the formation of Gadigal Information Services and Koori Radio, which was established in 1993 from a terrace in nearby Cleveland Street and today has its offices in Cope Street.

"Radio Redfern is the voice of the Aboriginal community in Sydney and its role takes the form of community announcements, ie rallies, services etc, catering for the musical taste of the listeners (the audience wants to hear Koori bands), and finally, being seen as a positive and constructive move towards maintaining and supporting the culture of our people." Wayne Costelloe (1992)

The world-leading Bangarra Dance Theatre was formed in 1989 by staff and students of National Aboriginal Islander Skills Development Association (NAISDA), including Carole Johnson who had been involved with the Aboriginal Islander Dance Theatre in Redfern since the 1970s.³⁴

The NSW *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* was established in 1983. The NSW Aboriginal Land Council (NSWALC) had been formed out of a state-wide Land Rights conference in the Black Theatre site in 1977, organised to coincide with the NSW Aboriginal Rugby League Knockout in Redfern. NSWALC had its first offices on Botany Road, and had a “major instrumental role in pressuring the NSW Government to respond to Aboriginal demands and eventually focus on land rights”.³⁵ The Redfern Local Aboriginal Land Council has its first meeting in 1985, later becoming the Metropolitan Local Aboriginal Land Council,³⁶ with statutory responsibility for representing Aboriginal people in the inner-city.

The overt police racism of past decades was replaced by government commitments to reconciliation, cultural awareness and community partnerships, deaths in custody like David Gundy in 1989 and teenager TJ Hickey in 2004, and ensuing ‘Redfern race riots’, were stark illustrations that Aboriginal people continued to face discrimination and violence from the State.

Gentrification

From the 90s the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population of the area began to decrease, as new residential development replaced industrial land uses. Aboriginal people began to migrate from the area to Newtown, Marrickville, Erskineville, Glebe, Woolloomooloo, and Southwest and Western Sydney – sometimes by choice, but more often pushed due to state social housing policy, for work, and pressure from increasing costs of living.

“People [were] moved out to the new housing developments. Blacktown Seven Hills Mount Druitt and that.” Gadigal Elder, interviewed by CIR June 2020

“[Moving people out to] Mount Druitt [was part of the] displacement model, in the 1970s. Lots of our people.” Senior Aboriginal community representative, interviewed by CIR June

Non-indigenous institutions began to incrementally recognise Aboriginal self-governance structures and include Indigenous perspectives in policy. Wider society increasingly began to acknowledge Aboriginal history – in the Mabo decision (1992), Prime Minister Paul Keating’s Redfern Park Speech (1993), the Bringing Them Home report (1996), and the Walk for Reconciliation (2000). White Australia was beginning to reckon with the profound and continuing consequences of dispossession and trauma that Aboriginal people bore.

The inner city became increasingly gentrified, and areas like Redfern and Waterloo which had previously been seen as low income areas were part of this. Housing prices grew and the number of Aboriginal families living in the area continued to reduce, and is today estimated to be between 500 and 1,300 people in the Study Area today.³⁷

Today

Today Aboriginal Redfern continues to be a key urban centre of Aboriginal and Torres Strait rights and identity. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people live, work, study in or visit the area. Important Aboriginal and Torres Islander organisations, services, cultural bodies and businesses continue to be based in the area, including those that grew from the historic first organisations formed there. Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait people continue to travel to Redfern to access Aboriginal community-controlled organisations, attend events, connect with family and friends, and to maintain and pass on connections with the history and significance of the area.

There is a powerful sense of ownership and cultural connection by Aboriginal and Torres Islander people to Aboriginal Redfern today. This sense of ownership and cultural connection exists very

strongly for those who have lived or have family who lived in the area, who worked in the area, or were part of organisations formed out of or based in the area.

Strong local connections extend to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families based in nearby inner-Sydney suburbs of Surry Hills, Glebe, Newtown, Erskineville, as well as other parts of Sydney where large groups of Aboriginal people lived or were moved following colonisation, such as La Perouse, or were relocated as a result of more recent government policies relating to public housing and gentrification, such as Mount Druitt.

Beyond this, Aboriginal Redfern, and the Study Area, is a place which holds significance and connection for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people across Australia, because so many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have personal or family connections, or have been part of or impacted by organisations, campaigns or significant events held in the area.

The significance and history of the area is actively and explicitly passed on by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people through generations. Parents continue to bring their children to Aboriginal Redfern to educate them about the history, and to foster strong connections with the area within communities for the future.

The roots put down by Aboriginal people over generations continue to flourish and blossom today. The land itself, beyond the buildings and roads, beneath the footpaths and concrete, still contains the stories of ancestors, and the wisdom of Elders. It is this deep connection to culture and customs that regenerates and innovates in the rapidly changing world. This history is an integral part of Country here.

Selected places of memory and connection

This section of the brief Aboriginal History tells the story of selected places of importance in the memory of Aboriginal people interviewed by CIR for the project. It draws on the City of Sydney Council's *Barani: Sydney's Aboriginal History* website, which profiles important places, events and histories, selected by the local Aboriginal community, local oral history projects and the writings of historians and activists, prioritising Aboriginal authors and voices.

Map

Map to be updated in final version to include all places profiled and those noted in passing in the brief history. Map below shows proposed format, updates to be made are below:

Existing sites on the map (updates)

First Black Theatre 1972-73 [181 Regent Street]

Former Black Theatre 1974-77

Aboriginal Medical Service 1971-78

Redfern Aboriginal Legal Service shopfront [142 Regent Street]

Additional sites to include on the map

Foundation for Aboriginal Affairs (1973-77) – [approx. 21 Regent Street]

Radio Redfern [27 Cope Street]

Tribal Warrior Association [27 Cope Street]

Former Redfern Public School and NCIE [160 George St Redfern]

Former Cricketer's Arms Hotel [56-58 Botany Road]

Former Palms Milk Bar [approx. 140 Regent St]

Former Lawson Theatre [1 Lawson Square Redfern]

Former Federal Match Factory - 7-11 Park Road, Alexandria

Everleigh Rail Yards

South Sydney Community Aid [142 Regent St]

St Luke's Church [Regent Street]

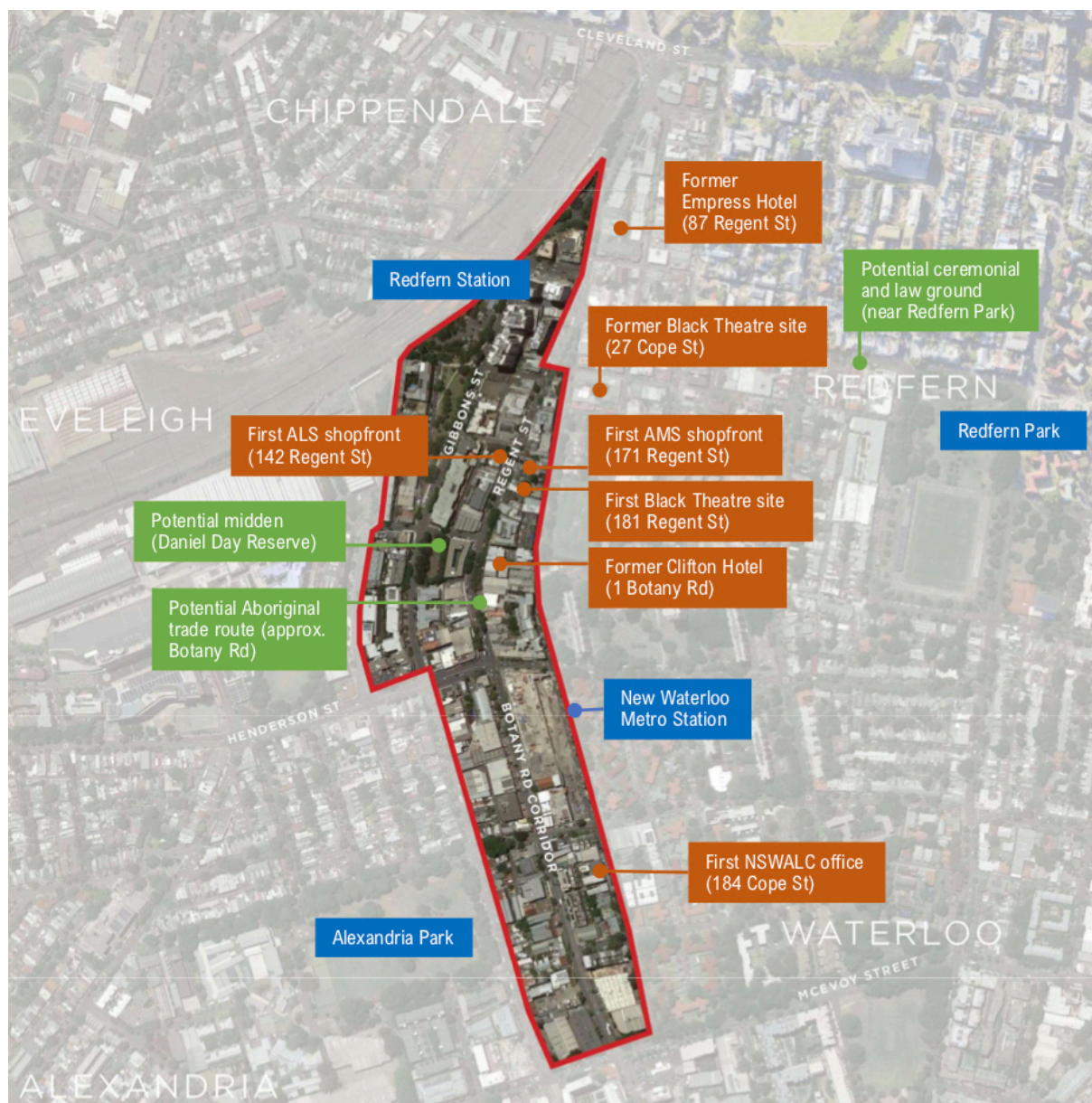
The Block [Everleigh Street]

Aboriginal Medical Service Cooperative Redfern [36 Turner Street]

Sites to be removed from the map included in the historical study, as not discussed:

Potential midden Daniel Day Reserve

Potential ceremonial and law ground Redfern Park



Aboriginal Legal Service

Although historically subject to police violence, in the late 1960s and early 1970s Aboriginal people in Redfern were regularly arrested without cause, were subjected to significant violence, and were the subject of a police-imposed curfew. Complaints from Aboriginal people in Redfern were not solely directed at police stationed in Redfern. In particular during the early 1970s there were objections to the 21 Division (also known as the 'mobile' or 'riot' squad) and police stationed at Regent Street, including violence by 21 Division police against Aboriginal adults and youth.

In 1970 a group of activists including Paul Coe, Isobel Coe, Gary Williams, Gary Foley and Tony Coorey decided to turn the tables on the police: they started to survey and document the approach to policing Aboriginal people in Redfern. Working with volunteer law students, lawyers and academics, they set up the Aboriginal Legal Service, providing free legal assistance to Aboriginal people. Members of the Redfern Aboriginal community ran the administration of the organisation, as well as serving as field officers.

“We started going into the Empress on a Friday night, armed with three notebooks and three pencils. And when the police began their usual Friday night activity of raiding the pub in large numbers, and arbitrarily arresting people, we started recording what they were doing. We expanded the idea of ‘Pig Patrol’ into a free shopfront, legal aid. Staffing by voluntary lawyers, on a roster basis, which would allow Aboriginal people who were being arrested, to at least mount some sort of defence ... The Redfern Aboriginal Legal Service was the first ever free legal shopfront legal centre, for anybody, in Australia.” Gary Foley, interview in the Redfern Story (documentary)



[Left] Aboriginal Legal Service shopfront in 142 Regent Street, Credit: National Archives of Australia. NAA: A8739, A2/8/74/15 [Right] Redfern’s Aboriginal Legal Service in 1980 (photograph courtesy National Archives of Australia – Series A6180, Item 16/4/80/33) featured in City of Sydney (2013)

The Redfern Aboriginal Legal Service inspired free legal services across the country. Over the years the number of offices grew and its structure changed. In 2006 the Aboriginal Legal Service NSW/ ACT was formed. The ALS NSW/ ACT has its Redfern office in the Study Area today, opposite the original shopfront.

The Empress and the Clifton

Pubs where Aboriginal people were welcome to meet played an important role in the history of the area, including as sites where plans for the formation of community controlled organisations and key activist or community events were formed.



[Left] The Empress Hotel on Regent Street, 87 Regent St, repainted but intact exterior today. Photograph courtesy City of Sydney Archives - Mark Stevens Collection, 48575) [Right] Footage of inside the Empress c1970, from the Redfern Story (documentary)

“The Empress Hotel was a place where people gathered. People would go there with their suitcase, looking for friends, looking for family to stay with. That was really a meeting place, that hotel. But of course, it wasn’t such a safe place.” Bronwyn Penrith, interview in the Redfern Story (documentary)

The Empress Hotel, while an important meeting place for Aboriginal people, was also the site of heavy-handed police action. Throughout the 60s and 70s police placed an unofficial Aboriginal curfew in Redfern and those who didn't observe it were subject to indiscriminate arrest and imprisonment. It was common every Thursday, Friday and Saturday night, for numerous police paddy wagons to be lined up outside the Empress Hotel waiting to round up the Aboriginal people coming out. The police racism and brutality was key to spurring formation of the Aboriginal Legal Service. According to local activist Gary Foley:

“[The police would] come in and beat the shit out of everyone inside, arbitrarily arrest anyone who objected, and when the wagons were full, they'd drive off and lock people up on trumped up charges.”

Two other hotels that were favoured meeting places at the time were the Clifton on Botany Road and the Cricketer’s Arms on the corner of Botany Road and Henderson Street.

It was following a ‘meeting’ at the Clifton Hotel that the Koorie United committee (one of the early Aboriginal rugby league team) that the idea of the Koori Knockout came about. The first Koori Knockout was held in 1971 at the Camdenville Oval in St Peters, with the Sydney teams training at Redfern and Alexandria Ovals. Today, the Koori Knockout is the largest annual gathering of Aboriginal people in NSW.

The Clifton was also the site of political protests. Ann Curthoy reports in her book *‘Freedom Rides: A Freedom Rider Remembers’* that the Clifton Hotel was the site of a protest in 1964, covered by the Channel 7 media, protesting the racial segregation of bars (which was allowed by the laws of the time). Another senior Aboriginal Elder interviewed by CIR for the study recalls:

“When the Clifton changed hands (in the 1970s or so) someone came in and cleared (all the Aboriginal people) out. ... The Legal Service organised a strike, placards and that, because all Aboriginal people were barred from the Clifton, they wouldn’t serve us. We were walking around the pool tables with the placards. And the union got on board, they blackballed them, wouldn’t deliver the grog! So then they had to let us back in, because they couldn’t get any grog. I think that was deadly, having a demo in the pub!”

Aboriginal Medical Service

The Aboriginal Medical Service (AMS) was set up in July 1971 to provide free medical support to Aboriginal people living in Sydney. It was the first Aboriginal community-run medical service in Australia.³⁸

There was no universal health care for Aboriginal people at the time, discrimination against Aboriginal people by doctors and hospitals was common, and was some reluctance from Aboriginal people themselves to access mainstream medical services. Prominent community activists such as

Mum Shirl, who was the first Welfare Officer, played a key role in the establishment of the service, which opened its first shopfront in Regent Street, Redfern.



[Left] Photo courtesy of the City of Sydney [Right] AMS 171 Regent Street office, still from *The Redfern Story* (documentary)

“At the time when my youngest daughter was starting school, the Aboriginal Medical Service was opening in Redfern. The service was started and run by Aboriginals, and was so needed. Having four children, I’d had my share of going to hospitals with childhood illnesses, and there was a lot of prejudice – we didn’t get the same treatment as others, and were always the last to be attended to. So the minute they said an Aboriginal media service was going to open, I was down there like a flash. My daughter was the second patient to be seen by a doctor at the clinic – that’s how quick I was! There was tremendous need at the time for a service like that.” Lily Ethel Madden³⁹

With strong support from the community, the Aboriginal Medical Service (AMS) expanded. It inspired a movement of other Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Services across the country. The primary health care approach adopted by the Redfern AMS and the other Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Services that followed was innovative. It mirrored international aspirations at the time for accessible, effective and appropriate needs-based health care with a focus on prevention and social justice.⁴⁰

The Black Theatre

The Black Theatre was an Aboriginal-run theatre company established in 1972, initially established in a terrace in Regent Street and then moving to a warehouse in Cope Street.



[Left] Historical sign c1972 [Right] Cope Street premises, both stills from *The Redfern Story* (documentary)

Bob Maza, who had been working in Melbourne with Aboriginal playwrights Jack Charles, and had been inspired by the activist theatre in Harlem and the Black Panther movement in the USA, moved into a terrace at 181 Regent Street (in the Study Area) which was the first site of the theatre.

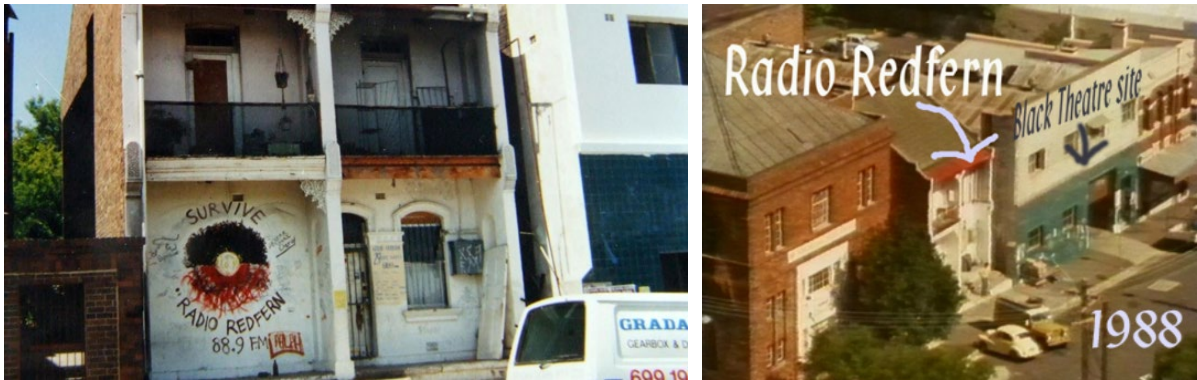
*“Revolutionary. We are out here to attack all those pre-conceived ideas, that you white people have about theatre. We want to bring theatre down to where it belongs, and that’s to the level of the people. It shouldn’t be belonging to an exclusive group in society. We want to take messages down to gross roots level, of any community. Certainly revolutionary type of theatre.” Bob Maza c1972, interview featured in *The Redfern Story* (documentary)*

*“The Black Theatre was used, as a gathering place, for a talk fest. Every week people from other organisations, the Aboriginal Legal Service, the Aboriginal Medical Service, the Aboriginal housing centre, would meet at Black Theatre, to discuss our stuff. In the community that was known as the ‘Black Caucus’. And so, we were able to unite with one another, and support all of the organisations. So people who were on the board of Black Theatre were also on the board of the legal services, the medical services, and other services. Gerry Bostock, interview in *The Redfern Story* (documentary)*

Theatre, started with street theatre featured in protests, was used to showcase Aboriginal stories and communicate Aboriginal experiences to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Shows like ‘Basically Black’ started as a theatre show, and were picked up by the ABC and given a pilot series. Barani Sydney’s Aboriginal History reports: “Black Theatre offered workshops in dancing, writing and acting, and also performed plays authored by Aboriginal playwrights. Although it wound up in 1977, Black Theatre laid the foundation for a wellspring of creative expression within Sydney’s Aboriginal community.”

The Aboriginal Dance Theatre Redfern, the National Aboriginal and Islander Skills Development Association (NAISDA), Bangarra Dance Theatre and Boomalli Aboriginal Artists Cooperative all have their roots in the Black Theatre.⁴¹

Radio Redfern and Koori Radio



Images of 27 Cope Street from the 1980s [Left] Radio Redfern in 1989 (photograph courtesy City of Sydney Archives NSCA CRS 1133/5/31), as featured on the *Barani Sydney's Aboriginal History* website. [Right] Photo showing the location of Radio Redfern and the Black Theatre building in 1988, from *Redfern Oral History* website

'Radio Redfern' began in 1981 on community radio station 2SER (107.3 FM). In 1984 when community radio station Radio Skid Row (2RSR 88.9 FM) was allocated a broadcasting license it gave 10 hours of air-time weekly to Radio Redfern. All announcers were volunteers.⁴²

*"It was 1980, '81. My mother, Maureen Watson, came back from a conference in Alice Springs, where she saw CAAMA Radio. Came back talking about this Aboriginal radio station, or these Aboriginal people that were working in radio—we were in Redfern at the time. She came back talking about radio and how it was important and we should be looking at it down in Sydney, in Redfern. She said, come on, let's go in here. We'll talk to the manager of 2SER. So we went in there. She got 10 minutes a week for starters."*Tiga Bayles, interview for ABC Radio National (4 December 2005)

Originally broadcasting from the University Sydney, it moved to a terrace house at 27 Cope Street (in the Study Area). It played a key role in coordinating political protests against the Bicentennial celebrations in 1988, and in Aboriginal deaths in custody.

*"In 88, the big marches. Radio Redfern was giving the updates all day, every day, where all the convoys were, coming from everywhere. Every update on the hour. Thinking of it now makes me really emotional, it was really happening time. At La Perouse they had camping and big cookups and all that. Radio Redfern has always been a big part of the community."*Gadigal Elder, interview by CIR June 2020

Radio Redfern operated until 1990 or 1991, when building was bulldozed at the same time as the demolition of the former Black Theatre building. In 1993 Cathy Craigie and Matthew Cooke established a community based media, arts and information service - Gadigal Information Service. They started broadcasting on Radio Skid Row, and leased the upper level of a terrace house on the corner of Cleveland and Edwards Streets. Close to the Block, it remained an important drop-in and information centre.⁴³ In 2001 Gadigal Information Service was given a Sydney-wide broadcasting licence.

Barani Sydney's Aboriginal History website reports: "When Radio Redfern stopped broadcasting in the early 1990s, the gap was quickly filled. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander owned and operated organisation Gadigal Information Service was founded in 1993. It broadcasts a full-time radio station, Koori Radio (93.7FM 2LND), to the Sydney metropolitan region. In 2005, the Indigenous

Land Corporation acquired the buildings on Cope Street that had been occupied by Radio Redfern and the National Black Theatre. A new building to house the recording studios and offices of the Gadigal Information Service was designed by the architectural firm Tonkin Zulaikha Greer, with exterior artwork by Aboriginal artist Adam Hill. The building was opened here in 2008.



Exterior of the building for Gadigal Information Services designed by Tonkin Zulaikha Greer, with artwork by Adam Hill (photograph courtesy City of Sydney)

About the project

Cox Inall Ridgeway (CIR) was commissioned by the City of Sydney Council (the City) to complete a brief Aboriginal historical study as part of the strategic review of the 'Botany Road Corridor' (the Study Area). The aim of the work commissioned by the City was to ensure that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices and priorities are at the centre of the City's future planning for the Study Area.

Conducted over May to September 2020, this project was implemented by CIR in accordance with the City of Sydney's *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Protocols* (2012), the City's *Community Engagement Framework* (2019) and the *Principles of Cooperation agreement between the City and the Metropolitan Local Aboriginal Land Council*. The CIR project involved:

- A literature review and desktop analysis, including case studies of successful co-design and Designing with Country approaches.
- Aboriginal engagement in the form of meetings, interviews, small focus groups, presentations, a survey and social media and email information.
- A brief Aboriginal Historical Study (this document), an Archaeological Assessment and an Assessment of Significance of the Study Area (which collectively make up an Aboriginal cultural heritage study for the area).
- Planning and policy recommendations and advice for the City's consideration.

Refer to the final **Project Report** for more information. More details about the objectives and approach of the project are outlined the project methodology contained in the Project Report.

Project team

This project was led by Dr Aden Ridgeway, the founding partner of CIR. The historic research was collated by CIR Head of Research Sylvie Ellsmore and Senior Historian Cameron Muir.

Other key CIR project team members were: CIR Senior Consultant Tiernan Campbell O'Brien, CIR Director Harpreet Kalsi and Urbis Associate Director Balasz Hansel. Contributions to the Project Report and brief Historical Study were made by: CIR Associate Consultant Janis Constable, CIR Associate Consultant Julia Martignoli and CIR Researcher Conal Thwaites.

Historical study research approach

The authors used desktop-based research methods to create a compilation of existing primary and secondary sources, including the online sources specified in the project brief (*Dictionary of Sydney*, *Redfern Oral Histories*, *Sydney Oral Histories*, and *Barani: Sydney Aboriginal History*), relevant sources identified by the literature review, information recorded in the community consultation, and unpublished oral histories, reports and grey literature. Aboriginal authors, voices, views and stories were prioritised wherever possible.

CIR documented the brief history of the Study Area contextualised within the wider cultural landscape of 'Aboriginal Redfern'. CIR explored the history of the Study Area and surrounds with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people engaged through the community consultation. The interviews, small meetings and survey conducted for the project included questions about significant places, events, people and history.

Project limitations

This document is a short introductory history and is not intended to be a complete account of the rich and diverse histories of the Study Area and surrounds.

The scale and timeline of the project meant it was only possible to use existing and supplied sources along with preliminary desktop-based searches of online resources such as archival databases, digitised sources, and academic databases. Primary research was limited to online. Some oral history interviews were conducted, focusing on the significance of the area, and specific places or sites within the Botany Road Corridor.

Community members advised CIR that there are a number of community history projects underway which are aiming to record local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history from those involved in the rights struggles, which will contain further valuable insights and stories. CIR has included recommendations in its advice to the City about opportunities for further research. CIR hopes that this brief study will provide a useful community resource.

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Thank you to the Aboriginal Elders, community members and representatives from community organisations who provided an interview or insights to Cox Inall Ridgeway for this project, including: Uncle Charles 'Chicka' Madden, Uncle Ray Davison, Aunty Millie Ingram, Aunty Ann Weldon, Aunty Delilah McGillivray, Shane Phillips, Clare McHugh, John Leha, Peta McIlvray, the members of the City of Sydney Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Panel and others.

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End Notes

¹ There are various spellings of Gadigal. A common alternative is Cadigal. 'Cadi' is the name for the Sydney Harbour Area. Eora means 'people' (of this place). See: City of Sydney Council 'Acknowledging Gadigal Country' on the *City of Sydney website*, City of Sydney Council (2012) *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Protocols*, and Irish (2017) *Hidden in Plain View: The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney*.

² The 29 clans of the Eora Nation are acknowledged by the Metropolitan Local Aboriginal Land Council through Acknowledgement of Country and Welcome to Country, and by the City of Sydney. See also the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (AIATSIS) *Map of Indigenous Australia*, at <https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/aiatsis-map-indigenous-australia> (accessed August 2020).

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¹⁹ La Pouse Local Aboriginal Land Council website

²⁰ Irish (2019) *Hidden in Plain View: The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney*.

²¹ Perheentupa (2020) *Redfern: Aboriginal activism in the 1970s*.

²² Australian Technology Park Sydney, *Everleigh Stories website*

²³ Langford Ginibi, Ruby (1992) *Real Deadly*. Angus and Robertson

²⁴ Norman (23 August 2009) Interview on *ABC Speaking Out*

²⁵ Madden (undated) 'Growing up in the inner city' (v37) 'Redfern Oval and the Palms' (V38) Interview on *History of Aboriginal Sydney website*

²⁶ Harley, Jackie (2002) quoted in Perheentupa (2020) *Redfern: Aboriginal activism in the 1970s*.

²⁷ At 4 minutes, Foley interview (film) in Johnson (2014) *The Redfern Story*

²⁸ Foley (undated) "A condensed history of the Block in Redfern" in *The Koori History Website*

²⁹ Interview with Bronwyn Penrith, and interview in *The Redfern Story* (documentary)

³⁰ Perheentupa (2020) *Redfern: Aboriginal activism in the 1970s*.

³¹ At page 5 in Perheentupa (2020) *Redfern Aboriginal activism in the 1970s*.

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³³ Mundine (November 2006) "Oral History Interviews about the Block", published on *Redfern Oral History* website

³⁴ 'Bangarra Dance Theatre' (undated) on *Barani Aboriginal Sydney* website

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³⁷ According to the last Census (2016) there were 2,412 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living in the City of Sydney Local Government Area in 2016, although the Australian Bureau of Statistics estimates the population may actually be much higher, at around 3,600 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander residents. The resident Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population of the suburbs around the Botany Road Area can be estimated as between 500 and 1300 people. See population analysis contained in the main Botany Road Corridor Strategic Review – Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study and Community Engagement - Project Report prepared by Cox Inall Ridgeway.

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⁴⁰ History of NACCHO (undated) *National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation* website

⁴¹ Hinkson (2015) *Aboriginal Sydney*

⁴² 'Radio Redfern' page, *Barani History of Aboriginal Sydney* website, at <https://www.sydneymarani.com.au/sites/radio-redfern>

⁴³ 'Radio Redfern and Koori Radio' page on *Redfern Oral History* website, at <http://redfernoralhistory.org/Enterprises/RadioRedfernKooriRadio/tabid/206/Default.aspx>