DRAFT

GOVERNORS DOMAIN AND CIVIC PRECINCT NATIONAL HERITAGE LIST ASSESSMENT

PLACE HISTORY

The Governors' Domain and Civic Precinct includes many features which have a direct link to the early British penal colony which was first established on the shores of Sydney Cove in 1788. For many Sydney Cove's association with the arrival of the First Fleet has been lost. For others the history of the place is recognised and remembered.

The Governors' Domain and Civic Precinct is similarly a place with many features which are related to the early Colonial era of Australia. These stories are not immediately evident to a casual or international visitor. In addition these stories cannot be easily constructed from a study of individual places or buildings.

On a broad level the Governors' Domain and Civic Precinct is a palimpsest, and can demonstrate a society in transition; initially as an Aboriginal place, then one shaped by its role as a penal colony to one which developed its own character beyond its penal function to form a more independent settlement which was more diversified economically, democratic and with a growing civil society. These changes also set in train other historical patterns which framed our sense of ourselves as Australians and created the foundation for many other Australian institutions which were copied in other state capitals across Australia.

Much of the information on the way of life, customs and material culture that informs early studies of local people was written in diaries, reports and letters including Governor Phillip and members of the First Fleet
(Attenbrow. 2002). Clendinnen comments that Tench, a keen observer and diarist:

> '…celebrates the ingenuity of [Aboriginal] Australian tools and Australian skill in using them…he acknowledges their expertise in everything to do with a hunt or a battle, and he notes that while they lack surgeons their wounds heal clean and fast. As to character: while he cannot defend 'their levity, their fickleness, their passionate extravagance of character he insists on their loyalty…[however] there are some things about Australian society he did not see, Australian structures of thought, of religion, of deference and hierarchy quite escaped him. He never grasped the respect owed to age of accumulated ritual experience. And he could not see British society at all' (Clendinnen. 2003).

The lack of contact after a mixed initial reaction ranging from hostility to cautious friendliness, dominates the first two years of diary writing (Attenbrow. 2002).

Aboriginal occupancy

Dated archaeological evidence exists for Aboriginal people having lived in the Sydney area for 14,700 years, but possibly longer (Attenbrow. 2002). Gadigal people are the traditional owners of Sydney Cove (Warrang) including Port Jackson. Other Aboriginal clans or bands including the Gweagal and Cammeraigal 'came together throughout the year for initiation ceremonies, to share a feast, to exchange goods and to hold funeral ceremonies' (Hinkson.2010). Clan members were identified by their distinctive personal adornment (Attenbrow. 2002). The British gave Aboriginal groups names associated with the locality they were most seen at (Attenbrow. 2002).

It is unknown what the pre-colonial distribution of Aboriginal languages and dialects were (Attenbrow. 2002). It was acknowledged that there were several language groups or dialects spoken within the area and Aboriginal people, for example Colbee and Ballederry accompanying Phillip to

the Hawkesbury, were able to converse with Aboriginal people there (Attenbrow. 2002). Some linguists consider that the local language of Sydney was Dharug, with a coastal dialect distance from inland dialects. It is often now referred to as Eora a word originally believed to be a word for people not a specific social group (Hinkson. 2010). 'A New South Wales pidgin developed quickly and became the lingua franca for many years' (Attenbrow. 2002).

The Aboriginal landscape

Gammage claims Aboriginal land was managed principally by '…. fire and no fire patterned country in ways which influence where newcomers settled' (2011). What the settlers found was land managed by Aboriginal people repeatedly referred to, sometimes with rapture as park like with lawns and a range of lofty trees (Gammage. 2011).

At first sighting Arthur Bowes Smyth, a member of the first fleet wrote:

> 'to describe the beautiful and novel appearance of the different coves and islands as we sail'd up is a task I shall not undertake…suffice it to say that the finest terras's, lawns and grottos, with distinct plantation of the tallest and most stately trees I ever saw in any nobleman's grounds in England, cannot excel in beauty whose w'h nature now presented to our view' (Gammage. 2011).

The primary needs of the early settlers were access to a port and fresh water. 'We got into Port Jackson early on the afternoon, and had the satisfaction of finding the finest harbour in the world… The different coves were examined with all possible expedition. I fixed on one that had the best spring of water, and in which the ships can anchor …' Gammage. 2011).

The settlers didn't just want drinking water for themselves and animals, but running water for potential industry, unlike the Aboriginal people who so highly valued their fresh water swamps, soaks, springs and wetlands. The Tank Stream was a spring that percolated from below the (now) Archibald Fountain in Hyde Park down a gully to a cove, west of Bridge and Pitt streets. The stream 'served not because their supply was good, but because it was worse elsewhere' (Gammage. 2011).

Gammage considers the original location of the early government centre on the more open land, with large fire scared trees and less undergrowth endures in the contemporary Sydney landscape.

> 'The 'tolerably free' areas were used for erecting tents and huts, the clearings around the creek mouth were used for early gardens, cattle was put on the 'little pasturage' scattered with trees at Bennelong Point and named Cattle Point and grassed areas, like previously continued to attract kangaroos despite the newcomer's guns…thus the Sydney families broadly shaped the city that displaced them' (2011).

Aboriginal population

There is no unequivocal documentary evidence and insufficient archaeological evidence to determine the size or mobility of Aboriginal subsistence groups (Attenbrow. 2002). Scientific studies of potential archaeological sites did not happen until the 1880's (Attenbrow. 2002). While gendered suffixes were used to identify individuals, there are few references to identify any specific powers or rights held by women (Attenbrow. 2002). 'All parts of the land were used at different times and for differing purposes during the lives of the original inhabitants of the Sydney region' (Attenbrow. 2002).

Estimates vary of the total Aboriginal population of the Sydney region at the arrival of the First Fleet. Attenbrow estimates a population of 3,000 to 5,000 people for the region (2002).

> 'When the British arrived in January 1788, there were more than 1500 Aboriginal people living in the area from Botany Bay to Broken Bay and as far west as Parramatta. They belonged to many clans including the Gadigal,

Wangal, Wallumedegal, Boromedegal, Gamaragal, Borogegal, Birrabirragal and Gayamaygal. They spoke languages now known as Darug, Dharawal and possibly Guringai. To the south-west Gundungurra and to the north-west of the Hawkesbury River Darginung was spoken' (Australian Museum).

It is believed the Sydney region was part of a broader south-eastern Australian religious and ritual system, with similar beliefs described in ethnographic and linguistic studies undertaken in an anthropological context for example by Alfred Howitt and others from the 1880's (Attenbrow. 2002). 'Very little is recorded about religious beliefs and customs in the Sydney region, but extrapolating from adjacent areas people had a rich ceremonial life that was part of a belief system that extended across a large area of south-eastern Australia' (Attenbrow. 2002). Attenbrow (2002) suggests this information may not have been passed on by choice to non-Aboriginal people or un-initiated Aboriginal people outside the appropriate ritual context or may have been the result of Governor Macquarie banning large assemblies for ritual combats in 1816.

The Gadigal population estimated at fifty to sixty people in 1789 was greatly reduced in 1791 after the first gal-gal-la or gall-galla (smallpox) epidemic decimated the Aboriginal population who unlike the settler's, had no previous immunity. In the (text concerning the epidemic removed) Hawkesbury River area, half the Aboriginal population died (Attenbrow. 2002). Between this and a later epidemic in 1829, Hinkson estimates that 50-90% of the local Sydney Aboriginal population died with no non-Aboriginal people contracting the disease (2010). Bennelong stated the epidemic killed up to half the local population and Colbee 'lost all bar two of his band and had to unite with another clan' (Clendinnen. 2003). So many people died that that it was not possible for the usual burial practices to be performed (Attenbrow. 2002).

As happened subsequently around Australia, the high Aboriginal death toll from introduced diseases and dispossession of customary land and water ways and the increased competition for resources led to forced dispersal with new groups being formed to incorporate people and territories over a wider area (Hinkson. 2010; Attenbrow.2002).

Establishment of a Colony: 1788–1810
Contact and Settlement
With the arrival of the First Fleet '[t]he number of people drawing on the marine and land recourses of Port Jackson doubled' (Attenbrow. 2002). 'Six convict transports, three store ships and two warships carried 1057 people, 44 sheep, 32 pigs, seven horses, six cattle, dogs cats, poultry and Australia's first house flies…' (Gammage. 2011) arrived with supplies for a year. The landing coincided with an El Nino event, 'in other parts of the world was described as the worst for 100 years' (Attenbrow. 2002) which would have impacted on the intermittently flowing Tank Stream and other Aboriginal water sources (Gammage. 2011). The location of the first settlement '…excluded the Australians [Aboriginals] from reliably accessible water and good hunting grounds' (Clendinnen. 2003).

The Governors' Domain and Civic Precinct sits in the broader land of the Cadigal and the Cadigalleon people; that is, the men (gal) and women (galleon) of the Cadi people, one of approximately thirty clan groups that occupied the greater Sydney area when Europeans arrived in 1788 (Attenbrow. 2002). The name speaks directly to the clans' connection to the place - Cadi translated to mean the southern shore of Sydney Harbour, its entrance to the cove where the Europeans came ashore.

When the First Fleet arrived in Sydney Cove in January 1788, having relocated from the shallow, windswept waters of Botany Bay, it was the men and women of the Cadi that they first encountered as they came ashore and established the camp. They bore the brunt of the first settlement and were the first people dispossessed by Europeans; indeed the physical and moral dispossession of Aboriginal people continued as the city grew as it did throughout Australia in the coming years (Karskens. 2009). This process started on the foreshore of Sydney Harbour and the land that now forms Sydney city.

Captain Arthur Phillip, Commander of the Fleet and first Governor, recorded his surprise at the numbers of Aboriginal people in the vicinity of the camp, more numerous than the Europeans had expected (Clendinnen. 2003). Initial meetings bristled with mutual curiosity. Phillip approached the Aboriginal population with a resolve to gain their trust and even friendship. He had been despatched with instructions from the British Colonial Office to open a dialogue with them, gain their affection, and endeavour to ensure British subjects, free and bonded, treated them with kindness and amity (Macintyre. 1999). Gifts were exchanged and weapons were lowered on both sides at first, but increasing numbers of Europeans, hardening attitudes and local skirmishing soon began to undermine these good intentions.

Phillip chose the landing place at Sydney Cove, or 'Warrane' as the local people called it, for its sheltered harbour and its run of fresh water. The rivulet, later called the Tank Stream, ran from an elevated, swampy soak to the south of the landing place, through a small, timbered valley into the harbour. Part of the swamp would later be incorporated into Hyde Park, with a small 1960s fountain marking its approximate location. The stream also acted as a convenient boundary line for Phillip's camp layout, with the administrative and government functions primarily to the east and the military and convict functions mostly to the west (Flannery. 1996). This spatial order, set down on the first day of occupation and later transmuted into the government and commercial sectors, remains a discernible feature in the layout and function of modern Sydney (Ashton. 1995).

Imperial ideas about the placement of towns, the need for access to navigable waterways, and the siting of fortifications and public buildings were inferred in the orders given to Phillip and other early governors
(Context. 2011). Phillip also came with first-hand experience of maritime cities he had visited as a naval officer, including Cape Town and Lisbon. However, he was given no explicit instructions on how to go about building a port or laying out a town. It has been suggested that Phillip's plan was 'quite at odds with the British government's view of Sydney as a primitive convict depot' (Marsden. 2000). The plan, first envisaged in April 1788, was a mix of imperial ideas about the orderly arrangement and defence of towns; the effects of the town environment on the physical and moral health of its citizens; Phillip's own observations from his travels; and a response to the topography and landscape of the place (Atkinson. 1988; City Futures. 2007). One of Phillip's first acts was to erect a small, temporary prefabricated structure to serve as his house and office on the eastern side of the cove facing the harbour. From here he planned the layout of the town as he saw it, with a 200 foot (61m) wide principal street running southwest (on the opposite side of the stream to the temporary house) from the head of the cove to a plaza on which a permanent Government House would eventually be built. The house would be sited to provide long views across the cove and its eastern arm, Bennelong Point, to the harbour.

Watkin Tench, a Captain of the Marines and one of the First Fleet diarists, wrote:

> … the plan of the town was drawn and the ground on which it is hereafter to stand surveyed and marked out. To proceed on a narrow, confined scale, in a country of the extensive limits we possess, would be unpardonable. Extent of empire demands grandeur of design. (Flannery. 1996)

Phillip's vision was never to eventuate. The difficulties of sustaining the isolated colony and striving to be self-sufficient, not to mention the difficulties encountered by the new settlers in understanding the strange landscape and the properties of its resources, overcame any grand visions for its urban design (Proudfoot.1988). Records of the early settlement indicate that among the stores ordered for the First Fleet were building materials including bricks, window glass and brick moulds; building hardware (nails, spikes, hinges, locks and bar iron); and tools including spades, shovels, hoes, felling axes, hatchets, saws, hammers, chisels and the like for preparing the ground, cutting timber and quarrying stone (Proudfoot.1988). These materials and tools set up the fledgling colony to establish its first buildings and put the local resources to use. However, the local materials were mystifying to the colonists—the local timber, when cut, did not behave like European timber; and lime (that most essential of materials for masonry buildings) was hard to come by. The periodic heavy rains combined with the poorly understood materials meant that buildings easily collapsed or washed away in the earliest years of the colony. Phillip's term was also occupied by attempts to hold the colony back from the brink of starvation and establish some form of self-sufficiency.

Despite the difficulties of building and surviving, Phillip managed to reserve enough space around the public buildings to enable their expansion as the population grew. The positioning of what was meant to be the temporary Government House also influenced the evolving layout of the settlement. Within the first months, a garden had been planted running down to the waterline; and by April 1788 a bridge had been built across the Tank Stream with a track running up to the Governors' house. This track, the first east–west connection in the camp, would later be formalised as Bridge Street (Thalis & Cantrill. 2013). The foundations for a new brick house for the Governor were laid facing this track by May 1788. To the east, fronting the next cove from Sydney Cove, a government farm was established in the first weeks of settlement. Here Phillip planted the plants and seeds he had brought with the Fleet to help establish the colony. Coffee, cocoa, cotton, bananas, oranges, lemons, apples, figs, bamboo, sugar cane, wheat, maize and barley were among some of the plants included in the plots. The cove took on the name Farm Cove and represents the beginnings of European agricultural practices in Australia.

Aboriginal technology

Fishing was the main occupation and food source for Aboriginal people in the warmer months (Hinkson. 2012; Attenbrow. 2002; Gammage. 2011). In 1793 Tench claimed that 'the canoes, fish-gigs, swords, shields spears and throwing sticks, clubs and hatchets, are made by the men, to the women are committed the fishing lines, hooks and nets' (Attenbrow. 2002). Both were very accomplished fisher people with men principally using spears from rocks and bark canoes. Women often accompanied by children expertly manoeuvred canoes, using hand lines and shell hooks and equipped with fires to cook on. 'The women are constantly employed in the Canoes where I have seen them with very young infants at their breasts' (Governor Phillip quoted in Clendinnen. 2003). Aboriginal people were still observed fishing in Middle Harbour in the 1850's (Attenbrow. 2002).

Over time Aboriginal fishing methods proved less successful as stocks were exhausted through the more wholesale netting undertaken by the British (Hinkson. 2012; Attenbrow. 2002). This and seasonal food shortages led to hostilities and an increasing reliance on colonisers to provide food and support (Attenbrow. 2002). Six months after landing, Phillip noted that Aboriginal people 'were greatly distressed for food' and by September competition for food meant friendly exchanges for example, Aboriginal help un-loading fish catches and voluntary recompense were replaced with demands for fish (Attenbrow. 2002). By April 1791 Tench reports the gardens were 'destitute of vegetables (Clendinnen. 2003). Hunger in the colony was 'securely alleviated' by July 1792 when several store ships arrived and in the following spring crops like maize were beginning to bear fruit (Clendinnen. 2003). As resources and land became scarcer, and the settler population increased, retaliatory and unprovoked attacks occurred (Attenbrow. 2002).

Middens attest to the high reliance on marine shellfish collected principally by women, although this is not replicated in early observations (Attenbrow. 2002). Early colonisers used the shell remnants of Aboriginal seafood located in large middens for example, at Cockle Bay as a source of lime for construction, road building and as a fertiliser (Gammage. 2011).

Throughout his governorship, 'Phillip sustained his determined egalitarianism… the daily ration of provisions issued from the public stores was the same to the convict as it was to the Governor' (Clendinnen. 2003). Rations were also provided to Aboriginal people. From one convict's perspective '[a]ny of these savages are allowed… a freeman's ration of provision for their idleness…and they are treated with the most singular tenderness' (Watling quoted in Clendinnen. 2003). Watling and his fellow convicts were unhappy to be '… left ill-clad, half starved and held to endless labour' (Clendinnen. 2003).

Cross cultural relations

Small scale trading existed at a personal level. For example fish caught by Aboriginal people were traded for other foods, clothing, tobacco and alcohol (Attenbrow. 2002). However little archaeological evidence exists of the European objects used or exchanged (Attenbrow. 2002). It was noted that:

> 'These people did not covet the trinkets the British waggled at them. They seemed to lack a proper passion for novelties. Gifts of ribbons and neck-clothes were accepted worn for a day, then hung on a bush and forgotten…. Nor did the natives have an 'abundance of superfluities'' of their own available for exchange: it quickly became clear that every one of their hand-crafted multipurpose possessions was essential for the daily business for surviving, and was duly cherished. They coveted only those British products which replicated the functions of their own tools, like metal hatchets and fishhooks' (Clendinnen. 2003).

Aboriginal camps were observed close to the Sydney colony by the early settlers. Coastal people moved between rock shelters in winter and in warmer weather, made huts of bark or boughs, semi-circular brush shelters or slept in the open (Attenbrow 2002:105-6). The term 'little village' was used for the largest recorded group of five huts (Tench in 1790) at North Arm on the entrance to the Cook's River in Botany Bay (Attenbrow. 2002).

Early interactions were based on mutual miscommunication and misunderstandings (Hinkson. 2012). There was no recognition or understanding of Indigenous rights and responsibilities for country and associated resources. For example, it was considered acceptable to pick up Aboriginal artefacts and tools as mementos to send home but the reverse was not the case. When Aboriginal people took settler tools '…like the metal spades and hatchets they saw lying about among the strangers they risked being shot' (Clendinnen. 2003). Likewise, the dairies of Phillip and his First Fleet 'suggest an awe of Aboriginal fishing technologies but also a complete lack of understanding of the relationships between fishing practices and Aboriginal coastal culture' (Hinkson. 2012).

Known Aboriginal people

Towards the end of the first year of settlement, Governor Phillip ordered the kidnap of several Aboriginal people in a desperate attempt to gain access to much needed food sources and to initiate communications. The first Aboriginal kidnapped was Arabanoo. Tench claims: 'although of a gentle and placable temper, we early discovered that he was impatient of indignity and allowed no superiority on our part. He knew he was in our power, but the independence of his mind never forsook him' (Clendinnen. 2003). After a six month period of cross cultural exchange Arabanoo died of smallpox.

After several unsuccessful attempts to lure other Aboriginal people into boats, Governor Phillip directed the kidnap of Bennelong, a Wangal man and traditional owner of Mamila (Goat Island) and

Colebee, a Cadigal man at Manly Cove in Nov 1789 (Hinkson. 2010). Colebee escaped within days but Bennelong stayed and developed a close relationship with Phillip. Bennelong escaped from the settlement in May 1790 (Hinkson. 2010) and he and Colebee were present when Governor Phillip was speared by Willemering at Manly (outside the nominated place) in 1790, where 200 Aboriginal people were feasting on a beached whale.

Interpretations of this event vary. Hinkson sees it was a cultural misunderstanding and the result of mistaking Phillip's outstretched hand for a threat and '…some Aboriginal leaders such as Bennelong and Colebee realised that their best option for survival (and possible material betterments) was to cooperate with the newcomers' (2010). At the time David Collins recorded in his journal 'this accident gave cause to the opening of communication between the natives of this country and the settlement, which, although attended by such an uncompromising beginning, it was hoped would be followed by good consequences (Clendinnen. 2003). Elizabeth Macarthur stated 'the reason why the mischeif [sic] was done could not be leant…with many taking up their abode among us (Clendinnen. 2003). Tench stated 'During our intervals of duty our greatest source of entertainment now lay in cultivating the acquaintance of our new friends, the Natives [however] inexplicable contradictions arose to bewilder our researchers' (Clendinnen. 2003).

In November 1790 at Bennelong's request (Attenbrow. 2002) Phillip ordered a house built at Bennelong Point, on the eastern side of Sydney Cove which Bennelong intermittently used until it was pulled down in 1795 (Attenbrow. 2002). He and his wife Barangaroo were regular visitors to Government House and requested and received gifts and meals and Barangaroo and her infant daughter were buried in the garden.
Bennelong was not the only Aboriginal person to receive the Governors' support. Bungaree circumnavigated Australia with Matthew Finders in 1799-1802 and in 1815, Governor Macquarie granted him and some of his people land and a hut similar to Bennelong's (Attenbrow. 2002). He was also given tools, a boat and assistance from convicts to establish an experimental farm for native people (Hinkson. 2010; Attenbrow. 2002; Clendinnen. 2003). After intermittent use and some success selling peaches, the farm failed and Bungaree moved to Sydney town where he welcomed newcomers to his country. He (text concerning Bennelong removed.)died in 1830 and was buried at Rose Bay (site unknown).

Baluderri a young Aboriginal man from Parramatta accompanied Phillip and Colebee on an expedition to the Hawkesbury River in 1791. He was later outlawed from the colony after he protested to Phillip about the destruction of his canoe and speared a convict in retribution under customary law. Phillip ordered he be shot on sight but revoked this order when Baluderri became gravely ill. Balluderi was also buried in the Governors' garden. In 1793 Bennelong and another Aboriginal man Yemmurrawannie, returned to England with Governor Phillip returned home. Yemmurrawannie passed away in England and Bennelong returned to Sydney in 1795. He died in 1813 (Royal Botanic Gardens).

On 1 May 1801 Governor King issued a government and general order that Aboriginal people in the area could be shot on sight, and in November a proclamation outlawed Pemulwuy and offered a reward for his death or capture. Pemulwuy, a Darug (Dharug) Botany Bay man and his followers' resistance in the Parramatta area in the early 1790s is well known (Kohen 2005). From 1792 Pemulwuy led raids on settlers (outside the nominated area) for food, particularly corn, or as 'payback' for atrocities. Military force was used and in 1798 and he was injured, captured and escaped. Pemulwuy was shot in 1802.

Significant Aboriginal events

Large gatherings of Aboriginal people were recorded. In Governor Phillip's time colonists were invited to corroborees. New settlers considering carrubberre (corroboree) was any occasion where songs and dances were performed for a variety of reasons (Attenbrow. 2002). For example: during

initial exploration, Phillip reported that they fell in with 'Two hundred and twelve men in one part' (Glendinnen. 2003); in August 1788 two hundred men (with women present) met for a battle between two groups at North Harbour; and a similar number attended a tooth avulsion ceremony in 1791 (Attenbrow. 2002). When Baluderri died, Bennelong organised his funeral including 'ritual combat' (Attenbrow. 2002) '…which seems to have been a major event in Sydney' (Hinkson. 2012).

Large ceremonies occured in Port Jackson in December 1790, in February 1791 (possibly a continuation of the December ceremony) and subsequently in December 1797 (Attenbrow. 2002). It is possible that Aboriginal people from wider affiliated areas than previously attended ceremonies after the smallpox epidemics (in 1789 and 1791) and as settlement developed that excluded them from specific areas. Clendinnen claims the last corroboree observed by the early settlers is thought to have occurred at the traditional meeting place at Middle Harbour around 1797 (Clendinnen. 2003).

Ritual combats involving many groups were witnessed and reported in the Sydney Gazette newspaper including one between Botany Bay and Port Jackson Aboriginal people in 1824 (Attenbrow. 2002). David Collins, Judge-Advocate, details retribution for one of more murders.

> 'The natives who lived around Sydney appeared to place the greatest confidence in us, choosing a clear spot between the town and the brickfield for the performance of any of their rites and ceremonies: and for three evenings the town had been amused with one of their spectacles, which might have been denominated a tragedy, for it was attended by a great effusion of blood' (Clendinnen. 2003).

Yoolahng erahbadiahng (initiation ceremonies) occurred every four years (Collins quoted in Clendinnen. 2003) with the first recorded from 25 January - 3rd February 1795 organised by Bennelong and Colbee (Clendinnen. 2003).

> The precise location is unknown but thought to be at a Bora ring at First farm, somewhere within the now Botanic Gardens… about today's ponds, people held kangaroo and dog dances' (Collins quoted in Gammage. 2011). 'The place selected for this extraordinary exhibition was at the head of Farm Cove, where a space had been for some days prepared by clearing it of grass, stumps etc.: it was an oval figure, the dimensions of it 27ft by 18, and was named Yoolahng' (David Collins 1798 quoted in Hinkson. 2010).

It was attended by local coastal, 'woods' and other previously unknown Aboriginal people (Attenbrow. 2002). Some of the initiation ceremony was recorded in detail by Collins, painted by artist T Watling and etched by engraver, J Nagle, (Attenbrow. 2002).

> It was observed that: 'a remarkable feat [was] performed by the male dancers, achieved by placing their feet very wide apart, and, by an extraordinary exertion of the muscles and thigh, moving the knees in a trembling and very surprising manner … which none of us could imitate' (Hunter 1793, quoted in Clendinnen. 2003).

Clendinnen considers Phillip was beginning to recognise Aboriginal law but '…as governor, he could not tolerate coexistence with this other law…' (2003). After Phillip left 'the British adopted a simpler solution: two independent systems of law, one to regulate the subjects of the King, the other to settle Australians [Aboriginal] differences in accordance with their own notions of justice. Whites flocked to watch intertribal battles as a favoured entertainment…White offences against blacks would increasingly go unnoticed, and unpunished' (Clendinnen. 2003).

An Aboriginal group continued to camp at the boat sheds (between Sydney Cove and the Museum of Contemporary Art) till moved on after several complaints about their and settler's interactions, which were recorded in the Sydney Gazette newspaper in 1881 and in the Aborigines report (AIATSIS

1883). Other Aboriginal people moved to La Perouse and the western suburbs, Manly and Narrabeen and further west and south till these camps were closed by local councils by the 1950's (Hinkson. 2010). Aboriginal people were prominent in town till 1830's but no longer visible by 1860's (Attenbrow. 2002; Hinkson. 2010).

Convict foundations

More than 150, 000 convicts were transported to eastern Australia between 1787 and 1852, about 25,000 of them women. Transportation was an integral part of the English and Irish systems of justice. With growing poverty and no organised police force, the authorities relied on a harsh system of punishment to deter those criminals whom they could not catch.

In the early years of the Australian convict colonies, the fate of individual convicts turned largely on their perceived usefulness in creating a new society. Governor Phillip founded a system of labour in which, whatever their crime, people were employed according to their skills- as brick makers, carpenters, nurses, servants, cattlemen, shepherds and farmers. Whole groups of people benefited from being categorised as a particular kind of worker. Thus educated convicts were set to the relatively easy work of record-keeping for the convict administration. Women convicts, less than one-third of the whole, were assumed to be most useful as wives and mothers. Marriage effectively freed a woman convict from her servitude to the state; whatever her sentence, she exchanged the authority of the governor for the authority of her husband.

Governors such as Bligh and Macquarie in NSW, and Davey in Van Diemen's Land, understood their colonies as societies founded and governed in the interests of the emancipists – convicts freed by pardon or by serving their time – and their native born children. They used the labour of male convicts still under sentence to develop the public capital of the colonies: roads, bridges, courthouses, and hospitals. Emancipists were readily granted small landholdings, and convict labour to help work them. By the late 1810s thousands of emancipists were supporting themselves and often their families – though more often by wage labour than by farming their own holdings.

English critics complained that the system was too expensive and insufficiently harsh, and hence failed to deter..... Following Commissioner Bigge's report (1822-23) the assignment of convicts to private employers was expanded to become their major form of employment during the 1820s and 1830s, the period when most convicts were sent to the colonies. Transportation to NSW ceased in 1840. (Davison, Hirst, Macintyre. 1998).

Convict labour

"Modern Sydney is built on convicts – on convict labour, convict skills and convict stories." (Hyde Park Barracks Museum. 2016). In relation to the built form within the Governors Domain and Civic Precinct many buildings and features have been built by convict labour. A portrait of convict life is outlined below.

"The convicts living at the barracks were controlled by a delicate balance of freedom and restraint: they were prisoners, but the barracks was not a prison. Convicts arriving in Sydney Cove were marched up the hill to the barracks. After being mustered in the yard, some were quickly assigned to work for colonists, while those with useful trades were kept in government service and lived at the barracks. These convicts were required to work for the government during the week but were allowed to work for their own benefit on Saturdays. In 1830 a Court of General Sessions was established in the buildings along the northern perimeter of the site, turning the complex into a busy administrative hub for the colonial convict system. Here convicts from around the colony faced trial for secondary offences and disputes between convicts and employers were settled. Fortunate convicts were presented with pardons and tickets of leave, but disobedience and small misdemeanours were punished with solitary confinement or flogging on site. More serious crimes meant a longer sentence, months of work in a chain gang, or banishment to the dreaded penal stations of Norfolk Island or Port Arthur." (Hyde Park Barracks Museum. 2016)

"The first convicts moved into Hyde Park Barracks in May 1819. Designed to house 600 men, over the next few decades there were times when as many as 1400 men lived here. Sleeping in hammocks strung up two rows per room, they endured regimented days of endless rules and routines punctuated by the ringing of the yard bell. And they were a diverse and motley crew. Along with pickpockets, petty thieves and tricksters were political protesters and conspirators, machine breakers, bank robbers, pirates and slaves, bushrangers and hardened repeat offenders. Most had a useful trade, a craft or a profession, from baking to boatbuilding, shoemaking to writing. Many soon gained their freedom through hard work and obedience, but others remained outside the law. A few barracks convicts achieved fame or notoriety, including, along with architect Francis Greenway, poet Francis Macnamara, bushrangers Lawrence Kavanagh and William Westwood, murderer John Knatchbull, Khoi chief David Stuurman, writer Thomas Cook, potter John Moreton and hangman Alexander Green." (Hyde Park Barracks Museum. 2016).

Defining the Town Limits

In 1792 Phillip left the colony and returned to England. [note deleted: accompanied by Bennelong, Australia's first recorded Aboriginal international traveller.] Encouraged by the British society's thirst for knowledge, kangaroos, dingoes, plants, specimens and drawings—natural curiosities that represented the new, strange colony—also travelled with Phillip and began the international exchange of ideas and imaginings of what Australia was (Macintyre.1999). Nine days before he left, Phillip established a boundary line across the eastern side of the town, running from the estuary of a stream in the south at the head of Cockle Bay (Darling Harbour) diagonally across to Woolloomooloo Bay. Within this boundary the land was intended to remain as Crown land, with no grants or leases to be made. While some incursions were made inside this boundary, even by Phillip himself, it did serve to indirectly preserve the open space that was to later be incorporated into the Domain and Botanic Gardens (Atkinson.1988). As an added measure Phillip also had a ditch, or ha-ha, dug on the approximate alignment of current day Bent Street across the Domain to the head of Woolloomooloo Bay. This ditch served to define the inner zone of government land on which no building was to take place. It was with these marked out boundaries that Phillip attempted again to instil orderliness into the future expansion of the town.

Phillip's immediate successors—Francis Grose, Governor Hunter and Governor King—showed less interest in the future plan of the town's development, allowing leases to be made within the boundaries established by Phillip, though no permanent grants were made. Some of these leases faced Sydney Cove on the east banks of the Tank Stream estuary. Running parallel to the stream bank, the leases formed a diagonal to the straight streets that were forming on a north–south axis from the cove. These leases, made to merchants Shadrack Shaw (later purchased by Simeon Lord), Thomas and Mary Reibey, Thomas Randall and William Chapman, later formed the boundary of what became Macquarie Place. It was in the house of Mary Reibey, an ex-convict, that Australia's first bank, the Bank of NSW, opened for business in April 1817. Although Phillip's plans had been largely abandoned, substantial buildings such as the military barracks, the gaol and a large stone commissariat store were all started or planned during this period, each adding to the sense of permanence of the colony.

A Plan Emerges

In contrast to Hunter and King, Governor Bligh shared some of Phillip's vision for the town, and on his arrival set about re-establishing the exclusion zones Phillip had designated. It was Bligh's insistence on this matter that led indirectly to his overthrow in the rebellion of 1808. Bligh was critical of the way Governors Hunter and King had allowed private individuals to encroach on land reserved for government functions, especially allotments close to the Government House, around the Tank Stream and along the eastern edges of the town, in what would become the Domain. Bligh saw that these occupancies limited the scope of the government in making proper use of the land or establishing any civic improvements. His intention appeared to return the town to the lines as set down in Phillip's earlier vision, in terms of the delineation of government land, open public spaces and vistas of the civic buildings. Twelve months after his arrival, Bligh wrote:

> *It is an infinite satisfaction to me to say that from the distressed situation in every respect, in which I found the colony, it is now rising its head to my utmost expectations … and the town altogether is become what has not been seen before in this country.* (Quoted in Bridges.1995).

As a tool in his attempts to wrest back control, Bligh had Assistant Surveyor James Meehan make a map of the town in October 1807. Meehan's map is the first accurate survey of the settlement and shows the embryonic street pattern, as well as Phillip's line and ditch. The map notes Bligh's instructions for the future of the open space to the east of Government House. Inscribed across the map, traversing some of the leases made by the previous administration, read the words 'ground absolutely necessary for use of Government House, but leases temporarily granted on it: it is now improving'. This area encompassed the ridge of land along the eastern arm of Sydney Cove, the head and the eastern arm of Farm Cove. The map shows twelve plots leased to seven individuals within this area; of these three were occupied by windmills, built in 1797 (John Boston's mill), 1802 (John Palmer's mill) and 1804 (Nathanial Lucas' mill). The mills, essential to the survival of the town, had been built to take full advantage of the north easterly sea breeze that swept up the harbour as well as the westerly winds that blew from the opposite direction (Wilson. 1992). Archaeological relics of these mills may remain within the Royal Botanic Garden.

Aboriginal names are shown for some of the prominent features of the landscape, including 'Tobegully' for Bennelong Point, 'Woccanmagully' for Farm Cove, 'Yurong' for the eastern ridge of Farm Cove and 'Walloomooloo' Bay. These names (with variations in spelling) had been recorded by William Dawes in 1790, but Meehan's plan is the first significant plan of Sydney to include Aboriginal place names. Meehan's use of the names suggests a familiarity of use in Sydney at this particular moment or at least some retention or transfer of Aboriginal knowledge of place in the growing town. Aboriginal people were still familiar in the streets of Sydney when this plan was produced, as they would be for the next thirty years with camps around the edges of the settlement, including in the Domain (Karskens. 2009). Aboriginal names, except those that filtered into the European vocabulary, such as Woolloomooloo, did not appear on Sydney maps again until 1920 (Department of Lands, May 1920).

Bligh had made his intention clear to remove the offending leases and any structures on them. He gave notice to those he considered in breach, offering both the legal reasons behind his decision and the option of alternative land parcels elsewhere. He also made it clear he would not act until he had been given permission to do so from the British Secretary of State. The land to the east of Government House was particularly critical. He viewed this as an extension of the Government House curtilage, rather than a reserve for future government projects as his predecessors had. In July 1807 Bligh had referred to the area specifically as 'making part of the Domain of the Governors' residence' (*Sydney Gazette*, 26 July 1807). This represents the first time the name Domain had been used in any official capacity to describe the land to the east of the town. The word, derived from 'demesne' which in common usage at the time referred to land in possession of a lord or master, captured Bligh's intention of the area as a private vice-regal estate (Innes. 2013); and is a distinctly Australian concept (City Futures. 2007) begun in Sydney and replicated in other Australian cities. John Harris, Government Surgeon and opponent of Bligh, complained that the Governor had all but taken over the area around Bennelong Point and Farm Cove, initiating landscaping, putting in carriage roads around the point and the cove, and building a ditch to prevent any unauthorised thoroughfare.

Bligh's attempts to reset the government's role in the development of the town antagonised wealthy traders who were becoming increasingly powerful in the growing commercial interests of Sydney, including John Macarthur, ex-NSW Corp officer and a powerful opponent. Clashes with Macarthur, Harris, John and Gregory Blaxland and Major George Johnston over property rights in the town were the catalyst for the events that lead to the overthrow of Bligh on 26 January 1808 (Bonyhady. 2002).

Governor Lachlan Macquarie and Elizabeth Macquarie

Governor Macquarie arrived in Sydney in late 1809 and took up office on 1 January 1810. Both Macquarie and his wife Elizabeth were to have a profound influence on the layout and physical appearance of the town of Sydney during their twelve years in residence.

The Macquaries have been credited with dragging Sydney from an unruly camp of haphazard streets and poorly constructed public buildings and infrastructure to a colonial city—ordered, designed with purpose and with a certain future. Much of this arises from the fact that the pre-Macquarie town is difficult to discern in the modern city, with no standing buildings except a few remnant walls such as at Fort Phillip (Sydney Observatory) and archaeological sites; whereas significant Macquarie era buildings, streets and landscapes do remain. Outside of Sydney, Macquarie's town planning vision is writ large across the land. Prior to his arrival only two principal settlements were occupied in NSW, Sydney and Parramatta, with Newcastle an outlying convict town and Hobart a distant outpost; but when he left six new country towns had been laid out and settled on the Cumberland Plain (Liverpool, Windsor, Richmond, Castlereagh, Pitt Town and Wilberforce), with Bathurst established in the Western District and Newcastle and the Hunter Valley opened for free settlement.   The achievements were easy to see, however, his Sydney plan was not developed from a clean slate, but rather extended from the foundations laid down by his predecessors (Karskens. 2009).

Macquarie's zeal for town planning was influenced by the philosophers of late eighteenth century English and Scottish Enlightenment, who saw social and economic progress as a fundamental element in empire making. In colonial New South Wales, this could be expressed via the development of trade and commerce and distinguished by public architecture and order. Architecture and the growth and organisation of towns were seen to be contributors to the moral and physical foundations of the society (Proudfoot. 1992). Macquarie and his wife were both enthusiastic supporters of this imperial zeitgeist.

Based on this philosophical approach, one of Macquarie's first official directives was to establish planning rules for the town; streets were to be a uniform 50 feet (15m) wide with fenced footways on either side, and new buildings were to be approved by Colonial Surveyor James Meehan, working off a recently completed town plan, to ensure uniformity of construction. Those who proceeded without permission would have their houses pulled down (*Sydney Gazette*, 11 August 1810). In October 1810, as part of his desire to contribute to the ornament and regularity of the town and to improve its convenience, Macquarie announced that the names of the principal streets of the town, many of which reflected their use—such as Back Row East (Phillip Street) and Soldier's Middle Row (Clarence Street)—would be changed, and unnamed streets would be officially named. One such unnamed thoroughfare was renamed Macquarie Street. The only pre-Macquarie survivor to retain its original name was Bridge Street (*Sydney Gazette*, 6 October 1810). Streets were to be finger posted with the new names at their intersections to avoid any confusion. A number of new streets were also laid out, particularly in the western portion of the town, allowing access to Cockle Bay or as cross streets across the principal town plan. While these show a certain regularity, the topography continued to dictate where streets would lead. Around the harbour and the banks of the Tank Stream, streets run in directions contrary to the rectilinear layout of an ordered geometric plan.

In the same declaration, published in the *Sydney Gazette,* Macquarie also proclaimed a series of open spaces, public parks and domains around the town for the use of the populace and the Governor (*Sydney Gazette*, 6 October 1810). Macquarie Place was formed with the houses of Lord, Thompson and Reibey forming its northern boundary. At the same time, the construction of a stone wall to enclose the Domain commenced (Wilson. 1992). These improvements can be seen through the prism of the Picturesque aesthetic movement popular in England - one that the Macquaries both adhered to. The Picturesque saw that aesthetic qualities of certain natural landscapes could be appreciated as if they were works of art, and that these landscapes could be improved further through the judicious placement of buildings and paths and the manipulation of topography and vegetation. Through their work, particularly in the Domain, Macquarie and his wife reinforced the Picturesque composition of built form and landscape on the canvas of Sydney and its harbour setting (Innes. 2013).

To the south of the town, the open ground previously known as the Common, the Cricket Ground, the Exercising Ground and the Race Course (bounded by the brickfields to the south, the Government Domain to the north, Palmer's grant to the east and the town of Sydney to the west) was to be reserved for the recreation and amusement of the people of Sydney and exercise for the troops. Macquarie renamed this open ground Hyde Park. Within two weeks of it being formally set aside, Macquarie attended the first three-day race meeting in the park, with a grandstand erected near the winning post at the top of Market Street. Horses ran in a clockwise direction, setting the direction of future thoroughbred horse racing in NSW. In 1811 a fence was erected to delineate the boundaries and notification made that any animals found strayed or grazing in the park would be impounded (*Sydney Gazette*, 5 October 1811). Hyde Park represents the first time in Australia that land was set aside specifically for the recreation and amusement of the general populace. It was part of Macquarie's demonstration of his benevolence as Governor, also shown in his unrealised plan to incorporate the park into a grand quadrangle surrounded by formal buildings constructed in a classical style (Proudfoot. 1992). At least part of the southern end of the park extended through a traditional contest ground used by Aboriginal people from all around Sydney as well as from the Hunter Valley and the Illawarra. Described by contemporary British observers as between the road to Botany Bay and the Brickfields, its exact location is not known for sure, but likely extended into the park area. Until the mid-1820s large gatherings took place here, with sometimes up to 100 warriors involved in ritual contests. While these were viewed by the colonists as a spectator sport, for Aboriginal people it was a continuation of long held customs and practice of traditional law on their land (Karskens. 2009).

At the Domain, the stone wall begun in 1810 was completed by October 1812, accompanied by a paling fence to enclose the land from Woolloomooloo Bay to Sydney Cove, excluding those areas still under lease. The wall, at three metres high, was designed to keep people out of the Domain, as well as to demarcate the territory in which the Macquaries could put their Picturesque ideas into practice. Until this time, the space, although set aside as the Governors' domain, had been easily accessible for the residents of Sydney, no matter their status. Many had taken advantage of the isolation to cut timber and quarry stone, or graze their stock. The enclosure was viewed by the residents of Sydney as an intrusion on what they regarded as public land; the wall was treated more as an obstacle than a deterrent, with trespassers climbing over it and in some cases breaking through it to collect timber, steal plants, take soil and quarry the rock. Such was the scale of the intrusion, Macquarie—while at first threatening fines, prosecutions and impounding of stock—resorted in 1817 to flogging three men for trespassing. The exclusion, however, did not extend to 'the respectable class of inhabitants', who were allowed to use the Domain. Following the completion of Mrs Macquarie's Road, running along the water's edge from Bennelong Point around to Farm Cove, respectable citizens were permitted to enter the Domain via a gate at the top of Bent Street, and promenade along the walkways around the harbour (Wilson. 1992). It may have been a reaction to this differential treatment of the citizens of Sydney as much as the effrontery of the wall itself that encouraged ongoing intrusions.

In 1810 Macquarie appointed James Milson as his land steward and superintendent of the Government farm (on the site of the Botanic Gardens). His responsibilities, again in line with Macquarie's Picturesque ideas, included the laying out of the grounds and planting of trees and ornamental shrubs in the Domain. The beginnings of the Botanic Gardens, as modern Sydney understands them, can be discerned in this period. While some planting had been carried out in the first decades of the colony, the Macquaries set out to establish the gardens, with exotic and native plantings being imported from around the colony. From 1814 Norfolk Island pines were donated and planted by prominent colonists as landmark trees. One planted by Elizabeth Macquarie in 1815 to serve as a grand entrance to the new Government Garden at Farm Cove became known as the Wishing Tree, and survived until 1945. Macquarie also planted rows of Swamp Mahogany along his wall boundary. These trees survive and represent the oldest row of street plantings in Australia (Wilson. 1992).

Colonial Exchange

The establishment and development of the colony did not happen in isolation—New South Wales was but one small part of the extensive British Empire; its development was influenced by Britain via the rule of the governors, and the exchange of knowledge and ideas between Britain, New South Wales and other British colonies. This influence and exchange shaped the physical development of the colony and also its identity—in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world.

One of the key areas of exchange was in science, particularly in botany and zoology, reflecting the zeal of British society for the collection and study of natural curiosities from the Pacific, led by Joseph Banks and the Royal Society (Smith. 1989). The Government Garden had been established in the first year of the colony and performed the role of an experimental garden where European plants—particularly food plants—could be tested in the local conditions. As an interest in botany (and capacity to carry it out) increased, the experimental garden also tested native species and became the centre for botanical study in the colony. JT Bigge noted the importance of properly establishing a botanic garden at Sydney in his Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry in 1819:

> *I would beg leave to solicit your Lordship's attention to the importance of the establishment*
>
> *of the botanic garden at Sydney, that has hitherto been attached to the Governor's garden*
>
> *at that place, and has derived assistance from the labour of the convicts assigned for its*
>
> *cultivation … The value of such an establishment, both in affording means of collection and*

of experiment, and more particularly of diffusing throughout the colony the most valuable
specimens of foreign grasses, plants and trees is unquestionable. (Bigge. 1823)

From 1818, the Government Garden was under the management of Charles Fraser, a botanist who, with surveyor John Oxley, conducted expeditions exploring the Macquarie, Lachlan and Hastings River systems of New South Wales, collecting 'many hundreds of new species', which were dried and despatched to collectors in the colony and in Britain, including to the botanic gardens of Edinburgh and Glasgow (Conybeare Morrison. 2005). This exchange was encouraged by the Royal Society in Britain, with Joseph Banks sending collectors to the colony to further the study and collection of the native flora. Exchange also happened across colonies, with plants from New Zealand, India, Mauritius and South Africa introduced to Australia via the Sydney Botanic Gardens (Conybeare Morrison International. 2005). This exchange furthered the scientific knowledge of the British Empire and also helped to establish the identity of the colony in the eyes of the world.

The curiosity of the Royal Society extended to zoology, and the fascinating fauna collected (with much sent back to Britain) from the earliest years of the colony eventually made the establishment of a museum to display its zoological wonders desirable. A small museum was set up in 1827 on the recommendation of the Earl of Bathurst, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Governor Darling:

It having been represented to me that it would be very desirable were the Government to
afford its aid towards the formation of a Publick Museum at New South Wales, where it is
stated that many rare and curious specimens of Natural History are to be procured.
(Australian Museum website)

The Earl of Bathurst provided funding for the museum's establishment and made arrangements for a colonial zoologist to be sent out from England. The Colonial Museum, as it was originally known, occupied a shed (which it shared with the colony's first post office) at the rear of the Judge-Advocate's residence on Bent Street; later moving to a room in the Rum Hospital on Macquarie Street in 1831; then a building at Macquarie Place, which it shared with the Public Subscription Library. The institution was formally named the Australian Museum in 1836 and it was jointly governed with the Botanic Gardens by a committee made up of 'eminent men of the colony' (Australian Museum). The collection initially comprised predominantly natural curiosities, including native birds, mammals and reptiles, and served the edification of the public, rather than research. Most of the work of identification and classification was performed in Britain by institutions hungry for examples of wondrous new species from the Pacific. It was not until the 1860s that the museum was recognised as a scientific institution in its own right; it now boasts an internationally recognised collection of cultural and scientific objects (Australian Museum).

Governors Phillip, Hunter, King and Bligh sent examples of flora and fauna, along with descriptions, drawings and paintings, back to Britain—particularly to Joseph Banks who was their unofficial representative in government (Smith. 1989). These despatches—with Government House their locus—and their dissemination by Banks and others shaped the British view of the new colony. The breadth of colonial exchange and the thirst for knowledge of the new land is demonstrated in the considerable collections of the Royal Botanic Garden, Sydney, the Australian Museum, the State Library of NSW, and the Art Gallery of NSW, all within the Governors' Domain and Civic Precinct.

Shaping the City

Commencing the Government Institutions

Elizabeth Macquarie had as much interest in the formation of the town and its civic landscape as her husband. Amongst her belongings on arrival was a pattern book, Edward Gyfford's *Designs for Elegant Cottages*, which was soon put to use in the construction of the Judge-Advocate's house, the Colonial Secretary's house in Bridge Street and extensions to Government House (Broadbent. 1992). In 1811 work began on a new hospital to replace the original structure close to the harbour on the western edge of Sydney Cove. The choice of the site in Macquarie Street, prominent on the ridge line that defined the eastern boundary of the city, meant that the hospital was visible from anywhere in the growing city, and it represented the first of the major public institutional buildings erected under Macquarie's administration. The hospital was designed by Lieutenant John Watts, Macquarie's Aide-de-Camp who had been apprenticed to an architect in Dublin. Watts had served in the West Indies, which combined with Macquarie's experience in India, North America and Jamaica, and produced a building that reflected the combined styles of those colonial outposts.

Francis Greenway and Dignified Urbanity

The scale of Macquarie's ambitions and his building program necessitated a change in approach from the use of military engineers and designers. As early as March 1810, Macquarie had requested a government architect be sent to Sydney to assist in the planning and erection of public buildings. It was not until 1814 however, when the convict Francis Greenway arrived, that Australia got its first official architect. Greenway had practised as an architect in Bristol before being transported for forgery. He was trained in the Georgian style, infused with a mix of Palladio and Greek Revival architectural finishes popular in Britain at the time (Johnson. 1999). At first Macquarie employed him in small scale work and copying existing buildings. Greenway, asserting his own ability, complained to Macquarie while promoting the benefits of good public design:

> *If your Excellency will grant me the power as an architect to design and conduct any public work, I will exert myself in every way to do your Excellency credit as a promoter and encourager of the most useful art to society which adds to the comforts of the Colony, as well as the dignity of the Mother Country.*

> (Johnson. 1999)

Greenway was attuned to Macquarie's aspirations for the elevation of the status of Sydney within the wider empire through design. In 1816 he was appointed Acting Civil Architect and Assistant Engineer, 'instigating the role of custodian of public architecture maintained continuously in New South Wales since then' with the Colonial Architect and later Government Architect (Johnson. 1999). Among Greenway's work were additions to First Government House, the grand Gothick inspired castellated stables within the Government Domain (now the Conservatorium of Music), an obelisk in Macquarie Place from which to measure the distance via road to towns and settlements, Hyde Park Barracks, St James Church and the first design for the Supreme Court, King Street. Greenway also built an ornamental sandstone fountain in Macquarie Place to supply fresh water to the town. The fountain was the first use of sandstone in a decorative structure (Cowan. 1998). Greenway also took advantage of the better quality of brick that was by then being produced in Sydney. Whereas earlier brick buildings had been rendered—for stability as much as for appearance—Greenway left the brick exposed on such buildings as the barracks, presenting a new style of architectural façade to the colonial streetscape (Cowan. 1998). The emergent cluster of official buildings along Macquarie Street and the northern edge of Hyde Park shifted the focus of civic authority from the western edge of Sydney Cove and around the waterfront to the ridge line and high ground. The military and commercial traders were left to shape the western areas of the city.

Macquarie's extensive use of stone and brick reflected the increasing availability of these materials as well as displaying an intention of civic permanency. This was reinforced further by the increasing scale of construction. The three wings of the two-storey hospital, the three-storey barracks and the two-storey Light Horse Barracks (adjacent to the hospital) aligned skilfully along the Macquarie Street ridge, dominated the skyline of the colonial town and captured a reassertion of public authority of the Governor after the destabilising years of Bligh's rule. Even the smallest things were imbued with intention—for example, the Macquarie Place obelisk mentioned above regulated the measurement of distances in the colony and a clock installed on the façade of Hyde Park Barracks was intended to impose orderliness on the colony's population. When Macquarie left in 1822, he had successfully, if controversially, extended the vision of Phillip and Bligh, added to their plans and foundations, transformed the town through his building program and set the direction for future development and open space. His program had civilised the embryonic town that he had inherited.

Foundations of Democracy

The Move to Representation

Between 1788 and 1823, New South Wales was ruled by the Governor, with instructions from Britain and no representation by the colonial population—displaying 'all the attributes of a military autocracy' (CHCAP. 2003). There was no formal political mechanism to challenge the Governor, so those seeking reform needed to approach the Governor personally or make representation to the Secretary of State in London. Rebellion was the third option, tried twice; first by convicts in 1804 and then by the military in 1808, neither with lasting success. The colony was, however, under the rule of law with civil and criminal courts established by a Charter of Justice in 1787, and a Judge-Advocate and his deputy presiding over criminal and civil matters, tempering the arbitrary rule of governors. When first appointed, juries were entirely made up of military officers. Convicts and emancipists (convicts who had been given conditional or absolute pardons) did not fare well in their judgements. Under British law, convicts and emancipists (as former convicts) were regarded as 'civilly dead' and were denied legal rights (CHCAP. 2003). Barrister Ellis Bent, appointed Deputy Judge-Advocate in 1809, likened the trials to court martials (Supreme Court LawLink). A second Charter of Justice established further civil courts in 1814, but this did little to improve the system. When the British Government appointed JT Bigge to conduct a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the conditions of the colony, the justice system was to be included.

Bigge's recommendations for more representative forms of political and judicial expression through civil juries and elected representation was supported by the increasingly influential emancipists, particularly during the Macquarie era, and the growing number of free settlers in the 1820s. The third Charter of Justice, proclaimed in 1824 in the school opposite the partially completed court house (Supreme Court LawLink), established the Supreme Court of New South Wales with civil and criminal jurisdictions, granted the Chief Justice precedence over all except the Governor, and provided for the appointment of court officers and the admittance of legal practitioners (Supreme Court LawLink).

In 1823 a Legislative Council was established to advise the Governor. Although excluding emancipists, the new Council was an initial step towards political representation in Australia. The Council was considered by the Imperial Government to be preferable to 'the clamorous politics of a representative assembly' (Cochrane. 2006).   A society still divided between powerful exclusive free settlers and emancipist factions—where the free settlers did not want emancipists to have the same rights as themselves (CHCAP. 2003)—as well as between convict and emancipist, was not considered able to govern itself without the guiding hand of Britain. In 1829 the Council moved into a small room in the northern wing of the hospital in Macquarie Street, shifting in 1842 to a new chamber on the northern end to accommodate the expanded blended Council of 36 members, two thirds of whom were elected. Although Britain retained much of the power through a retention of Crown Lands and veto power for the Governor, this fledgling institution did weave the idea of representation into the Australian political landscape, an idea that could not be rescinded but would be built upon by ambitious locals such as William Charles Wentworth (Cochrane. 2006).

When responsible government was achieved in 1856, following the passing of the New South Wales bill in the British Parliament in July 1855, another wing (prefabricated in iron) was attached to the southern end of the old hospital to house the Legislative Council, with the newly elected Legislative Assembly taking over the former Council Chamber (Hirst. 2009). Election rallies for the new parliament had been held in Macquarie Place and Hyde Park, among other spaces, where platforms were erected and candidates addressed the crowds. On the day of the opening, although not declared a public holiday, crowds of people flocked to Macquarie Street to see their newly elected representatives take their place (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1856:2).

While the achievement of responsible government allowed for a fairer system, it was essentially limited to white men. Women could not vote or participate in government, and only achieved suffrage in 1902 and the right to stand for parliament in the 1920s (Parliament of NSW). Likewise, Aboriginal people were denied any opportunity to participate, and the development of Australia's social democracy saw their rights and freedoms gradually taken away. Participation of women and Aboriginal people in the democratic process happened informally, through resistance and protest.

The Colonial Court

In 1827 the Supreme Court, established in 1814, moved into its new home at the northern end of Hyde Park, adjacent to Greenway's St James Church. The court house was intended to be a school, designed by Greenway. His plans, which included a colonnade entrance along the southern facade facing Hyde Park, had been dramatically altered, leading to significant shortfalls in terms of fulfilling the needs of a court house. Despite these problems, and later the need for major reconstructions, the Supreme Court was a tangible manifestation of democratic ideals in the colony.

The court was the first place where the power of the Governor could be challenged, before anyone had the vote (Hirst. 2009). The new court house was opened during the administration of Governor Darling and it was his liberal opponents—such as William Wentworth, Edward Hall and his own Chief Justice Francis Forbes—who challenged the power of the Governor through it. Cases over freedom of the press, the call for civilian juries to replace military juries and the right to have an elected assembly with ex-convicts having a right to vote challenged the hierarchy of the colonial system (Hirst. 2009).

While emancipists and liberals were using the court to advance their case for freedom, it was also used to determine the rights, or lack thereof, of Aboriginal people in New South Wales. Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, a series of cases concerning frontier violence, theft, murder and even land rights shaped the position of Aboriginal people in colonial Australia, which in some aspects remained unchanged until the late twentieth century. The Supreme Court did not extend the same protection to Aboriginal people, although they were considered to be British subjects. As well as their evidence being rejected, a series of cases brought before the court in which Europeans had murdered Aboriginal people through the 1820s and 1830s were routinely dismissed or, if the defendants were found guilty, they were lightly punished or had punishments commuted.

In 1826 the trial of Lieutenant Nathaniel Lowe highlighted the Aboriginal plight. Lowe was charged with the execution of an Aboriginal prisoner, Jackey-Jackey, in the Hunter Valley. Although the facts of the case were not disputed, his defence argued that as no treaty existed between Europeans and Aborigines, Europeans (particularly the military) were entitled to shoot them for crimes committed—therefore, Lowe could not be tried for murder. The jury agreed and Lowe was acquitted (Ford. 2010).

However, in 1838 Europeans were found guilty by the Court of murdering Aboriginal men and women at what became known as the Myall Creek Massacre. In June that year, 28 Aboriginal people were murdered and their bodies burnt at Myall Creek close to Tamworth. Eleven ex-convicts, convicts and ticket-of-leave station workers were charged with murder. Initially the charge was for the murder of one man, and the eleven were found not guilty. But instead of being released, the eleven were immediately returned for the murder of two other Aboriginal men and a female child in the same incident. Despite legal arguments over being tried for the same offence and ten of the jury going missing, the men were found guilty (under a new jury) and sentenced to death. Seven were executed. While the trial was a landmark moment in judicial history, it served to harden attitudes towards Aboriginal people in the frontier areas.

A New Government House

As the court and the parliament were now positioned prominently on the ridge line above the town, accompanied by Greenway's elegant St James Church with its gleaming copper spire consecrated in February 1824, the Governor was removed from the ageing Bridge Street house and installed in a grand new residence within the Domain. Macquarie had romantically envisaged the Domain as an ideal site for the new Government House as early as 1817, and had built the British inspired stables with fanciful turrets as a precursor to the move. It was not until 1845 that Governor Gipps and his wife moved into the new Government House. The building was designed in England by Edward Blore, with additions by Colonial Architect Mortimer Lewis designed to take in local conditions and methods of construction and to better address the site (Johnson. 1999).

The construction of Government House on the promontory above Bennelong Point set it picturesquely and strategically above the town with a view down the main shipping channel towards the harbour entrance. The relocation was part of a larger civic shaping of Sydney Cove and the city, with Macquarie Street extended north and Bridge Street extended east, the Domain land along Bennelong Point sold for wharfage and warehouse development, and Macquarie Place halved in size as Loftus Street was realigned (Context. 2011). The move also consolidated the Inner Domain as the Governors' precinct and allowed areas in the outer Domain and the Botanic Gardens to be used by the public on a wider scale for their moral and recreational betterment. Cricket, public oratory, meetings, the display of exotic animals by Australia's first Zoological Society and, more significantly, the erection of the imposing James Barnet designed Garden Palace for the 1879 International Exhibition—where the world's gaze rested on the colony's nascent society and industry—all took place in the Domain.

Growing Economic Independence

The discovery of gold and its exploitation in New South Wales from 1851 brought unexpected wealth to the colony. To control its circulation and 'regain control of the economy' (Sydney Living Museums), the colonial government sought approval from Britain to establish a local mint, rather than relying on the Royal Mint in London. Permission was granted in 1853 and New South Wales became the home of the first overseas branch of the Royal Mint. It occupied the southern wing of Macquarie's Rum Hospital and a factory was constructed at the rear of the hospital building to process gold into coins. During its operation, the Mint melted down 1200 tonnes of the colony's gold into coins and other items. The establishment of the Mint symbolised the growing economic independence of the colony.

A Change of Scale

Sandstone Sydney

The demolition of the first Government House and the extension of Bridge Street created new building sites for growing government departments. Governor Phillip had originally set aside six allotments along Bridge Street for the government administrators and Macquarie had the Judge-Advocate and Commissary housed near the first Government House. When the land was cleared and Bridge Street extended, the opportunity for new administrative offices was quickly seized.

The first building to be erected on the new street was the Treasury office on the northwest corner of Bridge and Macquarie Streets in 1849. Designed by Colonial Architect Mortimer Lewis, the monumental two-storey sandstone building joined the recently completed Public Subscription Library (1845) on the corner of Macquarie and Bent Streets as the first of the major sandstone structures that would come to dominate and define the civic administrative precinct of Macquarie and Bridge Streets. The use of sandstone quarried from the cliffs of Pyrmont—also used in Lewis' Australian Museum, Darlinghurst Courthouse and Customs House—set the tone and materiality of public buildings in Sydney. This was emulated throughout much of the nineteenth century, reflecting the geological bounty of the colony through built form. So much sandstone was used in Sydney's public architecture that it has come to embody Sydney's civic presence and its nexus with the environment (Kingston. 2006).

Lewis' Australian Museum building (1857) gave a permanent home to the museum that had been founded 30 years earlier. It was the first public museum opened in Australia. Flanked by the Sydney Grammar School on College Street (so named for the school) and the William Street Superior Public School, opened in 1835 and 1851 respectively, together with the museum they comprise a core of colonial intellectual life and education. From 1851 the newly constituted University of Sydney, Australia's first university, occupied rooms in Sydney Grammar while its own site was prepared in Camperdown. These educational institutions joined the Catholic College at St Mary's, facing Hyde Park to their north. The school, established in 1824, predates the College Street group and serves as one of the nation's oldest Catholic schools. St Mary's Cathedral was constructed on the site in stages between 1868 and 1928 (with spires added in 2000), replacing a chapel from 1824 that had been destroyed by fire. The foundation stone was laid on 29 October 1821 by Macquarie, making the placement of the chapel the first step in defining the eastern edge of Hyde Park (Thalis & Cantrill. 2013).

In 1862 James Barnet was appointed Colonial Architect, beginning the longest term of any of the Colonial or later Government Architects in NSW. His output during his 28 years in the position was over 1350 works, including 169 post and telegraph offices, 130 courthouses, 155 police stations, 110 lock-ups and 20 lighthouses (Johnson. 2009).   In Sydney, his public buildings, including the College Street wing of the Australian Museum, the Lands Department and Colonial Secretary's buildings in Bridge Street, contributed imposing landmarks which endowed the city with a confident civic grace. Barnet's buildings signalled a maturation of the city's character and the final transition from a colonial, Georgian township to a Victorian city (Johnson.2009).

The collection of colonial buildings along Macquarie Street and clustered around the eastern edge of Hyde Park provided demonstrable evidence of the progressive ideals of imperialism and colonial economic and social development. They were the foundational institutions for Australian intellectual life, whose influences were felt in all the colonial capitals. They remain as a legacy of the colonial desire for civic improvement through knowledge and religion.

Power Embodied

Along Bridge Street, the new and imposing Treasury building and Colonial Secretary's building (designed by Barnet and completed in 1873) delineated the central hub of government policy for the construction and administration of the rest of the colony of New South Wales. The expansion and politicisation of the two departments, particularly that of the Colonial or Chief Secretary, meant that these two buildings housed the most far reaching powers of any of the administrative departments of the colonial bureaucracy.

Both buildings were also used to reinforce the message of civilisation that Australia was beginning to encourage in its own nationalist historical discourse through the use of statuary along their main facades. The Lands Department included twelve niches on each facade to be filled with statues of explorers and legislators who had played major roles in the European settlement in Australia. Barnett nominated 48 men as being suitable candidates; however, only 23 were commissioned, the others rejected as hunters and excursionists. The debate over the politicisation of Australia's colonial settlement history, which continues in current historical discourse, was played out in the choice of statues that would represent the progressive nationalist agenda of Australia. Missing in the collection were any Aboriginal people, who were instrumental in the success of most of the explorers in their role as guides and intermediaries—and so dramatically affected by the dislocation which the explorers brought.

The location of the Colonial Secretary's building halfway between Government House and Parliament was both practical and illustrative of the relationship between the two institutions. As with the Lands Department, the building included a series of niches for statuary. Yet unlike the Lands Department with its realistic representations, the Colonial Secretary's building included six allegorical statues representing the virtues embodied in the State including Mercy, Justice and Wisdom. Behind these statues and all that they represented, the Board for the Protection of Aborigines met from its inception in 1883. The Board made recommendations about conditions of Aboriginal people in NSW and was responsible for administering Aboriginal stations and reserves, controlling Aboriginal movement in the state; and authorised the removal of Aboriginal children from their families (<www.sydneybarani.com.au>).   For Aboriginal people, the building represents an ambivalent space in the post-colonial nation. While it is here that the policies of assimilation and the stolen generation were enacted, it is also through the records created by this agency that allows people to connect to family, kin and Country.

Along Macquarie Street, the colony's elite were quick to see the benefit of associating themselves with the prominence and status of the town's growing civic precinct. While the eastern side and southern end of the street were occupied primarily by civic buildings, the western side quickly filled with private residences, offices and churches, with almost all allotments filled by 1822 (Context. 2011). The grand terraces of the city's elite extended almost to the cove following the extension of Macquarie Street in 1845 and included a terrace built for pastoralist and politician, George Oakes (now History House); and one for John Fairfax and Charles Kemp, publishers of the *Sydney Morning Herald* (the present Royal Australian College of Physicians building), among others. Many of the early terraces were replaced during the twentieth century with grander, taller business premises, such as the Royal Automobile Club and BMA House, and government offices such as Transport House. These buildings continue to demonstrate the importance of Macquarie Street in the city as a place of prestige and power.

Open Spaces Defined and Developed

While sandstone defined the built environment, it was Charles Moore, as the Director of the Botanic Gardens from 1848 until 1896, and his successor, JH Maiden (Director from 1896–1924), who defined the character of the public open space that surrounded the civic precinct.   When Moore was appointed, he was instructed to restore the scientific character of the Botanic Gardens while retaining their recreational value. He moved to label trees with their scientific names and restore the borders and pathways; and travelled through Australia collecting new specimens for the Gardens. He was particularly interested in the trees of tropical northern NSW and Moreton Bay and had been introducing these species into the public parks he was in charge of, particularly Hyde Park and the Domain. Moore was especially taken with Moreton Bay Figs, and as he was responsible for all public landscape design in colonial New South Wales, these trees became synonymous with major public parks. In 1854, as an advisor to the Hyde Park Improvement Committee, Moore recommended the figs for the replanting of the central avenue and walkways. Maiden continued Moore's work, being a tireless advocate for the improvement and inviolability of Sydney's public spaces and expanding local and international knowledge about Australian native flora. His preference for palms has provided a counterpoint to Moore's figs in Sydney's parklands, and is most clearly expressed along the Tarpeian Way, Macquarie Street.

Despite the formalisation of these open spaces and public parks, until the mid-1850s Aboriginal people continued to use them as informal gathering places and camping grounds. In the more isolated areas of the outer Domain, along the waterfront near the swimming baths (themselves retained in the modern Andrew Boy Charlton Pool), traditional Aboriginal gunyahs and shelters were still in spasmodic use in 1852 and 1853. Many of the people who camped there were visiting Sydney from country districts, having led bullock teams in from distant farms or working on coastal trading ships (Smith. 2011).

The Established Civic Precinct

By the end of the nineteenth century, a civic precinct had been established in Sydney which reflected the aspirations and ideals of the colony and its place in the British Empire. The developing system of governance and justice was reflected in Government House and grounds, the Supreme Court building, Parliament House, the Mint, the Lands Department, the Colonial Secretary's building, the Registry Office and the Education building. The importance of religion to the intellectual and spiritual life of the colony and its citizens was reflected in St James Church and the grand St Marys Cathedral. Civic aspirations in terms of creating a stately town and providing for the betterment of its citizenry were reflected in the orderly layout of Macquarie Street and Bridge Street and the significant areas of public open space of Macquarie Place, the Domain, the Botanic Gardens and Hyde Park, which embodied colonial planning ideals. The thirst for knowledge, the role of colonial exchange and the desire for intellectual betterment, influenced by the Enlightenment, was embodied in the major scientific institutions of the Botanic Gardens, the Australian Museum and the Sydney College (the first site of Sydney University), as well as the collections of the Mitchell Library. Concerns for fostering the cultural and artistic life of the colony were reflected in the Art Gallery of New South Wales, prominently sited within the Domain—a Sydney example of a must-have for any self-respecting British colony (McPherson. 1992). Supporting the health of the people was demonstrated by the original Rum Hospital and the new Sydney Hospital. However, it was not just government power reflected in the precinct—the residential terraces, private clubs and commercial premises of the city's elite also clustered along Macquarie Street. While this civic precinct reflected how far the colony had come, reminders of its beginnings as a penal settlement were also retained, embodied in the Hyde Park Barracks and the structures and landscapes designed and built by convict hands, along with the associations of the precinct with the dramatically changed circumstances of Aboriginal people.

Australia's early economic development

Australia's history of economic development can be summarised into four main periods encompassing the early beginning of a military run to a mixed civic and military run economy to the development of a more modern economy with later recognition of the impact of mining, depressions and war. Historians have noted that Australia has been extraordinary in its early attainment, then retention of economic prosperity throughout most of the nineteenth century (Oxford Companion to Australian History. 1998). The two periods of particular relevance to this assessment cover the developments from 1788 – 1900.

With the establishment of a British colony in 1788 a *bridge –head* or *prison economy* was developed under the principal authority of the British governors of the time. Social infrastructure was funded by the British taxpayer and human capital was supplied by convict and in some cases Aboriginal labour. "Essentially, small prison settlements in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were employed to establish a 'bridge-head' economy.... Officials and ex-officials granted themselves land, convict labour, commissariat provisions, and bills of credit drawn on the British government, to exploit small-scale agricultural and commercial opportunities.... from 1821.... free migration was encouraged (along with) private investment." (Davison G; Hirst J; Macintyre S. 1998. p204)

By 1825 a mixed colonial economy had developed. Free immigrants and ex-convicts began to establish private ventures with some assistance from British funds. Increasingly they turned to large scale sheep farming. " In the process, a prison economy was transformed into a mixed colonial economy....governments continued to play a vital role in the economy throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The contribution of railway construction was particularly important.... (as was) an accelerating process of urbanisation " (Davison G; Hirst J; Macintyre S. 1998. p204). Noel Butlin also showed the importance of the urban sector in this emerging economy. " .. half of Australian capital formation in the second half of the nineteenth century took place in

towns and cities.... the largest investment sector was house building, ... (which) eclipsed investment in the pastoral industry." (Davison G; Hirst J; Macintyre S. 1998. 204).