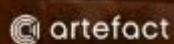


Waterloo Estate South

Historical Archaeological Assessment

Report to Stockland

August 2026



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Project overview

Artefact Heritage and Environment have been engaged by Stockland to prepare a Historical Archaeological Assessment for the concept proposal at Waterloo Estate South, NSW (the study area). The concept proposal would seek consent for a proposed mixed-use development which would include social, affordable, and market housing, community uses, and non-residential spaces. The concept proposal has been declared State Significant Development (State Significant Development–93222706) under the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979*.

This Historical Archaeological Assessment provides a detailed assessment of archaeological potential and significance, identifies potential development impact on significant archaeological resources and provides recommendations for the mitigation of potential impacts.

Approval pathway

The concept proposal has been declared State Significant Development (State Significant Development–93222706) under the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979*. The Secretary’s Environmental Assessment Requirements issued on 8 October 2025 outline that a Historical Archaeological Assessment would be required to inform the Environmental Impact Statement for the concept proposal. This report meets the Archaeological Assessment requirement for Item 19 of the project Secretary’s Environmental Assessment Requirements:¹

SEAR	Supporting Documentation	Response
19. Environmental Heritage Provide a Statement of Heritage Impact and Archaeological Assessment (where required), in accordance with the relevant guidelines.	- Statement of Heritage Impact - Archaeological Assessment	This report meets the Archaeological Assessment requirement for Item 19 of the Secretary’s Environmental Assessment Requirements.

This Historical Archaeological Assessment is submitted to the Department of Planning, Housing and Infrastructure on behalf of Stockland and NSW Land and Housing Corporation (the Applicant) in support of the concept State Significant Development Application for the redevelopment of the study area.

Summary of findings

This Historical Archaeological Assessment has made the following conclusions:

- The study area is located within four heritage items listed under Schedule 5 of the Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012 and the Ausgrid Section 170 Heritage and Conservation Register:
 - Duke of Wellington Hotel including interior (SLEP no. I2085) (Local)

¹ NSW Government, Planning Secretary’s Environmental Assessment Requirements, Application number: SSD-93222706.

- Former Waterloo Pre-School (225 Cope Street) including interior (SLEP no. I2077) (Local)
- 2 storey Victorian terrace houses (circa 1880) (SLEP no. I2078) (Local)
- Single-storey interwar building, Electricity Substation No 174 (SLEP no. I2086 and s170 no. 3430543) (Local)
- The study area is located within one heritage item listed under the State Heritage Register, Sydney Water Section 170 Heritage and Conservation Register, and the Register of the National Estate:
 - Pressure Tunnel and Shafts (SHR no. 01630, s170 no. 4570942, RNE ID: 19884) (State)
- The archaeological potential of the study area is presented in terms of the likelihood of the presence of archaeological resources, considering the land use history and previous impacts at the study area, and the results of previous relevant archaeological investigations. The study area has been assessed as having the following archaeological potential, arranged by historical phases of occupation and development:
 - Phase 1 (1788–1820s): This report does not include an assessment of Aboriginal or contact archaeology
 - Phase 2 (1820s–1850s): There is Low potential for archaeological resources ('works' and 'relics') associated with early occupation and market gardens activities during this phase
 - Phase 3 (1850s–1960s): There is High potential for archaeological resources ('works' and 'relics') associated with late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century commercial, industrial and residential development and occupation during this phase
 - Phase 4 (1960s–present): There is Nil-Low potential for archaeological resources associated with late-twentieth century residential development. Most of the buildings from this phase are extant (not archaeological)
- The significance of the potential archaeological resource within the study area is guided by 'Assessing Significance for Historical Archaeological Sites and 'Relics'.² The potential archaeological resource within the study area has been assessed as having the following archaeological significance, arranged by historical phases of occupation and development:
 - Phase 2 (1820s–1850s): If considerably intact and *in situ* archaeological resources associated with Phase 2 are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item
 - Phase 3 (1850s–1960s): If considerably intact and *in situ* archaeological resources associated with Phase 3 (1850s–1960s) are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level. The

² Heritage Branch, Department of Planning 2009. Assessing significance for Historical Archaeological sites and 'Relics'.

archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item

- For potential Phase 2 (1820s–1850s) and Phase 3 (1850s–1960s) archaeological resources, the degree of significance would further depend on its ability to meaningfully expand current understandings of the early occupation and development of Waterloo—and of wider Sydney—beyond what is currently available through documented archaeological and historical resources
- Due to the assessed High level of potential for archaeological ‘works’ and ‘relics’ to be present in the study area, it is assessed that the development proposal has the potential to result in Major impacts to significant archaeological resources of Local and State significance.

Recommendations and mitigation measures

Based on the development proposal and the findings of this Historical Archaeological Assessment, it is recommended that the following mitigation measures are implemented prior to and during the development proposal which requires bulk excavation works.

Heritage Management Ref.	Mitigation Measure	Description
Historical Archaeology		
NAH1	Impact reduction through design, Archaeological Impact Assessment	• During the finalisation of the design, it is recommended that proposed bulk excavation within areas assessed as having High potential for significant archaeological resources be limited where possible to avoid major impact • Should detailed design outline impact to areas outside the scope of this assessment, additional assessment in the form of a revised Archaeological Impact Assessment may be required • Detailed design should seek to minimise or mitigate physical impacts to heritage items. Basement, footings and services designs should seek to avoid intersection with the Pressure Tunnel and Shafts (SHR no. 01630).
NAH2	Archaeological Research Design and Excavation Methodology	The development proposal as part of future stages of the project has the potential to impact on Local and State significant archaeological resources. It is recommended that archaeological management be undertaken in areas that are proposed to be disturbed or destroyed by actual development in future stages of the project. The recommended archaeological management includes: • Bulk excavation works for the development proposal are unavoidable and required in areas identified as having archaeological potential. For this reason, archaeological management is required prior to project works to determine the extent of preservation and refine project construction methodologies. Depended on impacts, management of potential archaeological resources may take the form of archaeological monitoring, test excavation, salvage excavation or other forms of archival recording

Heritage Management Ref.	Mitigation Measure	Description
		- Archaeological management would need to be undertaken in accordance with an Archaeological Research Design and Excavation Methodology (ARDEM). A separate ARDEM should be prepared for each future stage of the development proposal to assess the impacts of the detailed design on the potential archaeological resource, and recommend appropriate archaeological management methodologies. Any archaeological management would be managed by a suitably qualified Excavation Director - The ARDEM for each stage of the project would be prepared prior to the commencement of the construction phase to outline the required archaeological management within the construction boundaries. The ARDEM would confirm the areas requiring archaeological management (based on detailed design for each stage of the project), outline the archaeological methodology to be implemented during archaeological investigations, and outline research questions that the archaeological investigations would aim to answer - The outcomes of the archaeological management would be documented and if required, further assessment would be undertaken based on the outcomes of the archaeological management to determine the implications (if any) on the development proposal.
NAH3	Heritage interpretation	- The final project design should incorporate appropriate heritage interpretation in accordance with the NSW Heritage Manual, the NSW Heritage Office's Interpretating Heritage Places and Items: Guidelines (August 2005), the NSW Heritage Council's Heritage Interpretation Policy - The heritage interpretation should consider the results of the archaeological management undertaken as part of the project. Where appropriate, opportunities should be considered for visually or virtually representing archaeological resources and incorporating them into the project design.
General		
NAH4	Heritage Induction	A heritage induction must be prepared for the project. - All staff involved in the proposed works, including design professionals and tradespeople, must receive a heritage induction prior to the commencement of works. The heritage induction should cover the historical values of the site and the potential for the project to encounter significant archaeological resources - The induction should make contractors aware of the recommendations and mitigation methods included in this report, including the procedure to follow in the event that an unexpected archaeological find is encountered. Clear lines of communication must be established for the reporting of any such finds and for procedures to be rapidly implemented.

Heritage Management Ref.	Mitigation Measure	Description
NAH5	Consultation	A copy of this report should be provided to the City of Sydney Council and Heritage NSW to inform them of the development proposal and the impacts to the potential archaeological resource within the study area.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in this report include:

AHC	Australian Heritage Commission
CHS	Comprehensive Heritage Study
CMP	Conservation Management Plan
DCP	Development Control Plan
EP&A	Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979
HCA	Heritage Conservation Area
DCP	Development Control Plan
LEP	Local Environmental Plan
HNSW	Heritage New South Wales
ICOMOS	International Committee on Monuments and Sites
LGA	Local Government Area
NLA	National Library of Australia
NPWA	National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974
NPWS	National Park and Wildlife Service
SHR	State Heritage Register
SLNSW	State Library of NSW

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Project background

Artefact Heritage and Environment (Artefact Heritage) have been engaged by Stockland to prepare a Historical Archaeological Assessment (HAA) for the concept proposal at Waterloo Estate South, NSW (the study area). The concept proposal would seek consent for a proposed mixed-use development which would include social, affordable, and market housing, community uses and non-residential spaces, as detailed in Section 7.0.

The concept proposal has been declared State Significant Development (SSD–93222706) under the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979* (EP&A Act). The Secretary’s Environmental Assessment Requirements (SEARs) issued on 8 October 2025 outline that a HAA would be required to inform the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the concept proposal. This report has been prepared to meet the Archaeological Assessment requirement for Item 19 of the project SEARs:³

Table 1: Item 19 of the project SEARs

SEAR	Supporting Documentation	Response
19. Environmental Heritage Provide a Statement of Heritage Impact and Archaeological Assessment (where required), in accordance with the relevant guidelines.	- Statement of Heritage Impact - Archaeological Assessment	This report meets the Archaeological Assessment requirement for Item 19 of the project SEARs.

This HAA is submitted to the Department of Planning, Housing and Infrastructure (the Department) on behalf of Stockland and NSW Land and Housing Corporation (the Applicant) in support of a concept State Significant Development Application (SSDA) for the redevelopment of the study area.

In this report reference to “Homes NSW” or “the Applicant” shall also be taken to mean “New South Wales Land and Housing Corporation (LAHC)” who is the registered owner of 93 per cent of land within the study area. Any reference to “Waterloo South” in this report should be read as the redevelopment of land owned by NSW Land and Housing Corporation and associated public land (such as roads) throughout the Precinct Area.

The concept development is categorised as SSD as per Section 26, Schedule 1 of *State Environmental Planning Policy Planning Systems 2021* (Planning Systems SEPP) as the project includes housing development carried out by or on behalf of the LAHC, with an estimated development cost (EDC) of more than \$30 million.

The concept, in summary, aims to deliver:

- High quality mixed tenure housing in the context of a rapidly transforming area
- Approximately 3,300 new dwellings, of which a minimum 30% will be social housing, approximately 20% will be affordable housing, and a maximum of 50% will be market housing (measured as a percentage of the total residential gross floor area)
- Publicly accessible open space and public realm activation

³ NSW Government, Planning Secretary’s Environmental Assessment Requirements, Application number: SSD-93222706.

- An authentic mixed-use precinct, with housing co-located with non-residential uses, community uses, essential services, and access to public transport.

The concept SSDA will guide the detailed design of future buildings, open spaces, and the public realm within the Waterloo South site. The concept SSDA seeks development consent for key planning metrics, including maximum building envelopes, building heights, setbacks, vehicular access points and road network, and the distribution of floor area across different land uses and residential tenure types.

A state-assessed rezoning application has also been prepared and submitted concurrently to give effect to this concept SSDA. The state-assessed rezoning application seeks amendments to the *Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012* (SLEP 2012) and the Waterloo Estate (South): Design Guide 2022 (2022 Design Guide) to align with the maximum building envelopes sought in this concept SSDA. Notably no additional gross floor area (GFA) or density is sought under the state-assessed rezoning application than is currently permissible on the site under the SLEP 2012.

1.2 Study area

The study area is located within the suburb of Waterloo, NSW (Figure 1). The study area is within the Sydney Local Government Area (LGA) and the Parish of Alexandria, within the County of Cumberland. The study area contains public housing lots owned by the NSW LAHC, as well as private residential and commercial lots and strata apartment buildings. The study area is bounded by Raglan Street and Redfern Estate Heritage Conservation Area (HCA) to the north, residential development and Waterloo HCA to the east, McEvoy Street and industrial development to the south, and Cope Street and Waterloo Metro Station to the west.

The study area comprises an area of approximately 123,149 m² across 10 street blocks. The study area, excluding any privately owned properties within the Waterloo South Precinct Area, comprises approximately 114,822 m², or just over 93 per cent of the land within.

The legal description of the study area is detailed in Table 2.

Table 2: Legal description of the study area

Address	Lot/DP
Lots owned by NSW Land and Housing Corporation (land is subject to both the rezoning and the concept SSDA)	
209-219 Cope Street, Waterloo	Lot 1 DP 217386
238-246 George Street, Waterloo	Lot 1 DP 225159
229-231 Cope Street Waterloo	Lot 3 DP 10721
6 John Street, Waterloo	Lot 1 DP 533762
97-109 Cooper Street, Waterloo	Lot A DP 105916, Lot B DP 105916, Lot C DP 105916, Lot 14 DP 10721
248-254 George Street, Waterloo	Lot 2 DP 533678
232 Pitt Street, Waterloo	Lot 11 DP 635663, Lot 10 DP 635663

74-76 Wellington Street, Waterloo	Lot 1 DP 224728
331-337 George Street, Waterloo	Lot 3 DP 533680
247-251 Cope Street, Waterloo	Lot 1 DP 533679
339-341 George Street, Waterloo	Lot 1 DP 77168
250 Pitt Street, Waterloo	Lot 313 DP 606576
Lots owned by others (land that does <u>not</u> form a part of the concept SSDA)	
221-223 Cope Street, Waterloo	Lot 6 DP 10721, Lot 7 DP 10721, Lot 9 DP 10721, Lot 8 DP 1147179
225-227 Cope Street, Waterloo	Lot 5 DP 10721, Lot 4 DP 10721
233 Cope Street, Waterloo	Lot 12 DP 1099410, Lots 1-41 SP 79210
116 Wellington Street, Waterloo	Lot 10 DP 10721, Lot 11 DP 10721
111 Cooper Street, Waterloo	Lot 15 DP 10721
291 George Street, Waterloo	Lot 10 DP 1238631, Lots 1-20 SP 96906
110 Wellington Street, Waterloo	Lot 101 DP 1044801, Lots 1-58 SP 69476
336 George Street, Waterloo	Lot 3 DP 10686
213-215 Cope Street, Waterloo	Lot 2 DP 217386

Site and surrounding context

The suburb of Waterloo is located with the City of Sydney LGA and is located 3 km south of Sydney CBD. The site is part of the broader Waterloo Estate, which comprises the northern, central, and southern precincts and accommodates a significant community residing in social housing.

The Waterloo South Precinct Area is predominantly owned by NSW Land and Housing corporation, however, as outlined in Table 2, the site, the subject of this report, excludes several privately owned lots located within the boundary of the broader Waterloo South precinct as shown in Figure 3. The privately owned lots are currently used for residential, office, light industrial, and infrastructure uses. The LAHC owned sites are currently used almost exclusively for the provision of social housing, with ancillary offices and community facilities. Overall, Waterloo South currently contains a total of 750 social housing dwellings and 120 private dwellings.

As shown in Figure 2, surrounding suburbs include Redfern to the north, Green Square to the south, Alexandria to the west and Zetland to the east. This broader area has been subject to significant change over the last 10 years with projects such as South Eveleigh, Redfern North Eveleigh Precinct Renewal, Waterloo Metro Quarter and Over Station Development (OSD) all contributing to the changing character of the area.

These broader renewal projects are supported by proximity to a range of public transport services, including Redfern Station, Green Square Station, and Waterloo Metro Station, all of which are within walking distance of Waterloo South.

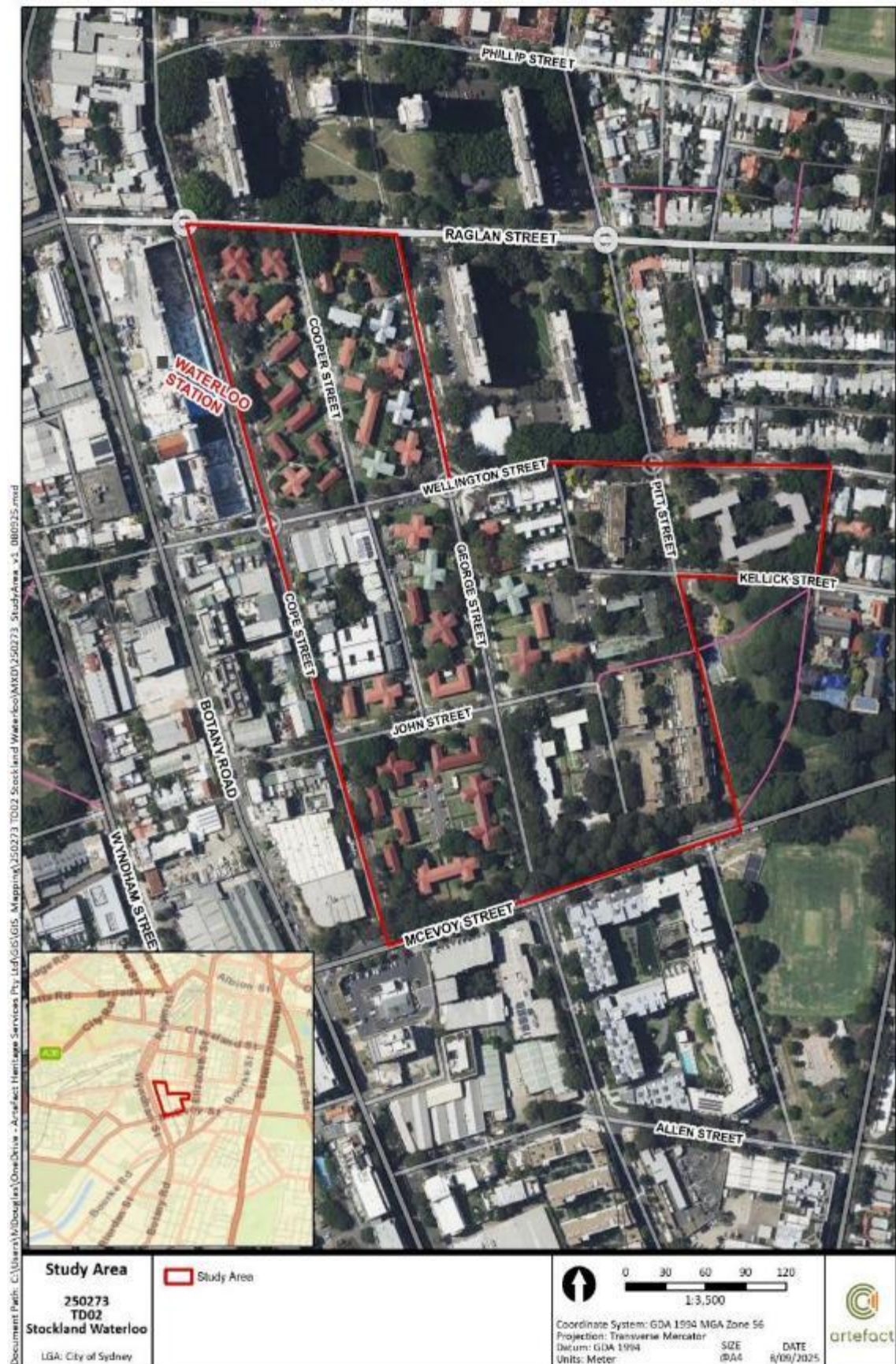


Figure 1: Location of the study area



Figure 2: Aerial view of the Waterloo Estate and the Waterloo Estate South precinct area

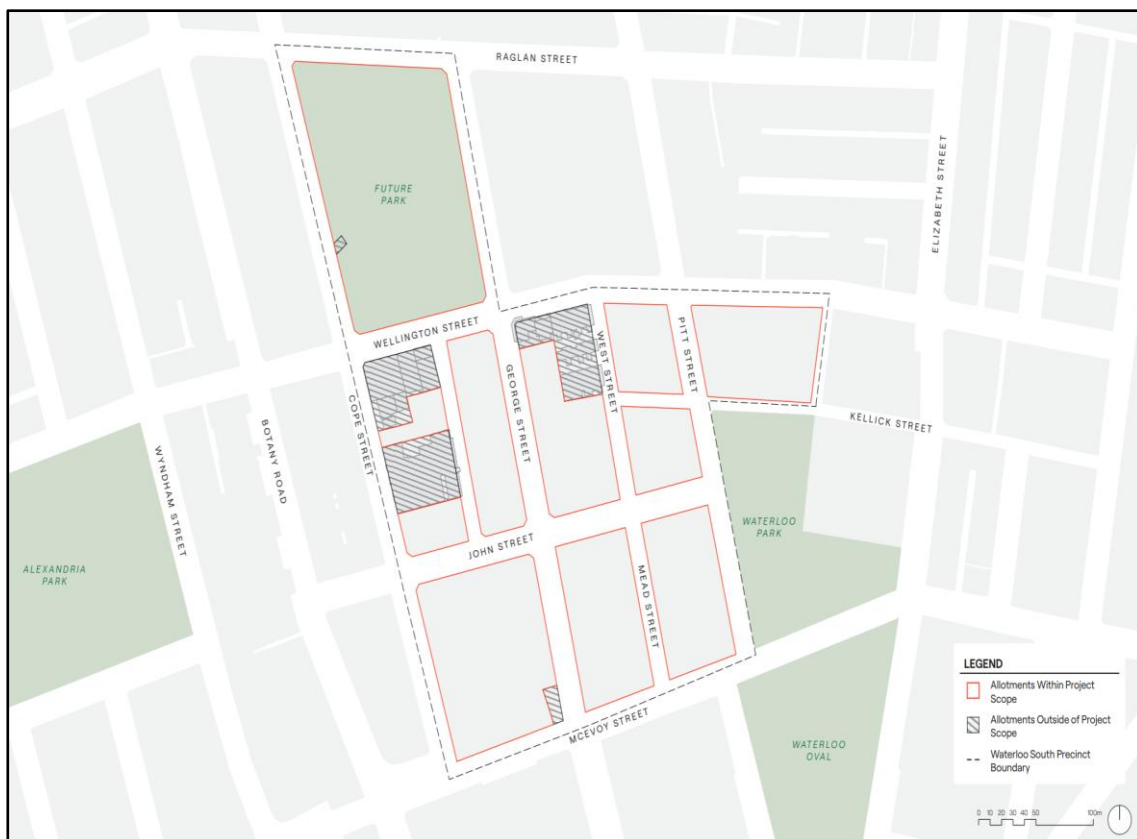


Figure 3: Waterloo Estate South Project area

1.3 Approach and methodology

This HAA provides a detailed assessment of archaeological potential and significance, identifies potential development impact on significant archaeological resources arising from the works, and offers recommendations to mitigate any impacts while enabling the required project outcomes.

This report was informed by a review of the following existing documentation:

- Heritage NSW databases including the SHR, Local Environmental Plans (LEPs) and Section 170 (s170) Heritage & Conservation Register listings, and non-statutory heritage databases such as the Register of the National Trust and the National Trust of Australia (NSW)
- Existing heritage studies and reports for the study area and locality
- Background historical literature including local history studies and resources, primary historical records and aerial photography.

This report has been prepared in consideration of relevant state and federal heritage legislation, including the following:

- Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999 (EPBC Act)
- NSW Heritage Act 1977 (Heritage Act)
- NSW EP&A Act.

This report was prepared in accordance with the principles and procedures established by the following documents:

- *Guidelines for preparing a statement of heritage impact*⁴
- *Archaeological Assessments*⁵
- *The Burra Charter: the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*⁶
- *Assessing heritage significance—Guidelines for assessing places and objects against the Heritage Council of NSW criteria*⁷
- *Material Threshold Policy*⁸
- *Historical Archaeology Code of Practice*.⁹

1.4 Limitations

This HAA provides an assessment of historical (non-Aboriginal) archaeological resources and their values only and does not assess built heritage or Aboriginal cultural heritage. This HAA uses historical documentation prepared by third party heritage professionals. Desktop historical research has been undertaken to supplement this existing information.

⁴ NSW Heritage Office, Department of Planning and Environment 2023, *Guidelines for preparing a statement of heritage impact*.

⁵ NSW Heritage Office, Department of Urban Affairs and Planning 1996. *Archaeological Assessments*.

⁶ Australia ICOMOS 2013 *The Burra Charter: the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*.

⁷ NSW Government, Department of Planning and Environment, *Assessing Heritage significance: Guidelines for assessing places and objects against the Heritage Council of NSW criteria*, 2023.

⁸ NSW Government (2022), *Material Threshold Policy*, Department of Planning and Environment.

⁹ Heritage Office (former) 2006. *Historical Archaeology Code of Practice*.

The maps in this report are for informational purposes only and are not suitable for and were not prepared for legal, engineering, or surveying purposes. Users of this information should review or consult the primary data and information sources to ascertain the usability of the information. The register searches undertaken for this report are current only to the date a particular register was searched. In the normal course of events, items are added to or removed from heritage registers and users of this report should check that sites have not been added to or removed from a particular register since the date the register was searched.

The archaeological assessment made in this report is a combination of both facts and interpretation of those facts in accordance with a standard set of assessment criteria. It is possible that another professional may interpret the historical facts and potential archaeological evidence in a different way. A summary of the statutory requirements regarding heritage is provided in this report. This is made on the basis of Artefact's experience of working with the NSW heritage system and does not purport to be legal advice.

It should be noted that legislation, regulations and guidelines change over time and users of this report should satisfy themselves that the statutory requirements have not changed since the report was written.

1.5 Author identification and acknowledgements

This report was prepared by Jonny Love (Senior Heritage Consultant) and Sunday de Joux (Senior Heritage Consultant). The Aboriginal historical background was prepared by Dr Stephen Gapps (Senior Associate–Historian), with mapping input provided by Mike Douglas (GIS Officer). Jenny Winnett (Technical Director) provided technical input and managed Quality Assurance review.

2.0 LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT

2.1 Statutory context

In relation to historical archaeology, the site/study area is subject to the following statutory and non-statutory controls:

- *Heritage Act 1977 (NSW)*¹⁰
- *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979*¹¹
 - *Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012*¹²
 - *Sydney Development Control Plan 2012*.¹³

2.2 Heritage Act 1977

The NSW *Heritage Act 1977* (Heritage Act) provides protection for items of 'environmental heritage' in NSW. 'Environmental heritage' includes places, buildings, works, relics, movable objects or precincts considered significant based on historical, scientific, cultural, social, archaeological, architectural, natural or aesthetic values. Items considered to be significant to the State are listed on the SHR and cannot be demolished, altered, moved or damaged, or their significance altered without approval from the Heritage Council of NSW.

2.2.1 'Relics' provisions

The Heritage Act provides additional protection for archaeological remains through the operation of the 'relics' provisions. The primary aim of an archaeological significance assessment is to identify whether an archaeological resource, deposit, site or feature is of cultural value and therefore, considered to be a 'relic'.¹⁴

The Heritage Act defines a relic as any deposit, artefact, object or material evidence that:

-
- a. *relates to the settlement of the area that comprises New South Wales, not being Aboriginal settlement, and*
 - b. *is of local or State significance*
-

The Heritage Council and Heritage NSW have also produced guidelines which defines relics as an object, artefact, or chattel. The Heritage Council of NSW defines chattel as:¹⁵

¹⁰ NSW Heritage Act 1977 <https://legislation.nsw.gov.au/view/html/inforce/current/act-1977-136>.

¹¹ *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979* <https://legislation.nsw.gov.au/view/html/inforce/current/act-1979-203>.

¹² NSW Government, NSW Legislation, Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012.

¹³ City of Sydney, Sydney Development Control Plan 2012.

¹⁴ Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH) (former), Heritage Division, 2009. Assessing Significance for Archaeological Sites and 'Relics', 4.

¹⁵ Heritage Council of New South Wales, Assessing Significance for Historical Archaeological Sites and 'Relics', accessed <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/-/media/OEH/Corporate-Site/Documents/Heritage/assess-significance-historical-archaeological-sites-relics.pdf>.

A relic can, in some circumstances, become part of the land and be regarded as a fixture (a chattel that becomes permanently affixed to land).

In accordance with Section 139, it is an offence to disturb or excavate land, where this may affect a relic, without an excavation permit under section 140 of the Heritage Act, unless an excavation permit exception is issued for works that are minor in nature, require monitoring or test excavation.¹⁶

The discovery of unexpected relics, must be reported to Heritage Council under Section 146 of the Act:

(a) within a reasonable time after he or she first becomes aware or believes that he or she has discovered or located that relic, notify the Heritage Council of the location of the relic, unless he or she believes on reasonable grounds that the Heritage Council is aware of the location of the relic, and

(b) within the period required by the Heritage Council, furnish the Heritage Council with such information concerning the relic as the Heritage Council may reasonably require.

In addition to relics, remnants of historical structures may possess research value are considered to be 'works'. 'Works' may be buried, and therefore archaeological in nature, however, exposure of a 'work' does not necessarily trigger a requirement to obtain an excavation permit under the Heritage Act. Works are typically fixed to the land and are generally structural remains.

Examples of 'works' include:

- Former road surfaces or pavement and kerbing.
- Evidence of former drainage infrastructure
- Former water supply (wells, cisterns, drains, pipes) and other service infrastructure, where there are no historical artefacts in association with the item
- Building footings associated with former infrastructure facilities, where there are no historical artefacts in association with the item.

The Heritage Council of NSW, or its Delegate, issues Excavation Permits under Section 141 of the Heritage Act for relics not listed on the SHR, or Approvals under Section 63 for impacts to archaeology within SHR curtilages. An application for an Excavation Permit or Approval must be supported by an Archaeological Research Design (ARD) and Archaeological Assessment prepared in accordance with the NSW Heritage archaeological guidelines. Minor works that would have a minimal impact on archaeological relics may be granted an Exception under Section 139 (4) of the Heritage Act.

If the proposal is subject to Division 4.7 or Division 5.2 (SSD or State Significant Infrastructure) provisions of the EP&A Act, Excavation Permits or Approvals are 'turned off' for works. However, the reporting and notification provisions of the Heritage Act (Section 146) continue to apply.

¹⁶ Refer to order published in the NSW Government Gazette
https://gazette.legislation.nsw.gov.au/so/download.w3p?id=Gazette_2022_2022-59.pdf.

2.2.2 State Heritage Register

The SHR was established under Section 22 of the Heritage Act and is a list of places and objects of particular importance to the people of NSW, including archaeological sites. The SHR is administered by Heritage NSW, and includes a diverse range of over 1,500 items, in both private and public ownership. To be listed, an item must be deemed to be of heritage significance for the whole of NSW. For works to an SHR item, a Section 60 application must be prepared for works that are not exempt under Section 57(2) of the Heritage Act.

A summary of SHR listed items within the study area is outlined below:

- Pressure Tunnel and Shafts (SHR no. 01630) (State).

A summary of SHR listed items within 250 m of the study area is outlined below:

- Yiu Ming Temple (SHR no. 01297) (State).

2.2.3 Conservation Management Plans

Under Section 38A of the Heritage Act, if a Conservation Management Plan (CMP) is prepared for an item listed on the SHR, the Heritage Council of NSW may endorse the plan, and use the CMP to make regulations or provisions in relation to the SHR item. A CMP is not required under the Heritage Act, however the Heritage Council of NSW continues to recommend the preparation of CMPs as best practice heritage management documents for places of State Heritage significance and to consider suitable site-specific exemptions.

A CMP has been prepared for the listed SHR item Yiu Ming Temple (SHR no. 01297) (State):

- Yiu Ming Temple Precinct, Alexandria Sydney (1996), *A conservation report on its architecture and objects: A joint project of the Powerhouse Museum and the Yiu Ming Society*.¹⁷

2.2.4 Section 170 registers

Under the Heritage Act all government agencies are required to identify, conserve and manage heritage items in their ownership or control. Section 170 (s170) requires all government agencies to maintain a Heritage and Conservation Register that lists all heritage assets and an assessment of the significance of each asset. They must also ensure that all items inscribed on its list are maintained with due diligence in accordance with State Owned Heritage Management Principles approved by the Government on advice of the NSW Heritage Council. These principles serve to protect and conserve the heritage significance of items and are based on NSW heritage legislation and guidelines.

A summary of s170 heritage items within the study area is outlined below:

Sydney Water s170 Heritage and Conservation Register

- Pressure Tunnel and Shafts (s170 no. 4570942) (State).

Ausgrid s170 Heritage and Conservation Register

¹⁷ Yiu Ming Temple Precinct, Alexandria Sydney (1996), *A conservation report on its architecture and objects: A joint project of the Powerhouse Museum and the Yiu Ming Society*.

- Single storey interwar building, Electricity Substation No. 174 (s170 no. 3430543).

2.3 Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979

The *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979* (EP&A Act) establishes the framework for cultural heritage values to be formally assessed in the land use planning and development consent process. The EP&A Act requires that environmental impacts are considered prior to land development; this includes impacts on cultural heritage items and places as well as archaeological sites and deposits.

The EP&A Act also requires that local governments prepare planning instruments (such as Local Environmental Plans and Development Control Plans [DCPs]) in accordance with the EP&A Act to provide guidance on the level of environmental assessment required.

- The study area is within the boundaries of the Sydney LEP 2012.

When a project is approved as an SSD or SSI under s5 of the EP&A Act, the conditions and provisions of other state and local instruments are turned off and approved works are undertaken in accordance with relevant Instruments of Approval.

2.3.1 Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012

Heritage items listed under Schedule 5 of the Sydney LEP 2012 are managed in accordance with the provisions of Section 5.10 Heritage Conservation of this LEP. Under Clause 5 of this section of the Sydney LEP 2012:¹⁸

The consent authority may, before granting consent to any development:

- (a) on land on which a heritage item is located, or*
- (b) on land that is within a heritage conservation area, or*
- (c) on land that is within the vicinity of land referred to in paragraph (a) or (b),*

require a heritage management document to be prepared that assesses the extent to which the carrying out of the proposed development would affect the heritage significance of the heritage item or heritage conservation area concerned.

Within study area

A summary of heritage items listed under Schedule 5 of the Sydney LEP 2012 (SLEP) within the study area is outlined below:

Heritage items

- Duke of Wellington Hotel including Interior (SLEP no. I2085) (Local)
- Former Waterloo Pre-School (225 Cope Street) including interior (SLEP no. I2077) (Local)
- 2-storey Victorian terrace houses (circa 1880) (SLEP no. I2078) (Local)

¹⁸ NSW Government, NSW Legislation, Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012, Section 5.10 Heritage Conservation.

- Single-storey interwar building, Electricity Substation No 174 (SLEP no. I2086) (Local).

Within 250 m of study area

A summary of heritage items listed under Schedule 5 of the Sydney LEP 2012 within the study area is outlined below:

Heritage items

- Terrace Group including interiors (SLEP no I1319) (Local)
- "Clyde House" including interior (SLEP no. I1320) (Local)
- Terrace house/shop including interior (SLEP no. I1345) (Local)
- Former Somerset Hotel including interior (SLEP no. I1346) (Local)
- Terrace group including interiors (SLEP no. I2090) (Local)
- House including interior (SLEP no. I2091) (Local)
- Terrace house including interior (SLEP no. I2092) (Local)
- Terrace group including interiors (SLEP no. I2093) (Local)
- Uniting Church buildings including interiors and grounds (SLEP no. I2097)
- Terrace group including interiors (SLEP no. I2096) (Local)
- Terrace group including interiors (SLEP no. I2095) (Local)
- "Grosvenor Terrace" including interiors (SLEP no. I2089) (Local)
- Terrace group including interiors (SLEP no. I2101) (Local)
- Terrace group including interiors (SLEP no. I2102) (Local)
- Waterloo Town Hall including interior and former air raid shelter (SLEP no. I2080) (Local)
- Terrace group including interiors (SLEP no. I2081) (Local)
- Our Lady of Mt Carmel Church and School buildings including interiors and grounds (SLEP no. I2088) (Local)
- Waterloo Park & Oval including grounds and landscaping (SLEP no. I2079) (Local)
- Former "Chubb Pty Ltd" including interiors (SLEP no. I2082) (Local)
- Glenroy Hotel including interior (SLEP no. I6) (Local)
- Yiu Ming Temple including building, interior and front court (SLEP no. I28) (State)
- Terrace group (17A–29 Retreat Street) including interiors (SLEP no. I29) (Local)
- Former Electric Light Substation No 89 including interiors (SLEP no. I2240) (Local)
- Terrace group "Gordon Terrace" including interiors (SLEP no. I2087) (Local)
- Alexandria Park including entrance gates, landscaping and grounds (SLEP no. I11) (Local)
- Terrace Group (SLEP no. I2296) (Local)
- Cauliflower Hotel including interior (SLEP no. I2070) (Local)
- Congregational Church including interior (SLEP no. I2069) (Local)
- Lord Raglan Hotel including interior (SLEP no. I16) (Local)
- Former CBC Bank including interior (SLEP no. I5) (Local)
- Cricketers Arms Hotel including interior (SLEP no. I4) (Local).

Heritage Conservation Areas (HCAs)

- Redfern Estate (SLEP no. C56) (Local)
- Waterloo (SLEP no. C70) (Local)
- Zetland Estate (SLEP no. C73) (Local)
- North Alexandria Industrial (SLEP no. C74) (Local)
- Alexandria Park (SLEP no. C1) (Local).

2.3.2 Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012 (Amendment No. 83)

A planning proposal for the Waterloo south area was on public exhibition from 3 March to 29 April 2022. This proposal sought to make changes to the Sydney LEP 2012 for the following in relation to the Waterloo south area:

- How land can be used
- Heights of buildings
- Floor space ratio controls
- Land for parks
- How buildings should be designed
- Car parking requirements
- Social and affordable housing requirements
- Heritage conservation
- Retail and active street front requirements.

On 11 November 2022, the planning proposal was finalised with deferred commencement to allow the finalisation of a planning agreement between Land and Housing Corporation as the landowner and City of Sydney. The planning agreement is final and new planning controls are now in effect from 28 February 2023.

The Amendment no. 83 is to be read in conjunction with the Sydney LEP 2012 and identifies the following heritage items under Schedule 5:

Within study area

Heritage items

- 2-storey Victorian terrace houses (circa 1880) (SLEP no. I2078) (Local)
- Single-storey interwar building, Electricity Substation No 174 (SLEP no. I2086) (Local).

2.3.3 State Environmental Planning Policy (Precincts—Eastern Harbour City) 2021

Heritage items listed on the SEPP (Precincts—Eastern Harbour City) 2021 are managed in accordance with the provisions of Section 27 Heritage conservation of this SEPP. The SEPP applies to localised areas within the suburbs of Redfern and Waterloo, and in these localised areas the SEPP supersedes the Sydney LEP 2012.¹⁹

¹⁹ NSW Government, NSW Legislation, State Environmental Planning Policy (Precincts – Eastern Harbour City) 2021, Policy(Major Development) 2005 Redfern-Waterloo Authority Sites— Heritage Map.

A summary of heritage items listed on the SEPP (Precincts–Eastern Harbour City) 2021 heritage map for Redfern-Waterloo Authority Sites within 250 m of the study area is outlined below.

- Former Redfern Public School – 12 Two Buildings on George and Phillip Streets (SEPP no. 12) (Local)
- Former Rachel Forster Hospital – 13 Five Storey Surgery Building and Part of Two Storey Colonnade Building (SEPP no. 13) (Local).

It is noted that although the above heritage items are shown on the SEPP (Precincts–Eastern Harbour City) 2021 heritage map for Redfern-Waterloo Authority Sites, they are not listed under Schedule 4 (Heritage items) of the SEPP.

2.3.4 Sydney Development Control Plan 2012

The Sydney DCP 2012 is a supporting document that compliments the provisions contained within the Sydney LEP 2012 and provides specific design detail in regard to sympathetic development on, or in the vicinity of, items listed on Schedule 5 of the Sydney LEP 2012.²⁰

Chapter 3.9 (Heritage), Section 3.9.5 (Heritage items) of the Sydney DCP 2012 provides sympathetic considerations for development that is in the vicinity of a heritage listed item. These considerations include ensuring that the character, bulk, scale and height of new development does not unreasonably overshadow a nearby heritage item, that colouring and texture of new materials of a new development is sympathetic to a heritage item, and that views of a heritage item should not be obscured from the point of view of areas of public domain.

2.3.5 Waterloo Estate (South): Design Guide 2022

The Waterloo Estate (South): Design Guide was published by the Department on 11 November 2022 and came into force when the new local environmental plan for Waterloo Estate (South) came into effect.

The purpose of the Design Guide is to provide detailed flexible provisions for the redevelopment of Waterloo Estate (South).

The Design Guide adopts the provisions of the Sydney DCP 2012 in accordance with 3.43(3) of the EP&A Act. If there is an inconsistency between the Design Guide and the provisions of the Sydney DCP 2012, the Design Guide prevails.

The Design Guide should be read in conjunction with the provisions and requirements of:

- The Sydney LEP 2012
- Any Waterloo Estate (South) Public Domain Plan prepared for the site
- Any relevant policy adopted by the City of Sydney Council.

²⁰ City of Sydney, Sydney Development Control Plan 2012.

2.4 Non-statutory considerations

2.4.1 Register of the National Estate

The Register of the National Estate (RNE) is no longer a statutory list; however, it remains available as an archive. A summary of heritage items listed on the RNE within the study area is outlined below:

- The Pressure Tunnel, Potts Hill Waterloo, NSW, Australia (Place ID. 19884).

2.4.2 National Trust of Australia (NSW)

Listing on the National Trust Heritage Register (NTHR) does not impose statutory obligations and is more an indication of the heritage esteem held by the community.

There are **no** heritage items listed on the NTHR within the study area.

A summary of NTHR listed items within the vicinity of the study area is outlined below:

- Redfern Urban Conservation Area.

2.5 Summary of statutory heritage listings

A search of all relevant heritage registers was undertaken in September 2025. A summary of the listed heritage items within the study area is outlined in Table 3, and listed heritage items within 250 m of the study area is outlined in Table 4. Heritage item curtilages and their location relative to the study area is illustrated in Figure 4.

Table 3: Summary of statutory register search results within the study area

Item name	Register	Listing ID	Significance
Within study area			
<u>State Heritage Register, Register of the National Estate, and Sydney Water s170</u>			
	SHR	SHR no. 01630	
Pressure Tunnel and Shafts	RNE	RNE ID: 19884	State
	s170	s170 no. 4570942	
<u>Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012 and Ausgrid s170</u>			
Duke of Wellington Hotel including Interior	SLEP 2012	no. I2085	Local
Former Waterloo Pre-School (225 Cope Street) including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I2077	Local
2-storey Victorian terrace houses (circa 1880)	SLEP 2012	no. I2078	Local

Single-storey interwar building, Electricity Substation No 174	SLEP 2012	SLEP no. I2086	Local
	Ausgrid	s170 no. 3430543	

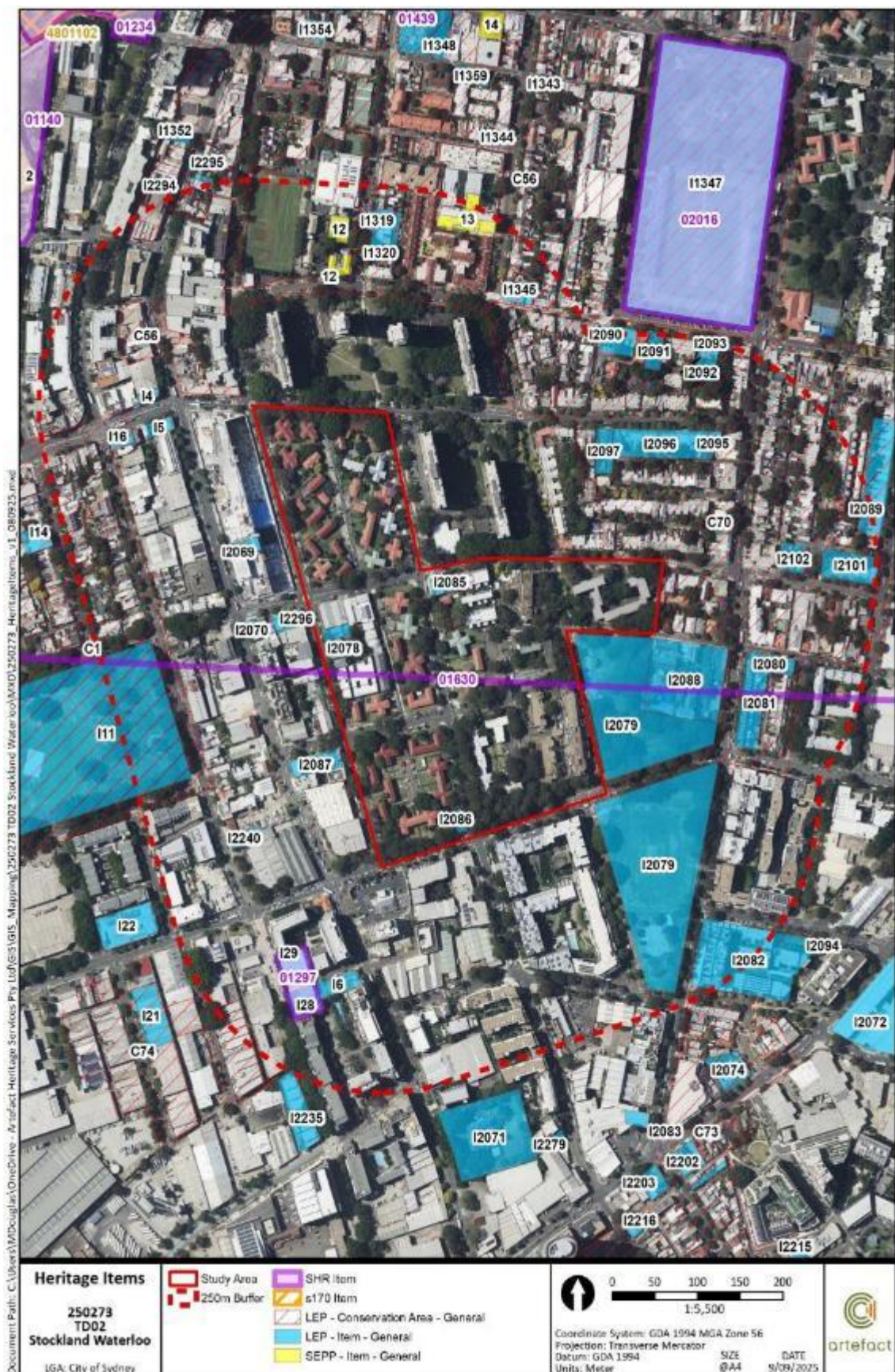
Table 4: Summary of statutory register search results within 250 m of the study area

Item name	Register	Listing ID	Significance
Within 250 m of study area			
<u>State Heritage Register</u>			
Yiu Ming Temple	SHR	no. 01297	State
	SLEP 2012	no. I28	
<u>Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012: Heritage items</u>			
Terrace Group including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I1319	Local
“Clyde House” including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I1320	Local
Terrace house/shop including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I1345	Local
Former Somerset Hotel including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I1346	Local
Terrace group including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2090	Local
House including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I2091	Local
Terrace house including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I2092	Local
Terrace group including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2093	Local
Uniting Church buildings including interiors and grounds	SLEP 2012	no. I2097	Local
Terrace group including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2096	Local
Terrace group including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2095	Local
“Grosvenor Terrace” including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2089	Local
Terrace group including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2101	Local
Terrace group including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2102	Local
Waterloo Town Hall including interior and former air raid shelter	SLEP 2012	no. I2080	Local
Terrace group including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2081	Local

Our Lady of Mt Carmel Church and School buildings including interiors and grounds	SLEP 2012	no. I2088	Local
Waterloo Park & Oval including grounds and landscaping	SLEP 2012	no. I2079	Local
Former "Chubb Pty Ltd" including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2082	Local
Glenroy Hotel including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I6	Local
Yiu Ming Temple including building, interior and front court	SLEP 2012	no. I28	State
Terrace group (17A–29 Retreat Street) including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I29	Local
Former Electric Light Substation No 89 including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2240	Local
Terrace group "Gordon Terrace" including interiors	SLEP 2012	no. I2087	Local
Alexandria Park including entrance gates, landscaping and grounds	SLEP 2012	no. I11	Local
Terrace Group	SLEP 2012	no. I2296	Local
Cauliflower Hotel including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I2070	Local
Congregational Church including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I2069	Local
Lord Raglan Hotel including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I16	Local
Former CBC Bank including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I5	Local
Cricketers Arms Hotel including interior	SLEP 2012	no. I4	Local
<i><u>Sydney Local Environmental Plan 2012: Heritage Conservation Areas</u></i>			
Redfern Estate	SLEP 2012 NTHR	no. C56	Local
Waterloo	SLEP 2012	no. C70	Local
Zetland Estate	SLEP 2012	no. C73	Local
North Alexandria Industrial	SLEP 2012	no. C74	Local
Alexandria Park	SLEP 2012	no. C1	Local

State Environmental Planning Policy (Precincts–Eastern Harbour City) 2021

Former Redfern Public School – 12 Two Buildings on George and Phillip Streets	SEPP (Precincts–Eastern Harbour City) 2021	no. 12	Local
Former Redfern Public School – 13 Five Storey Surgery Building and Part of Two Storey Colonnade Building	SEPP (Precincts–Eastern Harbour City) 2021	no. 13	Local



3.0 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

3.1 Aboriginal histories

3.1.1 Living on Country for millennia

Many Aboriginal people, like other Indigenous or First Nations people around the world, have been living on Country for ‘time immemorial’ – they have always been here, and their origins lie in the creation of the land and animals. As Sydney Elder and Wiradjuri activist Aunty Jenny Munro expresses:

‘...from time immemorial, we believe as Aboriginal people, Australia has been here from the first sunrise, our people have been here along with the continent, with the first sunrise. We know our land was given to us by Baiami, we have a sacred duty to protect that land’

Over the last few decades, archaeologists’ knowledge of deep human time in Australia has expanded from just a few thousand years in the 1950s, to 25,000 years in the 1960s, then 40,000 years, to now around 60,000 years or more.²¹

Archaeological evidence of Aboriginal people living in the Sydney region from Shaw’s Creek west of the Dyarubbin (Nepean) River is dated at around 14,000 years ago and numerous other sites in the area have been dated at around 15,000 ago. While Cranebrook Terrace, near Penrith in Western Sydney, has been dated to 41,700 years and a site near Parramatta at 30,000 years old, there is growing consensus among archaeologists and historians that people have lived across the Sydney region from around 50,000 years ago. The earliest documented evidence of Aboriginal people living along the Cooks River is a 10,500 year old fireplace discovered during an archaeological dig next to Tempe House at Wolli Creek.²²

More ancient sites lie off the coast and in river valleys, now deep under water. Before the major sea level rise event at the end of the last ice age around 17,000 years ago, Aboriginal people living along the Parramatta River could have walked downstream along the riverbanks to the sea about 30 kilometers beyond the current day coastline. Over generations they would have watched and told stories about the gradual change as the sea rose to fill the ‘drowned river valley’ of what is now Sydney Harbour until it reached present levels around 6,000 years ago.²³

Given the devastating impact of violent dispossession and disease upon Aboriginal people in the Sydney region during colonisation, the precise identification of language groups and historical traditional lands or Country for a given area is often difficult today. Early colonial observer Watkin Tench believed there was at the least coastal and inland dialects of the same language and, while

²¹ Belshaw, Nickel & Horton, 2020. ‘Histories of Indigenous Peoples and Canada’; Griffith, 2018, *Deep Time Dreaming*, p. 112; Karskens, *The Colony. A history of early Sydney*, 2009, p 25. Munro in Currie, *An Aboriginal history of Willoughby*, 2008, p. 4.

²² Attenbrow, 2010, *Sydney’s Aboriginal past*, pp 18-20; Nanson, Young & Stockton, 1987, ‘Chronology and palaeoenvironment of the Cranebrook Terrace’, p. 77; Williams, et al., 2017, ‘The Cranebrook Terrace revisited’, pp 100-109; Jo McDonald, 2005, ‘Heritage Conservation Strategy for Aboriginal sites’, pp 4, 87-94; Attenbrow, 2012, ‘Archaeological evidence of Aboriginal life in Sydney’. See Williams et al., 2012, ‘A terminal Pleistocene open site on the Hawkesbury River’ for comparison of site ages along Dyarubbin. Karskens, Burnett & Ross are confident that ‘Aboriginal people were living on Dyarubbin/ the Nepean River as long as 50,000 years ago’ (2017, ‘Traces in a Lost Landscape’, p. 4). Attenbrow 2012,), ‘The Aboriginal prehistory and archaeology of Royal National Park and environs: A review’, p. 63, Jo McDonald CHM, ‘Archaeological Testing and Salvage Excavation at Discovery Point, in the former grounds of Tempe House, NSW’, 2005, pp. 28, 56

²³ There are now at least 21 identified oral stories around Australia that describe ancient sea-level rise. See Nunn & Reid, 2016, ‘Aboriginal Memories of Inundation of the Australian’ p. 11; Attenbrow: 2010, *Sydney’s Aboriginal past*, pp 154-155; Birch, 2007, ‘A short geological and environmental history of the Sydney’, pp 217-219.

this is challenged by some historians who prefer less distinction between what were all 'canoe cultures' around Sydney's coast and waterways, there seems to have been an alignment with inland economies of the rivers, creeks and open forests of the Cumberland Plain, and coastal 'saltwater' focused groups.²⁴

3.1.2 Sydney region

Prior to colonisation, Aboriginal people in the relatively resource rich Sydney region lived in extended family groups estimated at around 30 to 50 people. These groups were associated with certain territories or places that gave clan members particular social and economic rights and obligations. Each of the estimated 30 clans in the Sydney region had a name often associated with a place or resource such as the Cabro (Gabra) gal (people) at modern day Cabramatta. Clan groups moved around a defined area in response to changing seasons and the availability of food and other resources. European observers mistakenly took this as a nomadic lifestyle, when in fact they moved around a 'limited and deeply known' area. There were also forms of more sedentary agriculture and aquaculture, and villages such as those described by early colonial diarists at Kamay-Botany Bay and later accounts of '70 huts' at Bent's Basin on the Nepean River west of Sydney.²⁵

Some areas, particularly resource rich ones, had shared boundaries or reciprocal rights with bordering and neighbouring groups. With appropriate permission and protocols, people could travel through and hunt on other groups' lands. On special occasions such as feasts associated with the beaching of a whale; a kangaroo hunt on the open forests of southwestern Sydney; trading or exchanging stone, tools and other items, as well as ceremonial occasions, people would often travel long distances around and from outside the Sydney region.²⁶

With several rivers and estuarine coastal areas, the Sydney region sustained a comparatively large population, unlike more arid inland areas. Fish and shellfish were a major part of Saltwater peoples' diets. The nawi (tied-bark canoe) was a common sight both day and night in rivers and creeks and was even dexterously paddled off the coast. There are many accounts by early colonists of Aboriginal people in canoes fishing and cooking their catch on small fires on hearth stones within the vessels. Women were the primary fishers from nawi (men usually fished with spears). Women were highly skilled with shell hooks and twine fishing lines and thus played an important economic role in Sydney. They were noted as cradling their children while fishing, as their songs floated across the waters of Sydney Harbour.²⁷

People living inland across the Cumberland Plain focused on hunting small animals, gathering plants and catching freshwater fish and eels. Banksia flowers, wild honey, varieties of yam and burrawang nuts (macrozamia - a cycad palm with poisonous seeds that require processing to remove toxins) were recorded as important food sources. Xanthorrhoea, also known as the grass tree, had many uses - the nectar was eaten, the stalk used as a spear and the resin as a glue. Small animals such as

²⁴ This historical overview does not seek to contest traditional or current definitions of affiliation with Country and acknowledges that multiple interpretations of such identity may exist. A frequently used indication of Country is language identity. However, far more complex factors are known to have often taken precedence over language in determining Aboriginal people's definition of Country. See Aboriginal Heritage Office, 2015, *Filling a void: a review of the historical context for the use of the word 'Guringai'*; Stanner, 1965, 'Aboriginal Territorial Organization', pp 1-26. There is debate on the extent and name for the language itself, some preferring to use 'The Sydney Language.' Watkin Tench observed that though the coastal and inland men he met conversed and understood each other, many words for common things bore no similarity while other words were only slightly different (1793 [2004], *A complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson*, p. 122).

²⁵ Gapps, 2010, *Cabrogal to Fairfield City*, pp 26-60; Attenbrow, 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal past*, p. 78; Karskens, 2009, *The Colony*, p. 36; Gammage, 2012, *The biggest estate on earth*, pp. 281-304.

²⁶ Gammage, 2012, *The biggest estate on earth*. As Paul Irish notes, Sydney people continued traditional connections to Country through often broader 'affiliated coastal zones' that Irish suggests were based in traditional practices but changed under pressure and over time (2017, *Hidden in plain view*, pp 22-27).

²⁷ Banks, 1770 [2005], 'The Endeavour Journal'; Attenbrow, 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal past*, 38. Collins' estimates of the population of the Sydney region as a whole vary between 3,000 and 20,000 (1789, *An account of the English colony*, p. 557).

bandicoots and wallabies were hunted with traps and snares. Watkin Tench noted the skill in cutting toeholds in trees to swiftly climb to hunt possums.²⁸

The landscape and environment before Europeans arrived was a finely managed one. In 1790 John Hunter observed people 'burning the grass on the north shore opposite to Sydney, in order to catch rats and other animals'. In 1804 Henry Waterhouse described the land around Cowpastures as 'a beautiful park, totally divested of underwood, interspersed with rich, luxuriant grass ... except where recently burnt'. These forests that had been managed by many generations of Aboriginal people through such methods as what is known as 'firestick farming'. Fire was an important tool and also used to open up tracks, to 'clean country', drive animals into the paths of hunters, cooking, warmth, treating wood, cracking open stones and for a place to gather, dance and share stories and knowledge.²⁹

The Sydney region was a landscape rich with the imprints of activity, art and culture such as rock engravings and paintings, scarred and carved trees, ceremonial rock and mound structures, cooking ovens, villages of bark huts, stone tool quarries, grinding grooves and tool-making sites, burial and other shell middens, and other artefacts. All this activity had a lasting impact on the landscape, and many elements such as rock engravings in particular survive, or have been kept intact or cared for by community members. Over time, many Aboriginal pathways were taken up by the colonists and made into roads, some still on the same routes today. 'Kangaroo grounds' became colonial estates, fishing creeks became drains, hills and peaks used for communication became signaling stations and lookouts, and shell middens became the limestone for the bricks and mortar of early colonial buildings.³⁰

The large swathes of Hawkesbury sandstone across the Sydney region were the canvas for what has been likened to an enormous open air art gallery – engravings of the outlines of spirit creatures, marsupials, birds, fish, weapons, footprints and even European boats alongside people, showing a continuity that carried on beyond the arrival of British colonisers in 1788. This Sydney art tradition was distinctive from other regions such as inland New South Wales where carved trees were more prominent, or further south where painting dominates. There are more than 4,000 known rock art sites and more than 3,000 rock shelters with pigment or painted art, often featuring hand stencils. The Sydney Basin has been compared to Kakadu National Park in terms of the vast numbers of Aboriginal sites that remain today.³¹

²⁸ Tench, 1793 [2004], *A complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson*, p. 82, 230; Kohen, 1985, *Aborigines in the west*, p. 9; Attenbrow, 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal past*, p. 41.

²⁹ Hunter, *An historical journal of events at Sydney and at sea, 1787-1792*, 1793, p. 312; Waterhouse quoted in *Historical records of New South Wales* Vol. 5, p. 359; White, 1790 [2003], 'Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales', p. 163; Gammage, 2012, *The biggest estate on earth*, pp 163-185; Griffith, 2018, *Deep time dreaming*, p. 240.

³⁰ Griffith, 2018, *Deep time dreaming*, p. 241; Gammage, 2012, *The biggest estate on earth*, p. xix; Attenbrow, 2012, *Sydney's Aboriginal past*.

³¹ Karskens, 2009, *The Colony*, p. 32; Griffith, 2018, *Deep time dreaming*, p. 188; Mulvaney & Kamminga, 1999, *Prehistory of Australia*, pp 284, 376-381; McDonald, 2007, *Dreamtime Superhighway*.



Figure 5: 'Native climbing a gum tree', Georgiana Lowe - album of drawings of New South Wales views, ca. 1842-1850³²



Figure 6: Fishing hooks crafted by Aboriginal communities living around Sydney Harbour, John White, 1790³³



Figure 7: 'Native grass tree', Georgiana Lowe - album of drawings of New South Wales views, ca. 1842-1850³⁴

³² Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, SAFE/PXD 390.

³³ John White, 1790, *Journal of a voyage to New South Wales with sixty-five plates of non-descript animals, birds, lizards, serpents, curious cones or trees and other natural products*, State Library of NSW, <https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/74VKJ3NqBBQd/Nwr2GDdJzvE8g>

³⁴ Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, SAFE/PXD 390.

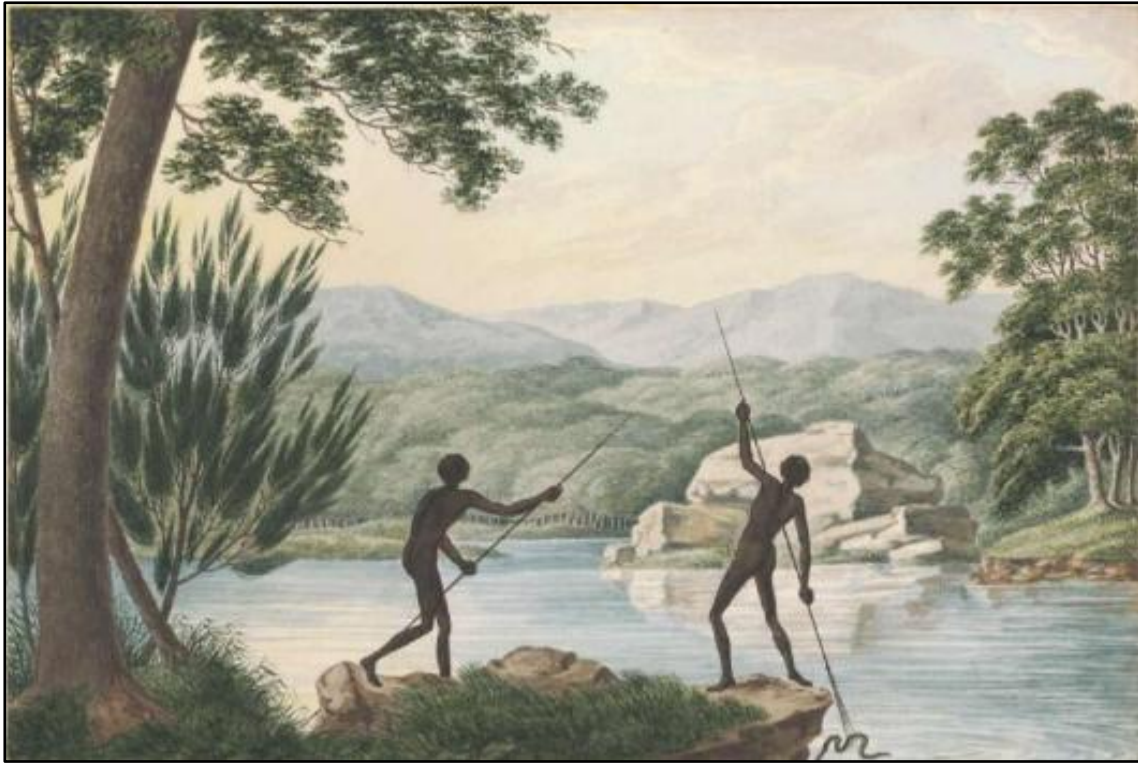


Figure 8: Sketch by Joseph Lycett of two Aboriginal men spearing eels, c. 1817³⁵



Figure 9: Sketch by Joseph Lycett of Aboriginal men hunting wildlife and 'cleaning Country'³⁶

³⁵ Two Aboriginal Australian men fishing for eels, New South Wales, ca. 1817 [picture]/[Joseph Lycett], accessed <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-138499671/view> (24 April 2024).

³⁶ The University of Newcastle, The Lycett Album ca. 1820: Aboriginal People of Newcastle and Lake Macquarie in European Colonial Art.



Figure 10: Bulgandry rock engravings, north of Hawkesbury River³⁷



Figure 11: An example of Dharawal hand stencils in the Royal National Park³⁸

³⁷ Source: Artefact Heritage and Environment.

³⁸ https://52095965-193a-4d97-aeb2-2902576e05d1.filesusr.com/ugd/41eef9_802afbfb82b474ebcf8a65255e7077f.pdf;
<http://illawarra-history.weebly.com/aboriginal-history-of-the-illawarra.html>.

3.1.3 Gadigal Country

The Gadigal lived on the south side of what is now called Sydney Harbour for hundreds of generations and tens of thousands of years. According to historian Keith Vincent Smith, 'Cadi' means 'below or under' and the name of the clan group stems from Camp Cove, a place described as below South Head. The Cadi (or more correctly Gadi) heartland stretched from South Head through the present-day Eastern Suburbs to Woolloomooloo Bay, Farm Cove and Warrane or Warrang (Sydney Cove), up to the entrance to Darling Harbour or Gomora.³⁹

They were one of around 30 clan groups across the Sydney region. On the west side of Gomora were the Wangal, on the north side of the harbour the Cammeraygal, Borogegal and Wallumedegal. To the south and east were the Bidjigal and Gweagal. While the Gameygal have been identified with the mouth of the Cooks River at Kamay-Botany Bay, their focus seems to have been toward the bay and not inland toward present-day Waterloo.⁴⁰

It is difficult to be precise today about how far the Gadigal clan 'estate' stretched to the south. Often, natural features such as watersheds, ridges or rivers were 'boundaries'. The study area of present-day Waterloo sits on the edge of the watershed of creeks running northward to the harbour and Shea's Creek headwaters running southward to Kamay-Botany Bay. It seems present-day Waterloo would have been more connected to Gadigal Country to the north.

Western conceptions of clan groups having distinctive boundaries are of limited value. Many clan groups had shared boundaries or reciprocal rights with bordering and neighbouring groups. With appropriate permission and protocols, people could travel through and hunt on other groups' lands. The resource rich wetlands and tidal areas of the Cooks River for example - particularly around the Gumbramorra wetlands that have now been largely land filled for the development of the Marrickville area - were likely to have been a significant shared resource area, accessed by Wangal, Bidjigal and Gadigal people.

The Kameygal lived on the north shore of Kamay or Botany Bay, along the banks of the Cooks River from the west and south to Botany and La Perouse. According to historian Keith Vincent Smith, in the Sydney language, *kamey* and variations, including *kamai*, *kah-my*, *ka-mai*, and *camey*, is the generic name for a spear. Thus the Kameygal were possibly the 'spear clan'.⁴¹

Precisely where the Gadigal and Kamaygal (Kameygal) shared a boundary is unclear. It is almost certain they both would have moved to the beach and rocks on the coast for seasonal or ceremonial purposes, such as the gathering of several hundred people Governor Phillip witnessed in 1790. According to David Collins, 'in a cove on the sea-side, between Botany Bay and Port Jackson, [possibly Little Bay] he [Phillip] suddenly fell in with an armed party of natives, in number between two and three hundred men, women and children.' Undoubtedly, people had gathered at least from Kamay and around Sydney Harbour to muster these numbers.⁴²

In 1790, the Wangal man Bennelong related to Governor Phillip the clans around Sydney Cove;⁴³

'From the Entrance of the Harbour, along the South Shore, to the Cove adjoining this Settlement, the District is called Cadi, & the Tribe Cadigal — the Women,

³⁹ Smith, 2020. 'Eora People. Saltwater People of the Sydney Area', <https://www.eorapeople.com.au/>.

⁴⁰ Historian Paul Irish includes Gamey, though this history is about the entire Cooks River. Irish, (2016), 'Aboriginal history along the Cooks River', p. 11.

⁴¹ Smith, 'Eora People', online: <https://www.eorapeople.com.au/language/clans/>.

⁴² Collins, *An account of the English colony*, pp.24-5.

⁴³ Arthur Phillip to Lord Sydney, quoting Woollarawarre Bennelong, Government House, Sydney Cove, February 13th 1790 MS CO 201/5, pp 42-43, National Archives, London, in Smith, 'Eora People', online: <https://www.eorapeople.com.au/language/clans/>.

Cadigalleon. The South Side of the Harbour from the above-mentioned Cove to Rose-Hill, which the Natives call Parramatta, the District is called Wann, & the Tribe, Wanngal. The opposite Shore is called Wallumetta, & the Tribe, Wallumedegal. The other Tribes which live near us, are those of Gweagal, Noronggerragal, Borogegal, Gomerrigal, & Boromedegal.'

The Gadigal had different relations with these groups – some Gadigal ceremonial gatherings such as initiations were conducted by other clan groups with certain authority to do so. For example, according to early colonist David Collins, the Cammeraygal (on the north side of the harbour) were able to 'oblige' other clans to 'attend wherever and whenever they directed' and Collins believed they had a 'decided superiority over all the tribes' the colonists had encountered. Contests were delayed until the Cammeraygal arrived and they also had the 'extraordinary privilege of exacting a tooth from the natives of other tribes inhabiting the sea coast.'⁴⁴

As historian Paul Irish notes, the harbour clans were bound together by women, who married between various clans. Thus, Aboriginal people who lived in the area around present-day Waterloo were in fact from a mixture of clans. Everyone was bound by 'complex webs of spiritual and family connection' to other places than their clan group 'heartlands'. They were bound through marriage and by the clans of their parents and grandparents, as well as their place of birth. To meet the cultural obligations of these links, Aboriginal people regularly travelled across the broader Sydney and southern coast region.⁴⁵

Gadigal women (Gadigalleon), like the rest of the coastal or saltwater groups in the Sydney region, were important food providers for their families. One of the staple food sources was fish. While men speared fish from the shoreline with multi-pronged spears or *mooting*, the women fished from their nawi or tied-bark canoes with lines and hooks. They made their fishing lines or carr-e-jun by twisting together strands of fibre from kurrajong trees, cabbage trees or flax plants. Animal fur and grass 'nearly as fine as raw silk' were also used to make lines. One colonist described them as 'nicely shredded and twisted very close and neatly'. The distinctively crescent-shaped fish-hooks or burra were crafted from the turban shell.⁴⁶

Gadigalleon had extraordinary skills in fishing, swimming, diving and using watercraft. They sang as they fished and were seen fishing for long periods during the day, in all weathers, and often at night with small fires on board. These women, as historian Grace Karskens has noted, 'dominated the waters of the harbours, coves and bays, and the coastlines in between. The men mostly only used canoes when they wanted to get from one cove to another.'⁴⁷

Although the resource rich foreshores of the harbour were the focus for Gadigal, the areas inland around what is today's Eastern Suburbs, the City of Sydney and suburbs to the south of the Gadigal foreshore around Redfern and Waterloo were used as well. Inland, there were fruits, seeds, nuts and grains. Nectars, rhizomes and tubers were also harvested. Some parts of plants would have required special preparation to remove any poisons, but the seeds of all native grasses are edible. David Collins noted the difference between the inland areas and the foreshores, although did not observe the use of plants as closely as he might have;⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Collins, *An Account*, 1789 p. 456.

⁴⁵ Irish, 'Woollahra Aboriginal Heritage Report', p. 24.

⁴⁶ Bradley, 'A Voyage to New South Wales, Dec 1786–May 1792', (1802) SLNSW, Safe 1/14, p. 133; Tench in *Sydney's First Four Years*, p. 284.

⁴⁷ Karskens, 'Barangaroo and the Eora Fisherwomen', Dictionary of Sydney, online. See also Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, p. 557; White, *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, p. 149; Bradley, W., 'A Voyage to New South Wales', p. 133.

⁴⁸ Collins, *An Account*, 1789.

'The woods, exclusive of the animals which they occasionally find in their neighbourhood, afford them but little sustenance; a few berries, the yam and fern-root, the flowers of different banksia, and at times some honey, make up the whole vegetable catalogue'

Near the study area of present-day Waterloo, there was series 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. What is now known as the Lachlan Swamps (in and around today's Centennial Park), were once much larger and surrounded by wetland vegetation. The wetlands also had expanses of sandstone outcrops that provided rock shelters. The area near present-day Waterloo was a rich place. It may have been, like the Gubramorra wetlands, a shared resource.⁴⁹

Men used wooden spears and women wooden digging sticks - two of the most important possessions of Aboriginal people in the pre-colonial past. The Melaleuca tree's paper-like bark was used as shelter, wrapping, containers and for fire lighting. In 1791 John Hunter described how Aboriginal burning the ground on the north side of the harbour, opposite the settlement', was a practice 'constantly' done when the weather was dry. 'Firestick farming' was the practice of burning land to create new green shoots and thereby attract kangaroos for hunting, but fire was also used to control undergrowth and prevent larger bushfires.⁵⁰

Due to the predominance of relatively soft sandstone around Sydney Harbour, hard stone used for axes and scrapers in particular, was traded from areas such as the basalt gravel beds along the Nepean River. Trading was extensive and far-reaching. Silcrete from an outcrop near present day Plumpton Ridge on the Cumberland Plain in Sydney's west and mudstone from the Hunter Valley or near Warragamba dam have been found around Sydney Harbour.⁵¹

As the seasons changed, Sydney Aboriginal people moved throughout theirs and other clan groups' Country to access resources, set up camps and hold ceremonies. Songlines passed down through the generations guided them on their travels. They navigated the woodlands using a network of trackways that crisscrossed through Country. These tracks wove through kurrajong trees, Port Jackson fig trees and paperbarks. Many of these tree species can still be seen today in Sydney bushland today.

Aboriginal pathways were often turned into roads by colonisers from the 1790s. Pathways crisscrossed the entire Sydney region and often followed the best travel routes. According to historian 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'. Aboriginal people would have walked along what became the road to Botany Bay just west of the study area at Waterloo for thousands of years.⁵²

⁴⁹ Cox, Inall, Ridgeway, 'Brief Aboriginal history of the Botany Road Corridor and Surrounds', p. vi.

⁵⁰ Hunter, *An Historical Transaction*, 1793, p. 361; Tench, *An Account*, 1789, p. 284.

⁵¹ Currie *Bo-ra-ne Ya-goo-na Par-ry-boo-go*, 2008, pp. 10-15.

⁵² Meadows, 'Aboriginal History of the Waverley Area', p. 2; Smith, Keith Vincent. "Mooroo-boora's Daughter ". National Library of Australia News 16.



Figure 12: Group of Aboriginal women fishing, attributed to Phillip Gidley King, c. 1790⁵³



Figure 13: Aboriginal groups night fishing and making fire, c. 1817⁵⁴

⁵³ Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, BP Safe 1/457.

⁵⁴ National Library of Australia, Aboriginal Australians night fishing by fire torches, New South Wales, ca. 1817 [picture] / [Joseph Lycett].

3.1.4 1788 – British invasion and colonisation

The Gadigal would undoubtedly have heard of if not seen the ship HMB *Endeavour* when it stayed in Kamay-Botany Bay for several days in 1770. Perhaps they viewed the ship from the high points near present-day Waterloo. However, the tall ships that arrived in 1788 did not continue to travel onwards like Cook's *Endeavour* – they arrived in Warrane (Sydney Cove) to stay – changing the Gadigal and all the Sydney groups' lives forever.

The colonisers arrived with pre-conceptions about Aboriginal society, often believing it to be static and unchangeable, unable to adapt to colonisation, and highly territorial. However, the network of social, ceremonial and family relations that existed among clans right across the Sydney region and beyond meant that in fact, the Sydney people were highly mobile and adaptable. At any one time, people from various clan groups could be living in another group's Country, people could have family networks over great distances and a clan group might have several different languages spoken. This adaptability, based in a strong central core of the clan's heartland, was to shape how Aboriginal people survived the decimation of disease and the massive impact of colonisation.⁵⁵

Lieutenant William Bradley's diary of the first year of the British outpost in the middle of Gadigal land shows a pattern of increasing conflict between the colonisers and the Sydney people during 1788. At first, in late January, Bradley reported how the people they met at Botany Bay were 'Well disposed to us' and for two days 'our People & the Natives were mixed together'. In the first two weeks at Warrane (Sydney Cove), he said 'Men, Women & Children' were 'very friendly'. At the 'Middle Branch', they 'met us in the most cheerful manner' and 'danced with us' and at Spring Cove on the north shore Bradley met 'several canoes' and the people 'had so much confidence in us' they 'mixed together and were quite sociable'.⁵⁶

Bradley also noted how the men were reluctant to allow the Europeans near women. He admired their tactical good sense, as even when 'socialising' they 'had Arms ready to protect them' {women}, or had someone guarding their weapons, which 'increased my favourable opinion of them'. In the last few days of January Bradley recorded nine instances of communication that he witnessed, and only one of conflict (a spear thrown), and that was reported to him.

But as the days turned to months, conflict increased. During February Bradley recorded several times where 'the natives would not come nearer the camp' or 'ran off in great confusion'. On the 9th of February he wrote that the French under La Perouse at Botany Bay 'had been obliged to fire on the Natives' 'to keep them quiet' and at Garden Island how some Sydney men stole axes and shovels, 'but not without their skin being well pepper'd with small shot'. Still, he recorded personally observing ten instances of 'communication' and only two of conflict.

In late May, Bradley noted that Captain Campbell went to the 'SW arm' (present day Iron Cove) to where two convicts had been left to gather rushes. Campbell found a trail of blood from their tent leading to the mangroves, where he found the mutilated bodies of the convicts William Okey and Samuel Davis – the first known European deaths at the hands of the Sydney people.

Tension between the Sydney people and the colonisers grew. As Tench and Dawes noted, there was an association made between all the colonists and firearms – 'gooroobeera' according to Tench was the name given to the colonists as 'those who carry guns' and according to Dawes 'djerebar', the name given to the musket and which 'the natives frequently called us by'. Bradley noted at North Head he met three men and two boys who 'made signs for us not to fire our Musquets'.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Irish, *Hidden in Plain View*, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁶ Bradley, W., 'A Voyage to New South Wales', pp. 61-66.

⁵⁷ Gapps, "They have attack'd almost every person who has met with them" – Re-reading William Bradley', online.

By September, Bradley's initial idea 'of their being Friendly disposed' had changed. He was now convinced the Sydney people were only friendly when 'we have them in our power' or they 'are well prepared by being armed'. He noted that lately 'they have attack'd almost every person who has met with them that has not had a musket & have sometimes endeavoured to surprise some who had'. Indeed, he writes 'the Musket now seems to be the only thing to keep them in Awe' and that some of them have been killed by Musket balls ... I have not the least doubt'. At this point, no Aboriginal people living around Sydney Harbour would approach the British encampment at Warrane (Sydney Cove). The Gadigal now refused to communicate with those occupying their lands.⁵⁸

3.1.5 Prisoners and the deadly Galgala

Governor Phillip had been ordered by King George III to 'endeavour by every possible means to open an Intercourse with the Natives and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all Our Subjects to live in amity and kindness with them.' But not since February 1788 had any Aboriginal person been into the encampment at Sydney Cove. Phillip decided to capture some by force hoping to 'reconcile' Aboriginal people to the occupation of their country and to persuade them to come and live with the colonists. In December, a man named Arabanoo was captured and kept prisoner.⁵⁹

In April 1789, what Sydney Aboriginal people called galgala or smallpox broke out and more than half - possibly even 80 percent - of the population around Sydney Harbour were dead within a month. While there is no historical evidence to suggest smallpox was intentionally released by the colonists, it has been strongly associated with them by Aboriginal people ever since.

With Warrane as in effect the 'ground zero' point of the British invasion and occupation of Aboriginal lands, the Gadigal stood little chance. Bennelong, a Wangal man from west of Gomora (including his 'estate' of Me-mel or Goat Island), told the colonists that his Gadigal friend Colebee's 'tribe' (as David Collins put it) was reduced by smallpox to just three people.⁶⁰

Captain John Hunter wrote that 'it was truly shocking to go round the coves of this harbour [seeing] men, women and children, lying dead'. David Collins wrote that those who witnessed Arabanoo's grief and agony could never forget either – on being taken on a boat around the harbour Arabanoo 'lifted up his hands and eyes in silent agony [and exclaimed] "All dead! All dead!"'.⁶¹

After being kept a prisoner at Sydney Cove, Arabanoo succumbed to smallpox and died in May 1789. Governor Phillip immediately ordered that another 'native' be taken at the first opportunity. It was not until November 1789 that Bennelong and Colby were seized at Manly in a manner similar to that of Arabanoo. Colby (Colebee), a Gadigal man from the southern side of the harbour, escaped two weeks later, leaving the Wangal man Bennelong alone at Sydney Cove. By April 1790, the trust between Governor Phillip and Bennelong had grown and Bennelong was released from his shackles and allowed to walk freely around the settlement. The colonists learned a great deal from Bennelong about the Sydney people, and vice versa.

Bennelong's wife Barangaroo was a Cammeragaleon – a woman from the Cammeraygal on the north side of the harbour. As David Collins noted, wives 'are always selected from the women of a different tribe, with whom they are at enmity'. Barangaroo often travelled to the north shore with her husband Bennelong. Watkin Tench described how Bennelong openly stated his hatred of the Cammeraygal - perplexing the colonists by his visits to Cammeray whilst at the same time encouraging the Governor to send soldiers to kill all the Cammeraygal, and at other times saying they were 'good men'.⁶²

⁵⁸ Bradley, W., 'A Voyage to New South Wales', pp. 112-127

⁵⁹ King George III, Instructions to Governor Arthur Phillip, 27 April 1787, in Smith 'Arabanoo' online.

⁶⁰ Collins 1798, *An Account*, p. 497

⁶¹ Karskens, *The Colony*, p. 50; Gapps, *The Sydney Wars*, pp. 55-56

⁶² Tench, *A Complete Account*, p. 118; Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, p. 362; Hunter, *An Historical Journal*, p. 327.

Barangaroo was known to be constantly at odds with Bennelong's interaction with the colonists. Historian Grace Karskens suggests this could have emanated from the increasing loss of Aboriginal women's status as their role in food providing of the staples (fish and plants – perhaps 80 percent of their peoples' diets) was diminished by the colonisers fishing and farming. So too, the colonisers would only deal with men, not women, which was at odds with traditional Aboriginal practices.⁶³

3.1.6 Spearing the Governor – 1790s

The choices were stark for survivors. Some, like Pemulwuy the Bidjigal warrior from the Georges River area, chose to fight back against the colonists. Pemulwuy was to lead a fierce resistance war during the 1790s, mostly on the fringes of the expanding colony (though at one time attacking the town of Parramatta in 1797). Others like Bennelong chose to live with the colonists and move in and out of the townships. After being held a captive in leg irons, these were taken off in April 1790 and he walked about freely with the governor. He shared an upstairs room with a servant in Governor Phillip's house, built on the present site of the Museum of Sydney on the corner of Bridge and Phillip Streets, Sydney. But soon after, in May, he left to go back to his people.

In September, Bennelong and Colebee were among some 200 Aboriginal people feasting on a stranded whale on the beach at Kayeemy (Manly Cove) Bennelong promised to return to Sydney Cove if Governor Phillip, who was at South Head, would come to see him. When Phillip landed from his boat Bennelong shook his hand warmly and called him *beanga* (father). Keith Vincent Smith and others have regarded what occurred next as what 'seems in retrospect to be a ritual spearing or 'payback' arranged by Bennelong and Colebee for the deprivation of their liberty', though a misunderstanding at a time of armed tension has also been suggested. A *carradhy* or 'clever man' named Willemering from the Carigal (Garigal) from Broken Bay speared the governor and the party came under attack and took to their boats.⁶⁴

Phillip recovered from his wound and on 17 September 1790 went by boat to meet Bennelong and in October 1790, Bennelong and several other people returned to visiting the Sydney settlement. Bennelong and Colebee began to visit Governor Phillip regularly for dinner (a midday meal) and at Bennelong's request, Phillip built him a brick hut 'on a point of land fixed upon by himself' on the headland at Tubowgulle, now Bennelong Point and the site of the Sydney Opera House.⁶⁵

While visits to the township continued, many Sydney Aboriginal people regrouped to form new communities. Bennelong's last wife Boorong's clan lands around Kissing Point, further up the Parramatta River, proved to be a safe place for what was an amalgamated extended family group. Bennelong died in 1813 and was buried in the grounds of the beer brewer James Squire's Kissing Point estate.⁶⁶

Few Sydney Aboriginal people can be followed through the historical record as people moved around and colonists rarely noted their names. One exception was Bennelong's sister Carangarang who outlived her more famous brother by 25 years. Born about 1771, Carangarang was a notable figure around Sydney and Kissing Point until the late 1830s, when she was in her sixties. In 1821 Lieutenant Allen Francis Gardiner described her at Kissing Point wearing an 'Opposum Cloake' and carrying a net bag over her shoulders. Her hair was a mass of 'Gorgon locks', decorated with eel bones, the 'brush of a native dog's tail, and a bunch of Emu feathers' behind'.⁶⁷

⁶³ Karskens, 'Barangaroo and the Eora Fisherwomen', online.

⁶⁴ Smith 'Willemering' 2016, online; Gapps *The Sydney Wars*, pp. 74-78.

⁶⁵ Smith 'Willemering', online.

⁶⁶ Smith 'Willemering', 2016; Irish, *Hidden in Plain View*, p. 23.

⁶⁷ Vincent Smith, Keith, 'Carangarang', Dictionary of Sydney, 2016, <https://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/carangarang>, viewed 16 Jan 2024.

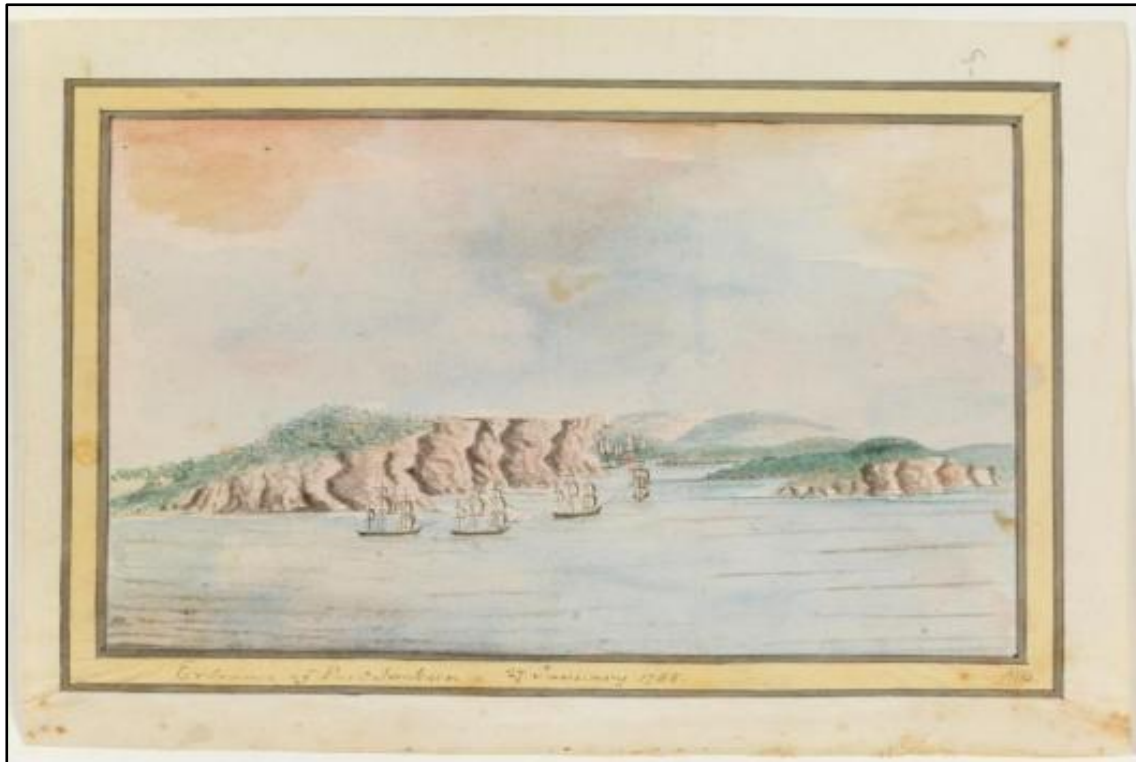


Figure 14: The British colony at the entrance of Port Jackson, 1788⁶⁸



Figure 15: Governor's House at Sydney, 1791⁶⁹

⁶⁸ State Library New South Wales, William Bradley drawings from his journal 'A Voyage to New South Wales', ca. 1802.

⁶⁹ State Library New South Wales, William Bradley drawings from his journal 'A Voyage to New South Wales', ca. 1802.

3.1.7 Surviving, farming and fishing – 1810s

During the early 1800s Aboriginal people still continued to visit and camp for periods either with sympathetic colonists such as Captain John Piper in the present-day Eastern Suburbs or in such places as the public common that was to become Hyde Park. Others camped in the coves of today's Eastern Suburbs that were still undeveloped and offered refuge and fishing, gathering and hunting opportunities. Traditional dispute resolution combat was often conducted in the streets of Sydney township and the unofficial sporting ground of Hyde Park was often used. The *Sydney Gazette* newspaper reported in October 1803 that;

'On Sunday last a number of Natives assembled on a ground at the upper end of Pitt's Row [Pitt Street, then on the outskirts of the township], with a design of inflicting punishment on two men who were directly or indirectly concerned in the assassination of two others who died of their spear wounds.'

One of them was 'Musquetto' and the *Gazette* was much surprised at his dexterity in defending against '64 spears, all thrown with rancour and malignity, and 17 of which went through the target [shield], some to a depth of nearly two feet. The 65th and last thrown at him entered the calf of his right leg, and penetrated six inches through.'⁷⁰

Bungaree (Boongarie) was born around 1775 and was a Garigal man from Broken Bay. He took up a role as a mediator between the colonists and Aboriginal people, often working as a guide with various colonial expeditions including Matthew Flinders circumnavigation of the continent in 1803. He was a diplomat, and also a skilled entertainer who impersonated the governors and other local figures. Bungaree came to live in Sydney in the 1810s when he married Matora, whose family appears to have been from Port Jackson.⁷¹

Governor Macquarie decided to take active measures and attempt to 'civilise' the Aboriginal people living in and around Sydney. After establishing the Native Institution (a school for Aboriginal children) at Parramatta in 1814, in 1815 Macquarie made Bungaree 'Chief of the Broken Bay Tribe' and set aside land at Georges Head on the north side of Sydney Harbour. He allocated Bungaree and his family huts, farming equipment and a boat for fishing.⁷²

The families lived at Georges Head for several years, however, the attempt to farm land not suited to farming quickly fell into disarray, with crops abandoned for the more traditional methods of fishing and hunting.⁷³

While some camps and settlements were formally established, others were not. At Point Piper, Captain John Piper's estate bordered a small creek where, from at least 1819, a group of Aboriginal people were camped. In 1822 Piper supported them by writing a petition to the new Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane, stating that they 'have no other residence but their natural woods near Sydney, and at this ... season of the year are almost in a state of nudity, suffering Cold and hunger in the extreme.' He asked the new governor for some blankets.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ *Sydney Gazette*, 16 October 1803, p.2.

⁷¹ Irish, *Hidden in Plain View*, 2017, pp. 9-11.

⁷² *Sydney Gazette*, 4 February 1815.

⁷³ Smith 'Cora Gooseberry' 2011a, online.

⁷⁴ Colonial Secretary Reel 6052 State Records New South Wales, 4/1753:159.

Another settlement for Aboriginal people living in Sydney was established at Elizabeth Bay in the early 1820s. Governor Macquarie had huts built and provided a fishing boat and tackle for 42 'settlers' at the 'Native Village'.⁷⁵

According to Obed West writing in the 1880s, the land running down to Rushcutters Bay (Barcom Glen) was 'a great camping place for the blacks' and West recalled in the 1830s and 1840s watching 'them in their canoes in the bay, the gins fishing with the line while their sable lords used their spears to get the fish that swam beneath them'.⁷⁶

Importantly, West also recalled campsites and meeting grounds at present-day Redfern:

Boxley's Clear [Redfern] was a great rendezvous of the blacks and was one of their great feasting grounds as well as the scene of many a hard-fought battle. The clearing at Redfern, being nicely adjacent, was chosen by the natives as the place of meeting for the settlement of disputes, in lieu of the Racecourse. This also was the spot where the blacks were punished by their comrades for breaches of their tribal laws...

West also noted why the location at the clear ground around present-day Redfern was important for resources;⁷⁷

....Boxley's Lagoon these days was the home of vast numbers of red-bills, wild ducks, snipe, landrail and other game now rarely seen anywhere near Sydney. Eels were also plentiful in the water, and in the bush were bandicoots, possums and native cats which the youths of the time would chase with dogs when the nights were favourable....

In many ways, Sydney was still very much an Aboriginal place for a long period during the 19th century, particularly as people came to the city from other areas. During the 1830s to 1860s there was a surprising number of camps around Sydney Harbour and in the broader area, hundreds of Aboriginal people were a regular sight paddling their nawi (bark canoes), guiding foreign visitors, selling fish to people and travelling the roads and tracks. The coves and creeks around the more rugged areas of today's eastern suburbs were still very much undeveloped bushland, offering fishing and other resources.

Only a few names of the people who were known as the 'Sydney tribe' are known. One was Cora Gooseberry, who outlived her more well-known husband Bungaree for 20 years. Her Aboriginal name was recorded as 'Carra or Kaaroo' and Europeanised to 'Cora'. She was known as 'Queen of Sydney and Botany' and 'Queen of Sydney to South Head'. She was often seen wrapped in a government issued blanket, her head covered with a scarf and a clay pipe in her mouth, as depicted in portraits by Charles Rodius and W H Fernyhough in the 1830s. Cora found a sympathetic hotel owner Edward Borton and with her family and other Aboriginal people often camped on the footpath outside the 'Cricketer's Arms' on the corner of Pitt and Market Streets. Borton later owned the 'Sydney Arms' Hotel in Castlereagh Street where he allowed Cora to sleep at nights, and where she was eventually found dead at the age of 75. Borton paid for a gravestone and her burial in the Presbyterian section of

⁷⁵ Smith, 2011b, 'Aboriginal life around Port Jackson after 1822', online.

⁷⁶ West, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 October 1882, p. 9.

⁷⁷ Marriot, E. W., *The Memoirs of Obed West. A Portrait of Early Sydney*, Barcom Press, 1988, pp. 45-46.

the Devonshire Street Cemetery (now covered by Central Railway). Her gravestone was transferred to the Pioneers Cemetery at Botany.⁷⁸

Many Aboriginal people came into Sydney from other areas. One report from 1838 noted 'sundry' Aboriginal people performing a corroboree in George Street. Bridget Riley was charged and 'ordered to betake herself' to Broken Bay, where she said she came from. In March, a group of people from the Illawarra arrived in Sydney, apparently 'to fight the Broken Bay tribe'. The *Sydney Monitor* newspaper suggested 'their fights are now practiced as much to please the whites as the blacks' and the paper called 'the attention of the Police to the subject', who were widely criticised for the 'sufferance which is given to the aboriginals'. The *Sydney Gazette* newspaper suggested they should be 'thrown back upon their native wilds.'⁷⁹

Meanwhile, some Aboriginal people were quietly going about their business working in the city. In early 1838, *The Sydney Monitor* noted that 'a dray loaded with wool was seen proceeding the other day, down George street, in charge of a black native, who appeared to understand his business equally as well as the best European driver, and smacked his whip with as becoming a grace'.⁸⁰



Figure 16: Portrait of Bungaree, a native of New South Wales, with Fort Macquarie, Sydney Harbour, in background 1826, Augustus Earle⁸¹

⁷⁸ Smith 'Cora Gooseberry' 2013 online.

⁷⁹ *Sydney Gazette*, 13 January 1838, p. 3; *Sydney Gazette*, Thursday 2 February 1837, p. 2; *Sydney Monitor*, 6 February 1837, p. 2, 3 March 1837, p. 2; *Sydney Gazette*, 4 March 1837, p. 2, 13 March 1838, p. 2.

⁸⁰ *The Sydney Monitor*, 26 January 1838, p. 2.

⁸¹ National Library of Australia, nla.pic-an2256865.



Figure 17: Henry Campbell, 'Scene on Double Bay Sydney N.S.W. 1840-1842'⁸²



Figure 18: Pencil sketch by Charles Rodius of Cora Goosberry in April 1844⁸³

⁸² SLNSW, PXC 291.34.

⁸³ Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW - PXA 1005.

3.1.8 The Protection Era

By the 1890s, most Aboriginal people had either moved away from the city or had been forced to move to reserves and missions. Some few managed to survive in camps along creeks and rivers to the south and west such as at the Hawkesbury and Georges River, but as the city rapidly expanded from the 1880s it became almost impossible to live close to the city.

The access to fishing and traditional foods at La Perouse, as well as being far enough away from the city to be relatively 'out of sight' from the authorities - but also close enough to southern Sydney for work opportunities - meant it had become a focal point for the southern coastal Aboriginal people of Sydney who had survived invasion and dispossession.⁸⁴

But in the 1880s, there was a major – and devastating - shift in government policy. The Parkes government was under increasing pressure to take action on Aboriginal affairs and in 1882 George Thornton was appointed as Protector of Aborigines. Thornton promoted removing Aboriginal people from urban areas, but he did allow five families to stay at La Perouse, suggesting that their 'camp' was 'economically viable' via fishing in the main. Elsewhere around Sydney, other camps were seen as 'parasitic' and a 'nuisance to society'. Thornton had some huts built at La Perouse for the community there, which in 1881 was 50 people around Kamay-Botany Bay (35 at La Perouse and 15 in the area of Kamay).⁸⁵

In 1883, Thornton's role was replaced by the Aborigines Protection Board. The Board wanted to segregate Aboriginal people onto small areas of land and by 1885, seven acres of land at La Perouse was declared a 'Reserve for the use of Aborigines' – the only one at this stage in the Sydney region.

As the city of Sydney grew, in the 1880s, numbers Sydneysiders were taking day trips to the seaside. Many went to Kurnell and Botany and others to La Perouse, curious to see the Aboriginal people who lived there. This caused concern for the Aborigines Protection Board who wanted to keep the La Perouse community segregated and led to further restrictions. In 1895, the reserve was enclosed by a fence and only the local constable and the resident missionary had keys. Aboriginal people were prevented from selling fish at the markets and restrictions placed upon boat and rail travel. In 1897 the Aborigines Protection Board rejected requests by missionaries for more huts and increased rations for the La Perouse community because the board believed this would encourage more people to move from the south coast to La Perouse. The late 19th and early 20th centuries were a grim period of Australian racism.⁸⁶

But the strength of the La Perouse community was astounding. After concerns about white tourists mingling with the community, in 1900, the Aborigines Protection Board decided to relocate Aboriginal people from La Perouse to Wallaga Lake on the south coast. But they refused to move - despite the fact that the Aborigines Protection Board reduced, and eventually ceased supplying rations. By 1902, it seems that the Aborigines Protection Board had given up and resumed supplying rations to those on the reserve. In 1908 there were 73 people living on the reserve. During 1908, new houses were built and by 1912, the population on the reserve had grown to 106. In 1915 there were 124 people living on the reserve.⁸⁷

3.1.9 A new era – Community and activism

From the early 1900s, the Aboriginal population in the Sydney city area began to grow. The working class suburb of Redfern became a hub for Aboriginal people to live and work. Jobs on the railways at

⁸⁴ Irish, 'Woolhara Aboriginal Heritage Study', p. 59.

⁸⁵ Kensy, Julia, 'La Perouse', *Dictionary of Sydney*, 2008, http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/la_perouse; Watt, *Dharawal. The first contact People. 250 years of Black and White relations*, p. 97.

⁸⁶ Kensy, Julia, 'La Perouse', *Dictionary of Sydney*, 2008, http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/la_perouse.

⁸⁷ Kensy, Julia, 'La Perouse', *Dictionary of Sydney*, 2008, http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/la_perouse.

the Eveleigh Railway Workshop in particular, offered an opportunity for people to move away from missions and reserves and the control of the Aborigines Protection Board. A strong community began to develop in the Redfern, Everleigh and the Waterloo area. The opportunity to work was one factor – other people came to 'reconnect with family'. Very soon the area became known as 'Aboriginal Redfern'. It also became the most recognised and significant urban Aboriginal place in Australia.⁸⁸

During the Great Depression of the early 1930s, many Aboriginal people sought refuge with relatives in and around Redfern as work in rural areas became scarce. During WWII people came from western NSW in particular, as there were increasing job opportunities during the war. Everleigh Railway Yards was Sydney's largest employer from the time it opened in 1886. It was also one of the biggest employers of Aboriginal people living in Sydney in the second half the 20th century. Aboriginal men also worked in the Alexandria goods yard loading trains with kegs and potatoes and on the waterfront docks at Walsh Bay and Darling Harbour.⁸⁹

After WWII there was a large influx of Aboriginal people from western NSW into Redfern-Waterloo. Reserves, missions and camps were increasingly crowded and conflict and racism in rural areas meant many young Aboriginal people came to Sydney escaping this and to find work and opportunity.⁹⁰

Many women worked for the Federal Match Factory in Alexandria, which was 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.⁹¹

As activist Gary Foley recalled, the Redfern area was an important place of social connection where Aboriginal children and adults were welcome and safe.⁹²

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.

Redfern had become a focal point for political activism long before the more well-known movements of 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.⁹³

When Aboriginal people began to organise politically from the 1920s, there were often sympathetic white people to help in the struggle, many of them trade unionists. During the period from 1950 to 1967, unions and Aboriginal organisations worked closely to build momentum to the 1967 Referendum on Citizenship Rights and Commonwealth control of Aboriginal affairs.

⁸⁸ Cox, Inall, Ridgeway, 'Brief Aboriginal history of the Botany Road Corridor and Surrounds', Report for the City of Sydney Council, 2021, p. v.

⁸⁹ Heiss, 'Aboriginal labour in Sydney', Barani, City of Sydney, online.

⁹⁰ George Morgan in Cinetel Productions, 'Waterloo Stories', Report for Land and Housing and Family and Community Services, 2017, p. 28.

⁹¹ Heidi Norman Interview on ABC 'Speaking Out', 23 August 2009.

⁹² Gary Foley, interview in The Redfern Story (2014) documentary, quoted in Cox, Inall, Ridgeway, 'Brief Aboriginal history of the Botany Road Corridor and Surrounds', Report for the City of Sydney Council, 2021, p. xi.

⁹³ Cox, Inall, Ridgeway, 'Brief Aboriginal history of the Botany Road Corridor and Surrounds', Report for the City of Sydney Council, 2021, p. xii.

In 1944, Bill Onus co-founded the Redfern All-Blacks Rugby League team. By 1946 they had made the finals. Redfern All Blacks has been central to the social, cultural and political history of Aboriginal Redfern. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the Redfern All-Blacks also played a role in political activism and community organisation, notably by the activist Ken Brindle. Ken was involved in a range of community activities, including proposals to the Council for Aboriginal Affairs for a community centre. Similarly, Brindle, in organising the New Zealand tours, saw them as cultural exchanges and community development. Ken Brindle saw Redfern All Blacks as a means to build community and cultural capacity and pride. The football teams carried with them far greater significance – they were vehicles for community development and the re-forming of new communities. After the 1967 Referendum, people were more able to travel and came to Redfern, many searching for relatives taken during the period of the Stolen Generations. Many men could arrive and pick up some part time employment playing rugby league.⁹⁴

By the 1960s, the Aboriginal population around Redfern numbered over 12 000, swelling to 35,000 in the 1970s. From the 1960s, Redfern was the centre of the urban Aboriginal civil rights movement in Australia. The establishment of Aboriginal-founded and controlled services in the 1970s, such as the Aboriginal Medical Service, the Aboriginal Legal Service and the Aboriginal Housing Company, provided inspiration for self-determination for many Aboriginal communities nationwide.⁹⁵

A collection of streets opposite Redfern Station 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.

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.⁹⁶

Redfern served as inspiration for self-determination among other Indigenous communities around Australia. In 1972 a group of Redfern-based Aboriginal activists established a protest camp for justice and land rights, on the lawns of Parliament House in Canberra. This ‘Aboriginal Tent Embassy’ was a critical political action in the broader Aboriginal struggle.

Other arts and cultural organisation began to flourish. In 1978, Radio Redfern, housed at the Black Theatre (now Gadigal House) provided a voice for Aboriginal people in Redfern. Aboriginal Redfern was a key birthplace of important contemporary artistic and cultural movements including Aboriginal theatre, dance, music, art, radio and film. It was the place where Aboriginal people came together to hold significant meetings, such as the first NSW Aboriginal Land Council meeting, and attend large social events, such as the Koori Knockout.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Hoff, ‘Redfern Oral History’, A History of Aboriginal Sydney, online; Norman, Aboriginal Rugby League in Sydney, Dictionary of Sydney, 2011.

⁹⁵ Na., ‘This is the story of Redfern’, NIAA online; Artefact Heritage, ‘Central Renewal Project – Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study’, 2022, p. 32.

⁹⁶ Cox, Inall, Ridgeway, ‘Brief Aboriginal history of the Botany Road Corridor and Surrounds’, pp, xii-xiii

⁹⁷ See Johanna Perheentupa, *Redfern: Aboriginal Activism in the 1970s*.



Figure 19: PIX magazine article on the Redfern All Blacks 'Aboriginal Footballers' 1946⁹⁸



Figure 20: Redfern Housing Project 1974⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Trove.

⁹⁹ National Archives of Australia [A8739, A1/8/74/104].

3.1.10 Public Housing and gentrification

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 in 1977 was part of this 'urban renewal' process.¹⁰⁰

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s there was intense police harassment of Aboriginal people in Redfern-Waterloo. Many Aboriginal people tell stories of being constantly watched and stopped by police just because they were black. Police would wait outside pubs and arrest people en-masse for 'drunkenness'. With many people in Redfern-Waterloo part of the Stolen Generations who were removed from their families by police, there was a great distrust in them.¹⁰¹

With an economic downturn in the late 1980s, by the 1990s, a vicious cycle drugs and crime took hold in The Block. Many drug dealers from outside the area targeted the Community. Government policies had little effect. Community rallies against police crackdowns and government intervention occurred. Tensions grew when young Aboriginal men were killed by police. Things came to a head in the Redfern Riots in 2004 with images broadcast across the nation. At this point Aboriginal Community leaders came together and demanded their involvement in making change in the community. REDWatch was formed (Redfern-Eveleigh-Darlington-Waterloo) from Community members both to monitor the situation for Aboriginal people, as well as the police and government actions in the area.¹⁰²

From the early 2000s, 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 move further to the inner west and southwest and western Sydney – sometimes by choice, but more often forced through state social housing policy, as well as looking for work and the increasing cost of living in the city area. As the inner city became increasingly gentrified, Redfern and Waterloo housing and rent prices grew and the number of Aboriginal families living in the area continued to decline. A 2021 Census estimate for the Waterloo and Redfern areas was 834 people.¹⁰³

Public spaces around the Redfern area have played key roles in Aboriginal protests in Sydney. Redfern Oval marked the beginning point of the 1988 Bicentenary demonstration, which saw thousands of Australians marching to protest the colonial origins of Australia Day. Prime Minister Paul Keating chose Redfern as the location for his famous Redfern Speech in 1992. Belmore Park was also frequently utilised as a gathering place for protests and marches, with the last major events held in relationship to the Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples Speech by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in 2008 and the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020.¹⁰⁴

Redfern and surrounds still remain important to Aboriginal people. Radio Redfern is now Koori Radio, based out of the same building, but now a voice to more than 100,000 Aboriginal people across greater Sydney (Figure 21). The annual Yabun Festival celebrates Indigenous culture, music and community in a hugely successful event (Figure 22). 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

¹⁰⁰ Cox, Inall, Ridgeway, 'Brief Aboriginal history of the Botany Road Corridor and Surrounds', p. xv.

¹⁰¹ Will Gordon and Jinny-Jane Smith in Cinetel Productions, 'Waterloo Stories', Report for Land and Housing and Family and Community Services, 2017, pp. 31-32.

¹⁰² Geoffrey Turbull in Cinetel Productions, 'Waterloo Stories', Report for Land and Housing and Family and Community Services, 2017, p. 61.

¹⁰³ Cox, Inall, Ridgeway, 'Brief Aboriginal history of the Botany Road Corridor and Surrounds', p. xvii.

¹⁰⁴ Artefact Heritage, 'Central Renewal Project – Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study', 2022, p. 32.

from the historic first organisations formed there. Many Aboriginal people continue to travel to Redfern to access 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.¹⁰⁵



Figure 21: View of terrace houses along Cope Street, Redfern 1989. Note the graffiti showing the Aboriginal flag and sign for Radio Redfern¹⁰⁶



Figure 22: Crowd watching the performances at Yabun, Redfern Park 2005¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Murawin, 'Waterloo Estate Connecting with Country Framework', 2023 p. 21.

¹⁰⁶ View looking east to terrace houses, Cope Street Redfern, 1989 (19/10/1989), [A-00020805]. City of Sydney Archives.

¹⁰⁷ Crowd watching the performances at Yabun, Redfern Park Redfern, 2005 (01/01/2005 - 31/12/2005), [A-00065503]. City of Sydney Archives.

3.2 European histories

3.2.1 Early European exploration of Waterloo

European exploration of Gadigal Country, including the lands of Redfern and Waterloo, occurred a short time after British colonisation and invasion of *Warrane* (Sydney Cove—modern Circular Quay) in 1788 by Captain Arthur Phillip. Aboriginal people and communities were periodically displaced from their land following this illegal invasion and violent occupation of sovereign land during the frontier wars. They had a deep connection with the land and engaged in sustainable hunting of the wildlife and regenerative agricultural practices to conserve and maintain the natural resources of the land. By contrast, early European explorers described the land around the Waterloo region as being very poor and not suitable for settlement or industrial development due to the swampy land and limited transport development in the area.¹⁰⁸

3.2.2 The establishment of Botany Road

Aboriginal pathways were often turned into roads by colonisers from the 1790s. Pathways crisscrossed the entire Sydney region and often followed the best travel routes. These pathways were often maintained by Aboriginal people through burning practices. Aboriginal people would have walked along what became the road to Botany Bay just west of the study area at Waterloo for thousands of years.¹⁰⁹ Botany Road, one of the colony's earliest major routes, was originally a dirt track that was established from c.1799 and commonly used by government parties, hunters, and fisherman. The dirt track was formalised and renamed Botany Road in the 1840s. Botany Road was likely the only indication of European settlement in this region as it traversed the wilderness, marked by a sparse distribution of small industries along the edge of the swamps.¹¹⁰ The road provided access to a water-powered flour mill erected by William Hutchinson, Daniel Cooper, and others in Waterloo in the 1810s.

3.2.3 William Hutchinson and the Waterloo Estate, John Thomas Campbell and the Mount Lachlan Estate, and Daniel Cooper and the Cooper Estate

The earliest detected land grant within the study area was granted unto William Hutchinson on 27 May 1823 and included a 1,400 acre land package which was named the Waterloo Estate (Figure 23). A short time after, John Thomas Campbell was granted a land package of 185 acres on 30 June 1825 which was named the Mount Lachlan Estate (Figure 24). The land grants of Hutchinson and Campbell were issued and signed by the Governor of NSW at the time Thomas Brisbane – the successor of Governor Lachlan Macquarie. The Undated Parish of Alexandria plan shows that the larger western portion of the study area was located in the Hutchinson grant and the smaller eastern portion was located in the Campbell grant (Figure 25). Daniel Cooper, a former convict-turned businessman, acquired the Waterloo and Mount Lachlan Estate which totalled around 1,585 acres of land. Daniel Cooper's consolidated land package became known as the Cooper Estate and was retained by the Cooper family until the 1890s.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017).

¹⁰⁹ Meadows, 'Aboriginal History of the Waverley Area', p. 2; Smith, Keith Vincent. "Mooroooboor's Daughter ". National Library of Australia News 16.

¹¹⁰ Karskens and Rogowsky (2004): P. 55, 57.

¹¹¹ Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); Daniel Cooper, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Daniel Cooper; Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement.

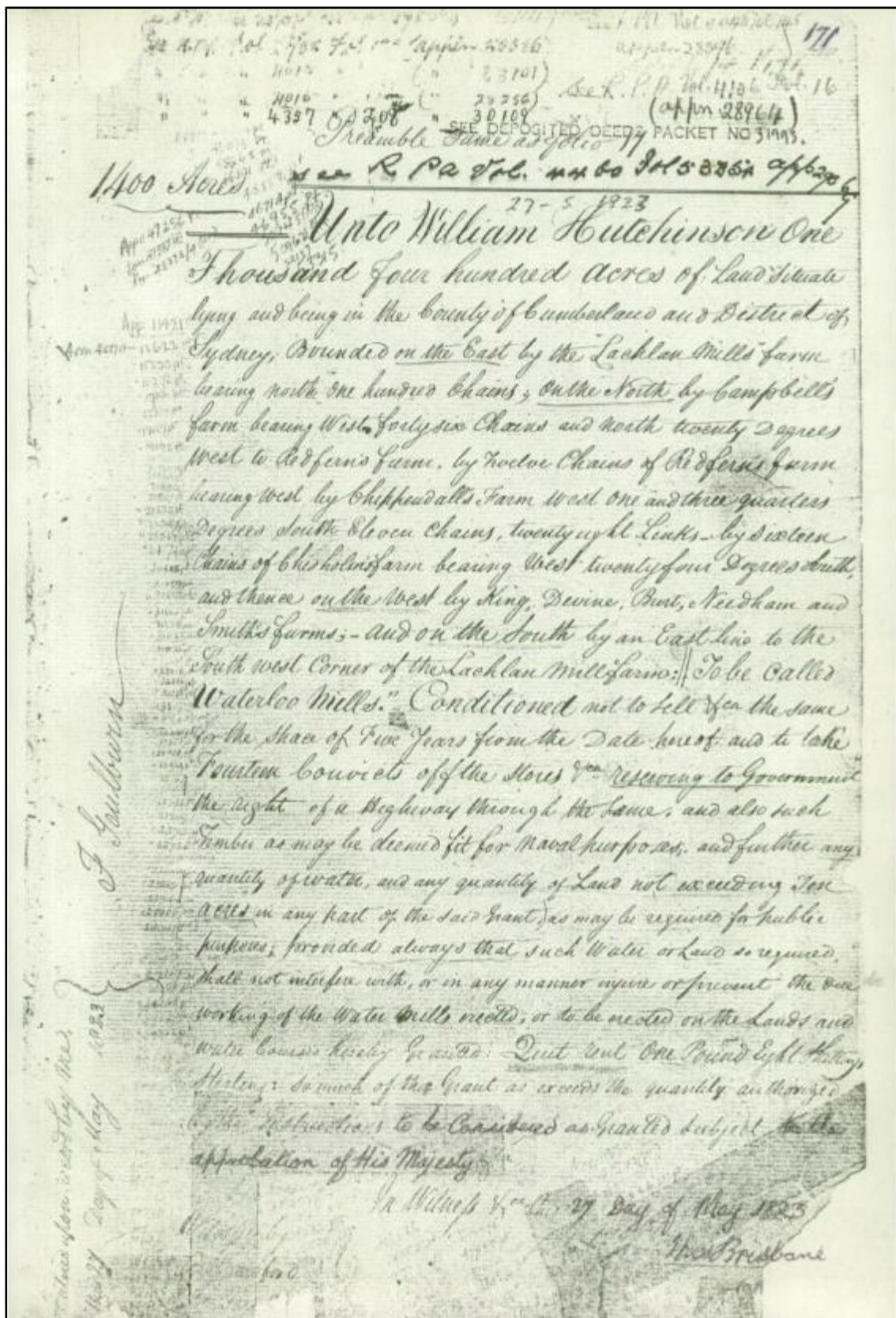


Figure 23: Land grant unto William Hutchinson for 1,400 acres of land¹¹²

¹¹² Historical Land Records Viewer.

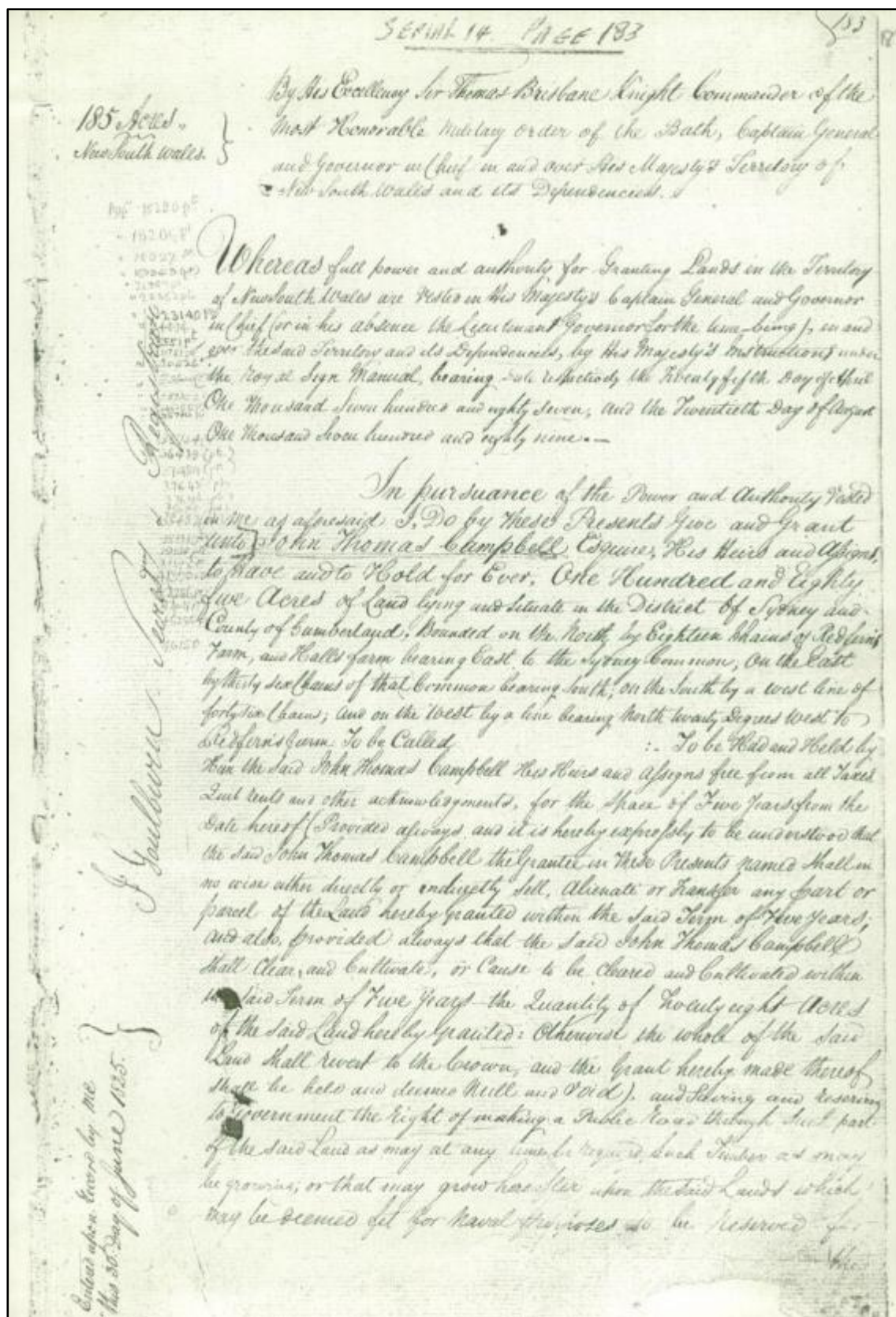


Figure 24: Land granted unto John Thomas Campbell for 185 acres of land¹¹³

¹¹³ Historical Land Records Viewer.

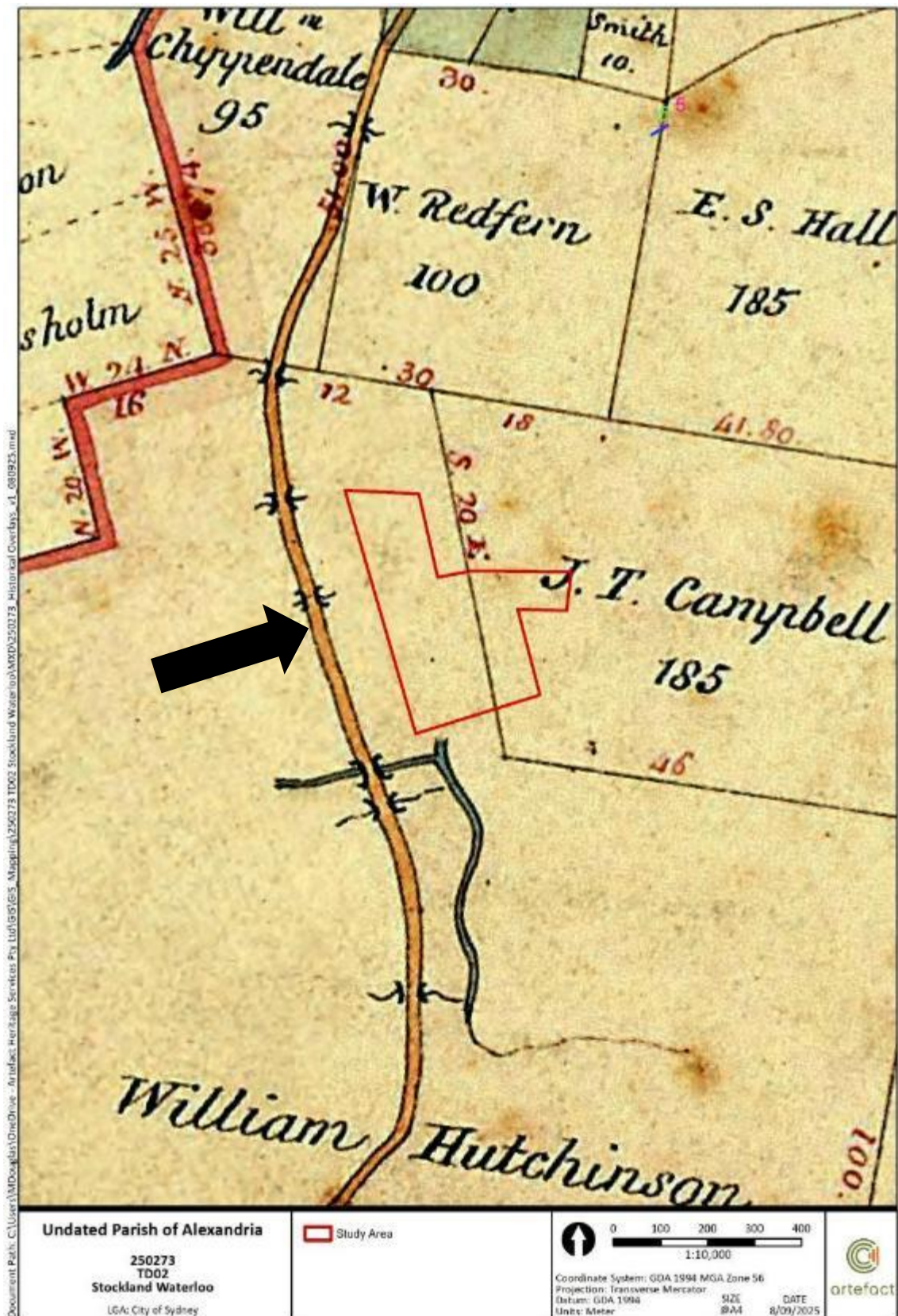


Figure 25: Undated Parish of Alexandria plan with the study area in red. Note that the Botany Road corridor is identified by the black arrow to the west of the study area¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Historical Land Records Viewer.

3.2.4 Early to mid-nineteenth century industrial development in Waterloo

During the nineteenth century, the Waterloo area was positioned on the periphery of the expanding city of Sydney and was perceived as a wilderness and wasteland. For this reason, early-nineteenth century industrialists established industries in this area including, but not limited to, tanneries, brickworks, soap works, candle making, fellmongeries, and wool washing and spinning. These labour-intensive industries required a sizable workforce supplied by people living nearby in working class villages and small cottages.¹¹⁵

Wool washing and fellmongering were operational in the Waterloo Swamps area, which had outlets into Shea's Creek, from the early nineteenth century.¹¹⁶ As early as 1815, the ample water supply from ponds and swamps in the Waterloo area attracted industries that required substantial quantities of water, such as grain grinding, cloth milling, wool preparation, and tanning (Figure 26-Figure 29). In 1821, Daniel Cooper, William Hutchinson, and Samuel Terry formed the firm Hutchinson, Terry & Co. (also known as the Waterloo Co.). Each of these individuals had arrived in the colony as convicts but became prosperous businessmen and landowners after receiving pardons. In 1820, the Waterloo Co. established a water-powered flour mill on Crown land in Waterloo; however, in 1825, the company was acquired by Daniel Cooper and Solomon Levey, subsequently becoming known as Cooper & Levey.¹¹⁷

Following the enactment of the English Public Health Act of 1848, the NSW Parliament introduced legislation in the same year to prohibit noxious industries and trades within the city. From this period, additional industries began relocating to the Waterloo and Alexandria region, adding to their reputation as a polluted industrial working class areas. One such establishment was Hinchcliff's Waterloo Mills Wool washing industry that was established in 1848 to the south of the study area (Figure 29-Figure 31). The earlier establishment of Botany Road also opened up further access to the industry boom in this region, which already had some noxious industries established earlier in the century.¹¹⁸



Figure 26: Swampland with early industrial development, Waterloo¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017).

¹¹⁶ Karskens & Rogowsky 2004: 33-34; AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro, P. 20.

¹¹⁷ AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro, P. 20.

¹¹⁸ Karskens & Rogowsky 2004: 33-34; AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro, P. 20.

¹¹⁹ State Library of NSW; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017).



Figure 27: 1820-1840 Plan of the Waterloo Estate with the study area outlined in red. Note that Hinchcliff's Waterloo Mills Wool Washing is identified by the black arrow and the Mount Lachlan Estate is identified by the yellow arrow¹²⁰

¹²⁰ National Library of Australia.

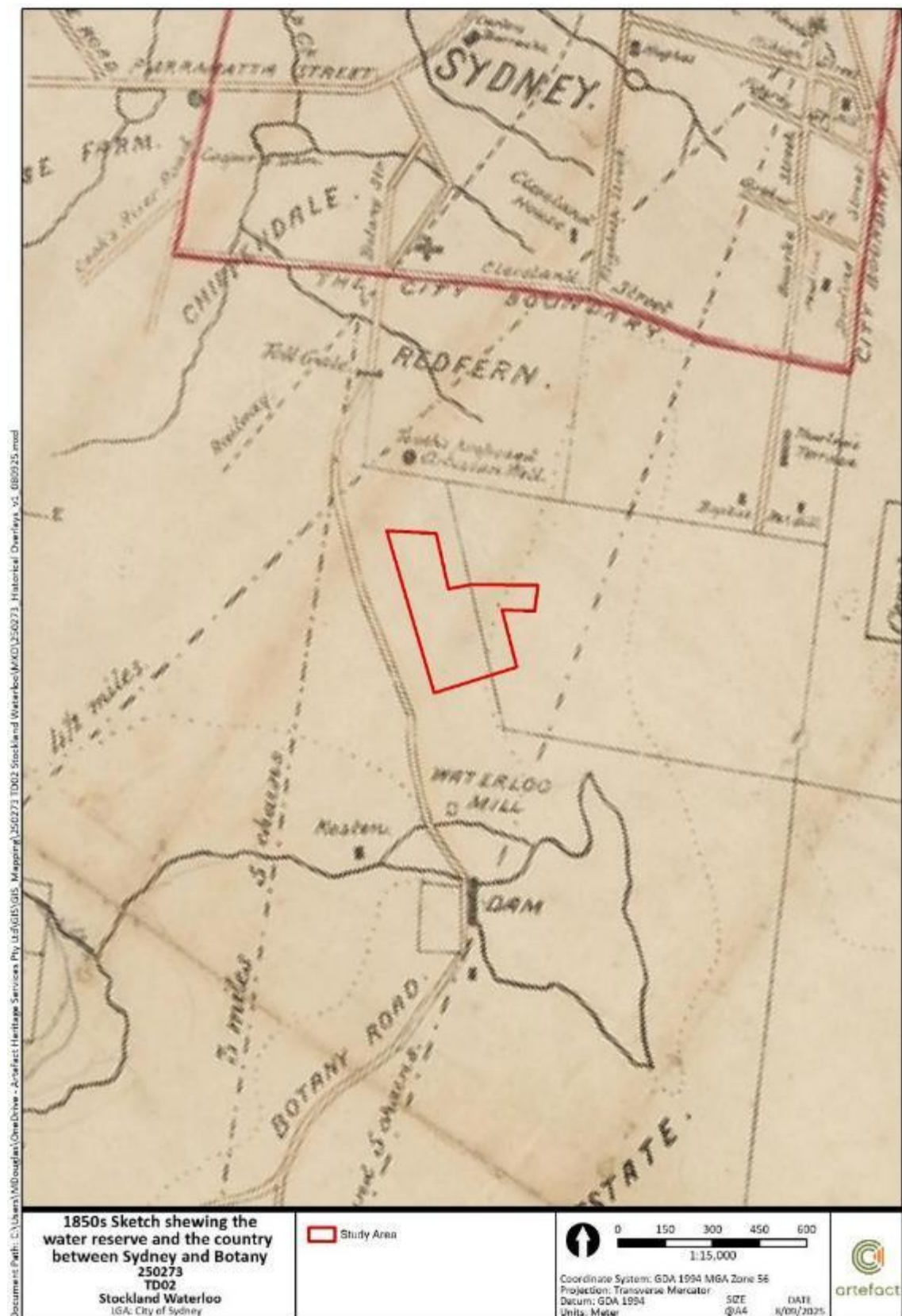


Figure 28: 1850s sketch shewing the water reserve and the country between Sydney and Botany with the study area outlined in red¹²¹

¹²¹ National Library of Australia.

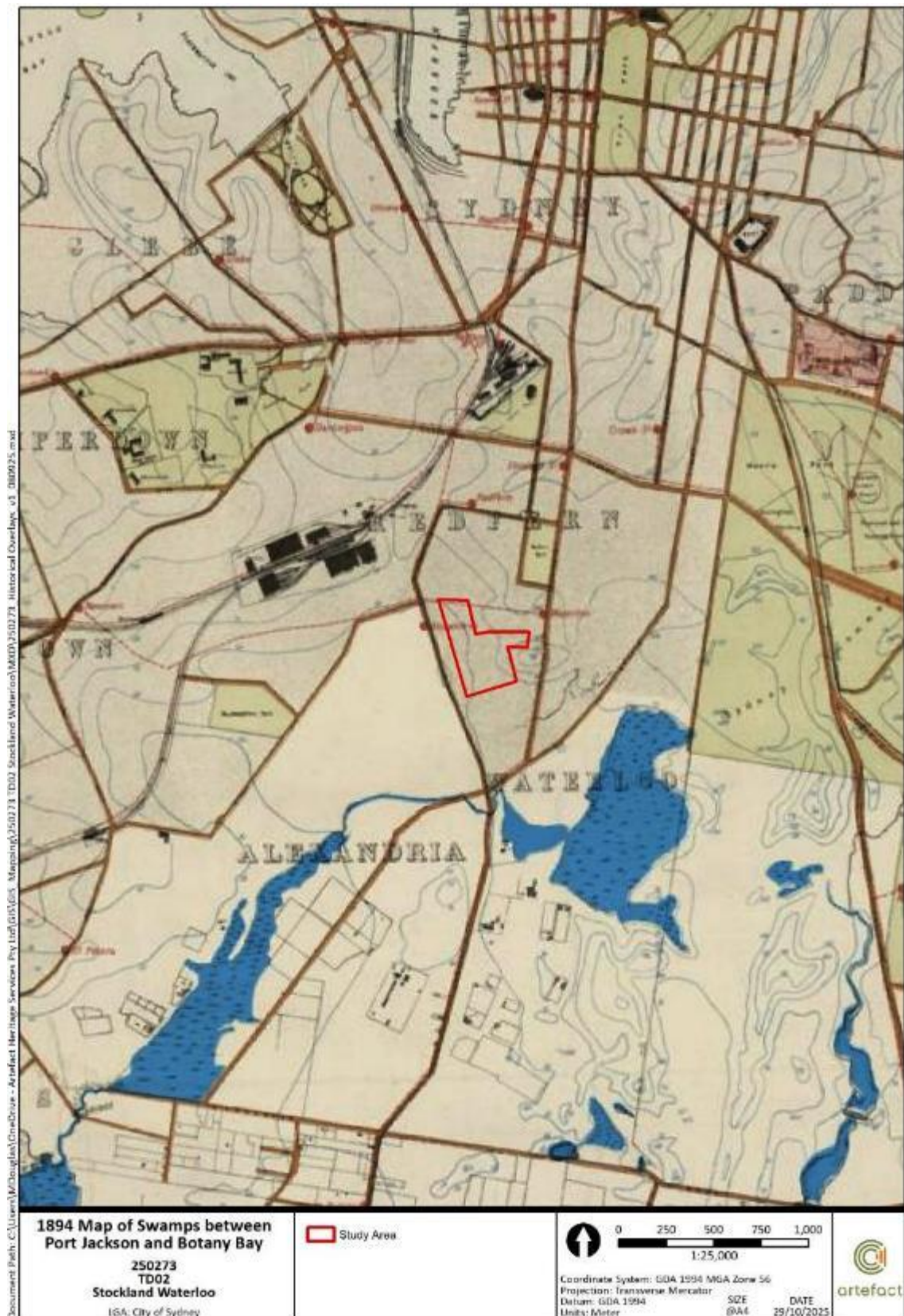


Figure 29: 1894 Map of Swamps between Port Jackson and Botany Bay with the study area outlined in red¹²²

¹²² State Library of NSW.

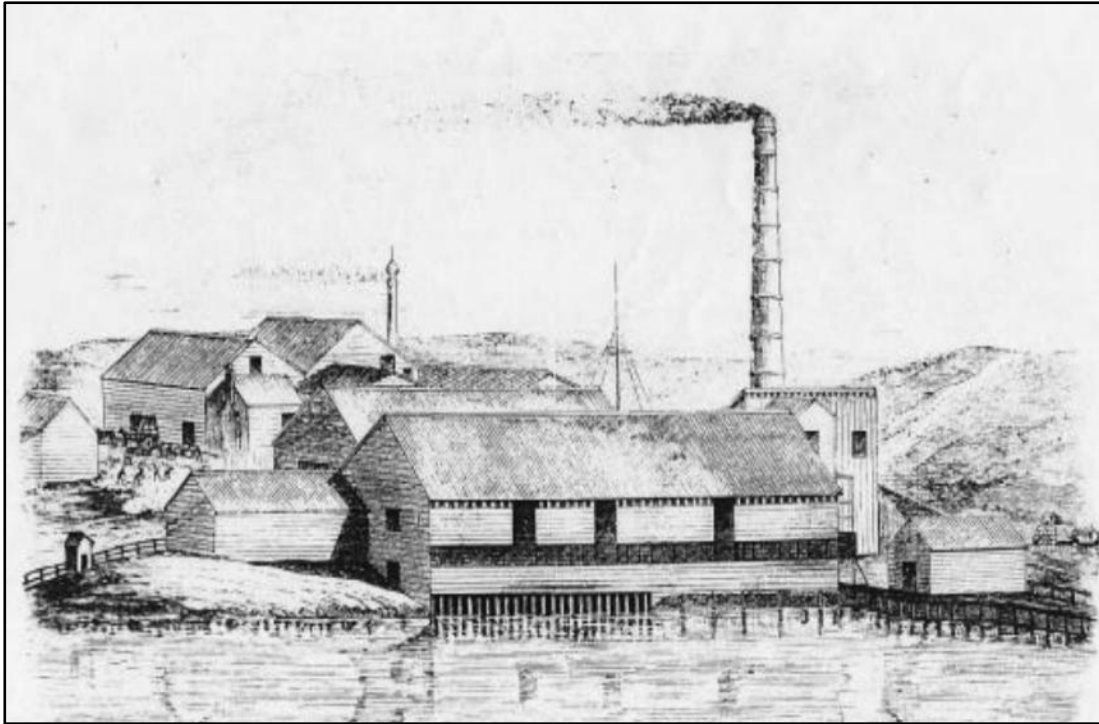


Figure 30: 1877 sketch of Hinchcliff's Waterloo Mills establishment at the Upper Dam¹²³

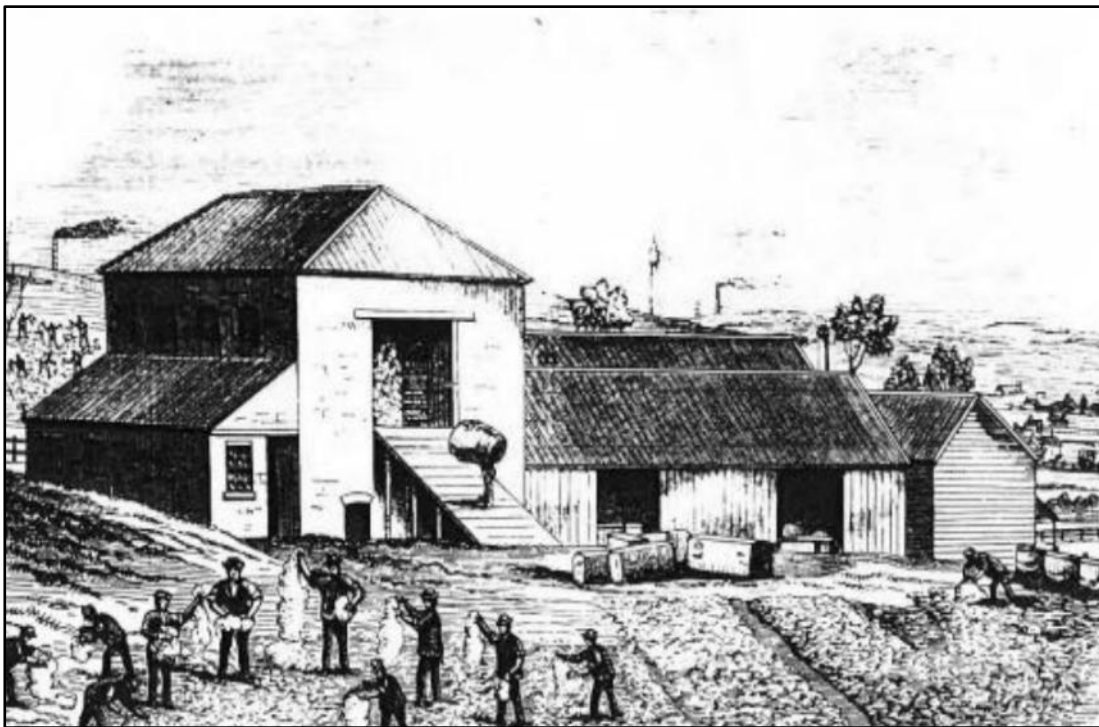


Figure 31: 1877 sketch of Hinchcliff's Waterloo Mills establishment at the Lower Dam¹²⁴

¹²³ The Waterloo Mills Woolwashing Establishment. (1877, June 16). *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney, NSW : 1870 - 1919), p. 20. Retrieved October 29, 2025, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article70602088>.

¹²⁴ The Waterloo Mills Woolwashing Establishment. (1877, June 16). *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney, NSW : 1870 - 1919), p. 20. Retrieved October 29, 2025, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article70602088>.

3.2.5 The Waterloo municipality from the mid to late-nineteenth century and the Chinese population

With the introduction of a Municipalities Act in 1858 through the colonial government, there was a great push to amalgamate Redfern and Waterloo Estate. In 1859 the Redfern Municipality was established which spanned from Redfern to Waterloo Dam. However, members soon became frustrated as no improvements were made in the Waterloo area with all the monetary funds spent in Redfern. In 1860 a break occurred, and a separate Waterloo Municipality was established by Governor Sir William Thomas Denison with around 1,500 residents.¹²⁵ The Waterloo municipality was the area essentially bounded by Philip Street in the north, South Dowling Street in the east, Gardeners Road in the south, and Botany Road in the west.¹²⁶ Some of the first Waterloo municipality meetings were in a building on the corner of Wellington Street and Botany Road – the site of the Cauliflower Hotel – and in a cottage opposite the hotel.¹²⁷

The major subdivisions in Waterloo began to develop from this mid-nineteenth century period onwards, with Daniel Cooper selling leases of sections on his land. These parcels of land were leased or purchased by land and investment banking companies. These companies acquired the land to resell it as housing, primarily to poor, unskilled working families and individuals of Chinese and other ethnic backgrounds for small rent fees (Figure 32).¹²⁸

The formation of a council, equipped with the authority to levy rates and enhance the overall infrastructure of Waterloo, prompted the Cooper family to further subdivide the Waterloo Estate. While a significant portion of the land was initially offered as leasehold, from the latter half of the 1880s through the 1890s, considerable sections of the estate were made available (Figure 33). Numerous subdivisions continued to be overseen by Building and Land Investment companies, which provided land with minimal deposit requirements and interest-bearing loans.

During the 1870s, Chinese market gardens also emerged along the southern sections of Botany Road and around the Waterloo Swamps.¹²⁹ The Cauliflower Hotel, situated on the east side of Botany Road at the southern corner of Wellington Street, purports to have been a local establishment since this period (Figure 34). This Georgian style building is believed to have been constructed on the site of a former market garden where cauliflowers were cultivated, further illustrating the area's early use for market gardening.¹³⁰

Chinese grocers and butchers established a significant presence in the area from the late-nineteenth century, contributing to a strong Chinese community. They also constructed their own temple on Retreat Street in the 1900s, which is currently listed as an item of State significance under the SHR (Figure 35).¹³¹ Initially, the community consisted largely of Chinese men, but over time, they were joined by their families. As a result, local residents became familiar with Chinese traditions and practices. Events such as Chinese New Year were significant celebrations in Waterloo and Alexandria during the early twentieth century. Local newspapers reported that the Dragon Parade would bring traffic to a halt, with Botany Road bustling with people eager to witness the spectacle.¹³²

¹²⁵ Australian Dictionary of Biography, Sir William Thomas Denison.

¹²⁶ Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro, P. 20.

¹²⁷ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40.

¹²⁸ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40.

¹²⁹ Fitzgerald 1987:29, Karskens & Rogowsky 2004:50; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹³⁰ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Cauliflower Hotel including interior, LEP no. I2070.

¹³¹ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Yiu Ming Temple, SHR no. 01297.

¹³² Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

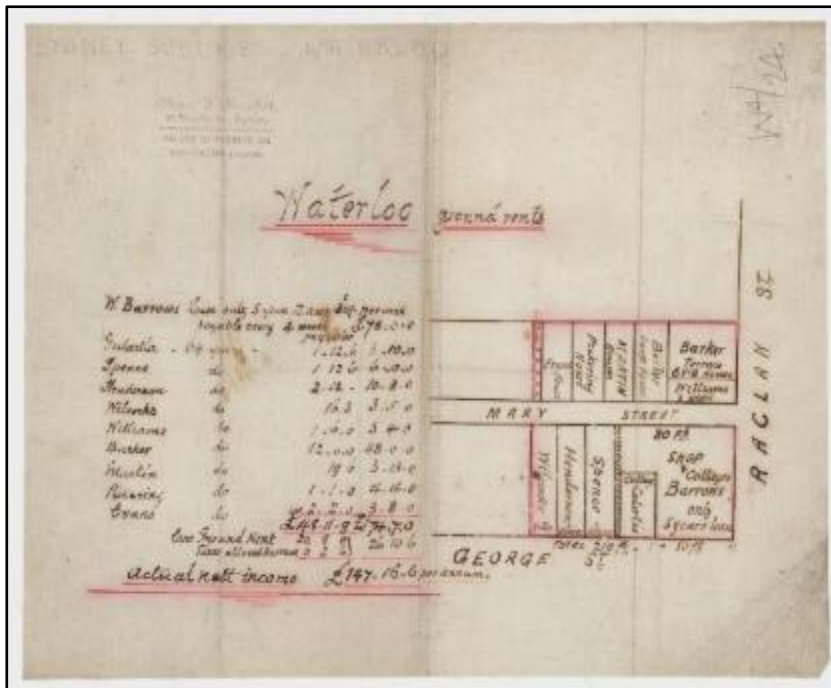


Figure 32: Waterloo subdivision plan showing the plan of allotments and rents charged. Mary Street was located immediately to the east of the study area and was closed and removed as part of the twentieth century social housing developments¹³³

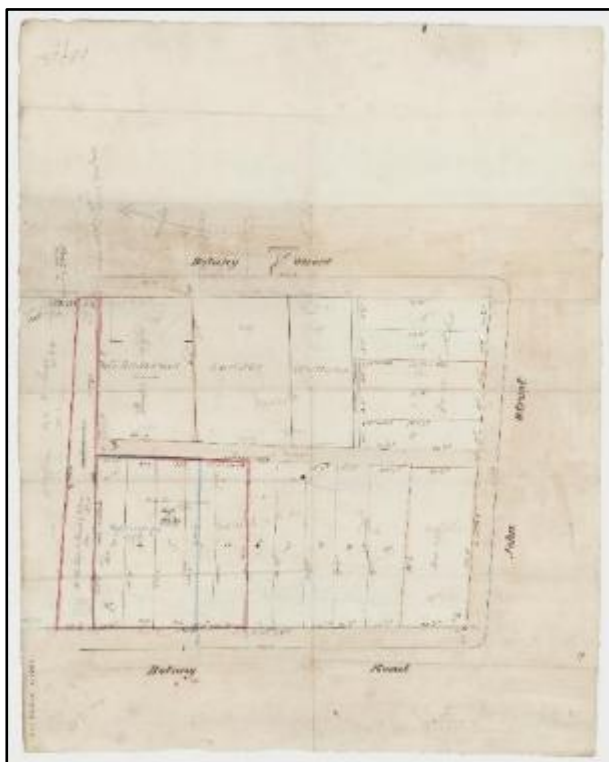


Figure 33: Waterloo subdivision plan showing the late-nineteenth century subdivisions immediately to the west of the study area. Botany Street in the plan is now known as Cope Street¹³⁴

¹³³ State Library NSW, Waterloo Subdivision Plans, 021 – Z/SP/W4/24.

¹³⁴ State Library NSW, Waterloo Subdivision Plans, 022 – Z/SP/W4/25.



Figure 34: 1936 image of the Cauliflower Hotel which is located on the corner of Botany Road and Wellington Street, immediately to the west of the study area¹³⁵



Figure 35: Yiu Ming Chinese Temple located to the southwest of the study area¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Time Gents, Australian Pub Project, Established 2013, Market gardener established Waterloo's Cauliflower Hotel.

¹³⁶ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Yiu Ming Temple, SHR no. 01297.

3.2.6 Subdivision and development in Waterloo in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century

3.2.6.1 Residential, commercial, industrial, and religious development in the late-nineteenth century

By 1890, the majority of the area enclosed by McEvoy Street, Pitt Street, Raglan Street, and Botany Street (now Cope Street) had been subdivided and developed. The subdivided blocks were labelled as an escape from the surrounding 'slums' of Sydney and were aimed towards the working class of Sydney. However, some vacant plots remained on Wellington Street and within the block bordered by McEvoy, Pitt, John, and Mead Streets. The parcels of land along Botany Road, which now is the site for the Waterloo Metro station, were also fully occupied at this time (Figure 36 and Figure 37). The growth of Waterloo was evident in the population increase from 1,222 in 1861 to 5,762 in 1881, reaching 8,701 by 1891, with approximately 1,700 houses.¹³⁷

Late-nineteenth century historical plans of the area show terraces and standalone cottages throughout the study area, most of which included outbuildings including sheds and backyard toilets. Stables were dispersed across the region, with three substantial stable complexes located between Cooper Street and Botany Street (now Cope Street). A Primitive Methodist Church and School had been constructed at the intersection of Raglan and Botany Street (now Cope Street), and the former Waterloo School for the impoverished (Waterloo Ragged School) was established in 1886 on Botany Street (now Cope Street). The Congregational Church, which still stands today, was situated along Botany Road between Raglan and Wellington Street (Figure 38 and Figure 39).¹³⁸ Victorian terrace housing and land division were also prevalent in Waterloo during this period.¹³⁹

Several hotels were operational in the suburb, including the Prince of Wales, Old Beehive Hotel, Middleborough, Evening Star, and the Cottage of England Hotels, all located on Raglan Street at the corners of Cooper, George, and Pitt Streets, respectively. The Australian Hotel was positioned at the corner of Botany Street (Cope Street) and Buckland Street (Wellington Street), the Duke of Wellington was at the corner of George and Buckland (Wellington) Streets, the Duke of Denmark at the corner of Buckland (Wellington) and Pitt Streets, and the Cheerful Home Hotel at the corner of George and John Streets. Of these, only the Duke of Wellington Hotel remains extant (Figure 40 and Figure 41).¹⁴⁰

The Duke of Wellington Hotel

The Duke of Wellington Hotel is first documented in the Sands Directory in 1876, with Peter Brown listed as the licensee, and it also appears as a notable historical development on the 1890s Parish of Alexandria plan (Figure 41). By 1882, Thomas M. Judd had taken over as the licensee. According to the 1886 Licensed Victualler's Directory, William Roff was the licensee at that time. Edward Francis held the licence in 1892 and 1900, followed by John Cotter in 1910, Herbert Niech in 1920, George Malham in 1927, and E.R. Glasheen in 1948. The Building Inspectors Survey of 1958 still lists E.R. Glasheen as the licensee. Modifications to the hotel were made in 1954, 1962, 1982, and 1983.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40-43; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹³⁸ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40-43; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹³⁹ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Terrace Houses.

¹⁴⁰ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40-43; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹⁴¹ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Duke of Wellington Hotel including interior.

The original Duke of Wellington Hotel was constructed on the site in 1876. The current structure, which replaced the original, dates back to 1929 and showcases the inter-war free classic architectural style. Archival records indicate that minor alterations and renovations were made to the hotel from the mid to late twentieth century which included the addition of a beer garden which was added in 1964.¹⁴²

Former Waterloo Pre-School (Waterloo Ragged School)

The building was erected in 1870 as a Congregational Chapel and, within a decade (by 1880), Sand's Directory records it as a Congregational School under the leadership of W.H. Cole, a teacher. By 1886, the property was identified in Sands as a Congregational Meeting House. However, in 1887, it was listed as a school operated by the Sydney Ragged Schools, with Miss Isabella Browne as the teacher. It is worth noting that early church congregations often faced financial constraints and utilised the same building for worship on weekends and as a school during weekdays. The Sydney Ragged Schools collaborated closely with volunteer educators and philanthropic organisations, particularly churches, which were the primary providers of education until the enactment of the Public Instruction Act of 1881, which established the New South Wales state education system. The Ragged Schools continued to offer education to disadvantaged children well into the 20th century.¹⁴³

Towards the end of the 19th century, inner suburbs of Sydney, such as Waterloo, were predominantly populated by the working poor, mainly factory workers. Child labour was inexpensive and widespread, and the necessity for children to contribute financially to their families often discouraged formal education. Even following the 1881 Public Instruction Act, many inner-city children remained uneducated, working instead in factories and shops. The Sydney Ragged Schools, with the Governor as patron, were established in impoverished areas to provide free education to children from the poorest districts of Sydney. In 1890, Sand's Directory listed three Ragged Schools: the Waterloo School, and schools on Harrington Street and Kent Street in Sydney's Rocks area (Figure 39 and Figure 41).¹⁴⁴

By 1918, the property and school at Waterloo were managed by William McNeill as the Kindergarten School. By 1928, McNeill was still recorded as the occupant, although ownership had transferred to the Sydney City Mission. The building continued to serve as a Kindergarten under the Sydney City Mission until December 1997. It was subsequently purchased by a new owner in July 1998 and is now utilised as a private residence and home business premises.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Duke of Wellington Hotel including interior.

¹⁴³ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Former Waterloo Pre-School (225 Cope Street) Including interior; Eureka Henrich, Ragged Schools in Sydney.

¹⁴⁴ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Former Waterloo Pre-School (225 Cope Street) Including interior; Eureka Henrich, Ragged Schools in Sydney.

¹⁴⁵ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Former Waterloo Pre-School (225 Cope Street) Including interior; ; Eureka Henrich, Ragged Schools in Sydney.

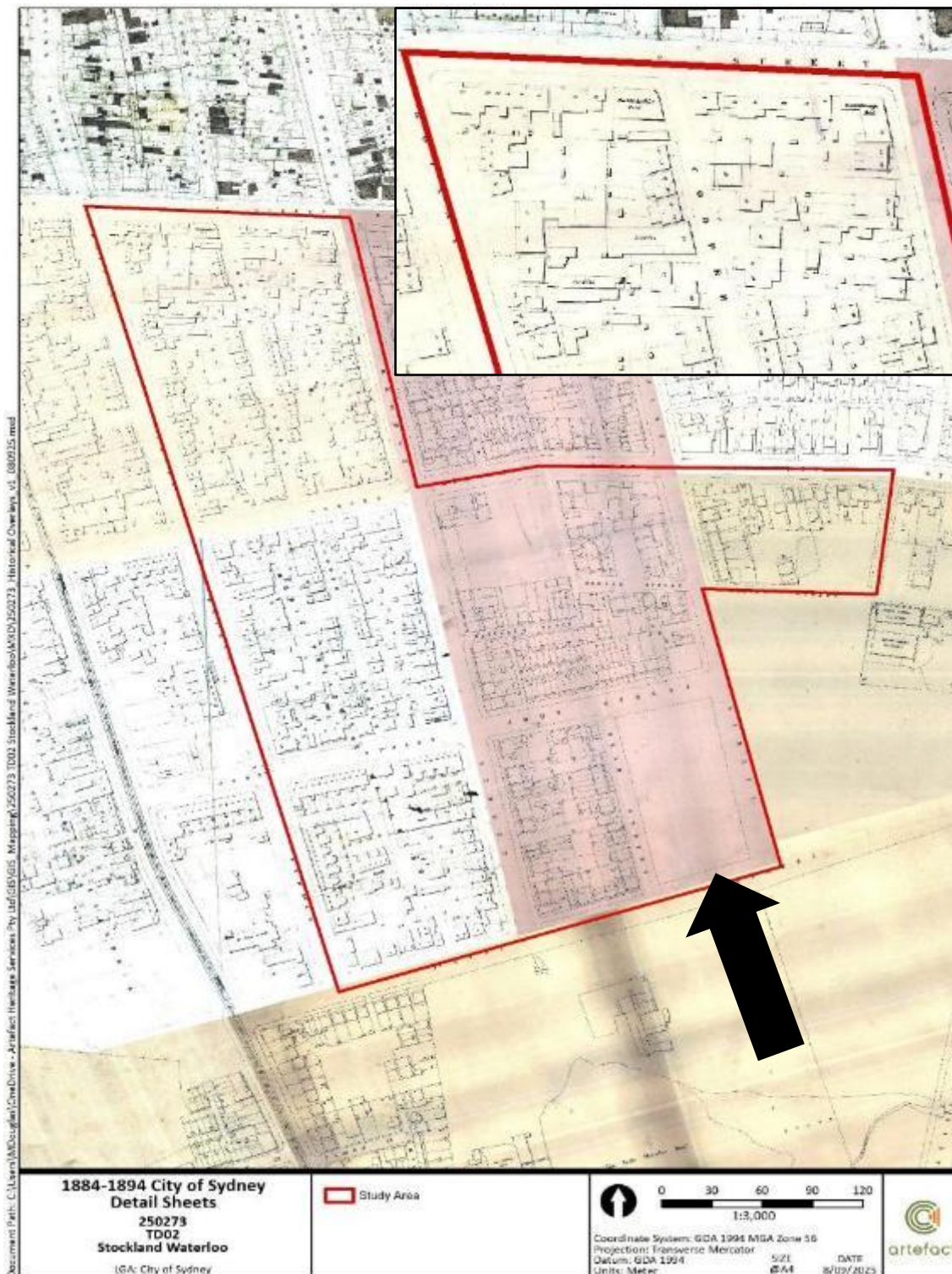


Figure 36: 1884–1894 City of Sydney Detail Sheets with the study area outlined in red. Note the substantial development along Botany Street (now Cope Street), Cooper Street, and George Street, and the limited development in the southeast corner of the study area (shown by the black arrow). The northern portion of the study area shows the cottages and terraces with outbuilding and backyard toilets¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ City of Sydney Archives.

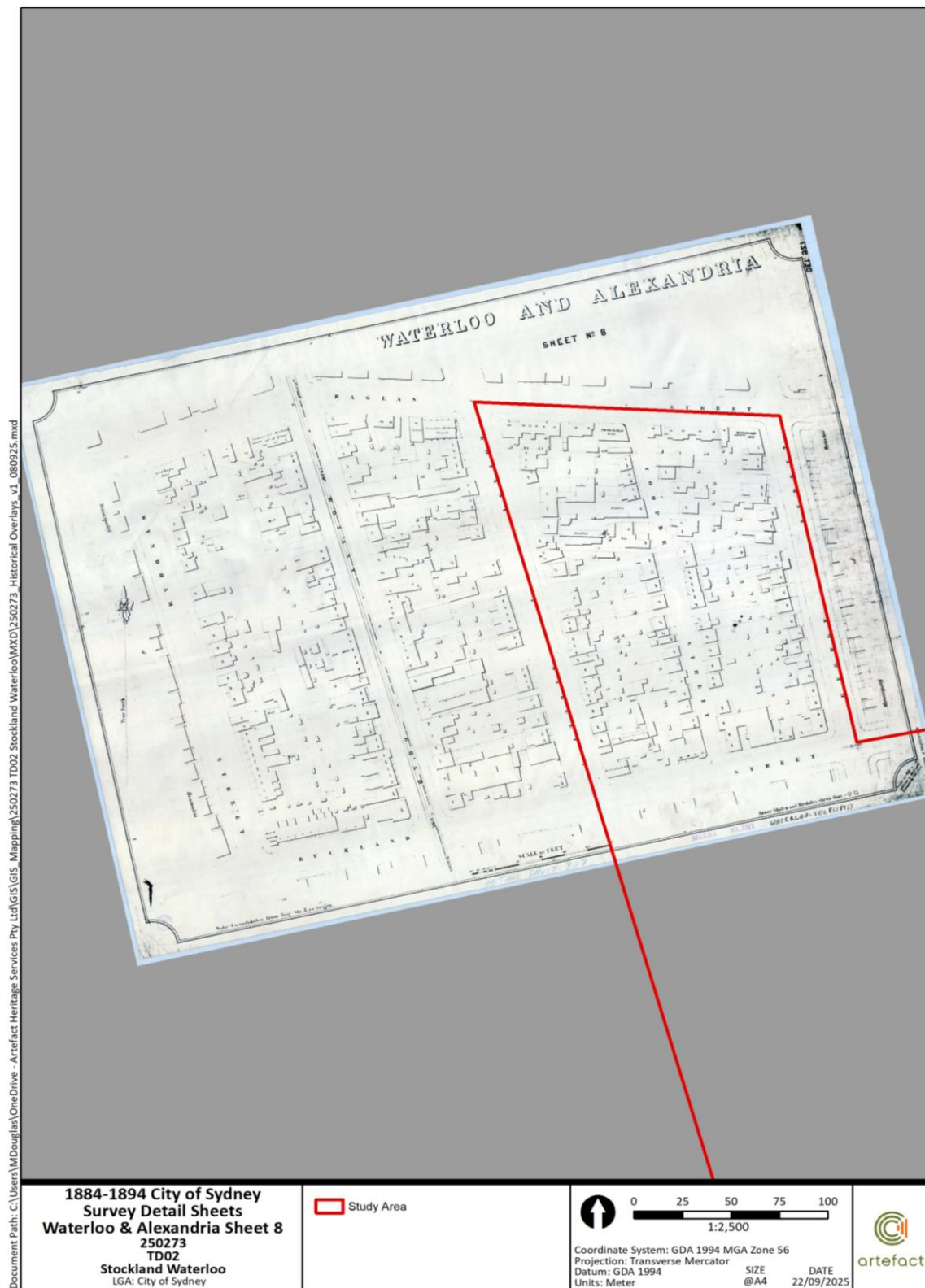


Figure 37: 1884–1894 City of Sydney Detail Sheets with the northern portion of the study area outlined in red. Note the number of residential and commercial buildings with outbuildings in the study area¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ City of Sydney Archives.

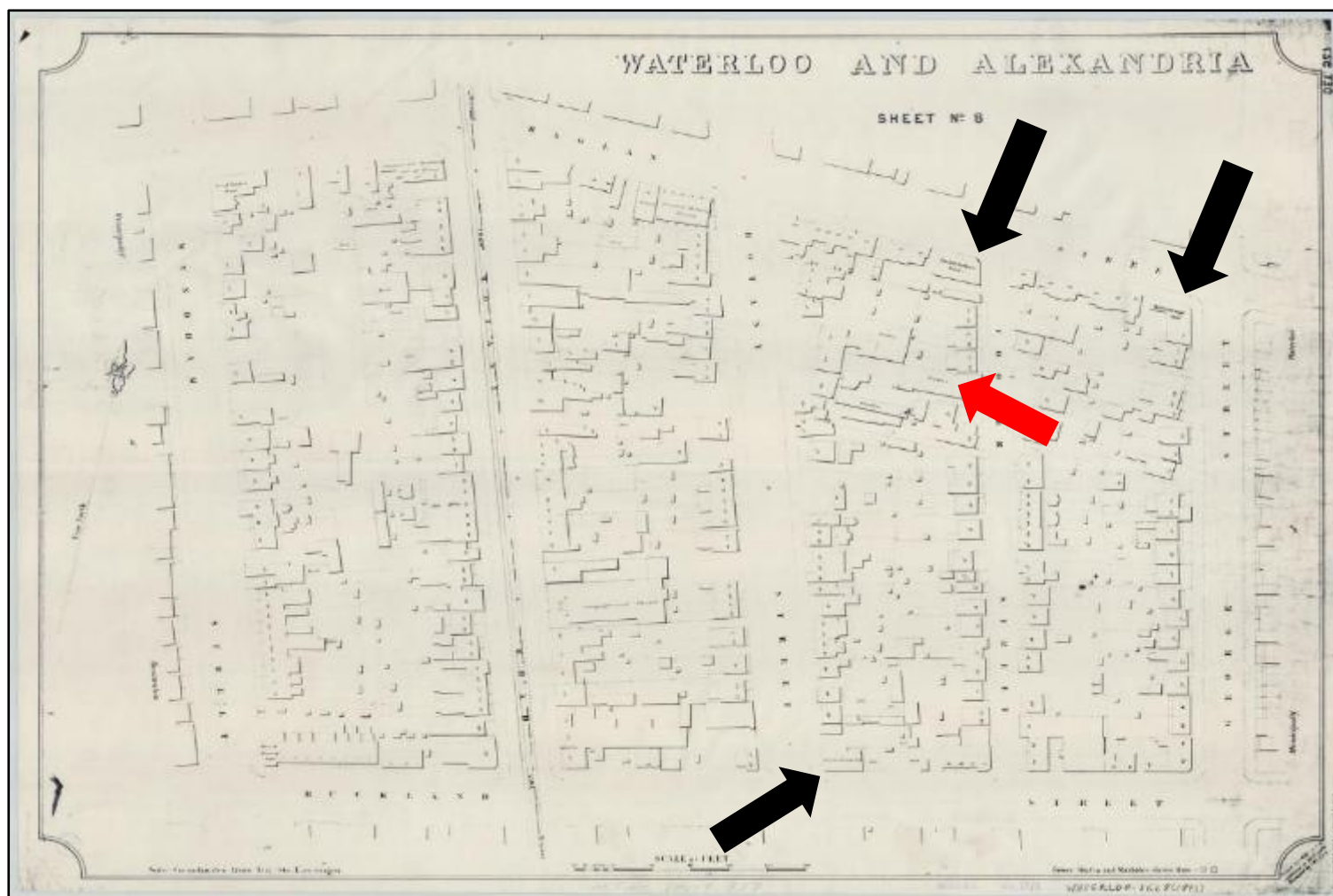


Figure 38: 1880s–1890s Metropolitan Detailed Series Sheet no 8 showing the hotels (identified by the black arrows), stables (identified by the red arrow), and developments within the northern portion of the study area¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ State Library, NSW.

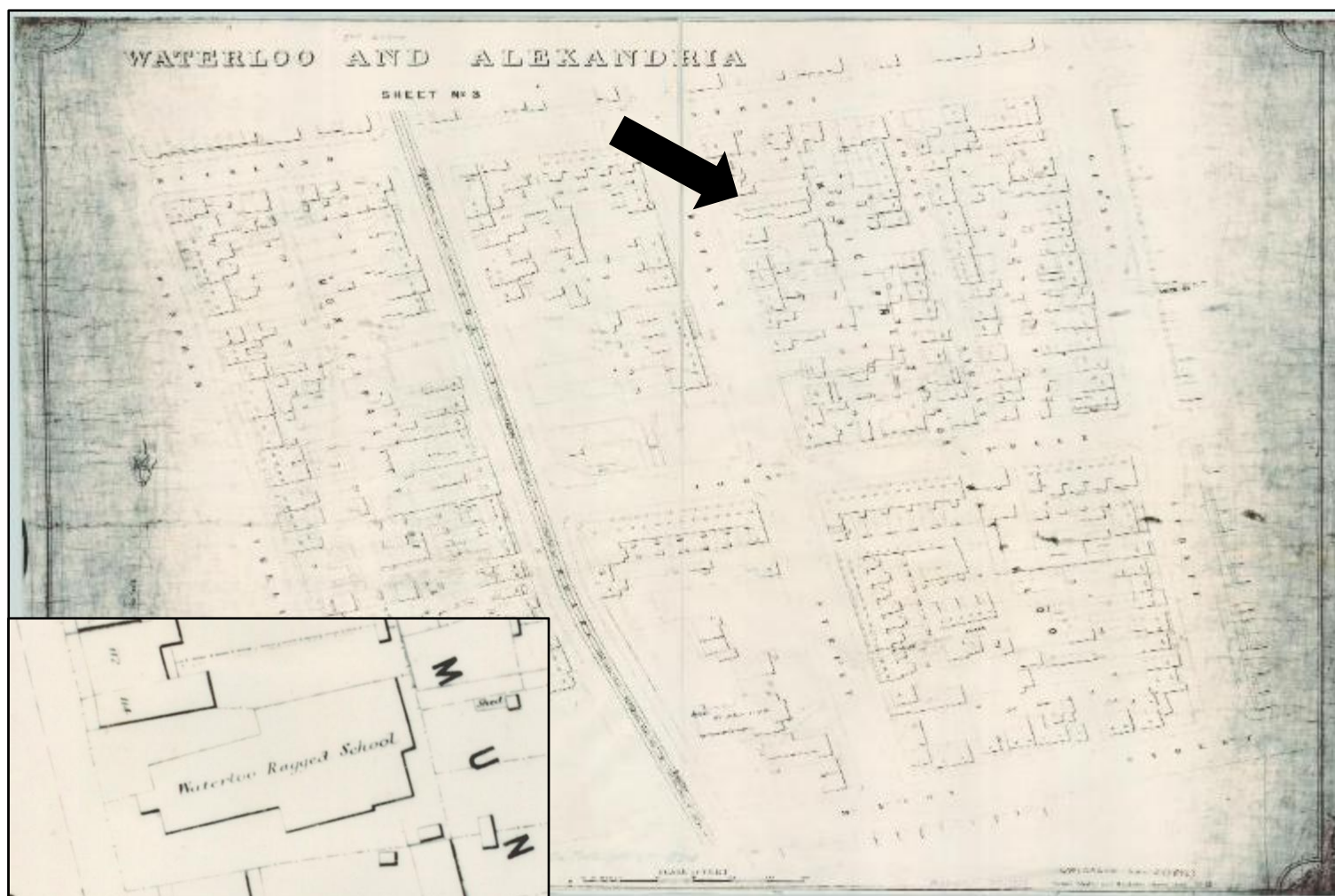


Figure 39: 1880s–1890s Metropolitan Detailed Series Sheet no 8 showing the developments within the southern portion of the study area. Note the former Waterloo School identified by the black arrow¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ State Library, NSW.

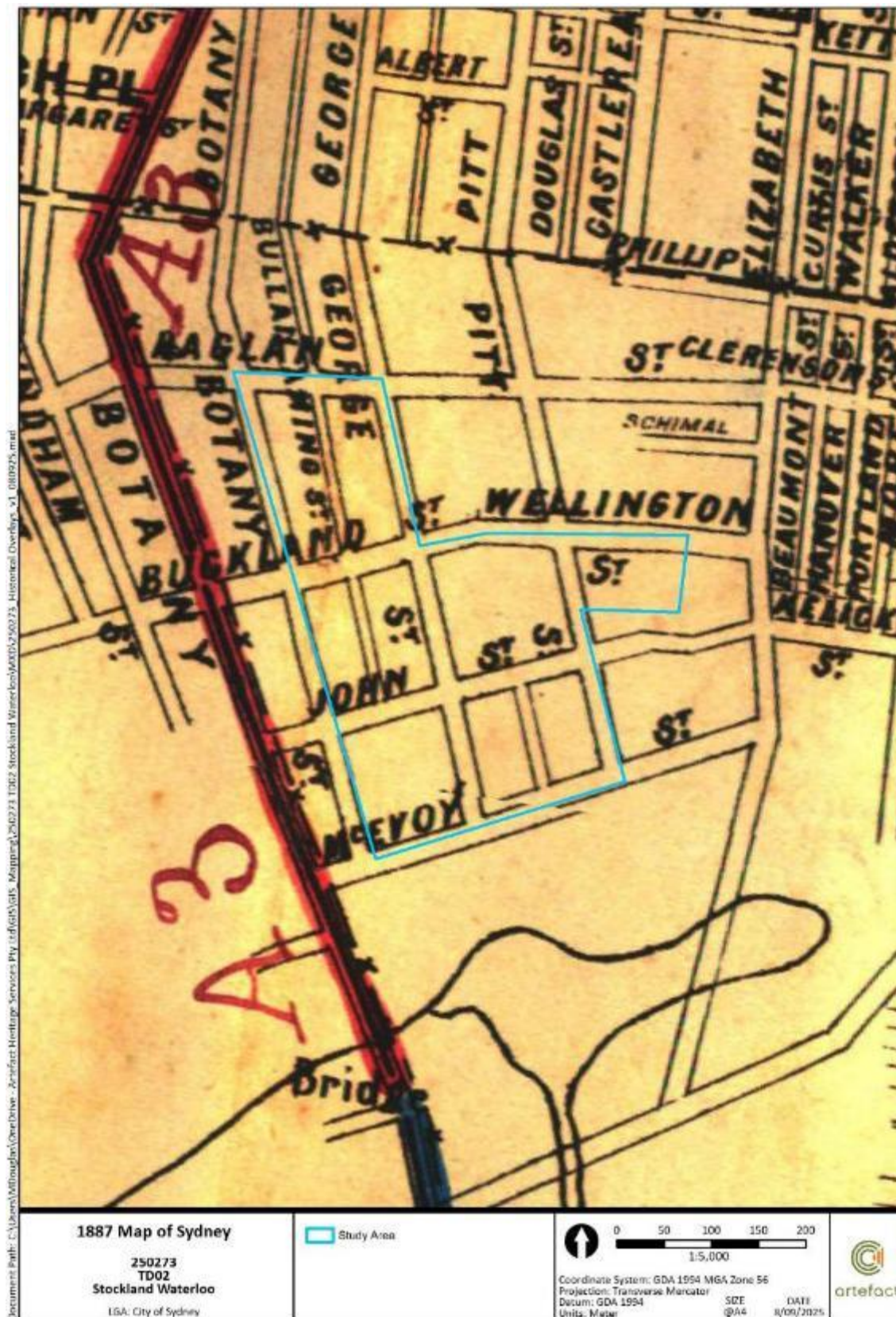


Figure 40: 1887 Map of Sydney with the study area outlined in blue¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ John Sands & Company, *City of Sydney & Suburbs, 1887: Single sheet (01/01/1887 - 31/12/1887)*, [A-00880474]. City of Sydney Archive.

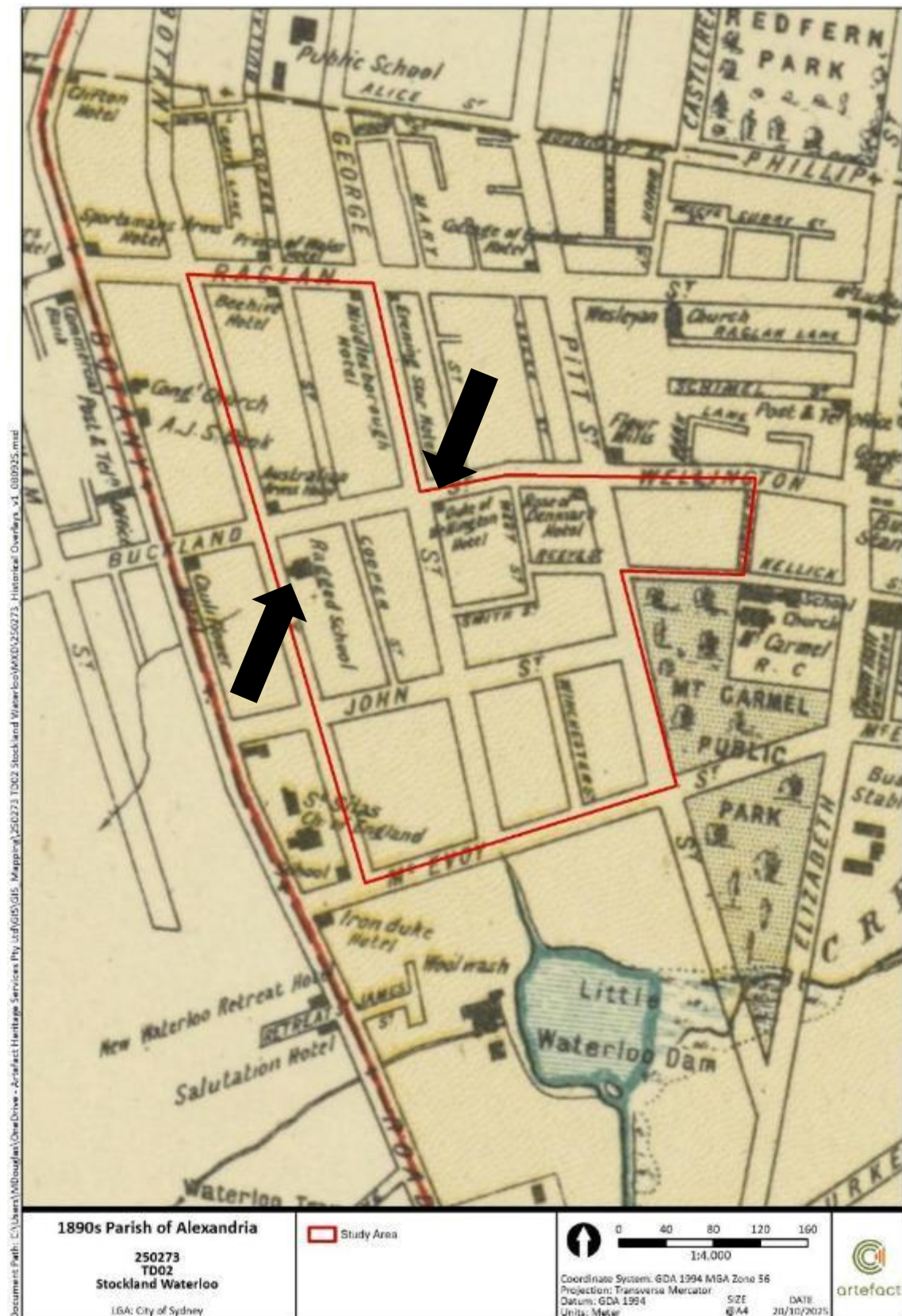


Figure 41: 1890s Parish of Alexandria plan with the study area outlined in red. Note the Duke of Wellington Hotel and the Waterloo Ragged School identified by the black arrows¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ National Library of Australia.

3.2.6.2 Waterloo in the early-twentieth century

By the dawn of the twentieth century, Waterloo had firmly established itself as a working-class suburb, with numerous nearby industries and commercial outlets employing the majority of its residents who mostly worked as factory hands and unskilled labourers. The speculative construction boom of the 1880s and 1890s – due to the improvements in transport and sewage and reticulation of water – had filled much of the open space, although the quality of housing varied significantly. Many of the smaller cottages and early terraces lacked running water in the kitchens, and most had backyard toilets with nightsoil collection still in use, making disease a significant concern. The development in the area was characterised by industry, commercial, terrace housing, and cottage developments.¹⁵² The 1917 Map of Sydney also shows that major developments to the south of the study area were present during this period (Figure 42).

The outbreak of the bubonic plague in Sydney in 1900 highlighted issues with rubbish and rats, with Redfern and Waterloo recording 37 cases and 11 deaths, the second-highest concentration outside the city wharf area.¹⁵³ Inspections conducted during the plague clean-up in Waterloo revealed poorly maintained and structurally unsound homes with leaking roofs, inadequate ventilation, poor drainage, and insufficient sanitation, water, and sewerage connections. Like many other parts of the city at the time, these areas were labelled as slums by the authorities, a stigma that proved difficult to shake. As early as 1928, newly appointed City Commissioners began to openly discuss extensive demolitions and renewal projects for Waterloo and surrounding suburbs.¹⁵⁴

The slum reputation was reinforced as a recession in the mid-1920s was followed by the Great Depression from 1929, leading to a sharp rise in unemployment rates in Waterloo as local industries struggled. By the early 1930s, up to 43% of adult males in the Redfern-Waterloo area were unemployed, compared to a Sydney average of 28%, with three-quarters of potential wage earners earning either no wage or less than the basic wage.¹⁵⁵

In the 1920s, Waterloo and Alexandria had emerged as the epicentre of Chinese community life in Sydney, although the area was not always hospitable. An article from the Evening News in 1882 described an incident on Botany Road near Raglan Street, where a group of boys were throwing stones at an unfortunate Chinese man. This incident was observed by several men who lacked the courage to intervene and protect a foreigner from being harassed by a group of troublemakers. This xenophobic behaviour was exacerbated by the racist legislation including the White Australia Policy introduced at the start of the century. The furniture manufacturing industry became the most prominent and successful enterprise among Chinese workers and entrepreneurs, despite facing opposition from the Labour movement and others including unprovoked violent attacks on Chinese business. Waterloo became the hub of this industry, with businesses operated and staffed by both Chinese and non-Chinese individuals.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40-43; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹⁵³ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40-43; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹⁵⁴ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40-43; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro, P. 20.

¹⁵⁵ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40-43; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro, P. 20.

¹⁵⁶ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40-43; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro, P. 20.

Evictions of families from rental properties became commonplace in the late 1920s and increased throughout the 1930s. Unfortunately, measures implemented by the NSW Government to prevent widespread evictions, through a series of fair rent bills and tenant protection legislation, discouraged landlords from investing in properties where they could neither evict tenants nor raise rents. This led to a gradual decline in the quality and maintenance of many rental properties, continuing into the 1950s and reinforcing the area's slum reputation.¹⁵⁷

Pressure Tunnel and Shafts, and the Electricity Substation

The electricity substation along George Street and McEvoy was established in the interwar period. The electricity substation was built within this industrial area to address the increased consumption of electricity by the manufacturing outlets. This was one of many electricity substation established in industrial estates throughout Sydney.¹⁵⁸

The investigation into the construction of a substantial pressure tunnel, which still lies beneath the study area, commenced in 1914, with plans for the tunnel to span approximately 16 kilometres from Potts Hill Reservoir to the Waterloo Pumping Station (located to the east of the study area) which continued under the study area (Figure 43 and Figure 44). Approval was granted by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works in 1919. Initial exploratory bores were drilled in 1921 and 1922. The first series of tests, conducted over a 4-kilometre stretch between Potts Hill No.1 and No.5, revealed significant rupturing of the tunnel lining. Additional fractures were identified during tests between shafts 6 and 9. Due to an urgent demand for water, the segment of the Pressure Tunnel between shafts 1 and 5 was put into service in 1929.¹⁵⁹

In 1930, the Board sanctioned the installation of a steel tube lining along the entire tunnel length, which facilitated the internal securing of the tube sections. However, financial constraints led to a suspension of the lining process until 1933, when sufficient funds were secured to complete the project. The lining was finalised by 1935, with the internal surfaces of the pipes coated with bitumen during the manufacturing process. In 1933, the Government commissioned a Royal Commission to investigate the failure of the internal lining. Although the lining work was already in progress, the Royal Commission was tasked with identifying the causes of these failures. The Commission's report provided comprehensive insights into pressure tunnels and similar failures globally, resulting in an influx of skilled engineers joining the Water Board at that time.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 40-43; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro, P. 20.

¹⁵⁸ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Electricity Substation No. 174.

¹⁵⁹ Sydney Water, Heritage S170 Register, Pressure Tunnel and Shafts.

¹⁶⁰ Sydney Water, Heritage S170 Register, Pressure Tunnel and Shafts.



Figure 42: 1917 Map of Sydney with the study area outlined in red. Note the infrastructural development to the south of the study area as identified by the black arrow¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ National Library of Australia.



Figure 43: Pressure Tunnel formwork¹⁶²

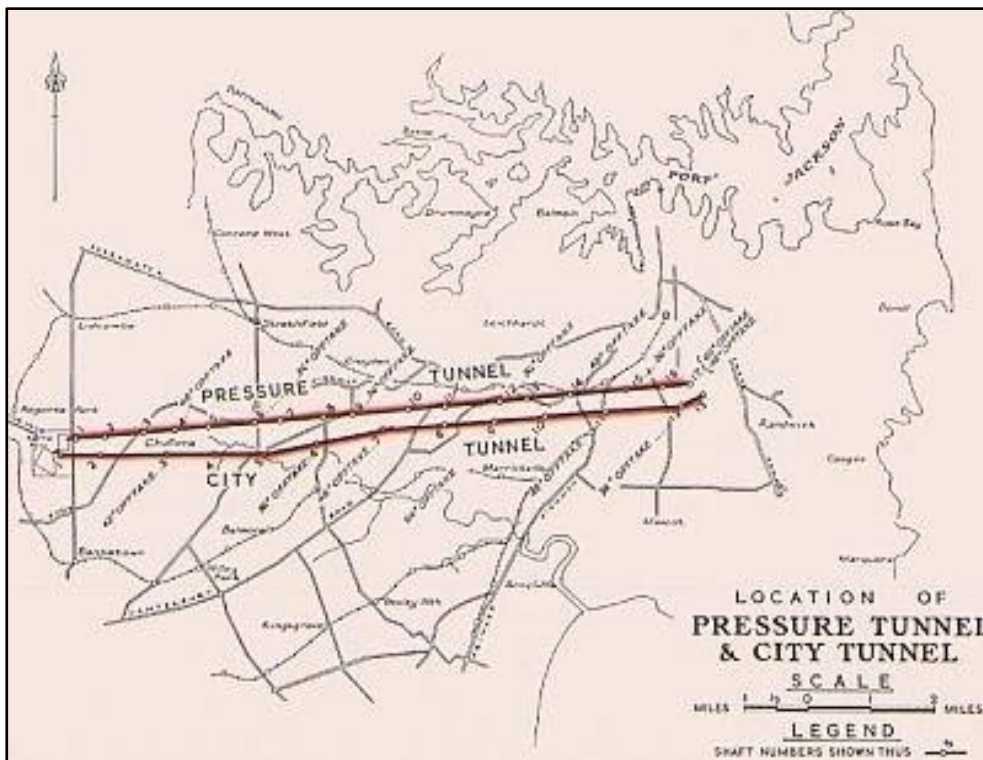


Figure 44: Location of the Pressure Tunnel and Shafts¹⁶³

¹⁶² Sydney Water, Heritage S170 Register, Pressure Tunnel and Shafts.

¹⁶³ Sydney Water, Heritage S170 Register, Pressure Tunnel and Shafts.

3.2.7 The mid to late-twentieth century Waterloo Projects

From the late nineteenth century until the 1940s, the built environment of Waterloo experienced minimal change, especially when compared to the extensive new developments occurring elsewhere. 1930 aerial imagery of the study area shows the area with dense residential, industrial, and commercial infrastructure. However, similar to plans from the 1884–1894 City of Sydney Detail Sheets, the block along McEvoy Street within the southeast portion of the study area remain largely undeveloped. In fact, when compared, the 1884–1894 City of Sydney Detail Sheets and mid-twentieth century aerial imagery, including 1930 and 1943, show a similar building footprint (Figure 36 and Figure 45-Figure 47).¹⁶⁴

During this period, Waterloo became closely associated with slum housing conditions, and industrial and commercial use. A health officer from the Waterloo council reported that 500 out of the 2,000 dwellings in the area were deemed unfit for habitation. Bill McKell, a local member and the Premier of New South Wales, attributed the poor quality of housing to the 99-year leases issued by the Cooper estate in Waterloo. He stated:

*“The depressed district is mostly in the Daniel Cooper estate. Sir Daniel Cooper, almost a century ago, had big property holdings...He didn't sell his land. He leased it on 99 year leases. Landlords built the cheapest possible type of house on these leaseholds. Nevertheless, a century ago they were considered pretty good residences. Today they are substandard. Landlords won't even splash a tin of paint on them because in a few years the properties (including the sub-standard homes) revert back to the Daniel Cooper Estate.”*¹⁶⁵

As the founder of the NSW Housing Commission, Bill McKell played a pivotal role in the post-war redevelopment of Waterloo and Redfern. This redevelopment included the demolition and reconstruction of the eastern side of Botany Street, which was transformed into public housing.¹⁶⁶

In 1941, the New South Wales Government established a Housing Commission to address the demand for affordable and adequate housing for the working population of NSW. During World War II, the Commission primarily focused on providing accommodation for munitions workers and other war-related personnel. However, by 1945, as the war was drawing to a close, the Commission shifted its attention towards planning new housing projects to replace areas in Sydney that had been designated as slums. It also encouraged local councils to support land subdivision and development. The NSW Government was eager to proceed with 'slum clearance' initiatives and utilise the Housing Commission to revitalise the inner city. The suburbs of Redfern, Waterloo, Surry Hills, and Glebe were chosen as the initial areas for redevelopment in the late 1940s- the time during which Waterloo became part of Sydney City Council.¹⁶⁷

During the late 1940s, the initial site within the Waterloo Urban Renewal area was identified, and the Housing Commission informed Sydney City Council of their plan to construct three blocks of flats on the land bordered by George, Raglan, and Cooper Streets. Each block was designed to be three storeys high, comprising a total of 20 two-bedroom flats and four one-bedroom flats across the three

¹⁶⁴ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹⁶⁵ Truth, 19 January 1947: 33; AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹⁶⁶ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹⁶⁷ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement.

structures. The design also included open spaces, flower boxes, landscaping, and communal laundry drying areas.¹⁶⁸

The 1948 plan shows the original layout of these buildings, 1949 aerial imagery shows the clearance of the area for the development, and the three blocks of flats can be seen in the 1938–1950 City of Sydney Civic Survey and 1955 aerial imagery (Figure 48, Figure 49-Figure 51). These blocks have since undergone significant external modifications. Although the three blocks on Raglan Street were completed in the early years of the project, little progress was made in Waterloo during the remainder of the 1950s, except for a few additional housing units.¹⁶⁹ 1960s photos and the 1949-1972 City of Sydney Building Surveyors Detail plan show the development of the social housing in this area and in 'Vacant' lots and the commercial outlets which included the Australian Hotel along Wellington Street (Figure 52-Figure 56).

From the 1960s to the late 1970s, a number of resumptions and demolitions of the existing infrastructure was undertaken to clear the area in preparation for the new social housing projects including along John Street. There were also a number of high-rise social developments constructed in this period immediately to the north of the study area which were part of the Endeavour Project. These high-rise buildings vastly increased the number of social housing residents in the area and can be clearly seen in the viewlines to the north of the study area. A number of housing developments were also undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s around McEvoy, Wellington and Pitt Street (Figure 57-Figure 62).¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement.

¹⁶⁹ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement.

¹⁷⁰ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement, P. 59.



Figure 45: 1930 aerial imagery with the study area outlined in red. Note the dense infrastructural layout of the area¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.

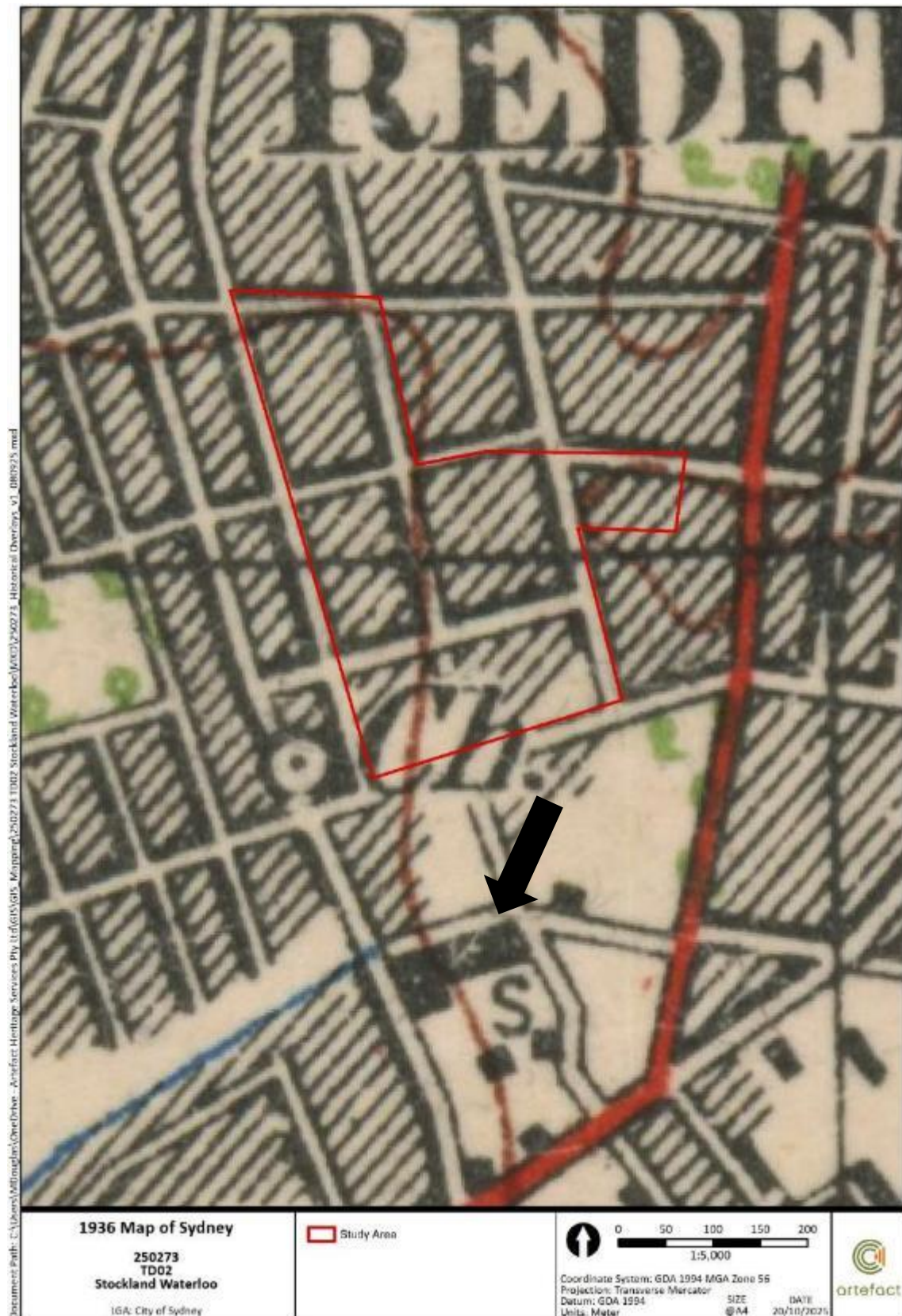


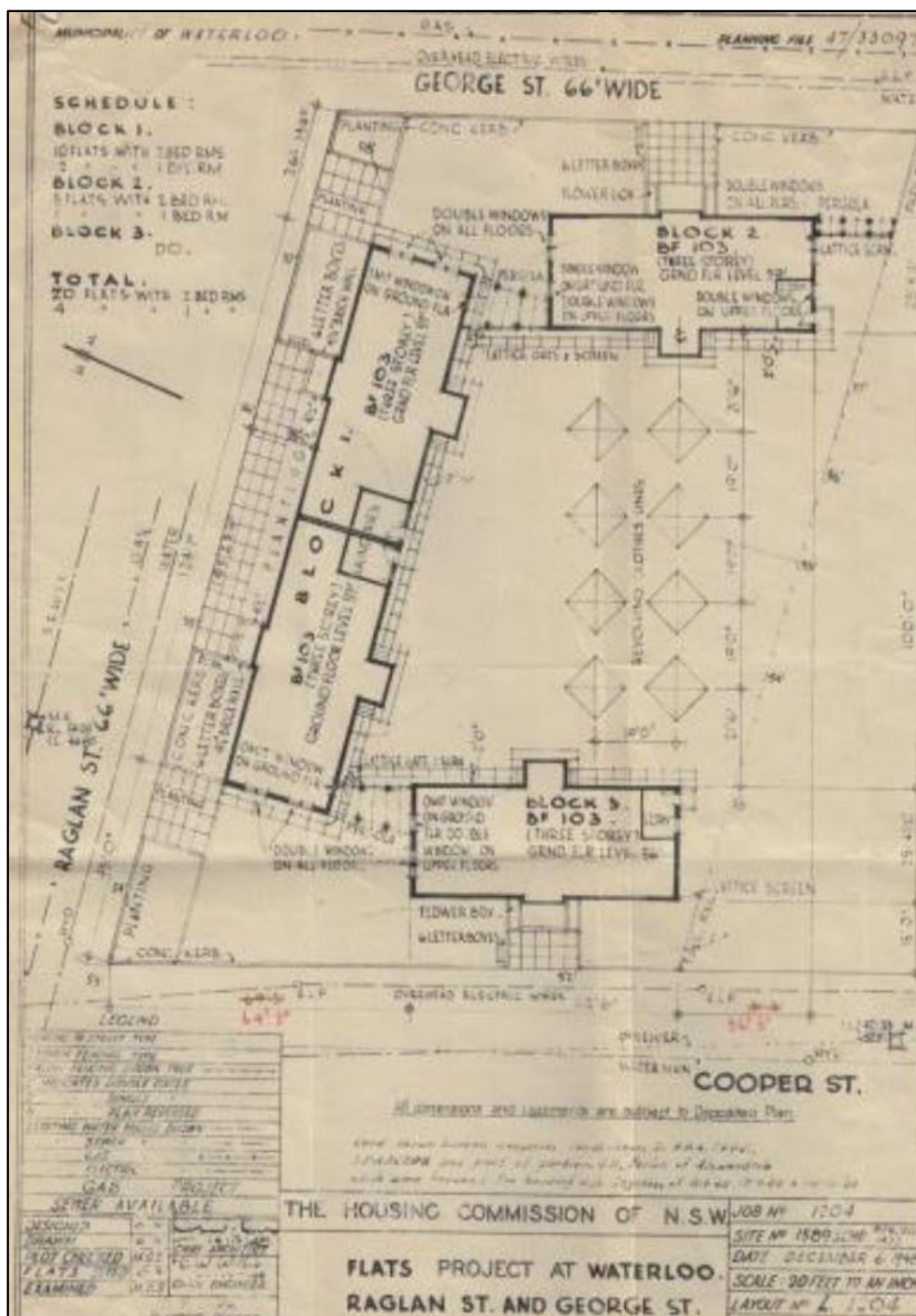
Figure 46: 1936 Map of Sydney with the study area outlined in red. Note the infrastructural development to the south of the study area as identified by the black arrow¹⁷²

¹⁷² National Library of Australia.



Figure 47: 1943 aerial imagery with the study area outlined in red. Note the limited development within the southeast portion of the study area which is identified by the black arrow¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



¹⁷⁴ City of Sydney Archives.



Figure 49: 1949 aerial imagery with the study area outlined in red. Note the area bounded by Raglan, George and Cooper Street cleared for construction of the social housing units identified by the black arrow. Also note the new development within the southeast portion of the study area as identified by the red arrow¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



Figure 50: 1938–1950 City of Sydney Civic Survey Map 24 with the study area outlined in red. Note the social housing units bounded by Raglan, George and Cooper Street identified by the black arrow¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ City of Sydney - City Engineer's Department, Town Planning Branch, *City of Sydney - Civic Survey, 1938-1950: Map 24 - Zetland* (01/01/1938 - 31/12/1950), [A-00880362]. City of Sydney Archives.



Figure 51: 1955 aerial imagery with the study area outlined in red. Note the social housing bounded by Raglan, George and Cooper Street identified by the black arrow¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



Figure 52: 1961 photo of the view north along Cooper Street showing the dilapidated buildings demolished for construction of social housing¹⁷⁸



Figure 53: 1961 photo of the view along the corner of Wellington and Cope Street, with the Australia Hotel identified by the black arrow¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ *Housing Commission Area, Cooper Street Waterloo, 1961 (19/07/1961), [A-00012484]. City of Sydney Archives.*

¹⁷⁹ *Street view, Wellington Street Waterloo, 1961 (19/07/1961), [A-00044149]. City of Sydney Archives.*



Figure 54: 1964 photo of the view west along John Street showing the clearance of land in preparation for the development of social housing¹⁸⁰



Figure 55: 1960s plan showing the proposed social housing developments along Cooper Street and George Street¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Demolition site, John Street Waterloo, 1964 (22/10/1964), [A-00046449]. City of Sydney Archives.

¹⁸¹ City of Sydney Archives.

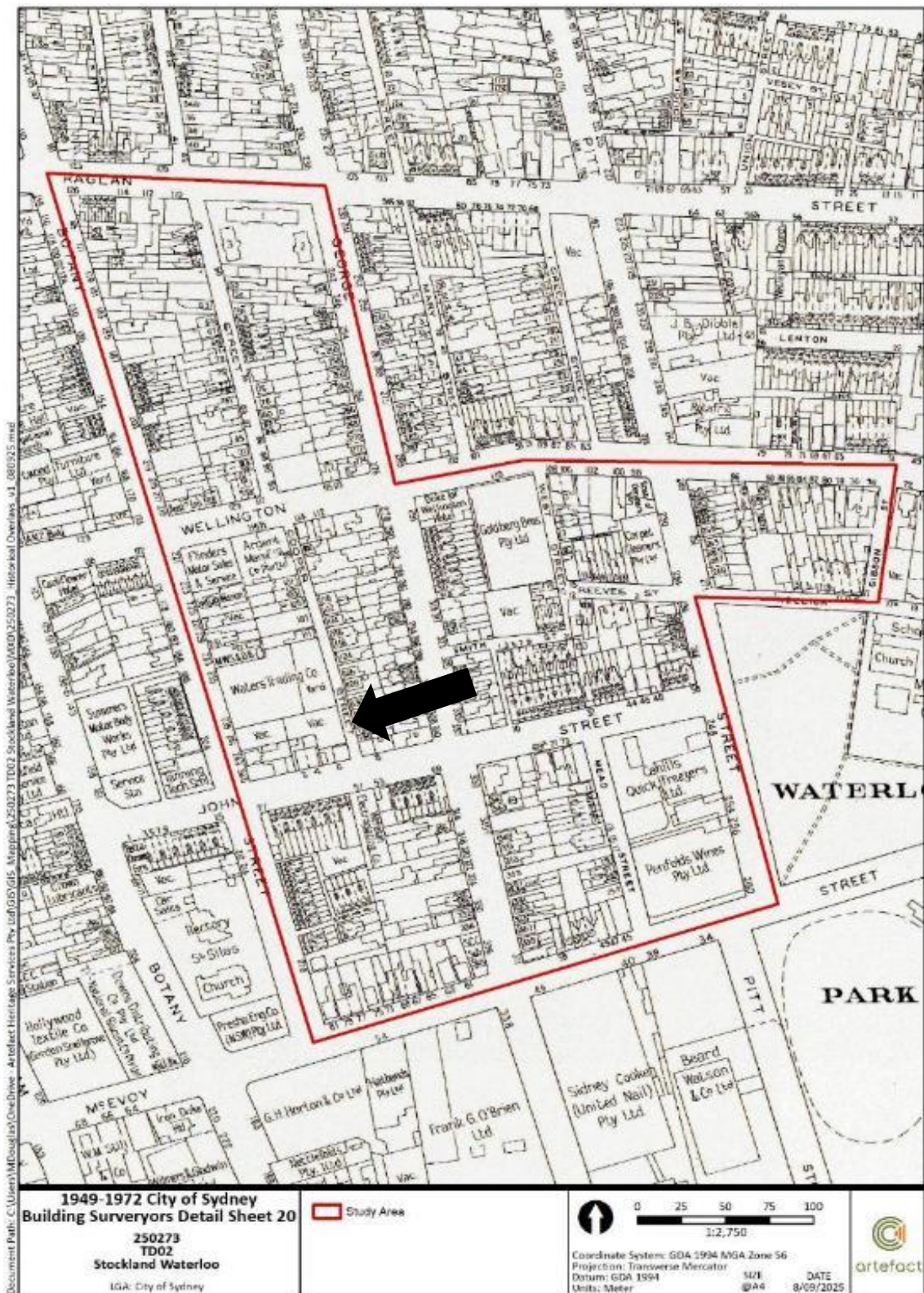


Figure 56: 1949-1972 City of Sydney Building Surveyors Detail sheet 20 with the study area outlined in red. Note the 'Vacant' lots which would be converted into public housing which are identified by the black arrow¹⁸²

¹⁸² City of Sydney - City Building Surveyor's Department, *City of Sydney - Building Surveyor's Detail Sheets, 1949-1972: Sheet 20 - Waterloo* (01/01/1949 - 31/12/1972), [A-00880196]. City of Sydney Archives.

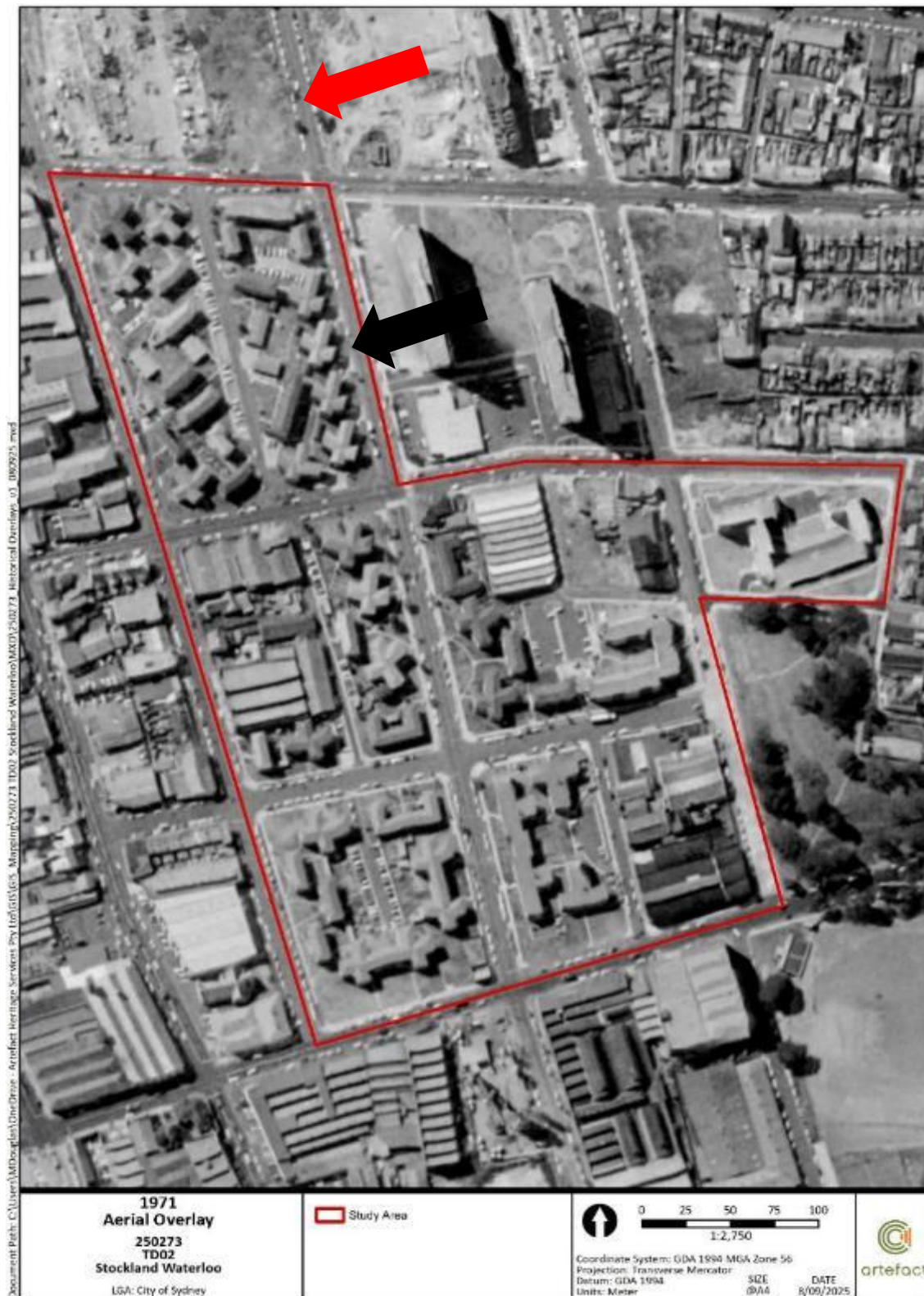


Figure 57: 1971 aerial imagery with the study area outlined in red. Note the presence of social housing which is consistent with the extant infrastructure in the study area as identified by the black arrow. The red arrow identifies the area used for the development of the high-rise social housing buildings¹⁸³

¹⁸³ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



Figure 58: 1975 aerial imagery with the study area outlined in red. Note the high-rise social housing development to the north of the study area as identified by the red arrow¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



Figure 59: 1982 aerial imagery with the study area outlined in red.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



Figure 60: 1986 aerial imagery with the study area outlined in red¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



Figure 61: 1991 aerial imagery with the study area in red¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



Figure 62: 1994 aerial imagery with the study area in red¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.

3.2.8 Waterloo in the twenty-first century

Since the early-2000s, Waterloo has undergone a substantial process of gentrification with the influx of young city professionals and the rise of technology business and green spaces, including the development of Green Square to the south of the study area. Despite this, the social housing projects from the late-twentieth century has remained a fixture in the development history of Waterloo (Figure 64 and Figure 65). They have been used to house low income people and a large population of the local Aboriginal people for decades and remained an important part of the local culture. Private residential, industrial, and commercial development also remain present in the area to this day.

Waterloo Metro Station was constructed immediately to the west of the study area and was opened in 2024 (Figure 66 and Figure 67). The Metro substantially shortened the travel times to the city and wider Sydney, and as a result, housing in Waterloo is in high demand.¹⁸⁹ The Waterloo Estate South concept plans to address this demand by delivering new private and social housing, green spaces, and community spaces to the area to improve liveability and access to the area.¹⁹⁰ As part of the new development proposals, local people have been handed eviction notices and this has been largely resisted by housing activists and the residents themselves (Figure 63).



Figure 63: Housing activists and residents protesting against the removal of social housing in the Waterloo area¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement; Cinetel Productions Pty Ltd (2017); AMBS Ecology and Heritage, Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Report prepared for Sydney Metro.

¹⁹⁰ Beam (2025), Scoping Report, Rezoning and Concept SSDA Waterloo Estate (South), Prepared for Stockland and Homes NSW.

¹⁹¹ City of Sydney Archives.



Figure 64: 2005 aerial imagery with the study area in red¹⁹²

¹⁹² Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



Figure 65: 2016 aerial imagery with the study area in red¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.

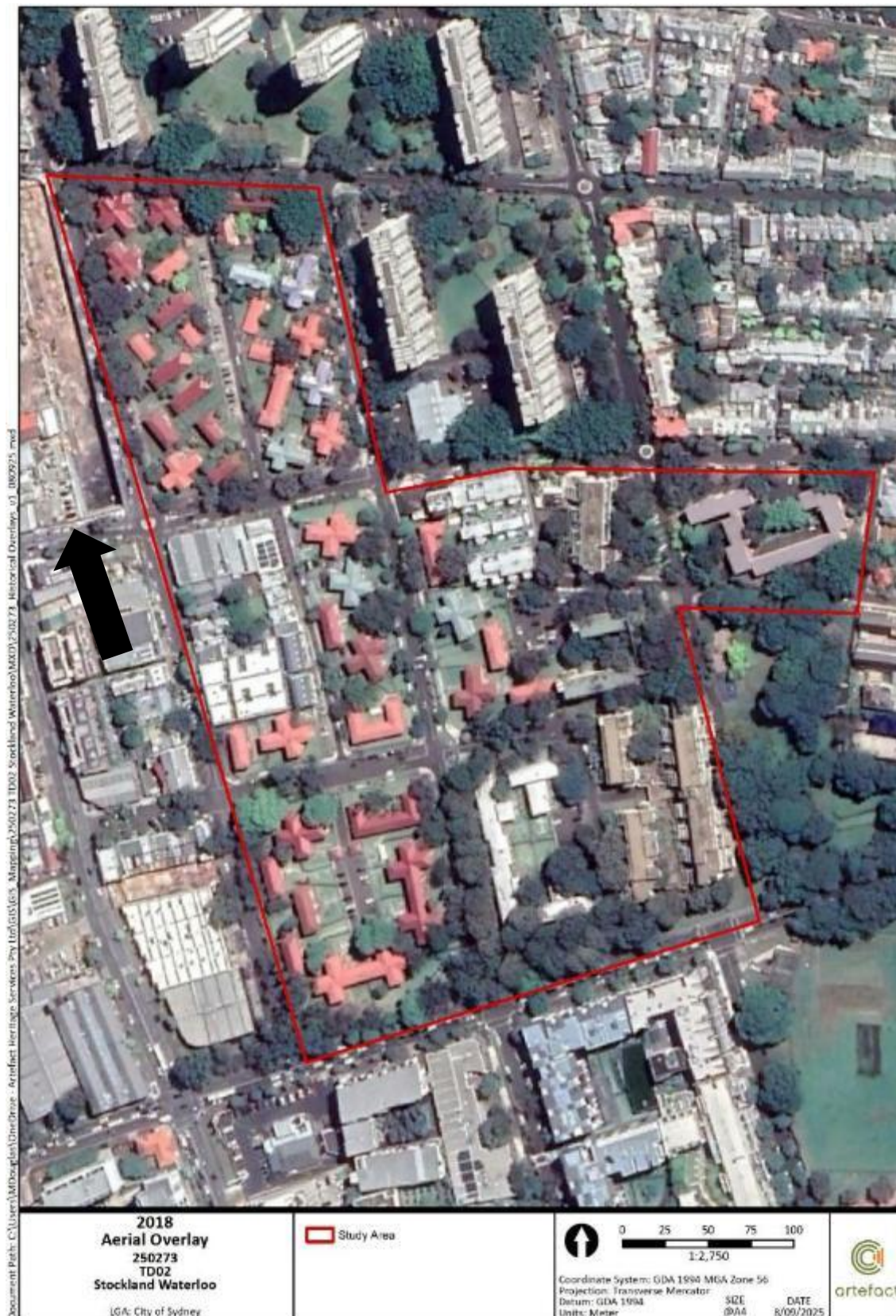


Figure 66: 2018 aerial imagery with the study area in red with the Waterloo Metro Station development identified by the black arrow¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.



Figure 67: 2021 aerial imagery with the study area in red with the Waterloo Metro Station development identified by the black arrow¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Spatial Records Historical Aerial Imagery Viewer.

3.3 Phases of historical development and land use

The land use of the study area has been divided into four general phases of historical activity, which are outlined in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Phases of historical development

Phase	Description
Phase 1 (1788–1820s)	British invasion of <i>Warrane</i> (Sydney Cove) and dispossession of Gadigal Country
Phase 2 (1820s–1850s)	Working class people in an industrial ‘wasteland’ and the Cooper Estate
Phase 3 (1850s–1960s)	Subdivision, leases, Chinese culture and the establishment of the Waterloo Municipality – industry and the working class, cottages and terraces, hotels and schools, churches and slums, and the establishment of the Pressure Tunnel and Shafts
Phase 4 (1960s–present)	The Waterloo Projects, gentrification, and the Waterloo Metro

3.4 Thematic History

The NSW Historic themes provide a framework for identifying important processes or activities which have significantly contributed to Australian history at a national and state level. The Heritage Council of NSW has prepared a list of state historic themes relevant to the demographic, economic and cultural development of the state. The use of these themes provides historical context to allow archaeological items to be understood in a wider historical context. Historical themes developed for the study area are described and discussed in Table 6.

Please note that additional detailed research subsequently undertaken during the preparation of *SSD-126100740 Waterloo Estate South—Stage 1 Early Works Archaeological Research Design and Excavation Methodology* (Artefact 2026a) and *SSD-Pending Waterloo Estate South—Block 2D Archaeological Research Design and Excavation Methodology* (Artefact 2026b) was integrated into the discussion of historical themes for the study area. For more information, please consult those reports.

Table 6: Historical themes for the study area

NSW themes	Australian themes	Study area theme	Discussion
- Environment - naturally evolved - Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other cultures	- Tracing the natural evolution of Australia - Peopling Australia	Gadigal deep time	The study area is located on country of the Cadigal/Gamaygal/ people. The Gadigal lived on the south side of what is now called Sydney Harbour for hundreds of generations and tens of thousands of years. This area sacred to Ancestors and contains sacred Aboriginal objects and materials to be un-earthed during development constructions.
		Contact-era and Aboriginal alienation	While there is no specific historical evidence for post-contact conflict sites or campsites in the site study area, they should not be discounted. The study area has a long history of Aboriginal

NSW themes	Australian themes	Study area theme	Discussion
			alienation. The proximity of the site study area to Shea's Creek (now the Alexandria Canal) and the Botany Swamps means it could well have seen people camping semi-permanently in the area.
- Industry - Ethnic influences - Migration - Agriculture - Environment - cultural landscape - Land tenure - Domestic life - Labour	- Building settlements, towns and cities - Developing Australia's cultural life - Developing local, regional and national economies - Peopling Australia - Working	Market gardening and the 'Waterloo Swamps'	Waterloo's swampy environment rich in fresh water was what drew many market gardeners and early 'noxious' industries to the fringes of the city. The ability for Chinese workers to make a living through market gardening made Waterloo an attractive location to settle, incepting the neighbourhood's enduring Chinese community. As residential development grew more congested, utilities and municipal investment dwindled, and pollution by both industrial and residential waste worsened, the natural abundance of water within the study area became a problem.
- Towns, suburbs and villages - Ethnic influences - Migration - Commerce - Environment - cultural landscape - Industry - Land tenure - Labour - Domestic life	- Building settlements, towns and cities - Developing Australia's cultural life - Developing local, regional and national economies - Peopling Australia - Working	Working-class Waterloo	The study area has had an enduring and uniquely resonant connection with working class people and their homes since its first definition by colonial systems post-invasion. The first buildings constructed within the study area were likely slab huts to house workers during Phase 2 (1820s–1850s), possibly those employed at the Waterloo Mill to the south or other early industries. Labour conducted within the study area was not exclusively waged or outside the home. Families supplemented their income wherever possible. This included cottage industries, having children join the workforce, running home businesses such as laundries, and engaging in prostitution. Unwaged work was also essential to keep a household running, including clothing maintenance (namely laundry), cooking, and other production of goods. Migration of working-class people to Australia and into Waterloo was a hugely influential part of the study area's development. Waterloo was likely ethnically diverse from its inception as a colonial district in Phase 2 (1820s–1850s), with a strong Chinese and Irish population alongside English and Aboriginal residents.
- Towns, suburbs and villages - Domestic life - Leisure	Building settlements, towns and cities	Visible and hidden spaces	The study area is characterised by highly visible public spaces (e.g. the street-facing facades and vacant blocks), hidden public space (e.g. the private enclosure off St Silas Place and various other vacant lots away from the street), and private

NSW themes	Australian themes	Study area theme	Discussion
	Developing Australia's cultural life		spaces within lots and inside houses. Movement and activity within these hidden, dark spaces was a subject of extreme fascination and morbid fantasy for many newspapers and their readers throughout Phase 3 (1850s–1960s). These were areas where many speculated criminal and sinful activity was taking place that characterised the Waterloo resident. These empty spaces were likely functional for residents of the study area in a multifaceted but purely mundane manner—they likely provided play areas for children, easy transit points through the neighbourhood and private access to backyards, space to dispose of rubbish to supplement failing municipal services, and somewhere to gather for socialisation, leisure, and activities requiring privacy. They may also represent a failure of the effort to redevelop Waterloo in the post-WWI and WWII city planning fervour, which would have plugged these holes in residential development with more 'model homes' to accommodate the growing working population.
- Domestic life - Education - Leisure	- Developing Australia's cultural life - Educating	Children—the invisible class	The Waterloo Ragged School is within the study area along Cope Street (formerly Botany Street). St Silas School and the Waterloo Public School were both located on Botany Road within 100m of the study area. Children living within the study area would have likely been required to work to supplement household income, but would have also had time to play, explore, attend school, and spend time within the home. As schooling became standardised and mandated, children's lives would have changed over the course of Phase 3 (1850s–1960s). Children's activities within the study area during Phase 3 would closely reflect these changes. The Waterloo Ragged School located within the study area is of particular interest due to its potential ability to inform about the education and daily lives of children from the neighbourhood during Phase 3 (1850s–1960s). The school was initially established to provide support and education to some of the most disadvantaged children in Sydney (19th century) and later became a kindergarten under the Sydney City Mission from 1928 to 1997.
- Accommodation - Birth and Death - Commerce - Domestic life	Building settlements, towns and cities	To, from, and within the home	During Phase 2 and 3 (1820s–1960s), many of the milestones of peoples' lives were occurring within the home, including births, deaths, and marriages. Homes within the study area varied from multi-room standalone cottages to small, cramped terrace houses, and many elements of peoples' lives

NSW themes	Australian themes	Study area theme	Discussion
• Ethnic influences • Labour • Leisure	• Developing Australia's cultural life • Developing local, regional and national economies • Marking the phases of life • Peopling Australia • Working		necessarily occurred within small, multi-used spaces. People may have been making modifications to their own homes to accommodate or expand space for these activities. The neighbourhood appears to have been relatively independent and self-contained, with nearby Botany Street becoming a hub of commerce, residents employed at local businesses and industries, and numerous schools, hotels/pubs, and places of worship in the surrounding blocks. Families also typically lived locally, with many examples in the historical record of family members living in neighbouring houses, streets, or blocks. The Sands Directory also suggests that multiple generations of families often remained within a residence within the study area. The grocer's stores within the study area would be a key part of the functioning of a local neighbourhood. Whilst individual households would be selective in what they bring into the home based on their specific needs and income, a corner shop would need to stock based on what the whole neighbourhood needs. These goods and materials would more broadly reflect the consumer trends of the local community in a condensed space.
• Leisure	• Developing Australia's cultural life	Pubs and hotels	During Phase 2–3 (1820s–1960s), the study area contained numeral hotels that would have functioned as centres of social life for the local community. These include: • Duke of Wellington Hotel (southeast corner of George and Buckland Streets) • The Cheerful Home Hotel (northwest corner of John and George Street) • The Australian Inn (northeast corner of Buckland and Cope/Botany Streets) • The Old Beehive Hotel (southwest corner of Raglan and Cooper Streets) • Middlesborough Hotel (southwest corner of Raglan and George Streets). These hotels would have been important places for the community to gather, discuss, relax, and have fun. These spaces intersected with contemporary ideas about work and leisure, public versus private life, morality, and gender. The high number of pubs in the study area also poses interesting research potential about the need for leisure spaces in a working-class neighbourhood, and may further interact with Waterloo's reputation as a low-brow place of immorality—a 'slum'.

NSW themes	Australian themes	Study area theme	Discussion
• Accommodation • Domestic life • Environment - cultural landscape • Ethnic influences • Industry • Labour • Migration • Towns, suburbs and villages • Utilities	• Building settlements, towns and cities • Developing Australia's cultural life • Developing local, regional and national economies • Peopling Australia • Working	Waterloo the 'slum'	The Victorian vision of the slum became an essential element of how the study area developed across Phase 3 (1850s–1960s). Living conditions may have declined from the 1880s onwards, likely due to building ageing and degradation, environmental pressures (e.g. flooding events, increasing industrial and residential pollution) subpar repairs, lack of sufficient municipal infrastructure, and increasing financial hardship and poverty. Media sensationalisation from the 1880s into the 1960s exaggerated and politicised elements of this reality. Tactics relied upon included: • Racialisation of Waterloo, evoking xenophobic and eugenicist anxieties regarding the area's diversity of ethnicity (particularly around white women and non-white men) • Comparison of 'honest poverty' versus 'criminal poverty,' rendering Waterloo residents actively responsible or deserving of economic hardship • 'Think of the children' rhetoric and appeals to emotion • Exploitative, patronising spotlights on individual residents to evoke sympathy and disgust • Evoking moral panic of disease and the threat of outbreak • Synonymisation of non-whiteness, disease, immorality, crime, and poverty. The Waterloo Ragged School site in particular holds potential to reflect Victorian-era moral paradigms and approaches to wider social issues. Its establishment was a reaction to what was seen as a moral crisis in the declining living conditions of the neighbourhood—it was intended to provide Waterloo's children with the religious, ethical, and educational instruction that they were supposedly lacking at home and in their communities. The goal was to 'save' the children from their environment, prevent their 'moral decline,' and therefore alleviate Waterloo's reputation as a hotbed of crime and sin. These media tactics, which intensified during the 1920s, played an important role in legitimising the mass demolition of housing for the development of housing commission. Post-WWI and especially post-WWII fervour for city planning intensified scrutiny on clearing undesirable suburbs. After decades of media painting Waterloo as both the source and result of immorality, disease, and poverty, it was a particularly easy target. This media reflected the cultural priorities of the 'White Australia' movement, which dominated State and

NSW themes	Australian themes	Study area theme	Discussion
			National governance between 1901 and the 1970s, and was both fuelled by and exacerbated contemporary eugenicist and xenophobic beliefs).
- Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other cultures - Domestic life - Ethnic influences - Industry - Labour	- Developing Australia's cultural life - Developing local, regional and national economies - Peopling Australia - Working	Continuity and Comparison	The study area has an enduring character as a working-class residential neighbourhood, which has remained unchanged since the early 19th century. Elements of change include the increasing population density from the 1880s onwards, modernisation of utilities, roads and infrastructure across the late 19th to early 20th centuries, increasing pollution and environmental changes, and the 1960s demolition event and construction of the Housing Commission blocks. In the 21st century, the construction of the Waterloo Metro Station also changed the character of the neighbourhood, allowing greater commuting ease to the centre city and other parts of Sydney.

4.0 PHYSICAL CONTEXT

4.1 Site survey

A physical inspection and survey of the study area was undertaken on 24 September 2025 by Lily Hackett (Heritage Consultant) and Jonny Love (Senior Heritage Consultant) to record the site from a historical archaeology perspective. Will Middleton (Aboriginal Engagement Manager, Stockland) was also in attendance. The area proposed for development was inspected to inform the assessment of archaeological potential that may be affected by the project. The inspection was undertaken on foot and a photographic record was made.

4.1.1 Site survey limitations

Due to the large size of the study area, the site survey was divided by landform, identified as Survey Units 1 to 5. The survey units and the total area walked is shown in Figure 68. During the archaeological survey, overall visibility of exposed ground surfaces was low throughout the study area due to concrete and paved surfaces, grass coverage, and the extant social housing infrastructure. Portions of the study area were not appropriate to survey due to the social housing and residents present.



Figure 68: Survey units and tracks

4.2 Description of survey units

4.2.1 Survey Unit 1 (Social Housing – North West)

Survey Unit 1 (SU1) was located in the northern portion of the study area, adjacent to the Waterloo Metro Station, and is approximately 28,919 m² (2.89 hectares) in size. This survey unit contained two blocks of existing residential social housing apartment buildings. Survey Unit 1 is bounded by Cope Street to the west, Raglan Street to the north, George Street to the east, Wellington Street to the south, and bisected by Cooper Street. The survey unit features a flat landform with a very gentle slope towards the eastern boundary (Figure 69–Figure 73). The majority of the ground was obscured by concrete driveways, bitumen, and grass vegetation, however, patches of exposed soil were observed within landscaped gardens including raised garden beds and around tree trunks.

A number of underground services, such as drainage infrastructure, NBN conduits, and electrical services were observed indicating localised high levels of ground disturbance (Figure 74). The footings of the existing buildings and any grading that had occurred for their construction also likely caused significant ground disturbances. Because the depth of these disturbances is unclear, historical archaeological resources may be present within this survey unit, including in areas under the extant infrastructure and in areas with limited historical disturbance such as the backyards.

4.2.2 Survey Unit 2 (Social Housing – Centre West)

Survey Unit 2 (SU2) was located in the centre west portion of the study area and is approximately 21,303 m² (2.13 hectares) in size. This survey unit comprised two blocks of social housing north of John Street that continued to the eastern and southern portions of the study area (Figure 75–Figure 77). In the northwestern corner of SU2, more modern, larger commercial buildings alongside some historical late 1800s and early Victorian terrace houses were located (Figure 78). The same flat landform from SU1 continued into SU2. Similar levels of ground disturbance from underground services and landscaping were also observed. As a result, it was assessed that historical archaeological resources may be present within this survey unit, including in areas under the extant infrastructure and in areas with limited historical disturbance such as the backyards (Figure 78–Figure 80).

Comparatively, the larger commercial buildings comprised the entirety of the lot up to the pedestrian pathway as opposed to the social housing lots which had landscaped gardens surrounding them. As such, no visible ground surface or soil exposures were observed surrounding the commercial buildings in the west. A potential underground car park was also identified suggesting greater disturbance in this area and limited archaeological potential (Figure 81).

4.2.3 Survey Unit 3 (Social Housing – South West)

Survey Unit 3 (SU3) is approximately 17,355 m² (1.74 hectares) in size and consisted of a single block of social housing bounded by John Street to the north, George Street to the east, Cope Street to the west, and McEvoy Street to the south. The flat landform from SU1 and SU2 continued into SU3. This block comprised larger gardens and grassed areas which also contained fewer ground services with less ground disturbance, except for in areas where the extant social housing was present (Figure 82–Figure 85). The Electricity Substation (LEP no. I2086) was also located in this survey unit (Figure 86).

Based on the similar levels of disturbance within SU1 and SU2, it was assessed that historical archaeological resources may be present within this survey unit, including in areas under the extant infrastructure and in areas with limited historical disturbance such as the backyards.



Figure 69: SU1 – concrete path with social housing, view north towards Waterloo Metro Station



Figure 70: SU1 – concrete pathway between social housing, view east



Figure 71: SU1 – social housing along Cope Street with backyard, view southeast



Figure 72: SU1 – Cooper Street road corridor with extant concrete pathways and social housing, view north



Figure 73: SU1 – social housing with garden beds and grassed backyard spaces, view southeast



Figure 74: SU1 – subsurface services along concrete footpath



Figure 75: SU2 – Wellington Street and George Street intersection with social housing, view west



Figure 76: SU2 – Wellington Street and Cope Street intersection with commercial buildings, view east



Figure 77: SU2 – Road corridor and commercial buildings along Cope Street, view south



Figure 78: SU2 – view southeast of heritage items along Cope Street, including the Former Waterloo Pre-School (LEP no. I2077) and 2-storey Victorian terrace houses (LEP no. I2078)



Figure 79: SU2 – John Street with built up social housing, view northwest



Figure 80: SU2 – view north of road corridor, concrete footpaths, and social and residential housing along Cooper Street



Figure 81: SU2 – potential basement carpark along Cope Street



Figure 82: SU3 – social housing with limited disturbance in the front yards, view north



Figure 83: SU3 – social housing with limited disturbance in the front yards, view north



Figure 84: SU3 – grassed area within social housing, view north



Figure 85: SU3 – road access to Social housing along John Street, view south



Figure 86: SU2 – Electricity Substation (LEP no. I2086) along McEvoy Street, view northwest

4.2.4 Survey Unit 4 (Social and Residential Housing, and Commercial Development – East)

The flat landform continued east into Survey Unit 4 (SU4) located between George Street and Pitt Street. From Mead Street eastward, the survey unit sloped with increasing steepness progressively towards the eastern boundary along Pitt Street. The flat portion of SU4 continued in the west with extant social housing and subsurface services, landscaping and similar disturbances observed in the previous survey units with the exception of greater ground disturbance through basement car parks in the northern portion along Wellington Street (Figure 87-Figure 93). The Duke of Wellington Hotel (LEP no. I2085) was also located in this survey unit (Figure 94).

Comparatively greater ground disturbance than the social housing areas were observed within the elevated slope. The same brown, grey sandy soil was also present within large exposures sporadically observed along the sloped landform however with significant cuts and terracing into the slope for the construction of pedestrian pathways, roads and extant apartments.

Based on the similar levels of disturbance within SU1, SU2, and SU3 it was assessed that historical archaeological resources may be present within the western portion of SU4, including in areas under the extant infrastructure and in areas with limited historical disturbance such as the backyards. Historical archaeological resources are unlikely to be present within the eastern portion of this survey unit which has been subject to significant cuts due to previous development.

4.2.5 Survey Unit 5 (Social Housing – North East)

Survey Unit 5 (SU5) is located within the steepest portion of the entire study area. The slope continued to ascend to the east with the southeastern corner rising to a crest (the majority of the crest was located outside of the study area). SU5 was similar in landform to the eastern half of SU4 in that it had also been heavily modified through cutting, grading and terracing of the natural slope (Figure 95 and Figure 96). Due to the extent of disturbance and the steep topography, no areas of archaeological potential were identified within SU5.

4.3 Summary

No historical archaeological resources were identified within the study area. An area of historical archaeological potential was identified within Survey Unit 1, 2, 3, and 4 (Figure 97). This is because the area was characterised by a flat landform with a gentle slope and limited historical disturbance from underground services and the extant small-scale social housing buildings.



Figure 87: SU4 – Concrete footpaths and front yards of social housing, view east along McEvoy Street



Figure 88: SU4 – Concrete footpaths and front yards of social housing, view west along McEvoy Street showing declining slope



Figure 89: SU4 – social housing cut into natural slope, view north



Figure 90: SU4 – social housing cut into natural slope, view south



Figure 91: SU4 – social housing cut into natural slope, view west



Figure 92: SU4 – slope along Reeve Street with social housing, view west

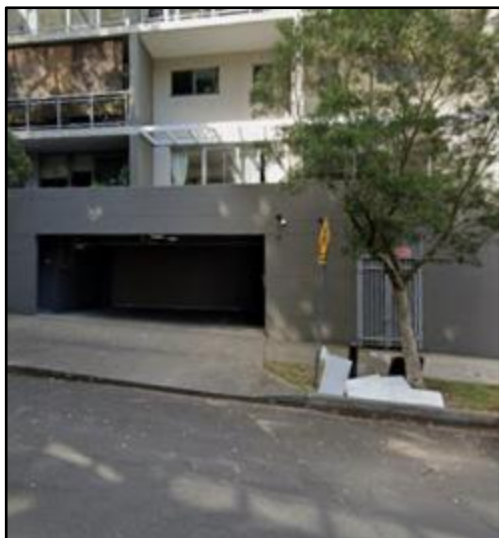


Figure 93: SU4 – basement carpark along Wellington Street, view south



Figure 94: SU4 – Duke of Wellington Hotel (LEP no. I2085), view southeast



Figure 95: SU5 – steep slope along Gibson Street, view north



Figure 96: SU5 – social housing cut into natural slope, view south

5.0 ASSESSMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL

5.1 Introduction

The potential for the survival of archaeological remains is significantly affected by development activities that required ground disturbance. This assessment is therefore based on consideration of current ground conditions, and analysis of the historical development of the study area.

'Archaeological potential' refers to the likelihood that an area contains physical remains associated with an earlier phase of occupation, activity or development of that area. This is distinct from 'archaeological significance' and 'archaeological research potential'. These designations refer to the cultural value of potential archaeological remains and are the primary basis of the recommended management actions included in this document.

The archaeological potential of a site is presented in terms of the likelihood of the presence of archaeological remains, considering the land use history and previous impacts at the site. This evaluation is presented in Table 7 using the following grades of archaeological potential:

Table 7: Grading of archaeological potential

Grade	Definition
High	Evidence of multiple phases of historical development and structures with minimal or localised twentieth century development impacts, and it is likely the archaeological resource would be largely intact
Moderate	Analysis demonstrates known historical development and some previous impacts, but it is likely that archaeological remains survive with some localised truncation and disturbance
Low	Research indicates little historical development, or where there have been substantial previous disturbance and/or truncation which may not have removed deep subsurface features entirely
Nil	No evidence of historical development or use, or where previous impacts would have removed all archaeological evidence

5.2 Previous relevant heritage investigations

5.2.1 Within study area

No identified archaeological excavations have been undertaken within the study area. The study area has been subject to previous historical archaeological assessment as part of the Heritage Impact Statement (HIS) prepared by Urbis in 2020, and the Addendum HIS prepared by Artefact Heritage in 2021. The summary for these reports is presented below due to their direct relevance to the study area.

Urbis (2020), *Waterloo South Planning Proposal: Heritage Impact Statement*¹⁹⁶

Urbis prepared a HIS for Waterloo South (part of the broader Waterloo Estate precinct) to accompany a Planning Proposal for the site to facilitate future development.

¹⁹⁶ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement.

The historical archaeological assessment component of the report assessed the following archaeological potential within the site:

- Anticipated archaeological resources may include occupational deposits including, but not limited to, personal items, building remnants (brick or stone footings), wells and cesspits, hoe marks and post holes defining simple timber-framed structures, features associated with industrial activity, plough lines and features associated with early agricultural land use
- Potential archaeological resources of this nature may date from the 1850s onwards, with the potential for archaeological material from the early-nineteenth century to be present. They would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level, with potential to reach the threshold of significance at a State level
- Potential archaeological resources are unlikely to be present in areas subject to substantial disturbance including the footprints of large scale infrastructure and basements.

Urbis noted that their assessment of potential historical archaeological resources within the site was partly based on the results of the excavations undertaken within the Metro Quarter (present Waterloo Metro Station). This is because the history of occupation and development within the Metro Quarter would be directly comparable to Waterloo South.

Artefact Heritage and Environment (2021), *Waterloo Estate (South): Addendum Heritage Impact Statement*¹⁹⁷

Artefact Heritage prepared an Addendum HIS for the Waterloo Estate (South) site. This report was prepared as an addendum to the HIS prepared by Urbis.¹⁹⁸

The preliminary historical archaeological assessment component of the report was based on the finding of Urbis and assessed the following:

- Future development has the potential to impact Locally significant archaeological resources.

5.2.2 Outside study area

A number of historical archaeological assessments and investigations have been completed within the vicinity of the study area and in areas with a historical occupation and development consistent with that of the study area:

- Archaeology and Heritage Pty Ltd (2003), *180-182 Cope Street, Waterloo Sydney: Archaeological Excavation Permit*¹⁹⁹
- Archaeological and Heritage Management Solutions (2015), *Central to Eveleigh Corridor: Aboriginal and Historical Heritage Review*²⁰⁰
- Artefact Heritage (2016), *Sydney Metro City and Southwest Chatswood to Sydenham: Historical Archaeological Assessment and Research Design*²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Artefact Heritage and Environment (2021), *Waterloo Estate (South): Addendum Heritage Impact Statement*.

¹⁹⁸ Urbis (2020), Waterloo South Planning Proposal, Heritage Impact Statement.

¹⁹⁹ Archaeology and Heritage Pty Ltd (2003), *180-182 Cope Street, Waterloo Sydney: Archaeological Excavation Permit*.

²⁰⁰ Archaeological and Heritage Management Solutions (2015), *Central to Eveleigh Corridor: Aboriginal and Historical Heritage Review*.

²⁰¹ Artefact Heritage (2016), *Sydney Metro City and Southwest Chatswood to Sydenham: Historical Archaeological Assessment and Research Design*.

- Urbis (2018), *Waterloo Metro Quarter, Waterloo State Significant Precinct: Heritage Impact Statement*²⁰²
- Urbis (2020), *Waterloo Metro Quarter Over Station Development: Heritage Impact Statement*²⁰³
- AMBS Ecology and Heritage (2020), *Archaeological Method Statement for Waterloo Metro Quarter*²⁰⁴
- AMBS Ecology and Heritage (2021), *Waterloo Station Aboriginal and Historic Heritage Interpretation Plan*²⁰⁵
- AMBS Ecology and Heritage (2023), *Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Volume 1: The Main Report*²⁰⁶

The archaeological assessments prepared for 180-182 Cope Street and the Waterloo Metro Station are presented below due to their proximity and similar landform to the study area, and their comparable history and occupation to the study area, and as an indicator of the levels of archaeological preservation and potential that can be observed within the region.

Archaeology and Heritage Pty Ltd (2003), 180-182 Cope Street, Waterloo Sydney: Archaeological Excavation Permit²⁰⁷

Archaeology and Heritage Pty Ltd prepared this historical archaeological assessment to accompany an exception application for the site at 180-182 Cope Street, Waterloo to facilitate future development. During the preparation of this report, the site contained two extant storey terraces built in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The historical archaeological assessment assessed the following archaeological potential within the site:

- Low archaeological potential for historical resources as the terrace buildings from the second half of the nineteenth century are extant. The 1883 Water Board Plan show the terrace buildings and historical research and maps show the site to be vacant before prior to the extant development
- Potential archaeological resources associated with the terrace buildings were similar to much of the development in that area during the second half of the nineteenth century and therefore would not be considered rare. The report concluded that any potential archaeological resources associated with the terrace buildings would not be considered significant and no additional archaeological investigation would be required prior to future development.

²⁰² Urbis (2018), *Waterloo Metro Quarter, Waterloo State Significant Precinct: Heritage Impact Statement*.

²⁰³ Urbis (2020), *Waterloo Metro Quarter Over Station Development: Heritage Impact Statement*.

²⁰⁴ AMBS Ecology and Heritage (2020), *Archaeological Method Statement for Waterloo Metro Quarter*.

²⁰⁵ AMBS Ecology and Heritage (2021), *Waterloo Station Aboriginal and Historic Heritage Interpretation Plan*.

²⁰⁶ AMBS Ecology and Heritage (2023), *Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Volume 1: The Main Report*.

²⁰⁷ Archaeology and Heritage Pty Ltd (2003), *180-182 Cope Street, Waterloo Sydney: Archaeological Excavation Permit*.

Artefact Heritage (2016), *Sydney Metro City and Southwest Chatswood to Sydenham: Historical Archaeological Assessment and Research Design*²⁰⁸

Artefact Heritage prepared an HAA and Research Design for the Sydney Metro city and Southwest Chatswood to Sydenham project. The historical archaeological potential within ten sites, including Waterloo Metro Station, were assessed as part of the report.

The historical archaeological assessment for the Waterloo Metro Station assessed the following archaeological potential within the site:

- Potential for evidence of c.1880s residential, commercial, and light industrial development which may meet the threshold for significance at a Local level
- The report recommended archaeological management for the potential archaeological resource, including the preparation of an Archaeological Method Statement (AMS), archaeological monitoring, test excavation with provisions for a salvage excavation.

AMBS Ecology and Heritage (2023), *Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Volume 1: The Main Report*²⁰⁹

AMBS Ecology and Heritage (AMBS) completed an archaeological excavation of the Waterloo Metro Station site which is bounded by Botany Road, Raglan Street, Cope Street, and Wellington Street, and is located immediately to the west of the Waterloo Estate South study area. Excavations under the area previously characterised by early to mid-twentieth century industrial development, revealed a substantial historical archaeological resource including houses which were recorded on the 1880s and 1890s Sydney Water Plans (see Figure 36-Figure 39). A summary of significant archaeological finds from the excavation is outlined below:

- Excavation revealed that the majority of houses shown on the Sydney Water 1893 plan had been constructed from 1857 into the 1860s and 1870s
 - The terrace of four houses, Banbury Terrace, built by William Powell was brick on sandstone footings
 - Intact remains of houses were predominately semi-detached brick houses with few timber houses
 - Cesspits and wells were found in association with the houses
- Artefacts recovered from occupation deposits: underfloors, some cesspits, yard deposits and rubbish pits
- The excavation revealed that although Waterloo had been described as slum, the material evidence demonstrates that the population was a mix of working and middle class residents living in predominately brick semi-detached housing, with timber semi-detached houses and free standing brock, and timber houses.

The excavations also revealed that William Powell introduced a levelling fill across the site to prepare it for development in the 1850s. The excavation of the fill revealed:

²⁰⁸ Artefact Heritage (2016), *Sydney Metro City and Southwest Chatswood to Sydenham: Historical Archaeological Assessment and Research Design*.

²⁰⁹ AMBS Ecology and Heritage (2023), *Excavation Directors Report Sydney Metro, City and Southwest Waterloo Station, Volume 1: The Main Report*.

- Plough furrows and hoe marks supporting the presence of early market gardens. Cultivars included cauliflower and cabbage, cereal/wheat, honeydew melon, peas, peppergrass, vetch and possibly onion
- Postholes defining multiple houses, presumably to house the market gardeners
- The artefacts recovered indicate that the market gardeners were European and not Chinese.

The overall archaeological excavation also revealed a number of rare and unique finds including:

- Inverted stoneware bottles to form a floor
- Inverted glass as 'framing' to each side of a crushed sandstone path into a house
- Coin of Theodosius I, Emperor of the East A.D 347-395 in Constantinople.

Based on the results of the results of the archaeological excavations, the assessment of the Waterloo station archaeological site was reassessed from identifying the site as being Locally significant. The site was reassessed to have survived with good integrity to make a contribution to an understanding of the local area and the wider Sydney environment. On this basis, AMBS concluded that the Botany Street archaeological site met the threshold for significance at a State level.

5.2.3 Summary

Previous historical archaeological investigations have identified a high potential for archaeological resources to be present in areas subject to early development and occupation in Waterloo. As the Water Estate South study area has been developed and in active use since the early-nineteenth century for industrial, commercial and residential purposes – comparable to the historical development and use of the Waterloo Metro site – it is likely that archaeological works and 'relics' (as defined and protected under Heritage Act) that would reach the threshold for significance at a Local or potentially State level would be present within the study area.

5.3 Discussion of archaeological potential according to historical development phases

The European historical occupation of the study area has been divided into three phases of historical activity, as identified in Section 3.3 above. Table 8 presents a discussion of archaeological potential and land disturbance, arranged by historical phases of development.

Table 8: Land use summary

Phase	Discussion
	Historical activities
Phase 1 (1788–1820s)	
British invasion of <i>Warrane</i> (Sydney Cove) and dispossession of Gadigal Country	• Gadigal resistance against the British colonisers, the Sydney Wars, and dispossession of Aboriginal land • The spread of galgala (smallpox) among Sydney Aboriginal people.
	Potential archaeological resources

Phase	Discussion
	The resistance of Gadigal people against the British invaders has been well-documented in early Sydney. This report does not include an assessment of Aboriginal or contact archaeology.
Phase 2 (1820s–1850s)	Historical activities - William Hutchinson granted 1,400 acres of land on 27 May 1823. This land was named the 'Waterloo Estate' and comprised the western portion of the study area - John Thomas Campbell granted 185 acres of land on 30 June 1825. This land was named the 'Mount Lachlan Estate' and comprised the eastern portion of the study area - Daniel Cooper acquired the 'Waterloo Estate' and the 'Mount Lachlan Estate' which totalled around 1,585 acres of land. This land became known as the 'Cooper Estate' - The establishment of local industries in the Waterloo Swamps area, which had outlets into Shea's Creek, including tanneries, brickworks, wool washing and spinning, and grain grinding. The establishment and formalisation of Botany Road also opened up further access to the industry boom in this region. One such industrial establishment was Hinchcliff's Waterloo Mills Wool washing industry to the south of the study area. Labour for these industries was supplied by people living nearby in working class villages and small cottages - The initial establishment of market gardens and residential development. Potential archaeological resources - Evidence of land clearance and cultivation of land, trees throws - Evidence of initial land divisions including postholes associated with fencelines and vegetation clearance - Evidence of early market gardens including ephemeral plough furrows and hoe marks. Evidence of light weight undocumented timber structures associated with housing - Evidence of sandstock brick or sandstone block constructed cisterns, wells, privies and rubbish pits with artefactual assemblages including glassware - Archaeological resources associated with early industrial development would be outside of the study area Development associated with Phase 3-4 would have highly disturbed or completely removed potential archaeological resources from this phase.
Phase 3 (1850s–1960s)	Historical activities - The Waterloo Municipality was established in the 1860s - Major subdivisions in Waterloo, with Daniel Cooper leasing and selling portions of his land. Portions of land were leased or purchased by land and investment
Subdivision, leases, Chinese culture and the establishment of the Waterloo Municipality –	

Phase	Discussion
industry and the working class, cottages and terraces, hotels and schools, churches and slums, and the establishment of the Pressure Tunnel and Shafts	banking companies, and resold to working class families and individuals of Chinese and other ethnic backgrounds - Intensified residential, industrial and commercial development within the study area. Stables, terraces and cottages with outbuildings, and hotels were developed across Waterloo. The Waterloo Ragged School was established in 1886 and The Duke of Wellington Hotel was established in 1876 - Waterloo remained characterised as a working-class suburb into the early-twentieth century with industrial and commercial outlets, terrace housing, and cottage developments. Improvements in transport and sewage were made, and a number of local hotels were developed - Outbreak of the bubonic plague in Sydney in 1900 - In the 1920s, Waterloo and Alexandria had emerged as the epicentre of Chinese community life in Sydney - The establishment of the Pressure Tunnel and Shafts, and the Electricity Substation. Potential archaeological resources - Evidence of land clearance and cultivation of land, trees throws - Evidence of land divisions including postholes associated with fencelines and vegetation clearance. Evidence of garden beds - Evidence of market gardens including ephemeral plough furrows and hoe marks - Evidence of semi-detached and free-standing timber and brick buildings including retaining walls (brick or sandstone footings, associated deposits). Evidence of hearths and laundry copper with fire box. Evidence of Victorian-era including remains of sandstone footings - Brick and sandstone paving and evidence of former surfaces (stone, brick, or rubble pathway alignments and unsealed surfaces) and former road alignments - Evidence of drainage infrastructure and deep-cut sandstock brick or sandstone block constructed cisterns, wells, privies and rubbish pits - Evidence of industrial activity such as tools and industrial structural features such as timber beams. Tools may include spades, hammers, files, and saws - Evidence of horse related activity including horseshoes, bridle and harness - Artefactual assemblages from occupation deposits: underfloors, yard deposits, rubbish pits, and cesspits. Artefacts may include glass ware, ceramic ware, tableware, Chinese and European coins, and ink bottles.
Phase 4 (1960s–present)	Historical activities
The Waterloo Projects, gentrification, and the Waterloo Metro	The establishment of the Housing Commission in the mid-twentieth century to address the demand for affordable housing

Phase	Discussion
	- During the mid-twentieth century, the Housing Commission constructed three blocks of public housing on the land bordered by George, Raglan, and Cooper Streets - Public housing development intensified in the late-twentieth century, with large portions of land within the study area resumed and the existing development was demolished. Notable commercial developments replaced by social housing included the Australian Hotel along Wellington Street - Waterloo underwent a substantial process of gentrification in the 2000s - The Waterloo Projects remain extant and are used to house low income people and a large population of Aboriginal people - Waterloo Metro opened in 2024. Potential archaeological resources - Evidence of former masonry or structures including retaining walls (brick or stone footings, associated deposits) - Evidence of drainage infrastructure (brick or stone) - Most of the buildings associated with this phase are extant (not archaeological) During the clearance of existing infrastructure and the development of social housing, which involved excavation across the study area, the potential archaeological resource from Phases 2 and 3 may have been disturbed.

5.4 Summary of archaeological potential

Based on the review of the information obtained from historical sources, previous archaeological works in the surrounding area, and the current condition of the site, and considering the likely degree of limited disturbance, it is considered likely that significant archaeological ‘works’ and ‘relics’ (as defined and protected under the *NSW Heritage Act 1977*) exist within the study area. Historical plans and aerial imagery identified substantial industrial, commercial and residential development within the study area during Phase 3 (1850s–1960s). These historical plans and aerial imagery illustrate the potential for archaeological works including former road surfaces, building footings, agricultural land use, wells and cesspits to be present at depths below the ground surface. There is also potential for archaeological ‘relics’ associated with early European occupation of the area.

The assessment for potential historical archaeological resources within the study area is based on the following:

- The 1880s and 1890s City of Sydney Detail Sheets which show substantial development from the mid to late-nineteenth century within the study area (Figure 36-Figure 39)
- The ABMS archaeological excavation of Waterloo Metro Station which identified a significant archaeological resource in an area with a similar development occupation and development history to that of the study area (See Section 5.2.2)
- The physical inspection of the study area concluded that an area of historical archaeological potential was identified within Survey Unit 1, 2, 3, and 4. This is because the area was

characterised by a flat landform with a gentle slope and limited historical disturbance from underground services and the extant small-scale social housing buildings, meaning the potential archaeological resource may be relatively undisturbed (see Section 4.0). The landform in the east which included parts of Survey Unit 4 and the entire Survey Unit 5 assessed to have limited archaeological potential due to sloping landform and substantial extant social housing buildings which cut deep into ground surfaces. Areas in which basement levels were identified were also assessed to have limited archaeological potential.

Summary

Table 9 below provides a summary of the type of potential archaeological resources and their likelihood of survival relative to the phase of historical development they are associated with. The graphic representation of the site's archaeological potential is presented in Figure 97.

Table 9: Historical archaeological potential summary

Phase	Description of potential archaeological resources	Archaeological potential
Phase 1 (1788–1820s) British invasion of <i>Warrane</i> (Sydney Cove) and dispossession of Gadigal Country	The resistance of Gadigal people against the British invaders has been well-documented in early Sydney. This report does not include an assessment of Aboriginal or contact archaeology.	N/A
Phase 2 (1820s–1850s) Working class people in an industrial 'wasteland' and the Cooper Estate	Evidence of land clearance and cultivation of land, trees throws. Evidence of initial land divisions including postholes associated with fencelines and vegetation clearance. Evidence of early market gardens including ephemeral plough furrows and hoe marks. Evidence of light weight undocumented timber structures associated with housing. Evidence of sandstock brick or sandstone block constructed cisterns, wells, privies and rubbish pits with artefactual assemblages including glassware. Development associated with Phase 3 would have highly disturbed or completely removed potential archaeological resources from this phase.	Low
Phase 3 (1850s–1960s) Subdivision, leases, Chinese culture and the establishment of the Waterloo Municipality – industry and the working class, cottages and terraces, hotels and schools, churches and	Evidence of land clearance and cultivation of land, trees throws. Evidence of land divisions including postholes associated with fencelines and vegetation clearance. Evidence of garden beds. Evidence of market gardens including ephemeral plough furrows and hoe marks. Evidence of semi-detached and free standing timber and brick buildings including retaining walls (brick or sandstone footings, associated	High

Phase	Description of potential archaeological resources	Archaeological potential
slums, and the establishment of the Pressure Tunnel and Shafts	deposits). Evidence of hearths and laundry copper with fire box. Brick and sandstone paving and evidence of former surfaces (stone, brick, or rubble pathway alignments and unsealed surfaces) and former road alignments. Evidence of drainage infrastructure and deep-cut sandstock brick or sandstone block constructed cisterns, wells, privies and rubbish pits. Evidence of horse related activity including horse shoes, bridle and harness. Evidence of industrial activity such as tools and industrial structural features such as timber beams. Tools may include spades, hammers, files, and saws. Artefactual assemblages from occupation deposits: underfloors, yard deposits, rubbish pits, and cesspits. Artefacts may include glass ware, ceramic ware, tableware, Chinese and European coins, and ink bottles.	
Phase 4 (1960s–2000s) The Waterloo Projects, gentrification, and the Waterloo Metro	Evidence of former masonry or structures including retaining walls (brick or stone footings, associated deposits). Evidence of drainage infrastructure (brick or stone). Most of the development infrastructure associated with this phase is extant (not archaeological). During the clearance of existing infrastructure and the development of social housing, which involved excavation across the study area, the potential archaeological resource from Phases 2 and 3 may have been disturbed.	Nil-Low / Extant (not archaeological)



Figure 97: Archaeological potential within the study area

6.0 ASSESSMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

6.1 Basis for assessment

Heritage or 'cultural' significance is defined in the *'Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter)'* as: 'Aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present and future generations'.

Determining the cultural significance of a place or an item assists in identifying what characteristics of the place contribute to that significance. The assessed significance forms the basis for identification of appropriate management measures associated with any work that may impact heritage and archaeological items of significance.

Assessing heritage significance (NSW Heritage Office, as amended 2001) was developed as part of the *NSW Heritage Manual* to provide the basis for an assessment of heritage significance of an item or place. The seven heritage criteria are outlined in Table 10 below:

Table 10: Heritage criteria for assessing significance

Heritage criterion	Description
A—Historical Significance	An item is important in the course or pattern of the local area's cultural or natural history.
B—Associative Significance	An item has strong or special associations with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in the local area's cultural or natural history.
C—Aesthetic or Technical Significance	An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in the local area.
D—Social Significance	An item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in the local area for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.
E—Research potential	An item has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of the local area's cultural or natural history.
F—Rarity	An item possesses uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of the local area's cultural or natural history.
G—Representativeness	An item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW's cultural or natural places of cultural or natural environments (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

The specific nature of archaeological resource necessitates that they be assessed independently from aboveground and other heritage elements because of the challenges associated with the often unknown nature and extent of buried archaeological remains and judgment is usually formulated based on anticipated attributes. To facilitate assessment of archaeological significance, the NSW Heritage Branch (now Heritage NSW) arranged the seven heritage criteria into four groups:

- Archaeological research potential (NSW Criterion E)
- Association with individuals, events or groups of historical importance (Criteria A, B, & D)
- Aesthetic of technical significance (Criterion C)

- Ability to demonstrate the past through archaeological remains (Criteria A, C, F & G).

The following significance assessment of the study area's potential archaeological remains is guided by 'Assessing Significance for Historical Archaeological Sites and 'Relics'.²¹⁰ A summary of the criteria is included in Table 11.

Table 11: Overview of NSW Heritage Office archaeological significance criteria

Heritage Branch archaeological significance criteria	Meaning
Archaeological Research Potential (NSW Heritage Criterion E)	Archaeological research potential is the ability of the archaeological evidence, through analysis and interpretation, to provide information about a site that could not be derived from any other source, written or otherwise, and which contributes to the archaeological significance of the site and its 'relics'.
Association with individuals or groups of historical importance (NSW Heritage Criteria A, B, and D)	The integrity of a site, the state of preservation of archaeological material and deposits will also be relevant. Archaeological remains may have particular associations with individuals, groups and events which may transform mundane places or objects into significant items through the association with important historical occurrences.
Aesthetic or technical significance (NSW Heritage Criterion C)	Whilst the technical value of archaeology is usually considered as 'research potential' aesthetic values are not usually considered to be relevant to archaeological sites. This is often because until a site has been excavated, its actual features and attributes may remain unknown. It is also because aesthetic is often interpreted to mean attractive, as opposed to the broader sense is sensory perception or 'feeling' as expressed in the <i>Burra Charter</i> . Nevertheless, archaeological excavations which reveal highly intact and legible remains in the form of aesthetically attractive artefacts, aged and worn fabric and remnant structures, may allow both professionals and the community to connect with the past through tangible physical evidence.
Ability to demonstrate the past through archaeological remains (NSW Heritage Criteria A, C, F, and G)	Archaeological remains have an ability to demonstrate how a site was used, what processes occurred, how work was undertaken and the scale of an industrial practice or other historic occupation. They can demonstrate the principal characteristics of a place or process that may be rare or common. A site may best demonstrate these aspects at the time of excavation. It may also be possible to explain the nature of the site and demonstrate past practices via public interpretation with before, during, or after excavation.

²¹⁰ Heritage Branch, Department of Planning 2009. Assessing significance for Historical Archaeological sites and 'Relics'.

6.2 NSW Heritage criteria for assessing significance related to archaeological sites and relics

6.2.1 Archaeological research potential (NSW Criterion E)

Phase 2 (1820s–1850s)

Potential archaeological resources associated with the early phases of occupation in Waterloo during the early-nineteenth century – including evidence of land clearance and land division, evidence of early market gardens including ephemeral plough furrows and hoe marks, and evidence of sandstone sandstock brick or sandstone block constructed cisterns (associated deposits) – would have research potential for their ability to yield information on the presence of early farming and agricultural activities in the area. They would also provide information on the initial phases of urban development and life on the outskirts of the early Sydney settlement. They would have the ability to contribute information about the local conditions of the area, as they would be some of the earliest evidence of market gardening in the Waterloo/Redfern area.

If readable archaeological resources associated with Phase 2 early market gardens and phases of occupation in Waterloo are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level under this criterion. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level under this criterion, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item. The degree of significance will further depend on its ability to meaningfully expand current understandings of the early occupation and development of Waterloo—and of wider Sydney—beyond what is currently available through documented archaeological and historical resources.

Phase 3 (1850s–1960s)

Potential archaeological resources associated with the development and occupation in Waterloo during the mid to late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century – including evidence of land clearance and land division, evidence of market gardens, evidence of residential, commercial, and industrial development including brick or sandstone footings, cisterns and well, artefactual deposits – would have research potential for their ability to yield information on construction methods and material (potential timber and brick houses), as well as the original layout of buildings and living and working spaces. They would also have the ability to contribute information about the local conditions of the area, and insights into housing on the outskirts of the early Sydney settlement. Artefact assemblages may be able to provide insights into the daily activities of the residents, the cultural heritage of the residents, and the so-called ‘class’ of residents present in this area.

If substantially intact and *in situ* archaeological resources associated with Phase 3 early occupation and development in Waterloo are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level under this criterion. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level under this criterion, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item. The degree of significance will further depend on its ability to meaningfully expand current understandings of the early occupation and development of Waterloo—and of wider Sydney—beyond what is currently available through documented archaeological and historical resources.

6.2.2 Association with individuals, events or groups of historical importance (Criteria A, B & D)

Phase 2 (1820s–1850s)

Potential archaeological resources associated with the early phases of occupation in Waterloo during the early-nineteenth century – including evidence of land clearance and land division, evidence of early market gardens including ephemeral plough furrows and hoe marks, and evidence of sandstone sandstock brick or sandstone block constructed cisterns (associated deposits) – would have historical significance for their ability to provide information relating to the original structural layout and expansion of the early phases of Waterloo, and early occupation on the outskirts of the early Sydney settlement where market gardeners cultivated cauliflower and cabbage, among other things. Physical evidence of the market gardens from the early-nineteenth century would also provide tangible evidence of the early working community.

Potential archaeological resources associated with these early activities would also have social significance amongst members of the surrounding community, as well as individuals or associations/organisations interested in the early colonial history of the Waterloo region and its relationship to the early Sydney settlement, and people interested in the development of market gardens. They would also have social significance for their association with William Hutchinson, John Thomas Campbell, and Daniel Cooper who along with other known colonial families contributed to the early development of this area.

If readable archaeological resources associated with Phase 2 early market gardens and phases of occupation in Waterloo are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level under this criterion. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level under this criterion, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item. The degree of significance will further depend on its ability to meaningfully expand current understandings of the early occupation and development of Waterloo—and of wider Sydney—beyond what is currently available through documented archaeological and historical resources.

Phase 3 (1850s–1960s)

Potential archaeological resources associated with the development and occupation in Waterloo during the mid to late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century – including evidence of land clearance and land division, evidence of market gardens, evidence of residential, commercial, and industrial development including brick or sandstone footings, cisterns and well, artefactual deposits – would have historical significance for their ability to provide information relating to the original structural layout and expansion of the early phases of Waterloo, and occupation on the outskirts of the early Sydney settlement in a time during which the population boomed to industrial, commercial and residential development in the area. Artefact assemblages or isolated finds may also provide tangible evidence of the historical ‘class’ distinction in the area and evidence of the early residents.

Potential archaeological resources associated with these early activities would also have social significance amongst members of the surrounding community, as well as individuals or associations/organisations interested in the early colonial history of the Waterloo region and its relationship to the early Sydney settlement, and people interested in the development of Waterloo in the mid to late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. They would also have social significance for their association with William Powell and Daniel Cooper who provided a number of leases and sold land in this area that was subject to early development.

If substantially intact and *in situ* archaeological resources associated with Phase 3 early occupation and development in Waterloo are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level under this criteria. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level under this criterion, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item. The degree of significance will further depend on its ability to meaningfully expand current understandings of the early occupation and development of

Waterloo—and of wider Sydney—beyond what is currently available through documented archaeological and historical resources.

6.2.3 Aesthetic of technical significance (Criterion C)

Phase 2 (1820s–1850s)

Potential archaeological resources associated with the early phases of occupation in Waterloo during the early-nineteenth century – including evidence of land clearance and land division, evidence of early market gardens including ephemeral plough furrows and hoe marks, and evidence of sandstone sandstock brick or sandstone block constructed cisterns (associated deposits) – may have technical significance as evidence of the early techniques used for structural and market garden development in the area. However, previous archaeological excavations by AMBS has already revealed archaeological resources associated with early market gardens, and so any new finds are unlikely to demonstrate new techniques or have aesthetic value.

Although it is recognised that exposed in situ archaeological resources may have distinctive/attractive visual qualities, only rarely are these considered ‘important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW.

Archaeological resources associated with Phase 2 early structural and market garden development in this region are unlikely to reach the threshold for significance at a Local or State level under this criterion.

Phase 3 (1850s–1960s)

Potential archaeological resources associated with the development and occupation in Waterloo during the mid to late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century – including evidence of land clearance and land division, evidence of market gardens, evidence of residential, commercial, and industrial development including brick or sandstone footings, cisterns and well, artefactual deposits – may have technical significance as evidence of the early techniques used for residential and industrial development in the area. However, previous archaeological excavations by AMBS has already revealed archaeological resources associated with this phase of development, and so any new finds are unlikely to demonstrate new techniques or have aesthetic value.

Although it is recognised that exposed in situ archaeological resources may have distinctive/attractive visual qualities, only rarely are these considered ‘important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW.

Archaeological resources associated with Phase 3 early occupation and development in the region are unlikely to reach the threshold for significance at a Local level under this criterion.

6.2.4 Ability to demonstrate the past through archaeological remains (Criteria A, C, F & G)

Phase 2 (1820s–1850s)

Potential archaeological resources associated with the early phases of occupation in Waterloo during the early-nineteenth century – including evidence of land clearance and land division, evidence of early market gardens including ephemeral plough furrows and hoe marks, and evidence of sandstone sandstock brick or sandstone block constructed cisterns (associated deposits) – would represent physical evidence of the original market garden and structural layout of Waterloo. Potential archaeological resources may also be able to shed light on the size and scale of the early occupation, and the relationship between living, residential, and working spaces. They would also be able to

contribute information on the location and layout of some of the earliest recorded market garden in Waterloo.

If readable archaeological resources associated with Phase 2 early market gardens and phases of occupation in Waterloo are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level under this criterion. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level under this criterion, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item. The degree of significance will further depend on its ability to meaningfully expand current understandings of the early occupation and development of Waterloo—and of wider Sydney—beyond what is currently available through documented archaeological and historical resources.

Phase 3 (1850s–1960s)

Potential archaeological resources associated with the development and occupation in Waterloo during the mid to late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century – including evidence of land clearance and land division, evidence of market gardens, evidence of residential, commercial, and industrial development including brick or sandstone footings, cisterns and well, artefactual deposits – would represent physical evidence of the early structural layout of Waterloo. Potential archaeological resources may also be able to shed further light on the size and scale of the late-nineteenth century occupation as shown on the 1880s/90s historical plans (Figure 36-Figure 39), and the relationship between living, residential, and working spaces.

If substantially intact and *in situ* archaeological resources associated with Phase 3 early occupation and development in Waterloo are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level under this criteria. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level under this criterion, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item. The degree of significance will further depend on its ability to meaningfully expand current understandings of the early occupation and development of Waterloo—and of wider Sydney—beyond what is currently available through documented archaeological and historical resources.

6.3 Existing statements of significance

The study area is located within the curtilage of four heritage items listed under Schedule 5 of the Sydney LEP 2012, as outlined below:

- Duke of Wellington Hotel including Interior (LEP no. I2085) (Local)
- Former Waterloo Pre-School (225 Cope Street) including interior (I2077) (Local)
- 2-storey Victorian terrace houses (circa 1880) (LEP no. I2078) (Local)
- Single-storey interwar building, Electricity Substation No 174 (LEP no. I2086; s170 no. 3430543) (Local).

The study area is also within the curtilage of the 'Pressure Tunnel and Shafts' state significant heritage item, which is listed under the SHR, the Sydney Water s170 Heritage and Conservation Register, and the RNE.

- Pressure Tunnel and Shafts (SHR no. 01630; s170 no. 4570942; RNE Place ID. 19884) (State).

The Statement of Significance for the heritage listed items has been extracted, in full, below due to their direct relevance to the study area.

6.3.1 Duke of Wellington Hotel including Interior (LEP no. I2085) (Local)

Statement of Significance

The State Heritage Inventory (SHI) includes the following Statement of Significance for the Duke of Wellington Hotel:²¹¹

The Duke of Wellington Hotel has local historic, aesthetic and social significance. It is a good representative example of an Inter-war Free Classical style hotel in a prominent corner location. There has been a hotel of the same name and the site since 1876 and the hotel has had close associations with the development of the Waterloo area. It is held in high esteem as a social and recreational venue for nearby workers and residents.

6.3.2 Former Waterloo Pre-School (225 Cope Street) including interior (I2077) (Local)

Statement of Significance

The SHI includes the following Statement of Significance for the Former Waterloo Pre-School:²¹²

The Waterloo Congregational Chapel - Waterloo Ragged School - Sydney City Mission Waterloo Kindergarten building has clear historic, social and aesthetic significance. The building is of historical and social significance as it provided moral support and education for the underprivileged local residents, particularly the children of the poor, during a period when Waterloo was one of the most disadvantaged areas of Sydney. The original architectural simplicity and lack of architectural detail or pretension of the building are a clear reflection of the original use of the building and the social conditions in which it was built and operated. The building is historically significant as a relatively early religious building in the Waterloo area, as a Congregational Chapel built in 1870, and as an early religious school for the area (operating as a Congregational School by 1880); important for historical association with the Congregational Church, the Sydney Ragged School movement and the Sydney City Mission; socially significant as an early religious establishment and school for the area, and due to its operation as a "Sydney Ragged School" from 1887 to provide education for the children of the poor, and then subsequently (from 1928 till 1997) as a kindergarten run by the Sydney City Mission. The building has aesthetic significance as a simple gabled brick Victorian building, simple in its detail indicating its non-conformist religious and utilitarian function.

6.3.3 2-storey Victorian terrace houses (circa 1880) (LEP no. I2078) (Local)

Statement of Significance

²¹¹ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Duke of Wellington Hotel including Interior.

²¹² NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Former Waterloo.

The SHI includes the following Statement of Significance for the 2-storey Victorian terrace houses:²¹³

An intact terrace pair representing Victorian land subdivision and residential development c1880. A good example of terrace housing in Waterloo area. The pair may also have associations with the former Waterloo School at 225 Cope St which dates from c1850.

6.3.4 Single-storey interwar building, Electricity Substation No 174 (LEP no. I2086; s170 no. 3430543) (Local)

Statement of Significance

The SHI includes the following Statement of Significance for the Electricity Substation:²¹⁴

The substation is representative of the utility development within the industrial area to serve increasing consumption of electricity by manufacturing. It is a good example of many substations established in the south Sydney industrial estates.

6.3.5 Pressure Tunnel and Shafts (SHR no. 01630; s170 no. 4570942; RNE Place ID. 19884)

Statement of Significance

The SHI includes the following Statement of Significance for the Pressure Tunnel and shafts:²¹⁵

The Pressure Tunnel is of high historical and technical significance as it represents a successful engineering response to the difficulties of increasing the volume of water from the Potts Hill Reservoir to the Pumping Station at Waterloo, a historically critical link in the water supply of Sydney. It is the third largest pressure tunnel in the world, representing a significant achievement in the provision of a dependable water supply by the Government and Water Board during the inter-war period.

6.4 Summary statement of archaeological significance

Phase 1 (1788–1820s)

This report does not include an assessment of Aboriginal or contact archaeology.

Phase 2 (1820s–1850s)

The study area has been assessed as having Low potential to contain archaeological resources from Phase 2, spanning 1820s–1850s. This phase of occupation is associated with early European occupation and market garden activities in Waterloo.

²¹³ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Terrace Houses.

²¹⁴ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Electricity Substation No. 174.

²¹⁵ NSW Government, State Heritage Inventory, Pressure Tunnel and Shafts.

If substantially intact and *in situ* archaeological resources associated early market gardens and phases of occupation in Waterloo are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level under this criterion. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level under this criterion, depending on the degree of intactness and the nature of the item.

Phase 3 (1850s–1960s)

The study area has been assessed as having high potential to contain archaeological resources from Phase 3, spanning 1850s–1960s). This phase of occupation is associated with residential, commercial, and industrial expansion in Waterloo.

If substantially intact and *in situ* archaeological resources associated early market gardens and phases of occupation in Waterloo are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level under this criterion.

Phase 4 (1960s–2000s)

The later Phase 4 is mostly represented by extant (not archaeological) development which **does not** meet the threshold for archaeological significance.

6.5 Summary of historical archaeological potential and significance

This HAA has identified that there are potential significant archaeological resources within the study area and areas subject to development impact. These potential archaeological resources have been identified as ‘works’ and ‘relics’ as defined and protected under the Heritage Act. Potential significant archaeological ‘works’ do not typically trigger a requirement to obtain an excavation permit under the Heritage Act but do require archaeological management undertaken in accordance with an Archaeological Research Design and Excavation Methodology (ARDEM). ‘Relics’ typically trigger a requirement to obtain an excavation permit or exception under Section 140 of the Heritage Act (see Section 2.2.1).

The summary for archaeological potential and significance is outlined in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Summary of historical archaeological potential and significance

Phase	Archaeological Potential	Archaeological Significance
Phase 1 (1788–1820s)		
British invasion of <i>Warrane</i> (Sydney Cove) and dispossession of Gadigal Country	N/A	N/A
Phase 2 (1820s–1850s)		
Working class people in an industrial ‘wasteland’ and the Cooper Estate	Low	Local or State (if found substantially intact and <i>in situ</i>)
Phase 3 (1850s–1960s)		
Subdivision, leases, Chinese culture and the establishment of the Waterloo Municipality – industry and the working class, cottages and terraces, hotels and schools, churches and	High	Local or State (if found substantially intact and <i>in situ</i>)

slums, and the establishment of the Pressure Tunnel and Shafts

Phase 4 (1960s–2000s)

The Waterloo Projects, gentrification, and the Waterloo Metro

Nil-Low / Extant (not archaeological)

No significance

7.0 ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENT IMPACT

7.1 Methodology

This section assesses the heritage impact of the proposed works on the potential archaeological resource within the study area. This report has been prepared using the Statement of Heritage Impact 2023,²¹⁶ prepared by the NSW Heritage Office, contained within the NSW Heritage Manual, as a guideline.

7.1.1 Grading of impacts

Specific terminology and definitions are used in this assessment to consistently identify the magnitude of the project's impact on heritage. Terminology and definitions are based on those contained in guidelines prepared by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and are outlined in Table 13 below:

Table 13: Terminology for assessing the magnitude of heritage impact

Magnitude	Definition
Major	Actions that would have a long-term and substantial impact on the significance of a heritage item. Actions that would remove key historic building elements, key historic landscape features, or significant archaeological materials, thereby resulting in a change of historic character, or altering of a historical resource. These actions cannot be fully mitigated.
Moderate	This would include actions involving the modification of a heritage, including altering the setting of a heritage item or landscape, partially removing archaeological resources, or the alteration of significant elements of fabric from historic structures. The impacts arising from such actions may be able to be partially mitigated.
Minor	Actions that would results in the slight alteration of heritage buildings, archaeological resources, or the setting of an historical item. The impacts arising from such actions can usually be mitigated.
Negligible	Actions that would result in very minor changes to heritage items.
Neutral	Actions that would have no heritage impact.

7.2 Description of likely impacts

7.2.1 Project vision and intended outcomes

The vision for the site is to create a unique and vibrant mixed-tenure housing precinct that supports the needs of the community and delivers much needed housing in response to National and State

²¹⁶ NSW Heritage Office, Department of Planning and Environment 2023, Guidelines for preparing a statement of heritage impact.

Government priorities. Through consultation with Homes NSW, the concept plan aims to deliver a project that:

- High quality mixed tenure housing in context of a rapidly transforming area
- Approximately 3,300 new dwellings, of which a minimum 30% will be social housing, approximately 20% will be affordable housing, and a maximum of 50% will be market housing (measured as a percentage of the total residential gross floor area)
- Publicly accessible open space and public realm activation
- An authentic mixed-use precinct, with housing co-located with non-residential uses, community uses, essential services and access to public transport.

The proposed redevelopment seeks to create a unique and vibrant destination that can deliver significant social benefits to residents, visitors, and workers in the Waterloo area and broader City of Sydney LGA. The co-location of community uses with housing and employment uses will ensure the redevelopment is an integrated, accessible and connected precinct that supports the social needs of community.

7.2.2 Proposed Concept SSDA

The concept SSDA seeks concept approval in accordance with section 4.22 of the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979* (EP&A Act) for the comprehensive redevelopment of the Waterloo South site. The concept proposal, if approved, will guide the detailed design of future buildings, public open spaces, and the public realm within Waterloo South. It will seek concept development consent for key planning metrics for the precinct as generally described in Table 14 (indicative figures) (see Figure 98-Figure 100).

Table 14: Key development metrics

Descriptor	Project Details
Project Area	• Waterloo South has a developable site area of 114,822sqm / 11.5ha • The Waterloo South Precinct Area, including all LAHC owned and privately owned properties and roads within the precinct, has a site area of 123,149sqm / 12.3ha.
Project Description	• Maximum building envelopes, including maximum building heights, street-wall heights and setbacks • Distribution of gross floor area across the Waterloo South development blocks • Indicative allocation of floor space between social housing, affordable housing, community uses, and other non-residential uses across the Waterloo South Precinct Area • Loading, vehicular, pedestrian, and active transport access arrangements • Public domain upgrades and new public domain and publicly accessible areas • Indicative subdivision plan, staging plan and delivery sequencing for development • Approval of the following management plans and strategies to inform future stages of the development: ▪ Updated Design Excellence Strategy ▪ Preliminary Public Art Strategy ▪ Contamination Strategy ▪ Flood Management Strategy

	▪ Stormwater Management and Drainage Strategy ▪ ESD Strategy ▪ Strategies for utilities and service provision including service infrastructure lead-in enabling works ▪ Tree Retention Strategy.
Land Uses	• Social housing: no less than 30% of residential GFA • Affordable housing: ~20% of residential GFA (balance between the delivery of minimum 30% social housing, and the maximum 50% market housing) • Market housing: no greater than 50% of residential GFA • Community facilities: 5,000sqm • Non-residential floor space: 10,000sqm.
Gross Floor Area	Up to 282,485 m ² .
Building Heights	Between 2 and 33 storeys.
Car Parking	Approximately 1,500 spaces (across all land uses), excluding on-street car parking spaces.
Staging/ Phasing	The indicative staging of the redevelopment is outlined in the concept SSDA. It is expected that the redevelopment will occur in seven (7) stages (inclusive of the delivery of the large park on Block 1).



Figure 98: Aerial render showing the proposed future development



Figure 99: Location of concept proposal basement extents



Figure 100: Location of concept proposal built development

7.3 Historical archaeological impact assessment

The development proposal would result in a substantial impact to ground surfaces throughout the study area. The study area has been assessed as having areas of Low and High potential to contain archaeological resources associated with Phases 2-3, spanning 1920s–1960s. Such archaeological resources may reach threshold for Local or State significance, depending on the intactness or nature of the item. It is expected that the development proposal would have Major impacts if significant archaeological resources are identified.

Archaeological impact: Major impacts if significant archaeological resources are identified.

7.4 Assessment of project against management policies

Section 3 (General Provisions), Section 3.9.3 (Archaeological Assessments) of the Sydney DCP 2012 outlines the archaeological assessment policies relating to development proposals. The development proposal has been assessed against the relevant Sydney DCP 2012 policies in Table 15.

Table 15: Assessment of the development proposal against the archaeological assessment policies of the Sydney DCP 2012

Polices	Response
Archaeological assessment	
1. An archaeological assessment is to be prepared by a suitably qualified archaeologist in accordance with the guidelines prepared by the NSW Office and Environment and Heritage.	This HAA meets this condition.
2. For development proposals in Central Sydney, refer to the Central Sydney Archaeological Zoning Plan to determine whether the development site has archaeological potential.	The concept proposal is outside the boundaries assessed as part of the Central Sydney Archaeological Zoning Plan.
3. An archaeological assessment is to be submitted as part of the Statement of Environmental Effects for development applications affecting an archaeological site or a place of Aboriginal heritage significance, or potential archaeological site that is likely to have heritage significance.	This HAA meets the requirements of an archaeological assessment as outlined in Policy 4 below. The HAA would be used to inform the EIS for the concept proposal.
4. An archaeological assessment is to include: (a) an assessment of the archaeological potential of the archaeological site or place of Aboriginal heritage significance; (b) the heritage significance of the archaeological site or place of Aboriginal heritage significance; (c) the probable impact of the proposed development on the heritage significance of the archaeological site or place of Aboriginal heritage significance; (d) the compatibility of the development with conservation policies contained within an applicable conservation management plan or conservation management strategy; and	This HAA meets this condition. This HAA included an assessment of the archaeological potential within the study area, the potential significance of the archaeological resource, and the potential archaeological impact due to the proposed development. No applicable Conservation Management Plan with conservation policies was identified for this study area.

Policies	Response
(e) a management strategy to conserve the heritage significance of the archaeological site or place of Aboriginal heritage significance.	
5. If there is any likelihood that the development will have an impact on significant archaeological relics, development is to ensure that the impact is managed according to the assessed level of significance of those relics.	This HAA has concluded that the development proposal would result in Major impacts if Locally or State significant archaeological resources are identified. Based on this finding, this HAA recommended that archaeological management would need to be undertaken in accordance with an Archaeological Research Design and Excavation Methodology (ARDEM). A separate ARDEM should be prepared for each future stage of the development proposal to assess the impacts of the detailed design on the potential archaeological resource. Any archaeological management would be managed by a suitably qualified Excavation Director.

8.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Approval pathway

The concept proposal has been declared SSD (SSD-93222706) under the EP&A Act. The SEARs issued on 8 October 2025 outline that a HAA would be required to inform the EIS for the concept proposal. This report meets the Archaeological requirement for Item 19 of the project SEARs:²¹⁷

Table 16: Item 19 of the project SEARs

SEAR	Supporting Documentation	Response
19. Environmental Heritage Provide a Statement of Heritage Impact and Archaeological Assessment (where required), in accordance with the relevant guidelines.	- Statement of Heritage Impact - Archaeological Assessment	This report meets the Archaeological Assessment requirement for Item 19 of the SEARs.

This HAA is submitted to the Department of Planning, Housing and Infrastructure on behalf of Stockland and NSW Land and Housing Corporation (the Applicant) in support of the SSDA for the redevelopment of the study area.

8.2 Summary of findings

This HAA has made the following conclusions:

- The study area is located within four heritage items listed under Schedule 5 of the Sydney LEP 2012 and the Ausgrid s170 Heritage and Conservation Register:
 - Duke of Wellington Hotel including interior (SLEP no. I2085) (Local)
 - Former Waterloo Pre-School (225 Cope Street) including interior (SLEP no. I2077) (Local)
 - 2 storey Victorian terrace houses (circa 1880) (SLEP no. I2078) (Local)
 - Single-storey interwar building, Electricity Substation No 174 (SLEP no. I2086 and s170 no. 3430543) (Local)
- The study area is located within one heritage item listed under the SHR, Sydney Water s170 Heritage and Conservation Register, and the RNE:
 - Pressure Tunnel and Shafts (SHR no. 01630, s170 no. 4570942, RNE ID: 19884) (State)
- The archaeological potential of the study area is presented in terms of the likelihood of the presence of archaeological resources, considering the land use history and previous impacts at the study area, and the results of previous relevant archaeological investigations. The study area has been assessed as having the following archaeological potential, arranged by historical phases of occupation and development:

²¹⁷ NSW Government, Planning Secretary's Environmental Assessment Requirements, Application number: SSD-93222706.

- Phase 1 (1788–1820s): This report does not include an assessment of Aboriginal or contact archaeology
- Phase 2 (1820s–1850s): There is Low potential for archaeological resources ('works' and 'relics') associated with early occupation and market gardens activities during this phase
- Phase 3 (1850s–1960s): There is High potential for archaeological resources ('works' and 'relics') associated with late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century commercial, industrial and residential development and occupation during this phase
- Phase 4 (1960s–present): There is Nil-Low potential for archaeological resources associated with late-twentieth century residential development. Most of the buildings from this phase are extant (not archaeological)
- The significance of the potential archaeological resource within the study area is guided by 'Assessing Significance for Historical Archaeological Sites and 'Relics''.²¹⁸ The potential archaeological resource within the study area has been assessed as having the following archaeological significance, arranged by historical phases of occupation and development:
 - Phase 2 (1820s–1850s): If considerably intact and *in situ* archaeological resources associated with Phase 2 are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item
 - Phase 3 (1850s–1960s): If considerably intact and *in situ* archaeological resources associated with Phase 3 (1850s–1960s) are identified, then the archaeological resource would reach the threshold for significance at a Local level. The archaeological resource may also reach the threshold for significance at a State level, depending on the degree of intactness, readability, and the nature of the item
 - For potential Phase 2 (1820s–1850s) and Phase 3 (1850s–1960s) archaeological resources, the degree of significance would further depend on its ability to meaningfully expand current understandings of the early occupation and development of Waterloo—and of wider Sydney—beyond what is currently available through documented archaeological and historical resources
- Due to the assessed High level of potential for archaeological 'works' and 'relics' to be present in the study area, it is assessed that the development proposal has the potential to result in Major impacts to significant archaeological resources of Local and State significance.

²¹⁸ Heritage Branch, Department of Planning 2009. Assessing significance for Historical Archaeological sites and 'Relics'.

8.3 Recommendations and mitigation measures

Based on the development proposal and the findings of this HAA, it is recommended that the following mitigation measures are implemented prior to and during the development proposal which requires bulk excavation works.

Table 17: Recommended mitigation measures for the project

Heritage Management Ref.	Mitigation Measure	Description
Historical Archaeology		
NAH1	Impact reduction through design, Archaeological Impact Assessment	- During the finalisation of the design, it is recommended that proposed bulk excavation within areas assessed as having High potential for significant archaeological resources be limited where possible to avoid major impact - Should detailed design outline impact to areas outside the scope of this assessment, additional assessment in the form of a revised Archaeological Impact Assessment may be required - Detailed design should seek to minimise or mitigate physical impacts to heritage items. Basement, footings and services designs should seek to avoid intersection with the Pressure Tunnel and Shafts (SHR no. 01630).
NAH2	Archaeological Research Design and Excavation Methodology	The development proposal as part of future stages of the project has the potential to impact on Local and State significant archaeological resources. It is recommended that archaeological management be undertaken in areas that are proposed to be disturbed or destroyed by actual development in future stages of the project. The recommended archaeological management includes: - Bulk excavation works for the development proposal are unavoidable and required in areas identified as having archaeological potential. For this reason, archaeological management is required prior to project works to determine the extent of preservation and refine project construction methodologies. Depended on impacts, management of potential archaeological resources may take the form of archaeological monitoring, test excavation, salvage excavation or other forms of archival recording - Archaeological management would need to be undertaken in accordance with an Archaeological Research Design and Excavation Methodology (ARDEM). A separate ARDEM should be prepared for each future stage of the development proposal to assess the impacts of the detailed design on the potential archaeological resource, and recommend appropriate archaeological management methodologies. Any archaeological management would be managed by a suitably qualified Excavation Director - The ARDEM for each stage of the project would be prepared prior to the commencement of the construction phase to outline the required archaeological management within the construction boundaries. The ARDEM would confirm the areas requiring archaeological management (based on detailed design for each stage of the

Heritage Management Ref.	Mitigation Measure	Description
		project), outline the archaeological methodology to be implemented during archaeological investigations, and outline research questions that the archaeological investigations would aim to answer The outcomes of the archaeological management would be documented and if required, further assessment would be undertaken based on the outcomes of the archaeological management to determine the implications (if any) on the development proposal.
NAH3	Heritage interpretation	- The final project design should incorporate appropriate heritage interpretation in accordance with the NSW Heritage Manual, the NSW Heritage Office's Interpretating Heritage Places and Items: Guidelines (August 2005), the NSW Heritage Council's Heritage Interpretation Policy - The heritage interpretation should consider the results of the archaeological management undertaken as part of the project. Where appropriate, opportunities should be considered for visually or virtually representing archaeological resources and incorporating them into the project design.
General		
NAH4	Heritage Induction	A heritage induction must be prepared for the project. - All staff involved in the proposed works, including design professionals and tradespeople, must receive a heritage induction prior to the commencement of works. The heritage induction should cover the historical values of the site and the potential for the project to encounter significant archaeological resources - The induction should make contractors aware of the recommendations and mitigation methods included in this report, including the procedure to follow in the event that an unexpected archaeological find is encountered. Clear lines of communication must be established for the reporting of any such finds and for procedures to be rapidly implemented.
NAH5	Consultation	A copy of this report should be provided to the City of Sydney Council and Heritage NSW to inform them of the development proposal and the impacts to the potential archaeological resource within the study area.

9.0 REFERENCES

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