# 13-23 Gibbons Street, Redfern

### Heritage Interpretation Strategy

Report to Allen Jack + Cottier

14 December 2018



### C artefact

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#### **Document history and status**

Revision	Date issued	Reviewed by	Date Reviewed	Approved by	Date approved	Revision type
1	10 December 2018	Alyce Haast, Artefact; Aliza Teo, AJ+C	13 December 2018	Aliza Teo, AJ+C	13 December 2018	Draft
2	14 December 2018					Final

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Last saved:	14 December 2018
File name:	13-23 Gibbons St Redfern_ Heritage Interpretation Strategy
Author:	Carolyn MacLulich
Project manager:	Alyce Haast
Name of organisation:	Artefact Heritage
Name of project:	13-23 Gibbons St Redfern_ Heritage Interpretation Strategy
Project number	18220
Name of document:	18220 13-23 Gibbons St Redfern_ Heritage Interpretation Strategy
Document version:	Final

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

The Trust Company (Australia) Limited ATF WH Gibbons Trust are preparing an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the proposed redevelopment of 13-23 Gibbons Street, Redfern (the proposal). The proposal has been identified as a State Significant Development under Schedule 2 of the *State Environmental Planning Policy (State and Regional Development)* 2011 (SRD SEPP). The proposal would be assessed under the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act* 1979.

### 1.2 Proposal

The proposal would involve the demolition of existing structures on the site and associated work, and the construction of an 18-storey building comprising non-residential uses (retail/ offices/common areas) at ground floor and residential units above for use as student housing. The existing basement structure will largely be retained with additional excavation within the central portion of the basement.

Under Schedule 2 of the *State Environmental Planning Policy (State and Regional Development)* 2011 (SRD SEPP), the proposal is classified as SSD. Approval from the Minister for Planning is required and will be based on the assessment of an EIS for the proposal. As such the Director-General of the (NSW) Department of Planning and Environment (DP&E) has prepared SEARs which need to be addressed in the EIS. The SEARs relating to heritage interpretation is

Heritage and Archaeology, Point 9 (3): The EIS must include...

an interpretation strategy that includes the provision of interpretation of any archaeological resources uncovered during the works.

Allen Jack + Cottier, on behalf of Trust Company (Australia) Limited ATF WH Gibbons Trust (The Trust), have engaged Artefact Heritage to prepare a Heritage Interpretation Strategy (HIS) to accompany the EIS.

#### 1.3 Site location

The site location for the proposal is 13-23 Gibbons Street, Redfern (Strata No. 60485) (Figure 1). The site is located within the City of Sydney Local Government Area (LGA). The site is bound by Gibbons Street to the west, Margaret Street to the south, private property to the north and a petrol station to the east. The site is currently used as a four to five-storey residential apartment block which includes existing basement facilities across nearly the entirety of the site.

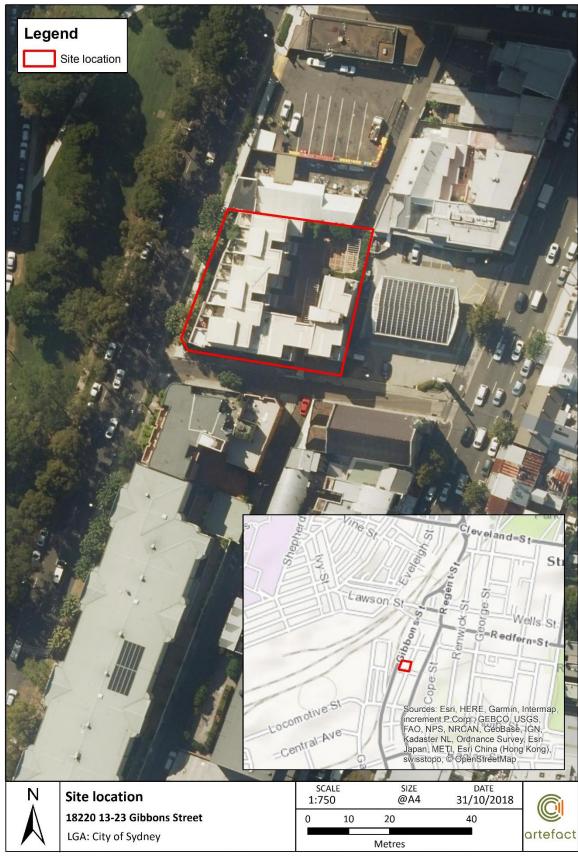


Figure 1: Location of the 13-23 Gibbons St, Redfern, site, 2018 (Source: Artefact Heritage)

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### 1.4 Scope of the Report

A HIS is a tool that provides a strategy for ways of transmitting messages about the cultural heritage values of a site to visitors and other audiences through interpretation. It is intended to inform and guide planning for heritage interpretation by identifying historical themes relevant to the site, and outlining strategies for presenting these through a variety of interpretive media. In this HIP recommendations for content and location will also be provided.

This HIS is the first stage in the interpretation planning process. Once the HIS is approved, the next stages are to develop the detailed content (text and image choices) and the integrated design of the interpretive elements, followed by production and implementation.

### 1.5 Methodology and Terminology

This HIS has been prepared in accordance with the NSW Heritage Office's *Interpreting Heritage Places and Items: Guidelines* (2005) and *Heritage Interpretation Policy* (2005).

The Heritage Interpretation Policy states that:

The interpretation of New South Wales' heritage connects the communities of New South Wales with their heritage and is a means of protecting and sustaining heritage values. Heritage interpretation is an integral part of the conservation and management of heritage items, and is relevant to other aspects of environmental and cultural management and policy. Heritage interpretation incorporates and provides broad access to historical research and analysis. Heritage interpretation provides opportunities to stimulate ideas and debate about Australian life and values, and the meaning of our history, culture and the environment.

The NSW Heritage Office's *Interpreting Heritage Places and Items: Guidelines* provides 'The Ingredients for Best Practice' which is shown below:

Ingredient	Outline
1: Interpretation, people and culture	Respect for the special connections between people and items.
2: Heritage significance and site analysis	Understand the item and convey its significance.
3: Records and research	Use existing records of the item, research additional information, and make these publicly available (subject to security and cultural protocols).
4: Audiences	Explore, respect and respond to the identified audience.
5: Themes	Make reasoned choices about themes, stories and strategies.
6: Engaging the audience	Stimulate thought and dialogue, provoke response and enhance understanding.
7: Context	Research the physical, historical, spiritual and contemporary context of the item, including related items, and respect local amenity and culture.

#### Table 1: Best practice principles

Ingredient	Outline
8: Authenticity, ambience and sustainability	Develop interpretation methods and media which sustain the significance of the items, its character and authenticity.
9: Conservation planning and works	Integrate interpretation in conservation planning and in all stages of a conservation project.
10: Maintenance, evaluation and review	Include interpretation in the ongoing management of an item, provide for regular maintenance, evaluation and review.
11: Skills and knowledge	Involve people with relevant skills, knowledge and experience.
12: Collaboration	Collaborate with organisations and the local community.

This document has also been informed by the Australia International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) *Burra Charter*, 1999. The *Burra Charter* defines interpretation as 'all the ways of presenting the cultural significance of a place', which may be achieved through a combination of the treatment of heritage fabric, the use of the place, or activities undertaken at the place, and the introduction of material explaining this history (Article 1.17). Interpretation should provide and enhance understanding of the history, significance and meaning, as well as respect and be appropriate to the cultural significance of a place (Article 25).

The ICOMOS *Ename Charter* for interpretation of cultural heritage sites has also informed this document. In recognising that interpretation and presentation are part of the overall process of cultural heritage conservation, this Charter has established seven cardinal principles upon which interpretation should be based:

- Principle 1: Access and understanding
- Principle 2: Information sources
- Principle 3: Attention to setting and context
- **Principle 4**: Preservation of authenticity
- Principle 5: Planning for suitability
- **Principle 6**: Concern for inclusiveness
- **Principle 7**: Importance of research, training and evaluation.

In addition, the following terms used within the HIS are defined in the NSW Heritage Office's *Interpreting Heritage Places and Items Guidelines*:

- Aboriginal people(s) with cultural association Aboriginal people(s) with a cultural or historical association with an area not necessarily deriving from descent from original inhabitants. Consideration must also be given to Aboriginal people who reside in an area where there are no identified traditional owners or Aboriginal people who have traditional association to that country.
- **Aboriginal Culture** the culture of a group of people or groups of peoples comprising of the total ways of living built up and passed on from one generation to the next, and evolving over time.
- **Aboriginal Heritage** The heritage of a group of people or groups of peoples is represented in all that comes or belongs to them by reason of birth and includes their spirituality, language and

relationship to land. Associations mean the special connections that exist between people and an item.

- Associations the special connections that exist between people and an item.
- Environmental heritage those places, buildings, works, relics, infrastructure, movable objects, landscapes and precincts, of State or local heritage significance.
- **Fabric** the physical material of the item including components, features, objects and spaces.
- Heritage Impact Statement a document that records the heritage significance of an item by using a Heritage Data form and sets out broad strategies for retaining that significance and is prepared in accordance with Heritage Council guidelines.
- Heritage significance refers to meanings and values in relation to the historical, scientific, cultural, social, archaeological, architectural, natural or aesthetic importance of the item. Heritage significance is reflected in the fabric of the item, its setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Items may have a range of values and meanings for different individuals or groups, over time.
- Interpretation means all the ways of presenting the significance of an item. Interpretation may
  be a combination of the treatment and fabric of the item; the use of the item; the use of
  interpretive media, such as events, activities, signs and publications, or activities, but is not
  limited to these.
- Interpretation plan a document that provides the policies, strategies and detailed advice for interpreting a heritage item. It is based on research and analysis and plans to communicate the significance of the item, both during a conservation project and in the ongoing life of the item. The plan identifies key themes, storylines and audiences and provides recommendations about interpretation media. It includes practical and specific advice about how to implement the plan.
- Interpretation policy consists of clauses and guidelines that provide an intellectual and conceptual framework for communicating the significance of an item. Policies may deal with fabric, setting, history, archaeology audiences and other people, contents, related places and objects, disturbance of fabric, research, records.
- Meanings denote what an item signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses.
- Media means the tools, techniques and technologies used to convey the interpretation. These can include signs, orientation, notices, guided and self-guided walks, audio guides, installations, displays, models, dioramas, exhibitions, lighting, street naming, holograms, films, video, soundscapes, oral history, maps, brochures, books and catalogues, public art, writers and artists in residence programs, events, activities, role play, demonstrations, educational programs, websites, CD ROM programs, reconstructions, sets, and replicas and other means of communication.
- Traditional owner an Aboriginal person directly descendant from the original inhabitants of an area who has cultural association with the area deriving from traditions, observances, customs, beliefs or history of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of the area. Authorisation to obtain or document information about Aboriginal heritage may be obtained from an Aboriginal person or people who have traditional association to country; these may include traditional owners.

### 1.6 Authorship

This report has been prepared by Carolyn MacLulich (Artefact Principal, BEd(Hons), Master of Letters in Museum and Heritage Studies), with input by Charlotte Simons (Senior Heritage Consultant, BDesign&Arch, Master of Heritage Conservation) and input and review by Alyce Haast (Artefact Senior Heritage Consultant, BSc(Arch), Master of Professional Archaeology).

# 2.0 SITE HISTORY

### 2.1 Introduction

The aim of this section is to provide an historical background for the site by identifying key historical characteristics of the area and then outlining major historical themes and stories for interpretation. The following overview has been summarised from the SOHI (Artefact Heritage 2018c) and the 'Central to Eveleigh Corridor: Aboriginal and Historic Heritage Review' (AHMS 2015). This information is provided as a background to the report only, to indicate the varied use of the site and surrounding area over time, and is not intended to be an example of the type or extent of any text that may be included in specific interpretive media.

### 2.2 Aboriginal histories of the locality

Prior to the settlement of Europeans in 1788, areas surrounding Sydney Harbour were occupied by the Eora people. The name Eora is derived from Ea, meaning yes and ora, meaning this place or here.<sup>1</sup> The Eora inhabited a territory bordered by the coast to the east, Pittwater and the mouth of the Hawkesbury River to the north and the Georges River and Botany Bay to the south. Their geographical location meant that the Eora subsisted on a predominantly marine based diet of fish, shellfish and edible plants from the shoreline. Today their occupation is evident from various middens, rock shelter art and engravings along the coastline.

The Eora were distributed into family and clan groups, which included different languages and varying settlements around the harbour. These groups comprised three main clans, the Gadigal, the Wanegal and the Cammeraygal.

Upon initial contact, the population of the Eora is likely to have been 1000; however, some estimates put the figure at between 3000-5000.<sup>2</sup> The arrival of Europeans had a rapid effect on the Eora population due to introduced disease and dislocation and disruption of traditions and established behaviours. In 1789, the area was hit by an epidemic of smallpox-or similarly contagious disease-leading to a significant drop in population and by the 1820s, the number of Aboriginal people inhabiting the area had been irreversibly reduced.<sup>3</sup>

Of the three Eora clans, the Gadigal people occupied the land closely associated with the study area. Their traditional occupation of the area is believed to have been for at least 20,000 years prior to European arrival in 1788. The territory associated with the Gadigal people stretched from the south side of Port Jackson from South Head to Petersham.<sup>4</sup>

Aboriginal occupation pre-European contact would have been concentrated around resource rich areas associated with water. A number of swamps and small waterlines were located within the low lying areas of the undulating dune landform in the region surrounding the development site. Historical sources suggest there was a large swamp to the east, where Redfern Park is today, known as Boxley's Lagoon. Blackwattle Creek and Blackwattle Swamp were also located to the northwest of the site. Many of the swamps in the area would have fed into Shea's Creek (Alexandra Canal) approximately 1.8 kilometres (km) to the southwest of the site, which is a tributary to Cooks River. The area between Eveleigh and Central Station was also part of an Aboriginal pathway or travel corridor running north-south, likely utilizing the higher ground/ ridgeline located to the east of the site.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Smith 2006

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Curon 1985:9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Heiss 2002

After European occupation, the Gadigal people were displaced from many of their traditional camping grounds around the shoreline, as the town expanded. Despite this, in the 1790s the area around Belmore Park and Central Station continued to be an important meeting point for Aboriginal people where performances, ceremonies and trials were often witnessed by hundreds of spectators.

Until the mid 1800s, the area of Prince Alfred Park, known then as Cleveland Paddocks, was an Aboriginal campsite where Gadigal people lived, west of the town centre, until the coming of the railway in 1850 (Figure 3). The areas of Redfern, Waterloo and Eveleigh became an industrial hub, with many industries and factories being established and housing for the workers being built from the 1840s onwards. The railway transformed the area and led to a period of economic and population growth. The nearby Eveleigh Railway Workshop, built in 1875, was one of the biggest employers of Aboriginal people, many coming from the nearby La Perouse reserve, as were other local industries, such as Henry Jones & Co, IXL Jam Factory, Francis Chocolates, and the Australian Glass Manufacturers (Figure 18).

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, many Aboriginal people from regional New South Wales sought refuge with relatives in Redfern, as work in rural areas became scarce. The Aboriginal population of the area expanded in the mid 1900s, and from the 1940s Redfern increasingly became the location of protests and political rallies. One result of Aboriginal rights movements and political mobilization was the establishment of a range of community-managed services around Redfern in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the first Aboriginal Housing Company, the Block housing development (Figure 25), the Aboriginal Legal Service, the Aboriginal Medical Service (Figure 26), and the Black Theatre.

The Redfern area continues to hold great cultural significance for Aboriginal people - for those who have lived here for generations and for other communities who identify with the historical and political significance of the area.

# Figure 2: 'Aborigines using fire to hunt kangaroos' by Joseph Lycett, c1817 (National Library of Australia)





Figure 3: Turning the first sod for Central Station, 1850 (State Library NSW)

Figure 4: Protesters taking to the streets of Sydney during the 1988 Bicentenary (Newspix)



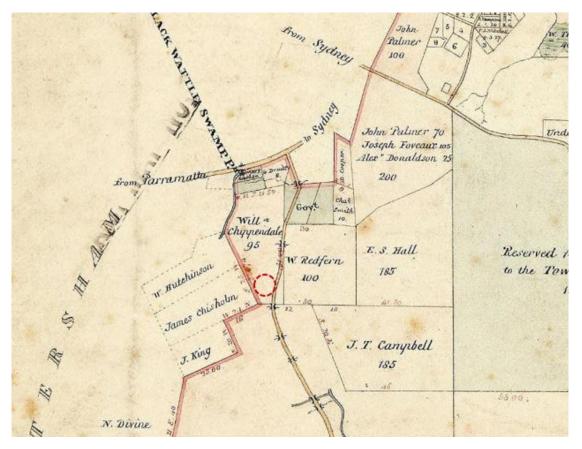
### 2.3 Early European land use and grants: 1788-1830s

The area today known as Redfern was likely being utilised by Europeans from the earliest years of the colony. It is located in close proximity to fresh water and food resources which may have made it popular to the early colonists.

The early years of the nineteenth century saw several large land grants made within Redfern. These included grants to Dr William Redfern, William Hutchinson, John Thomas Campbell and William Chippendale. These land parcels were mainly used as farming land. The study area is located within

land granted to Chippendale (Figure 5). Chippendale had been officially granted 95-acres in 1819, however, he and his family had been residing on the land since 1817, during which time, the family had constructed a house and servants quarters.<sup>5</sup> The land parcel was bordered by Black Wattle Swamp to the north west, Redfern's land grant to the east and William Hutchinson's land grant to the south. Chippendale undertook farming activities on his grant, but eventually sold the land to emancipist, Solomon Levey for £380 in 1821.<sup>6</sup> Over the next few years, Levey sold portions of the land and by the time of his death in 1833, he held just over 30-acres of the original grant. After his death, Levey's heirs sold the land to neighbour, William Hutchinson.<sup>7</sup> William Hutchinson, a former convict, had been granted a neighbouring 52 acre grant in 1819. William Hutchinson leased this land to small farmers and gardeners.

# Figure 5: Undated parish map, showing the extent of Chippendale's grant. The approximate location of the site location is circled in red (NSW Department of Lands Parish Map)



### 2.4 Early subdivision 1830s-1860s

After the death of William Redfern in 1833 his land grant was subdivided as Redfern Estate. Redfern Estate was auctioned by Redfern's wife, Sarah Redfern, and her then husband James Alexander. In preparation for the sale, Edward James Howes Knapp was engaged by estate agent Mr Stubbs, to survey the land in order to lay out streets and building allotments.<sup>8</sup> The estate was divided by George, Pitt and Chalmers (Castlereagh) and Redfern Streets. The earliest developments were made the following year in 1835, with the establishment of brick and stone houses along Regent and Cleveland

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Office of Environment and Heritage, 2018. 'Chippendale Heritage Conservation Area'. Viewed 27 June 2018 at: http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=2421466

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Shirley Fitzgerald. 'Chippendale' *Sydney Journal* Vol. 1 (December 2008). pp 118-122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Fitzgerald. 'Chippendale' (2008). pp 118-122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Kevin Fahy. 'Fitzroy Terrace', (1990), p. 10.

Streets. A number of slab, lath and plaster or weatherboard residences were built to the east and south, however much of the land at this time remained pastural.<sup>9</sup>

William Hutchinson subdivided his land in 1844 as the Chippendale Estate into six blocks, each to be inherited by his children. The blocks contained between seven and ten acres.<sup>10</sup> The study area was located in Block F, and the area was recorded as being under cultivation. The Chippendale Estate was owned by Hutchinson until his death in 1846, when the land then passed to his children.

In the years following the 1842 subdivision of the Redfern Estate and 1844 subdivision of the Chippendale Estate, Redfern began to thrive (Figure 8). By the 1850s (Figure 9), Redfern, and particularly Pitt Street in Redfern, had become an affluent and sought-after area. The architectural style of the residences built during this time reflect this affluence, as buildings were constructed with an attic storey, timber columns, French doors and stucco to resemble ashlar stonework.<sup>11</sup> Between George and Pitt Streets, the courthouse, post office, police station and fire station were built.<sup>12</sup>

Due to Redfern's central location, the coming of the Sydney to Parramatta railway line in 1855 further boosted its development.<sup>13</sup> (Figure 6). Land resumptions for the rail line facilitated inner city residential developments along the rail corridor, allowing for an increase in Redfern's population. By 1863, Botany Road had been surveyed as running from Mascot to Botany, also known as 'Corduroy Road', the road was charging a threepence toll until 1882. To support the new railway, horse-buses ran from the city along Botany Road and during the 1880s, a horse-powered tramline was introduced.

The new rail line and the subsequent creation of various municipalities, including Redfern in 1859, created a sense of community and local identity. New streets were aligned or solidified, along with upgrading of public services such as drainage routes. In the 1860s residential buildings appear within the study area on the 1864 plan of Redfern Municipality (Figure 10), with more buildings noted in the 1865 City of Sydney Trigonometric Survey (Figure 11). The first national school was opened in 1858 (Figure 7), Prince Alfred Park became gazetted in 1865 and the Town Hall was established in 1870.<sup>14</sup> From here, Redfern had developed into a thriving suburb with prospering business and became known as the Borough of Redfern, remaining an independent municipality until 1949 at which time Redfern was absorbed into the City of Sydney.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Office of Environment and Heritage, 2006. 'Redfern Estate Heritage Conservation Area'. Viewed 27 June 2018 at: http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=2421496

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cultural Resources Management June 2009: 25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> OEH, 2006. 'Redfern Estate Heritage Conservation Area'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> OEH, 2006. 'Redfern Estate Heritage Conservation Area'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Office of Environment and Heritage, 2009. 'Redfern Railway Station Group'. Viewed 27 June 2018 at:

http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5012154

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> OEH, 2006. 'Redfern Estate Heritage Conservation Area'.



Figure 6: The first Sydney Station, May 1871 (State Library of NSW)

Figure 7: Public School Redfern, c1880, Henry King (Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences)



Figure 8: Plan of 'Redfern's Grant' forming the southern extension of the town of Sydney, Edward J.H. Knapp, 16 March 1842 (National Library of Australia). Approximate location of site location is outlined in red.

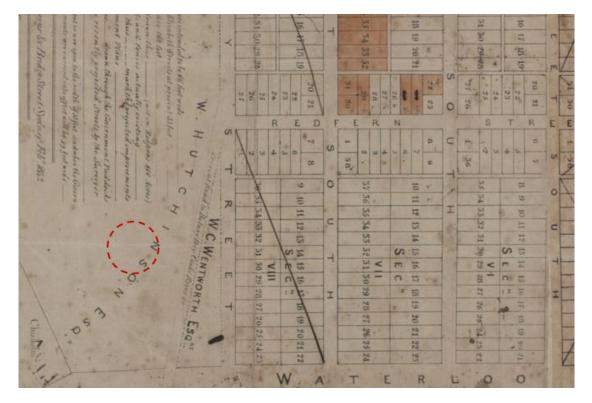
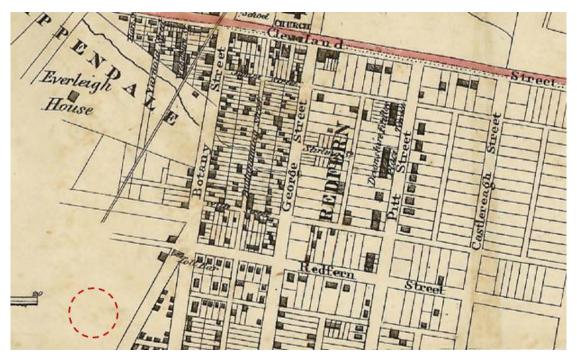


Figure 9: Detail from Woolcott and Clarke's plan of Sydney from 1854. Approximate location of site location is outlined in red (City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney)



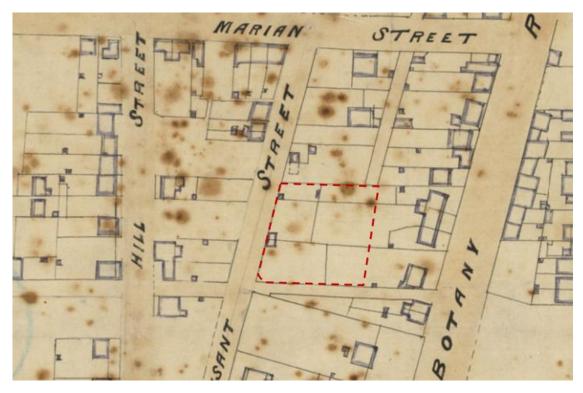
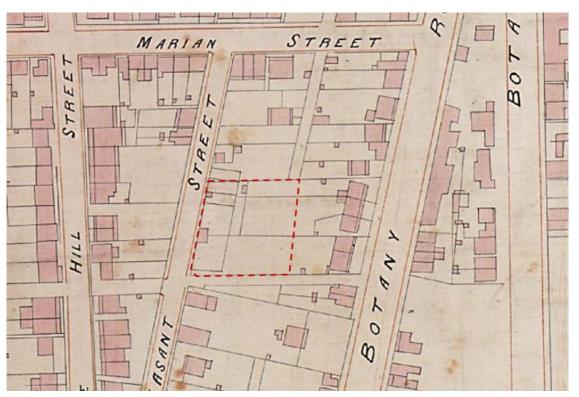


Figure 10: 1864 plan of Redfern Municipality, showing site location in red (State Library of NSW)

Figure 11: City of Sydney Trigonometrical Survey, 1855-1865, showing site location in red ((City of Sydney, Historical Atlas of Sydney)



### 2.5 Development of local area: 1870s-1900s

In 1884, a train station was built at Redfern, adjacent to the study area (Figure 15). At this time, the station was called Eveleigh Station, being renamed 'Redfern Station' in 1906. The station consisted of three island platforms serving four lines and a ticket office, later being expanded in 1912 to house 10 platforms. Construction of the original timber station had begun in 1883, with expansion continuing throughout the following years.

The station had been constructed to serve the Eveleigh Railway Workshops along with the inner-city residential and industrial suburb of Redfern.<sup>15</sup> With the construction of the workshops, came further subdivisions within Redfern providing more housing for workers and shopping facilities. These developments drastically altered the streetscape of Redfern. Early plans show that at the study area, Pleasant Street was renamed Gibbons Street during the 1880s due to the land resumptions and street realignments in preparation for Eveleigh Station (Figure 12 and 13). At this point the properties in Redfern consisted of a mix of residential (Figure 21) and commercial premises, taking advantage of passing trade on busy Botany Road. St Luke's Presbyterian Church, built in early Gothic style on Botany Road immediately adjacent to the study area, was built in 1872.<sup>16</sup> (Figure 14).

By the late 1880s, the Eveleigh workshop complex had become one of the largest employers in the state, with developments continuing into the 1890s.<sup>17</sup> Between 1895 and 1927, the workshops underwent continuous expansion, and together with the Redfern Electric Light Station, permanent light was provided to Eveleigh Railway Station and the surrounding streets and housing from 1892.<sup>18</sup>

In the late nineteenth century – and again in the 1920s with relaxations in the White Australia Policy – many new migrants settled in and around Redfern, Waterloo and Surry Hills, establishing retail and warehousing businesses. Elizabeth Street in Redfern became the economic and social hub for the Syrian and Lebanese communities and was known as 'Little Syria', 'Little Beirut' and 'Little Lebanon'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Office of Environment and Heritage, 2009. 'Redfern Railway Station Group'. Viewed 27 June 2018 at: http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=4801095

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Office of Environment and Heritage, 2013, 'St Luke's Presbyterian Church and interior' Viewed 1 Dec 2018 at: https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=2421173
 <sup>17</sup> OEH, 2009. 'Redfern Railway Station Group'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Margaret Simpson, 1995. Old Sydney Buildings: A Social History. Kangaroo Press, Sydney, p. 130-132.

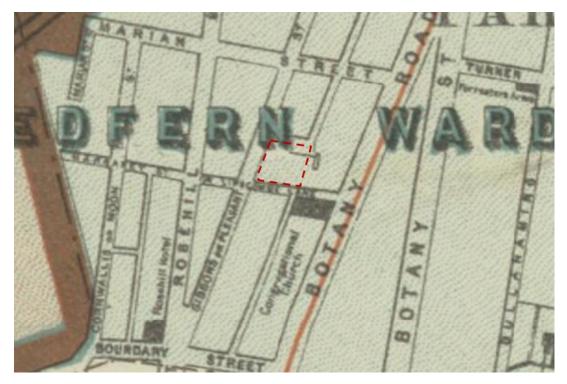


Figure 12: Redfern, Parishes of Alexandria and Petersham showing transition from Pleasant to Gibbons Street, showing site location in red (National Library of Australia)

Figure 13: Detail from the 1887 City of Sydney Section plan, showing site location in red (State Library of NSW)

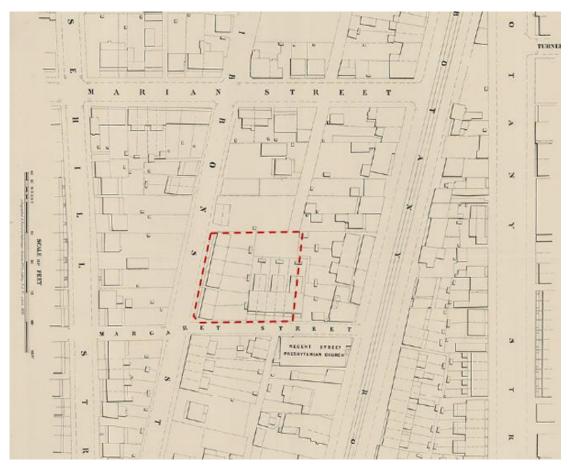




Figure 14: St Luke's Presbyterian Church, built 1872 (NSW OEH Heritage Division)

Figure 15: Eveleigh Station plans, 1884 (OEH NSW Heritage Division)

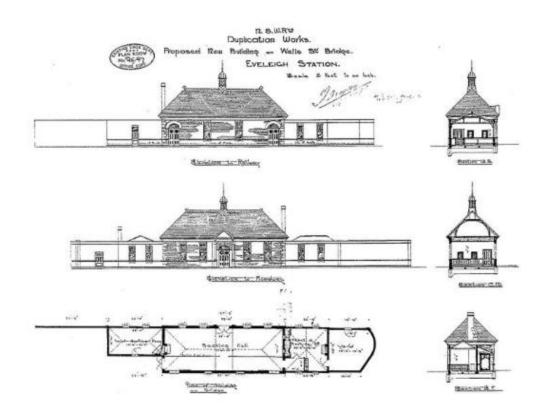




Figure 16: Young Lane and Young Street, Redfern, 1890 (City of Sydney Archives)

Figure 17: John Hunter Boot Facorty, Redfern, 1912 (State Library of NSW)





#### Figure 18: Central Station, 1924 (State Library of NSW)

#### 2.6 Twentieth century development: 1900s-Present

The 1938 civic survey plan (Figure 20) indicates that at this time, the site location maintained its residential use. The site immediately to the north by this time had been established as a Council depot (Figure 19) which was constructed to provide waste, maintenances and construction services for the surrounding inner-city area. Directly west of the site location, Marian Street Park was officially established during the late 1970s. The land had been resumed for railway purposes in 1948, with demolition occurring shortly after, however the land never fulfilled its intended purpose and began to decay, thus a park was established.

With the depression of the 1890s and the Great Depression into the 1930s, the Eveleigh Workshops and residents of Redfern were hit with a period of severe downturn. This coupled with the transition from timber to steel and the move from steam to electric locomotives the works at the Eveleigh Railway Workshops official closed by the end of the 1980s.

Strong working and social networks were built within Redfern and the Eveleigh Railway Workshops, with the Eveleigh complex becoming pivotal in the Australian Labour Movement (Figure 22). In addition to this, due to the close proximity of the La Perouse reserve, Aboriginal people had found employment within the factories of Chippendale, Waterloo, Alexandria and Redfern with the Eveleigh Workshops being no exception. There was a steady migration of Aboriginal people from rural centres due to the reasonable rent and employment opportunities of the area.<sup>19</sup>

Redfern became a centre for activism by the mid-twentieth century and the first Aboriginal Football Club – the Redfern All Blacks – was established in 1944 having an important effect on the community. By 1960, the Aboriginal population in Redfern was estimated at 12,000, swelling to 35,000 in the 1970s. It was during this time that the Aboriginal Housing Company was formed to manage the grant known as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Eveleigh Stories, 2018. 'Indigenous Connections' Viewed 27 June 2018 at: https://eveleighstories.com.au/story/indigenous-connections

'The Block'.<sup>20</sup> (Figure 25), the Aboriginal Legal Service, the Aboriginal Medical Service (Figure 26), and the Black Theatre.

In recent decades, there has been a rapid gentrification of inner Sydney suburbs, including Redfern.<sup>21</sup> In 2005, the NSW State Government formed the Redfern Waterloo Authority (RWA) with a focus on developing and gentrifying Redfern.<sup>22</sup> This development has seen an influx of students and young professionals to the area along with the establishment of new cafes, restaurants and bars. In addition, many of the industrial spaces have been redeveloped into residential spaces.<sup>23</sup> Around the 1990s to early 2000s, the site location was redeveloped with the present medium density residential apartment building.



#### Figure 19: Council Depot at Gibbons St, Redfern, 1955 (City of Sydney Archives)

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Kay Anderson, 2000. 'Savagery and Urbanity: Struggles over Aboriginal Housing, Redfern, 1970-73', in Peter Read (ed), *Settlement: A History of Australian Indigenous Housing*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, p.130-143.
 <sup>21</sup> George Morgan, 2012. 'Urban Renewal and the Creative Underclass', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 34 No. 2, 207-222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Z. Begg & K. De Souza, 2009. 'Introduction', in Z. Begg and K. De Souza (eds), *There Goes the Neighbourhood: Redfern and the Politics of Urban Space*, Creative Commons, Sydney.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> AHMS, 2015. *Central to Eveleigh Corridor: Aboriginal and historical Heritage Review Final Report.* UrbanGrowth NSW, p. 21.

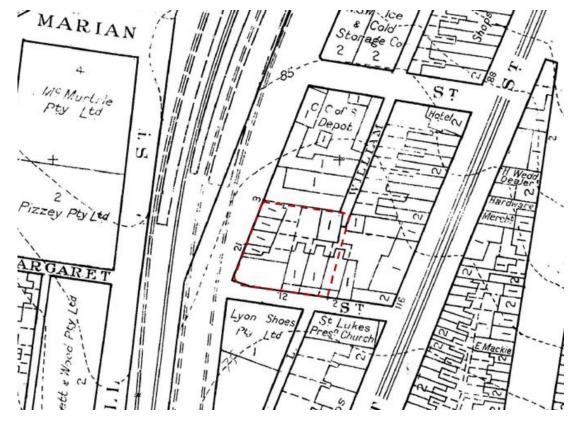


Figure 20: Detail from the 1938 Civic survey, showing site location in red (City of Sydney Civic Plans)

Figure 21: Redfern terraces, 1936 (State Library of NSW)



Figure 22: Staff from the Eveleigh workshops, 1949 (State Records of NSW)



Figure 23: 1943 aerial photograph of site location (Sixmaps)





Figure 24: 1951 aerial photograph of site location (Sixmaps)

Figure 25: The Block, 1970 (Tony Spanos)





Figure 26: Aboriginal Medical Service, 1974 (National Archives)

Figure 27: Gibbons Street Redfern, 1955 (City of Sydney Archives)



## 3.0 HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

### 3.1 Aboriginal Heritage

The Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment Report (ACHAR) (Artefact Heritage 2018b) stated that

- No previously unrecorded Aboriginal sites were identified within the study area. The closest site was approximately 100m to the south-east of the study area.
- All sections of the study area have been subjected to high levels of ground disturbance.
- All sections of the study area were found to have a low Aboriginal archaeological potential.
- No direct impacts from the proposal on Aboriginal cultural heritage have been identified.

However, the study area is located within a culturally significant precinct with regards to both pre-contact and post contact use. This connection has resulted in high cultural values being ascribed to the Redfern region. Consultation with the 12 Registered Aboriginal Parties for the project (as reported in the ACHAR) including Metropolitan Local Aboriginal Land Council have made clear that the area is culturally significant to Aboriginal people, both in terms of its ancient connections and its contemporary role as the heart of Aboriginal Sydney. Heritage interpretation was recommended in the ACHAR as an important element to connect the public with past and contemporary Aboriginal cultural values associated with the Redfern area.

### 3.2 Non-Aboriginal Heritage

The SOHI (Artefact Heritage 2018c) stated that there are no heritage items within the site location. There are several listed heritage items and heritage conservation areas within a 150-metre visual buffer zone, St Luke's Presbyterian Church (LEP I1352) in particular being immediately adjacent to the study area.

#### State significant

- Redfern Railway Station Group (SHR 01234)
- Eveleigh Railway Workshops (SHR 01140).

#### Locally significant

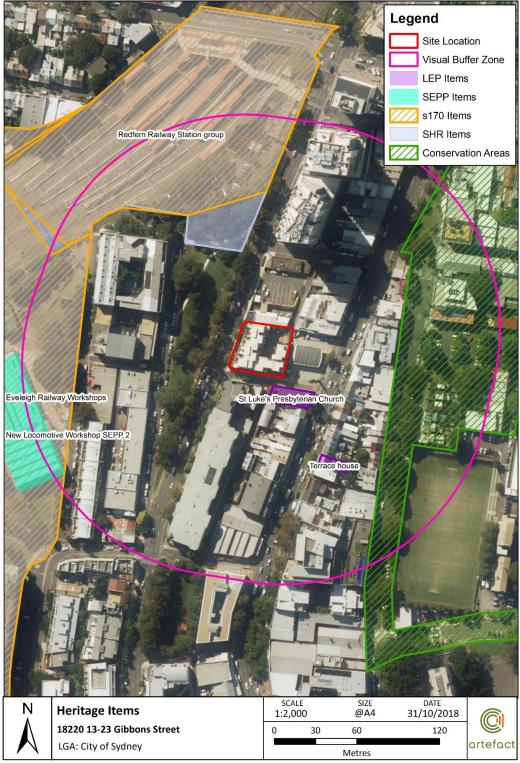
- St Luke's Presbyterian Church (LEP I1352)
- Terrace house (LEP I1353)
- Redfern Estate Heritage Conservation Area (LEP C56).

In terms of non-Aboriginal archaeology, the SOHI (Artefact Heritage 2018c) assessed the site location as having:

- Nil-low potential for locally significant historical archaeological remains associated with the early land grants (Early land use and grants 1788-1840s)
- Low potential for non-significant historical archaeological remains associated with Chippendale Estate and 1860s residential development (Early subdivision 1840s-1870s)
- Low potential for non-significant historical archaeological remains associated with 1880s residential development of the site (Development of local area 1870s-1900s)

- Moderate potential for non-significant historical archaeological remains associated with the twentieth century development of the site (Continued development 1900s-1950s)
- High potential for non-significant historical archaeological remains associated with late twentieth century to present development of the site (Modern development 1950s to present).

Figure 28: Heritage items within the visual buffer zone



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# 4.0 HISTORICAL THEMES

#### 4.1 Historical Themes

To successfully interpret a site, the contextual background should be presented in a way that is clear, concise, easily accessible, informative and engaging. This can be best achieved by structuring the interpretive approach around key themes or stories directly associated with the site in order to provide a clear context for understanding the heritage values of the site. The Heritage Council of NSW (2001) has established thirty-two NSW Historical Themes to connect local issues with the broader history of NSW and the nation. Historical themes provide a context within which the heritage significance of an item can be understood, assessed and compared. Themes help to explain why an item exists, how it was changed and how it relates to other items linked to the theme. The historical themes that which relate to the Gibbons Street Redfern site are listed below.

#### **Table 2: Historical themes**

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Local context
Peopling Australia	Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other cultures Activities associated with maintaining, developing, experiencing and remembering Aboriginal cultural identities and practices, past and present; with demonstrating distinctive ways of life; and with interactions demonstrating race relations. Ethnic influences Activities associated with common cultural traditions and peoples of shared descent, and with exchanges between such traditions and peoples.	Aboriginal occupation and use of the area as the traditional territory of the Gadigal for at least 20,000 years; travel corridor between Haymarket and Botany Bay; place of gatherings; cultural significance to Aboriginal people In the late nineteenth century – and again in the 1920s with relaxations in the White Australia Policy – many new migrants settled in and around Redfern, Waterloo and Surry Hills, establishing retail and warehousing businesses. Elizabeth Street in Redfern became the economic and social hub for the Syrian and Lebanese communities.
Developing local, regional and national economies	<ul> <li>Agriculture</li> <li>Activities related to the cultivation and rearing of plant and animal species, usually for commercial purposes, can include aquaculture</li> <li>Commerce</li> <li>Activities relating to buying, selling and exchanging goods and services</li> <li>Industry</li> <li>Activities associated with the manufacture, production and distribution of goods</li> <li>Transport</li> <li>Activities associated with creating, planning and managing urban functions, landscapes and lifestyles in towns, suburbs and villages</li> </ul>	Associations with William Chippendale, who acquired one of several of the initial large land grants in the area. Chippendale undertook farming activities on this grant, and the predominant character of the landscape remained pastural until the mid-19th century. Influence of the arrival of the railway on development and settlement patterns in Redfern. In the mid-19th century, land resumptions for the railway line between Sydney and Parramatta facilitated developments along the rail corridor that allowed for an increase in Redfern's population. By this time, the area had become an industrial hub. Subsequent development of the Eveleigh Railway Workshops further bolstered industrial, commercial and residential development. Travelling of Aboriginal people to the area for work and family connections; Involvement of Aboriginal people in surrounding industries, Eveleigh Rail Workshops, factories. Places of high employment of Aboriginal people

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Local context
Building settlements, towns and cities	Land tenure Activities and processes for identifying forms of ownership and occupancy of land and water Accommodation Activities associated with the provision of accommodation, and particular types of accommodation	Adapting to and modifying a new environment. Includes the subdivision patterns and land use practices associated with the Chippendale Estate. Nearby Redfern Estate, now part of the Redfern Estate Heritage Conservation Area. Establishment of terrace housing and workers cottages within the study area during the mid to late 19th century as part of the consolidated development of the area for industrial use. This development is likely to have facilitated accommodation for Redfern's working community.
Governing	<b>Welfare</b> Activities and processes associated with the provision of social services by the state or philanthropic organisations	Development of Aboriginal services in the area; Redfern as a gathering place for Aboriginal activism
Developing Australia's cultural	<b>Domestic life</b> Activities associated with creating, maintaining, living in and working around houses and institutions	Adapting to the constraints of life and work in the early industrial areas and working-class districts in Sydney.
life	<b>Religion</b> Activities associated with particular systems of faith and worship	Location of the study area in the immediate vicinity of St Luke's Presbyterian Church, which was established in 1872.

### 4.2 Key Stories for Interpretation

The key stories are a vehicle for structuring information to convey the layered history of the site and its wider cultural landscape The Gibbons Street Redfern site has a rich and complex history, both from an Aboriginal and a European perspective. In order to simplify the interpretive structure and to provide some major anchor-points, two key interpretative stories have been identified through the analysis of the historic themes outlined above.

Key stories for interpretation of the 13-23 Gibbons Street Redfern site consist of the following:

- Aboriginal heritage
- European settlement, land use and urban development

These two interpretive focal points would form the basis for developing the content and structure of interpretive elements, and will allow interpretive media to be arranged in accessible groupings.

# 5.0 INTERPRETIVE STRATEGIES

### 5.1 Interpretive Approach

The key interpretative principles for the Gibbons Street site's heritage interpretation are as follows:

- present the site as a locally distinct area within a significant cultural landscape, the product of numerous phases of land-use and occupation
- incorporate documentary research and graphic material to illustrate and express the historic significance of the site in a clear and engaging manner
- ensure that the interpretive media chosen are accessible, and designed to engage and stimulate interest
- collaborate with Traditional owners and relevant Aboriginal groups to ensure interpretation strategies adhere to the cultural heritage significance of the area
- ensure that on-site interpretive media are developed in a way that complements the building and landscape design of the site, and the historical characteristics of the area and surrounding landscape.

### 5.2 Consultation Process

A key component for developing heritage interpretation is community and stakeholder consultation. There are 12 Registered Aboriginal Parties for this project (see ACHAR), and they have provided initial feedback on heritage interpretation approaches at the site as part of the ACHAR consultation process. As part of the ACHAR process an Aboriginal discussion group was held on 30 November 2018, where support was given for the concept of integrated Aboriginal artwork and specific suggestions made; these are included in the ACHAR report. Further consultation over Aboriginal heritage interpretation components should occur with RAPs when detailed interpretive content is developed. Consultation with City of Sydney Council should also occur at the stage of detailed interpretive content development.

### 5.3 Audience Identification

Heritage interpretation is most effective when potential audiences are identified and specifically targeted. It is important to define audience categories to ensure that interpretive media - their location, orientation, content and design - are designed to provide engaging and informative experiences relevant to those audiences.

Two main audience groups have been identified for the site:

- Student residents of the new development, and their visitors (a changing population)
- Local Redfern residents (a more static population)

## 6.0 POTENTIAL INTERPRETIVE MEDIA

A range of interpretive media have been considered to interpret the Gibbons Street Redfern site. Two possible options have been identified, each linked to the main interpretive stories:

Aboriginal heritage:

- engagement of Aboriginal artists/designers to integrate Aboriginal heritage values and stories in the built form and design of the new development
- interpretive panel/feature addressing the recent Aboriginal heritage of the surrounding Redfern area.
- use of local Aboriginal language words for naming elements within the development
- planting of native plant species in the landscaping

European settlement, land use and urban development:

- interpretive panel/feature addressing the European heritage of the site and the surrounding Redfern area (combined with the above)
- if archaeological resources are found during works, and depending on their type and condition, a display of representative artefacts with contextualising information and/or the adaptive reuse of built heritage elements in landscaping in the new development (for example, if intact masonry or brickwork is discovered)

For each of these interpretive media, descriptions and examples of similar media are shown in Sections 6.1 - 6.3 below.

#### 6.1 Integrate Aboriginal heritage values into the built form

Creative practices relating to space-making and the built form can be very powerful devices to reflect Aboriginal cultural values. Innovative elements/designs that echo traditional forms, spaces and messages and/or their contemporary interpretations could be considered within the new development. Integrating contemporary Aboriginal design features within a new development can send a strong message about the link between Aboriginal people and the landscape, and subtly allow for reflection of contemporary connections to the land.

In addition, the Government Architects NSW Design Excellence Program Review Panel commented on initial plans for the development on 12 September 2018 and concluded as follows:

Culture and heritage

The Panel noted that a stronger cultural response is needed which may become apparent following a more thorough contextual analysis.

The Panel requests further information on Aboriginal culture and heritage which is especially important given the area's demographics and diversity. A more thorough understanding of how culture and heritage can inform a longer-term vision for the site and the built form is needed. Evidence is also required to understand how Aboriginal culture and heritage is incorporated into the design. The Panel suggested the Pemulwuy project as a precedent.<sup>24</sup>

In order to authentically address this option, it is recommended that Aboriginal designers/artists be engaged to work with the architectural team for the new development to develop an integrated interpretive element within the new building.

This interpretive feature would be targeted to both residents and to the community more generally, as it would be located in the public domain space of the new development.

As a first response to this recommendation, concept designs are being developed for an artwork developed by local Aboriginal artist, Nicole Monks, in consultation with Charles Madden, Gadigal elder, for the public area of the new development in William Lane. Further details of the concept design for this artwork are contained in the *Integration of Aboriginal cultural heritage values design input* report (Artefact Heritage 2018d).

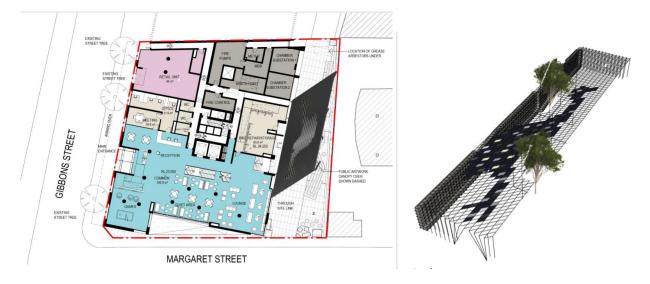
# Figure 29: Examples of features and integrated design elements developed by Aboriginal artists/designers

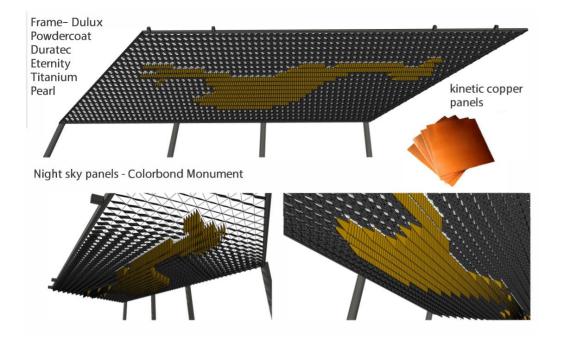


<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Letter from Olivia Hyde, Director of Design Excellence, Government Architect NSW/Chair SDRP to Chris Wilson, Planning Services, 21 September 2018 re first review of 13-23 Gibbons St project

#### Figure 30: Concept design for artwork at 13-23 Gibbons St, by Aboriginal artist Nicole Monks

Monk's design, *birrung (stars*), an outdoor kinetic sculpture focusing on Aboriginal astronomy and the stars connecting all people across place and time. The primary image is 'The Emu in the Sky', a constellation seen from across Australia with many stories associated with it, though it is little known in western society. Monk is developing this artwork in collaboration with Uncle Charles Madden.





#### 6.2 Interpretive panel

An interpretive panel/wall feature is recommended to covey key information about both the Aboriginal history and connections to the area, and the European history of the site. Well-designed and written interpretive panels are an excellent media for effectively conveying key messages. Large scale photo panels are also effective devices for conveying historical information. If integrated into the design of the development, they can be strategically located to gain appropriate exposure. An interpretive

panel/feature placed within the foyer area of the Gibbons Street development would provide a vehicle for acknowledging both the Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal heritage of the site. The panel could include maps, plans, photographs of the area, and oral history quotes. This interpretive feature would be targeted to student residents and their visitors - a changing group - and has the capacity to provide information that can connect these audiences more closely with the community they are living within.

#### Figure 31: Examples of interpretive panels in foyers









#### LIVING AND WORKING IN COUNTRY Aboriginal people have lowed and worked in this area Until the mid 1800s, there were Aboriginal campates.

for thousands of years. This land is the traditional country of the Gadiagl aposels, part of the Darug language speaking group, Gadigal territory stretche along the southern shore of Port Jackson, from Sou Head west to Darling Harbour, and south to Cooks River. After European arrival, Gadigal people were displaced from many of their traditional camping Until the mid 1800s, there were Aborginal compates at the site of Prince Africe Park, then known as Cleveland Addocks: Gadging benchletved here, outside the town centre, until the coming of the railway in the 1850s. On Srd July 180 chourands of proceeds gathered in Prince Africe Park to watch the beginning of the contraction of the first analym, Jacobraham to Bacontraction of the first analym, Jacobraham to Ba-

or recomme and population provide The nearby Evaleph Balays Workshop, in operation from the 1880s to 1980s, was one of the biggest amplyers of Aborignal people in NSW. Despite the varie changes since European accupation, this area containes to hild grant cupular agrificance for Aborignal people – for those who have lived here for generations and for others who have RANSPORT FOR NSW ACKNOWLEDGES THE RADITIONAL CUSTODIANS OF THIS LAND, HE GADIGAL PEOPLE OF THE EORA NATION,





### 6.3 Naming

The names given to places convey their significance through a sense of history, identity and connection between people and a place. For Aboriginal people, connection with Country is intrinsically connected to identity through language, cultural practices and long held relationship between people and the land. Using Aboriginal words, phrases or names of key individuals to name key features in the new development as an interpretive option that recognises Aboriginal cultural heritage values could be considered. Any naming options should be developed in consultation with the RAPs and Metropolitan Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC).



Figure 32: Examples of the use of Aboriginal language in naming and place making

### 6.4 Plantings

Plantings of species that were in the Sydney area prior to European arrival, and therefore part of the Indigenous landscape, is another option. Some landscape garden areas have already been allocated at the Gibbons Street Redfern site, and these could feature a range of indigenous plants originally from the area, such as acacia and grevillia. Examples that could have been food sources, such as a lillypilly, could also be considered. The plant list of native species at the Royal Botanic Gardens 'Cadi Jam Ora – First Encounters' Garden – a garden which showcases plants that were in-situ area when Europeans first arrived in Australia – has been included to provide examples in Appendix A.



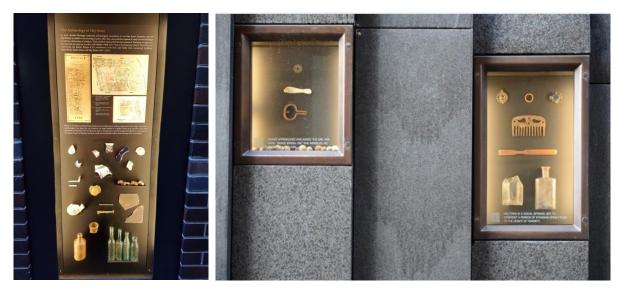
#### Figure 33: Example of native species plantings

### 6.5 Display or re-use of archaeological resources (if found during works)

If artefacts or remains of built heritage are found during works, they could be considered as a focus for further interpretation, depending on assessment of their heritage significance and condition. If Aboriginal artefacts are uncovered, consultation with RAPs is required. Some possible outcomes may be:

- a display of artefacts in the foyer or local library/community centre
- adaptive re-use of archaeological material as landscaping features (if, for example, masonry or brickwork that was associated with previous occupation levels were to be uncovered)

This interpretive option can only be further developed if and when archaeological resources are discovered during works and assessed as being suitable for display or adaptive re-use.



#### Figure 34: Examples of artefact displays



Figure 35: Examples of re-use of heritage material in landscaping



### 6.6 Reproducing images

All images (photographs, maps, illustrations, etc.) in this report are of a low quality. When detailed content is developed and final images for interpretive media have been chosen in the next phase of the interpretive development process, then high quality images will need to be sourced.

Copyright clearance and/or permission to publish will need to be gained from the image/copyright holders for use of all images. While copyright laws are complex, generally copyright is in place up until 70 years from the end of the year in which the creator of an image died or 70 years from the end of the year in which the creator of an image died or 70 years from the end of the year in which the image was first published. Images that are within copyright will require permission-to-reproduce from the copyright holder and may incur a copyright fee and sourcing fee, and a copyright acknowledgement as specified by the image holder will need to be included in all reproductions. All images more than 70 years old will require permission-to-reproduce from the image holder and an acknowledgment as specified by the image holder. In addition, any images of deceased Aboriginal people should not be shown without permission from known relatives or Traditional Owners.

# 7.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

This HIS has provided the overall strategy for interpreting the site at 13-23 Gibbons Street Redfern, and has been prepared to comply with the SEARs Point 9 (3), and in accordance with the NSW Heritage Office's *Interpreting Heritage Places and Items: Guidelines*, and the NSW Heritage Council's *Heritage Interpretation Policy*.

Five options for interpreting the heritage themes of the 13-23 Gibbons Street Redfern site have been recommended in this HIS:

- engagement of Aboriginal artists/designers to integrate Aboriginal heritage values and stories in the built form and design of the new development
- interpretive panel/feature addressing the recent Aboriginal heritage of the surrounding Redfern area, and the European heritage of the site
- use of local Aboriginal language words for naming elements within the development
- planting of native plant species in the landscaping
- if archaeological resources are found during works, and depending on their type and condition, a display of representative artefacts with contextualising information, and/or the adaptive reuse of built heritage elements in landscaping in the new development

The overall recommendation is that, once the range of interpretive media and locations have been decided upon:

• an Interpretive Plan be developed which will include detailed content and design, and consultation with RAPs and City of Sydney Council, followed by implementation.

# 8.0 APPENDIX A

The list of plants from the original planting for the *Cad Jam Ora - First Encounters Garden* at the Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney, with local Aboriginal names in bold where they are known (http://talkingplants.blogspot.com.au/2010/09/cadi-jam-ora-garden-continues-to.html)

#### **CANOPY TREES**

Eucalyptus piperata ssp. piperita Sydney Peppermint Eucalyptus tereticornis Forest Red Gum Eucalyptus resinifera Red Mahogany Corymbia gummifera Red Bloodwood Angophora costata Smooth-barked Apple Marridugara Syzigium paniculata Brush Cherry Daguba Achmena smithii Lillypilly Midjuburi Cupaniopsis anacardioides Tuckeroo Backhousia myrtifolia Grey Myrtle Casuarina glauca Swamp Oak Guman Casuarina cunninghamiana River oak Melaleuca linarifolia Paperbark Budjur

#### UNDERSTOREY

Rapanea variabilis Muttonwood Acacia terminalis Sunshine Wattle Acacia longifolia var. longifolia Sydney Golden Wattle Wadanguli Acacia longifolia var. sophorea Coast Wattle Banksia ericifolia Heath Banksia Wadanggari Banksia serrata Saw-tooth Banksia Wiriyagan Banksia spinulosa var. spinulosa Hairpin Banksia Grevillea linearifolia White Spider-flower Grevillea buxifolia ssp. buxifolia Grey Spider-flower Grevillea sericea Pink Spider-flower Grevillea speciosa var. speciosa Red Spider-flower Persoonia pinifolia Pine-leaf Geebung Mambara Lambertia formosana Mountain Devil Kunzea ambigua Tick Bush Pimelea linifolia ssp. linifolia Slender Rice-flower Angophora hispida Dwarf Apple Melaleuca nodosa Ball Honey-myrtle Polyscias sambucifolia Elderberry Panax Carpobrotus glaucescens Pigface Ficus coronata Sandpaper Fig Gahnia sieberiana Red-fruited Saw-sedge Rubus hillii Broad-leaf Bramble Rubus hillii Native Rasberry Livistona australis Cabbage Palm Daranggara Callicarpa serratifolia Black Wattle Eleocarpus reticulatus Blueberry Ash Blandfordia nobilis Christmas Bells Gadigalbudyari Patersonia glabrara Leafy Purple-flag Bugulbi Podocarpus spinulosus Spiney-leaf Podocarp Dianella caerulea Paroo Lily



Dianella revoluta Spreading Flax Lily Lomandra longifolia ssp. longifolia Spiny-headed Mat-rush Gymnostachys anceps Settlers Flax Geranium homeana Cranesbill Dendrobium speciosum var. speciosum Rock Orchid **Wargaldarra** Tetragonia tetragonioides Native Spinach Dodonea triquerta Native Hop Bush

#### FEATURE PLANTS

Xanthorrhoea media Grass Tree **Gulgadya** Macrozamia communis **Burrawang** Telopea speciosissima Waratah **Warada** 

#### GRASSES

*Themeda australis* Kangaroo Grass **Bamuru** *Danthonia linkii* Wallaby Grass

#### CLIMBERS

Hardenbergia violacea Purple Twining-pea **Waraburra** Billardiera scandens Apple-berry Smilax glyciphylla Sweet Sarsparilla Clematis aristata Old Man's Beard Clematis glycinoides Old Man's Beard Stephania japonica var. discolor Snake Vine Cissus hypoglauca Flat-leaf Water Vine Eustrephus latifolius Wombat Berry

#### FERNS

Blechnum cartligeanum Gristle Fern Cyathea australis Rough Tree-fern Pteridium esculentum Bracken **Gurgi** 

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