A SOCIO-ECONOMIC
HISTORY OF
MILLER'S POINT

Final Report

For the N.S.W. Department of Housing

Terry Kass,
Historian and Heritage Consultant,
32 Jellicoe Street,
Lidcombe, 2141

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INTRODUCTION

This report is an analysis of the socio-economic history of Miller's Point for the Department of Housing. Work commenced early in December 1986 to meet a completion date in March 1987. The aim of the Study was to provide a history as the basis for the architectural and landscape assessment of Miller's Point; to serve as the basis for a Strategy Plan to re-develop Miller's Point; to alert the Department of Housing to any significant areas or aspects of the history of Miller's Point which had not been identified in the architectural and landscape surveys; to help establish priorities for conservation; and to cater for legitimate public interest in the area.

This Study moves over many aspects of the history of Miller's Point. Miller's Point, for most of the period of white settlement in Australia, has been an integral part of the maritime and urban development of Sydney. Thus, there is a substantial quantity of documentation about the area. Whilst this is more than adequate for some aspects of the history, other aspects are, as yet, poorly documented or researched. The following study is the product of an examination of these types of sources. Both primary and secondary sources have been used in the Study, with especial emphasis being placed upon maps, plans, photographs and other pictorial evidence. Even so, there has not been time to fill out all of the gaps in the known history of the area. This is due to the inevitable gaps in historical research and records about any area which is to be researched comprehensively, rather than an inadequate time frame allotted by the Department of Housing.

Despite this, it is felt that this Study provides a useful foundation for continuing work on the history of the area, and for the integration of its findings into a Management Strategy which will both protect the historical evidence presented by the Miller's Point area, and to enhance its value and usefulness to the general community.
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LAND

TOPOGRAPHY

Miller's Point is situated on a rocky headland which juts northwards into Sydney Harbour. It is similar to many such headlands which project into the waters of the Harbour. Though now considerably altered by the hand of man, it was visible to early settlers as a bare, windswept eminence to the west of the town centre. Early accounts note how boats were boarded from rocks which covered the whole of the shoreline around the rocky headland of Dawes Point. (White, 1962, 153-4)

The distinctive topography of Sydney Harbour was created during the last Ice Age. During that Ice Age, the sea level retreated eastwards past what are now the Heads. As the earth warmed up as the Ice Age was ending about 6,000 to 3,500 years ago, the sea level rose and slowly drowned the river which drained the plains now known as the Cumberland Plain. This stream had cut deeply down into its bed as did its tributary streams thus creating a number of prominent spurs on each side of the tributary streams. Once the sea level had risen to its present level, these spurs remained as headlands jutting out into a deep and sheltered harbour. (Taksa, 1985, 1)

When Captain Arthur Phillip arrived in Botany Bay in 1788, he was not impressed with the initial site selected for the new colony and sailed north in search of better land. He came across Sydney Harbour, with its sheltered bays and streams of fresh water. He selected Sydney Cove because of its permanent stream of fresh water. The colony was established and the rocky headland to the west of the infant settlement was soon the subject of the attentions of the new European inhabitants.
The rocky headland to the west of the first settlement was originally far out of town. Hence, it was a suitable place to establish buildings best placed away from the populace. At the end of the headland, an observatory under the control of William Dawes was quickly established, which later gave this feature the name Dawes Point. (ADB, 1, 297) When a suitable site was needed for defence purposes, a battery of naval guns was established at Dawes Point in September 1788 with an earth embankment as protection. (Austin, 1963, 192) Similarly, a powder magazine was erected at the top of the ridge, away from the town. (Collins, 1975, I, 45)

Despite these uses of the headland, settlement from the town reached over into this area. Initially, the government had built windmills on the ridge of the headland. Private windmills appear to have been there by 1812. (Fox, 1978, 39) As Sydney Cove became more crowded, shipping interests and people in search of vacant land to erect suitable accommodation moved into Darling Harbour and to the appropriately named Miller's Point. In 1811, the first wharf outside Sydney Cove was established at the foot of what is now Market Street. (Aplin & Storey, 1984, 10) The earliest conveyance of land in Miller's Point that has been found so far in this study was completed in 1813. (L.T.O.D., No. 9 Bk. A) In 1814, John Leighton purchased the land which was the site of his mill from Lucas and Wall. A. O. 2/7647, No. 678) Maritime use of Miller's Point seems to have been limited to an anchorage for early whaling vessels. Crews made their way to the flesh-pots of the town overland over the rocky ridge. (Stephenson, 1966, 203) Alexander Harris, in his account of his arrival at Sydney in the 1820s, describes the manner in which he and his companions had to travel to and from their ship, "across crags and quarries". (Harris, 1964, 7). By the 1820s, however, more intensive settlement on the headland was making an impact.
By the early 1820s, there was an identifiable community living in Miller's Point. Harper's map of Sydney in 1823 shows a number of dwellings in the Miller's Point area. (A. O. Map SZ434) When the constables of Sydney perambulated the town in 1822 and took a listing of the inhabitants, they found that Miller's Point had occupants such as John Irving, a colonial born boatbuilder, and his family; John Leighton, the original "Jack the Miller" and his family; plus others, such as Thomas Newman and his wife Susannah Place, who already owned a number of houses facing what later became Argyle Place. (A. O. 4/1218, 41-2; L. T. O. D. No. 9 Bk. A; No. 151 Bk. A)

How had these people gained occupation of their land? Land in early Sydney was controlled by the authorities in a loose and informal way. Anyone intending to take up the occupation of a piece of ground to enable the building of a house was, in theory, to have the concurrence of the Surveyor-General or the Governor. However, the lack of documentation of such promises meant in fact that many pieces of land were simply occupied by a system closely akin to squatting in rural areas which has attracted so much attention from Australian historians. Once such parcels of land had been sold to another person, the government found it difficult to legally or morally to divest such later owners of their land.

One example of how this occurred will illustrate the process. In 1831, the Town Surveyor noticed that a man called Clarke was fencing in the ground upon which the "Hero of Waterloo" public house now stands. When queried about his right to the ground, Clarke was able to show a legal conveyance from David Leighton. (L.T.O.D. No. 651 Bk D) Leighton derived his title from Patrick Marmount, who claimed that he had been given the land by Governor Macquarie in exchange for land he occupied which was resumed for the Military Hospital (now National Trust Centre). Clarke pleaded that he was an industrious man and one with a large family who had paid a large sum of money for that land. Needless to say, he was subsequently granted the ground. (A. O. 9/2701, 73-4) A similar tale surrounds the grant of land now occupied by the Baby Health Centre to James Lucas.
The process of house building and commercial occupation of the land of Miller's Point was already well advanced by the time that the colonial government was sufficiently organised to formalise land ownership in Sydney by Crown Grants in the 1830s. These grantees thus represent later owners of the land rather than the initial occupants. As in other parts of Sydney, the same name appears again and again as grantee in an area since that individual had accumulated land as their wealth increased. The configuration, size and distribution of Crown Grants in Miller's Point represented existing usage of the land.

In Sydney Section 94 (the area bounded by Windmill, Kent, Argyle and Lower Fort Streets) there were a large number of small area grants which represented the occupation of the block by dwelling houses held singly or in groups. Those Sections with water frontage, namely Numbers 90, 91, 92 and 93, usually had large grants on their water frontage. These grants represented the large areas of land occupied by commercial wharfage, or shipbuilding and repair facilities. Usually, the lots on the inland side of those Sections in these sections were smaller, representing occupation by dwelling houses.

Grantees of the waterfront lots in Miller's Point included such prominent Sydney merchants as William Walker, John Lamb, and Timothy Gordon Pittman (all in Section 90), the partnership of Alexander Berry and Edward Wollstonecraft (Section 91), James Bettington and the partnership of William Long and James Wright (Section 92). Shipbuilders also received grants, such as John Irving (Section 91) William Henry Chapman and James Munn (Section 92) Prominent land engrossers who bought numerous allotments around Sydney and were in possession when Crown Grants were awarded for the parcels of land, such as John Terry Hughes, John Hosking and Frederick Wright Unwin, also received grants in Miller's Point. Small scale owners also benefitted, such as John Monk, Henry Harding, John Clarke and Elias Tisley (all in Section 94).
ROADS

Whilst the windmills and wharves that had been built on Miller's Point by the 1820s, could survive with water access alone, a land route into the centre of town was vital for further development. The rocky ridge which formed the spine of the headland and which perched Princes and Cumberland Streets high above the neighbouring streets also formed a most effective barrier to any direct communication between the west side of Sydney Cove and Darling Harbour and Miller's Point. This lead to the formation of a route north from the town of Sydney up George Street to Dawes Point where a road following the shoreline was formed to provide access for the mercantile establishments between Dawes and Miller's Points. This later became known as Lower Fort Street.

Another route lay on the western shore. Though Kent Street had been drawn upon town maps for some time as a direct north link to Argyle Street, it only went as far as about Grosvenor Street. Here all cart traffic had to cease. A foot track had been formed along the edge of the rocky hill which now has the Observatory on top. This lay somewhat to the west of the current line of Kent Street. (Kelly, 1978c, 14; A. O. Map 5469, 6219; A. O. 9/2701, 87)

Windmill Street was reputed to have been formed to give access to the windmills which crowned the Point, thus giving it its name (Stephenson, 1966, 156). By the 1820s, though, its function as a route to the wharves and ship repairing establishments in Miller's Point and Darling Harbour was probably more important and dwelling houses were beginning to line its sides.
During the 1830s, the colonial government improved the roads in the area. Quarrymen were given the right by the government to cut into the western face of the hill which was blocking up the assigned route of Kent Street. By 1839, Kent Street was passable along its whole length to Argyle Street, by means of "a deep cut...through the west side of the hill...this part of the street is called the Quarries". (Maclehose, 1839, 63)

Argyle Street presented a similar difficulty. Merchants in business at Miller's Point were anxious to secure a more direct route to the city via Argyle Street. Frederick Wright Unwin, an immigrant lawyer and land speculator who owned land at the western end of Argyle Street, petitioned the government to allow him to carry out a scheme to cut the hill down with convict labour. He gained the support of merchant firms, such as Aspinall, Browne and Co. of Windmill Street. His scheme was rejected as was his attempt to foster a private company to carry out the same task. (V&PLA, 1879-80, V, 1194-7; A. O. Map 5460, SZ468) The scheme was commenced by the government, abandoned till the mid 1840s when a new start commenced. (Brodsky, 1962, 20-2) Even then, progress was slow and it was finally completed as part of the scheme to fill in Sydney Cove to form Semi-Circular Quay.

A number of other roads were formed in Miller's Point. A series of small access roads were built on the Point, mostly narrow and confined. Even as early as 1831, their width was recognised as inadequate by Ambrose Hallen, the Town Surveyor. He hoped to reserve a greater width for what was later to be called Bettington Street, "as it is the highest part of the point affording a fine view of various parts of the harbour and will doubtless become a favourite drive when the road is made and the space would afford room for carriages to turn around without danger". (A. O. 9/2700, 85)
SUBDIVISIONS

The subdivision of the larger parcels of land on Miller's Point had begun even before formal grants had been drawn up for the land. Most notable of these was the way David Leighton, son and heir of John Leighton, the miller, sold off the land around the windmills in small parcels in the 1830s severely complicating the process by which grants were proved and given out in the 1840s. (L. T. O. Deeds; A. O. 2/7647, Case 678)

Most subdivisions were on the southern part of the Point in Sections 92 and 93. James Munn sold allotments between Munn and Bettington Streets in 1834. Thorpe sold allotments on either side of Wentworth Street. F. W. Unwin sold the lots on either side of Clyde Street plus another series facing Millers Road, and Argyle and Kent Streets. Apart from these, there were relatively few large scale subdivisions. Most large areas of land were already occupied by commercial users. The rest had mostly been occupied as small house lots before grants were given.

These small building lots created by subdivision appear to have been bought by artisans or small commercial men such as shopkeepers or publicans, who invested in housing, both for their own occupation and for rental in Sydney on a large scale. (Kass, 1985, 109-27) Accommodation in the area was needed to house the workers in the maritime enterprises of the area. By 1839, a "considerable population" had settled in the northern part of Kent Street and Clyde Street. (Maclehose, 1839, 62, 77) Clyde Street was particularly notable since a number of Scottish building artisans, brought out by J. D. Lang, had bought and built houses in that street. (Ibid., 77; Prout & Rae, 1843, 6)
POPULATION

ABORIGINAL OCCUPATION

On 29 July 1788, John White, the surgeon of the new colony, sighted three native canoes with a man and woman in each, behind the point on which the hospital is built". (White, 1962, 152). The early hospital was sited on the western shore of Sydney Cove, so these canoes must have been fishing near the area now known as Miller's Point. White and some companions went over the point to meet the canoes. They offered the occupants some bread, which they accepted but did not eat. A mirror was similarly accepted, though they showed no interest in it. The gift of handkerchief, however, was eagerly accepted by one of the women, which inspired another to request something similar "in the most suppliant voice I ever heard". A thin strip of linen satisfied her. One of the men then came ashore and showed White and his companions some wild figs which he ate with great enjoyment. This Aborigine saw a dead sheep nearby, and, curious as to the nature of this strange beast, spent some time examining it. Satisfied, he went back to his vessel and began to fish with his spear, something which was beyond the capacity of the new settlers, at that time of year, noted White. One of White's companions then began to sing some songs for those in the canoes. The females replied with one of their songs, or mimicked him, "in which they succeeded beyond conception." Suddenly, the canoes paddled away. They had sighted the Supply's gunner nearby in a boat, carrying a gun. White waved away the gunner and the canoes were induced to return to the shore, thus permitting the exchange of songs to continue. (White, 1962, 152-4)
The echo of song across the rocks of Miller's Point provides a poignant counterpoint to the clash of two cultures at the same time. Though there was ample evidence of fellow feeling between the two groups, in their exchange of song and their exchange of goods and information about food sources, there was also an underlying tension. Though the occupants of the canoes were curious about White and his companions, they were also fully aware of the firepower of the weapons of the new settlers and of their readiness to use them.

Aboriginal occupation of the Sydney area had commenced about 20,000 years ago. (Willey, 1979, 70) The Aboriginal inhabitants lived a hunter-gatherer existence. Their low population density and the food sources of the Sydney region enabled them to achieve a relatively easy lifestyle with ample leisure time. They lived off food harvested from the Tank Stream and its surroundings. In the Harbour they caught fish. In the swamps at the source of the stream near Hyde Park, they caught ducks, whilst they hunted animals in the surrounding woods and ate the fern root which grew in abundance in the area. (Willey, 1979, 48, 69-70; Hunter, 1793, 61-2, 65) Their tools were mostly organic in origin. (Taksa, 1985, 3)

With the coming of the white European settlers to Sydney, their food sources were suddenly placed under severe stress since the population had doubled. Problems were soon experienced with the Aboriginal inhabitants. Their culture stressed the co-operative sharing of goods and food. The new settlers were expected to comply with same standards. They attempted to take a share of the fish caught by the Europeans. (White, 1962, 110) They began to take food from settlers' huts or to demand food from anyone they found in them. (Hunter, 1793, 498) Such behaviour was regarded by the Europeans as stealing.
Any tendency by the Aborigines to resist the Europeans was forestalled by the "Great Sickness" of 1789. In that year, numerous Aborigines fell ill and died from an unknown disease which appeared to have come with the Europeans. It may have been smallpox, though other likely candidates have been advanced. Whether this sickness was accidentally or deliberately introduced will not be debated here, though this aspect has recently exercised the interest of historians and others. (Campbell, 1983, 1985; Butlin, 1985) Here it is sufficient to say that, though figures of actual deaths are difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain, the sickness severely weakened the resistance of those in the Sydney region to penetration by Europeans. (Curson, 1985, 52-3)

Gradually, the Aborigines of the Sydney region were reduced to dependency on Europeans and their way of life. In 1845, Mahroot, one of the few survivors of the original inhabitants was interviewed during an enquiry into the state of the Aboriginal people. He lived by catching and selling fish. With the proceeds of this he bought clothes, meat, flour and sugar. He had never worn the traditional native dress but had always dressed in coat and trousers. The manners and mores of the white man had also been absorbed in other ways. To make some money, Mahroot had signed on for five or six whaling voyages. Little of the sizeable sums of money he would have earned by such hard work had survived, however. He came ashore with his white companions, visited the public houses of the town and "we threw it away all together". (V&PLC, 1845, 943-4) Whether these antics were committed whilst his vessel was moored at Miller's Point, we do not know, but it is a reasonable possibility.
Very little was learned by the European invaders from the original inhabitants. They sought to tame nature completely and saw no value in the native understanding of the Australian environment. Pastoral expansion in NSW took little heed of their knowledge. From the Aborigines of the Sydney region, though, the largest number of Aboriginal words from anywhere in Australia were adopted by Europeans. Such words as corroboree, gin, gunyah, koala, nulla nulla and woomera were taken into the language. (Urry, 1985, 63)

Little is known about Aboriginal occupation of Miller's Point. Possibly they hunted over it, and it is likely that its shoreline was the source of fish and shellfish. Additionally, the sandstone which dominated the Point would probably have been undercut by weathering as it was elsewhere on the Harbour to provide shelters for them. Prolonged European occupation of the Point, substantial alteration of the face of the shoreline of the Point and prolonged quarrying of almost all other accessible rockfaces leaves but a slim possibility of any such shelters surviving in Miller's Point. The possibility of the existence of buried remains worthy of archaeological excavation must be seriously considered, however.
Due to large gaps in the usable census data for Miller's Point, only a restricted period can be examined in detail. For much of the nineteenth century, Miller's Point is approachable via the data on Parish (St. Phillip) or by City Ward (Gipps). The later nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century is not accessible, since the data is classified as "City of Sydney", a category too gross to permit any worthwhile observations about Miller's Point.

In ethnic composition, Miller's Point gained its discernible characteristics early. The proportion of colonial born residents was about the norm for the rest of Sydney. There appears to have been no overall preponderance of Australian born in the area. English born residents were usually a smaller proportion of the population of Gipps Ward than elsewhere in the city. Scottish born residents were a much higher proportion of the residents of Miller's Point and the Rocks than in the rest of Sydney, during most of the nineteenth century. Gipps Ward was also an area which drew many newly arrived immigrants from foreign countries to it. In 1851, Gipps Ward had the highest percentage of persons from foreign countries and other parts of the Empire in Sydney. (Census, 1851, 158) By 1861, not only was this trend as marked as ten years before, but males from the USA and China were remarkable by their concentration in the area. (Census, 1861, 660). In 1871, Germans and other Europeans were concentrated in the area. (Census, 1871, 1205) All of these groups gave Gipps Ward, particularly The Rocks, where groups, such as the Chinese, lived a cosmopolitan air. Apart from the multi-cultural flavour these groups imparted to the air of Gipps Ward, certain British groups made the greatest impact on Miller's Point.
Within Gipps Ward itself, certain ethnic groups established the overall character of the area. Even though English and Australian born residents were only as much as or even smaller in proportion than elsewhere in the city, they were still sizeable enough to influence the area's character. In 1846, for instance, 16.4% of Gipps Ward residents were Australian born and 16.7% were born in England. Those born in Ireland were only 10.7% of the population, and Scottish born were 4.5%. In 1871, 47.7% were Australian born, 19.9% were born in England, and 5.4% were born in Scotland, and 13.0% were born in Ireland. The proportions for females were much the same in nearly every year, though in 1871, an unusually high 22.7% of Gipps Ward's came females from Ireland. This was possibly the result of the influx of Irish servant girls who came out to the colony looking for work.

Despite the statistical evidence, the convict Irish stain appears to have coloured conceptions of the occupants of the area. In 1854, for instance, Miller's Point was described as "chiefly inhabited by Irish, they are bad and dirty."(Elwes, 1854, 280) This observer's equation of Irishness and dirt says more of his cultural prejudices than of his capacity for accurate observation. Sydney and its region lacked any clear statistical bias of Catholic (read Irish) inhabitants between 1828 and 1861. They were concentrated in rural areas outside of Sydney.(Waldensee, 1974, 285) The proportions of Irish born persons in Gipps Ward derived from the census tends to bear out this assessment. It is more than likely that many of the Australian born in Gipps Ward were the offspring of Irish ancestors, but the popular nineteenth century equation of working class poverty and squalor with "The Irish" probably did as much to characterise The Rocks and Miller's Point as Irish as did any objective analysis.
By the 1970s, when figures are available by Census Collector's District that enable us to assess the ethnic composition of Miller's Point, numerous changes have occurred in the area. The bulk of the population, both male and female, is Australian born. In 1971, of those born elsewhere, 50% of male immigrants came from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, in both the Rocks and Miller's Point. Asians were the next largest group of male immigrants. In 1976, solely within Miller's Point, 41.7% of all male immigrants came from Britain and Ireland. The next largest group, with 35% of all male immigrants, came from Turkey and Lebanon. Female immigrants in 1976, were ordered somewhat differently, with 30% from Britain and Ireland and 34.8% from Turkey and Lebanon.
Miller's Point has long been characterised as an area with a maritime focus. This aspect is revealed in the occupational structure of the area. From 1841 to 1871, Gipps Ward had a lower proportion of merchants as residents than other areas of Sydney. Similarly, the percentage of skilled tradesmen in the area was also relatively low over the same period, with the exception of woodworking tradesmen and employers in 1861 and 1871 when these percentages approached those of the rest of the city.

What largely characterised Gipps Ward, i.e. both Miller's Point and The Rocks, was the large representation of occupations which had no precise classification - the "Other Occupations", noted in 1861 and 1871 as "Carriers (not hired) Draymen (not hired), Cabmen, Itinerant Musicians, Toll-keepers, Undertakers, etc". From 1841 to 1871, the miscellaneous grouping of occupations had a large following in Gipps Ward. Due to the vagaries of classification of occupations by the census personnel in the early censuses, it is possible that the other group which was heavily represented, the maritime occupations, may have been glossed into other categories in the years from 1841 to 1851. In 1861 and 1871, though, Gipps Ward had the highest proportion of ship's officers, seamen, wharf laborers and unskilled labour in Sydney. Gipps Ward, which included Miller's Point, could probably best be described as an area heavily based upon its maritime industries. Most of the occupations noted in the miscellaneous category, such as drayman and carrier would have had ample employment servicing the wharves in Miller's Point.
It is possible to bridge the gap covering nearly 100 years that appears in the census data by taking a sample of occupations listed in Sydney street directories showing inhabitants of the various city streets. Windmill Street was selected as a representative street, since it appeared to possess a reasonable mix of occupations. It also lacked the problem of using streets such as Lower Fort Street and Argyle Street with their leaven of wealthier residents who might prove unrepresentative of the Miller's Point area and the poorer streets such as Clyde and Wentworth Street with their bias in the opposite direction. Generally, what does become evident from the listing of occupants of Windmill Street is the gradual loss of inhabitants with a clearly defined occupation. In nineteenth and early twentieth century Sydney, people with no occupation listed in the directories either had no specific trained skill, i.e., they were unskilled laborers, or were able to live off a private income, such as an annuity pension or investments. Needless to say, the first category was by far the larger. It is also possible that many of those listed with no occupation in Windmill Street, belonged to the semi-skilled categories, such as cabmen, draymen and carriers whose preponderance in Miller's Point has been noted above. In Windmill Street, those inhabitants with no specified occupation grow ever larger in number year by year. In 1882, those with occupations unspecified represent 50% of the residents listed; in 1891, it is 45.9%; in 1901, it is 62.2%; in 1911, it is 80%. In 1921, it is 84.2% and in 1931, it is 84.4%. (Sands Directories, 1882 to 1931) In the same period, skilled occupations, such as shoemaker or carpenter, decline from 6.1% in 1882 to 2.7% in 1901 whilst they disappear as an identifiable group by 1921. Professional and educated occupations disappear in a similar fashion. Even skilled trades that can be specifically linked to a maritime focus, such as mastmaker or shipwright, also decline absolutely over this period. From 6.1% in 1882, maritime skilled occupations decline to 5.4% in 1891, and they disappear completely thereafter. In short, Miller's Point was increasingly becoming an area occupied by unskilled and semi-skilled employees who mostly sought their employment on the wharves and shipping facilities nearby.
When census data is available in the 1970s by Census Collector's District, the data for Miller's Point shows that the removal of wharf based employment is far advanced. In 1976, 13.0% of the workforce is employed in clerical tasks, which has risen to 14.2% by 1981. In 1976, Transport and Communications employ 9.5% of the workforce, and 9.0% in 1981. Trades and Production workers have similarly declined from 36.7% to 26.5% of the workforce.
WORK

PHASES IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MILLER'S POINT

At first, Miller's Point was valuable for its elevation which caught the prevailing southerly breezes that turned the sails of the windmills of Miller's Point so vigorously to grind wheat into flour. Soon, however, the proximity of Miller's Point to the early settlement at Sydney Cove and its waterside location meant that it was valuable for maritime activities.

Along with much of the rest of the Darling Harbour area, Miller's Point was the subject of the development of small scale, piecemeal wharf and warehouse development in the 1830s. During the 1830s and 1840s, catering for the needs of whaling and coastal shipping enabled a more sustained burst of development to occur. After the depression of the early 1840s, warehousing was more intensively developed in the area from about 1845 onwards. By the 1850s, the warehousing and wholesaling function of the western side of the Town of Sydney was firmly established. From about 1872 onwards a new phase of development occurred when coastal shipping was drawn to the southern part of Darling Harbour and Miller's Point began to develop wharves to cater for the overseas trade. Warehousing was developed even more intensively in the area until the 1890s depression debilitated the maritime economy. (Proudfoot, 1983, 73) Subsequent resumption of the private wharves of Miller's Point and the rest of the harbour foreshores in 1900 placed all of the waterfront land in Miller's Point in the hands of the newly created Sydney Harbour Trust. The Trust soon redeveloped the whole of the wharves of Miller's Point to create a comprehensive wharfage and warehouse system catering for overseas shipping.
The strength of the southerly breezes which blow on the heights of Miller's Point were soon recognised by the new colonists. The power of the wind on the Point was quite remarkable as Ambrose Hallen, the Town Surveyor, found to his cost in 1831. As he was carrying out his duties on the Point, he was holding a bundle of important papers. The wind, however, was strong. "Whilst I was surveying the Millsars Point the wind being so strong I fell from one of the Rocks and several papers I had in my hand were blown into the water," he explained. (A. O. 9/270f, 74)

The early years of the colony were characterised by severe food shortages for the new settlers. Self-sufficiency in food was promoted as the basis for a viable settlement. Machinery to convert the grain grown in the hinterland into flour was equally vital. To capitalise on the strong winds on the western ridge near the Town, the Governor ordered the erection of a windmill in 1795 which had arrived in pieces from England. (Collins, 1975, I, 359) The tower was to be of stone. However, there were numerous difficulties with construction of the new mill, not the least of which was the lack of a reliable millwright. The mill was functioning by 1797, though not for long. Troubles continued to plague it. (Fox, 1978, 13-16) This mill was located where the Observatory now stands. Another windmill, with timber framework, was constructed further south, on the site now occupied by the National Trust Centre. (Fox, 1978, 24) The government was not the only one to recognise the usefulness of the high ground at Miller's Point for windmills. Private mills were soon to follow.
John Leighton and Miller's Point were synonymous in Sydney in the early nineteenth century. His entrepreneurial and milling skills quickly made him prominent as a mill owner on the Point. "Jack the Miller", as he was known, subsequently achieved mythical status, helped along by the manner in which his calling gave the Point its name. By the 1820s, the Point was closely associated with him, being referred to as "Leighton's Point" or alternately, as "Jack the Miller's Point". (Sydney Gazette, 2 Sept 1826; Plan 86(N), Plans Room, LTO). Later, the name was abbreviated to "Miller's Point".

The precise date at which Leighton commenced milling operations on the Point is uncertain. Some place his beginnings in the 1790s. (Shore, 1981, 76) However, Leighton did not arrive in the colony as a convict until May 1804, and he did not gain his freedom until 1815. (A. O. 4/1830, No. 213) He had, however, already bought the land for his mill, and, possibly, a functioning mill as well from "Lucas and Wall" in 1814. (A. O. 2/7647, No. 678) It is notable that Nathaniel Lucas had built a windmill "behind the battery at Dawes Point" in November 1812. (Sydney Gazette, 21 Nov 1812) Leighton continued to expand his business and was to eventually have three mills in the 1820s. He met his death in 1826, when he fell from 20 feet up a ladder whilst drunk, presumably whilst attending to one of his windmills. (Ibid, 24 June 1826) His property passed to his son, David, who began to sell off the land accumulated by his father. By 1831, there were only two mills in David Leighton's hands (A. O. 4/7267, 1831) These were soon disposed of as well. (LTOD, No. 155 Bk F) By 1843, only one of these mills was still standing. (Prout & Rae, 1843, 6-7) It was sketched by Samuel Elyard in the 1840s. (See illustration following) Even this mill had disappeared by 1858, when William Hetzer photographed the Point. (Groom & Wickman, 1982, 47)
WHARVES AND WAREHOUSING

Whaling

The small sheltered bay between Dawes' Point and Jack the Miller's Point was being used as an anchorage for whaling vessels, by the 1820s. The ships were provisioned and the crews travelled to shore by small boats. (Stephenson, 1966, 203) As a result, as Sydney Cove became ever more crowded, and merchants and warehouses moved to occupy the shores of Miller's Point, there was a natural link between them and the whalers that anchored nearby. The merchant house of William Walker and Co. was one such early occupant of the area. Whaling and coastal shipping were their initial concerns. (ADB, 2, 566) Other merchants such as Berry and Wollstonecraft and Timothy Gordon Pittman were other early occupants of the area.

Involvement in whaling provided significant capital inputs for these firms. Whaling gave an uncertain return but the possibility of large speculative gains was present. There was an obvious incentive for newly established firms with little reputation and a small capital base to participate to seek windfall profits, but there were other advantages in the trade as well. Whaling enabled these firms to utilise their closeness to the whaling grounds as a bargaining ploy when negotiating partnerships with established English firms. There were few colonial owned whaling vessels before the 1830s. Seagoing whalers from Britain spent twelve months or so hunting the whale, returned to Sydney to offload the products of their catch which were stored by the merchant house which was the colonial agent of the vessel's owner, before setting out again for the whaling grounds. After a few years, the vessels were able to return to Britain fully laden with whale products for the major industrial users in Europe. Thus, the new merchant houses at Miller's Point were able to acquire experience by acting as agents for British firms, capital from the same source and they were able to establish their reputation. (Little, 1969, 116-9)
The quick speculative profits that accrued from whaling served as the basis for more stable activity. Many seamen recruited in Sydney Town were skilled apprentices who had completed their articles and who sought a quick bonus to provide the basis for an independent business. (Little, 1969, 126) Similarly, the merchant firms involved as the colonial agent for British whaling firms were able to use their profits to fund longer term investment in pastoral development in the hinterland. (Little, 1969, 116) Many of the merchant houses at Miller's Point were instances of this changeover. William Walker and Co. moved into pastoral investment in a major way and by 1828, they were importing Saxon merino sheep from Stettin. (ADB, 2, 566) J. B. Bettington, in business at a wharf on the south-west corner of the Point, was importing sheep by the late 1820s, and was to become a noted horse-breeder. (ADB, 3, 158-9)

Shipping
Servicing coastal shipping was another early activity at Miller's Point. During the 1830s and 1840s, coastal shipping was booming and it provided added impetus for the development of port facilities. (Proudfoot, 1983, 73; Aplin & Storey, 1984, 11-2) William Walker and Co. was one firm that catered for coasting vessels, as did J. B. Bettington. John Bingle was the first person to establish a regular trading service between Sydney and Newcastle in 1822. (ADB, 1, 102) His wharf was apparently next to Bettington's. Similarly, John Irving, one of the early shipbuilders of the area was also involved in the Newcastle trade. When the Australian Agricultural Company established a coal wharf at Sydney, it was to the north-eastern part of Miller's Point that they took their coal. F. L. Ebsworth, a prominent early merchant controlled their operations here for some time and lived at Miller's Point. (ADB, 4, 127; Low, 1844, 41)
Whaling, pastoral development and the booming coastal trade drew many firms to establish themselves at Miller's Point. William Walker and Co. were joined near Dawes Point by Lamb, Parbury and Co., and Thacker, Mason and Co. Aspinall, Brown and Co., acquired Berry & Wollstonecraft's wharf in exchange for 4000 acres of pastoral land in Illawarra. (LTOD, Nos. 435, 436, Bk. D) By the early 1830s, there was a surge in wharf building as merchant firms sought to extend their usable wharf and warehousing space. New piers were constructed at Miller's Point mainly by infilling from the existing shoreline. (A.O. 9/2701, 71) The press noted the vigour of this building all the way from Miller's Point down the eastern side of Darling Harbour. (Australian, 25 Nov 1831)

Ship repair and equipment manufacture
Along with agency services for the maritime trade went ship repair and equipment manufacture. James Munn had established a boat building yard on the south-western side of the Point, by 1825 (Australian, 24 Nov 1825) His yard was to pass into the hands of John Cuthbert, some years later, who transformed it into a major engineering enterprise. Most shipbuilding enterprises were established elsewhere at Pyrmont and Balmain, but there were many service industries established along the Darling Harbour shoreline and at Miller's Point. (Proudfoot, 1983, 76) In 1840, there were many maritime service tradesmen in Miller's Point. Josiah West, a mast and pumpmaker was established in Windmill Street as was George Talbot, shipsmith. and John McMillan, ship and anchor smith. (A.O. 4/7267, 1840; Low, 1844) Small scale boat-builders, such as W. H. Chapman, John Ward, and John Irving were also in business in the area.
Merchants

Since so many mercantile establishments were in business in Miller's Point by the 1830s, parts of the area became popular with merchants and gentlemen for residences. One of these was in what became known as Lower Fort Street, but was known by 1839 as North Fort Street. In 1839, it was noted that, "a number of respectable dwelling houses have lately been erected on the north side of the street, having a fine appearance from their uniformity of build, and are mostly occupied by opulent persons". (Maclehose, 1839, 78) Many of the occupants were merchants who operated from the wharves nearby. A sizeable mercantile community was established in the area as Maclehose's listing of "Merchants, Agents and Brokers" attests. (Ibid, 186-8) Another area popular with the genteel, or, with those with pretensions to be so, was the western headland itself. "Spencer Lodge" had been erected there in 1835, to be occupied soon afterward by John Lamb. Other occupants of the area were James Cooper, architect, F. L. Ebsworth, and, later, Robert Towns.

Use of Hydraulic Equipment

Even though Miller's Point was attractive to merchants for wharfage because of its proximity to Sydney, the physical nature of the area meant that there would be problems. The steep fall from the tops of the cliffs to the water's edge meant that roads had to be cut which ran steeply to the wharves. Additionally, the rapid increase in depth in the water of the area meant that deep piling would be necessary once wharves were built out from the shore. (Selfe, 1908, 116-7) The pull up the slope to Lower Fort and Windmill Streets was especially severe on horse teams, and to counter the costs of this, hydraulic equipment was designed for these wharves. (Ibid., 119) As early as 1831, the mercantile business houses on Miller's Point were using hydraulic equipment. Bettington's Wharf and Walker's Wharf each had one pump, whilst Aspinall and Co's wharf needed two. (A.O. 4/7267, 1831)
Wharves

The 1840s depression hit the merchants of Miller's Point hard, as it did merchants elsewhere. Bankruptcies followed. John Irving was to be one of those who sought the shelter of the Insolvency Court. Thomas Walker of William Walker and Co. and nephew of its founder, quietly withdrew from the partnership to concentrate on his other ventures. (Dyster, 1978, 1) In the wake of the depression, new merchants were to enter the area. The most notable of these was Robert Towns, who purchased Jones' Wharf in 1844. He became heavily involved in the South Sea Islands trade, and, later, in the development of Queensland. For some years, he lived at Miller's Point directly above his Wharf. (ADB, 6, 295-6; Gipps RAB, 1845, No. 679) A great deal of work went into forming a roadway to his wharf, and in laying out level wharfage and warehouse space at the base of the cliffs. (Stephenson, 1966, 204)

In 1846, a small but ultimately crucial event occurred, when the colonial government gave up collecting wharfage charges, which it did not resume until 1874. The control of wharves was thus left entirely in the hands of their occupants. (Shore, 1981, 76) The growth of maritime oriented activity continued. By the 1850s, the whole of the western section of the City was devoted primarily to warehousing and wholesaling. (Proudfoot, 1983, 85) Development of wharves, however, was slow. During the 1860s, finger wharves began to jut out into the water at Miller's Point, but they were mostly short. (Aplin & Storey, 1984, 16) Gradually, in this period, the wharves of Miller's Point began to cope with overseas traffic, but major expansion was to come with pastoral expansion and its requirements for adequate wool export facilities.
During the 1870s, the colonial government reasserted its control of the waterfront of Sydney. This coincided with a need for increased wharf space. An intensive period of rebuilding commenced on Sydney’s waterfront, as much in Miller’s Point as elsewhere. At first, wharves could be extended by rebuilding them parallel to the shore. (Aplin & Storey, 1984, 16) Longer finger jetties were built to cater for deeper draught ships from overseas. (Proudfoot, 1983, 78) As the wharves of Miller’s Point thrust out into deeper water, deep piling became ever more essential. Norman Seife, a prominent Sydney civil engineer, was probably the major designer of wharves in this period. At Moore’s Wharf, he overcame the government’s restriction on encroachment of the Harbour by inclining the wharves from the shore when he redesigned the wharf in 1878. (A. T. & C. J., 5 Oct 1878, 648) He later designed a number of other wharves at Miller’s Point.

Woolstores and bond stores

Behind the wharves, woolstores and bond stores were necessary to handle and store the goods that crossed the wharves. There were already a number of bond stores at Miller’s Point by 1880, when Dove’s plans depicted them in detail. New ones appeared during the 1880s. In Windmill Street, for instance, there were no woolstores listed in the directories in 1882. (Sands, 1882, 132) By 1891, there had appeared the woolstores of the Australian Wool Co.; Central Wharf; Winchcombe, Carson and Co., as well as Dalgety and Co. (Sands, 1891, 117-8) One of the more notable of these was the three storey woolstore erected for Dalgety and Co. at the north-east corner of Windmill and Kent Streets. (Dove, 1880, 1887) Dalgety’s held their first wool sales in NSW in the 1887-8 season. (Sydney Chamber of Commerce, 1909, 61) Hentsch’s Bond Store at the south-west corner of Kent and Windmill Streets (now known as Oswald’s Bond Store) was built about 1889-90. (Lands, Met. D. S., Sec 92, 1889, 1897; C. T. 946 f. 126)
Pressure for more land for wharves meant the rapid demise of many of the shipyards and boatbuilders that dotted the shoreline of Miller's Point. Cuthbert's Shipyard, the largest ship building facility in the area, disappeared in the 1870s, when it was purchased by T. A. Dibbs, who converted it into wharf space. Many of the small craftsmen of the area who had serviced the ships also disappeared. (Proudfoot, 1983, 78) In 1885, for instance, the shoreline between Pottinger and Kent Streets was dotted with an array of small sheds, and tiny jetties associated with small ship craftsmen and wharves. (Aplin & Storey, 1984, 54-5) By 1892, they had all been replaced by large woolstores and open wharf space. (See illus)

Depression in the 1890s suspended re-development of the wharves in Miller's Point temporarily. The onset of Plague in Sydney in 1900 and the consequent resumption of the shoreline of Sydney Harbour by the government ushered in a new phase in the re-development of Miller's Point. Public ownership of the shoreline and its adjacent land meant that a single overall plan replaced the small-scale piecemeal manner in which wharves had been managed and rebuilt.
SYDNEY HARBOUR TRUST

In the wake of the outbreak of bubonic plague in Sydney early in 1900, alarm was widespread. Public concern was sufficient to prompt a group of 90 Members of Parliament to petition the government to resume all of the wharves in the City of Sydney. (Selfe, 1906, 253) Once the resumptions were complete, the government faced the problem of what to do with them. It met the problem by creating the Sydney Harbour Trust with three commissioners to control it. The Trust took control of the wharves and of the other areas which had been resumed, chiefly a mixture of commercial and residential buildings on the western side of the City. The Commissioners were appointed late in February 1901 and took control of most of Miller's Point which had been included in the resumptions. (SHT, 1901, 4)

The primary aims of the Trust were to clean up the wharves of Sydney, and then to re-develop them under modern arrangements. Their interest was primarily in commercial expansion, but the mixture of commercial and residential buildings in their area of responsibility meant that they had acquired a de facto role as house letting landlords, for which they were ill-prepared. Their intention initially was to use all of the sites they had acquired for commercial purposes. (SHT, 1901, 27) However, the realities of topography and the need for wharf laborers to live near their work later caused a quiet reversal of this policy. The Sydney Harbour Trust became the major force in reshaping Miller's Point in the first three decades of the twentieth century. They refashioned Miller's Point in a variety of ways.
The physical impact of the Sydney Harbour Trust on Miller's Point manifested itself in the following ways. A scheme had been devised by which all of the wharves of the city would be demolished and a concrete Monier wall would be built along the shoreline as a barrier to the rats which carried the plague. Demolition of insanitary wharves, warehouses and residential properties also continued vigorously during the first few years of its existence. The wharves of the city were rebuilt under a comprehensive scheme as finger wharves providing a great depth of water for shipping. Miller's Point was re-developed primarily for overseas shipping. To service the jetties and their associated commercial premises, Hickson Road was constructed to provide easy access. The construction of commercial buildings, such as warehousing, bond stores, and other storage facilities serviced the needs of commercial users. Lastly, the Trust became responsible for housing the large casual workforce which was needed near the wharves. The removal of dilapidated and unwholesome dwellings and the building of modern sanitary dwellings was an associated aim.

**Wharf re-building**

Re-building the wharves of Sydney commenced slowly. The funds available to the Trust were initially inadequate and the requirement that the old unhealthy wharves be removed occupied much of their attention at first. (SHT, Activity, 1916, 1) In Miller's Point, the first large scale wharf building project was the completion of a wharf for ocean going vessels for Dalgety and Co. on the western shore of the Point. It was completed in December 1903 though it was in use from May 1903 onwards and it was to be a showpiece for some time. (SHT, 1904, 21; Shore, 1981, 84-5) In July 1906, Tyser's Wharf in Walsh Bay was begun. It was completed in October and incorporated the distinctive design of a double decked shed, plus lifts and woolshoots. (SHT, 1907, 19) The "Miller's Point Wharf", No 11, between Dalgety's and Tyser's, was completed early in 1908. (SHT, 1908, 26)
Wharf re-building at Miller's Point had commenced in a piece-meal fashion, but by 1906, the Trust had developed its comprehensive scheme to rebuild all of the wharves between Dawes and Miller's Points, and those between the new Dalgety's wharf and the Gas Works on Darling Harbour. (SHT, 1906, 8)

That the Trust possessed adequate financial resources by 1906 was certainly a factor in the decision, but equally important must have been the improved economic climate of the previous year. By 1905, NSW was climbing out of the depression and drought which had debilitated it since the early 1890s. There would shortly be a much greater need for improved wharves and storage facilities as primary production boomed again and exports began to expand in volume.

The scheme for rebuilding the wharves between Dawes' and Miller's Points commenced in 1910. (SHT, 1910, 5) By Mid 1913, No 1 Dawes Point (Pier One) was nearly complete and vessels were able to berth there. (SHT, 1913, 1-2) In 1914, Nos. 8-9 were completed. (SHT, 1914, 16) By then, the removal of the old wharves was largely complete and the construction of new ones was well advanced. (Ibid) The following year, 1915, Nos. 4-5 and 6-7, were completed. (SHT, 1915, 17) In 1918, No. 2-3 were built and they were connected to the roadway by a bridge. (SHT, 1918, 2) Berths 10-11 had been commenced on October 1917. (SHT, 1918, 15)

At the same time, the scheme for re-building the wharves between Dalgety's Wharf and the Gas Works had commenced. Dibbs Wharf had originally given excellent service but it had become dilapidated over the years and a comprehensive scheme was needed. The scheme incorporated a two level roadway, like that in Walsh Bay. (SHT, 1908, 7) Progress by 1909 had been considerable. (SHT, 1909, 22) It was complete as far as it could go by 1910, when No. 3 and 4 were occupied and No. 2 was complete. (SHT, 1910, 4)
An important part of the wharfage scheme was the construction of the Main Port Road, later named Hickson Street, after one of the Sydney Harbour Trust Commissioners. The rationale for the building of the road was that it would eliminate the need for expensive hydraulic cart-lifts and, that it would improve cargo handling. (SHT, 1906, 8) The road was intended as the low level roadway which would service the lower levels of the cargo sheds. A high level road linked to the cargo sheds by bridges across the Main Port Road would enable incoming and outgoing cargo to be separated. (SHT, Activity, 1916, 1-2) Ironically, in the process of building the Main Port Road, the hydraulic plants at both the Central and Parbury Wharfs were in its path and they were swept away. (SHT, 1914, 17; 1915, 18) Both of these hydraulic apparatus had been designed by Norman Selfe. (Selfe, 1908, 119)

Work on the roadway had commenced by 1909. Between the Gas Works and Dalgety's Wharf, the excavation was complete by 1909. The spoil from here was used as fill near the new wharves being built there. (SHT, 1909, 22) Munn Street had been cut down to provide easy access to the low level road. The high level road (later High Street) had been completed for 300 yards of its length. (Ibid) Progress elsewhere was slower. Between Dawes Point and Miller's Point, tunnelling under Argyle and Windmill Streets began at that time. (SHT, 1909, 21) By 1914, the Main Port road was complete between Dawes' Point and Parbury Bond, plus the western section near Nos. 8-9 Wharfs. (SHT, 1914, 16) By 1916, much of the roadwork was complete and only kerb and guttering was incomplete. (SHT, 1916, 18)

Construction of Hickson Road removed many of the commercial buildings or cut into the fabric of them. Some buildings were simply demolished. Others, newer or more adaptable were simply altered or refaced. Towns Bond Store, the Windmill Street Store and the Gilchrist, Watt and Sanderson Store at Windmill Street were altered or refaced. (SHT, 1913, 19-20; 1914, 17) The old Central Wharf building behind Nos. 8-9 Wharf acquired a new front between April and June 1912 to replace the one removed by Hickson Road. (SHT, 1913, 20; Shore, 1981, 99)
Bridges over Hickson Road

Equally spectacular and equally important to the smooth functioning of the Miller's Point wharves were the concrete bridges which carried the existing roads over Hickson Road. The concrete bridge which carried on the line of Argyle Street was commenced in 1913 and completed the following year. (SHT, 1913, 20; 1914, 17) The Windmill Street bridge was a later construction and it was a prolonged affair since its completion was delayed by a cement shortage and the high cost of steel in 1921. (SHT, 1921, 2) As a result of these difficulties with supplies, the Trust decided that all future bridges would be of timber construction. (Ibid)

To provide access between the high level roads and the Main Port Road, Pottinger Street took on a new alignment and was cut down. Work had commenced in 1914. (SHT, 1914, 16) However, the Viaduct was not complete until 1923, when it linked the high and low level roads and the three bridges which connected it to the upper levels of the jetties were complete. (SHT, 1923, 2)

Woolstores and Commercial Buildings

When the Sydney Harbour Trust had been formed, it was able to take over many commercial premises and lease them to suitable tenants. It also built commercial buildings for them as well. In 1901, it commenced construction of a large woolstore adjacent to Merriman Street and the new Dalgety Wharf. It quickly became a landmark since it was 287 feet long and 132 feet wide and stood seven stories high on the wharf face and two stories high facing Merriman Street. (SHT, 1901, 40) Two years later, on 20 March 1903, Hentsch's Bond Store in Windmill Street was burned out. (SHT, 1903, 4) The Trust rebuilt it and it reopened in February 1904. (SHT, 1905, 31)

Dalgety and Co. were further catered for by the Trust by the construction of a new Machinery Store in 1908 at a cost of £946/19/-. (SHT, 1908, 23) It opened in July 1908 and sales of shearing machines and steam engines quickly became an important part of Dalgety's business. (Sydney Chamber of Commerce, 1909, 62)
In addition to the remodelling of commercial buildings which resulted from the building of Hickson Road, other commercial premises were altered as the need arose. Parbury's New Bond Store was created in 1914 when a woolstore was reconstructed as a bond store. (SHT, 1914, 17) It was extended in 1922. (SHT, 1922, 1) The old stone store at No. 10 Berth (apparently the one which was built in 1835 as part of Moore's Wharf) was converted into a hazardous goods store in 1925. (SHT, 1925, 2) The following year, it was used to store kerosine, benzine and other flammable liquids, due to the growing demand for motor fuel and the shortage of suitable storage facilities. Two bulk storage tanks were also built nearby. (SHT, 1926, 2)

Shops

Provision of shop facilities was also undertaken by the Trust. The older shops which had stood at the western end of Argyle Street had been removed in the demolitions which cleaned up the area. Four shops with dwellings were built on the north side of Argyle Street between Windmill Street and Hentsch's Bond Store. They were completed in July 1906. (SHT, 1905, 14; 1906, 15) Joseph Duggan, the butcher who had occupied the earlier shop at the end of the row, was the occupant of the end shop when the new ones were complete. (A.O. Photo 1087; Shore, 1981, 68) On the opposite side of Argyle Street, between High Street and Kent Street, four two-storied shops were under construction in 1910. To cater for the waterside workers, a restaurant was also built. (SHT, 1910, 11) This restaurant was originally called the Kentish Dining Rooms and served a meal for 6 pence. (Shore, 1981, 69)
SHIPBUILDING AT MILLER'S POINT

Though most of the building of larger vessels was conducted elsewhere in Sydney, Miller's Point was an important centre of small scale shipbuilding and boatbuilding during the early nineteenth century. (Proudfoot, 1983, 76) One of the earliest shipbuilders at Miller's Point was James Munn, who was operating as a shipbuilder at the small inlet southwest of the junction of Argyle and Kent Streets, by 1825. (Australian, 24 Nov 1825) By 1830, a map depicting his yard shows a floating dry dock, 130 feet long by 50 feet wide. (See illustration). He was still in operation there during the mid-1840s. (Low, 1844, 82) His yard later passed into the hands of John Cuthbert. (See below)

Other early ship and boatbuilders established at Miller's Point were William Chapman and John Irving. William Chapman was operating as a shipwright there by 1828. (Robinson, 1985, 220) By 1839, his wharf was well established. (See illustration) John Irving, after serving an apprenticeship at the Government Dock Yards and becoming master builder there, set up on his own account at Miller's Point. He engaged in the newly developing trade to Newcastle. (Ibid, 220-1) After his bankruptcy in the 1840s, he moved to New Zealand to commence a new life. As the boatbuilding and ship repair trade developed at Miller's Point, most of the work appears to have been small-scale. During the 1860s, shipbuilding in NSW grew considerably, but much more work for local yards came from the repair of vessels than from the construction of new ones. (Linge, 1979, 421-3) Most of the work at Miller's Point appears to have fallen into this category. One notable exception, however, was the yard of John Cuthbert.
John Cuthbert arrived in Sydney in 1839 as a nineteen year shipwright. He diligently set to work in his chosen profession and became one of the leading shipbuilders of Sydney. (ADB, 3, 514) In 1853, he moved northwards from another yard he had occupied to take possession of the yard originally held by James Munn. (Industrial Progress, 1871, 484; Watson, 1920, 117) The following year, he was building a 60 ton coaster and laying down an even larger vessel. In 1855, he built what has been claimed to be Australia's first warship. It was laid down as a gunboat, but the armament was never mounted, so the claim is a dubious one. (Watson, 1920, 117) By 1865, he was employing 150 men, and had five or six ships on the stocks. (Ibid; See illustration) In 1872-3, he built five or six schooner cruisers for the Admiralty to police the South Sea islands. (Ibid; ADB, 3, 514) Despite his renown as a good employer, he was still affected by occasional strikes. He has been described as, "one of the outstanding colonial shipbuilding entrepreneurs, thrifty, prescient and responsive to technological change." (ADB, 3, 514.)

After Cuthbert's death in 1874, his yard quickly passed into the hands of T. A. Dibbs, who converted it into wharf space. During the 1870s and 1880s, most of the small boat-builders, repairers, and shipping craftsmen of Miller's Point were forced out of the area by the increasing demands for more wharf space in the area.
EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS AT MILLER'S POINT

By the late nineteenth century, a sizable workforce of casual laborers had accumulated at Miller's Point. A large casual labour force was not unique to any nineteenth century city, but Sydney’s underdeveloped state meant that the casual labour force was unusually large. This had profound implications, both for conditions of work and for the family life that such workers could enjoy. There were aspects endemic to the underdeveloped state of Sydney’s economy which swelled this casual workforce. There was no large industrial sector and much of the manufacturing enterprise that existed relied heavily on casual labour picked up as necessary during periods of intensive production. The building industry was large in late nineteenth century Sydney, but it was very sensitive to fluctuations in the economy. Pastoral work in the hinterland created a large mobile workforce which often wintered in Sydney. Lastly, Sydney’s major port function meant that a large reserve army of casual labour was necessary to cope with the sudden surges in demand for labour which tended to occur periodically. (Fisher, 1982, 83)

The result was that some of the labour force was exceptionally mobile spatially as a result of its employment as hawker, shearer, circus employee, or pastoral worker. On the other hand, the rest of this workforce was highly immobile, particularly labour associated with the wharves. (Ibid, 84)

The effects of this high degree of immobility for wharf labour was evident in the City of Sydney. In Sydney, the two waterside wards, Gipps (which included Miller's Point) and Brisbane, contained over half of Sydney's unskilled labour force. Most of them were employees. (Mayne, 1982, 6, 9) In consequence, such labour was largely at the mercy of its employers.
Carters

An example of what this meant for the casual labour force associated with the wharves can be seen in the working conditions of carters employed by carting contractors who mainly serviced the commercial warehousing and wholesaling sector. This example is particularly applicable to Miller's Point. Census data reveals that there was a sizeable contingent of carters resident in Miller's Point in the late nineteenth century. Arthur Payne, the first victim of the Plague in 1900 was a carter who lived in Miller's Point.

The power that the major users of carting services, mainly the large shipping companies, merchants and bond stores, possessed, was evident in the early twentieth century. Not even the large carting companies, when banded together as an association were able to seize control over the setting of cartage rates from these companies. These rates established the wages that the carting companies could pay. (Brey & Rimmer, 1986, 217) The chaotic conditions at the wharves were also a great problem for carters. Long queues would form outside the gates of the wharves as carters sought to collect their loads. Most drivers were wage earning employees, though casual drivers would be taken on as required. This had a considerable effect on carters working lives, since their wage was a weekly one for which they were expected to work unlimited hours with no overtime. Delays at the wharves affected the cart drivers as much as the carting contractors. (Ibid, 218-9) Additionally, cart drivers were expected to put in time at weekends, in stable cleaning and feeding of their horses for which they were not paid. Family life for the carter was often non-existent. (Ibid, 219) What effect the rebuilding of the wharves by the Sydney Harbour Trust had on the working hours of the carters is unfortunately not noted in the literature on the subject.
The effects of such working conditions fostered extreme competition between individual workers and between workers from one area against those from another. Reversing the parochialism of workers from different areas of the city was an important aim of the worker's unions when they were eventually formed. (See section on Unions below, page 76)
OTHER WORK ESTABLISHMENTS AT MILLER'S POINT

A number of other work places located at Miller's Point have been identified, but few details have come to light so far. These are listed below with what is known about them.

Quarries
There were numerous small quarries in Miller's Point early in the nineteenth century. These were responsible for cutting back the north side of the hill the Observatory stands on and for cutting away its western face to enable the continuation of Kent Street. The quarrying of stone was a handy means of obtaining building materials in Miller's Point, and accounts for the strength of vernacular building in stone in the area. For instance, when Holy Trinity Church was under construction in the 1840s, the government gave permission for the contractor to hew stone for the building on the site and from the rock face in Argyle Street. (Holy Trinity Cent., 1940, 3) Similarly, auctioneers extolling the virtues of the land they were about to offer to the public on behalf of the owners as building allotments were quick to point to the abundance of stone readily available on site. (Australian, 25 April 1840)

Slaughter houses
In 1821, there was a government slaughter house at Dawes' Point. (Walsh, 1963, 35)

Rope walk
During the 1820s, there was a rope walk near Dawes' Point. (Ibid, 44)

Alcock's Billiard Table Factory
On the Detail Sheets, Alcock's Billiard Table factory is marked between Bettington and Merriman Streets. (Lands, Met. D. S., Sec 92, Part 1, 1892) It was still there when the Public Works Department resumed Miller's Point in 1901 (A. O. Map 6232). It appears to have been removed by the Sydney Harbour Trust by 1910. (A. O. Map 372)
The provision of water at Miller's Point before 1840 was largely left to the resources of the inhabitants of the area, as it was all over Sydney. Residents obtained their water, either from their own wells or from water carters who sold it by the barrel or bucket. The evidence of early wells in Miller's Point can be found on early plans. For instance, when William Chapman sold some of the land surrounding his wharf, he provided a "Well for Public Use" (See illustration following page 35). Evidence of an early well also survives near Merriman Street, where the excavations which created Hickson Road, left a well exposed which had been cut through solid rock. (Hughes, Trueman, Ludlow, 1984, opp 56)

In 1837, Sydney received its first water supply when Busby's Bore brought water to Hyde Park. The outlet at Hyde Park was too distant for most of the residents of Miller's Point. One old woman later recalled how water from Hyde Park was taken by water carters to Miller's Point and the Rocks where it was sold for one penny a bucket. (Old Sydney - Walker, 1930, 313)

By 1844, water pipes had been extended along a number of the streets of Miller's Point. (See illustration following) Few houses were directly connected to the water supply. Only the wealthiest residents had piped water connected to their houses. (Sydney City Council, General Reports, 1844, 6) Public pumps supplied the needs of the rest of the population. By the 1840s, there were a number of public pumps in Miller's Point, at the corner of Windmill Street and Lower Fort Street, in Lower Fort Street and in Kent Street. (See illustration following)
Provision of piped water to individual houses remained a problem in Sydney for many years to come. In 1851, it was claimed that one of the major topics of conversation in Sydney was "Are they going to lay on the water?" (S.M.H., 22 Feb 1851) The difficulty arose as much from problems experienced by the City Council in trying to catch up with the backlog in the provision of all services as with the nature of landlordism in Sydney. The bulk of Sydney's landlords saw no virtue in connecting their houses to the water supply. (Ibid; Clark, 1978, 61) Connection of Sydney's houses to the water supply was to be a gradual process.

Even more problematical was the provision of suitable sewage services in the city. The laying of sewer pipes had a low priority for the City Council, as much from the desire for economy and the problems of overcoming the backlog in all essential services as the belief that it was a luxury and not a necessity of vital importance for health. (Mayne, 1982, 39-41; Kass, 1984, 99) During the 1870s, reluctant landlords had to be forced by Council legislation to connect this "luxury" service to their tenanted houses. (Kass, 1984, 312-4) In Miller's Point, sewerage pipes had been provided by 1851, but only in a very limited area. (M.L. Map M3/811.17/1851/1 - see illustration) Further extension of the service was gradual.

Gas supply was also quick to arrive as a service but slow to penetrate the individual dwelling house. The Australian Gas Light Company was formed in 1837. It constructed its works alongside Darling Harbour, just south of the southern end of High Street. In 1841, the first gas lights were turned on in Sydney. Most of these were street lights supplied under an agreement with the colonial government. The bulk of the rest of the lights were those that publicans were obliged by law to erect in front of their premises. (Broomham, 1986, 5) Gas was gradually connected to many homes. Most of the houses connected were occupied by the wealthy. The poorer classes usually did without. (Ibid, 7) The provision of gas for cooking was slow to gain acceptance, and only in the 1890s was there much expansion in gas cooking for the poorer classes. (Ibid., 8)
HOUSING

Dwellings had begun to appear at Miller's Point by 1820. They were added to with increasing frequency as the decade progressed. Robert Long, a carpenter, had taken up residence in his stone two-roomed dwelling in Windmill Street in January 1820. (Gipps RAB, 1845, no. 634; Low, 1844, 70) Harper's map of the Town of Sydney dated about 1822 depicts a number of houses in Windmill and Argyle Streets. (A.O. Map S2434) The surviving building applications book covering 1828 to about 1831, kept by the Town Surveyor, Ambrose Hallen, contains applications to build at least five buildings in what is Miller's Point. (A.O. 9/2700) Late in 1831, Thomas Glover was one of these applicants, when he requested permission to build a cottage in Kent Street behind the Military Hospital. (Ibid, 209) This is possibly the extant building known colloquially as "The Ark".

During the 1830s, as commercial expansion spread into Miller's Point, and subdivision of land into building allotments proceeded, the number of houses erected grew. About 1835, "Spencer Lodge" was built on the very top of the Point, and was shortly to be joined by other substantial dwellings built for occupation by the gentry and merchants of Sydney. Lower Fort Street also became very popular with similar people. Other streets attracted a less favoured class of resident. In 1839, many of the streets of Miller's Point had achieved the status and reputation which was to be with them for some decades to come. Windmill Street, despite the possibilities of its site, had not attracted many merchants to live there, though much of it was still vacant. (Maclehose, 1839, 77) Lower Fort Street, on the other hand, had attracted many prominent citizens who erected houses that befitted their status. (Ibid, 78) At the northern end of Kent Street, many people had built their houses, apparently modest ones. (Ibid, 62)
By 1845, there were over 170 houses in what could be called Miller's Point. (Gipps RAB, 1845) Diversity characterised the building stock of Miller's Point even by this date. Robert Long's house, for instance, was 23 feet wide and 83 feet long. It had a single floor and only two rooms. The rental value was assessed at the low figure of £15 per annum. It was described as being in a "Bad state of repair". Houses in "Bad repair" or "Middling repair" characterised a number of the houses of Miller's Point. Equally notable were those houses described as possessing "every convenience". The size and value of Miller's Point houses varied widely. "Miller's Point", ie the area at the very western headland, was described without street names in the rate assessment book. Here, out of a total of 74 dwellings, there were four houses valued at over £100 per annum, six houses valued between £50 and £99, and 32 valued at less than £20. In contrast, in Lower Fort Street, of the 23 houses listed, only one house was valued at over £100, but there were sixteen (16) houses in the £50 to £99 bracket. (Gipps RAB, 1845)

During the rest of the nineteenth century, the building stock of Miller's Point continued to increase. Since time has precluded an exhaustive sampling of rate assessment books to ascertain the precise number of buildings in Miller's Point, census data covering the wider area of Gipps Ward must suffice. In 1846, there were 1,141 houses in the ward, of which 939 were of brick or stone, and 202 of timber (Census, 1846, Table 40) By 1891, there were 1,795 houses in Gipps Ward. (Census, 1891, 535) By 1901, the effects of commercial expansion were becoming evident. There were 1,509 houses, 13, of wood, 420 of stone and 1,051 of brick. (Census, 1901, 1176)
Miller's Point continued to attract the merchants and gentry of Sydney. In 1851, amongst its residents, it numbered Robert Towns, owner of Towns Wharf, Frederick Ebsworth, merchant, Abraham Brierley, merchant, Samuel Elyard, an employee of the Colonial Secretary's Office, who was a noted early painter and who left numerous artistic renderings of Miller's Point. (Ford, 1851, 30) By this time, Victoria Terrace had been completely built upon and possessed a respectable set of occupants. (See illustration) Over the years, however, Miller's Point became less attractive to the gentleman and the merchant. James Merriman, a prominent merchant and sometime Mayor of Sydney lived there until his death in his house in Argyle Place in 1883. (ADB, 5, 242-3) The number of similar residents declined as the area was increasingly taken over by woolstores and wharf labourers. In 1875, the worst areas of Sydney were surveyed by the Sewage and Health Board, to ascertain the sanitary and housing condition of the different areas. They looked at Miller's Point. Problems there, however, seemed minimal. Miller's Point, in fact, appeared quite well favoured in comparison to most other areas, particularly the Rocks and the area to the south around Sussex Street. (V&PLA, 1875-6, V - See Appendix) The older larger houses originally occupied by the merchants and gentlemen were converted into lodging houses and boarding houses. (See section on Lodging Houses, below Page 52)

Stone Dwellings

Miller's Point in the nineteenth century was notable for the relatively large number of its houses which were built of stone. The abundance of suitable building stone in the area has already been noted. As early as July 1789, stone for the new Observatory was quarried near Dawes Point. (Collins, I, 1975, 61) Of the five applications to build houses at Miller's Point received by the Town Surveyor between 1828 and 1831, four were for stone houses. (A.O 9/2700) By 1901, Gipps Ward which included Miller's Point had the highest proportion of stone buildings in Sydney. (Census, 1901, 1176)
**Housing tenure in Miller's Point**

The density of persons per dwelling in Gipps Ward oscillated during the nineteenth century. (See following Table - Persons per Inhabited Dwelling in Sydney, 1851-91) After declining during the 1850s and the 1860s, the proportion of persons per dwelling in Gipps Ward appears to have risen. Population in Gipps Ward had increased from 1871 to 1891 and it became one of the more crowded areas of Sydney, even when suburban densities are taken into account. (Kelly, 1978b, 71) Housing tenure in Miller's Point showed even more pronounced trends. Much of nineteenth century Sydney was a rental city. (Kass, 1984, 198-200) A sample survey using rate assessment books to determine changes in housing tenure in Miller's Point was undertaken for Windmill Street as an indicator of trends during the century. (See following Table - Housing Tenure in Windmill Street, 1851-1902) In 1851, nearly three-quarters of all houses in the street were tenanted. Houses occupied by owner made up only 19% of all houses in the street. Over the next twenty years, there was little change in tenure patterns. After 1871, however, there was a distinct and prolonged fall in the percentage of owner-occupied houses in Windmill Street. By 1902, only 5% of houses in Windmill Street were owner-occupied. With the resumption of the whole area by the government, all occupiers of house property in Miller's Point became tenants, as indeed, most still are.
The Housing Role of the Sydney Harbour Trust

After the Sydney Harbour Trust took control of Miller's Point, demolition of many of the older houses in the area was undertaken. In 1900-1, 14 houses in Clyde Street were condemned. By June of 1901, 13 of them had been demolished. (SHT, 1901, 39) In the following year, more houses in Merri-man and Clyde Streets were demolished. (SHT, 1902, 17) Further demolition, mainly for the construction of commercial premises, was undertaken. In 1910, 40 buildings, both commercial and residential, were removed in Thornton, Munn and Argyle Streets to provide for the building of new wharves. (SHT, 1910, 12)

The removal of so many older houses was indicative of the belief that the older, insanitary dwellings of the area should be demolished as a plague prevention measure. In addition, the Sydney Harbour Trust saw its role primarily as being the provision of commercial wharfage and storage facilities. When formed on 11 February 1901, it found that it controlled 152 separate properties, many of which were residential. (SHT, 1901, 28) On 11 June 1901, a large area of the Rocks and Miller's Point was withdrawn from the control of the City Improvement Advisory Board and vested in the Trust, totalling 401 dwellings, 82 combined shops and dwellings, 23 hotels, 70 bond stores and 45 factories, shops and offices. (Ibid) The value of these properties was seen to lie in the suitability of their sites for commercial use. As the Trust Report remarked, "until the land be required for trade purposes, the Commissioners have to administer the numerous small dwelling-houses and shops built thereon." (SHT, 1901, 27-8) In consequence, they found they were burdened with the problems of collecting rents from a large number of small houses and had to cope with all the difficulties of property maintenance, rent evasion, and eviction. (SHT, 1901, 28-9; 1902, 9)
The City Improvement Advisory Board had been formed in April 1901 to advise the government on suitable policies for the property resumed in the Rocks and Miller's Point, which lay outside the control of the Sydney Harbour Trust. Though emasculated by their loss of control over the area when it was placed in the hands of the Trust in June 1901, they continued their work. (PWD, 1903, 717) Unlike the Harbour Trust Commissioners, the Advisory Board realised the necessity for wharf labour to live near the place where it was employed. They interviewed the local MP, W. M. Daley and the secretaries of the Coal-lumpers' Union and the Wharf Laborers' Union. Other enquiries they made confirmed the need for the casual laborers employed on the wharves to live in Miller's Point. (Ibid, 718) They sought advice from overseas, particularly Great Britain, about suitable housing designs. Subsequently, plans were drawn up for the area bounded by Lower Fort, Argyle, Kent and Windmill Streets. (Ibid, 719)

Their proposals were unveiled at a public meeting of the residents of Miller's Point and the Rocks at the Federation Hall on 2 May 1902. Varney Parkes, chairman of the Board, prominent architect, and son of Sir Henry Parkes, addressed the meeting. The residents expressed a preference for the older buildings which they were familiar with. Parkes noted that, though designs had been examined from around the world, none would meet the requirements of the colony, and a completely new type of flat with better facilities had to be designed to cater for the needs of residents. Parkes was aware, however, of the danger that the dwellings would become too popular and that wharf laborers would be pushed out by other tenants. Models of the scheme and the proposed buildings were displayed, but whether the proposed occupants of these dwellings altered their initial antagonism to the concept is unclear in the press reports. (Daily Telegraph, 3 May 1902; S.M.H., 3 May 1902) (The Daily Telegraph report, the most detailed one found is reproduced as an appendix)
The Sydney Harbour Trust finally accepted the need that the laborers who serviced their wharves needed to live nearby. By 1908, they were constructing 22 dwellings on the flat principle on the western side of Dalgety Road for wharf laborers. (SHT, 1908, 8) Houses in Lower Fort Street were also repaired. (Ibid, 28) How completely the policy of the Harbour Trust had changed was revealed in the following year when their Report stated that, "It is the policy of the Commissioners to provide houses, where possible, for those of the waterside workers who must, of necessity, live near their work." (SHT, 1909, 7) However, they added the caveat that most of its land was too valuable for residential use and that houses would only be erected on land that was unsuitable for commercial use. (Ibid)

By 1910, they were building 12 houses in Munn Street, though progress was slow due to a brick shortage resulting from a coal strike. (SHT, 1910, 5, 11) In the same year, the foundations for a number of houses in High Street were down. (SHT, 1910, 11) Most of the houses appear to have been completed by 1915. (Shore, 1981, 71) In 1910, the Housing Board also designed a series of dwellings in Lower Fort Street for the Harbour Trust. (Blackmore & Ashton, Oct 1986, 8.3, 8.4, 8.5)

In May 1912, control of the Observatory Hill Resumed Area, i.e. all property east and south of Lower Fort, Windmill and Kent Streets, was vested in the Housing Board. (Yearbook, 1912, 736) Up to that time, the Harbour Trust had spent £138,037 on that area in building dwellings. (Yearbook, 1914, 707) In the financial year 1913-4, the Housing Board spent £104,209 on dwellings in the area. (Ibid) Much of this sum would have helped fund the demolition of most of the houses on the south side of Windmill Street, between Kent and Lower Fort Streets. The Board then erected a substantial row of flat dwellings in a partial realisation of the 1902 scheme proposed by the City Improvement Advisory Board. They appear to have been completed about 1915. (Blackmore & Ashton, Oct 1986, 8.11a, 8.11b)
Further work on dwelling houses continued. In 1917, 18 residential flats were built on the north and south side of High Street near Kent Street. Their design was similar to those built previously, with "improvements in detail". (SHT, 1917, 17) During the same year, the yards of the houses at 25-41 Lower Fort Street were remodelled after they were altered as a result of the works on New Pottinger Street. (SHT, 1917, 17)
SPENCER LODGE

The rise and fall in the popularity of Miller's Point with the gentry of Sydney is typified by the fate of "Spencer Lodge". "Spencer Lodge" was erected about 1835. It is depicted on a map of 1837. (See illus after page 44). In January 1838, John Lamb, the principal of Lamb and Parbury, whose wharf was situated at Lower Fort Street, became the tenant of "Spencer Lodge". (Gipps RAB, 1845, no. 675) The house was described in 1845 as possessing 12 rooms, and measured 184 feet by 204 feet. Its annual value was assessed at £175 per year, the highest in Miller's Point. (Ibid)

Its position meant that it commanded an extensive view across the Harbour foreshores. It was a prominent building which was visible to any traveller on the Harbour. Its romantic possibilities ensured that it was often depicted in paintings and drawings during the 1830s and 1840s. (See illustrations.)

By 1851, it was still the most prestigious and expensive house in Miller's Point. (Gipps RAB, 1851, no. 971) Later residents included Edward Orpen Moriarty, the chief of the Harbours and Rivers Branch of the Public Works Department; prominent gentlemen, such as Thomas Hussey Kelly, woolbroker, and Henry Moore, M.L.A. (M.L. SPF - Residences, Spencer Lodge; ADB, 5, 9)

Thereafter, it rapidly lost caste. By 1901, it was the Nurses' Quarters attached to Moorecliffes Eye Hospital, another house with a genteel birth. (M.L. SPF - Spencer Lodge, 1901) It was acquired by the Sydney Harbour Trust as part of its resumptions. Due to a lack of suitable other accommodation, it was temporarily used to house the Assistant Harbour Master in 1902. (SHT, 1902, 10) It survived till 1925, at least. (SHT, Review, 1926) Its date of demolition has not been discovered so far.
Lodging houses have long been a feature of Miller's Point. In 1843, John Johnson, a broker, kept a boarding house in "Albion House", situated on the western side of Merriman Street, in a large dwelling originally erected for the architect, Henry Cooper. (Prout & Rae, 1843, 6) Boarding and lodging houses were a necessity in the Town of Sydney, with its large population of transients and casual laborers. Many eminent men, poets and politicians, lived part of their lives in boarding houses in Sydney. However, boarding and lodging houses varied widely in clientele and quality. In 1876, the Select Committee on Common Lodging Houses presented its Report to the Legislative Assembly. It provided much detail about the conditions of boarding establishments in Sydney.

Witnesses who presented evidence to the enquiry were able to demonstrate the differences between boarding and lodging houses in different parts of the city. The very worst lodging houses catering for wharf labour and seamen clustered around Sussex Street. (V&PLA, 1875-6, VI, 852, 855) Some lodging houses in the Rocks, particularly in Cumberland, Gloucester and Harrington Streets, were noted as being particularly unsavoury. (Ibid, 859) Miller's Point, however, received no particular mention, for reasons which shall become apparent below. One of the hopes of the Select Committee when it presented its Report was that some wealthy philanthropist would take up the cause of providing cheap but clean accommodation for those who needed to need in lodging houses. The report and other factors eventually provided the impetus for the formation of the Model Lodging House Company and for the erection of its Model Lodging House in Kent Street, near Miller's Point. (See below, page 55)
By 1890, the impact of the economic and social changes which had been taking place in Miller's Point over the past two decades had inspired the establishment of boarding houses in Miller's Point. There were relatively few boarding establishments in Miller's Point, and most of them were concentrated along Lower Fort Street, which had been deserted by its original wealthy residents. (See illustration)

Most of the boarding houses at Miller's Point catered for a high class market. (Davison, 1978, 193) The worst lodging houses still lay south near Sussex Street and towards the Town Hall. (Ibid)

By 1901, 13.1% of the building stock of Gipps Ward, which included Miller's Point were boarding and lodging houses. Though the highest percentage of boarding establishments was located in Bourke Ward with 17.0%, the figure for Gipps Ward still made it one of the wards with the highest proportions of lodging houses in its building stock. (Census, 1901, 1176) Many of these houses would have been located in other parts of the Ward, as the map of 1890 would suggest, but the number of lodging houses in Miller's Point had certainly grown. Even more boarding houses had been established in Lower Fort Street. In 1902, Numbers 7, 9 and 11 in Milton Terrace had been converted into boarding houses, as had Number 21 Lower Fort Street. (Gipps RAB, 1902, Nos. 935-7, 943) The presence of an established market at Miller's Point for high class boarding house accommodation appears to have provided the incentive for Kathleen Mary Stevens, wife of John Michael Stevens, musician of Leichhardt, to erect "Stevens Buildings", as a high class boarding house, at 73 Windmill Street. (LTOD, No. 156, Bk. 600; No 157 Bk. 600) Completed sometime in 1901, it possessed 8 apartments which were let and rated separately. (Sands, 1901, 153; Gipps RAB, 1902, no. 1036)
During the 1920s, a somewhat different type of boarding establishment was formed in Windmill Street, again in a building which had originally been in the hands of the Stevens family. They had owned the new "Live and Let Live Hotel" which now stands at 69 Windmill Street, since 1886. The Hotel was delicensed on 30 June 1923. (Tooth's KB Chronicle, 1 Aug 1940) Two years later, the Anzac Fellowship of Women converted it into a hostel for occupation by immigrant families whilst they looked for suitable accommodation and employment. It was thought to be an ideal site since it was "right opposite the ships in Windmill Street". It contained 11 rooms and was sparsely furnished to simplify cleaning. It was officially opened on 5 May 1925, as the "Empire Service Hostel" by Lady de Chair, wife of the Governor. (Daily Telegraph, 6 May 1925; Labour Daily, 6 May 1925)
KENT STREET MODEL LODGING HOUSE

The publication of the report of the Commission on Common Lodging Houses in Sydney and increasing concern amongst the wealthy of Sydney about conditions in the inner city inspired the creation of the Model Lodging House Company. The company obtained an allotment in Kent Street and erected its Model Lodging House. It was officially opened on 19 June 1882, (S.M.H., 20 June 1882) Though it had been intended to compete directly with the cheap sixpenny lodging houses which were amongst the worst in Sydney, construction costs meant that a fee of ninepence per night had to be charged. (Mayne, 1982, 153) The company was formed on the same principle that similar companies were formed in Britain. Philanthropy, it was hoped, would be commensurate with a reasonable profit, and the enterprise would serve to inspire other capitalists to engage in philanthropic, but also remunerative investment in ameliorating the living conditions of the lower orders.

In the event, the example did not take on. The nightly fee of ninepence charged by the Company made it unattractive to the very people who the Model Lodging House was intended to house. They still preferred to patronise the less savoury but cheaper sixpenny lodging houses. (Mayne, 1982, 155) The Company continued to operate in a reduced manner for some years, rarely showing a profit. (Ibid, 164) It was resumed in 1902 and control passed to the Sydney Harbour Trust. They could not let it satisfactorily to anyone willing to take it over. Thus on 1 October 1902, it formally took control of the building itself. (SHT, 1903, 7) Thus, the Sydney Harbour Trust commenced a career as direct operator of lodging house accommodation.
In its first year of operation under the Sydney Harbour Trust, from 1 October 1902 to 30 June 1903, the Model Lodging House accommodated 46,979 persons. (SHT, 1903, 7) Thereafter numbers accommodated annually ranged between 58,000 per annum to 62,000 per annum for some years. (SHT, 1904, 7; 1905, 10; 1906, 11; 1907, 57) In 1907 and 1908, the number of persons accommodated surged to a record 64,528 persons and continued to stay at a record level for some years. (SHT, 1908, 11; 1909, 36; 1910, 39) The reasons for this surge in demand were probably associated with the booming economy and the better prospects for work on the now busy wharves of the area. After about 1910, however, the Harbour Trust Reports become silent on the matter of the Lodging House. Finally, in 1918, the Sydney Harbour Trust divested itself of the Model Lodging House. (NSWGG, 15 March 1918, 1330)
In nineteenth century Sydney, the state of a person's health was regarded as solely their own responsibility. Provision of medical services and of the necessities for a healthy and productive life was the concern of the individual and of no-one else. Additionally, the connection of water and sewerage to the individual house and the provision of adequate drainage was left to the individual house owner who was usually a landlord, and often miserly at that. Poor health thus arose from a variety of circumstances - the relative lack of adequate sanitation in many houses plus the inadequacy of drainage and water supply. Additionally, many were unable to afford medical help when required and lived on a diet which relied heavily on meat and carbohydrates. The effects of all of these factors fell most heavily on the poorest residents of Sydney, but all people, even the comparatively well-off, were also affected. (Kass, 1984, 259-62)

Peter Curson notes in his study of epidemics in Sydney, how the distribution of deaths in the city was established at an early date. In 1841, deaths were overly concentrated in the lower Rocks area, along Sussex Street near Darling Harbour, and in the area near the present Town Hall. These areas correlated very closely with those occupied by the poorer classes, and with the proximity of noxious industries. (Curson, 1985, 37-9) Miller's Point, in 1841, shows relatively few deaths, probably as much from the youthfulness of its residents as from the low density of housing there at that time. (Census, 1846) A similar pattern could be discerned by Curson for 1889. The same areas had the same high concentrations of deaths, with the additions of Woolloomooloo and Surry Hills. (Ibid, 40) He does not remark, however, on the much greater number and density of deaths in Miller's Point in 1889. (Ibid, 38) His analysis of epidemics in Sydney provides a suitable core sample showing the effects of health care during the nineteenth century.
The healthiness of Miller's Point declined gradually during the nineteenth century, as the area became more crowded with houses and as the population acquired a greater leavening of the lower orders. The measles epidemic in 1867 affected Gipps Ward from the first outbreak, but its incidence quickly peaked and passed the area by. (Ibid, 58) The Miller's Point area, however, was much less seriously affected than the lower Rocks area. (Ibid, 60)

An outbreak of scarlet fever in 1875-6 brought a renewed onslaught of death to the area. Gipps, Brisbane and Macquarie Wards, ie those with a large population of the poorer classes, were the first to be affected. (Ibid, 80) Unlike earlier epidemics, this one affected the families of clerical workers, the professional and genteel. This factor proved to be a crucial one since it determined the official reaction and helped create the outcry which saw a series of government enquiries into the state of health in the city. (Ibid, 87; Mayne, 1982, passim) This series of investigations revealed just how insanitary and dangerous living conditions were in certain parts of the inner city, especially where the poor lived. (Mayne, 1982, 92-8; Kass, 1984, Chap 10, 12, 13, 15; Fisher, 1981, 16-28) It is notable though that when Miller's Point was examined by some of the investigators, it was not found to be particularly insanitary. (See Appendix) They do not appear to have examined Munn, Clyde and Wentworth Streets, which may have caused a revised opinion. These investigations commenced a process by which the citizens of Sydney were gradually accustomed to the reality of health conditions in the inner city and of the need for some degree of government interference. Public opinion was prepared for the initiatives which were to be taken by the government in 1900 in response to pressure from some elements of the public. These measures were to be of central importance to the history of Miller's Point and its built environment.
The 19th of January 1900 was a typical mid-summer day in Sydney. It was very hot and wharf laborers and carters collecting their loads sweated freely as they laboured in the sun. At midday, Arthur Payne, a carter aged 33, and "a rather slight, but muscular man, fair, and of nervous temperment" was driving his flat-topped van when he suddenly felt dizzy, a violent headache assailed him and his stomach began to ache. He delivered his load and returned to his warehouse. There he was able to lie down for a time, but he completed his days work. When he went home, he was still suffering from these symptoms. He remained ill for some days, and his temperature was dangerously high. Arthur Payne was quickly recognized as suffering from bubonic plague and was removed to the Quarantine Station on North Head. (V&PLA, 1900, II, 1311)

Arthur Payne lived at 10 Ferry Lane, Miller's Point, a small dwelling owned by Henry Clay, which had four rooms on two levels, an unused basement which was built on the natural rock. Its sewerage was defective, but otherwise it was clean and tidy. (Ibid, 1313; Gipps RAB, 1902, no. 1006) He worked at the Central Wharf, Miller's Point, where he is likely to have caught the plague. He had not visited any other wharf where he could have caught the infection for some days before, and four vessels from Hong Kong had visited the Central Wharf in the past few days. (V&PLA, 1900, II, 1256) Plague was raging in Asia at that time. From the Central Wharf and from other wharves, the infection quickly spread elsewhere into the city. (Curson, 1985, 141)

The people who were most affected by the outbreak were the inhabitants of the central and western parts of the city where commercial and residential buildings were haphazardly intermingled. These were also the areas where many of the poorest classes of the city lived in some its worst housing. (Ibid, 142-4) Many were casual laborers and others who derived their income from working in the very enterprises they lived near.
The population of Sydney reacted to the Plague with fear and panic. The actual number of cases was small. In the first eight months after the plague virus had arrived in Sydney, 303 people fell victim to it and 103 died. (Kelly, 1978b, 78) Of this number, however, 60% came from the inner parts of the city near Darling Harbour. (Curson, 1985, 143-4) Plague is highly infectious and the authorities were quick to declare much of the western part of the city south of the Gas Works a quarantined area. (Sydney Mail, 31 March 1900) Cleansing squads were formed to systematically move through the quarantined area. They whitewashed all buildings and outhouses, caught rats and demolished insanitary structures. Later, other areas of the city, including Miller's Point, were cleansed by the squads. (Curson, 1985, 154)

Declaring an area quarantine had a marked effect on the residents. They were unable to move in or out of their quarantined home area and so were effectively unemployable. (Hughes, 1947, 175) However, George McCredie, an architect appointed by the government to oversee the cleansing operations, began to employ these local men within their quarantine area as part of the cleansing squads as a counter to this problem of unemployment. (Kelly, 1978a, n.p.)

Apart from the temporary panic and the disarray of the city which resulted from the visitation of the Plague, a much more permanent result occurred. The public had been thoroughly frightened by the onset of Plague. Government involvement in health affairs in the city had become gradually accepted during the nineteenth century. A group of ninety Members of Parliament petitioned the Lyne government to resume the wharves. This was eventually done on 3 May 1900. (Hughes, 1947, 173) Shore, 1981, 130) Subsequently, the Sydney Harbour Trust was formed to administer the wharves of Sydney, clean them up and rebuild them for more efficient commercial use.
POVERTY & CHARITY

During the nineteenth century, Sydney was subjected to the attentions of various social investigators, seeking to understand the nature of poverty and lower class life in the city. These surveys were to eventually mould public opinion to accept some degree of government intervention in matters that had previously been regarded as matters for the individual. Much of this has been dealt with elsewhere in this report, so a brief survey shall suffice at this stage.

In 1858, W. S. Jevons, an employee at the Sydney Mint, surveyed all of Sydney for his intellectual interest and categorised its population and where they lived. Jevons was later to return to England and become a noted economic theorist. (ADB, 4, 481) He divided Sydney society into three categories, largely based upon socio-economic criteria. His first category consisted of merchants, gentry, professional men and the major shopkeepers. The second was composed of mechanics and skilled artisans, shopkeepers and their employees. The third was composed of laborers and the indefinable lower orders. Miller's Point, or "the upper part of the Rocks", was placed into the second class along with Surry Hills, Woolloomooloo, Redfern, Glebe, Pyrmont and Balmain. (Groom & Wickman, 1982, 46) In addition, Jevons examined all of Sydney to find the very worst rundown areas, occupied by the lower orders. He found none in Miller's Point.

During the mid 1870s, the Legislative Assembly held a series of commissions of inquiry to investigate sewerage, housing and lodging houses in Sydney, in the wake of the scarlet fever epidemic. The implications of these investigations have been dealt with elsewhere in this report. The Model Lodging House in Kent Street was created as the result of these moves. At the same time, a series of press investigations into conditions in Sydney also cast a lurid light on the subject and helped to frighten the citizens of Sydney into grudging acceptance of the need for some measure of change. The Ragged Schools Movement (dealt with below) drew some of its impetus from similar sources.
Another result of the investigations of the 1870s was the creation of the City of Sydney Improvements Board, a arm of the colonial government which sought to control building the city and to force the demolition of insanitary and dangerous structures. It had a rapid success initially. Many buildings fell, as much due to fears by owners that their buildings would be condemned, as to actual pressure from the Board. However, rivalry with the City Council, a reluctance to enforce the powers of the Board as vigorously as possible and opposition from landowners, eventually saw the demise of the Board in the 1890s. (Mayne, 1982, passim and 202-4)

The onset of plague in 1900 and the subsequent demolitions conducted, firstly, by the Public Works Department, and later by the Sydney Harbour Trust also created a photographic record of poor housing and living conditions in Sydney, which is testimony to the changes that had been wrought in public opinion since 1858. However, despite the re-building of the wharves and the building of new housing for wharf labour at Miller's Point, the casual nature of work for wharf laborers, meant that insecurity and low incomes were endemic to their employment. Sussex Street, with its population of wharf laborers and their families gained the epithet of "The Hungry Mile". Miller's Point, too, it seems, had similar families suffering the same difficulties, early in the twentieth century. (Mitchell, 1977) Only with the rise of union power and the development of the Sydney economy were wharf laborers to earn a comfortable living. (See below)
FORMS OF GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL

Miller's Point has been controlled to various degree by different government bodies. Whilst the role, functions and timespan of these bodies often overlapped, certain bodies had the bulk of the responsibility for Miller's Point. These bodies are set out below.

1788-1841
Colonial Government

When the colony was established at Sydney Cove in 1788, ultimate control rested with the British Government. Day to day control was delegated to the Governor, who, due to the distance between N.S.W. and Great Britain, largely was the government. In detail, of course, many of his responsibilities were delegated to particular officials, but ultimate decision making power ran through him back to the British Parliament.

With the emergence of a sizeable free community in the colony pressure for some devolution of powers grew. In 1825, the Legislative Council was formed, with handpicked members. Its function, however, was solely advisory. Gradually, the colony gained more independence from Britain. In 1856, N.S.W. was established as a self-governing colony.

Between 1788 and 1841, the colonial government had control of Miller's Point. It controlled public works, such as roads, water supply and other matters such as building. Some considerable public works, such as the cutting back of Observatory Hill, and the commencement of the Argyle Cut were undertaken but much was still left to the discretion of individuals.
1842-1900

Sydney Municipal Council (various titles)

After its formation in 1842, the municipal council of Sydney was the major controlling factor in the city and in Miller's Point. In its early years, it was riven by faction, hamstrung by inadequate finances and hampered by the need to learn the functions of local government in a new environment, which possessed little extant infrastructure. Once the problems of its early years had been overcome, it was active in building up the infrastructure which the city lacked.

The municipal council was the main body responsible for roadworks, drainage and building control. The Council also had power over water supply, sewerage and markets at first, but these powers were later to be placed in the hands of special bodies formed by the colonial legislature.

1901-36

Sydney Harbour Trust

After a brief period of control by the Public Works Department, much of Miller's Point passed into the control of the Sydney Harbour Trust. It had been formed to control the harbour waters, shipping and the wharves. It also gained a de facto role as substantial landlord of housing and commercial premises in Miller's Point. (See above)

The Sydney Harbour Trust had primary control over the buildings in Miller's Point, but it had also gained control over roads and footpaths as a result of the resumptions. Some of these were passed over to the city council, but others remained in the control of the Sydney Harbour Trust.
1936 to date
Maritime Services Board

The Maritime Services Board was formed in 1936 to combine the functions of the Sydney Harbour Trust and the various bodies responsible for shipping, wharves and maritime activities in the rest of the state. Since it took over directly from the Sydney Harbour Trust, many of its functions in Miller's Point have been identical to those by the Sydney Harbour Trust.
MANAGING MILLER'S POINT

LAW AND ORDER

The overt power of law and order came early to Miller's Point. A Watch House was built at the south-east corner of Argyle and Kent Streets. It was existence by 1844. (Low, 1844, 9) It continued there until at least 1863. (A.O. Map 5574) The building remained marked on maps of the city into the 1880s, but it appears to have lost its policing function by then. (Dove, 1880)

By the 1880s, Miller's Point had acquired the reputation as being a dangerous area, due to the larrikins who controlled the streets of the area, particularly at night. (Pratt, 1901, 27) Police had to go about in pairs for their own defence. The arming of police with revolvers in the 1890s and the use of the lash on those convicted of larrikin type offences returned control of the area to the police. (Brodsky, 1965, 91) (See below)
DEFENCE

Due to its prominent and commanding position near Sydney Cove, the headland which incorporated Miller's and Dawes' Points was quickly recognised as vital for the defence of early Sydney. In September 1788, the guns from the Sirius were landed at Dawes' Point and placed behind small earthworks. (Austin, 1963, 192) More permanent fortifications were commenced in December 1790 and the guns were mounted in November 1791. (Ibid, 192) A new magazine to store all of the settlement's gunpowder away from possible interference was placed behind Windmill Hill in 1798. (Ibid, 195)

Work began on building Fort Phillip on top of the hill in 1804. (Ibid, 200-1) A Return of guns placed in Sydney in 1806 showed that Dawes' Point and Windmill Hill were still important elements of Sydney's defences, but that Fort Phillip had taken a major role in these defences. (Ibid, 202) However, Fort Phillip rapidly became obsolescent. By 1821, it was being used mainly for gunpowder storage and by 1828, it was largely being used as a telegraph station. (Ibid, 203)

The battery at Dawes Point remained a valuable part of Sydney's defences into the 1850s. (Groom & Wickman, 1982, 30-2) After that date, however, there arose considerable concern amongst the citizens of Sydney over the difficulty of preventing enemy warships entering Port Jackson. Thus, from the late 1860s onwards, work on building a set of batteries on Middle Head and South Head went ahead with vigour. Emphasis was thereafter placed upon these defences in colonial defence strategy and the defence works at Miller's Point slowly lost their importance.
Streets on the Point were mostly to remain narrow. To further complicate the street pattern, narrow streets were the rule when subdividers cut up the southern part of the Point into building allotments. One of these, Clyde Street, subdivided by Frederick Wright Unwin early in the 1830s, was only twelve feet wide.

After this burst of subdivision activity in the 1830s, the formation of new roads was largely stilled until the twentieth century when the Sydney Harbour Trust carried out a major engineering feat with its construction of Hickson Road with the accompanying concrete bridges to carry traffic along Windmill, Munn and Bettington Streets over it. The intention was to improve access to the wharves and to do away with "four expensive cart-lifts". (SHT, 1906, 8) By this feat of workmanship, the face of Miller's Point was transformed. The relationship between the upper streets, such as Windmill, Argyle, Kent and Lower Fort Streets, which had previously been subject to heavy commercial traffic and the wharves was also lost.

Similar impact came from the building of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, which followed that rocky ridge which had so hampered access to Miller's Point in the 1830s. The construction of the Bridge served to further highlight the separation of Miller's Point from The Rocks, and to provide an even more magnificent backdrop to the picturesque nature of Miller's Point.
PUBLIC & PRIVATE LIFE

CHURCHES

Holy Trinity Church, cnr. Lower Fort and Argyle Streets

Moves to build Holy Trinity Church commenced on 23 December 1839, when a circular was sent out by St. Phillip's Church proposing a meeting about the state of the church. Parishioners at St. Phillip's included many of the most respectable people in Sydney and it was rapidly becoming overcrowded. When the decision to build a new church was taken, it was decided that it would be named Holy Trinity. Additionally, it was decided that one-quarter of the seats should be free to cater for the large population of seamen and others in the area who could not afford to rent a pew. (Holy Trinity Cent. 1940, 3)

The foundation stone of the new church was laid on 23 June 1840. The architect was Henry Ginn and the builder was Edward Flood. Flood was later to become a Mayor of Sydney, the owner of Flood's Wharf on the Point, a wealthy pastoralist and member of parliament. The original building constructed at this date now comprises the nave of the present building. (Ibid)

Extensions were carried out to the design of Edmund Blacket between 1855 and 1859, thus completing the outer stone walls. (Ibid, 4; Kerr, 1983, 45) The east window was given a handsome stained glass window in 1860, designed by Charles Clutterbuck of Essex. (Ibid, 5; Kerr, 1983, 45). The last major change to the fabric of the Church occurred in 1874-5 when Blacket was responsible for the replacement of the roof. (Ibid)
Holy Trinity gained a special relationship with the military when it became the Church for servicemen stationed in the area who belonged to the Anglican persuasion. This was supported by official policy. By the 1860s, the rector received ten shillings per annum for each soldier who belonged to the Church of England stationed at Dawes Battery, up to a maximum of 100 men. (Holy Trinity Cent., 1940, 2) This relationship continued for many years and carried over into the twentieth century.

Edmund Blacket carried out other work for Holy Trinity Church. In 1866, he designed a rectory to be built in Princes Street. It was a square three storied Colonial Classical building. (Kerr, 1983, 102) This building was demolished after the site had been resumed by the government about 1904-07. (Holy Trinity Cent., 1940, 5) With the money received in compensation, the Church erected a new Rectory and a row of adjacent houses near the Church on Lower Fort Street. (Ibid)

St. Brigid's, Kent Street

A more chequered career has been experienced by the Roman Catholic Chapel in Kent Street. This building was under way in 1836. (A.O. Map 5487). For some reason, however, its existence is not noted in 1844 in Low's Directory. The reason may be apparent in the fact that it was marked on a map of 1848 as "Presbyterian School House". (A.O. Map 5553) In 1850, it was marked on Wells' map as "R.C. School". In 1863, it was shown as "School" on another map. (A.O. Map 5574) By 1880, it had transmuted into "St. Brigid's Church". (Dove, 1880) There was another establishment, also called St. Brigid's School on the opposite side of Kent Street, further to the south. (See below)
SCHOOLS

Holy Trinity School

A parochial school linked to Holy Trinity was established. Originally, it functioned in a weatherboard schoolhouse at the northern end of Princes Street. (Holy Trinity Cent. 1940, 4) It was apparently still extant in 1858. (A.O. Map 5568) Later, this was demolished to provide the site for the Rectory. (Holy Trinity Cent. 1940, 4)

A long stone building next to the church building was erected to replace the original weatherboard building. (Holy Trinity Cent. 1940, 4) In 1857, it was certified as a denominational school, under the education scheme then functioning. (Ibid) It became a public school in 1883. (Ibid) It was closed as a public school by the Department of Education in 1901. (Ibid)

St. Brigid's Roman Catholic School

The various changes which the building situated immediately south of the south-east corner of Kent and Argyle Streets had experienced have already been noted above under St Brigid's Church. There was also another set of school buildings also known as St Brigid's on the opposite side of Kent Street, just north of Agar Street. Its development has only briefly been noted.

In 1834, the site of the school was noted as being promised to the Roman Catholics. (A.O. Map 5423) By the 1860s, the school was functioning. It was depicted on the 1865 Detail Survey of the City (Detail Survey, 1865, Sheet A2) It is also evident in photographs of that time. (e.g. A. O. Photo 5069, See illus after page 35) In 1878, there were 94 boys and 130 girls enrolled. Average weekly attendance was 50.3 for boys and 99.0 for girls. (V&PLA, 1878-9, III, 691) It is further noted in 1888 on the Detail Series Maps. (Section 93) The site was resumed in 1901 and the buildings had been demolished by 1911. (A.O. Map 373)
St Michael's School, Lower Fort Street

Isadore Brodsky notes the existence of St. Michael's School in Lower Fort Street during the 1890s. (Brodsky, 1962, 147) It appears to have been built during the 1880s. In 1880, the site was occupied by stables and various nondescript small buildings. (Dove, 1880) By 1889, a school had been erected on this site. (Lands, Met. D. S., Sec 85, 86, 1889 & 1895) The buildings would have been opposite Numbers 35-7 Lower Fort Street, approximately where York Street now joins Lower Fort Street. When these buildings were removed has not yet been ascertained.

Fort Street School

Fort Street School had various names over the years which it served as a public school run by the government. It began its life as the Military Hospital. Numerous changes to its fabric have been made since it was built. These need not detain us here.

In 1849, after conversion and some remodelling, it opened as the National School. (Morris, 1980, 3) Its first temporary headmaster was appointed in 1850, but its first official headmaster was William Wilkins, who took over soon afterwards. Wilkins played a major role in the development of public education in NSW. At Fort Street, he introduced the pupil-teacher system whereby able pupils were educated at the school and trained as teachers at the same time. Later, when Wilkins was the Secretary of the Council of Education, he was able to put many of the ideas, such as the pupil-teacher system which he had tried out at Fort Street, into practice across the state. (ADB, 6, 400-1)
Fort Street drew many pupils from the surrounding areas including The Rocks and Miller's Point. (Morris, 1980, 20) For many years, it was the top public school in NSW, the place where able teachers and pupils were sent. Various new educational methods and theories were tried out at Fort Street. It quickly gained a reputation for turning out superlative graduates. Many people later to become famous in various fields were to graduate from Fort Street. Thus, many pupils from the surrounding areas were able to benefit from an education much better than one would have normally expected. Many of them went on to become notable people in their chosen field.

One such product of Fort Street was Frederick Bridges. He was the son of one of the stonemasons brought to NSW by J. D. Lang. Frederick Bridges was the first pupil-teacher taught by Wilkins under the system he initiated at Fort Street. Bridges rose rapidly in the teaching service. In 1867, just fifteen years after he had entered service with the Board of Education, he was back at his old school, Fort Street, as its headmaster, the most prestigious teaching appointment in the state. His later career was also suitably meteoric. He was an inspector in 1876, the chief inspector in 1894, and Under-Secretary of the Department in 1901. He played an important and influential part in the development of public education in NSW. (ADB, 3, 229-30)

During the twentieth century, Fort Street continued to produce graduates who became noted people in their fields. The school's teaching and administrative functions were later moved away from this site. The buildings are now occupied by the National Trust of Australia (NSW)
Ragged Schools

The Ragged Schools movement was an attempt by well-meaning people to try to take children who lived and worked on the streets of cities as messenger boys, match-girls, flower and newspaper sellers and give them an education which would make them into useful members of society. Children who began work at an early age were believed to be particularly vulnerable to criminal influences by such philanthropists. The movement which commenced in Britain was soon copied in the colonies.

In 1871, an established Ragged School was shifted to Kent Street somewhat to the south of Miller's Point. It closed in 1896. (Ramsland, 1986, 99) In 1875, the Globe Street Ragged School was moved to a new site in Harrington Street where new buildings were built for it. (Ibid) Both of these schools catered for children from Miller's Point. In 1907, the Harrington Street Ragged School was moved to be replaced by one at Miller's Point. (Ibid) The site of this building has not been ascertained. It closed down in the 1920s, when the whole Ragged Schools movement and the philosophy which had inspired it became increasingly out of tune with the tenor of the age. (Ibid)

Kindergartens

Kindergartens were also established in Miller's Point shortly after the concept came to NSW from overseas. In 1895, the Kindergarten Union was inaugurated and it opened its first kindergarten in Woolloomooloo. (Anderson, 1918, 3) Early kindergartens were established in any suitable building available. The ultimate aim, however, was to have specially designed buildings for use as kindergartens. The first of these was built in Newtown to be followed by one built to the design of Peddle and Thorp in Pine Street, Chippendale. (Ibid, 4)
By 1901, a "Commonwealth Free Kindergarten" was operating in Windmill Street just to the west of the building now known as Oswald's Bond Store. (A.O. Photo 1097) Later, there was a kindergarten in Munn Street. This was closed down when the building was demolished for the building of Hickson Road. The Sydney Harbour Trust then erected a new building for a kindergarten in Bettington Street in 1909, at a cost of £1,114/13/3. (SHT, 1909, 24) It is depicted on a map of August 1910. (A.O. Map 372) By 1918, the Bettington Street Kindergarten was open from 9.30 to 12.30 only. (Anderson, 1918, 13) The Sydney Harbour Trust also built the Lance Playground in 1911. (Shore, 1981, 71) In 1918, it was open for a much more convenient range of hours than the Kindergarten, remaining open from 9.30 to 4.30 every day. (Anderson, 1918, 13)
UNIONS

Various trade unions have had some impact upon Miller's Point over the years. Most germane to the concerns of this study are the Seamen's Union and the Waterside Workers' Federation which represented the major groups of workers involved in work at Miller's Point. Documentation about the Seamen's Union is relatively scanty and, though it was searched in as much detail as time allowed, little of relevance could be found. On the other hand, wharf laborers and their unions are far better documented and it is to them that the rest of this section is devoted.

Waterside Workers' Federation

The original wharf laborer's union was formed at Balmain in the 1870s. From there, laboring unions fociussed on the wharves spread. The offices of the unions were close to the docks so that a close relationship developed between union leaders and members. By the 1880s, wharf labour unions were able to despatch contingents numbering 2,000 men to the Eight Hour Day processions. (Markey, 1986, 76-7) During the 1890s, however, the wharf unions were severely damaged in their battle with employers and the state. Re-building the union was to be slow process.

As moves were afoot late in the 1890s to revive the unions and their strength, they were joined by William Morris Hughes. (Fitzhardinge, 1978, 102) He became the Secretary of the Wharf Laborers' Union shortly afterwards. Active canvassing by Hughes for members produced a total of 1,300 members by December 1899. (Ibid, 103) In December 1901, Hughes suggested the formation of a Federation of waterside unions, which was put into effect on 7 February 1902, thus inaugurating the Waterside Workers' Federation. (Ibid, 108)
When the Arbitration Court was established, Hughes took the case for setting an agreed wage for wharf labour to the Court and conducted the case himself. (Ibid, 106) On 5 December 1902, an arbitrated agreement was made between the Sydney Wharf Laborers' Union and the Sydney Stevedoring, Wool Dumping and Lighterage Association, representing the employers. The agreement was also extended to cover other major employers, such as the Miller's Point firms of Dalgety's and the Central Wharf. (Nelson, 1957, 40) On the 14 September 1903, overseas wharves were also included in the agreement. (Ibid)

These gains were wiped out in 1917 when the union was soundly beaten in the strike and its strength was dissipated. The "bull" system where the employers selected the strongest and most loyal workmen was firmly entrenched. Three unions took over the representation of the interests of wharf labour. The Sydney Wharf Laborers' Union, the WWF body, had its pick-up at Erskine Street, where the employers took the "early birds" first. The "early birds" were union members who had registered with the government before the official date established in 1917 and were generally regarded as employer loyalists. (WWF, 1956, 64) The Permanent and Casual Wharf Laborers' Unions was a loyalist union formed in December 1917. Its pick-ups were at Taronga Park, the Quay, the Model Lodging House in Kent Street and No. 1 Wharf, Walsh Bay. They usually worked for a weekly wage and they had the first set of facilities built by the employers to accommodate them. (Ibid, 65; Williams, 1975, 29) It was controlled by the shipowners. (Ibid) The third group was the Returned Soldiers' and Ship and Wharf Laborers Union registered in January 1919, to capitalise on the preference clause for returned servicemen. (WWF, 1956, 67) They were housed at "Coal Lumpers' Hall", Miller's Point. (Ibid, 66)
During the 1920s, economic conditions were relatively prosperous and there was a good deal of work around for wharf laborers. (Gaby, 1974, 22) However, they were still forced to tramp from one pick-up to another to catch the work that was available. (Ibid, 11) Most wharves were under the tutelage of local men, who fought off any interlopers from outside "their" wharves. Pyrmont, Woolloomooloo, Miller's Point and Balmain were all worked by local men. (Ibid, 17; Williams, 1975, 30) In 1925, another strike was instrumental in breaking the strength of the rival unions and most men from the other unions joined the Waterside Workers' Federation. (Williams, 1975, 30)

The Depression undercut all gains made in the 1920s, and wharf laborers were again under the thumb of their employers. There was relatively little work around and the employers were able to choose the men that they employed. Dutchy Young, a local from the Rocks and Miller's Point, remembered how he was only able to work on the wool wharves in the wool season, and was mostly unemployed at other times. He was forced to accept 24 hour shifts because they were often the only work offered. At the same time, he was a beneficiary of the local support network which saw old friends from school and others get work for him at times. (Lowenstein, 1978, 243-5 See Appendix) In the wake of the Depression, the employers were able to retain their power for some time. Gaby notes that in 1936 the power of employers was at its zenith. (Gaby, 1974, 57)

In May 1937, however, "Big Jim" Healy came south from Queensland to work on the wharves in Sydney. He gained a position in the union and moved to take over control. (Williams, 1975, 28) Healy worked to break down the territoriality of his members which caused vicious fights whenever members from one area sought work in a rival area which was not "theirs". (Ibid, 42) The onset of war in 1939 saw a rapid change in circumstances for wharf labour. Suddenly, they were very much in demand and they were able to select their employer and the type of work they would handle. (Ibid, 44; Gaby, 1974, 69) The union, now under the firm control of Jim Healy, took advantage of the situation to press for better conditions.
During the war, the pick-ups in Sydney were rationalised. Those at Woolloomooloo and Pyrmont were closed down. The overseas pick-ups were established at Towns Bond and Miller's Point, whilst coastal pick-ups were to be at Sussex Street. (Gaby, 1974, 106) The war also enabled the WWF to use their newly enhanced power to alter the "bull" system which had made the working lives of its members so insecure. On 28 March 1943, the "gang" system was accepted at a meeting of all members and was subsequently imposed upon employers. (WWF, 1956, 76) The system stabilised working conditions so that there were far fewer stoppages and problems. (Gaby, 1974, 163)

During the mid 1950s, another innovations that was to have far-reaching effects was inaugurated. Instead of members having to turn up to see if their gang was called, the call-up was replaced by radio announcements. The proposal was initially disliked by the WWF. (WWF, 1956, 79) Call-up by radio was to have a marked effect on the wharf laborer and the lifestyle of himself and his family. Since proximity to the wharves was no longer essential, many families were able to disperse into the suburbs and partake of the suburban lifestyle which has been hailed as the Australian ideal.
SPORT

Miller's Point produced a notable boxer in the nineteenth century. Albert Griffiths, known colloquially as "Young Griffo" came from Miller's Point. Depending upon the source one cares to examine, his birthplace has variously been given as being at sea whilst his parents were en route to Australia, at Sofala, in England, in Northern Victoria or at Miller's Point. The Australian Dictionary of Biography notes that he was probably born at sea. (ADB, 9, 119) He was the son of Charles Griffiths, a wharf laborer. His family had moved to Miller's Point where he was fostered by other families for some time after the death of his mother. He briefly attended St. Patrick's School before he left to become one of the children of the street. Finding employment as a newspaperboy, he quickly fought his way to control of the best spot at the Quay for selling his papers. (Ibid: O'Farrell, 1944, 31)

News of the aptitude of this denizen of the streets travelled to Larry Foley, an ex-larrikin and ex-boxer who ran a hotel and fight studio in George Street. Foley sent word that he wanted to see "Young Griffo". Griffo turned up at the boxing studio, where Foley tried him out and was impressed with his ability and speed. (O'Farrell, 1944, 31; Stephenson, 1966, 158) Foley tutored him in the art of boxing and Griffo became a power amongst the larrikins of Miller's Point and a noted boxer. He had been urged to go to the USA to try his skill there. His first attempt was forestalled when a strong bout of homesickness assailed him as the ship carrying him to the US passed by Miller's Point. He leapt off the ship and swam ashore. (Ibid)
When "Young Griffo" finally did get to the USA, he quickly became a noted featherweight boxer. He was a master at evading his opponent and his fast footwork enabled him to have the edge over many opponents. (ADB, 9, 119) He won most of the fights that he fought. However, his behaviour rapidly went downhill after a few disputed or bad decisions and he began to drink heavily. (Ibid; Corris, 1980, 54) He became an embarrassment to Australia. He was thereafter to move into and out of gaols, flop houses and mental institutions. (Ibid) He died in New York on 7 December 1927. (ADB, 9, 120)

Despite the legend that he was the featherweight champion of the world, he never officially held that title since he never fought in an official title fight. However, he did fight a number of current holders of the featherweight title and beat them. (Corris, 1980, 54) On these grounds there is thus a supportable claim that he was the de facto holder of the world featherweight title.
LARRIKINS

Another aspect of the history of Miller's Point which has often gained the attention of observers is its role in the larrikin pushes of the late nineteenth century. Larrikins were street toughs with a distinctive culture, mode of speech, and style of dress. They were spawned by the nature of unskilled labour in the inner city and suburbs and by its attendant street culture. They were most often to be feared at night when they beat up people, robbed drunken sailors and raped any unfortunate female out alone at night. They congregated in gangs labelled "pushes" which controlled a area of territory which they saw as their own. Fortunately for the citizens of Sydney, they devoted a good deal of their time in fighting rival pushes, or, alternately, the police.

Pushes were active in Miller's Point by the 1870s. The territory occupied by any push usually defined their name and character. Miller's Point was at certain times part of the Rocks push. (Pratt, 1901, 39; Murray, 1973, 57) At other times, it possessed a push of its own. (Brodsky, 1965, 13) As a result of the activities of the larrikin pushes, Miller's Point became an area with a bad reputation, along with Woolloomooloo, Pyrmont and parts of Leichhardt and Balmain. (Pratt, 1901, 27) The Argyle Cut became an object of terror to anyone walking about at night, since larrikin pushes were easily able to ambush victims there where there was little chance of escape.

Control of the individual pushes was given to the most astute and powerful member. Larry Foley was one such leader. His push came from Woolloomooloo, but in 1871, he fought a duel with Sandy Ross, chief of the Rocks Push. When Ross was beaten, Foley was the acknowledged King of the Rocks Push. (Murray, 1973, 58-9) He later went on to become a noted boxer, publican and owner of a boxing studio in George Street. (ADB, 4, 193)
Control of the streets at night was not simply left to the larrikin pushes. The government and police sought to curb the power of the pushes and to regain control of the streets. In 1885, in the area between Dawes Point and Hunter Street, there were 45 policemen on street duty. (V&PLA, 1900, II, 811) However, public opinion was often against the police. A change occurred in public opinion when a small group of policemen valiantly tried to stop a fight between two rival pushes at Allen's Wood, Leichhardt which was being watched by a very large audience of larrikins. The rival pushes then united against the common enemy and drove them away. For a time, it looked as if the combined larrikins groups would continue on to Sydney to continue their riot and revels. (Pratt, 1901, 28)

Police were subsequently armed with revolvers and the larrikins began to quieten down. In Miller's Point, the situation seemed much improved. However, the peace was shattered one Sunday morning when Tom Pert, a sailor from the Royal Tar, was brutally kicked to death. The killing occurred at the junction of Argyle, Bettington and Munn Streets and Moore's Road, in front of the Gladstone Hotel, i.e. one of the most public of spaces in Miller's Point. (SMH, 26 June 1893) The killing was in revenge for interference by Pert with the larrikins, for getting one of the larrikin leaders imprisoned and for standing up to them. (Murray, 1973, 132-4)

At the inquest, all of the attackers were found to be in employment, mostly in skilled trades or in work associated with the wharves. (Ibid, 136) However, there were no subsequent convictions since it appeared that a number of witnesses of what was a most public killing had been intimidated. (Ibid, 140)
Despite this setback, the combined effects of arming the police with revolvers and the introduction of the lash for larrikin offences began to take effect. (Brodsky, 1965, 91; V&PLA, 1900, II, 811) Despite the depressed economic circumstances and the higher rate of unemployment during the 1890s, the number of larrikin offences in the Miller's Point and Rocks area declined markedly. (Ibid) Whereas 45 policemen were needed to control the streets between Dawes' Point and Hunter Street in 1885, by 1900, the number had safely been reduced to 27. (Ibid)
HOTELS

Hotels can be regarded as a service industry and could be treated under such a heading, but due to their central role in the culture of working class Australian males, they will be examined as part of "Culture".

There were hotels in Miller's Point by the early 1830s. The earliest one that has come to light so far is the "Whaler's Arms", Windmill Street, licensed in July 1831. (A.O. 4/62, No. 147) Due to the popularity of the name "Whaler's Arms" in Miller's Point, it is a little uncertain where this hotel was, but it appears likely that it was at the north-east corner of Pottinger and Windmill Streets. It is shown thus on a plan of 1842. (M.L. M2/811.1716/1842/1) It appears to have lost its licence later. This building was demolished in 1902. (ML. SPF. "Windmill Street, 1902")

This hotel was soon joined by others, such as the "Royal Oak", Miller's Road, "Napoleon Inn", corner of Kent and Windmill Streets and the "Young Princess", corner of Lower Fort and Windmill Streets. The oldest extant hotels in Miller's Point are the "Lord Nelson", and the "Hero of Waterloo". The oldest of these is the "Lord Nelson", which was granted its licence on 6 June 1842. (A.O. 4/74, No. 59) The "Hero of Waterloo" was granted its licence on 30 June 1845. (A.O. 4/77, No. 435) It had just been constructed and is shown as an unfinished building in the 1845 rate assessments. (Gipps RAB, 1845, no. 624) The other old pub, now delicensed, is the "Young Princess" which was given its licence on 22 June 1842. (A.O. 4/74, no. 200)
The number of hotels in the area grew as did the population. There is not the time here to devote to a detailed examination of all of the hotels in Miller's Point. A whole study could be devoted to the hotels of Miller's Point. Some conception of their number can be gained by examining the maps on the following pages.

Resumption of the area by the Sydney Harbour Trust had a profound impact upon hotels in the area. When they assumed control of the area in 1901, there were about 14 hotels in Miller's Point. The Trust closed many of these down. By 1914, there were only 7 hotels "in the neighbourhood of Miller's Point". (SHT, 1914, 25) As well as closing hotels, the Trust re-built others. The "Palisade" Hotel at the corner of Munn and Bettington Streets was one of these. It was of five storeys and built of brick and stone with a steel framework. Work commenced on 6 April 1915. (SHT, 1915, 18) It was completed in May 1916. It contained a large bar, two ground floor parlours, two sitting rooms, with a dining room on the first floor, plus fifteen bedrooms. (SHT, 1916, 18) The "Captain Cook" in Kent Street was also re-built.
THE MARK OF GENIUS

ARCHITECTURE

There are numerous examples of superlative architectural design in Miller's Point. However, in view of the parallel study by Howard Tanner and Associates Pty Ltd. on the area, it was thought that any discussion of these elements would best be left to them due to their greater expertise.
From the earliest times when Europeans attempted to use the Miller's Point area, they were confronted with the problems presented by the topography. Steep cliffs ran down to the water. The depth of water rapidly deepened as one moved away from the shore. Thus, even as early as the 1830s, small roads were being cut into the cliffs to provide access to the jetties, and infilling of the harbour was resorted to in an attempt to build stable jetties, which would not be swept away by weather or shipping accidents.

As the merchants of Miller's Point started to build their wharves out into deeper water, attempts were made to overcome these difficulties with technical solutions, such as deep piling and the utilisation of hydraulic technology. One of the foremost engineers involved in these moves was Norman Selfe. He was the son of an immigrant plumber who was apprenticed to P. N. Russell and Co., a major engineering firm in Sydney in 1856. He rapidly became an engineer with acknowledged skill. In 1876, he commenced private practice. Thereafter, he designed steamships, many of the wharves in Sydney and the first concrete quay wall in Sydney, an application which was to later be used to create a rat proof seawall after the onset of plague in 1900. He also designed numerous proposals for bridges to span Sydney Harbour. (ADB, 6, 100)

In Miller's Point, he carried out one of his earliest designs for wharf extension after he commenced private practice. In 1878, he designed new jetties for Moore's Wharf. To gain the maximum berthing space in spite of the government limit of seventy feet into the Harbour, he angled his jetties out from the shore. (A. T. & C. J., 5 Oct 1878, 648)
Another wharf which revealed his capacity for designs to cope with difficult problems was his design in the 1890s for a new wharf for Charles Parbury, merchant. Originally, the wharf had been one of the most constricted in Sydney, with a steep climb up the hill for horse teams and a narrow wharf which hugged the shore due to steep shelving of the Harbour bottom. Selfe designed a jetty with a unique system of bracing for its piles driven deep into the water and the Harbour bed. He claimed that they gave considerable strength to the jetty. (Selfe, 1898, LXVII) He solved the problems of lifting the goods at Parbury's Wharf by designing suitable hydraulic lifting apparatus.

Selfe was one of the main designers of hydraulic lifting equipment in the colony. Hydraulic lifts had been in use at Miller's Point for some years, but most appear to have been small and inefficient. Selfe's role in the development of hydraulic lifts was a major influence on the design of Sydney warehouses which enabled them to be built ever higher as the space near the wharves became more restricted. (Balint, 1982, 124) For the Miller's Point area, he designed hydraulic lifts for both the Central and Parbury's Wharves. (Selfe, 1908, 119) Selfe also applied the hydraulic technology he developed to lift goods at the wharves, for passenger lifts. (Balint, 1982, 132)

When the Sydney Harbour Trust took control of the wharves of Sydney, Selfe was deprived of the major source of his income, a fact he often noted in his writings. (Selfe, 1908, 118) However, he was fully supportive of the work of the Trust and believed that it should have come long before. In addition to depriving him of his livelihood, though, the Sydney Harbour Trust swept away the works that had placed Selfe at the forefront of his profession. All of his wharves were swept away in the re-building that took place. The two hydraulic lifts he had designed for the Central and Parbury's Wharves were removed to allow the building of Hickson Road. (SHT, 1914, 17; 1915, 18)
ARTISTS AND MILLER’S POINT

In various ways, Miller’s Point has provided inspiration and subject matter for artists, sketchers and photographers over the years. Initially, during the 1830s, artists were drawn to Miller’s Point, because of its topography, its maritime aspect and the fact that a number of elegant villas had been built there. Conrad Martens sketched "Spencer Lodge", as did other artists. Another artist was provided numerous depictions of Miller’s Point was Samuel Elyard. He lived on the Point, and drew much of his material from nearby. He sketched, painted and drew the old windmill, the houses in adjacent streets, the jetties at the water’s edge and the shores of Darling Harbour.

As the area became more settled and artists were drawn elsewhere, the fashion for depicting Miller's Point declined. During the 1890s and carrying on into the 1920s, there was a popular surge of interest in "Old Sydney". The first historical societies were formed at this time, and photographers were active in capturing a last photograph of old dwellings before the demolishers hammer slammed into them. Similar concerns drew many artists to seek "Old Sydney". Many came to paint, sketch and to lithograph Miller’s Point. They included Lionel Lindsay, B. J. Waterhouse, Julian Ashton, Sydney Long, William Hardy Wilson and Harold Cazneaux, the photographer. Even Clyde Street, narrow, and condemned wholesale by the Sydney Harbour Trust for demolition could inspire a romantic impulse and become quaint. (Coffey)

During the 1920s, concern for the old and quaint swung violently to the opposite extreme to embrace the ultimate modernity. The Sydney Harbour Bridge and every facet of its construction even its steel shavings and bolts captured the imagination of artists and photographers. (Spearritt, 1982; Mallard, 1976; Cash, 1930)
The 1950s saw another surge of interest in "Old Sydney" and this interest has carried on to the present day. Artists found ready examples of the "olde worlde" charm they wanted at Miller's Point with its old buildings many of them built of mellow sandstone. Thus, there was an outpouring of books of sketches and photographs of the area. The charm of Miller's Point survives to the present day and the area still serves to inspire the artist, the sketcher, the photographer, the historian, the architect and the casual visitor.
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STREET NAMES

The following is a list of the names of streets and the sources of their names. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are no longer extant.

Argyle Place/Street - Named after Argyll, birthplace of Macquarie.

Bettington Street - Named after James B. Bettington, the owner of a wharf on the south-west side of the Point.

* Clyde Street - Possibly named in recognition of the large number of Scottish immigrants who bought land and built there.

Dalgety Road - Named after the woolbroking firm of Dalgety & Co.

Dibbs Street - Named after T. A. Dibbs, owner of a wharf on the site of Munn's and Cuthbert's Shipyards.

Downshire Street - ?

Ferry Lane - Named after the North Shore ferry which left from the wharf at the end of the lane.

Hickson Road - Named after R. P. Hickson, chairman of the Sydney Harbour Trust. Originally called the Main Port Road.

High Street - Apparently a carryover from its earlier designation by the SHT as the "high level" street created by the building of Hickson Road.

Kent Street - Named 6 October 1810.

Lower Fort Street - Fort Street was named in recognition of the fact that it went past Fort Phillip, on the site of the Observatory. The designation "Lower" was added to distinguish this part of the street from the "Upper" part.
Merriman Street - Named after James Merriman, a local entrepreneur and Mayor of Sydney.

* Moore's Road - Named after Henry Moore, owner of a wharf at the end of Dalgety Road.

Munn Street - Named after James Munn, an original grantee on the south side of the Point, who conducted a shipyard there.

Parbury Lane - Named after Charles Parbury, who owned the wharf at the end of the lane.

Pottinger Street - ?

Rhoden's Lane - Named after the Rhoden family who bought land here and owned houses facing the lane and Dalgety Road for the whole of the nineteenth century.

Towns' Place - Named after Robert Towns, who owned Towns' Wharf on this site.

Trinity Avenue - ?

* Unwin/Union Street - Named after the subdivider F. W. Unwin.

Windmill Street - Named after the windmills in the area, either those on the Point or on the site of the Observatory.
Source: Wotherspoon, 1983, 19
HOTELS

The following is an outline of licensing data of some of the hotels in Miller's Point obtained from the NSW State Archives. The name of the hotel is given, plus the address as given on the license, plus the date range of that licence. A more detailed survey of hotels in Miller's Point would reveal much more data.

"Hero of Waterloo", Fort & Windmill Streets, June 1845-June 1846

"Hit or Miss", Sydney, June 1839 (Miller's Point?)

"Lord Nelson", Cnr Kent & Argyle Streets, June 1842-June 1845

"Napoleon Inn", Sydney, June 1839-June 1840

"Napoleon Inn", Kent and Windmill Streets, June 1842-June 1846

"Royal Oak", Darling Harbour, July 1837-June 1839

"Royal Oak", Millers Road, Sydney, June 1840-June 1845

"Royal Oak", Millers Point, June 1847-June 1848

"Whalers Arms", Windmill Street, July 1831-June 1840

"Whalers Arms", Windmill & Fort Streets, May 1847 (See "Young Princess" below)

"Whalers Arms", Millers Street, June 1847.

"Young Princess", Windmill Street, June 1842-June 1846 (See "Whalers Arms" above)
CHRONOLOGY

Jan 1788 Establishment of colony at Sydney Cove

Sept 1788 Naval guns emplaced at Dawes Point

1789 "Great Sickness" afflicts Aboriginal population

1795 Building of first government windmill on the headland begun

Nov 1812 Nathaniel Lucas builds private windmill near Dawes Point

1814 John Leighton buys land near Dawes Point from Lucas and Wall

1822 A number of houses have been built and occupied at Miller's Point, especially along Argyle Street

July 1831 "Whalers Arms", Windmill Street licensed

1835 Stone store built at Moore's Wharf (still extant)

1835 "Spencer Lodge" built

23 June 1840 Foundation stone for Holy Trinity Church laid

1841 First gas lights in Sydney

1842 Formation of first Sydney municipal council

1842 Water service available at Miller's Point by this date

June 1842 "Lord Nelson" licensed

1844 Robert Towns buys wharf at Miller's Point

1849 Opening of Fort Street National School
1853 John Cuthbert takes over shipyard at Miller's Point

1860 New east window for Holy Trinity Church

1875-6 Scarlet fever epidemic in Sydney

19 May 1882 Opening of Kent Street Model Lodging House

25 June 1893 Murder of Tom Pert, sailor in front of Gladstone Hotel

Jan 1900 Bubonic plague in Sydney. First victim, Arthur Payne, lives and works at Miller's Point

3 May 1900 First resumption of wharves

1901 Gipps Ward, which includes Miller's Point, has the highest percentage of stone'houses in Sydney

1901 "Stevens Buildings", Windmill Street, completed

1901 Establishment of the Sydney Harbour Trust which takes control of all of the harbour foreshores and large parts of Miller's Point

7 Feb 1902 Waterside Workers' Federation inaugurated

2 May 1902 Rehousing proposals presented to the residents of Miller's Point

1 Oct 1902 Sydney Harbour Trust takes direct control of Kent Street Model Lodging House

5 Dec 1902 First arbitrated agreement covering wage awards between wharf laborers union and employers
1918 SHT divests itself of the Kent Street Model Lodging House

March 1932 Sydney harbour Bridge opened

1 Feb 1936 Maritime Services Board established and takes over responsibilities of SHT

May 1937 "Big Jim" Healy comes to Sydney

March 1943 Inauguration of the gang system to replace the bull system on the wharves
HOUSING CONDITIONS IN MILLER'S POINT IN 1875

Source: 'Sydney City and Suburban Sewage and Health Board - Eleventh Progress Report', V&PLA, 1875-6, Vol V.

By No. 2 Sub-Committee.

FIFTH DAY, MONDAY, 22 NOVEMBER, 1875.

Gipps Ward.—From St. Phillip’s Church to Miller’s Point.

115. Dr. Dansey gave the following evidence on behalf of himself and Mr. Palmer:

Met at my house at 4 o’clock, and proceeded, accompanied by Sergeant Dawson, to inspect the G. F. Dansey Esq. Crescent-street property. This consists of about 8 houses, built on the top of high rocks, and reached by an ascent of twenty steps. These houses, which are constructed of brick, we found to be in very good order, except that they are badly ventilated with the old-fashioned sash windows. Proceeding along Kent-street we noticed that an open drain, near the Gasworks, which has been the cause of numerous complaints for some time past, has been covered with brick and cement. In this street a number of new houses are being erected, which appear to be comfortable dwellings, and are well drained. We then visited Jenkins-street and Careton’s Buildings. The houses in Jenkins-street are a much better class of dwellings than those in Careton’s Buildings, but they all require proper drainage to be provided; at present the pipes which convey the slops and refuse from them discharge their contents over the rocks down to Miller’s Wharf, and create a daily nuisance. Thence we went along Miller’s Road, and inspected the late Mr. Guthbert’s property, which comprises ten small tenements, containing two rooms each; the ventilation, as usual, is very deficient; otherwise the houses are in good order and well exposed to the sea breeze. In Moore’s Road, close by, we looked at some houses, which, except that they are very old, are not in bad order; they are clean, but are all imperfectly ventilated. We went next to Miller’s Point, where there are thirty new houses all well drained and with closets fitted up with elaters in accordance with the new regulations. Along Merriman-street or Crown Road, where there are some new houses all clean and well ventilated. Thence to Rodin Place, where the houses are very old but kept clean; and from Crown Road to Smith’s Paddock, where there is a small shanty in front, splendidly clean, and with flower garden attached, the picture of neatness. At the corner of Cambridge-street we inspected a number of wretched wooden shanties which must have existed for a great number of years—small frail tenements, of the lowest style of Colonial architecture, which are falling to decay and should be pulled down and replaced by more substantial buildings. On the right hand the rocks afford a camping ground for goats, which were present in great numbers. We inspected a lodging-house at No. 5, Harrington-street, occupied by a man named Woodbury, which he told us afforded accommodation for twenty lodgers, but on an emergency as many more. This is evidently a sailor’s lodging-house. In the yard we saw some men engaged in sail-making, and a number of monkeys. Everything, however, was very clean, and the premises well ventilated. Nos. 10, 12, and 14 in the same street were also very clean and well kept, being a better class of houses than are usually found in this neighbourhood. In Harrington-lane there are six small houses, for which there are closets with pans, but without water laid on. In Harrington Place there are five containing two rooms each and rented at 5s. a week each, belonging to Mr. Reynolds, of Parramatta, which are badly ventilated, although most of the windows are broken. We entered and inspected three out of the five, which represented the positive, comparative, and superlative conditions of unwholesomeness. The first was dirty, the second was filthy, and
HOUSING THE WATERSIDE WORKERS.

THE ROCKS RESUMPTION SCHEME.

A MEETING ON THE SUBJECT.

EXPLANATION BY MR. VARNES PARKES.

"You want to build the houses and make the working man live in them."—"What about the unemployed?"—"There is a man in with the scheme."—"Will you pay our rates?"—"That expression was used to justify the rejection of the scheme by the City Council."

Source: Daily Telegraph, 3 May 1902, p. 10.
WORKING CONDITIONS ON THE WHARVES DURING THE DEPRESSION IN MILLER'S POINT

Source: Lowenstein, 1978, 242-5

Dutchy Young, a wharfie from the Rocks

Dutchy Young was born on the Rocks in Sydney in 1902 and grew up there on the waterfront. He says:

"The Rocks was a totally depopulated area; even when I was a child there was a kindliness among the working class, especially in that area. There was no range needed out for working class solidarity, just like a broker; the minors and street and dockers. This seems to arise from the hardship in live next door to their employment!"

Shortly after I was born my parents moved to a little shop at 64 Goulburn Street on the Rocks, it is still there. I attended Sunday School at the Raged School, then to Fort Street. It was a terrible life on the Rocks. The houses were dreadful. Small, primitive, dark, damp, unhealthy and with vermin. Wages was low, work was casual. You'd see the effect of the life in all these poor little emaciated kids. Families couldn't have earned except for the family life. Grandparents lived on the Rocks, aunts, uncles. It was sort of collective effort.

I was eighteen when my mother died and my brother had run away to sea, but my sister slaved hard and I was able to finish any apprenticeship in the railways. I'm forever grateful to her. But work was scarce and, when she and her husband went to Queensland for work, I was left to my own devices. In those days when you finished your apprenticeship you were automatically laid off by the railways. I only knew one piece, so I went back on to the waterfront about 1933 as a casual worker in the wool stores, as brand boy. You only worked for five months of the year, but you saved what you could, and raised the good graces of people you lived with, who knew that as soon as the season came round again you would pay what you owed. If there'd been any dole, I would have been classified as a state bludger! But I lived reasonably well as a single man through my own ability to survive and with the aid of my brother who went to sea. He was tremendously helpful to me through that stagnation period.

The twenties were a stagnation period!

The twenties was shocking. It was shocking. At that period I joined the wharves so I could try for jobs in winter when I wasn't at the wool stores but I didn't avoided myself of it. There was no jobs! The unemployment was much worse then now* and it was followed by the depression of the 1930s. How people survived amazed me, even to this day. Right throughout the twenties the leadership of the Union was almost naught.

The wool stores had a pick-up like the wharves twice every day but at no fixed hours. They'd just go outside and pick-up labour as they needed it. Men would be waiting round all day and then perhaps be picked up at six o'clock for the night shift. That was when I first found my militancy, when I saw the employer had men standing there all day because the wool was going to come down that night. And then he'd leave half a dozen poor unfortunate still standing outside, say, 'I might want some more labour, and they'd already been standing all day.'

Between 1930 and 1935 I was surviving only by working regular in the wool stores in the wood season and in the winter by what I could pick up on the wharves. Not being a regular on the wharf I'd only pick up the odd job, from a foreman who knew me, perhaps a bloke who I'd gone to school with.

Conditions on the wharf during the depression . . .

Drudgery: One of the worst jobs was discharging soda ash, the stuff you put in soap powder. You beat a banded hessian round your nose and mouth so you wouldn't be breathing it. They didn't use masks. Nothing—not even protective clothing in the freezer. One time I was on the soda ash. It came in three bushel bags. There was six tons below and the passionate boy was working with us. We got there past three in the morning. This panzle had me feeding eighteen bags of soda ash in a day. That would be three times and three on top. You'd have to lift those three hundred bags up, terribly heavy, terribly unpleasant. You'd be sweating, your eyes were stinging and the stuff would irritate the skin on your arms, and you were being pushed to go at top speed all the time. The pressure was constant.

Chalk was a rotten job too. I remember the Port Line boat. She was a depression job. A foreman I knew gave me a job. You had the chalk in buckets. Well, when that chalk was loaded, they'd put it between the two screw hoppers in the lower hold as ballast. So to protect the steel on the hulls they'd have hessian underneath it. And you couldn't shovel, you could get it on the skin. They protected the steel work of the hull but they didn't protect the men. By the time we finished the jobs we were hanging off our shirts with the daubings on the chalk. That was a hard job too, twenty-four hour shifts.
Did you have to take these twenty-four hour shifts?

You took whatever you could get, because most of the time you didn't get anything. There'd be five or six hundred men at a pick-up around eight or nine in the street and there'd only be about eighty jobs and most of them were reserved for the regulars, for the bulls. Anyone who could get into a foreman's No 1 or No 2 gang, was assured of a reasonable living. These were the bulls. The rest of you had to take the leftovers, the rubbish.

The foremen would have their knock-down men, someone to do their dirty work for them. These foremen would have a gang that worked for him regularly, that would give their life blood for him, and yes they despised the individual. Violence was used in a variety of ways to put down militancy, to keep fellows in their place. The bell went at twelve o'clock. A foreman would be standing at the gangway looking at his watch—to make sure that no one went off that job a minute earlier, even if the job was all finished. Someone would say, 'Look at that big bastard standing there, a man ought to push past him.' Another bloke would say, 'You try pushing your way past him.' Protecting the foreman—and he was big enough to protect himself. If a man was at loggerheads with a foreman or someone in authority, the foreman would tell one of his cohorts. When they went over to have a drink, the cohort would pick him. And there was the question of emnity. I might get a job off the foreman and displace you. You'd say, 'That dirty bastard's got my job,' and the next thing there'd be a fight over it.

The main feature of the Sydney waterfront was that it was separated into four areas and each was: acclaimed. If you strained on another area they'd say, 'Who's this bastard?' The Hungry Mile began at No 3 Darling Harbour and stretched away along to Bathurst Street, from Patrick's along to the Bridge; there were wharves. This was worked by Sussex Street labour. My beat was at Miller's Point, not actually on the Hungry Mile but the aftermath of it, I was in the deep sea boats.

The foremen were mostly local boys. In our area they came from well-known Miller's Point families, and bring locals helped a bit. Most of the jobs I did get on the wharf I got from men I'd grown up with, schoolmates. Or perhaps a foreman who knew me from the wool store. I did get on the wharf at Miller's Point, had a friend, Harry Pattillo, who was a foreman with the Orient Line. He lived on the Rocks. Now originally the Orient boats were at Circular Quay in our area, but they were transferred to the Woolloomooloo area. So we used to go down there and Harry would give us jobs, but we were viewed with suspicion by the Woolloomooloo-men. They wouldn't move out of the Loo. But out of their foremen got a job at Darling Island. And Feneke was outraged at the man who lifted the depression in the Loo because he gave the Loo men jobs at Pyrmont. The Woolloomooloo-men would not move out of the Loo but the depression drove them out.

The depression started to hit on the wharves about 1936. You didn't have the thought of winter and no work, hanging over your head that much. But conditions were still terrible and hours were inhuman. There were no breaks between shifts, no remunerations, and you couldn't get extra and upon any working class principles before about 1935. The first struggles began then about smoking on floors, and then on softlab and chalk. There wasn't much solidarity between men until then. You was cutting each other's throats for a job, but it was amazing how the solidarity became apparent as the depression gradually lifted. Jim Healy was the man who came at the right time. We began to meet at the end of the bad old days then. In 1937 I made my maiden speech in the Sydney Town Hall at a stop work meeting. I got up because of the horror of the twenty-four hour shifts, the fact that men were working excessive hours and there was other men not being able to get work. Men were working from one o'clock in the morning, fourteen hours shifts, then on Friday they'd work an all-nighter. The bulls opposed the breaking of these shifts because they were the elite. They were getting all the work. The real changes on the waterfront came with the introduction of the gang system. Men were rotated for work—you weren't competing with your fellow worker. When we got the gang system I knew then that we had the legs on our feet at last.

Another thing we had to get rid of was brutality. When I became a union official, Tom Nelson, the President of the Federation, rang me one night:

One of the foremen, who came from a well-known family of Miller's Point tough boys and knock-down men, had called a young chap a might, and finally had a fight with him. And the manager had been watching this fight. So down I go. They're just picking up the labour. I say, 'This job's not starting.' The assistant manager is standing on the wharf. He says, 'Good morning, Dutchy, what's your trouble?' I say, 'Good morning, Captain. About that fight last night!' 'Oh,' he says, 'that was just one of those things.' I said, 'Captain, it took a long time to get rid of violence on the waterfront. We're not letting it rear its head again. We don't want trouble with that foreman.' Demands were made on the Foremen's Association to discipline this man.
THE ARGYLE CUT

A survey plan of Argyle Street drawn in preparation for the first attempt to cut it down in the early 1840s.

Source: A.O. 5460.
James Munn's subdivision of part of the grant he received near his shipyard, 1834.

Source: Sydney Gazette, 27 May 1834.
### Birthplace of Overseas Born Persons at Miller's Point & The Rocks, 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK &amp; Ireland</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>121</td>
<td>48</td>
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**Source:** Australian Bureau of Statistics. Data by Census Collector's District
## BIRTHPLACE OF OVERSEAS BORN RESIDENTS OF MILLER'S POINT, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK &amp; Eire</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey, Lebanon</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
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**SOURCE:** ABS, Data by Census Collector's District
### Industry of Employed Persons Residing at Miller's Point and the Rocks, 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, gas, water</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale &amp; retail trade</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; storage</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finance, business services</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public admin, defence</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community services</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment, recreation</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other; not stated</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>404</strong></td>
<td><strong>124</strong></td>
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</table>

Source: ABS
## INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYED PERSONS RESIDING AT MILLER'S POINT, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale, retail trade</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; storage</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, business services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public admin, defence</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community services</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment, recreation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other; not stated</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>126</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** ABS
In 1830, when F. W. Unwin subdivided land around what later became known as Clyde Street, the Point was still referred to as "Jack the Miller's Point".

Source: Plan 86(N), Plans Room, Land Titles Office.
By 1832, only two of the three windmills on Miller's Point were still extant.

Source: A. O. X752, f. 20.
THE LAST WINDMILL ON MILLER’S POINT

This windmill, a wooden post-mill, was situated between Rhoden’s Lane and Merriman Street, and survived into the 1840s, in this dilapidated state.

MOORE’S WHARF, 1836

The stone warehouse depicted here is still in existence at Miller’s Point, though moved to nearby site. The windmill at the left is that depicted in the previous illustration.

J. B. Bettington's Wharf, shown here on an auction plan of 1837, was one of the first wharves at Miller's Point.
By 1870, Miller's Point was well established as a shipping centre. This photograph, taken from North Sydney, shows Moore's Wharf and Towns' Wharf at the left, with some of the villas on the Point at the right.

Source: A. O. Photo 1077.
MILLER'S POINT, 1870

These maps depict the whole of the area between Miller's and Dawes' Points in 1870. Compare the last illustration with these maps.

Source: A. O. Map 5721
Bond stores became prominent at Miller's Point in the 1880s. The Moore's Bond Store depicted here still survives, though it has been moved.
Source: Dove, 1882.
Dibbs Bond Store, built in the 1870s was a more recent addition to the bond stores of Miller's Point than Moore's Bond Store, built in 1835. The part marked with an asterisk still survives next to Munn Street.
Source: Dove, 1882.
During the 1880s, the boatyards and small scale enterprises at the water's edge between Pottinger and Kent Streets were swept away by re-development. This map shows the situation in 1880.
Source: Dove, 1880.
By 1892, these small businesses had been replaced by large scale warehousing facilities, such as Dalgety's new wool store at the corner of Kent and Windmill Streets.

Source: Lands, Met. D. S., Section 91 & 90(pt), 1892.
Re-building activity by the Sydney Harbour Trust removed most of the older harbourside activities and structures on the western side of the Point after 1900, including Dibbs Wharf. This process is revealed in the following series of maps.
Source: Lands, Met. D. S., Sec 92, Sheet 1, 1893.
Source: Lands, Met. D. S., Sec 92(pt), Sheet 2, 1897.
Source: Lands, Met. D. S., Sec 93, 1888.
The Sydney Harbour Trust Scheme for Walsh Bay (then referred to as "Dawes to Miller's Point") as it was planned to appear when complete.

Source: SHT, 1918.
James Munn's shipyard in 1831.
Source: A.O. X751, f. 56.
Troops stationed at the Dawes Point Battery appear to have been housed within the confines of the battery itself at first. (Groom & Wickman, 1982, 32) By 1880, however, the Artillery Barracks, just north of Walker's Wharf had been built. (Dove, 1880) Troops were housed there for many years, until it was demolished as part of the work to build Walsh Bay Wharf No. 1 in 1913. (SHT, 1913, 18)

During the twentieth century, a battalion headquarters was built adjacent to Holy Trinity Church in Lower Fort Street. The land for this building was acquired in 1915. It was occupied by the 30th Scottish Battalion for some years. (Holy Trinity Centenary, 1940, 2)
Chapman's Wharf was one of the earliest small boatbuilding businesses in what is now called Walsh Bay.
Source: M. L. Map M2/811.1718/1839/1.
Cuthbert's Shipyard
Sydney, New South Wales
Photographed by Thomas Andrews

CUTHBERT'S SHIPYARD
Cuthbert's Shipyard took over the site of Munn's yard. In the early 1860s, when this photograph was taken, few houses had been built on the section of Kent Street visible at the rear. On the right, St. Brigid's School is visible. Compare this photograph with the following map.
This contemporary map has been marked to show the approximate
direction and place where Freeman's photographer stood when he
photographed Cuthbert's Shipyard. The original map is the Detail
Survey of Sydney, 1865, Sheet A1. A. O.
In June of 1844, water pipes had been laid on Kent, Argyle and Lower Fort Streets. Residents still mainly relied upon water from public fountains.
Source: Bertie, 1911, 61.
One of these public pumps was located near the junction of Lower Fort and Windmill Streets, as shown on this subdivision plan of 1 November 1842.
Source: M. L. Map M2/811.1716/1842/1.
Sewerage services were much slower to come to Miller's Point than piped water. A short length of sewer draining Argyle Place, Windmill Street, and part of Lower Fort Street, straight into the Harbour was all that had been laid by November 1851.

Building activity came early to Argyle Place (note that the draughtsman made a mistake when he labelled the name of the street). The single dwelling on what became George Grimes' grant was joined by the 1840s by a row of houses, two of which were occupied by John Fairfax and Charles Kemp, publishers of the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Source: M. L. Map M2/811.1716/1834/1.
LOWER FORT STREET, 1834

Lower Fort Street quickly became a street occupied by many of the merchants who conducted their business on the nearby wharves. Their town houses are depicted facing the street whilst their wharves face the water behind.

Source: A. O. Map 5420
LOWER FORT STREET DURING THE 1840s
Source: Anon, "Miller's Point", M. L. VI, 1840: 2.
Kent Street, on the other hand, was largely unoccupied at the same date.

Source: A. O. Map 5423
Victoria Terrace (now Dalgety Terrace) by 1853, was another street with a prestigious reputation.
Source: A. O. X764, f. 52.
The Point was the site for villas occupied by some of the merchants and gentlemen of the Town of Sydney.
Source: M. L. Map M2/811.1718/1837/1.
ARGYLE STREET IN THE 1870s

By the 1870s, the plantings in Argyle Street had altered its original bleak character. It was still a prestigious address, but its attraction to the better-off was to decline in the following years.

Source: M. L. SPF. Holtermann Photograph 341.
## PERSONS PER INHABITED DWELLING
### IN SYDNEY, 1851-91

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gipps</th>
<th>Brisbane</th>
<th>Phillip</th>
<th>Denison</th>
<th>Bourke</th>
<th>Macquarie</th>
<th>Fitzroy</th>
<th>Cook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>6.54</td>
<td>6.04</td>
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<td>5.50</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>6.41</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>7.13</td>
<td>6.47</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>5.64</td>
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<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>5.73</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>5.44</td>
<td>6.82</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>5.55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>5.35</td>
<td>5.44</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>6.04</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>5.81</td>
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<td>1881</td>
<td>6.85</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>5.93</td>
<td>6.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**Source:** N.S.W. Census, 1851-91.

Source: Mayne, 1982, 228
HOUSING TENURE IN WINDMILL STREET
1851-1902

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Owner-occupied</th>
<th>Tenanted</th>
<th>Vacant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
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<td>86</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expressed as percentages.

Source: Gipps RAB, 1851-1902
Despite its narrowness, Clyde Street was still a children's playground, as evidenced by the hopscotch marks they left on the pavement. The street was to be demolished shortly afterwards.

Source: A. O. Photo 897
A MILLER'S POINT CHILDHOOD

Some of the children of Clyde Street, 1900. Two of these children, the girl in the pinafore and the little boy sitting to her left, appear to have taken a liking to the photographer. They appear in other photographs such as the one at the corner of Bettington and Merriman Streets (reproduced later).

Source: A. O. Photo 1262
Pottinger Street, looking towards the wharves from Windmill Street. Old "Whalers Arms" Hotel on the right.

Source: A. O. Photo 1114
The corner of Merriman & Bettington Streets, 1900

Pyrmont can be glimpsed over the tops of the wharves and ships. Some of the same children appear in other photos.

Source: A. O. Photo 1113.
THE WESTERN END OF WINDMILL STREET, 1900

The Kentish Dining Rooms, the Gladstone Hotel and the Commonwealth Free Kindergarten rub shoulders. The corner of Hentsch's Bond Store is visible on the extreme left.

Source: A. O. Photo 1097
SPENCER LODGE

"Spencer Lodge", as sketched during the 1840s by Conrad Martens.
By the twentieth century, "Spencer Lodge" had fallen in caste to become the nurses' quarters for the Moorecliffe Eye Hospital.

Source: M. L. SPF
SYDNEY'S BOARDING HOUSES, 1890

By 1890, Miller's Point already possessed a sizeable number of boarding establishments, particularly along Lower Fort Street.

THE MODEL LODGING HOUSE

This map shows the site of the Model Lodging House, and the nearby Gas Works.

Source: Lands, Met. D. S., Sec 67, 1891.
PLAGUE CASES IN SYDNEY, 1900

Despite the fact that the first victim of the plague lived in Miller's Point, there were relatively cases of plague in Miller's Point.

Source: Curson, 1985, 144.
The above map shows the place of residence of all plague cases in Sydney in 1900, plus the areas cleansed by the cleaning squads. Source: Curson, 1985, 154.
ST. BRIDGID'S, KENT STREET

The Catholic School House, later known as St. Brigid's, had been established in Kent Street by 1836.

Source: A. O. Map 5487
20 March 1903 Hentsch's Bond Store burned out

May 1903 Dalgety & Cos. new wharf opens for use

Feb 1904 Re-opening of rebuilt Hentsch's Bond Store

July 1906 Four shops on north side of Argyle Street completed by SHT

1907 Miller's Point Ragged School opened

1908 SHT builds first houses to accommodate wharf laborers in Dalgety Road

July 1908 Opening of Dalgety's new machinery store

1909 Bettington Street Kindergarten opened

1909 Main Port Road (Hickson Road) commenced

1910 Darling Harbour Wharves 3-4 occupied and No. 2 completed

1911 Lance Playground opened

1913 Completion of Walsh Bay No 1 Wharf

1914 Completion of Argyle Street concrete bridge

1914 Walsh Bay Wharves 8-9 completed

1915 Walsh Bay Wharves 4-5 & 6-7 completed

1915 Hickson Road completed between Dawes Point and the Gas Works

1917 General strike debilitates wharf labour unions

1918 Walsh Bay Wharves 2-3 built
HOTELS IN MILLER’S POINT IN 1868

Part of Hunt & Stevens’ Map of Sydney, 1868, A. O. Map 389. Stars indicate “inn” as marked on the original map. No names are given on the original map.
SOME HOTELS IN MILLER'S POINT, 1875

By using the key diagram, some of the hotels in Miller's Point in 1875 can be identified in the panoramic photograph.

Source: View of Miller's Point, Sydney, c. 1875, M. L. SV1/ HAR/MILL P.
SOME HOTELS IN MILLER'S POINT, 1875

"Old" Captain Cook
(behind other building)

Royal Oak

Whalers Arms

Lord Nelson

Site for "new"
Captain Cook

St. Brigid's
HOTELS IN MILLER'S POINT IN 1880
Source: H. Percy Dove, Plans of Sydney, Sydney, 1880.
HOTELS IN MILLER'S POINT IN 1887

The Waterside Workers' Federation selected Walsh bay Pier One as the wharf which would symbolise their working role when this banner was painted.

Source: Stephen & Reeves, c. 1985, 78.
THE "CAPTAIN COOK", KENT STREET

In 1889, the "new" Captain Cook in Kent Street was conducted by Louisa Leistikow. The "old" Captain Cook is visible to the right of it down Millers Road, at the corner of Millers Road and Clyde Street.

Source: A. O. Photo 856
This lithograph accompanied a description of Norman Selfe's work in extending the jetties at Moore's Wharf in 1878.
"IN UNION IS STRENGTH"

The wharves of Miller's Point played an integral part in the working lives of people employed on them and thus entered union iconography. In this union banner, one of the Walsh Bay Wharves is shown under construction.

Source: Stephen & Reeves, c. 1985, 34.