

A Cultural History of Fort Denison, Sydney

Harbour: A Symbol of Pride or Folly?



(Author's photograph, 2016.)

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of BA

(Hons) in History, University of Sydney

Laura Signorelli

2016

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Peter Hobbins, for his unconditional support and guidance that saw me through this difficult, but rewarding year. Without your wisdom, encouragement, and persistent help this thesis would not have been possible. I will be forever grateful for your accompaniment to Fort Denison – an excursion where your knowledge and direction helped shape this thesis.

Thank you to my parents Joe and Anne, without your continual support and love I would not be where I am today. Look out for me emerging from the confines of the study and actually managing to engage in non-thesis related discussion.

To Dylan, your understanding and patience has meant the world to me, thank you. Finally to Liz, I am grateful for all the time you sacrificed helping me fix disastrous sentences and providing me with much-needed motivational pep talks.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

4

Introduction

'Haute Cuisine? Pinchgut's the Scene'

8

Chapter One

*'Pride or Folly?' The Contestation and Construction of Fort Denison,
1788-1857*

21

Chapter Two

'Becoming Picturesque': The Anachronistic Fort, 1859-1912

48

Chapter Three

'The Historic Fort'

73

Conclusion

'Convict Island to Gourmet Getaway'

110

Bibliography

113

List of Figures

- Figure 1.** Gifts Australia, *Cheese and Wine Tasting, Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour*, 2016, Gifts Australia, <<https://www.giftsaustralia.com.au/men/experiences/cheese-wine-tasting>>, viewed 10 September 2016. 10
- Figure 2.** View outwards is more important than that from within. Fort Denison, *Sunday Sunset Sessions at Fort Denison*, 2016, National Parks and Wildlife Service, <<http://www.fortdenison.com.au/sunday-sunset-sessions.html>>, viewed 10 September 2016. 10
- Figure 3.** Pinchut reimagined. An engraving by Geoffrey C. Ingleton, *Pinchgut 100 Years Ago*, 1939, Royal Australian Historical Society, Glass Slides, 5097. 12
- Figure 4.** Plagiarised artwork by Vincent Woodthorpe, *Pinchgut Island*, 1803, National Library of Australia, contained within George Barrington’s *Account of a Voyage to New South Wales...* (1810), p. 472, <<http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/2146792>>, viewed 10 May 2016. 14
- Figure 1.1.** Frederick Garling, [*Circular Quay, 1839?*], 1839? State Library of New South Wales, V1 / 1839? / 1, <<http://archivalclassic.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemLarge.aspx?itemID=423716>>, viewed 22 May 2016. 30
- Figure 1.2.** Samuel Prout Hill, *First Gunboat in Sydney Harbour off Pinchgut*, 1845, National Library of Australia, 215745, <<http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/215745>>, viewed 22 May 2016. 31
- Figure 1.3.** Edward Charles Close, *Garden Island and Pinchgut Island in Sydney Harbour, ca. 1818*, ca. 1818, National Library of Australia, 2103686, <<http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/2103686>>, viewed 22 May 2016. 35

Figure 1.4. Lieutenant Colonel James Gordon, Commanding Royal Engineer, <i>Colonial Secretary: Sketch of Port Jackson Showing the Site for Works of Defence</i> , 23 November 1848, SRNSW, AO Map No. 6384.	40
Figure 2.1. Section from ‘Defences of Port Jackson: Supplement to the “Sydney Mail”’, <i>Sydney Mail</i> , 7 July 1877.	51
Figure 2.2. Section from ‘Defences of Port Jackson: Supplement to the “Sydney Mail”’, <i>Sydney Mail</i> , 7 July 1877.	52
Figure 2.3. Herbert Ross, ‘Proposed Monument in Sydney Harbour: Australia Facing the Dawn’, 1925, Mitchell Library, XV1/Mon/1.	64
Figure 2.4. Herbert Ross, ‘Proposed Monument in Sydney Harbour: Australia Facing the Dawn’, 1925, Mitchell Library, XV1/Mon/1.	65
Figure 2.5. <i>USA Fleet Illuminations in Sydney Harbour</i> , 1908, National Maritime Collection, < http://emuseum.anmm.gov.au/code/emuseum.asp?id=34065 >, viewed 1 July 2016.	70
Figure 2.6. Alfred Cutler, <i>The Great White Fleet in Sydney Harbour as seen from Cremorne Point</i> , 1908, Trove, < http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136500198/view?searchTerm=Great+White+Fleet+in+Sydney+Harbour#search/Great%20White%20Fleet%20in%20Sydney%20Harbour >, viewed 1 July 2016.	71
Figure 2.7. Alfred Cutler, <i>The Great White Fleet in Sydney Harbour as seen from Cremorne Point</i> , 1908, Trove, < http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136500198/view?searchTerm=Great+White+Fleet+in+Sydney+Harbour#search/Great%20White%20Fleet%20in%20Sydney%20Harbour >, viewed 1 July 2016.	71
Figure 3.1. <i>Circular Quay [East]</i> , ca. 1900-1910, State Library of New South Wales, PXE 711 / 166, < http://archival-classic.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=413349# >, viewed 3 August 2016.	77

Figure 3.2. *Sydney Cove, East, with AMP Building, and New Office Towers*, c. 1962, City of Sydney Archives, 087/087182, < <http://www.photosau.com.au/Cos/scripts/home.asp>>, viewed 3 August 2016. 78

Figure 3.3. Royal Australian Historical Societies Excursions, *Captain Watson’s Excursion Book*, 1924-26 (4), Royal Australian Historical Society, Rare Books Collection, 906.91 ROY, pp. 156-63. 85

Figure 3.4. Royal Australian Historical Societies Excursions, *Captain Watson’s Excursion Book*, 1924-26 (4), Royal Australian Historical Society, Rare Books Collection, 906.91 ROY, pp. 156-63. 86

Figure 3.5. Photograph of those who attended the excursion. Royal Australian Historical Societies Excursions, *Captain Watson’s Excursion Book*, 1924-26 (4), Royal Australian Historical Society, Rare Books Collection, 906.91 ROY, pp. 156-63. 86

Figure 3.6. A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W, 1937), Royal Australian Historical Society, Manuscript Collection, Red M154. . . . 89

Figure 3.7. A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney Maritime Service Board of N.S.W., n.d.) City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234. 90

Figure 3.8. A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney Maritime Service Board of N.S.W., n.d.) City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234. 90

Figure 3.9. A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., n.d.), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.1 FOR. 90

Figure 3.10. NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Discovery Tour: Sydney’s Historic Forts* (Sydney: NPWS, 1992), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234. 92

Figure 3.11. NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, <i>Visitor Guide: Fort Denison</i> (Hurstville, N.S.W.: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, n.d.), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.1 FOR.	93
Figures 3.12. Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, <i>Historic Sydney: Where to Go – What to See</i> (N.S.W.: Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, c. 1980s), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.01 SYD.	100
Figure 3.13. Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, <i>Historic Sydney: Where to Go – What to See</i> (N.S.W.: Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, c. 1980s), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.01 SYD.	100
Figure 3.14. Olaf Ruhen (author) and Cedric Emanuel (illustrations), <i>Historic Buildings of Sydney Sketchbook</i> (Adelaide: Rigby, 1972).	101
Figure 3.15. ‘The Charm of Sydney Harbour’, <i>Sydney Mail</i> , 10 December 1924, p. 26.	103
Figure 3.16. Janece Latham, <i>The Sydney Scene</i> (Avalon Beach, N.S.W.: J. Latham, 1972), n.p.	103
Figure 3.17. Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., <i>Discover the Treasure Islands of Sydney Harbour</i> (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., n.d.), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234.	105
Figure 3.18. Associated British Pathé; Ealing Studios, <i>The Siege of Pinchgut: An Escaped Convict -: in his gunsights a shipload of dynamite – and the city of Sydney: his terms – freedom or annihilation</i> (Manchester, U.K.: s.n., 1959), State Library of New South Wales.	108

Introduction

‘Haute Cuisine? Pinchgut’s the Scene’¹

Cheese, wine, an iconic Sydney landmark . . . what’s not to love!
This experience is a delight of aromas, textures and tastes . . .
This is quintessential Sydney – epicurean, fascinating, beautiful!²
(Figure 1)

Nothing says ‘Welcome to Summer in Sydney’ quite like a sunset dinner while listening to the sweet tunes of local jazz or acoustic live music playing. So here, at Fort Denison we are again proudly hosting Sunset Sessions of à la carte dinner dining with live performances from local musicians on Sundays throughout Summer.³ (Figure 2)

Fort Denison, the unique island fortification located in the heart of Sydney Harbour, is today advertised as the ideal location for refined leisurely pursuits. The picturesque views it offers of the jewels of the harbour – the Sydney Opera House, Harbour Bridge and monied foreshores – rank more highly than its own 150-year history as an artificial structure. The significance of this once-prominent defensive installation – before construction of the Harbour Bridge (1932) and Opera House (1973) rendered it ‘invisible in plain sight’ – is now inherently intertwined within the cultural landscape of Sydney Harbour.⁴ How did this ‘relic

¹ Title taken from the newspaper article, ‘Haute Cuisine? Pinchgut’s the Scene’, newspaper unknown, 1 April 1992, p. 3, City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1159-0234.

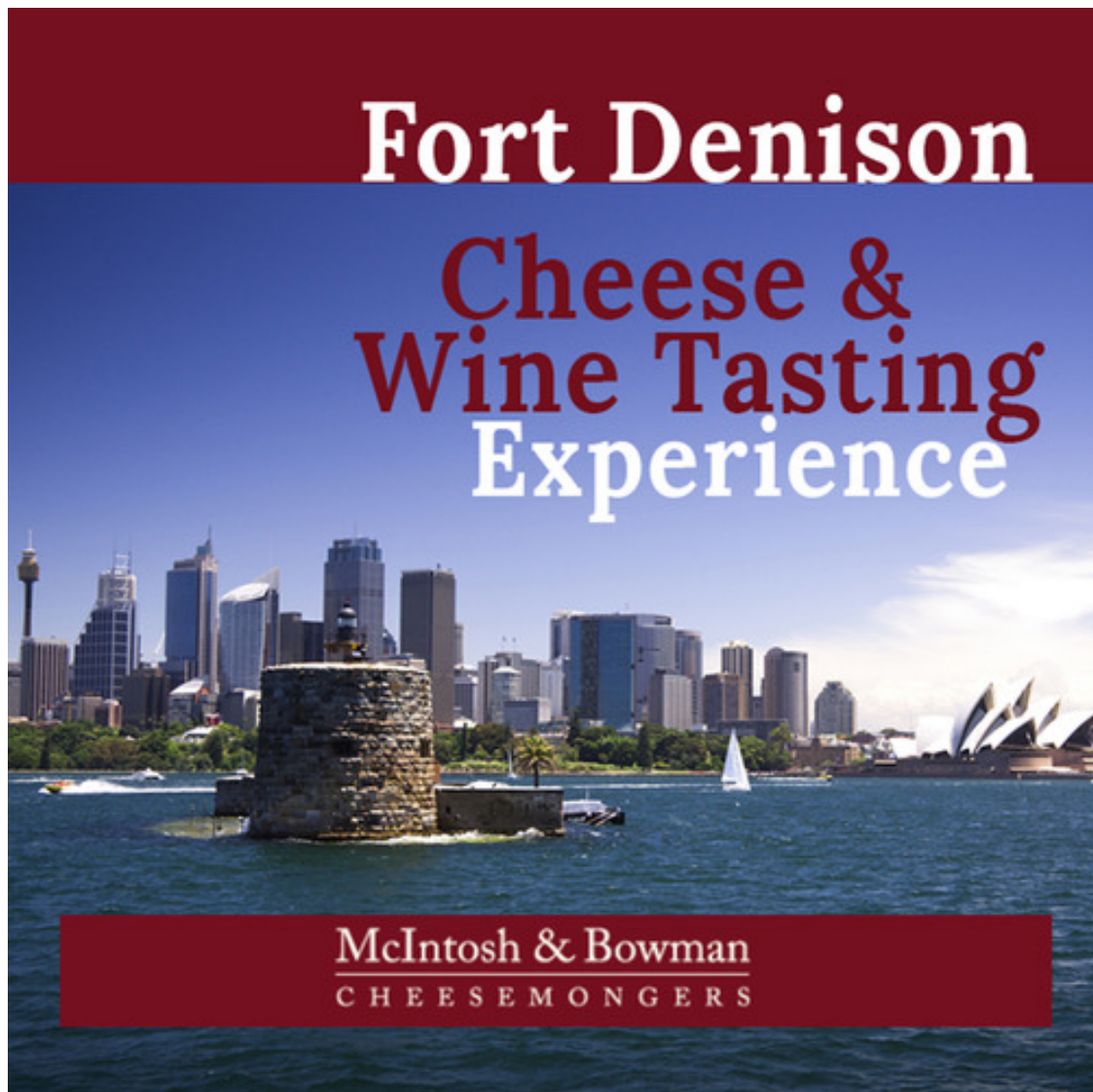
² Red Balloon, *Australian Cheese and Wine Tasting on Fort Denison*, 2016, Red Balloon, <<https://www.redballoon.com.au/product/gourmet-gifts/food-tasting/cheese-tasting-on-fort-denison>>, viewed 10 September 2016.

³ Fort Denison, *Sunday Sunset Sessions at Fort Denison*, 2016, National Parks and Wildlife Service, <<http://www.fortdenison.com.au/sunday-sunset-sessions.html>>, viewed 10 September 2016.

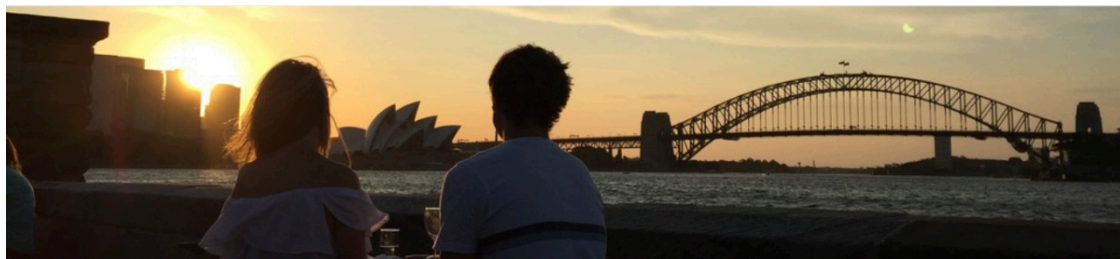
⁴ ‘Cultural landscape’ can be defined as the way in which humans form and continually reform the natural landscape. See: Tadhg O’Keeffe, ‘Landscape and Memory: Historiography, Theory, Methodology’, in Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan, eds., *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2007), p. 4.

of Empire’, a crucial symbol of Sydney’s defence history, transform into a tourist destination focused on culinary experience rather than historical significance?⁵ Spanning the history of Fort Denison, from the 1830s to the twenty-first century, this is the pivotal question animating this thesis.

⁵ ‘Relic of Empire’ adapted from Stuart Ward, ‘Security: Defending Australia’s Empire’, in Deryck Schreuder and Stuart Ward, eds., *Australia’s Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 232.



(Figure 1) Gifts Australia, *Cheese and Wine Tasting, Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour*, 2016, Gifts Australia, <<https://www.giftsaustralia.com.au/men/experiences/cheese-wine-tasting>>, viewed 10 September 2016.



Sunday Sunset Sessions at Fort Denison

(Figure 2) View outwards is more important than that from within. Fort Denison, *Sunday Sunset Sessions at Fort Denison*, 2016, National Parks and Wildlife Service, <<http://www.fortdenison.com.au/sunday-sunset-sessions.html>>, viewed 10 September 2016.

A Rocky Past: from Island to Fort

Before British colonisation, the site now occupied by Fort Denison was a pyramidal outcrop known to the harbour's Aboriginal people as 'Mat-te-wan-ye', meaning 'Rocky Island'.⁶ According to Howard Creamer, as one of the several harbour islands to which Aborigines could access, it was most likely used for hunting or accommodation.⁷ After 1788 and the gradual destruction of Aboriginal culture, however, Mat-te-wan-ye became 'Rock Island' – a place where recalcitrant convicts were isolated until a secure gaol was established in the colony (Figure 3).⁸

⁶ Mary Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour* (East Roseville, N.S.W: Simon & Schuster, 2000), p. 73; James Semple Kerr, *Fort Denison: An Investigation for the Maritime Services Board of NSW* (Sydney, N.S.W.: National Trust, 1986), p. 3.

⁷ Howard Creamer, *Modern Aboriginal Culture and its Relation to Aboriginal Sites in New South Wales* (1986), quoted in NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park: Fort Denison Conservation Plan* (Sydney, NSW: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Draft October 1995), p. 17.

⁸ David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country, Volume I* (1798), ed., Brian H. Fletcher (Sydney: Reed in association with the Royal Historical Society, Australian ed., 1975), p. 7.



(Figure 3) Pinchgut reimagined. An engraving by Geoffrey C. Ingleton, *Pinchgut 100 Years Ago*, 1939, Royal Australian Historical Society, Glass Slides, 5097.

In a ‘court of criminal judicature’ held on 11 February 1788, three prisoners were tried, one of whom was ‘sentenced to a week’s confinement on bread and water, on a small rocky island near the entrance of the cove’.⁹ The lack of rations gave way to the expressive name ‘Pinchgut’, a title that stayed with the island until it was formally changed to ‘Fort Denison’ in 1857.¹⁰ Marooning convicts on the island continued sporadically, as evidenced by the erection of a gibbet in 1796 so that executed criminal, Francis Morgan, could be ‘hung in

⁹ Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume 1*, p. 7.

¹⁰ David Dickinson Mann, *The Present Picture of New South Wales (1775?)* (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, Scholarly Electronic Text and Image Service, 2003), p. 59; W. Elyard, ‘Fort Denison’, *New South Wales Government Gazette*, no. 149, 16 October 1857, p. 1964.

chains'.¹¹ In his *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Lieutenant Governor David Collins reported that Morgan's body was:

[more an] object of much terror to the natives, than to the white people, many of whom were more inclined to make a jest of it; but to the natives his appearance was so frightful – his clothes shaking in the wind, and the creaking of his irons, added to their superstitious ideas of ghosts . . . all rendering him such an alarming object to them – that they never trusted themselves near him, nor the spot on which he hung; which, until this time, had ever been with them a favourite place of resort.¹²

Morgan's body was still left swaying in 1800, as prominent Irish rebel Joseph Holt confirmed in his *Memoirs*, with Morgan's body the 'first remarkable object' Holt sighted.¹³ In 1803 the gibbet still stood on the island, as highlighted by a watercolour sketch that appeared in George Barrington's *A Voyage to New South Wales* (1810; Figure 4).¹⁴ After serving as a place of confinement, Pinchgut was effectively razed through convict labour in 1840 in order to create the imperial stronghold that came to be known as Fort Denison.¹⁵

While the island is inextricably connected to Sydney's Aboriginal and convict history – specifically as a site of punishment – it is its subsequent life as a harbour fort that forms the

¹¹ David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country, Volume 2* (1802), ed., Brian H. Fletcher (Sydney: Reed in association with the Royal Historical Society, Australian ed., 1975), p. 7.

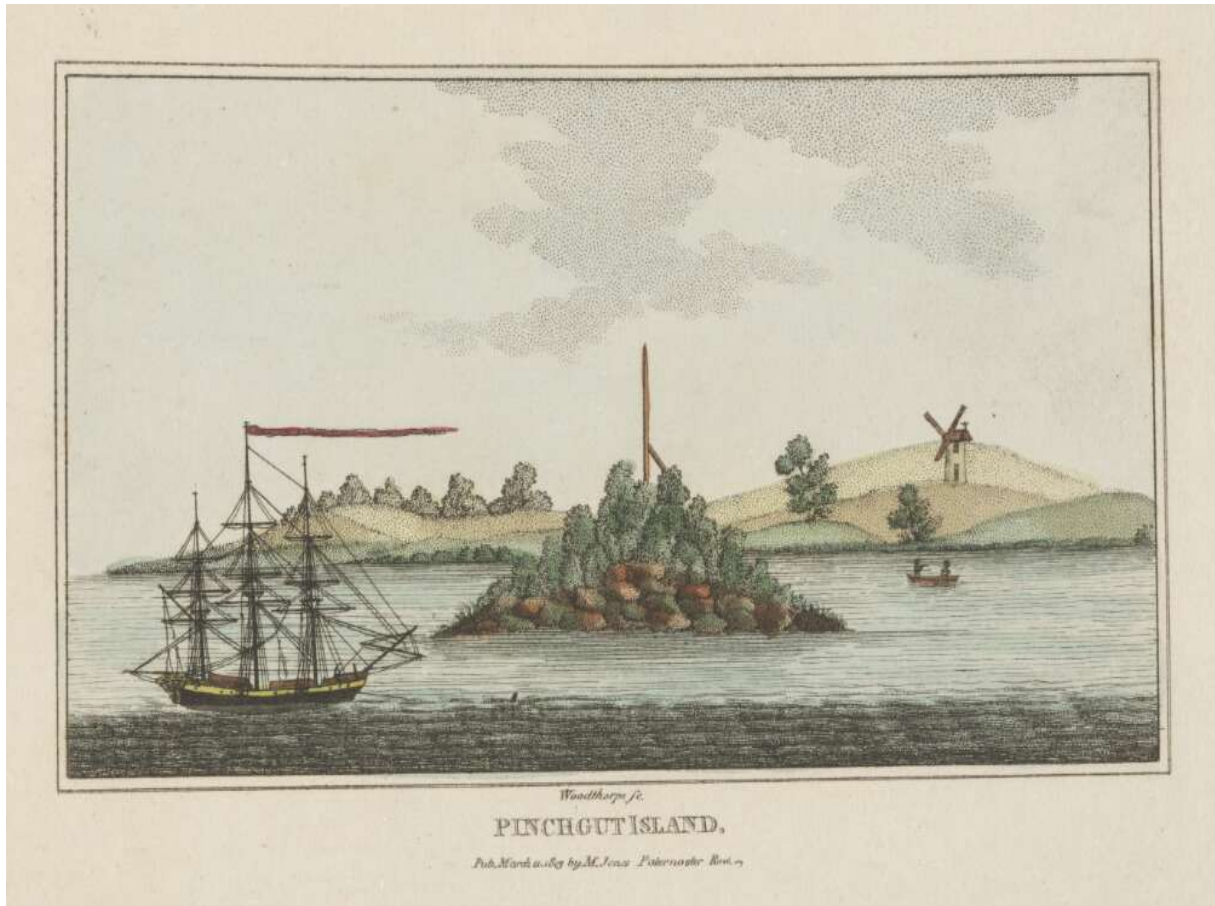
¹² Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume 2*, p. 7.

¹³ Joseph Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt, General of the Irish Rebels, in 1798, edited from his Original Manuscript, in the possession of Sir William Betham...*, ed., T. Crofton Croker (London: Stewart and Murray), pp. 56-57.

¹⁴ It is important to note that Barrington's *Voyage to New South Wales...* was in fact a cunning blend of fiction, plagiarism and creative reworking by London publishers. The majority of the account was taken from John Hunter's *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island...* (1792). Likewise the images contained within Barrington's *Voyage*, such as the one of Pinchgut Island, were plagiarised from various artists by London engraver Vincent Woodthorpe. For more information relating to this fraudulent text refer to: Nathan Garvey, *The Celebrated George Barrington: A Spurious Author; the Book Trade, and Botany Bay* (Potts Point, N.S.W.: Hordern House, 2008); Nathan Garvey, "Under a Deceptious Mask": H. D. Symonds and the Publication of Barrington's *Voyage to New South Wales*', *Bulletin* (Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand) 28, no. 1-2 (2004), pp. 62-72; Suzanne Rickard, *George Barrington's Voyage to Botany Bay: Retelling a Convict's Travel Narrative of the 1770s* (London; New York: Leicester University Press, 2001); Suzanne Rickard, 'Whose Voice is it Anyway?: The Eighteenth Century Experience of George Barrington', in Rosamund Dalziel, ed., *Selves Crossing Cultures: Autobiography and Globalisation* (Kew, Victoria: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2002), pp. 28-36.

¹⁵ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 11.

analytical core of this thesis. Employing a cultural history approach, the following chapters document and analyse the meanings overlaid on Fort Denison, from its conceptualisation in 1840 until the turn of the twenty-first century.



(Figure 4) Plagiarised artwork by Vincent Woodthorpe, *Pinchgut Island*, 1803, National Library of Australia, contained within George Barrington's *Account of a Voyage to New South Wales...* (1810), p. 472, <<http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/2146792>>, viewed 10 May 2016.

Fort Denison in Historiography and Heritage

Despite Fort Denison's transformative history, it has rarely been studied in its own right.

Comprehensive surveys of the island fortress have been predominantly confined to the 'grey literature' genre, particularly unpublished conservation reports.¹⁶ The most pertinent include

¹⁶ 'Grey literature', as explained by the University of New England refers to 'research that is either unpublished or has been published in non-commercial form.' Examples include: government reports, research reports, etc. See: University of New England, *Grey Literature*, 2016, learning module by the University of New England,

James Semple Kerr's investigation for the Maritime Services Board (MSB) and his 1995 report for the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service's (NPWS).¹⁷ These institutions oversaw the administration of Fort Denison, a function which formally remains with the NPWS.¹⁸ Both surveys adopt a chronological approach when outlining the island's history, interspersing primary sources throughout the texts. While both reports are extremely useful in summarising the changing purpose of Fort Denison throughout Sydney's history, they lack specific analysis and engagement with cultural ephemera, and hence with its wider significance to Sydney and the maritime landscape of its harbour.

The prevailing interpretation in the published historiography locates Fort Denison within defence histories of Sydney, colonial New South Wales, and the Australian continent.¹⁹

Historians such as Dean Boyce have persuasively argued that as a distant outpost of Britain's Empire, the Australian colonies were inherently fearful of a seaborne attack throughout the nineteenth century.²⁰ Whether threatened by foreign naval powers or opportunistic privateers, colonists in New South Wales were especially anxious due to the strategic position of Sydney

<<https://www.une.edu.au/library/support/eskills-plus/research-skills/grey-literature>>, viewed 10 September 2016; Kerr, *Fort Denison*; NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park: Fort Denison Conservation Plan* (Sydney, NSW: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Draft October 1995); Office of Environment & Heritage, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Plan of Management: Sydney Harbour National Park 2012* (Sydney: Office of Environment and Heritage, 2012), pp. 165-73.

¹⁷ Kerr, *Fort Denison*; NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park*.

¹⁸ The MSB managed the island from 1936-92, with the NPWS assuming control from 1992-present. Kerr, *Fort Denison*; NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park*.

¹⁹ Dean Boyce, *Defending Colonial Sydney*, 2008, Dictionary of Sydney, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/defending_colonial_sydney#page=all&ref=note9>, viewed 20 May 2016; Dean Boyce, *Invasion: Colonial Sydney's Fears of Attack* (Waverley, N.S.W.: One Off Press, 2012), pp. 55-61; Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, third edition, 2008), pp. 20-22; Clem Llewellyn Lack, 'Russian Ambitions in the Pacific: Australian War Scares of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 8, no. 3 (1968), pp. 437-38; Andrew Lambert, 'Australia, the Trent Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence', in David Stevens and John Reeve, eds., *Southern Trident: Strategy, History and the Rise of Australian Naval Power* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2001), p. 102; T. B. Millar, *Australia in Peace and War: External Relations since 1788* (Botany: Australian National University Press, second edition, 1991), p. 11; T. B. Millar, 'The Defense of Australia', *Daedalus* 114, no. 1 (Winter 1985), p. 260; Peter Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts: The Fixed Defences of Sydney Harbour 1788-1963* (Loftus, N.S.W.: Australian Military History Publications, 2005), pp. 27-38, 49-64; P. T. Oppenheim, 'The Paper Fleet or the Ships that Never Were. Part One: 1853 to 1870', *The Great Circle* 11, no. 2 (1989), p. 54; Ward, 'Security', pp. 232-35.

²⁰ Boyce, *Invasion*, p. 1.

Harbour as a major anchorage commanding the Southern Pacific Ocean.²¹ When invasion scares seemed imminent therefore, fortifications were constructed or improved, and military volunteers raised in ‘a flurry of activity’.²² The erection of a fort on Pinchgut was thus a product of Sydney’s kneejerk reactions; two of these key events will be explored at length in Chapter One.

While historical studies have illustrated the strategic and political circumstances behind Fort Denison’s construction, they lack a specific cultural engagement with the island fort itself.²³ Following broader narratives of local or continental military history, published accounts group Fort Denison alongside the development of other colonial and Commonwealth fortifications. Its cultural place and meaning in the context of Sydney Harbour therefore remains overlooked.

Fort Denison also features in histories exploring the various islands of Sydney Harbour.²⁴ Yet it remains merely another chapter amongst many, rather than the primary focus of analysis. Simon Davies, Mary Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, for instance, provide pertinent information and draw on cultural material such as artworks and photographs, yet they fail to critically analyse how Fort Denison’s meaning altered as its defensive purpose was rendered obsolete. Given that such texts frequently repeat the claim that the fort was redundant even at the moment of its completion in 1857, this is a remarkable and enduring oversight.

²¹ Boyce, *Invasion*, p. 1; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 34; Lack, ‘Russian Ambitions in the Pacific’, pp. 432, 441; Ward, ‘Security’, pp. 234-35.

²² Boyce, *Invasion*, p. 1; Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, p. 20; Millar, *Australia in Peace and War*, p. 11.

²³ Excluding Stuart Ward, see: Ward, ‘Security’, pp. 232-35.

²⁴ Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, pp. 73-94; Frank Clune, *Saga of Sydney: The Birth, Growth and Maturity of the Mother City of Australia* (Sydney: Halstead Press, subscribers’ edition, 1961), pp. 38-40; Simon Davies, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1984), pp. 18-26; P. R. Stephensen, *The History and Description of Sydney Harbour* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1966), pp. 113-15.

In order to understand Fort Denison's shifting place and meaning in the context of Sydney's cultural and maritime landscapes, this thesis also engages with general histories of the city and its harbour.²⁵ The most pertinent is Ian Hoskins's recent monograph, *Sydney Harbour: A History*, which seamlessly employs a cultural history approach to examine Sydney Harbour as a place of industry, pleasure and social interaction.²⁶ Correspondingly, Sascha Jenkins' unpublished PhD thesis was useful in demonstrating how the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed a dramatic shift in cultural understandings of the harbour.²⁷ The idea of the 'working harbour' – symbolised by wharves, warehouses, shipyards and vessels interspersed on the foreshores – was superseded by the 'beautiful harbour', embodied through architectural marvels and cultural endeavours.²⁸ These two texts provided a crucial framework to situate Fort Denison within its wider geographical and cultural milieu, as the physical and cultural effacement of the colonial waterfront reshaped perceptions of the island fort. This was especially the case from the 1920s onwards, as modernisation through urban

²⁵ Works related to Sydney Harbour: Ian Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A Cultural Landscape*, 2013, Dictionary of Sydney, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/sydney_harbour_a_cultural_landscape>, viewed 3 August 2016; Ian Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009); Sascha Jenkins, *Our Harbour: A Cultural History of Sydney Harbour, 1880-1938* (PhD thesis, Department of History: University of Sydney, 2002); Peter Proudfoot, *Seaport Sydney: The Making of the City Landscape* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1996); Stephensen, *The History and Description of Sydney Harbour*; Malcolm Tull, 'The Development of Port Administration at Sydney, 1901 to 1936', *The Great Circle* 4, no. 2 (October 1982), pp. 92-104.

General histories of Sydney include: Paul Ashton, *The Accidental City: Planning Sydney since 1788* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1993); Frank Clune, *Saga of Sydney: The Birth, Growth and Maturity of the Mother City of Australia* (Sydney: Halstead Press, subscribers' edition, 1961), pp. 1-8, 29-84; John Connell, ed., *Sydney: The Emergence of a World City* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000); Shirley Fitzgerald, *Sydney: A Story of a City* (Sydney: City of Sydney, 1999); Robert Gibbons, 'Improving Sydney 1908-1909', in Jill Roe, ed., *Twentieth Century Sydney: Studies in Urban & Social History* (Hale & Iremonger in association with the Sydney History Group, 1980), pp. 120-33; Justine Greenwood, 'The 1908 Visit of the Great White Fleet: Displaying Modern Sydney', *History Australia* 5, no. 3 (2008), pp. 78.1-16; Penelope Grist, 'Imagining Battleships: The Great White Fleet in Sydney 1908-2008', *Journal of Australian Naval History* 5, no. 1 (March 2008), pp. 5-36; Peter Spearritt, *Sydney since the Twenties* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1978); Lucy Turnbull, *Sydney: Biography of a City* (Milsons Point, N.S.W.: Random House Australia, 1999).

²⁶ Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A History* (full citation repeated to avoid confusion).

²⁷ Jenkins, *Our Harbour*.

²⁸ Jenkins, *Our Harbour*, p. 16; Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/sydney_harbour_a_cultural_landscape>.

development and the expansion of leisure culture and tourism saw Fort Denison gain a new – if surprising – prominence in representations of the city’s colonial past.²⁹

In his influential chapter ‘Security: Defending Australia’s Empire’, Australian historian Stuart Ward emphasised that as a ‘monument to Australia’s imperial past’, Fort Denison remains ‘impregnable to contemporary scrutiny’.³⁰ If this assessment has been rectified in the grey literature, it remains the predominant mode in historiographical works. This thesis therefore, aims to redress this lacuna by exploring whether Fort Denison stood as a symbol of pride or folly in the local context between 1840 and 2000. By utilising a cultural history approach, this study foregrounds the diverse meanings and perceptions that have accumulated in popular material. These materials are interrogated to ask how the island fort was reimagined and repurposed in the context of an eternally changing harbour scene.

Cultural history, as explained by Peter Burke, revolves around ‘the symbolic and its interpretation’.³¹ Similarly, Katie Holmes notes that it is the ‘task for the cultural historian’ to explore meanings, understandings and representations – specifically the shifts of these three interrelated dynamics.³² Representation, as Stuart Hall elaborates, is ‘an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture’.³³ In a

²⁹ Greg Whitwell, *Making the Market: The Rise of Consumer Society* (Fitzroy, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1989), p. 4; Judith O’Callaghan and Paul Hogben, ‘Leisure in Sydney During ‘The Long Boom’, in Paul Hogben and Judith O’Callaghan, eds., *Leisure Space: The Transformation of Sydney, 1945-1970* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2014), pp. 15-29; ; Richard White (with Sarah-Jane Ballard, Ingrid Brown, Meredith Lake, Patricia Leehy and Lila Oldmeadow), *On Holidays: A History of Getting Away in Australia* (North Melbourne, Victoria: Pluto Press, 2005); Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company, *Australia’s Travel and Tourist Industry, 1965* (Sydney: Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company and Stanton Robbins & Co., Inc., 1966), pp. 171-72, 189-91.

³⁰ Ward, ‘Security’, p. 232.

³¹ Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity, second edition, 2008), p. 3.

³² Katie Holmes, ‘“In Spite of it All, the Garden still Stands”: Gardens, Landscape and Cultural History’, in Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White, eds., *Cultural History in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), p. 172.

³³ Stuart Hall, ‘The Work of Representation’, in Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, in association with The Open University, 1997), p. 15.

similar vein, works pertaining to ‘cultural heritage’ frequently invoke these concepts.³⁴ Shatha Abu-Khafajah and Laurajane Smith, for example, argue that extant relics are continually negotiated and reinscribed via the interactions of individuals with their environment and other people.³⁵ These assertions will help frame why – and how – interpretations of Fort Denison have continually changed over the past 180 years.

This thesis therefore, is not a documentary history of Fort Denison, but a history of the meanings and understandings associated with the island fort. In adopting a cultural history approach, I have privileged cultural materials such as newspaper articles, letters to the editor, artworks, tourist brochures, popular literature, commissions of inquiry and public debates. Whilst examining this material I was predominantly asking ‘how was Fort Denison represented, and what did these representations mean to the citizens of Sydney?’

The main primary sources employed for this study were articles and letters to the editor in Sydney’s newspapers from the 1830s to 2000. While it should be recognised that the opinions expressed in newspaper columns were not necessarily representative of Sydney’s population – they do provide a sense of readers’ viewpoints.³⁶ Furthermore, especially in the nineteenth century, the recurrent theme of ‘defence’ testifies to a sense of vulnerability suffusing colonial public discourse.

³⁴ While definitions of cultural heritage are multifarious, this thesis aligns with Shatha Abu-Khafajah’s definition, i.e., ‘a social communication process in which material of the past is encoded and decoded according to influences from contemporary contexts and way of life as well as individuals’ experiences and perceptions of time and place’. See, Shatha Abu-Khafajah, ‘Meaning-Making and Cultural Heritage in Jordan: The Local Community, the Contexts and the Archaeological Sites in Khreibt Al-Suq’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010), p. 129; Laurajane Smith, ‘Theorising Museum and Heritage Visiting’, in Andrea Witcomb and Kylie Message, eds., *Museum Theory* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), pp. 459-84; Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (London; New York: Routledge 1992), p. 94.

³⁵ Abu-Khafajah, ‘Meaning-Making and Cultural Heritage in Jordan’, p. 129; Smith, ‘Theorising Museum and Heritage Visiting’, p. 460.

³⁶ Boyce, *Invasion*, p. 16.

This thesis is divided into three chapters that together form a thematic narrative. The first examines the strategic and cultural background that led to the erection of Fort Denison. It argues that a specific set of Imperial, geopolitical and local factors combined to prompt a serious re-evaluation of harbour defences. Critical developments included the unexpected arrival of the United States Exploring Squadron in 1839, the Gold Rush of the early 1850s and the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854. The second chapter explores the contested place and meanings that Fort Denison held between 1859 and 1912. Although envisaged as a bulwark of defence, as a military installation the fort was arguably obsolete upon its completion. Despite its defunct defence purpose, this chapter shows how the island was frequently re-imbued with new meanings in a globalising and modernising harbour city. Chapter three focuses on the twentieth century, analysing how Fort Denison re-emerged as a symbol of pride. Embodying a series of historical narratives – some more faithful to the documentary record than others – it became a crucial feature in re-imagining Sydney's colonial heritage. By the end of the century, however, the emergence of a mass heritage industry led to yet another iteration of Fort Denison, as a commoditised destination favoured more for its spectacular location than its complex series of past identities.

CHAPTER ONE

‘Pride or Folly?’

The Contestation and Construction of Fort Denison, 1788-1857

From its very inception, the Colony of New South Wales, with the harbour of Port Jackson at its centre, had always been conscious of its remoteness from the authority and protection afforded by the Mother Country.¹ While the Canadian provinces were only a relatively short sailing distance from Britain, local fortifications were vigorously maintained against the very real threat posed by the United States in the decades after 1812.² The Australian colonies, however, relied almost entirely upon sheer distance from Europe for their maritime security.³ This sense of isolation commonly transformed into suspicion and fear due to Britain’s propensity for war throughout the nineteenth century and the Eurocentric worldview of many early settlers.⁴ The colonists, therefore, viewed with consternation the recurrent shifts in British alliances and Imperial policy. Their sense of insecurity followed British rivalries and outright clashes with naval powers – especially France, Russia and the United States.⁵

While today these invasion scares could be easily dismissed as fanciful, to do so disregards the well-founded fears of the antipodean colonists. During this period Britain’s rivals

¹ T. B. Millar, ‘The Defense of Australia’, *Daedalus* 114, no. 1 (Winter 1985), p. 259; P. T. Oppenheim, ‘The Paper Fleet or the Ships that Never Were. Part One: 1853 to 1870’, *The Great Circle* 11, no. 2 (1989), p. 52.

² Terry McDonald, “‘It is Impossible for His Majesty’s Government to Withdraw from these Dominions’”: Britain and the Defence of Canada, 1813 to 1834’, *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d’Études Canadiennes* 39, no. 3 (Fall 2005), pp. 40-59.

³ Andrew Lambert, ‘Australia, the Trent Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence’, in David Stevens and John Reeve, eds., *Southern Trident: Strategy, History and the Rise of Australian Naval Power* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2001), pp. 101-2.

⁴ Millar, ‘The Defense of Australia’, p. 260; Peter Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts: The Fixed Defences of Sydney Harbour 1788-1963* (Loftus: Australian Military History Publications, 2005), p. xi.

⁵ Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, third edition, 2008), p. 20; Millar, ‘The Defense of Australia’, p. 260; Oppenheim, ‘The Paper Fleets or the Ships that Never Were’, p. 52.

regularly sent warships to the Pacific to annex new territories, locating Sydney as a possible conquest: it boasted a strategically important harbour and – after the Gold Rush – was particularly wealthy.⁶ This fear of invasion was compounded by the slow nature of seaborne communication, as it could take four to six months for news from Europe to reach Australia.⁷ As Peter Oppenheim effectively highlights:

By the time official reports arrived in the colony warning of the potential outbreak of hostilities between Britain and some other country, the war could have broken out, been amicably resolved, still be raging around the globe, or have been won or lost – the next ship to appear on the horizon could be from the potentially belligerent country.⁸

This incessant state of uncertainty fuelled an insistent colonial preoccupation with defending Sydney from the possibility of attack.⁹

This Chapter examines the strategic and cultural background to the creation of one particular defensive feature in New South Wales – Fort Denison in Sydney Harbour. It argues that although fears over the security of the colony persisted throughout the nineteenth century, a specific set of Imperial, geopolitical and local factors culminated in the mid-1850s to prompt a new phase of defensive construction. In particular, the conjunction of the Gold Rush and the Crimean War prompted Sydney's political class to project the nondescript island of Pinchgut as an important bulwark for harbour defence. However, this Chapter will demonstrate how the island was envisaged as a symbol of security preceding these two main factors due to the unannounced arrival of two American frigates. This surprise visit jolted the colony into angst

⁶ Dean Boyce, *Defending Colonial Sydney*, 2008, Dictionary of Sydney, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/defending_colonial_sydney#page=all&ref=note9>, viewed 20 May 2016.

⁷ Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, pp. xi-ii.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Oppenheim, 'The Paper Fleet or the Ships that Never Were', p. 52.

and action as fortification works commenced – including on Pinchgut Island. This act thus resulted in the island’s transformation – both physically and symbolically – as it garnered a new purpose and meaning in the eyes of Sydney residents.

An Unexpected Arrival: Chaos in the Colony

In the early days of settlement – and indeed for majority of the nineteenth century – the defence of the colonies was the responsibility of the Imperial Government in London.¹⁰ Those in positions of authority in Britain, however, were often indifferent to the requests and various demands for men, weapons, ships and money to improve colonial defences from both internal and external enemies.¹¹ Indeed defensive works instituted in the early decades of settlement were slight and largely ineffective despite the strategic value of Port Jackson.¹² Most of the initial fortifications established in 1789–1801 at Dawes Point, Bennelong Point and Windmill Hill, for example, fell into total disrepair.¹³ Even Fort Macquarie – a defence structure completed under the governorship of Lachlan Macquarie in 1821 – was viewed as ‘perfectly useless’ by 1834.¹⁴

The lack of substantial fortifications was a source of consternation in the colony, a sentiment that would permeate throughout the century. For instance, an 1834 article in the *Sydney Gazette* lamented the distance of the colonies from Britain and criticised the present defences,

¹⁰ T.B. Millar, *Australia’s Defence* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, second edition, 1969), p. 9.

¹¹ Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 3.

¹² James Semple Kerr, *Fort Denison: An Investigation for the Maritime Services Board of NSW* (Sydney: National Trust, 1986), p. 4.

¹³ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 4; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 10.

¹⁴ (No Title), *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 13 September 1834, p. 2.

worried that they left the growing city ‘exposed to invasion’.¹⁵ This fear would come to fruition, albeit five years later and in a less resounding manner than anticipated.

On the night of 30 November 1839, unbeknown to the sleeping citizens of Sydney, two American sloops-of-war unsuspectingly entered Sydney Harbour and anchored peacefully at Farm Cove.¹⁶ These frigates – the *Vincennes*, weighing 760 tonnes with twenty-four guns and the *Peacock*, 650 tonnes with twenty-two guns – were part of the six ships that formed the United States Exploring Expedition to the Pacific and Antarctic.¹⁷ Ships that arrived near the Heads in the late afternoon, like these two American warships, were expected to anchor offshore and wait until the following morning for a pilot to bring them into the harbour.¹⁸ Despite this protocol, the Americans decided to sail into the harbour as they had charts of Port Jackson in their possession. As Commodore Wilkes of the *Vincennes* related:

At sunset . . . we made the lighthouse on the headland of Port Jackson. We had a fair wind for entering the harbour, and although the night was dark and we had no pilot, it was important to avoid any loss of time, so I determined to run in . . . At half past ten p.m. we quietly dropped anchor off the Cove in the midst of the shipping without anyone having the least idea of our arrival.¹⁹

Indeed, when the citizens of Sydney awoke the next morning they were ‘astonished’ to find two American frigates anchored amongst their shipping, without report and ‘unknown to the pilots’.²⁰

¹⁵ (No Title), p. 2.

¹⁶ ‘Shipping Intelligence: Arrivals’, *Australasian Chronicle*, 3 December 1839, p. 4; Mary Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour* (East Roseville: Simon & Schuster, 2000), p. 74.

¹⁷ ‘Domestic Intelligence’, *The Colonist*, 11 December 1839, p. 2; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 29.

¹⁸ Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 29.

¹⁹ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States’ Exploring Expedition: During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, (Whittaker, vol. 1, 1845), p. 117.

²⁰ Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States’ Exploring Expedition*, p. 117.

The newspapers of the day quickly transformed this astonishment into disquiet, utilising the event to remind inhabitants of their vulnerable position. *The Sydney Gazette* for example, used the *Vincennes* incident to ridicule Governor George Gipps and his lax approach to fortifying the harbour. While the Governor had previously claimed that a few guns would be efficient in protecting the city, the newspaper mocked: ‘It is a lucky thing that we are at present at peace with brother Jonathan, or we should have been mulcted “pretty considerably I guess”, in spite of the Governor’s great guns’.²¹ The article proceeded with a foreboding tone, warning what would happen if ‘at this very moment, news should reach the Commodore of the American squadron, that hostilities have commenced between England and the United States, what should we do?’²² The editorial accordingly called for the erection of defences, trusting that the Colonial Government would see the immediate need for such provisions.²³ *The Australian* took a similar approach in criticising Governor Gipps:

We cannot but accuse His Excellency of participating in the apparent belief of our Home Government, that there is such a divinity doth hedge in British subjects, that they may sleep, under any circumstances of exposure, as securely as if their persons and property were bestowed within the lines of Cronstadt or Gibraltar.²⁴

Correspondingly, boasting of the city’s status as a prize worth taking, *The Australian* lambasted Gipps’ ‘complacent delusion’ and urged him to campaign the Imperial Government for an efficient scheme of fortification.²⁵ After the Americans’ departure, the *Gazette* continued their tirade, warning readers that had the interlopers’ intentions been hostile; the city possessed neither the means to prevent their entrance nor the ability to

²¹ ‘Mulet’ is to extort money as a form of punishment. ‘Domestic Intelligence’, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 3 December 1839, p. 2.

²² ‘Domestic Intelligence’, p. 2.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ (No Title), *The Australian*, 3 December 1839, p. 2.

²⁵ Ibid.

protect themselves.²⁶ Furthermore, the article bemoaned the dearth of ‘a single fort capable of resisting a single broadside from a ship of war’.²⁷ This sentiment was echoed by Commodore Wilkes himself, later remarking that ‘Had war existed, we might, after firing the shipping and reducing a great part of the town to ashes, have effected a retreat before daybreak in perfect safety’.²⁸

Taken together, the arrival of the American warships and these newspaper extracts highlight two significant developments. Firstly, as argued by Oppenheim, this embarrassing arrival saw simmering colonial tensions over the defence of Sydney boil over into public outrage and trepidation.²⁹ Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, proper arrangements for fortifying the harbour were commenced in reaction to threats of incursion – whether real or imagined. Sydney’s defence policy, as this chapter elaborates, remained largely a series of ephemeral kneejerk reactions. Military historian Jeffrey Grey validates this argument, asserting such scares typically prompted a ‘frenzied period of activity in which fortifications were begun or upgraded’, followed by a ‘rapid waning of activity and interest as the immediate commotion passed’.³⁰ Indeed, this public outrage stirred the Colonial Government into action, forever changing the face and purpose of Pinchgut Island.

Work Commences But to No Avail

In August 1840 Governor Gipps approved an 1836 plan – originally proposed by Captain George Barney, Commanding Royal Engineer in Sydney – to fortify Pinchgut with a land

²⁶ ‘Artillery and Morality’, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 13 February 1840, p. 2.

²⁷ ‘Artillery and Morality’, p. 2.

²⁸ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States’ Exploring Expedition: During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, (Lea and Blanchard, vol. 2, 1845), p. 161.

²⁹ Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 30.

³⁰ Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, p. 20.

battery.³¹ Barney had made this recommendation in response to the decrepit batteries at Dawes Point and Fort Macquarie.³² To put this proposal into effect, Barney requested that sixteen 24-pounder guns be installed at new and existing fortifications, adding in 1839 two additional engineer officers and £5000 in Parliamentary Estimates for ‘the required defences of New South Wales’.³³ Once Gipps sanctioned Barney’s scheme of defence, the engineer lost no time in preparing ‘two of the most important points’ within the harbour, comprising Pinchgut and Bradley’s Head.³⁴ The Governor provided 140 convicts to prepare both sites and install the ordnance, as the guns requested in 1836 finally arrived in April 1840.³⁵

While the convicts razed the island, a notification was received from the Board of Ordnance that October, denying Barney’s request for £5000 to construct defence works.³⁶ Approval was provided for an additional engineer, but regarding the fortifications, ‘Her Majesty’s Government’ was not ‘prepared to adopt the proceedings’.³⁷ Regardless, Gipps allowed Barney to proceed and by February 1842 Pinchgut had been levelled to the high-water

³¹ Lord Stanley to Sir George Gipps (1842), quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XXII, (Sydney Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 327; George Barney to Inspector General of Fortifications (1836), quoted in James Semple Kerr, *Fort Denison: An Investigation for the Maritime Services Board of NSW* (Sydney: National Trust, 1986), p. 8.

³² George Barney to Inspector General of Fortifications, quoted in Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 8.

³³ Major Barney to Inspector-General of Fortifications (1839), quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XX (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 599; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 8; Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 75.

³⁴ Major Barney to Sir George Gipps (1840), quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XXI, (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 53.

³⁵ Sir George Gipps to Lord John Russell (1840) quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XXI (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 52.

³⁶ Lord John Russell to Sir George Gipps (1840) quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XX (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 598; Mr C. E. Trevelyan to Under Secretary Stephen (1840) quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XX (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 601; Under Secretary to Mr R. Byham (1840) quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XX (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 601.

³⁷ Lord John Russell to Sir George Gipps (1840) quoted in Watson, *Historical Records of Australia*, p. 598.

mark.³⁸ A flat surface for the guns to be mounted, known as a terreplein, had also been formed, with ten of the sixteen 24-pounders placed on the island. With the refusal of the British Government to sanction any further work, Pinchgut Island was left defunct and incomplete – and would remain so until the outbreak of the Crimean War revived fears of a hostile assault.

The refusal of the Home Government was typical, and would not be the last instance of rejection. As Stuart Ward emphasises, the relationship between the British Government and colonial authorities was frequently strained.³⁹ The colonies believed their attachment to Britain rendered them vulnerable to attack, necessitating Imperial funds for essential defences. In stark contrast, however, the Imperial Government viewed the colonists' demands as 'overblown, their fears unfounded, and their interests secondary'.⁴⁰ As Dean Boyce verifies, 'competing emotions were continually in play' as the colonists repeatedly complained that Britain did not provide enough protection, but simultaneously 'begrudged' any calls to contribute to defence expenditure.⁴¹

The granting of self-government to the five colonies with the passage of the *Australian Colonies Government Act* 1850, however, sought to transfer the burden of funding – a move that would test just how 'vital' colonists believed their security was.⁴² While work at Pinchgut was long discontinued, it provided an opportunity for those in the colony to reflect on its imagined purpose as a literal and symbolic bulwark of harbour defence.

³⁸ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 11; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 32.

³⁹ Stuart Ward, 'Security: Defending Australia's Empire', in Deryck Schreuder and Stuart Ward, eds., *Australia's Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 237.

⁴⁰ Ward, 'Security', p. 237.

⁴¹ Dean Boyce, *Invasion: Colonial Sydney's Fears of Attacks* (Waverley: One Off Press, 2012), p. 5.

⁴² Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, pp. 20-21; Simon J. Potter, 'Australia and the British Empire: Expectations and Realities', in Deborah Gare & David Ritter, eds., *Making Australian History: Perspectives on the Past since 1788* (South Melbourne, Victoria: Thomson Learning Australia, first edition, 2008), p. 51.

Pinchgut's Perceived Purpose and Place

The stalled construction at Bradley's Head and Pinchgut Island revived fears of Sydney's 'defenceless' condition and once again found expression in the colonial press. Significantly, the anxious voices aired in local newspapers signalled the important place Pinchgut had come to occupy for both the colonial authorities and residents alike. Before analysing this notion, it is important to reflect briefly on the development of Sydney – and especially its harbour – and its implications for renewed concern over the city's vulnerability.

Sydney was proclaimed a city in 1842 while its harbour – originally imagined as a coastal prison – had transformed into a commercial port.⁴³ As Sascha Jenkins argues, Sydney was a 'port city', and its waters a scene of maritime commerce and industry (Figure 1.1).⁴⁴

Shipbuilding was prominent across the foreshores of the harbour, with the main manufacturers located in Pyrmont and Darling Harbour, while whaling exports surpassed wool in 1830–32.⁴⁵ The construction of numerous wharfs, warehouses and dockyards gave way to commercial prosperity with the colony gaining central importance for its imports and exports.⁴⁶ As the colony grew more self-righteous, boasting its reputation as a port city, it also became increasingly anxious to protect this newfound prominence. Therefore, the city's neglected defence works left citizens and merchants bemoaning their vulnerability.

⁴³ Ian Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009), p. 78; Peter Proudfoot, *Seaport Sydney: The Making of the City Landscape* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1996), p. 31.

⁴⁴ Sascha Jenkins, *Our Harbour: A Cultural History of Sydney Harbour, 1880-1938* (PhD thesis, Department of History: University of Sydney, 2002), p. 25; Proudfoot, *Seaport Sydney*, p. 20.

⁴⁵ Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 81; Proudfoot, *Seaport Sydney*, p. 23.

⁴⁶ Proudfoot, *Seaport Sydney*, p. 31.



(Figure 1.1) Frederick Garling's 1839 painting of Circular Quay, elucidates how the harbour was explicitly a 'port city'. Frederick Garling, [*Circular Quay, 1839?*], 1839? State Library of New South Wales, V1 / 1839? / 1, <<http://archival-classic.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemLarge.aspx?itemID=423716>>, viewed 22 May 2016.

When preparation was underway to convert the nondescript Pinchgut Island into a much-needed fortification, the finished work was already perceived as a symbol of pride. An article published in the *Sydney Herald* for example, foresaw a 'warm reception' from the 'two grand points of defence' – namely Pinchgut and Bradley's Head – if a French frigate or vessel bearing a letter of marque entered the harbour in the event of war.⁴⁷

Correspondingly, when learning that the requested £5000 would not be provided, Governor Gipps pressed the Imperial Government over the dire need for defences.⁴⁸ He stressed that abandonment of the defence works would create 'disappointment' and 'alarm' in the colony.⁴⁹ In a twisted irony, while pleading for funds, the Governor threatened to finance the fortifications himself due to the severe 'disadvantage' that would arise if construction ceased.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ 'Active Preparations for War in Port Jackson', *The Sydney Herald*, 12 February 1841, p. 2

⁴⁸ Sir George Gipps to Lord John Russell (1840) Watson, *Historical Records of Australia*, p. 52.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

Evidently these defences – and specifically Pinchgut Island – had gained both literal and symbolic importance in colonial society. Once completed, Pinchgut would form one of the main defences protecting the harbour and city of Sydney. The island fort represented a beacon of hope for securing the commercial heart of the harbour. Furthermore, the sound of the island being blasted barren would have resounded across the harbour – making it both an aural and visual marker of action and progress – in contrast to its subsequent silence and embarrassing flattened state as a beacon of inaction (Figure 1.2). Indeed, once work stopped on the islands, dissatisfaction was rife in the colonial press.



(Figure 1.2) Samuel Prout Hill's 1845 watercolour painting of a large gunboat – juxtaposed against the small and razed island of Pinchgut – highlights how the island would have served as a continual eyesore and sight of embarrassment. Samuel Prout Hill, *First Gunboat in Sydney Harbour off Pinchgut*, 1845, National Library of Australia, 215745, <<http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/215745>>, viewed 22 May 2016.

From 1843 to 1845, newspapers were filled with editorial comment lamenting the city's insecurity due to the lack of adequate fortifications.⁵¹ For instance, in a letter to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Curacoa' asked why the works at Bradley's Head and Pinchgut were suspended.⁵² 'Curacoa' believed the deferment was outrageous, given the 'extreme probability of the South Seas becoming the scene of naval contests', especially when their sole defence was 'that useless toy', Fort Macquarie.⁵³ Similarly, an article in the same newspaper affirmed that it was 'extremely desirable' to complete the defences of the harbour, calling for the resumption of works on Bradley's Head and Pinchgut.⁵⁴

'Embrasure' wrote to the editor of *The Australian* and lambasted the Mother Country for its poor protection of Sydney.⁵⁵ The author noted that compared to Britain's other 'colonial possessions', Sydney was by far the most 'destitute' as it had no sufficient defences.⁵⁶ It can therefore be assumed that as the harbour evolved from an open-air prison to a maritime and commercial hub, inhabitants saw fortifications like Pinchgut as a necessity – even more so when the work was discontinued. Pinchgut Island had thus garnered a symbolic status within the minds of residents, who perceived the island as the protector of their harbour's commercial heart.

Not everyone was pleased with Pinchgut's new purpose, however, and this was primarily due to its location. Throughout the nineteenth century, Sydney's defence revolved around

⁵¹ A Briton, 'Original Correspondence: The Defenceless State of the Colony of New South Wales', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 September 1843, p. 3; Curacoa, 'Original Correspondence: Defenceless State of the Harbour', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 July 1844, p. 3; Curacoa, 'Original Correspondence: Defenceless State of the Harbour', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 December 1844, p. 4; (No Title), *The Sentinel*, 26 February 1845, p. 2; A Citizen, 'Fortify the Harbour!', *The Australian*, 2 September 1845, p. 3; 'State of Sydney Harbour', *The Examiner*, 18 October 1845, p. 82; 'Defenceless State of the Harbour', *The Sentinel*, 22 October 1845, p. 2.

⁵² Curacoa, 'Defenceless State of the Harbour', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 September 1843, p. 4.

⁵³ Curacoa, 'Defenceless State of the Harbour', p. 4.

⁵⁴ 'Defences of the Colony', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 November 1844, p. 2.

⁵⁵ With a pseudonym like 'embrasure', the military connotations would have been self-evident. Embrasure, 'Fortify the Harbour', *The Australian*, 30 August 1845, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Embrasure, 'Fortify the Harbour', p. 3.

two main approaches. The first, labelled by Oppenheim as the ‘let him in defence’, sought to protect the harbour by luring an enemy ship into a ‘killing ground’ comprising an inner ring of fortifications that would safeguard the port, warehouses, vessels and city itself.⁵⁷ The second was the ‘keep him out’ method that aimed to prevent a potential enemy from entering the harbour entirely, with outer defences focused at the Heads.⁵⁸ It is clear that Barney’s attempt to fortify Pinchgut and Bradley’s Head was premised on the first approach – a move that was met with opposition by some residents as they favoured installing defences at the entrance of Port Jackson. For example, ‘Blue Ruin’ argued that the commencement of fortifying Bradley’s Head and Pinchgut was a mistake.⁵⁹ ‘Blue Ruin’ maintained that the ‘proper place’ to establish defences was at North Head, Inner South Head and the Point of Middle Head, as together they would ‘completely secure the port.’⁶⁰ Equally an item printed in *The Sentinel* recommended the erection of ‘strong batteries’ on Middle Head, North and South Heads as the ‘paltry batteries’ that dotted the harbour would be of ‘little service’ against marauders.⁶¹ Furthermore, *The Examiner* satirically remarked that Barney’s ‘ill mounted guns’, such as the ‘few disorganised long 24’s in the shaky trench of clipped-to-pieces Pinchgut’ would be useless in protecting Sydney from a hostile attack.⁶² It is thus clear that not all residents viewed Pinchgut’s proposed defensive purpose with admiration, favouring the Heads as Sydney’s saviour.

Some citizens objected to Pinchgut’s new façade. Before its flattening, it had been a picturesque remnant of Sydney’s natural heritage – ever important in an increasingly artificial maritime landscape. This romanticisation is apparent both in the visual arts (Figure

⁵⁷ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 4; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. xiv.

⁵⁸ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 4; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. xiv.

⁵⁹ Blue Ruin, ‘Fortify the Harbour’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 September 1843, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Blue Ruin, ‘Fortify the Harbour’, p. 4.

⁶¹ ‘Defenceless State of the Harbour’, *The Sentinel*, p. 2.

⁶² ‘State of Sydney Harbour’, *The Examiner*, p. 82.

1.3), as well as in the words of some prominent inhabitants. Democrat and clergyman, John Dunmore Lang, for instance, remarked:

There was a remarkable rock or islet, which . . . had occupied a prominent position in the harbour, in the approach to Sydney . . . and which formed a striking object in the field of view from all the surrounding heights . . . This natural ornament of the harbour, however, which no art could have equalled, this remarkable work of God, which had stood, like a sentinel keeping watch upon the harbour for thousands of years, was at length destroyed by the folly of man.⁶³

Likewise, a letter written from the perspective of the island itself to the *Sydney Morning Herald* deplored its demolition:

A few years back I was an object of admiration to all who visited the waters of Port Jackson; but, alas, in an unhappy hour I became the victim of a designing Colonel of Engineers, who most ruthlessly despoiled me of my charms, and has left me “a mark for the finger of scorn to point at.”⁶⁴

Evidently, opposition to Pinchgut’s new protective purpose also stemmed from the destruction of its physical fabric – an act that despoiled its romantic nature and the maritime landscape of the harbour itself.

Pinchgut Island occupied a unique place in Sydney, signified by the various cultural meanings inscribed on the island as it was imbued with a new purpose. As a symbol of pride it came to represent an imagined bulwark of harbour defence. As a symbol of folly, its razed platform signalled civic stagnation and tensions between colonial and imperial authorities. The projected fort was decried as an outright failure, its conception resulting in the ruination of a picturesque islet whilst the entrance of the harbour was the favoured site for

⁶³ John Dunmore Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, Vol. II, third edition 1852), p. 153.

⁶⁴ Pinchguttina, ‘A Voice from Pinchgut’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1854, p. 5.

fortifications. These contradictory meanings would continue with the onset of the Gold Rush and Crimean War.



(Figure 1.3) This watercolour painting contains romantic overtones as the ruggedness of Garden and Pinchgut Island (depicted in the background) are emphasised. Edward Charles Close, *Garden Island and Pinchgut Island in Sydney Harbour, ca. 1818*, ca. 1818, National Library of Australia, 2103686, <<http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/2103686>>, viewed 22 May 2016.

Chaos in the Colony: The Sequel

The panic and outrage that seized the Colony of New South Wales following the undetected arrival of the American Exploring Squadron in 1839, reverberated fifteen years later – except this time the threat was Russian. While Britain had declared war on Russia in March 1854,

news did not reach Sydney until 27 June of the same year.⁶⁵ In the months preceding this pronouncement, knowledge of the crisis in the Crimea left Sydney in a state of trepidation. Once again the newspapers promulgated an outcry over the negligible state of the city's defences.⁶⁶ The panic permeating the colony was more marked this time, however, undoubtedly due to the accumulation of gold in local coffers as a result of its discovery three years previously. These two factors coalesced and ultimately led to the resumption of fortifying Pinchgut Island in 1855, an act instigated by the new Governor of New South Wales, William Denison.

While Britain's involvement in the Crimean War is commonly acknowledged as an imperative driving the erection of Fort Denison, the discovery of gold is often overlooked. Numerous scholars for example note that the possibility of a Russian invasion served as a catalyst for strengthening harbour defences.⁶⁷ In comparison, only Simon Davies, Mary Shelley Clark and Jack Clark recognise that the construction of a fort on Pinchgut was animated by new fears of foreign marauders targeting the city's gold stocks – but they fail to

⁶⁵ Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁶ W. A. D., 'Defenceless State of Sydney', *Empire*, 23 January 1854, p. 2; 'War and Sydney Defences', *Empire*, 28 March 1854, p. 2; 'Our Defence Against Invasion', *Empire*, 30 March 1854, p. 2; 'Our Defences', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 1 April 1854, pp. 1-2; 'Present Difficulties', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 April 1854, p. 4; Very Defenceless, 'Our Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 April 1854, p. 3; Seumait, 'Our Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 April 1854, p. 2; Penelope, 'Our Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 April 1854, p. 5; Rienzi, 'Our Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 1854, p. 2; Triton, 'Our Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 April 1854, p. 5; Adiscombe, 'Harbour Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April 1854, p. 2; W. M., 'Our Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 April 1854, p. 2; Addiscombe, 'Harbour Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1854, p. 8; H. T., 'Harbour Defences, by an Old Man-of-War's Man', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1854, p. 3; 'Public Meeting', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1854, pp. 4-5; 'Legislative Council, Tuesday, June 6, 1854', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 June 1854, pp. 4-5; P. J., 'To the Editor of the Empire', *Empire*, 22 June 1854, p. 1.

⁶⁷ Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, p. 22; Clem Llewellyn Lack, 'Russian Ambitions in the Pacific: Australian War Scares of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 8, no. 3 (1968), pp. 437-8; Lambert, 'Australia, the Trent Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence', pp. 101-2; T. B. Millar, *Australia in Peace and War: External Relations since 1788* (Botany: Australian National University Press, second edition, 1991), p. 11; Millar, 'The Defense of Australia', p. 260; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, pp. 32, 41; Ward, 'Security', p. 232.

provide documentary evidence.⁶⁸ In February 1851, Sydney resident Edward Hargraves unearthed gold in a creek near Bathurst, provoking the gold rushes of the 1850s.⁶⁹ The discovery of gold dramatically transformed the economies of the Australian colonies: over 1851–60, Victoria produced 20 million fine ounces of gold, while New South Wales generated 2 million.⁷⁰

The presence of large gold reserves in municipal banks only heightened the rising civic anxieties over Sydney's strategically vulnerable state. Two 1854 letters that appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* confirm this apprehension.⁷¹ The first, from 'Triton' acknowledged that the newfound wealth of the Australian colonies was largely due to the 'pick-and-shovel-industry'.⁷² 'Triton' claimed that Russia's lack of wealth might cause the Tsar to 'gloat over our treasures' and 'snatch at the wealth accumulated' in the colonial capitals.⁷³ 'Very Defenceless' similarly conceded that a hostile force would enter Sydney Harbour, not for territory, but for the express purpose of purloining 'a few millions of gold'.⁷⁴ Evidently, as the bullion in the coffers increased, so too did alarm surrounding potential Russian incursions – and the absence of formidable defences.

⁶⁸ Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 77; Simon Davies, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1984), p. 23.

⁶⁹ (No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 1851, p. 3; David Goodman, 'The Gold Rushes of the 1850s', in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintye, eds., *The Cambridge History of Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 171; Rodney Maddock and Ian McLean, 'Supply-Side Shocks: The Case of Australian Gold', *Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 4 (1984), p. 1047.

⁷⁰ McLean, 'Supply-Side Shocks', pp. 1050-51. For a more general history of the gold rushes in this period refer to: David Hill, *The Gold Rush: The Fever that Forever Changed Australia* (North Sydney: William Heinemann, 2011), pp. 1-86; Andrew Reeves, Iain McCalman and Alexander Cook, eds., *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press); Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1963).

⁷¹ Triton, 'Our Defences', p. 5; Very Defenceless, 'Our Defences', p. 3.

⁷² Triton, 'Our Defences', p. 5.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Very Defenceless, 'Our Defences', p. 3.

The profusion of letters in the colonial press affirm this notion.⁷⁵ For example, some expressed trepidation at the thought of being attacked by Russian forces. ‘Penelope’ for instance, remarked that she had been unable to sleep due to her fear of the ‘horrid Russians’ battering down the houses of Sydney and taking the women as slaves.⁷⁶ Correspondingly, ‘W. M.’ stated:

We know not the day or hour we may have the enemy’s flag flying off our coast . . . and if we are not prepared to sink their flag, or nail the Union Jack to their masts, we shall find ourselves in a fix – our city destroyed, and all in confusion and distress.⁷⁷

Others, lamenting their lack of security, took it upon themselves and suggested the best means of defence. ‘W. A. D.’ for instance recommended the establishment of a volunteer corps, the construction of batteries at the most prominent points of the harbour and for gunboats to be fitted out.⁷⁸ Likewise, Henry Baker, a Commander in the Royal Navy, called for the inner harbour to be fortified to ensure the protection of the city.⁷⁹ The persistent concerns and complaints that circulated in newsprint before Britain’s official combatant status reached the colony reveals how citizens only called for action when the need for defence seemed urgent. Indeed, this kneejerk reaction was typified with Governor Denison’s implementation and completion of defensive works of the inner harbour – an act that once again saw Pinchgut Island become the site of vigorous contestation.

⁷⁵ Op. cit., footnote 67.

⁷⁶ Penelope, ‘Our Defences’, p. 5.

⁷⁷ W. M., ‘Our Defences’, p. 2.

⁷⁸ W. A. D., ‘Defenceless State of Sydney’, p. 2.

⁷⁹ Henry Baker, Henry, Commander Royal Navy, ‘Our Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 April 1854, p. 2.

A Fortification Arises

Upon his appointment as Governor of New South Wales on 20 January 1855, former Royal Engineer William Denison caused a great deal of commotion as he dramatically altered the pre-established plan of harbour defences.⁸⁰ Before his appointment, work was underway to fortify Inner South Head and Middle Head, following the recommendations of an 1853 Select Committee.⁸¹ This scheme of outer defences derived from an 1848 proposal from previous Royal Engineer, Lieutenant Colonel James Gordon (Figure 1.4).⁸² Gordon's system placed the 'chief reliance' of protection 'on a powerful concentrated force at the mouth of the Harbour'.⁸³ While Gordon additionally recommended the fortification of the Sow and Pigs Reef, Bradley's Head, Dawes Point and Pinchgut, the Executive Council voted only for the immediate construction work at Inner South and Middle Heads.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ John L. Lavett, 'Fort Denison, Sydney', *The Mariner's Mirror* 39, no. 2, (May, 1953), pp. 84-102; 'Fort Denison, Sydney', p. 91; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, pp. 54-55.

⁸¹ Report from the Select Committee on the Defences of Port Jackson, 1853, State Records of New South Wales [hereafter SRNSW], in *Colonial Secretary Special Bundles 1840-55*, 4/1155.2, p. 4.

⁸² Lieutenant Colonel James Gordon, Commanding Royal Engineer, 'Defences of Port Jackson, Report and Estimate on the Defences of Port Jackson', 23 November 1848, SRNSW, in *Colonial Secretary Special Bundles 1840-55*, 4/1155.2, item 48/13384.

⁸³ Gordon, 'Defences of Port Jackson', p. 1.

⁸⁴ Lieutenant Colonel James Gordon, Commanding Royal Engineer, 'Abstract Estimate of the Probable Expense of Erecting Works of Defence for the Protection of the Harbour of Port Jackson – To Accompany Commanding Royal Engineer's Report', 23 November 1848, SRNSW, in *Colonial Secretary Special Bundles 1840-55*, 4/1155.2, item 48/13384, pp. 1-2; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 19; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 47.



(Figure 1.4) This sketch accompanied Gordon's 1848 Abstract and Report and elucidates his vision of a 'concentrated force' at the entrance of the harbour. It is clear that Pinchgut represented a last line of defence in the inner harbour. Lieutenant Colonel James Gordon, Commanding Royal Engineer, *Colonial Secretary: Sketch of Port Jackson Showing the Site for Works of Defence*, 23 November 1848, SRNSW, AO Map No. 6384.

George Barney, as the administrator of these defences, reported in June 1854 that Middle Head was almost finalised – as a battery of four 24-pounder guns had been installed on the southern side and a terreplein to receive eight guns was two-thirds completed.⁸⁵ Until the battery was properly finished, three 32-pounders were mounted and ready on site, while work at South Head had not yet commenced.⁸⁶ Within a fortnight of his arrival however, Denison believed it was expedient to abandon these works in favour of securing the commercial heart of the harbour.⁸⁷ This involved the improvement of Dawes Point and Fort Macquarie, while

⁸⁵ Colonel George Barney, 'Council Papers: Defences of Port Jackson', printed in *Empire*, 16 June 1854, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Barney, 'Council Papers', p. 1.

⁸⁷ NSW, Defences of Port Jackson (Minutes of Proceedings of the Executive Council) Governor General's Minute of 10th February 1855, quoted in Peter Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts: The Fixed Defences of Sydney Harbour 1788-1963* (Loftus, N.S.W.: Australian Military History Publications, 2005), pp. 55-56; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 20.

Pinchgut Island, Macquarie Point and Kirribilli were to be fortified.⁸⁸ Denison's scheme of inner defence was approved by the Executive Council on 28 February 1855, and marked the return of Pinchgut – both literally and symbolically.⁸⁹

Culturally, however, recommencement of work on the island remained divisive. The objections voiced in relation to Denison's new plan revolved around two main beliefs. The first was that his abrupt alteration of the harbour defences was 'unconstitutional', as the Legislative Council had sanctioned the outer works in October 1855 after mature deliberation. The second was that the fortifications at the Heads were superior strategically; therefore its completion was paramount to the safety of the colony.

The first argument was frequently invoked. An article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in March 1855, for instance, explained with distaste that despite the expenditure of £6000 on fortifications at the Heads, 'His Excellency has thought proper to put an absolute stop to the works, and to order the forts to be dismantled'.⁹⁰ Moreover, the author complained, these sudden and arbitrary changes overrode works at the Heads which had been adopted 'after many years of mature deliberation'.⁹¹ In this assertion the *Herald* was correct: work at the Heads had occurred in accordance with the recommendations of Colonel Gordon, approved by the Inspector-General of Fortifications, John Burgoyne, and more importantly sanctioned by the Legislative Council in October 1853.⁹²

⁸⁸ Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 60.

⁸⁹ *Minute of the Proceedings of the Executive Council* (28 February 1855) quoted in 'Legislative Council', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 August 1855, p. 4

⁹⁰ (No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 March 1855, p. 4. (Where there is a potential ambiguity about a newspaper article of the same title, the full citation has been repeated to avoid confusion.)

⁹¹ (No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 March 1855, p. 4.

⁹² *Ibid*; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 52.

The *Herald* was not alone in such protest. For instance, in the Legislative Council Terence Aubery Murray claimed that the course pursued by the government was ‘injudicious’, while Charles Cowper similarly believed that Denison ‘had exceeded his constitutional authority’ in suddenly abandoning works at the Heads.⁹³ George Nichols lamented that these installations had been rejected despite an approved vote of £10,000, ‘on the mere *ipse dixit* of the Governor-General’.⁹⁴ James Martin perhaps epitomised the feelings of Councillors objecting to Denison’s scheme:

he thought the Governor had rashly and precipitately set aside what the House after mature deliberation had decided upon. In 1853 a plan for defending the harbour had been submitted to and decided on by the Council, and by the Appropriation Act of 1854 money voted for that purpose; they then decided to erect batteries on South and Middle Heads, and this was done upon the recommendation of the present Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands and others skilled in such matters, and they now found the Governor-General, on his own opinion, removing and undoing all that had been done.⁹⁵

Martin himself put forward a resolution in the Legislative Council, calling for the works at South Head and Middle Harbour to be continued, condemning the ‘irregular’ and ‘unconstitutional’ behaviour of the Governor.⁹⁶ Notwithstanding Denison’s own military training, disapproval of his inner defence scheme derived from the Governor’s alleged hasty decision to disregard the outer works when it had been sanctioned not only by informed individuals, but also the Council.

⁹³ ‘Legislative Council, Thursday’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 August 1855, pp. 2-3.

⁹⁴ ‘Legislative Council, Thursday’, p. 3.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁹⁶ ‘Legislative Council: Business Proceedings this Day’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 August 1855, p. 8.

The second objection to Denison's defence plan centred on the belief that fortifications at the Heads would have more efficiently protected the harbour. At a public meeting convened at the Exchange Rooms, for the express purpose of discussing the defences of Port Jackson and the city of Sydney, some opposition was voiced.⁹⁷ The Chairman, Thomas Chaplin Breillat, maintained that securing the entrance of Port Jackson was the highest priority.⁹⁸ He compared the defence of the Heads to that of a home, asking attendees: 'Would they not protect themselves from an attack upon their hall doors rather than meet any enemy in the hall or vestibule, where they would be at much greater disadvantage?'⁹⁹ This analogy was also utilised by Dr Julius Berncastle: 'if a man wished to protect his house from a robber he would barricade his front door to keep him out, and not let him into his drawing-room, and there attack him'.¹⁰⁰ Evidently, some politicians, like Berncastle and Breillat, derided the suspension of the fortifications at the Heads as a foolish military mistake which might permit an enemy to enter the harbour.

Yet equal support was also given to Denison's scheme, primarily due to consternation surrounding the Crimean War and the large amount of gold held in the city's banks. For example, Elias Carpenter Weekes declaimed at a public meeting that the Governor's scheme should be implemented at once, evoking the danger that inhabitants of Sydney would face if the opposition continued.¹⁰¹ If the city was bombarded by four or five frigates, he insisted, 'The town would be on fire – not in one place only, but in fifty places at once . . . Every ship floating in the harbour would be scuttled or burned'.¹⁰² Likewise, in the Legislative Council the Postmaster-General feared that the colonists were too late in

⁹⁷ 'Defences of the Harbour', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 August 1855, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

making preparations for adequate defences; ‘they would be caught napping in the most momentous crisis in the history of the world’.¹⁰³ He backed the inner line of defences.¹⁰⁴

Support was also given generically, with individuals deeming Denison’s scheme more practical and more efficient than the alternatives. For example, in the Legislative Council, the Deputy Master of the Mint – Royal Engineer, Edward Ward – asserted that the fortress at the Heads was ‘useless’ as ships could easily sail past at night.¹⁰⁵ In comparison, if the inner works were completed, he observed, ‘no ship could take up a position in the Harbour without being raked or enfiladed by some battery in another position’.¹⁰⁶ Correspondingly, Henry Parker asked those in the Council ‘how often . . . had vessels passed down the harbour upon dark nights, and been found snugly anchored close to the town in the morning?’¹⁰⁷ Parker’s sly reference to the incident of 1839 would have resonated with those present.

Regardless of this varied opposition and support, work commenced on the island in late 1855. As early as March that year, however, the renewed defensive purpose of Pinchgut was already being celebrated, as a letter to the *Empire* affirms.¹⁰⁸ Written from the perspective of the island itself, this missive stated that soon, ‘poor old, mutilated, and neglected Pinchgut will yet assume a place in the list of the most formidable bulwarks of the fair “Queen of the South” – for whose protection nature has so evidently intended me’.¹⁰⁹ Clearly the author saw Pinchgut’s new protective role as a symbol of pride. No

¹⁰³ ‘Legislative Council, Thursday’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 August 1855, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ ‘A Voice’, *Empire*, 7 March 1855, p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ ‘A Voice’, p. 9.

longer a site of embarrassment, the island fort would come to represent a beacon of hope for safeguarding the commercial heart of the harbour. Similarly, in April 1856 with work progressing steadily, the *Sydney Morning Herald* professed that while the ‘defenceless condition’ of the harbour had long been the subject of ‘public animadversion’, fortifications had now been fixed on the ‘most eligible and commanding’ points in the approach to the port city.¹¹⁰

In April 1857, the majority of the work was completed.¹¹¹ It consisted of a 51-foot tall Martello tower, with walls 12 feet 8 inches thick. The basement of the tower contained gunners’ stores and magazines, while the middle level comprised four embrasures, with three 32-pounders and one 12-pounder, ‘commanding the harbour in all directions’.¹¹² The top storey consisted of an open platform, where two guns were to be mounted *en barbette* once they had arrived, which could be shifted ‘to command any part of the harbour’.¹¹³ The battery was to mount ten guns and an addition was to be made at the southern end, which would see the erection of two more guns.¹¹⁴ Due to its physical reconfiguration, public opinion stirred, desiring to remove the ‘convict-smelling’ name of ‘Pinchgut’.¹¹⁵ While one individual lobbied to have the island renamed ‘Fort Cook’, the administrators of the Colonial Government settled upon ‘Fort Denison’ in honour of the Governor.¹¹⁶

Interestingly, although Fort Denison represented one of the first major defence works, constructed at the expense of the colonists moreover – it rarely appeared in newspapers in

¹¹⁰ ‘The Fortifications of Port Jackson’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 April 1856, p. 5.

¹¹¹ Public Works’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 April 1857, p. 6.

¹¹² ‘Public Works’, p. 6.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Squeeze-Stomach, ‘Fort Denison’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 September 1857, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ G. K., ‘To the Editor of the Sydney Morning Herald’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 September 1857, p. 3; W. Elyard, ‘Fort Denison’, *New South Wales Government Gazette*, no. 149, 16 October 1857, p. 1964.

the aftermath of the Crimean War.¹¹⁷ In fact, as the next Chapter will demonstrate, the fortification was rendered obsolete merely three years after its completion.

Fort Denison – Fraught with Contestation

Are we in danger of attack, or are we not? If we are, the neglect of means of defence, day after day, is *madness*. We believe the danger is great . . . England is a great naval power, but she *cannot* protect all . . . A squadron sent to insult these colonies would not go where the ships of England were anchored, but to deserted harbours and unprotected coasts.¹¹⁸

The erection of Fort Denison, as this Chapter has demonstrated, was the direct result of settler-colonial anxieties. As a distant outpost of Britain's Empire, the colonies were prone to feelings of vulnerability and insecurity, exacerbated by the Mother Country's inclination to warfare and lack of telecommunication. Proper measures to fortify Port Jackson and protect the city, however, were primarily transient kneejerk responses, as the public outrages of 1839 and 1853 exemplified. The undetected arrival of two American frigates created consternation over the negligent defences of the harbour, leading Governor Gipps to approve Colonel Barney's plan to fortify Pinchgut. Similarly, the outbreak of the Crimean War and the newfound wealth of the colony, allowed Barney's scheme to finally come to fruition.

Throughout these exchanges – whether with the Colonial Office, within the colony's Legislative Council or in its increasingly strident press – the long-imagined fort alternated between a symbol of pride and folly. As Sydney garnered a newfound wealth and reputation it became imperative to secure the commercial heart of the harbour. While the

¹¹⁷ Lavett, 'Fort Denison', p. 95.

¹¹⁸ 'Thursday, August 9, 1855', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August 1855, p. 4. Emphasis in original.

adequate way to do this was frequently recontested, the commencement and suspension of Pinchgut in the 1840s allowed it to emerge as a beacon of hope in protecting the port city. Simultaneously however, the island was a symbol of folly, as its razed condition epitomised civic stagnation. Correspondingly, as Denison abandoned the outer scheme of defence, Pinchgut's defensive purpose became fraught with conflict. The Governor's inner ring of fortifications was viewed inferior strategically – a notion that diminished Pinchgut's previous high regard. Indeed, as Chapter Two will highlight, this scrutiny never dissolved and in fact prevailed as works centred at the Heads were erected during 1870-80. This change heralded in a new era, as Fort Denison was reconceptualised due to its decline in defensive significance.

CHAPTER TWO

‘Becoming Picturesque’: The Anachronistic Fort, 1859-1912

The oldest historic landmark of Sydney – Fort Denison – is threatened with demolition, ‘as’, says a critic, ‘it is unpicturesque (*sic*) and unsightly’ . . . Even if a certain gruesomeness attaches to Pinchgut . . . it would only be a vandal who would suggest the demolition of our harbor (*sic*) tower . . . What would Londoners say if it were urged that the Tower of London should be destroyed because it reminded one of horrors, and that something pretty be built there in its place?¹

This extract from the *Evening News* accurately encapsulates the contested place and meaning Fort Denison continued to embody at the outset of the twentieth century. Indeed, by tracing how the fort became obsolete in relation to its defensive purpose in this Chapter, it will become clear that this redundancy gave way to the island being viewed as simultaneously ‘irrelevant’ and ‘picturesque’. While Fort Denison was suitable for occupation by late 1857, it was not properly completed until 1862. Regardless of this fact, there is widespread agreement amongst scholars that the fort was obsolete prior to its completion.² Although this assertion is accurate, as this Chapter will endeavour to show, many authors fail to elaborate and explain exactly why Fort Denison became so rapidly obsolescent.³ This first section will therefore attempt to resolve this lacuna by examining three main points. First, how the Martello tower

¹ Mary Salmon, ‘Fort Denison, Known as “Pinchgut”: An Historic Landmark’, *Evening News*, 18 January 1907, p. 2.

² Dean Boyce, *Invasion: Colonial Sydney’s Fears of Attack* (Waverley, N.S.W.: One Off Press, 2012), pp. 60-61; Davies, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 25; James Semple Kerr, *Fort Denison: An Investigation for the Maritime Services Board of NSW* (Sydney, N.S.W.: National Trust, 1986), pp. 8-9, 13, 28; Andrew Lambert, ‘Australia, the Trent Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence’, in David Stevens and John Reeve, eds., *Southern Trident: Strategy, History and the Rise of Australian Naval Power* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2001), p. 102; John L. Lavett, ‘Fort Denison, Sydney’, *The Mariner’s Mirror* 39, no. 2, (May, 1953), p. 99; Peter Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts: The Fixed Defences of Sydney Harbour 1788-1963* (Loftus, N.S.W.: Australian Military History Publications, 2005), p. 71; Mary Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour* (East Roseville, N.S.W.: Simon & Schuster, 2000), p. 73; Stuart Ward, ‘Security: Defending Australia’s Empire’, in Deryck Schreuder and Stuart Ward, eds., *Australia’s Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 232.

³ Andrew Lambert, Peter Oppenheim, Stuart Ward, Mary Shelley Clark and Jack Clark simply claim to a similar effect that Fort Denison was obsolete before completion. Lambert, ‘Australia, the Trent Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence’, p. 102; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 71 Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 73; Ward, ‘Security’, p. 232.

placed on the island was an anachronism due to the new developments in artillery and ship propulsion. Second, due to these technological advancements, many citizens reverted back to the outrage witnessed previously in 1839 and 1853-55. Indeed, in 1865 – merely three years after Fort Denison was finished – there were already calls for the work to be dismantled altogether.⁴ And finally, the abandonment of Sydney Harbour’s inner line of defence in favour of the outer between 1870-80 sealed the fate of this island fortification, contributing to its decline into irrelevancy. By analysing these three separate, but interrelated factors, it will become evident why Fort Denison was rendered obsolete both before and after its completion. The remainder of this Chapter will highlight how with the changing harbour and historical context, the purpose of the island was frequently reimagined and repurposed. From calls to ‘beautify’ the island to attempts to demolish it completely, Fort Denison never escaped the minds of Sydney’s residents.

Technological Obsolescence

Fort Denison: An Anachronism

Before analysing the defences of the fort itself, specifically the Martello tower, it is important to outline the history of these protective structures. These strongholds originated in Corsica in the eighteenth century, with one particular event capturing the imagination of British military engineers.⁵ In 1794 at Mortella Point in the Bay of San Fiorenzo, a British naval unit with HMS *Fortitude* (seventy-four guns) and HMS *Juno* (thirty-two guns) bombarded a lightly armed tower.⁶ The naval ships attacked the tower, which only contained two 18-pounders and

⁴ *Report from the Select Committee on Harbour Defences, Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence and Appendix* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1865), pp. 3, 5-6.

⁵ W. H. Clements, *Towers of Strength: Martello Towers Worldwide* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword, 1998), p. 12; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 21; Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 77.

⁶ Clements, *Towers of Strength: Martello Towers Worldwide*, p. 12; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 21.

a 6-pounder gun, for over two hours, resulting in the withdrawal of the ships due to considerable damage and casualties, while the tower suffered no serious injury.⁷ This incident inspired British military engineers to build a chain of these forts primarily for coastal defence, both within and outside the Empire.⁸

Typical Martello towers were at least nine metres high, with walls up to four metres thick on the seaward side and two metres landward.⁹ The structure contained three levels; the bottom was used for storing ammunition, the middle for accommodation, and the upper for the gun platform, generally firing over a parapet.¹⁰ Fort Denison differed slightly in that the tower did not include accommodation on the middle level as a separate barracks building was built.¹¹

Whereas the bulk of Martello towers were constructed during the Napoleonic period, Fort Denison was built at a time of technological improvement in artillery and defence. This included the development of rifled ordnance that provided naval ships with improved range, accuracy and power in comparison to smoothbores (such as those fixed on Fort Denison).¹² The result was a dramatically extended fighting range – far beyond that of Fort Denison’s smoothbore guns –and the introduction of iron armour on ships of the line.¹³

⁷ Clements, *Towers of Strength: Martello Towers Worldwide*, p. 12; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 21; Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 77.

⁸ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 21.

⁹ Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 77.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

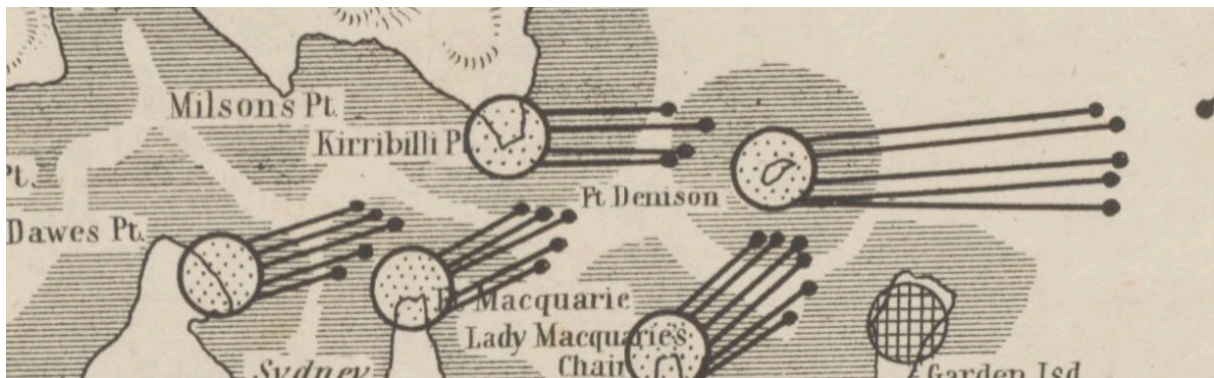
¹¹ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 26.

¹² Karl Lautenschläger, ‘Technology and the Evolution of Naval Warfare’, *International Security* 8, no. 2 (Fall 1983), p. 10; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 30.

¹³ Lautenschläger, ‘Technology and the Evolution of Naval Warfare’, p. 10.

A typical illustration of Fort Denison's technological inferiority appeared in the *Sydney Mail* in 1877.¹⁴ This article acknowledged that the scheme of defences adopted and implemented by then Governor Sir William Denison 'may now appear to be far inadequate' but this was before 'the science of attack and defence had made enormous strides . . . In those days there were no such thing as armour-plated vessels; nor was there any ordnance of the long ranges now so common, and torpedoes were unknown.'¹⁵

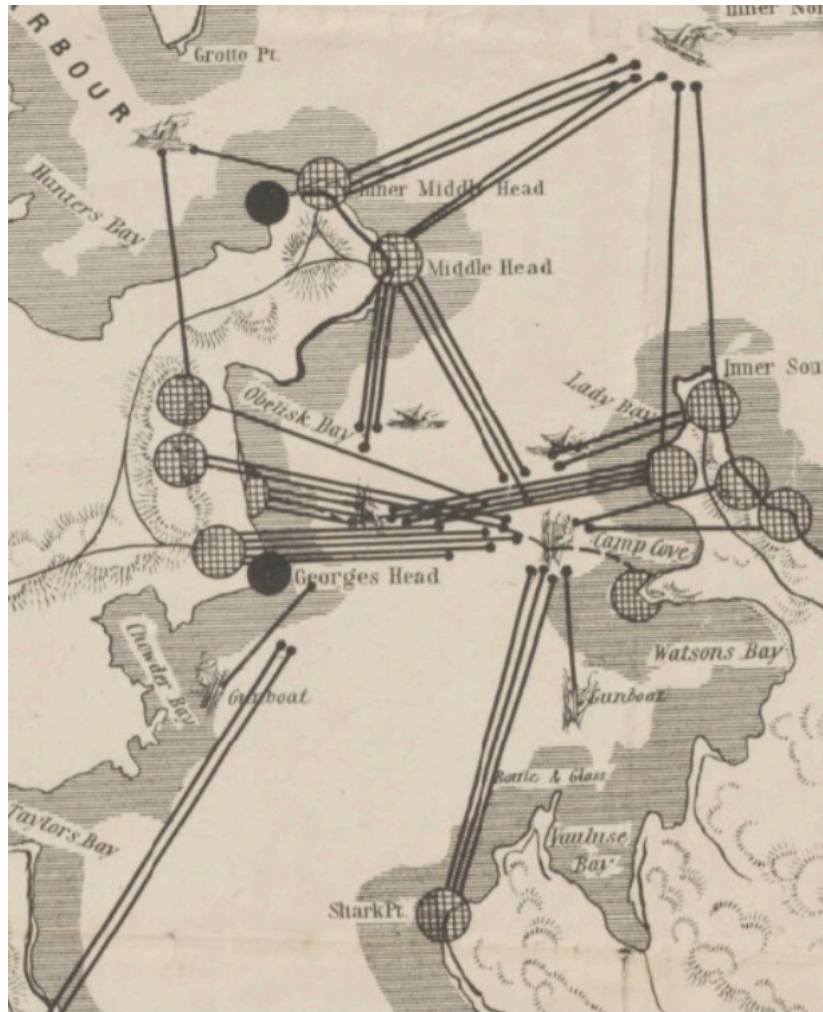
The comparison between Figures 2.1 and 2.2 elucidates the dramatic enhancement in range of both naval warships and coastal artillery. Moreover, as the Figures reveal, the guns on Fort Denison would have been incapable of returning fire due to the long-range weapons naval ships possessed.



(Figure 2.1) In addition to being at risk from 'friendly fire' from behind, by 1877 the range of Fort Denison's guns was inadequate for anything other than a fleeting shot at marauding warships. Section from 'Defences of Port Jackson: Supplement to the "Sydney Mail"', *Sydney Mail*, 7 July 1877.

¹⁴ 'Defences of Port Jackson', *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 7 July 1877, p. 9; 'Defences of Port Jackson: Supplement to the "Sydney Mail"', *Sydney Mail*, 7 July 1877, n.p.

¹⁵ 'Defences of Port Jackson', *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 7 July 1877, p. 9. . (Where there is a potential ambiguity about a newspaper article of the same title, the full citation has been repeated to avoid confusion.)



(Figure 2.2) At this stage, defensive thinking had shifted to concentrating overlapping fire in a 'killing ground' on the outer reaches of Sydney Harbour – both out of sight and out of range of Fort Denison's obsolescent artillery. Section from 'Defences of Port Jackson: Supplement to the "Sydney Mail"', *Sydney Mail*, 7 July 1877.

Although some articles – and by extension inhabitants of Sydney – viewed Fort Denison as a symbol of pride, it is important to recognise its primary problem. While one article emphasised that Fort Denison could be 'regarded as the most serviceable fort in the harbour', with its heavy ordnance, James Kerr effectively demonstrates that this was not the case.¹⁶ As a matter of fact, Kerr stresses that the decision to mount the three 32-pounders on standing carriages in the casemate was a 'mistake'.¹⁷ Kerr validates his line of reasoning with three points of evidence.

¹⁶ 'The Harbour Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 May 1859, p. 9; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 28.

¹⁷ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 28.

The first is that Martello towers were meant to mount heavy ordnance open to the sky (en barbette) rather than inside the actual casemate.¹⁸ Once the 32-pounders were installed, there was no reasonable way of replacing them when they were out-dated. Indeed, although they were the principal armament, they could not be upgraded without expensive and laborious alterations to the fort's structure.¹⁹ Secondly, unless the tower was expanded, there was insufficient room to operate the three guns simultaneously as they would have collided as they recoiled.²⁰ Thirdly, because they were so restricted in their traverse, each gun could only be fired once at a passing enemy vessel, and since they were muzzle-loaders, they could not be loaded at the same time.²¹

Kerr's arguments are useful as they highlight one way in which Fort Denison was obsolete before completion. Thus it can be argued that as soon as the three 32-pounders were installed inside the tower casemate, Fort Denison's defensive capability was instantly reduced as the ordnance could not be upgraded alongside new weaponry developments and to meet new types of naval attacks. Overall, it is apparent that the improvements of offensive weapons in the latter-half of the nineteenth century resulted in the demise of Fort Denison's defensive capability.

Defenceless Sydney

Moreover, the completion of Fort Denison did little to allay residents' apprehensions that Sydney Harbour remained 'defenceless'. This concern arguably persisted for the duration of the nineteenth century, but was especially prominent in the face of external threats. Historian Roger Thompson proposes that once the imminent threat of the Crimean War had diminished,

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid; Lavett, 'Fort Denison', p. 96; Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 80.

²⁰ Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 80; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 28.

²¹ Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 80; Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 28.

the colonists reverted to their ‘old apathy’.²² Thompson’s statement is problematic as fears concerning the defences of Port Jackson continued to be expressed by some members of the public. Even in the immediate aftermath of the war, a member in the Legislative Assembly reported that only ‘fools’ would laugh at ‘fears they no longer feel’, as the city was still ‘deeply interested in the question of defence.’²³ These invasion scares reveal how the colonists viewed Fort Denison and the inner defences in general as inadequate. This next section will thus briefly trace the rhetoric surrounding two events that caused panic in the colony, i.e.: the Franco-Austrian War and the Trent Crisis during the American Civil War.

The Franco-Austrian War (1859) and its aftermath triggered unease in the colony, reminding settlers of the danger potentially posed by the French in New Caledonia.²⁴ As John Dunmore Lang would remind members in the Legislative Assembly, New Caledonia was only ‘four days’ sail of our shores’ which was troubling as he perceived that the ‘French Emperor’ was about to ‘concentrate his naval and military forces in these seas’.²⁵ Of more interest, Lang professed that:

there is much reason to fear, that Great Britain will sooner or later be involved in war with one or other . . . of the great Naval and Military Powers of Europe . . . That, in such an event, the whole of these Australian Colonies . . . as part and parcel of the British Empire, be immediately involved in all the hardships and calamities of war; as their reputed wealth and *defenceless condition* would render them a primary object of aggression²⁶

²² Roger C. Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era, 1820-1920* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1980), p. 22.

²³ (No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 December 1856, p. 5.

²⁴ France had annexed the main island of New Caledonia in 1853 for its potential value as a penal colony and due to its trade routes and proximity to Australia. Refer to: Stephen Henningham, *France and the South Pacific: A Contemporary History* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), p. 4; Jean Ingram Brookes, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1941), pp. 198-200.

²⁵ John Dunmore Lang, *How to Defend the Colony: Being the Substance of a Speech Delivered in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, on Tuesday, 20th December, 1859* (Sydney: John L. Sherriff, 1860), p. 10.

²⁶ Lang, *How to Defend the Colony*, p. iii. Emphasis added.

Furthermore, Lang thought that due to France's occupation of New Caledonia, the 'Pacific Ocean would become the chosen battle-field of the navies of Europe.'²⁷ It is clear that Lang did not hold the inner fortifications in high regard, as he went on to state:

As to our so-called defences, the real truth is – and every body knows it – we are *utterly defenceless* in the event of war with France. And to erect batteries on *Pinchgut* . . . while the road to Sydney is perfectly open for a land force, is pretty much like the conduct of the ostrich.²⁸

Lang's simile exemplifies his view of Fort Denison, i.e., a symbol of folly, inadequate in providing security for the colony. Lang was not alone in his assessment as throughout 1859, the colonial press and its correspondents expressed concern about the state of defences.²⁹ For example 'Lett' in his letter to the *Empire*, noted that the revenue spent on the current defences was a 'waste of money'.³⁰ Interestingly, the author stated that while Fort Denison may act as a 'warning to ships', it would be incapable of holding out for more than half-an-hour.³¹ Correspondingly, the *Empire* demanded 'substantial' fortifications as the current works were merely 'picturesque', stating, 'We want things for use, not for show.'³²

Furthermore, members of the Legislative Assembly lamented the 'perfectly defenceless state' of the colony, claiming that the money expended on Fort Denison 'had been completely thrown away'.³³ The external threat of war and the French presence in the Pacific evidently unsettled residents in Sydney. Rather than exuding confidence and pride in the new defences

²⁷ Ibid, p. iv.

²⁸ John Dunmore Lang, *The Prospect for Australia in the Event of a War with France* (1858) quoted in Dean Boyce, *Invasion: Colonial Sydney's Fears of Attack* (Waverley, N.S.W.: One Off Press, 2012), p. 64. Emphasis added.

²⁹ (No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 1859, p. 6; (No Title), *Empire*, 15 July 1859, p. 4; (No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 1859, p. 4; R. O., 'To the Editor of the Empire', *Empire*, 26 July 1859, p. 5; Tar. Barrel, 'To the Editor of the Empire', *Empire*, 22 August 1859, p. 6; Lett, 'Our Defences', *Empire*, 15 December 1859, p. 3; 'Legislative Assembly', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 December 1859, pp. 4-5, 8; T., 'Our Harbour Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 December 1859, p. 8.

³⁰ Lett, 'Our Defences', p. 3.

³¹ Ibid.

³² (No Title), *Empire*, 15 July 1859, p. 4.

³³ 'Legislative Assembly', p. 5.

as one might expect in the face of this new risk, assertions of inadequacy and defencelessness, continued with the onset of the Trent Crisis.

The Trent Affair affirms the trepidation residents felt about their security, especially the redundancy of Fort Denison and its allied inner defences. On 8 November 1861 in the Bahama Channel, north of Cuba, a Union warship, the *San Jacinto*, intercepted a British Royal Mail steamer, the *Trent*, and forcibly removed two Confederate States envoys.³⁴ The Captain of the *San Jacinto* was ironically Captain Charles Wilkes, the same master who caused apprehension in Sydney in 1839 for entering the harbour unannounced.³⁵ Sydney did not receive news of this incident until 14 January 1862, by which time the crisis had already been amicably resolved.³⁶

Even then, news of the resolution did not reach Sydney until 6 March and was not confirmed until 15 March.³⁷ After receiving the Duke of Newcastle's warning that, 'it can never be impossible that an active enemy, by the employment of single privateers or cruisers, may find the means of inflicting occasional injury on exposed parts of the Empire', Sydney once again was jolted into worrying about the nature of defence.³⁸ *Bell's Life in Sydney* for instance

³⁴ Boyce, *Invasion*, p. 71; Lambert, 'Australia, the *Trent* Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence', p. 108; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 71.

³⁵ Boyce, *Invasion*, pp. 71-72; Lambert, 'Australia, the *Trent* Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence', p. 108; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, pp. 71, 83.

³⁶ Boyce, *Invasion*, p. 72; Lambert, 'Australia, the *Trent* Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence', p. 114; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, p. 72.

³⁷ Boyce, *Invasion*, p. 72; (No Title), *Empire*, 7 March 1862, p. 4; (No Title), *Freeman's Journal*, 8 March 1862, p. 4.

³⁸ Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir John Young (1861), quoted in Peter Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts: The Fixed Defences of Sydney Harbour 1788-1963* (Loftus, N.S.W.: Australian Military History Publications, 2005), p. 71; 'Probabilities of War', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 1862, p. 7; 'Cavendo Tutus', 'The Defenceless State of Sydney, and a Defence Committee', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January 1862, p. 5; Look-Ahead, 'Defenceless State of Port Jackson and Coast', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 January 1862, p. 5; William Radley, 'To the Editor of the Herald', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 January 1862, p. 2; Suggest, 'Defenceless State of Sydney', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 January 1862, p. 3; Smith, 'The Defences', *Empire*, 30 January 1862, p. 3; (No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 January 1862, p. 4; (No Title), *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 8 February 1862, p. 2; (No Title), *Freeman's Journal*, 26 February 1862, p.

reported, ‘The anticipation of a rupture between England and America has naturally revived the question of the *defenceless condition* in which we should find ourselves in the event of such a contingency . . .’³⁹ The article bemoaned the security of the colony, arguing it had been ‘too long neglected’ and years had passed as if ‘we had neither social ties, nor national honour worth defending.’⁴⁰ Similarly, *Freeman’s Journal* warned that, ‘The consequence of a rupture with America cannot but have a most disastrous effect upon the whole of the British colonies, and to those of Australia more perhaps than any other’.⁴¹ Moreover, the *Journal* believed that if an American squadron attacked Sydney it would be victorious, due to the harbour’s ‘*miserable*’ defences, incapable of lasting an hour against the Americans’ long-range heavy guns.⁴²

Correspondingly, in a letter to the editor of the *Herald*, ‘William Radley’ ridiculed the batteries dotted along the harbour, deeming them unworthy to bear the name ‘batteries or forts’.⁴³ ‘Radley’ likewise believed it was the case due to the ‘altered circumstances of gunnery’.⁴⁴ Perhaps more forthright in his criticism of the present state of defence was ‘Cavendo Tutus’ (safe through caution), who wrote, ‘I will not speak of the fortifications of Sir W. Denison, because that would be prostituting the name of a *science*, which he has turned into a *sham* . . .’⁴⁵ The anonymous author was actually Legislative member Dr. Julius

4; Fortification, ‘Our National Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 March 1862, p. 2; Civilian, ‘To the Editor of the Herald’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 March 1862, p. 5; Tom Drake, ‘Our Port Defences’, *Empire*, 6 March 1862, p. 5; (No Title), *Empire*, 7 March 1862, p. 4.

³⁹ (No Title), *Bell’s Life in Sydney*, p. 2. Emphasis added.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ (No Title), *Freeman’s Journal*, 26 February 1862, p. 4.

⁴² Ibid. Emphasis added.

⁴³ Radley, ‘To the Editor of the Herald’, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ ‘Cavendo Tutus’, ‘The Defenceless State of Sydney, and a Defence Committee’, p. 5. Emphasis in original.

Berncastle, noted in Chapter One as a supporter of defensive works at the Heads.⁴⁶

Berncastle's indignation continued, as he argued that the money voted in favour for Denison's scheme was 'utterly wasted' on a 'useless system'.⁴⁷ The immediate aftermath of the Trent Crisis revealed the negative perception residents had of their defences. Works such as Fort Denison did not provide comfort to the worried citizens, and more importantly, did not represent the beacon of hope that previous governors Gipps and Denison envisaged it would be.

Fort Denison's Fate Sealed: Abandonment of the Inner Line of Defence

The final act that confirmed Fort Denison's defensive irrelevance was the erection of new fortifications during the 1870s. These new installations, established at Inner South Head, Georges Heights and Middle Head, reflected changes in naval warfare following the American Civil War.⁴⁸ The development of steamships, rifled guns and armour plating, meant that new fortifications had to be erected to combat this new threat. The Legislative Assembly appointed two Select Committees in 1863 and 1865 to inquire into the defences of Port Jackson and to determine the best means of protecting the city.⁴⁹ The findings of both these Committees corroborated the public's sentiment – that Fort Denison and the inner line of protection in general – was inadequate. The Select Committee of 1863 determined there were two schemes of defence to be decided upon: to either maintain protecting the anchorage of the

⁴⁶ Confirmed by a pamphlet later published in his name that contained this letter and many others, refer to: Dr. Berncastle, *The Defenceless State of Sydney: How it Can be Defended and How it Can be Taken* (Sydney: C. T. Sandon, 1865), pp. 16-17, Mitchell Library, DSM/042/P472.

⁴⁷ Cavendo Tutus", 'The Defenceless State of Sydney, and a Defence Committee', p. 5.

⁴⁸ Frank Doak and Jeff Isaacs, *Australian Defence Heritage: The Buildings, Establishments and Sites of our Military History that have become part of the National Estate* (Broadway, NSW: Fairfax Library, 1988), p. 20; Lambert, 'Australia, the Trent Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence', p. 113; Ward, 'Security', p. 239.

⁴⁹ 'Parliamentary Paper: Harbour Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 September 1863, p. 8; 'Parliamentary Papers: Harbour Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 June 1865, p. 5; New South Wales Parliament, Legislative Assembly, Select Committee on Harbour Defences, *Report from the Select Committee on Harbour Defences*.

harbour, or to fortify the entrance instead.⁵⁰ The Committee noted that the former consisted of Dawes' Point, Fort Denison, Fort Macquarie, Mrs Macquarie's Chair and Kirribilli Point – mounting sixty guns in total.⁵¹ The Committee found that these fortifications were not only 'defective' but a hostile ship could also 'take up a position in many parts of the harbour, and within easy range of the city, without being exposed to the fire of any one of them.'⁵² Although one individual proposed remedying these fortifications by replacing them with iron towers, the Committee asserted that not only would it be too expensive, but to do so regardless would be a 'mistake' and the system should be abandoned.⁵³

The Select Committee instead recommended that the entrance of the harbour be fortified 'with all convenient speed' with fixed batteries on Inner South Head, Middle Head and George's Head.⁵⁴ It is apparent that the Committee did not share the mid-1850s view that Fort Denison was a symbol of modern industry. Rather, it was deemed antiquated and irrelevant. The Select Committee of 1865 viewed Fort Denison similarly, reaffirming the recommendations of the previous Committee.⁵⁵ The evidence provided by Commodore Sir William Saltonstall Wiseman would have dispelled any remaining doubt.⁵⁶ The Commodore recommended the dismantling of Fort Denison altogether, explaining that it would be 'useless' when faced with heavy artillery as it 'would very fast crumble away.'⁵⁷ The completion of the three batteries at the Heads from 1871-73 finalised the gradual transformation of Fort Denison from an irrelevant outpost to a picturesque feature of Sydney Harbour.

⁵⁰ 'Parliamentary Paper: Harbour Defences', 1863, p. 8.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Select Committee on Harbour Defences, *Report from the Select Committee on Harbour Defences*, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 3, 5.

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 3, 5-6.

Fort Denison's Changing Role

Throughout the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Fort Denison played a variety of roles as its defensive purpose became obsolete. This section will only briefly outline these various roles as they are not the prime focus of this study. In October 1856 a company of the Royal Artillery from Woolwich, England, arrived, with a small detachment stationed at Fort Denison.⁵⁸ Governor Denison had requested a company of the Royal Artillery to operate the new fortifications, but due to the Crimean War, the British Government could not guarantee their provision immediately.⁵⁹ The Royal Artillery occupied Fort Denison until August 1870, at which point all Imperial garrisons were withdrawn from the Australian Colonies.⁶⁰ This change left the responsibility of defending land to the Colonies, while the Royal Navy still primarily controlled the sea.⁶¹

The news, as military historian Jeffrey Grey notes, was received with 'no great perturbation', some newspaper editorials hailed the opportunity it would provide for rethinking self-defence, while others still asserted that it was Britain's duty to provide for the colonies.⁶² In the previous year however, the island was transferred to the Volunteer Naval Brigade, on condition they continued to maintain the red navigation light that had been erected in 1858.⁶³ The Brigade, under the command of Captain Francis Hixson of the Royal Navy, practiced

⁵⁸ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 37; Lavett, 'Fort Denison', p. 98; Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, p. 80.

⁵⁹ As a direct result the Volunteer Artillery Corps was established in 1855, for more information on this refer to: Kerr, *Fort Denison*, pp. 36-37; Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts*, pp. 53-54; Shelley Clark and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour*, pp. 79-80.

⁶⁰ Kerr, *Fort Denison*, p. 38; Lavett, 'Fort Denison', p. 98.

⁶¹ Millar, *Australia in Peace and War*, p. 14.

⁶² Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia*, p. 41.

⁶³ This light was changed from oil to electricity in 1905 with a fog bell additionally installed. See Kerr, *Fort Denison*, pp. 38, 44.

firing at a target fixed in Rose Bay by using the old muzzleloaders.⁶⁴ Throughout the 1890s Fort Denison functioned as a light and tide station for the Marine Board, with the island still used for the latter purpose. Perhaps the definitive sign of Fort Denison's military redundancy was the abandonment of the Naval Brigade in 1900 and the island's transfer to the newly established Sydney Harbour Trust in 1901.⁶⁵

The Trust, which came into operation on 11 February 1901, was created to manage the public waterfront of Sydney and coincided with a new vigour for urban reform to resolve the unplanned development of Sydney.⁶⁶ As Robert Gibbons explains, the development of the city had been 'completely unregulated' and its 'physical deficiencies' were becoming apparent.⁶⁷ Malcolm Tull verifies Gibbons' statement: the wharves of the harbour 'grew in a haphazard fashion, road access was poor, and they became a breeding ground for rats' which contributed to an outbreak of bubonic plague.⁶⁸

It is of interest that the Sydney Harbour Trust came to oversee Fort Denison, especially when this institution was responsible for the demolition of Fort Macquarie in 1901 – which had stood on Bennelong Point since 1817 – and replaced with a tram depot.⁶⁹ Rather than sharing Fort Macquarie's fate, the Trust were particularly interested in preserving Fort Denison in its original state. For example, 'H. B.,' suggested to *The Star* that Fort Denison should be made 'exceedingly beautiful' as it was a 'wretched building as unsightly as it [was] useless.'⁷⁰ The

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 38.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 38; Lavett, 'Fort Denison', p. 99.

⁶⁶ Ian Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009), pp. 198, 205; Malcolm Tull, 'The Development of Port Administration at Sydney, 1901 to 1936', *The Great Circle* 4, no. 2 (October 1982), p. 94.

⁶⁷ Robert Gibbons, 'Improving Sydney 1908-1909', in Jill Roe, ed., *Twentieth Century Sydney: Studies in Urban & Social History* (Hale & Iremonger in association with the Sydney History Group, 1980), p. 120.

⁶⁸ Tull, 'The Development of Port Administration at Sydney', pp. 92, 94.

⁶⁹ Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 205.

⁷⁰ H.B., 'Fort Denison', *The Star*, 28 September 1909, p. 3

writer recommended that the barracks be demolished, ‘stately palm trees and tree-ferns’ to be planted and for the Martello tower to be decorated with ivy.⁷¹ *The Star* considered the recommendation of ‘H. B.’ ‘excellent’, claiming that in its present state the island was an ‘eyesore’.⁷² The newspaper thus referred the suggestion to the Sydney Harbour Trust, with the President, Robert Hickson, objecting the idea, asserting that:

the ancient history of Pinchgut should be preserved . . . Pinchgut has a unique history, and there does not seem to be any good reason for altering it now. Of course the planting of palms and trees would enhance its appearance, but then I am afraid any interference with its present condition would not meet with general approval.⁷³

The Star highly disagreed with the President, reemphasising that ‘this harbor (*sic*) eyesore should be transformed into a unique marine Eden’.⁷⁴ It is curious that the Trust rejected the idea of beautifying the island, especially when it coincided with the Royal Commission for the Improvement of the City of Sydney and its Suburbs in 1908-09.⁷⁵ This Commission was appointed to resolve the major problems facing the city, with transport, town planning and beautification being the three chief areas.⁷⁶ This idea of beautifying Fort Denison was not the first; in fact it can be traced back to the advent of the Commonwealth in 1901.

Dynamite and “Australia Facing the Dawn”: A New Purpose for the Island

The advent of Federation on 1 January 1901 prompted an ‘urban spectacle’ as the streets of Sydney were decorated with flags, banners, garlands and arches.⁷⁷ Concern arose, however, that ‘After the flags are furled, the garlands withered, and the triumphal arches removed, there

⁷¹ H.B., ‘Fort Denison’, p. 3.

⁷² ‘From Eyesore to Beauty Spot’, *The Star*, 30 September 1909, p. 4.

⁷³ ‘Fate of Pinchgut, Will Remain As It Is: “Blowing Up” and “Garden Schemes”’, *The Star*, 7 October 1909, p. 3.

⁷⁴ ‘Ancient History and Pinchgut’, *The Star*, 7 October 1909, p. 4

⁷⁵ Gibbons, ‘Improving Sydney 1908-1909’, p. 120.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 126.

⁷⁷ The term ‘urban spectacle’ taken from Robert Freestone & Sharon Veale, ‘Sydney, 1901: Federation, National Identity and the Arches of Commemoration’, *National Identities* 6, no. 3 (2004), p. 215.

will be nothing left of a tangible and visible nature to remind us that the most memorable occasion in our history had ever been.’⁷⁸ Indeed, according to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a sentiment of ‘incompleteness’ would persist unless the city created a ‘permanent memorial.’⁷⁹

The Minister for Public Works, Edward William O’Sullivan, obligingly proposed a colossal bronze statue of “Australia Facing the Dawn” be erected upon Fort Denison.⁸⁰ The commemorative figure, as described by the *Evening News*, was to represent Australia, ‘staff in hand, as for a long journey, facing the dawn. In her right hand she holds aloft a halo of stars, one for each Federal State.’⁸¹ The statue was to mount a raised cylindrical base divided by eight pillars and surrounded by sixteen bas-reliefs in bronze.⁸² These fourteen-foot high castings would represent principal figures and events in Australia’s history, such as the landing of Captain Cook.⁸³ Above them, fourteen feet bronze lions would repose in the deep-arched cavities.⁸⁴ At the foot of the statue, smaller sculptures would celebrate navigators and explorers, such as Matthew Flinders and George Bass.⁸⁵ The proposed height of the statue overall was 230 feet and according to O’Sullivan, would cost an estimated £80,000.⁸⁶

Fascinatingly, architect Herbert E. Ross prepared a design of ‘Australia Facing the Dawn’ for the Minister for Works (Figures 2.3 and 2.4).⁸⁷ According to the *Evening News*, the Minister

⁷⁸ ‘A Permanent Federal Memorial’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1900, p. 6.

⁷⁹ ‘A Permanent Federal Memorial’, p. 6.

⁸⁰ “‘Australia Facing the Dawn’: Project by the Minister for Works’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 November 1900, p. 9.

⁸¹ ‘Facing the Dawn’, *Evening News*, 9 January 1901, p. 4.

⁸² ‘Facing the Dawn’, p. 4.

⁸³ Ibid.

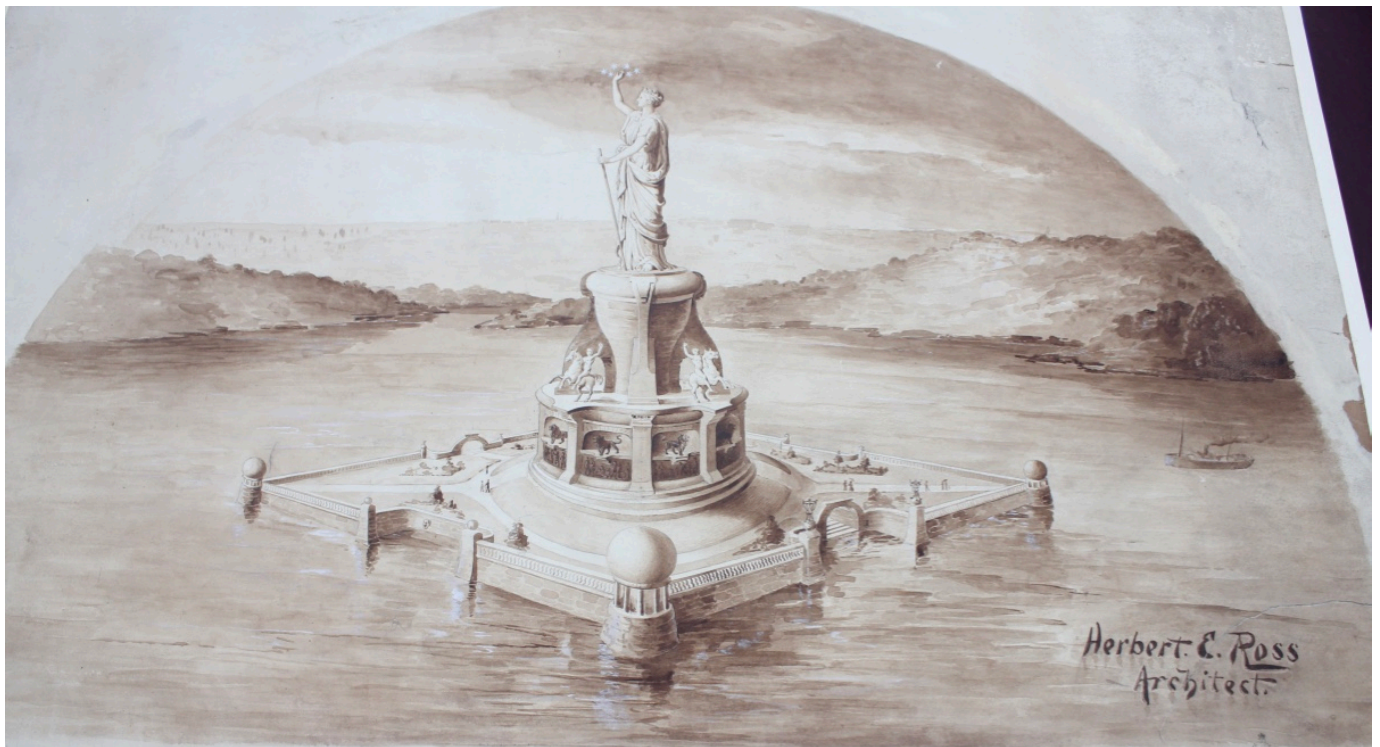
⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid; “‘Australia Facing the Dawn’”, p. 9.

⁸⁶ ‘Facing the Dawn’, p. 4; “‘Australia Facing the Dawn’”, *Evening News*, 3 January 1901, p. 3.

⁸⁷ Herbert Ross, ‘Proposed Monument in Sydney Harbour: Australia Facing the Dawn’, 1925, Mitchell Library, XV1/Mon/1.

thought highly of this design but believed the smaller statues of early explorers should still be included.⁸⁸



(Figure 2.3) Herbert Ross, 'Proposed Monument in Sydney Harbour: Australia Facing the Dawn', 1925, Mitchell Library, XV1/Mon/1.

⁸⁸ 'Facing the Dawn', p. 4.



(Figure 2.4) While the (white) woman draped in classical garb was a common visual motif for the new Commonwealth of Australia through the Federation movement, note the endurance of the British lions dwarfing the few pedestrian visitors. Herbert Ross, 'Proposed Monument in Sydney Harbour: Australia Facing the Dawn', 1925, Mitchell Library, XV1/Mon/1.

O'Sullivan believed that Fort Denison was 'the finest site in the world for such a monument' as it stood 'right in the centre of Sydney Harbour.'⁸⁹ This would allow 'Millions of persons travelling up and down the harbour', and in the course of time, 'tens of millions more' to observe the 'country's greatness'.⁹⁰ In fact, the Minister contended that 'Australia Facing the Dawn' would surpass the figure of Germania overlooking the Rhine and the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbour.⁹¹ O'Sullivan's proposal is revealing as he believed that by erecting the colossal statue, it would make Fort Denison 'a thing of beauty and joy for ever.'⁹²

Of course, it would no longer be 'Fort Denison'. The Minister viewed the island as an unpleasant feature of the harbour, seeing no reason to retain the stonework because its 'defensive purpose was obsolete'.⁹³ O'Sullivan, however, was not alone; indeed his idea garnered a good deal of support from the public and the colonial press.⁹⁴ For example, in a letter to the *Sunday Times*, 'G. C. Johnson' affirmed that the best way to commemorate Federation would be to 'erect a tower on Pinchgut' of 'heroic proportions'.⁹⁵ 'Johnson' believed that Fort Denison was an appropriate site for such a statue as it was 'not beautiful to look at' and as a fort, it was 'useless'.⁹⁶ In a later letter, 'Johnson' maintained that the island was neither 'useful nor ornamental. On the contrary it was an eyesore and a nuisance.'⁹⁷

⁸⁹ E. W. O'Sullivan, 'A National Monument', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1905, p. 13.

⁹⁰ O'Sullivan, 'A National Monument', p. 13.

⁹¹ "'Australia Facing the Dawn": Project by the Minister for Works', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 November 1900, p. 9.

⁹² "'Australia Facing the Dawn"', *Evening News*, 3 January 1901, p. 3.

⁹³ O'Sullivan, 'A National Monument', p. 13.

⁹⁴ G. C. Johnson, 'Monument on Pinchgut', *Sunday Times*, 21 October 1900, p. 12; T. H. Barlow, 'Commonwealth Celebrations', *Evening News*, 1 November 1900, p. 5; Dr. Zillmann, 'A Commonwealth Cantata', *The Newsletter: An Australian Paper for Australian People*, 5 January 1901, p. 12; Law. Hargrave, 'Australia Facing the Dawn', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 January 1901, p. 6; C. B. Nicoll, 'Commonwealth Monuments', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 January 1901, p. 7; Geo. C. Johnson, 'A Permanent Federal Memorial', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 1901, p. 3; Polichinelle, 'Men, Manners, and Matters', *Freeman's Journal*, 16 February 1901, p. 20;

⁹⁵ Johnson, 'Monument on Pinchgut', p. 12.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Johnson, 'A Permanent Federal Memorial', p. 3.

Of more interest, though, was the widespread opposition to the Minister's idea. Beyond the vast expenditure of public money, critics queried the site choice or urged that a different monument be erected altogether.⁹⁸ Perhaps the most illuminating objection was voiced by the

Evening News:

as the fort becomes more useless for military purposes, it *becomes all the more picturesque*. To pull it down for the purpose of replacing it . . . would be an act of *vandalism* not easily to be forgiven. The few old *relics* which we have in New South Wales we ought to stick to . . . Fort Denison is a small and *insignificant fort*, but it *tells a little of our local history*, and, therefore, though it probably cost about a fiftieth of what "Australia facing the Dawn" would cost, is *more valuable* than anything which could be erected in its place.⁹⁹

This extract elucidates the contested place and meaning Fort Denison occupied, in that it was simultaneously 'picturesque' but also 'insignificant'. Interestingly, by labelling the fort a 'relic' and recognising that it provided people with details of the city's history, it implied that the fort was of historical importance and therefore should be retained. The picturesque nature of Fort Denison and this emerging sentiment of it serving as a point of historical interest were echoed in a *Sydney Mail* article.¹⁰⁰ Detailing the evolving purpose of the island – from its Aboriginal origins, confinement of recalcitrant convicts and its conversion to a fortress – the article reported that:

One sometimes hears it remarked that "Pingh-gut" is unsightly, quite useless . . . and so should be demolished. It is pretty safe to assert, however, that to the great majority of people it has a *picturesqueness* which, even apart from its *indisputable historical interest*, should ensure its retention . . . It may *not serve any practical purpose*, but even in these utilitarian days there should be room for sentiment; and the part which

⁹⁸ G. Sydney Jones, 'The Proposed Memorial of the Australian Commonwealth', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 November 1900, p. 5; Ernest H. Reattie, 'To the Editor of the Herald', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 November 1900, p. 7; F. T. Jeffery, 'The Commonwealth Memorial', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 January 1901, p. 7; C. McIvor, 'A Worthy Commonwealth Memorial', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 January 1901, p. 14; Christopher Crisp, 'Australia Facing the Dawn', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January 1901, p. 7; B. Simpson, 'A Federal Memorial', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January 1901, p. 7.

⁹⁹ 'Facing the Dawn', p. 4. Emphasis added.

¹⁰⁰ 'Fort Denison: A Survival of the Early Days', *Sydney Mail*, 27 November 1912, p. 10.

“Pinch-gut” played in the early days of New South Wales . . . invests it with a degree of interest such as attaches to few of the remaining survivals of the past.¹⁰¹

Sentiment and historical interest, urged the article, should prevail in preserving the ‘picturesque old fortress, with its quaint Martello tower’.¹⁰²

Overall, it is clear that O’Sullivan’s quest for a ‘tangible memento of Australian federation’ galvanised opinion about Fort Denison’s place in Sydney. On the one hand, it was an embarrassing antique located prominently on Sydney Harbour. On the other, it demonstrated how the people of Sydney were beginning to perceive the island’s historic and aesthetic value as a feature of Sydney Harbour that should be preserved.

Fort Denison and The Visit of the Great White Fleet: The Archaic versus The Modern

Sydney making ready for fleet week is for all the world Sydney making ready for Christmas. The shop windows are full of tableaux, the streets crammed with a Christmas Eve crowd. The only thing in the streets . . . not Christmas-like was the blaze of gilt eagles and white columns, of pennants and greenstuff, by day, and the private rehearsals of various illuminated shop fronts and the big 20ft letters of the “Welcome” on Pinch Gut by night.¹⁰³

In August 1908 Sydney was preparing a dazzling display for the arrival of the United States Navy (USN) as part of their fourteen-month Great White Fleet expedition around the globe.¹⁰⁴ Arriving on 20 August, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that the Fleet presented a ‘stately

¹⁰¹ Ibid. Emphasis added.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ ‘Nearing Sydney, The Fleet 250 Miles Off: To-morrow’s Programme’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 August 1908, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ Penelope Grist, ‘Imagining Battleships: The Great White Fleet in Sydney 1908-2008’, *Journal of Australian Naval History* 5, no. 1 (March 2008), p. 5; Justine Greenwood, ‘The 1908 Visit of the Great White Fleet: Displaying Modern Sydney’, *History Australia* 5, no. 3 (2008), p. 78.2.

spectacle’, while the *Evening News* noted, ‘The city turned out en masse to watch the fleet’ with ‘every headland and promontory’ black ‘with a silent multitude, all gazing seaward’.¹⁰⁵

Sydney, as argued effectively by historian Justine Greenwood, wanted to present itself as a modern city to its American visitors, something that the illumination of the city’s most prominent buildings achieved.¹⁰⁶ Illuminating a city in Europe and America during the nineteenth century was a means of political display, it signified progress, and Sydney was no exception. Fort Denison itself participated, illuminated, with a twenty-foot high and six foot-wide ‘welcome’ display, while its Martello tower was also decorated.¹⁰⁷ Between two and three thousand lights were used in total, with one newspaper reporting: ‘in the very centre of the harbour, its position offers exceptionable scope for special treatment; and at night time Fort Denison, lit up, will appear as a veritable castle in the heart of a wonder lake.’¹⁰⁸ This spectacle can be seen in Figure 2.5, a hand coloured photographic postcard printed to commemorate the visit.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Imposing Spectacle: Unprecedented Crowds, Scenes of Widespread Enthusiasm’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 August 1908, p. 9; ‘The Great White Fleet Enters Port Jackson this Morning’, *Evening News*, 20 August 1908, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ Greenwood, ‘The 1908 Visit of the Great White Fleet’, pp. 78.5-6.

¹⁰⁷ ‘The Mother City to be Ablaze with Illuminations’, *The Australian Star*, 11 August 1908, p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ ‘The Mother City to be Ablaze with Illuminations’, p. 7; ‘Fleet Week in the City: A Few Notes about the Preparation’, *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* (Grafton, NSW), 15 August 1908, p. 12.



(Figure 2.5) *USA Fleet Illuminations in Sydney Harbour*, 1908, National Maritime Collection, <<http://emuseum.anmm.gov.au/code/emuseum.asp?id=34065>>, viewed 1 July 2016.

It can be argued that the decoration of Fort Denison allowed it to appear both modern and picturesque, however that was where it ended. Figures 2.6 and 2.7 elucidate how militarily redundant the fort was in comparison to the grand battleships that encapsulated modern industry and power. This was reinforced when Fort Denison fired thirteen guns to return Admiral Sperry's salute. Vanishing in the smoke of USS *Connecticut*'s 12-inch guns, the island surrendered any lingering military value.¹⁰⁹ Now a token of the city's fading past, Fort Denison simultaneously appeared picturesque and irrelevant.

¹⁰⁹ 'Saluting the Port: The Connecticut's Broadships', *Australian Star*, 20 August 1908, p. 10.



(Figure 2.6) The visit of the Great White Fleet emphasised how military redundant Fort Denison was. The fact that the fort is a mere blimp in the background attests to this. Alfred Cutler, *The Great White Fleet in Sydney Harbour as seen from Cremorne Point*, 1908, Trove, <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136500198/view?searchTerm=Great+White+Fleet+in+Sydney+Harbour#search/Great%20White%20Fleet%20in%20Sydney%20Harbour>>, viewed 1 July 2016.



(Figure 2.7) Alfred Cutler, *The Great White Fleet in Sydney Harbour as seen from Cremorne Point*, 1908, Trove, <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136500198/view?searchTerm=Great+White+Fleet+in+Sydney+Harbour#search/Great%20White%20Fleet%20in%20Sydney%20Harbour>>, viewed 1 July 2016.

Ever-Changing Meaning

This Chapter has traced the transformation of Fort Denison from a defensive outpost to an irrelevant, picturesque island. In doing so, it has demonstrated how the fort was obsolete before completion, cementing its complex place and meaning in Sydney Harbour. Indeed, from suggestions to beautify the island, to demolish the fort entirely to commemorate Federation, it is evident that Fort Denison's place in the eyes and minds of Sydney's residents has always been multifaceted. This notion continued throughout the twentieth century as the consequences of modernising the harbour city inspired a new wave of interpreting the island fort. The next Chapter will explore this development, highlighting how Fort Denison ultimately re-emerged as a symbol of pride as it became a crucial feature in re-imagining Sydney's colonial heritage.

Chapter Three

The Historic Fort

Fort Denison was envisaged and built as a bulwark of Sydney's defence, an imperial outpost in the isolated Pacific. While the island fortress served as a symbol of defence only in the nineteenth century – having never fired a shot in anger – it also became a symbol of defence in the twentieth century. However, rather than offering protection against the Russians, French or Americans, the fort was reinvigorated as an emblem of hope in securing Sydney's historic past against the enemy of modernity.

The Changing Harbour Scene

As the city surrounding the water has developed and changed, so too has the harbour.¹

The twentieth century witnessed the dramatic transformation of Sydney Harbour from 'port' to 'pleasure ground'.² The industrial port that had typified the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – symbolised by the wharves, warehouses, shipyards and vessels that dotted the harbour's foreshores – disappeared as finance, retail, high-end residential developments, refined architecture and cultural endeavours took precedence.³ As Ian Hoskins states, the

¹ Ian Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A Cultural Landscape*, 2013, Dictionary of Sydney, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/sydney_harbour_a_cultural_landscape>, viewed 3 August 2016.

² The notion of this transition has been adapted from Sascha Jenkins, *Our Harbour: A Cultural History of Sydney Harbour, 1880-1938* (PhD thesis, Department of History: University of Sydney, 2002).

³ Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A Cultural Landscape*, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/sydney_harbour_a_cultural_landscape>; Jenkins, *Our Harbour*, p. 28.

tankers and cargo ships that once filled Sydney Harbour were gradually replaced by weekend yachters and sightseers.⁴

This significant transition was spurred by two interrelated factors: modernisation through urban development and the expansion of leisure culture and tourism. Tracing these distinct, yet intertwined dynamics will provide an essential backdrop for understanding Fort Denison at this time.

Modernity through Development

The 1920s, as illustrated by Shirley Fitzgerald, was a decade of possibilities. ‘It was a time for taking up the hemlines . . . [for] new things, like motor cars and the new underground railway.’ Above all, she adds, ‘It was fashionable to believe in progress’.⁵ For urban planners, this progress encompassed the rebuilding of the city to enhance its natural beauty, to encourage commercial greatness and to show how far Sydney had advanced from its convict origins.⁶ As Robert Freestone argues, prosperity was synonymous with newness, and ‘new construction was enshrined as an unambiguous indicator of social and economic progress’.⁷

In seeking to embody Modernity⁸ the structures and spaces of Sydney were either readapted or demolished entirely.⁹ For example, the building of the Sydney Harbour Bridge over 1923–

⁴ *Sydney Harbour: A Cultural Landscape*,

<http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/sydney_harbour_a_cultural_landscape>.

⁵ Shirley Fitzgerald, *Sydney: A Story of a City* (Sydney: City of Sydney, 1999), p. 86.

⁶ Jill Julius Matthews, *Dance Hall & Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity* (Sydney: Currency Press, 2005), p. 25.

⁷ Robert Freestone, ‘Preserving Sydney’s Built Heritage in the Early Twentieth Century’, *Australian Historical Studies* 29, no. 112 (1999), pp. 45-46, 49.

⁸ Modernity can be defined as ‘the condition of being modern: a highly relative concept based on recency and referring loosely to the contemporary age and/or worldviews typically associated with it.’ See Daniel Chandler and Rod Munday, ‘Modernity’, 2016, *A Dictionary of Media and Communication*, Oxford University Press,

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780191800986.001.0001/acref-9780191800986-e-1767>>, viewed 3 August 2016.

To ‘be modern’ as explained by Marshall Berman is the attempt by individuals to find themselves in an

32 was celebrated as an ‘engineering phenomenon’ and became the archetypal symbol of a modernised Australia’.¹⁰ However, in the process of erecting this new marvel, approximately five hundred buildings were knocked down in North Sydney and Milsons Point, leaving many residents displaced.¹¹ Losses included the historic Brisbane House and Grantham, homes built by James Milson, and the first council chambers.¹²

Heritage was not the only casualty, however. Residents wrote letters to bureaucrats, outlining their plight as they were left dispossessed.¹³ The State Government generally remained deaf to these pleas, instead favouring their icon of steely modernity. This indifference is evidenced by a 1926 deputation to the State Government on the issue of housing provision, who were informed that ‘the Bridge was essential, and that progress could not be stayed’.¹⁴

Correspondingly, as Phillip M. O’Neill and Pauline McGuirk emphasise, ‘Glass, concrete and steel began to shadow the old sandstones, the consequence of property investments from mutual funds societies like AMP, real estate corporations like Lend Lease, [and] US interlopers like IBM and Caltex’.¹⁵

Signal events included the demolition of the numerous wool and bond stores at East Circular Quay during the 1950s and 1960s, in favour of buildings that signified the city’s commitment

environment that promises ‘adventure, power, joy, growth’ and transformation. Refer to Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1988), p. 15.

⁹ Freestone, ‘Preserving Sydney’s Built Heritage in the Early Twentieth Century’, p. 47.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 49; Tony Fry, *Old Worlds, New Visions* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1989), p. 120; Lucy Hughes Turnbull, *Sydney: Biography of a City* (Milsons Point, N.S.W.: Random House, 1999), p. 250.

¹¹ Ian Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009), p. 223.

¹² Margaret Park, *Milsons Point*, 2008, Dictionary of Sydney, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/milsons_point>, viewed 3 August 2016; Freestone, ‘Preserving Sydney’s Built Heritage in the Early Twentieth Century’, pp. 49-50; Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 223.

¹³ Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, pp. 223-24.

¹⁴ *Labor Daily*, 24 June 1926, quoted in Robert Freestone, ‘Preserving Sydney’s Built Heritage in the Early Twentieth Century’, *Australian Historical Studies* 29, no. 112 (1999), p. 50.

¹⁵ Phillip M. O’Neill and Pauline McGuirk, ‘Reconfiguring the CBD: Work and Discourses of Design in Sydney’s Office Space’, *Urban Studies* 40, no. 9 (2003), p. 1756.

to ‘progress’.¹⁶ A prime example included the demolition of Mort & Co’s storehouse – a well-known site established by Thomas Mort in 1850 – for the city’s first skyscraper, the Australian Mutual Provident (AMP) Building (1958–62).¹⁷ Correspondingly, the first ‘modern’ office blocks were constructed on the site of these wool stores, comprising Unilever House (1956–57), ICI House (1957), Goldfields House (1966) and Lend Lease House (1971).¹⁸ These new structures lacked symmetry with the harbour frontage, especially due to the 1957 amendment of the *Height of Buildings Act* (1912) that increased the height restriction of structures, previously limited to 150 feet.¹⁹ The AMP Building, for instance, rose twenty-six storeys to emerge as the tallest building in Australia at the time of its construction.²⁰ This edifice marked an abrupt change on the skyline, forever rupturing the harmony of the colonial foreshore that had been protected by the 1912 restrictions (refer to figures 3.1-3.2).²¹

¹⁶ Paul Ashton, *East Circular Quay*, 2008, Dictionary of Sydney, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/east_circular_quay>, viewed 3 August 2016.

¹⁷ Ashton, *East Circular Quay*, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/east_circular_quay>; Hoskins *Sydney Harbour*, pp. 116, 265.

¹⁸ Ashton, *East Circular Quay*, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/east_circular_quay>.

¹⁹ Peter Webber, ‘The Nature of the City’, in G. P. Webber, ed., *The Design of Sydney: Three Decades of Change in the City Centre* (Sydney: Law Book, 1988), pp. 19-20.

²⁰ Hoskins *Sydney Harbour*, p. 264.

²¹ Webber, ‘The Nature of the City’, pp. 19-20.



(Figure 3.1) *Circular Quay [East]*, ca. 1900-1910, State Library of New South Wales, PXE 711 / 166, <<http://archival-classic.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=413349#>>, viewed 3 August 2016.



(Figure 3.2) *Sydney Cove, East, with AMP Building, and New Office Towers*, c. 1962, City of Sydney Archives, 087/087182, < <http://www.photosau.com.au/Cos/scripts/home.asp> >, viewed 3 August 2016.

The physical and cultural effacement of the colonial waterfront likewise reshaped the harbourside context of Fort Denison. The destruction of wool and bond stores in favour of modern buildings marked a new wave of internationalised capital. As Ian Hoskins attests, ‘it was centrality, the availability of redundant water-front sites and the desirability of harbour views that placed [the new structures] there’.²² As Sydney reaped the economic benefits from the ‘long boom’ (1945–70), the face and industry of Sydney Harbour evolved.²³ The metropolis developed into a financial capital immersed in wealth, investment firms and related service industries including legal, insurance and hospitality providers.²⁴ This was a marked transition in industry as the wealth that was originally provided from the interior in the nineteenth and early twentieth century – related to wool, gold, wheat and meat – relocated to the west and north shore of the harbour.²⁵ The transformation of Sydney Harbour due to the newly aggressive corporatism was not the only factor that altered its makeup; the growth of leisure culture and tourism was an additional influence.

Leisure and Tourism

In the post-war period, the demand for goods and services dramatically increased due to a rise in wages, high levels of employment and population growth through the ‘long boom’.²⁶ As Gregory Whitwell explains:

Gone were the days when the income of a relatively large percentage of households covered little more than the basic necessities of life: food, clothing and accommodation. There emerged instead a new situation in which a clear and

²² Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 265.

²³ For information on the ‘long boom’ refer to Rodney Maddock, ‘The Long Boom 1940-1970’, in Rodney Maddock and Ian W. McLean, eds., *The Australian Economy in the Long Run* (Cambridge; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 79-105.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

²⁵ Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 292.

²⁶ Judith O’Callaghan and Paul Hogben, ‘Leisure in Sydney During ‘The Long Boom’’, in Paul Hogben and Judith O’Callaghan, eds., *Leisure Space: The Transformation of Sydney, 1945-1970* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2014), p. 16.

expanding majority of households enjoyed a disposable income (increasingly) above that needed to provide for the essentials of everyday existence.²⁷

In addition to this material abundance, the implementation of paid annual leave, a forty-hour workweek and long service leave provided residents the opportunity to engage in leisure activities.²⁸ The ‘democratisation of leisure’ as argued by Judith O’Callaghan and Paul Hogben, ultimately resulted in increased expenditure and resources serving the development of recreational activities.²⁹

Correspondingly, the growth of the tourism industry increased pressure on the foreshores and waterways of Sydney Harbour – including Fort Denison.³⁰ Sydney, according to a 1965 Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) study, was a ‘major destination area, the main port of arrival of overseas visitors by air and sea, and a principal business, and financial centre of Australia . . . It has been estimated that 90% of all overseas visitors stay in Sydney during part of their visit’.³¹ It was only fitting that as a gateway city, the foreshores of Sydney Harbour would undergo a dramatic transformation in order to foresee this new change. ‘The once-dingy transit area of Circular Quay’, as an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* declared, had ‘been transformed’:

Where traffic once screamed, people now eat leisurely lunches among greenery and patterned paving . . . People can stroll the two kilometres from the Opera House to the Harbour Bridge on an uninterrupted waterside promenade, making the most of one of the world’s most beautiful harbours.³²

²⁷ Greg Whitwell, *Making the Market: The Rise of Consumer Society* (Fitzroy, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1989), p. 4.

²⁸ O’Callaghan and Hogben, ‘Leisure in Sydney During ‘The Long Boom’, p. 19; Richard White (with Sarah-Jane Ballard, Ingrid Brown, Meredith Lake, Patricia Leehy and Lila Oldmeadow), *On Holidays: A History of Getting Away in Australia* (North Melbourne, Victoria: Pluto Press, 2005), pp. 121-29.

²⁹ O’Callaghan and Hogben, ‘Leisure in Sydney During ‘The Long Boom’, p. 19.

³⁰ Jenkins, *Our Harbour*, p. 16.

³¹ Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company, *Australia’s Travel and Tourist Industry, 1965* (Sydney: Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company and Stanton Robbins & Co., Inc., 1966), pp. 171-72.

³² ‘Quay Regains its Open Spaces’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 December 1987, p. 6.

Similarly, several decades later Darling Harbour underwent extensive redevelopment in the lead up to the Bicentenary, as its waterfront was cleared of industry and replaced with a cultural and commercial domain.³³ Shops, restaurants, exhibition centres, the Australian National Maritime Museum and an aquarium superseded the previous yards and sheds.³⁴ The substantial transition of Circular Quay and Darling Harbour – from industrial precincts to places of pleasure and beauty – reinforced the significant impact of leisure activities and tourism on Sydney Harbour. Amongst this rapid change, which removed Sydney’s past in the name of progress, it is imperative to ask: what place did Fort Denison occupy?

Fort Denison: The Static Sentinel Washed by a Tide of Meanings

Fort Denison, as eloquently stated by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS), is of social significance to the people of Sydney ‘as an *historic* fortification icon that represents a *constant entity in the changing harbour context*’.³⁵ While the island remained a static sentinel during the dynamic alteration of Sydney Harbour – its meaning and representation were in contrast – frequently re-imbued by institutions and residents alike.

With its defensive purpose rendered obsolete, the island’s meaning was left open to re-inscription. This is a typical process pertaining to material remains of the past, specifically cultural heritage sites as Shatha Abu-Khafajah, Stuart Hall and Laurajane Smith outline.³⁶

³³ Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/sydney_harbour_a_cultural_landscape>.

³⁴ Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 297.

³⁵ NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park: Fort Denison Conservation Plan* (Sydney, NSW: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Draft October 1995), p. 31. Emphasis added.

³⁶ Shatha Abu-Khafajah, ‘Meaning-Making and Cultural Heritage in Jordan: The Local Community, the Contexts and the Archaeological Sites in Khreibt Al-Suq’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010), p. 129; Stuart Hall, ‘The Work of Representation’, in Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, in association with The Open University, 1997), p. 61; Laurajane Smith, ‘Theorising Museum and Heritage Visiting’, in Andrea Witcomb and Kylie Message, eds., *Museum Theory* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), p. 460.

Abu-Khafajah shows, meanings related to extant relics frequently evolve due to the interactions of individuals with their environment and other people.³⁷ Correspondingly, Hall notes, ‘It is us – in society, within human cultures – who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another’.³⁸ Furthermore, Smith reports:

Heritage, or heritage-making, is an embodied set of practices or performances in which cultural meaning is continually negotiated and remade, and is, moreover, a process in which people invest emotionally in certain understandings of the past and what they mean for contemporary identity and sense of place.³⁹

These arguments highlight why – and how – the meanings inhering in a site such as Fort Denison remain subject to change. The body of this Chapter will examine three different representations that were overlaid on Fort Denison through the course of the twentieth century, i.e., the historic fort, the picturesque/romantic islet and the island of horror.

The Historic Fort

Perhaps the most predominant interpretation of Fort Denison, and one that arguably still persists today, was the ‘historic fort’. While the previous Chapter demonstrated the first stirrings of this sentiment, the remainder of the twentieth century saw it become more pronounced, especially from 1960–90 as the consequences of modernity and the heritage movement intertwined. While interest in the island’s defence history slowly grew in momentum in the hearts and minds of Sydney’s residents – it was the 1926 excursion by the Royal Australian Historical Society (RAHS) and the heritage movement – that saw the importance of Fort Denison’s history soar.

³⁷ Abu-Khafajah, ‘Meaning-Making and Cultural Heritage in Jordan’, p. 129.

³⁸ Hall, ‘The Work of Representation’, p. 61.

³⁹ Smith, ‘Theorising Museum and Heritage Visiting’, p. 460.

As early as 1924 the historic interest of Fort Denison was already being promoted to citizens of Sydney. Gordon Trollope, writing in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, commented on the ‘historic-looking pile lying athwart the stream’, asserting that the island ‘should represent to us one of the country’s first serious efforts at self-defence’.⁴⁰ Trollope foregrounded the protective purpose the fort served in the nineteenth century, emphasising its ordnance and the thickness of the Martello tower, claiming that the subsequent history ‘of the old place is barely interesting’.⁴¹ In Trollope’s opinion therefore, the physical fabric and history pertaining to the site, cemented its importance and place in Sydney. Correspondingly, J. H. M. Abbott asserted in *The World’s News* that Fort Denison was a ‘curiously archaic feature’ and ‘such a landmark of Australian history, that it is worth taking more than a glance at, as you pass it by’.⁴² More significant however, was the visit of the RAHS – an act that confirmed and firmly established the reputation of Fort Denison as a ‘historic fort’.

On Saturday 15 May 1926, approximately 150 members of the RAHS visited the island fort.⁴³ Judging by those who signed the diary however (Figure 3.3), this number seems to be an exaggeration. Regardless, those who attended ‘took a keen delight exploring every portion of the old fort’.⁴⁴ Allegedly, the top chamber of the gun tower, which still contained the three old muzzle-loading guns ‘attracted much attention’, while the smaller guns were also ‘closely inspected’.⁴⁵ Captain James Watson, the President of the RAHS, provided members with an overview of the island’s history, referring to its humble beginnings when it was known as

⁴⁰ Gordon Trollope, ‘Fort Denison: A Popular Fallacy’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 November 1924, p. 13. Emphasis added.

⁴¹ Trollope, ‘Fort Denison’, p. 13.

⁴² J. H. M. Abbott, ‘The Isle of Mattewai: Story of Fort Denison’, *The World’s News*, 10 April 1926, p. 12. Emphasis added.

⁴³ ‘Fort Denison, Historic Island: Early Day Fortifications’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May 1926, p. 11.

⁴⁴ ‘Fort Denison, Historic Island’, p. 11.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

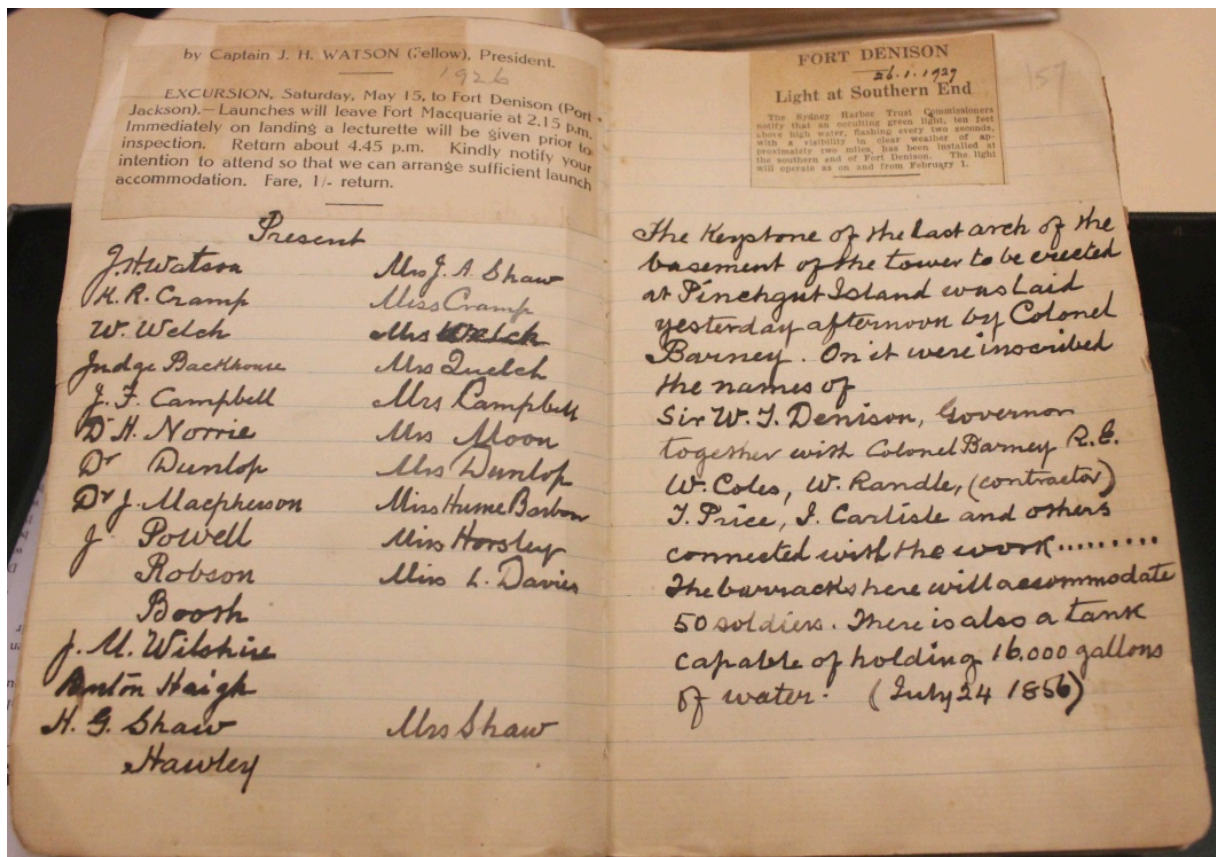
Rock Island and later how it served as part of a larger defence scheme when fear of Russia was paramount.⁴⁶

The RAHS' visit to Fort Denison was particularly noteworthy, especially as it was their primary aim to encourage interest and inquiry into Australia's past.⁴⁷ The Society, founded in 1901, sought to achieve this purpose by conducting excursions, like the one to Fort Denison, holding public lectures and making these permanently available via its *Journal*, first published in 1906.⁴⁸ By visiting Fort Denison, the RAHS confirmed the historical importance of the site, indicating to residents that it was worthy of interest and occupied a central position within the city's history. This assessment of the island gained traction and continued to permeate throughout the century.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Brian H. Fletcher, 'The Royal Australian Historical Society and the Writing of Australian History', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 87, no. 1 (2001) p. 2.

⁴⁸ Fletcher, 'The Royal Australian Historical Society and the Writing of Australian History', p. 2.



(Figure 3.3) The left hand side of the diary details those who attended the excursion to Fort Denison. The right hand side explains when the keystone of the last arch of the Martello tower was laid. Royal Australian Historical Societies Excursions, *Captain Watson's Excursion Book*, 1924-26 (4), Royal Australian Historical Society, Rare Books Collection, 906.91 ROY, pp. 156-63.



(Figure 3.4) According to the excursion diary, in this photograph Captain James Watson was pointing out the year the gun was cast. Royal Australian Historical Societies Excursions, *Captain Watson's Excursion Book*, 1924-26 (4), Royal Australian Historical Society, Rare Books Collection, 906.91 ROY, pp. 156-63.



(Figure 3.5) Photograph of those who attended the excursion. Royal Australian Historical Societies Excursions, *Captain Watson's Excursion Book*, 1924-26 (4), Royal Australian Historical Society, Rare Books Collection, 906.91 ROY, pp. 156-63.

Over 1930–60, various articles related the history of Fort Denison, commonly referring to it as one of the ‘oldest historic landmarks’ or ‘historic spots’ in Sydney.⁴⁹ It was at this time that the Maritime Services Board (MSB) – an organisation that replaced the Sydney Harbour Trust – managed the island from 1936–92.⁵⁰ As the MSB officially opened the site for public inspection every Wednesday in 1936, the Acting Secretary of the institute, A. B. Shaw, created a pamphlet detailing its history for visitors.⁵¹ The first of these booklets appeared in 1937 (Figure 3.6) and while it detailed the early history of the island, such as its Aboriginal name and the earliest record known, it primarily focused on the actual fort.

Among the significant events documented in this pamphlet were: the commencement of construction in 1841 due to the unannounced arrival of the Americans in 1939; the completion of the work due to the Crimean War; the change of the island’s name; its stonework and Martello tower; the manning by the Royal Artillery; its ordnance and current use.⁵² The brochure ended with a telling interpretation, classifying the site as ‘one of the most interesting *historical* relics in Australia’.⁵³ Evidently, the MSB – as the governing authority of Fort Denison – promulgated the view that it was of historic importance to residents and tourists alike, on account of its previous defence use.

⁴⁹ For example: M.P., ‘Fort Denison: An Islet with a History’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 March 1930, p. 13; ‘Old “Pinchgut”: A Historic Landmark’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 1931, p. 5; E. W. Dunlop, ‘Fort Denison, The Story of “Pinchgut”’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 March 1932, p. 8; ‘The Islands of Port Jackson’, *Sydney Mail*, 25 March 1936, p. 28; S. Geary, ‘My Visit to Fort Denison’, *The Sun*, 29 December 1946, p. 9; Kathleen Earl, ‘Fort Denison’, *Sunday Herald*, 10 April 1949, p. 1; Eric Bell-Smith, ‘This is Sydney: Fort Denison’, *The Sun*, 26 August 1951, p. 8; G.A.K., ‘A Place In History: Pinchgut Still Has Its Uses’, *Sunday Herald*, 7 December 1952, p. 15.

⁵⁰ NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park*, p. 3; Tull, ‘The Development of Port Administration at Sydney’, p. 92.

⁵¹ ‘Old Fort Open to Public’, *The Sun*, 12 January 1936, p. 13.

⁵² A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., 1937), Royal Australian Historical Society, Manuscript Collection, Red M154, pp. 1-5.

⁵³ Shaw, *Fort Denison*, p. 5. Emphasis added.

This assessment became more pronounced in later versions of the guides (Figures 3.7-3.9) as it was additionally declared, ‘with its martello tower – one of the finest examples of its kind in the world – is ever an object of interest to travellers on Sydney Harbour. It is located in the heart of the harbour, and is *certainly close to the heart of the people of Sydney*’.⁵⁴ It is remarkable to note the transformation Fort Denison underwent across the century, evolving from an ‘unsightly’ and ‘useless’ fort, to an island allegedly ‘close to the heart’ of Sydneysiders as it served as a reminder of the city’s defence history.

Arguably, the island fort garnered this newfound status due to the pre-World War II destruction of other prominent harbourside defence structures. Progress was paramount – and to this end Fort Macquarie and Dawes Point Battery were both demolished. As noted previously, Fort Macquarie was destroyed to make way for a tram depot, while the fortification located at Dawes Point was sacrificed for the Sydney Harbour Bridge.⁵⁵ Before destruction was wrought on Dawes Point Battery, an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* lamented that another ‘pregnant souvenir of bygone times’ would disappear.⁵⁶ In the context of this obliteration therefore, Fort Denison accrued increasing historical importance in the hearts and minds of Sydney’s citizens. The island fort became a ‘souvenir of bygone times’ as other notable defence works ceased to exist.

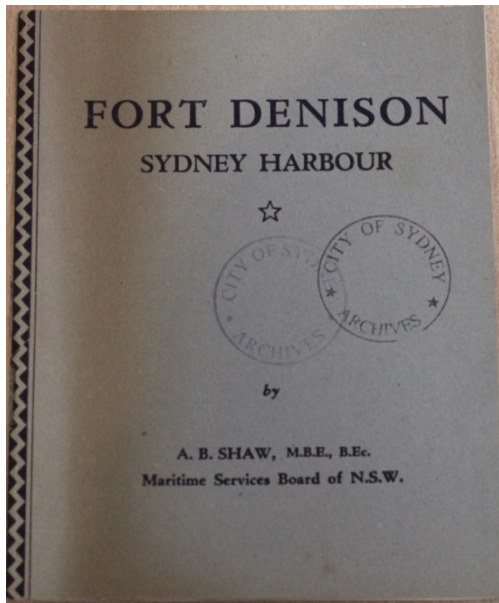
⁵⁴ A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., n.d.), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.1 FOR. Emphasis added.

⁵⁵ Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour*, p. 223.

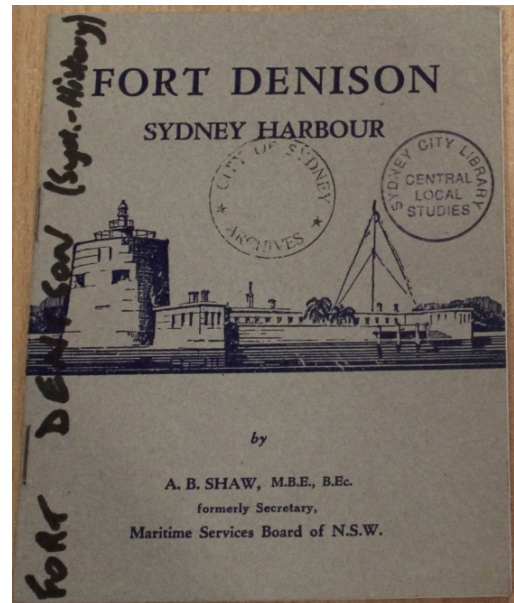
⁵⁶ L., ‘Dawes Battery’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 February 1925, p. 14.



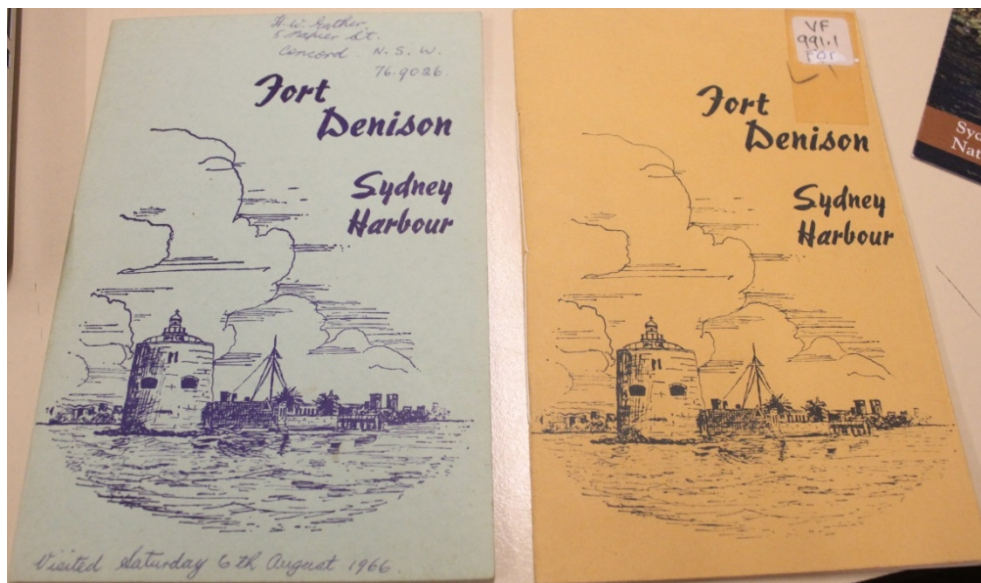
(Figure 3.6) A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W, 1937), Royal Australian Historical Society, Manuscript Collection, Red M154.



(Figure 3.7) A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Service Board of N.S.W., n.d.), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234.



(Figure 3.8) A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., n.d.), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234.



(Figure 3.9) A. B. Shaw, *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., n.d.), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.1 FOR.

This interpretation of the island continued when the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service gained control of the island (1992-present), as evidenced by a brochure entitled *Discovery Tour: Sydney's Historic Forts* (Figure 3.10).⁵⁷ The booklet began by noting how Sydney's forts offered 'a fascinating insight into the military history of the Sydney Harbour area'.⁵⁸ The description of Fort Denison mirrors Shaw's, describing it as 'one of the most interesting historic sites in Australia'.⁵⁹ Curiously, though, the brochure excludes any mention of its actual defence significance. The guide merely states: 'In order to transform it into a fortress much of the rock was quarried down . . . and the Fort was completed in 1857. Features of particular interest include the automatic tide gauge . . . and the martello tower, with its fascinating acoustic properties'.⁶⁰ In comparison, the description of North Fort (at North Head) emphasised its previous protective capability, reporting that 'The 9.2 inch gun installation was constructed in the 1930s . . . It includes the gun positions, engine room, magazine and observation posts'.⁶¹ This juxtaposition implied that Fort Denison did not serve a 'real' defensive role in contrast to the other fortifications; rather it served as a mere symbol only.

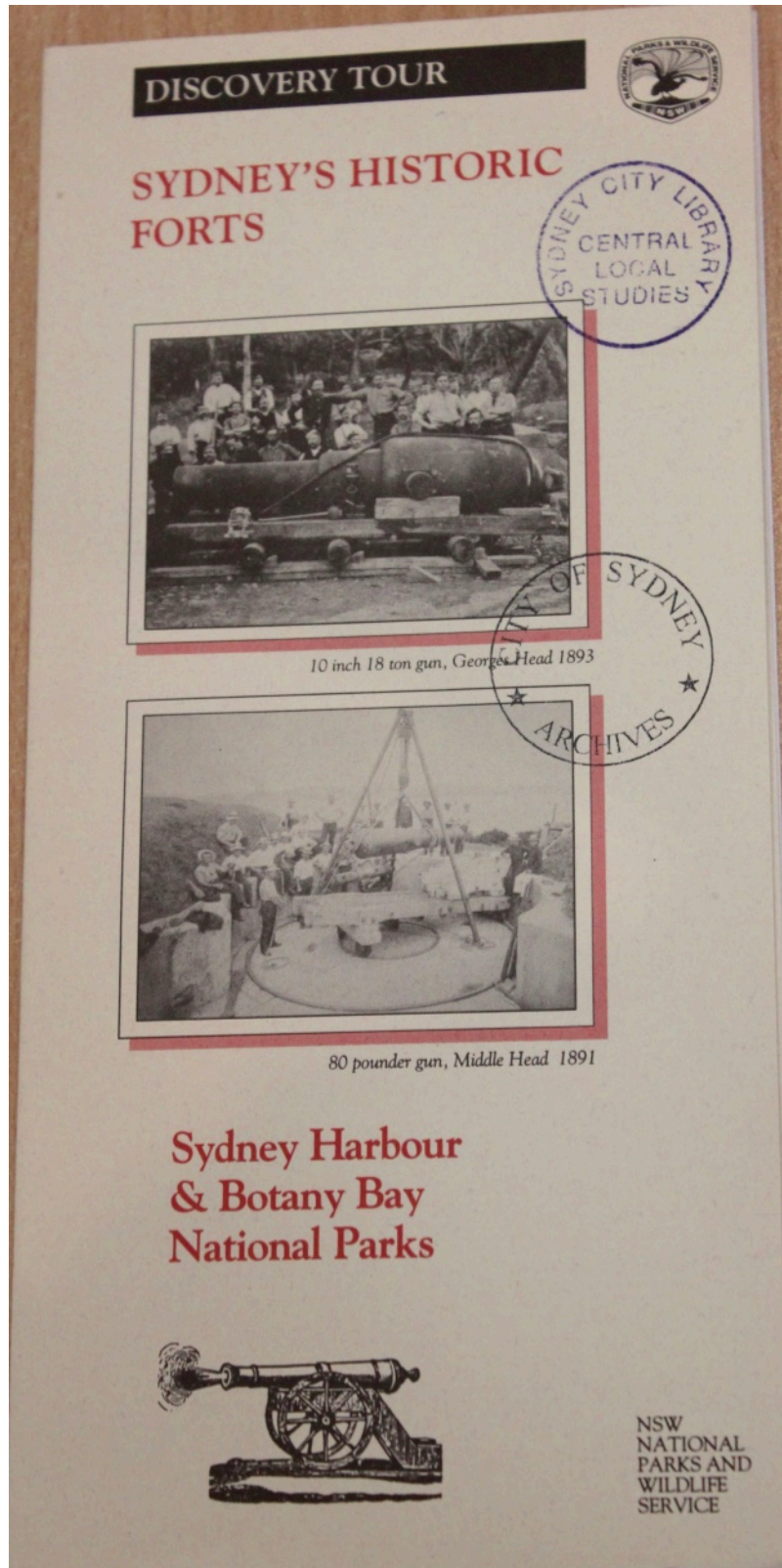
⁵⁷ NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Discovery Tour: Sydney's Historic Forts* (Sydney: NPWS, 1992), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234.

⁵⁸ NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Discovery Tour*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

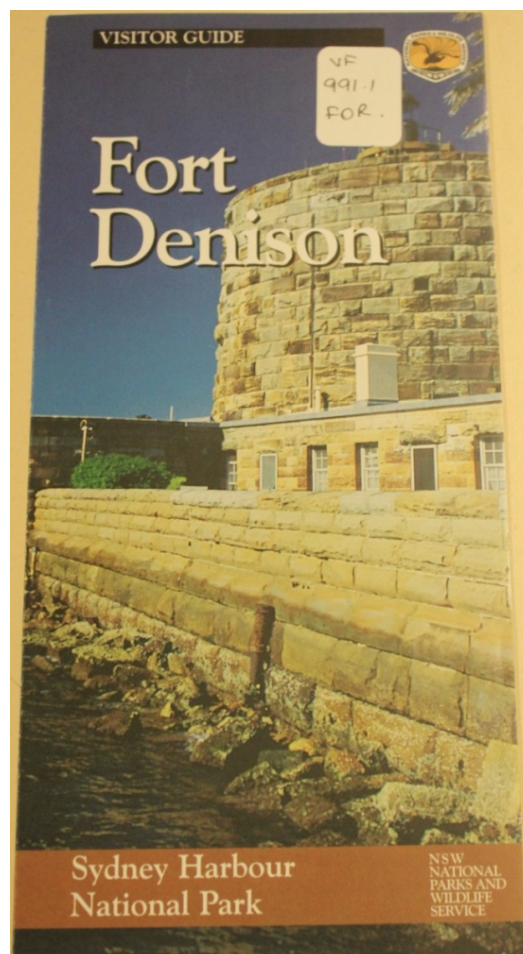
⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*



(Figure 3.10) NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Discovery Tour: Sydney's Historic Forts* (Sydney: NPWS, 1992), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234.

However, a more holistic approach to the location was published later by the NPWS, in a brochure titled, *Visitor Guide: Fort Denison* (Figure 3.11).⁶² This booklet detailed the island's convict history, the arrival of the American Exploring Squadron and the Crimean War as events that instigated the construction and completion of the fort and its ongoing use for reading the tide.⁶³



(Figure 3.11) NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Visitor Guide: Fort Denison* (Hurstville, N.S.W.: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, n.d.), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.1 FOR.

⁶² NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Visitor Guide: Fort Denison* (Hurstville, N.S.W.: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, n.d.), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.1 FOR.

⁶³ NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Visitor Guide*.

It is important to recognise that the MSB and NPWS were not the only institutions publishing material on the island and its history. Indeed the Tourist Bureau of NSW, Sydney Ferries and the Urban Transit Authority of NSW all printed material directly related to Fort Denison from 1958-1990.⁶⁴ All of the material, much like Shaw's numerous pamphlets and the later publication by the NPWS, followed and emphasised the same points: the Aboriginal and convict history of the site, the American arrival and the Crimean War as the external forces that pressured the colony to act and its transitional role over the twentieth century since its completion.

In exploring this recurrent pattern apparent in tourist brochures, English heritage scholar Emma Waterton contends that pamphlets and related guide materials essentially reproduce a dominant meaning or vision of the past to 'define and articulate "the story of the nation" and its heritage, at the expense of alternative understandings'.⁶⁵ Her assertion proves valid in the context of Fort Denison as presented to local and international audiences. In presenting the fort as a 'historic' site, only certain aspects of the island's history were favoured and offered. For example, not one item of tourist literature mentions the strong calling for the fort's demolition to make way for 'Australia Facing the Dawn'. Such rhetoric would arguably undermine the idea that the site had always been of significance to the city's history.

⁶⁴ Department of Tourism New South Wales, *Fort Denison (Pinchgut)* (Sydney: N.S.W. Government Tourist Bureau, n.d.), State Library of New South Wales, Collection of Information Brochures, Tourist Guides and Accommodation Listings for New South Wales, 919.44; Sydney Ferries Limited, *Sydney Harbour Panorama: An Illustrated Survey of Points of Scenic and Historic Interest observed during the Tourist Harbour Trips* (Sydney: Sydney Ferries Limited), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.01 SYD; Tourist Bureau New South Wales, *Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: N.S.W. Government Tourist Bureau, n.d.), State Library of New South Wales, Collection of Information Brochures, Tourist Guides and Accommodation Listings for New South Wales, 919.44; Urban Transit Authority of NSW, *Discovering Sydney Harbour by Ferry: A comprehensive, easy to follow map of Sydney Harbour and Middle Harbour showing ferry routes, historical and other points of interest* (NSW: Urban Transit Authority, n.d.) Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.01 SYD.

⁶⁵ Emma Waterton, 'Branding the Past: The Visual Imagery of England's Heritage', in Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, eds., *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 158-59.

Perhaps the most pertinent manifestation of ‘the historic fort’ emerged between 1960 and 1990, when the idea of ‘heritage’ and the need to protect Sydney’s past came to the fore in public discourse.⁶⁶ In 1937 a *Sydney Morning Herald* article extolled how Sydney was improving with age as ‘solid, cramped blocks of the Victorian and Edwardian eras’ were giving way to ‘steel and concrete’ skyscrapers.⁶⁷ Similarly, architect Charles Rosenthal claimed that modernisation of the earliest city in Australia was particularly challenging as it had ‘the oldest buildings to get rid of’.⁶⁸ In stark contrast to these sentiments, from 1960 onwards, as Tracy Ireland explains, the awakening of a ‘national maturity’ led to a variety of movements aimed at preserving Australia’s heritage.⁶⁹

This ‘national maturity’ and mainstream concern for preservation stemmed from two interrelated factors. The first of these causes, as argued by Stuart Ward and Jack Doig, was Britain’s application in 1962 to join the European Economic Community (EEC).⁷⁰ As Australia’s national character was grounded in a belief of British race patriotism – that Australians and the British were ‘united by blood, history, language and tradition’ – the EEC gambit came as an unwelcome shock, forcing Australians to reassess their ‘national identity’.⁷¹ This revision, and the second factor at play, was the wave of ‘new nationalism’

⁶⁶ Graeme Davison defines heritage as ‘the name we give to those valuable features of our environment which we seek to conserve from the ravages of development and decay.’ See Graeme Davison, ‘The Meanings of “Heritage”’, in Graeme Davison and Chris McConville, eds., *A Heritage Handbook* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), p. 1.

⁶⁷ Sydney Grows Up, Old Landmarks Go’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 July 1937, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Charles Rosenthal, *The Development of Architecture in N.S.W.* (1925) quoted in Robert Freestone, ‘Preserving Sydney’s Built Heritage in the Early Twentieth Century’, *Australian Historical Studies* 29, no. 112 (1999), p. 47.

⁶⁹ Tracy Ireland, ‘Giving Value to the Australian Historic Past: Historical Archaeology, Heritage and Nationalism’, *Australian Historical Archaeology* 20 (2002), p. 15.

⁷⁰ Stuart Ward, *Australia and the British Embrace: The Demise of the Imperial Idea* (Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2001), pp. 4, 11, 259; Jack Doig, ‘New Nationalism in Australia and New Zealand: The Construction of National Identities by Two Labo(u)r Governments in the Early 1970s’, *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 59, no. 4 (December 2013), pp. 560-61.

⁷¹ ‘National identity’ as defined by Donald Horne, is a ‘constructed reality, a hypothesis about the character of a nation-state.’ And a ‘nation’, as demarcated by Benedict Anderson, ‘is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.’ Refer to: Donald Horne, ‘National Identity in the

under the leadership of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam (1972–75), who spearheaded efforts to create a national identity discrete from Britain’s orbit.⁷²

Much as Whitlam played a major role in bringing heritage concerns to mainstream society – as did the ‘Green Bans’ of the 1970s – the notion of preserving Sydney’s heritage was not new.⁷³ Indeed, as Kevin Walsh and Graeme Davison affirm, the concept of conservation can be traced back to the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Correspondingly, the establishment of the National Trust of Australia (NSW) in 1945 is evidence that the preservationist movement in the latter half of the twentieth century was not new.⁷⁵ The Trust for instance established a Register of Historic Buildings – with buildings classified from A–E according to their degree of

Period of the “New Nationalism”, in Australian Studies Centre Seminar Papers, *Nationalism and Class in Australia, 1920-1980* (Brisbane: Australian Studies Centre, University of Queensland, 1982), p. 61; Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, revised edition, 2006), p. 6; James Curran, ‘The “Thin Dividing Line”: Prime Ministers and the Problem of Australian Nationalism, 1972-1996’, *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 48, no. 4 (December 2002), p. 469.

⁷² ‘Nationalism’ as defined by Anthony D. Smith is:

1. a process of formation, or growth of nations;
2. a sentiment or consciousness of belonging to the nation;
3. a language and symbolism of the nation;
4. a social and political movement on behalf of the nation;
5. a doctrine and/or ideology of the nation, both general and particular.’

‘New nationalism’, a term first coined by Donald Horne, was thus in the Australian case, when new ‘identities’ and ‘opportunities’ were explored and created due to the decline of British race patriotism. See: Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (New Jersey; United States: John Wiley & Sons, second edition, 2013), pp. 5-6; Donald Horne, ‘The New Nationalism?’, *The Bulletin* 5 (October 1968), pp. 36-38; Doig, ‘New Nationalism in Australia and New Zealand’, p. 561.

⁷³ The ‘Green Bans’ refers to a time in Sydney’s history when resident action groups joined forces with the Builders Labourers Federation to implement ‘green bans’ on important historic and natural landscapes to prevent demolition and development. For more information on this environmental activism refer to: Sharon Veale and Robert Freestone, ‘The Commonwealth and the National Estate 1969-1974’, *Historic Environment* 24, no. 3 (2012), p. 13; Meredith Burgmann and Verity Burgmann, *Green Bans, Red Union: Environmental Activism and the New South Wales Builders Labourers’ Federation* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1998); Meredith Burgmann and Verity Burgmann, *Green Bans Movement*, Dictionary of Sydney, 2011, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/green_bans_movement>, viewed 15 August 2016.

⁷⁴ Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (London; New York: Routledge 1992), p. 70; Graeme Davison, ‘A Brief History of the Australian Heritage Movement’, in Graeme Davison and Chris McConville, eds., *A Heritage Handbook* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), pp. 14-16.

⁷⁵ Ralph Reid and Amy Reid, *Into History: A Guide to Historical, Genealogical, Family History and Heritage Societies, Groups and Organisations in Australia* (North Ryde, NSW: R.S. and A.F. Reid, third edition, 1992), p. 39.

importance.⁷⁶ Grade ‘A’, for example, represented buildings that had the ‘greatest historical significance or high architectural quality’, with preservation regarded as ‘essential to the heritage of the state’.⁷⁷ Davison argues that this system of ranking reflected the organisation’s nationalist elitism, as they categorised buildings according to stylistic and aesthetic value, rather than historical or technological criteria.⁷⁸

Tellingly, before the Trust abandoned this grading system in favour of a more modest classification, Fort Denison was ranked as an ‘A’ listed building, emphasising its importance to Sydney’s heritage.⁷⁹ This evaluation is effectively illustrated by its inclusion within a 1962 National Trust exhibition, entitled ‘No Time to Spare’.⁸⁰ The show centred upon thirty-four photographs of ‘A’ listed buildings taken by renowned photographer, Max Dupain. The stated purpose of the display was to demonstrate why registered buildings were of ‘national importance’.⁸¹ The Trust remarked:

With the present rapid rate of development in this country many interesting and charming buildings will go, and their going will be deeply regretted. But let us now, before it is too late, do all and everything we can to save these particular buildings, so carefully chosen and classified, and listed ‘A’.⁸²

While the Trust were predominantly alone in expressing the vital need for preservation through the 1950s and early 1960s, this isolation dramatically changed as heritage became the new zeitgeist. Amidst this sense of disorientation, Whitlam attempted to forge a coherent national past detached from Britain.

⁷⁶ The National Trust of Australia (New South Wales), *Register of Historic Buildings, 1968: With Additions to 31st December, 1968* (Sydney: National Trust, 1968), p. iii.

⁷⁷ The National Trust of Australia, *Register of Historic Buildings*, p. iii.

⁷⁸ Davison, ‘A Brief History of the Australian Heritage Movement’, p. 19.

⁷⁹ Buildings were ‘classified’ and their preservation was designated as either ‘essential’, ‘recorded’ or ‘encouraged’. See Davison, ‘A Brief History of the Australian Heritage Movement’, p. 19.

⁸⁰ Women’s Committee of the National Trust of Australia (N.S.W.), “*No Time to Spare!*”: *An Exhibition of the Newly Released “A” List of Buildings* (Sydney: National Trust of Australia, 1962).

⁸¹ Women’s Committee of the National Trust of Australia, “*No Time to Spare!*”, n.p.

⁸² *Ibid.*

One method focused on creating the ‘National Estate’. This term, originally used by American President John F. Kennedy, was adopted by Whitlam to describe Australia’s cultural and natural heritage, in order to meld the country’s history into a unique national story.⁸³ In 1973 Whitlam appointed a committee to investigate the nature of Australia’s National Estate where it was recommended for the Australian Government to ‘ensure that a national inventory of Historic Sites is compiled by the National Estate Commission’.⁸⁴

This Inquiry proved of fundamental importance as it resulted in the establishment of the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC) in 1975, a statutory body of the Commonwealth that in turn created the Register of the National Estate.⁸⁵ The Register was a catalogue of places embodying ‘aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social significance, or other special value’.⁸⁶ Pointedly, Fort Denison was added in 1978.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the island fort was also listed on the State Heritage Register under the NSW *Heritage Act* 1977,⁸⁸ as being of ‘particular importance to the people of NSW’ while enriching understanding of their ‘history and identity’.⁸⁹

⁸³ Graeme Davison, ‘The Meanings of “Heritage”’, in Graeme Davison and Chris McConville, eds., *A Heritage Handbook* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), p. 3; Ireland, ‘Giving Value to the Australian Historic Past: Historical Archaeology, Heritage and Nationalism’, *Australian Historical Archaeology* 20 (2002), p. 16.

⁸⁴ Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate, *Report of the National Estate: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate* (Canberra: Australia Government Publishing Service, 1974), p. 176.

⁸⁵ *The Heritage of Australia: The Illustrated Register of the National Estate* (South Melbourne: Macmillan of Australia in association with the Australian Heritage Commission, 1981), p. 9; Veale and Freestone, ‘The Commonwealth and the National Estate 1969-1974’, p. 12.

⁸⁶ Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate, *Report of the National Estate: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate* (Canberra: Australia Government Publishing Service, 1974), p. 35.

⁸⁷ NSW Government Office of Environment & Heritage, *Fort Denison*, updated 13 November 2015, NSW Government, <<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5045472>>, viewed 15 August 2016.

⁸⁸ NSW Government Office of Environment & Heritage, *What is the State Heritage Register?* Last updated 6 September 2013, NSW Government, <<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/Heritage/listings/stateheritageregister.htm>>, viewed 15 August 2016.

⁸⁹ Heritage Council of New South Wales, *Heritage Act 1977: Criteria for Listing on the State Heritage Register*, last updated 6 September 2013, NSW Government, <<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/heritagebranch/heritage/listings/criteria.pdf>>, viewed 15 August 2016.

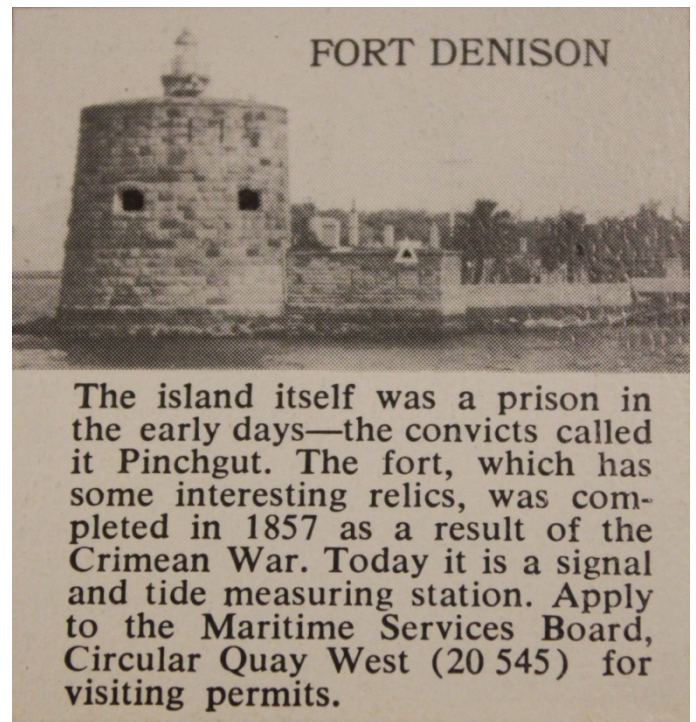
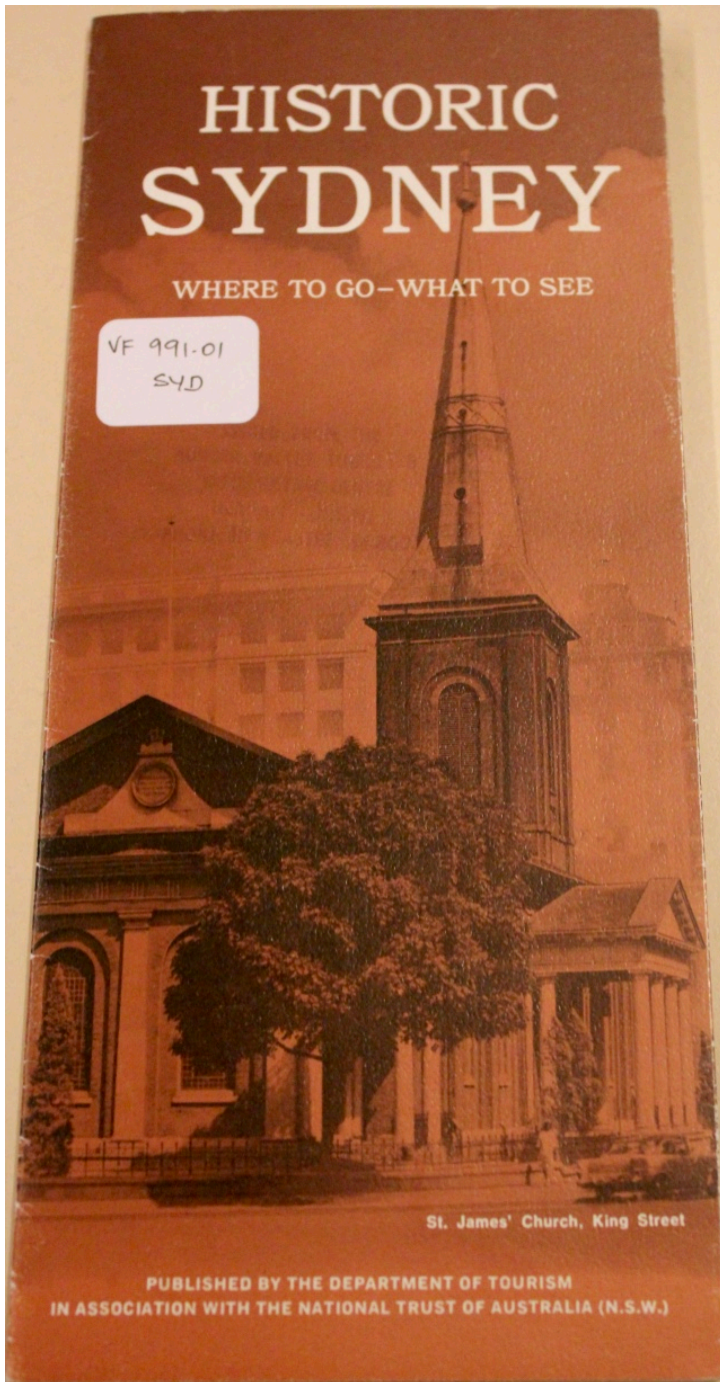
Listing on both of these registers signified that the site was a significant relic in both Sydney's and Australia's history. Unambiguously, therefore, Fort Denison reached a pinnacle of eminence as it was viewed as a crucial element within local and national heritage discourse. As the Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate made clear, these virtues counterbalanced the destructive nature of modernity:

the realisation that much which is of national, and even international, value in the man-made and natural spheres is coming under very strong threats and pressures from damaging or potentially damaging human action.⁹⁰

Such preservationist sentiment was reinforced through ephemera published at the time, such as a tourist brochure titled *Historic Sydney: Where to Go – What to See* and a *Historic Buildings of Sydney Sketchbook*.⁹¹ Fort Denison featured in both of these materials (Figures 3.12-3.14), emphasising how the site was imbued with new meaning and prominence. It represented a long-standing sentinel, an ever-present feature of Sydney Harbour and the city's rich heritage.

⁹⁰ Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate, *Report of the National Estate*, p. 20.

⁹¹ Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, *Historic Sydney: Where to Go – What to See* (N.S.W.: Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, c. 1980s), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.01 SYD; Olaf Ruhen (author) and Cedric Emanuel (illustrations), *Historic Buildings of Sydney Sketchbook* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1972).



(Figures 3.12 and 3.13) Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, *Historic Sydney: Where to Go – What to See* (N.S.W.: Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, c. 1980s), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.01 SYD.



(Figure 3.14) Olaf Ruhen (author) and Cedric Emanuel (illustrations), *Historic Buildings of Sydney Sketchbook* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1972).

For the majority of the twentieth century, Fort Denison thus evolved into a symbol of pride. It was distinctly interpreted as a ‘historic’ site – as part of Sydney’s defence history and its colonial fabric – heralding in a new age where heritage was of the upmost concern. With growing public disapproval of the effects of urban development and the decline of British race patriotism, the remnants of Sydney’s past became an effective medium to mould a new national identity. Fort Denison was part of this major transition, garnering new meaning and significance. Yet the lingering vision of the fort as ‘picturesque’ and ‘romantic’ never entirely vanished.

The Romantic/Picturesque Fort

Although never superseded by the ‘historic fort’, the understanding of the island as a ‘romantic’ or ‘picturesque’ destination gained traction from the 1920s. Initially depicted as a redundant counterpoint to the massive modern vessels entering the wharves, its aesthetic value as a harbour feature was slowly realised. Indeed, as the century progressed and the face of Sydney Harbour altered, Fort Denison emerged as one of its charming landmark features. Integrated into an urban seascape that increasingly offered leisure activities, it became ‘part of pictures and photographs of sailing ships and small pleasure craft, or as part of a view from the shore framed by bushes and trees’.⁹²

This reflection on the island’s place in the cultural landscape of Sydney is corroborated by a photograph that appeared in the *Sydney Mail* in 1924 (Figure 3.15).⁹³

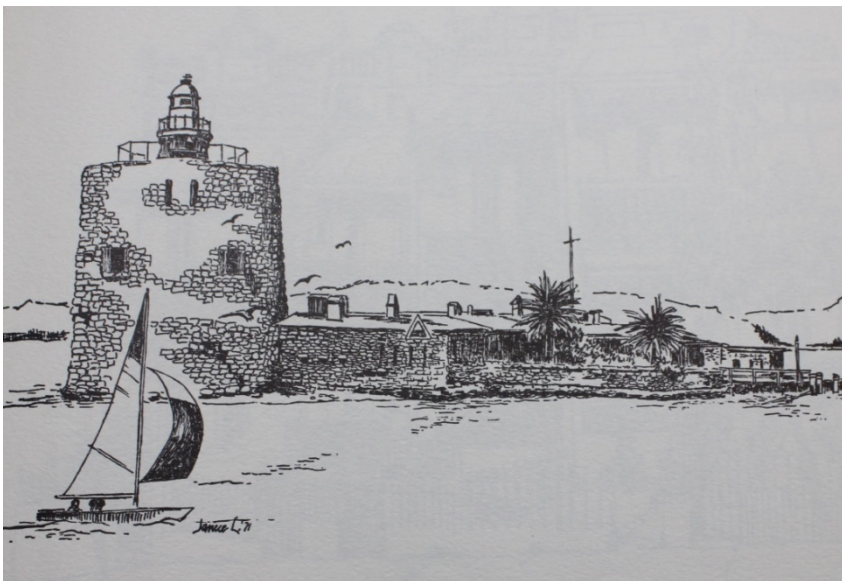
⁹² NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park*, p. 17.

⁹³ ‘The Charm of Sydney Harbour’, *Sydney Mail*, 10 December 1924, p. 26.



(Figure 3.15) 'The Charm of Sydney Harbour', *Sydney Mail*, 10 December 1924, p. 26.

The caption attached to the photograph labelled the fort 'quaint' and historic', signifying its picturesque nature.⁹⁴ Correspondingly, in a book of drawings titled *The Sydney Scene*, Fort Denison was pictured with a yacht in its foreground (Figure 3.16).⁹⁵ Instead of a bulwark of harbour defence, it was now an insistently local reminder of a simpler past, lapped by the tides of history.



(Figure 3.16)
Janece Latham, *The Sydney Scene* (Avalon Beach, N.S.W.: J. Latham, 1972), n.p.

⁹⁴ 'The Charm of Sydney Harbour', p. 26.

⁹⁵ Janece Latham, *The Sydney Scene* (Avalon Beach, N.S.W.: J. Latham, 1972), n.p.

This concept was also conveyed in print, demonstrated effectively by a 1921 article in the *Daily Telegraph*.⁹⁶ The evocative headline described Fort Denison as a ‘Treasure Island: a backwater of romance’; the majority of the population purportedly viewed it as ‘packed with adventure from tower to cellar – a living dream of romance and excitement’.⁹⁷ The site was repackaged as an ideal getaway from the hustle and bustle of city life. ‘Within sounds of sirens and the clatter of winches’, remarked the author, ‘within sight of factory smoke and brilliant electric advertisements, there is an island – an island of romance – in Sydney Harbor (*sic*)’.⁹⁸ A similar idea was echoed by the *Sydney Morning Herald*. ‘Of all the islands in Sydney Harbour, none is comparable in romance and fascination to Fort Denison’.⁹⁹

More pointedly, a travel brochure published by the MSB enticed visitors to *Discover the Treasure Islands of Sydney Harbour* (Figure 3.17).¹⁰⁰ According to the booklet, within ten minutes of arriving, tourists and residents alike would feel like they had ‘gone back more than 130 years to one of the most perfectly preserved forts in the world’.¹⁰¹ Clearly, the MSB were employing this notion of the romantic to attract visitors. Interestingly however, the front cover of the booklet diminishes the aim of discovery, as although the drawing is from Fort Denison, the focus is placed on the Opera House and Sydney Harbour Bridge instead of the ‘Treasure Islands’. This suggests that while the island was still presented as a picturesque and romantic destination, it was surpassed by the new marvels of the harbour. This was especially the case after the completion of the Opera House (1973), as Fort Denison became a vantage point and not a view itself.

⁹⁶ ‘Treasure Island: A Backwater of Romance’, *Daily Telegraph*, 29 December 1921, n.p.

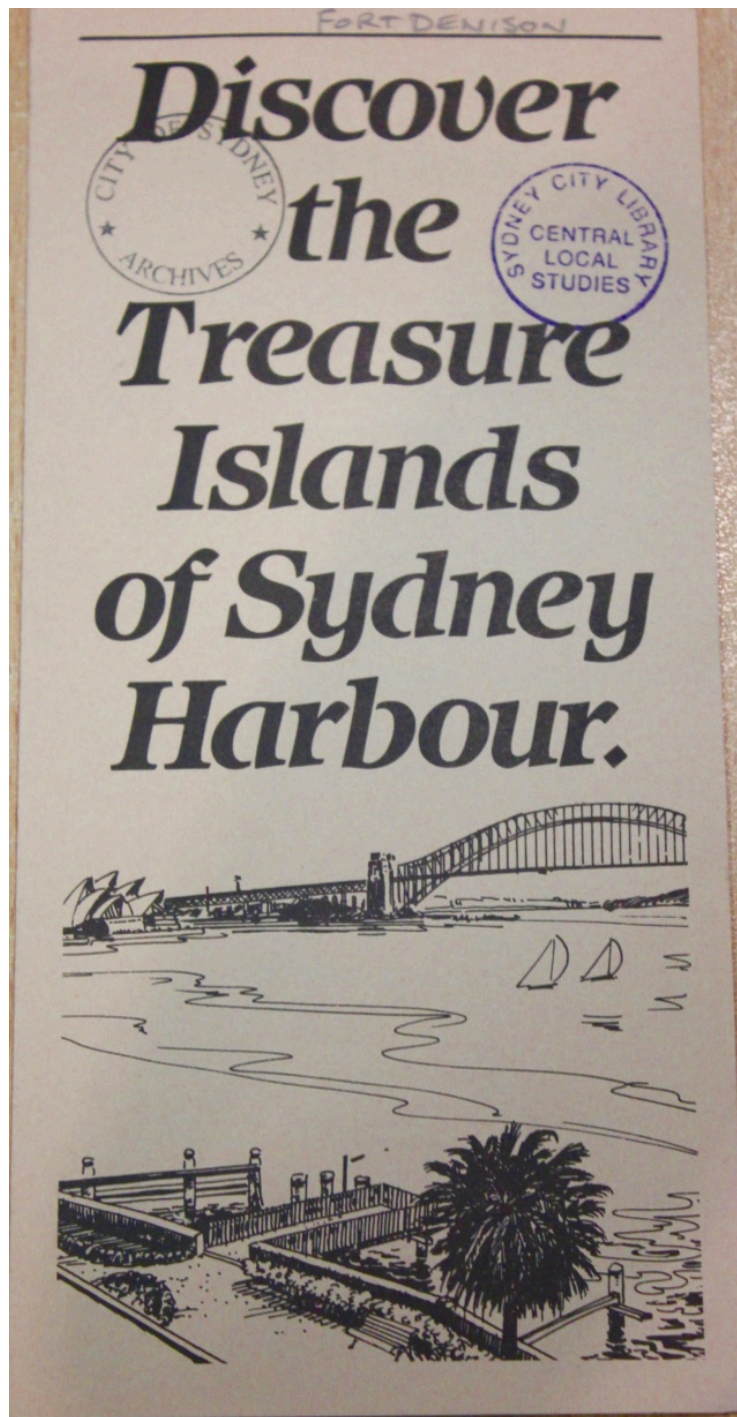
⁹⁷ ‘Treasure Island’, n.p.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ ‘Most Romantic of All’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 December 1937, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., *Discover the Treasure Islands of Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., n.d.), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234.

¹⁰¹ Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., *Discover the Treasure Islands of Sydney Harbour*.



(Figure 3.17) Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., *Discover the Treasure Islands of Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., n.d.), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234.

The perception of Fort Denison as a quaint and mysterious island surviving in the heart of Sydney Harbour confirms the idea that heritage sites are continually reinscribed due to individuals and the changing environment. Arguably, the onset of modernity and the expansion of leisure culture and tourism prompted this transformation – as Fort Denison was viewed as a romantic destination – a place that connected locals and tourists to Sydney’s heritage. However, the conception of the historic and romantic fort did not exist in isolation. Indeed, Fort Denison’s convict origins came back to haunt the people of Sydney.

The Convict Fort

As the colonial taint that had once embarrassed inhabitants of Sydney diminished across the twentieth century, the representation of Fort Denison as a convict prison increasingly gained purchase in the press. This thesis has foregrounded the cultural history of Fort Denison as an artificial structure and defensive installation, rather than its prior history as an island. Nevertheless, one of the most intriguing examples of cultural rescripting to emerge from the 1920s was an insistent ‘truth’ that the fort had served as a place of penal servitude.

While Pinchgut Island did indeed maroon recalcitrant prisoners intermittently after the arrival of the First Fleet, the notion that convicts were imprisoned in the cellar of the Martello tower is both factually and chronologically incorrect. Erected long after convict transportation to NSW ceased, the bottom level of the tower was used to store ammunition and powder. While individuals took it upon themselves to refute this popular myth – such as Captain Watson in 1926 – the idea continually re-emerged.¹⁰²

¹⁰² ‘Fort Denison, Historic Island’, p. 11; Trollope, ‘Fort Denison: A Popular Fallacy’, p. 13; Abbott, ‘The Isle of Mattewai’, p. 12; ‘The Islands of Port Jackson’, *Sydney Mail*, 25 March 1936, p. 28; ‘Fort Denison Never Convict Prison’, *Daily Mirror*, 3 August 1945, n.p; Geary, ‘My Visit to Fort Denison’, p. 9; Bill Beatty, ‘From the Gallows’ Foot’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 March 1947, p. 9; Earl, ‘Fort Denison’, p. 1.

For example, in 1932 journalists from the *Sydney Morning Herald* visited Fort Denison and were accompanied by a ‘Captain Carter’ of the Sydney Harbour Trust, serving as their tour guide.¹⁰³ The journalists inspected the ‘cells in which convicts were confined’, with Carter informing them that it had housed up to fifteen prisoners.¹⁰⁴ The article claimed that the detainees were ‘placed in one of the dark cells’ and ‘left there’ until the authorities thought their conduct had improved.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, two years later a *Sun* correspondent joined 36 other visitors on a tour of the fort, led by its caretaker. ‘The party was first conducted to the dungeons’, where the keeper ‘turned the electric lights off and not a glimmer of light could be seen. Imagine the atrocious conditions the early day convicts endured!’¹⁰⁶ Likewise, on a 1936 excursion to the site, visitors were ‘shown the dungeons’ where convicts were kept.¹⁰⁷ More telling was a 1908 article from the *Australian Star*, invoking cells ‘redolent of many awful scenes of crime, tragedy, and remorse’:

“Here”, said the engineer, “was formed the “Suicide Club”. Three straws were held by one man; each drew one; he who drew longest killed himself, or one of his companions murdered him. This necessitated the hanging of the other two, one as murderer, the other as his accomplice.”¹⁰⁸

This myth survived to be dramatically perpetuated in the 1959 film, *The Siege of Pinchgut* (Figure 3.18).¹⁰⁹ Produced by Britain’s Ealing Studios, the movie centred on an escaped convict, Matt Kirk. Set in the contemporary world, Kirk is the modern anti-hero seeking a retrial as he believes he has been unfairly sentenced.¹¹⁰ With his brother Johnny and two accomplices they attempt to flee the city by boat, but they are forced to stop at Fort Denison.

¹⁰³ ‘Harbour Islands Visited by Journalists’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 February 1932, p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Harbour Islands Visited by Journalists’, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ ‘From a Rambler’s Notebook’, *The Sun*, 22 April 1934, p. 2

¹⁰⁷ ‘From a Rambler’s Notebook’, *The Sun*, 12 July 1936, p. 2

¹⁰⁸ M. D., ‘Fort Denison: An Old Sydney Landmark’, *The Australian Star*, 21 March 1908, p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ *Siege of Pinchgut* (Sydney: Harry Watt, 1959), film.

¹¹⁰ Bruce Molly, *Before the Interval: Australian Mythology and Feature Films, 1930-1960* (St. Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1990), p. 176.

Initially unaware of its occupation by the caretaker and his family, Kirk holds them hostage as leverage to convince the police to grant him a retrial. Tension escalates as Kirk and his accomplices use Fort Denison's World War II-era four-inch naval gun to threaten a nearby cargo ship packed with explosives. In a bitter irony, Sydney thus lies under siege from a fortress that had only ever served as a beacon of civic protection.



(Figure 3.18) Associated British Pathé; Ealing Studios, *The Siege of Pinchgut: An Escaped Convict - : in his gunsights a shipload of dynamite – and the city of Sydney: his terms – freedom or annihilation* (Manchester, U.K.: s.n., 1959), State Library of New South Wales.

The film both recalls and foregrounds the convict origins of Pinchgut Island. The very fact that the storyline focuses criminals stranded on the island is reminiscent of the original convicts isolated on Pinchgut in the early days of settlement. Unmistakeably, the twentieth century witnessed a revival of Fort Denison's convict history with fictitious stories rife about

the island fort. It is clear that another representation of the fort was thus presented in addition to the historic and picturesque/romantic fort, i.e, the isle of horror.

The Re-Inscription of Fort Denison

While the physical island of Fort Denison remained static as Sydney Harbour evolved in relation to wider socio-cultural and economic factors – its meaning and representation were in contrast – consistently renegotiated. In a globalising and modernising harbour city, Fort Denison still served a symbolic defensive role; presented as a site that protected Sydney's colonial heritage. The historical narratives at play regarding the site, reinforces how heritage is an ever-changing phenomenon – subject to different meanings and interpretations according to local and external factors. Indeed, the negative effects of urban development and the rise of Whitlam's new nationalism culminated in cementing Fort Denison's status as an integral feature of Sydney and Australia's heritage. Although the fortification had remained largely intact since its completion in 1862, the onset of the twenty-first century saw this change as commercial and tourist interests intersected, resulting in the commoditisation of an invaluable historic site.

Conclusion

‘Convict Island to Gourmet Getaway’¹

In 1995 the NPWS investigated the possibility of erecting a café or restaurant on Fort Denison to ‘complement’ public access and promote understanding of the site.² Over 1999–2000 this scheme came to fruition via the allocation of \$8 million by the NSW Government to ‘boost’ the state’s heritage across Sydney Harbour and elsewhere.³ While the NPWS maintained the establishment of a restaurant on the premises maintained the ‘integrity of Fort Denison as a nationally and internationally significant fortification’, it ultimately signalled the disintegration of the ‘historic fort’ narrative in favour of a tourist destination driven primarily by consumption. As a *Sydney Morning Herald* journalist attested, ‘with the 2000 Olympics on the way and the surge of tourists they are expected to bring, the last relative secrets of the harbour, its islands, are to be renovated, marketed and opened up to tourism’.⁴

The commoditisation of Fort Denison was not unique. As T. C. Chang affirms, cultural heritage sites are frequently appropriated and re-adapted by leisure and tourist industries.⁵ The motivations that spur this development are manifold, but can be attributed to the want of boosting capital and promoting an attractive image to tourists and locals alike.⁶ As a result of this commercialisation, heritage environments are transformed to not only provide an

¹ Paola Totaro, ‘Convict Island to Gourmet Getaway, Pinchgut Lives On’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 March 1998, p. 3.

² NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park*, p. 1.

³ Geraldine O’Brien, ‘To the Rescue: History Gets an \$8m Boost’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1996, p. 8.

⁴ David Passey, ‘Tourists to Storm our Fortress Islands’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 January 1997, p. 4.

⁵ C. Chang, ‘Heritage as a Tourism Commodity: Traversing the Tourist-Local Divide’, *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 18, no. 1 (1997), pp. 46-47.

⁶ Chang, ‘Heritage as a Tourism Commodity’, p. 47.

experience of the past, but also to offer a particular setting for entertainment or relaxation.⁷ In relation to Australia, market research has suggested that throughout the 1990s, a high demand for cultural tourism existed – as the number of domestic and international tourists rose substantially.⁸ The increase of sightseers to Fort Denison affirms this trend as in 1997 numbers reached 35,000 in comparison to the 13,000 that visited in 1985.⁹ The erection of a restaurant on Fort Denison therefore can be read as part of this larger movement of commoditising heritage.

By employing a cultural history approach, this thesis sought to resolve the lacuna pertaining to Fort Denison in historiographical works and explain how Sydney's relic of Empire transformed into a tourist destination where its history was rendered secondary. By exploring the pivotal question that animated this thesis, i.e., whether the island fort was a symbol of pride or folly from 1840-2000, it is clear that there is no definite answer. Indeed from the very outset of its reconfiguration in 1840 the island was fraught with ambiguity. While some viewed it as a beacon of hope in an increasing vulnerable maritime setting, others saw it as strategically inferior in comparison to the protection afforded by outer defence works. This perception continued to permeate throughout the nineteenth century as the advancement of military technology rendered its defence purpose obsolete. As its protective significance declined, the fort was frequently re-imbued with new meanings following the modernisation of the harbour city. While calls to demolish the fortification persisted at the beginning of the twentieth century – heritage ultimately prevailed, confirming the historical importance and place Fort Denison had in Sydney. This sentiment grew stronger as the century progressed

⁷ Gordon Waitt, 'Consuming Heritage: Perceived Historical Authenticity', *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 4 (October 2000), p. 836.

⁸ Waitt, 'Consuming Heritage', p. 839.

⁹ Passey, 'Tourists to Storm our Fortress Islands', p. 4; NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park: Fort Denison Conservation Plan* (Sydney, NSW: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Draft October 1995), p. 18.

and the fort was reinvigorated as an emblem of hope in securing Sydney's historic past against the enemy of modernity. However, the transformation of the island into a tourist destination, specifically in recent times – where culinary experience is more important than historical significance – ultimately symbolises how its historical meaning and significance remains contested.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Unpublished Primary Sources

Royal Australian Historical Society

Royal Australian Historical Societies Excursions, *Captain Watson's Excursion Book*, 1924-26 (4), Royal Australian Historical Society, Rare Books Collection, 906.91 ROY, pp. 156-63.

State Library of New South Wales

NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park: Fort Denison Conservation Plan* (Sydney, NSW: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Draft October 1995).

State Records of New South Wales

Gordon, Colonel to Colonial Secretary, 9 March 1847, State Records of New South Wales, in *Colonial Secretary Special Bundles 1840-55*, 4/1155.2, item 47/2072.

Gordon, Lieutenant Colonel James, Commanding Royal Engineer, 'Abstract Estimate of the Probable Expense of Erecting Works of Defence for the Protection of the Harbour of Port Jackson – To Accompany Commanding Royal Engineer's Report', 23 November 1848, State Records of New South Wales, in *Colonial Secretary Special Bundles 1840-55*, 4/1155.2, item 48/13384.

Gordon, Lieutenant Colonel James, Commanding Royal Engineer, 'Defences of Port Jackson, Report and Estimate on the Defences of Port Jackson', 23 November 1848,

State Records of New South Wales, in *Colonial Secretary Special Bundles 1840-55*, 4/1155.2, item 48/13384.

‘Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Defences of Port Jackson’, 19 July 1853, State Records of New South Wales, in *Colonial Secretary Special Bundles 1840-55*, 4/1155.2.

‘Report from the Select Committee on the Defences of Port Jackson,’ 1853, State Records of New South Wales, in *Colonial Secretary Special Bundles 1840-55*, 4/1155.2, p. 4.

Newspapers

Abbott, J. H. M., ‘The Isle of Mattewai: Story of Fort Denison’, *The World’s News*, 10 April 1926, p. 12.

A Briton, ‘Original Correspondence: The Defenceless State of the Colony of New South Wales’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 September 1843, p. 3.

A Citizen, ‘Fortify the Harbour!’, *The Australian*, 2 September 1845, p. 3.

‘Active Preparations for War in Port Jackson’, *The Sydney Herald*, 12 February 1841, p. 2.

Adiscombe, ‘Harbour Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April 1854, p. 2.

Addiscombe, ‘Harbour Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1854, p. 8.

‘Ancient History and Pinchgut’, *The Star*, 7 October 1909, p. 4.

‘Artillery and Morality’, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 13 February 1840, p. 2.

“‘Australia Facing the Dawn’”, *Evening News*, 3 January 1901, p. 3.

“‘Australia Facing the Dawn’: Project by the Minister for Works’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 November 1900, p. 9.

Baker, Henry, Commander Royal Navy, ‘Our Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 April 1854, p. 2.

Barlow, T. H., 'Commonwealth Celebrations', *Evening News*, 1 November 1900, p. 5.

Barney, Colonel George, 'Council Papers: Defences of Port Jackson', printed in *Empire*, 16 June 1854, p. 1.

Barrel, Tar., 'To the Editor of the Empire', *Empire*, 22 August 1859, p. 6.

Beatty, Bill, 'From the Gallows' Foot', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 March 1947, p. 9.

Bell-Smith, Eric, 'This is Sydney: Fort Denison', *The Sun*, 26 August 1951, p. 8.

Blue Ruin, 'Fortify the Harbour', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 September 1843, p. 4.

"Cavendo Tutus", 'The Defenceless State of Sydney, and a Defence Committee', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January 1862, p. 5.

'The Charm of Sydney Harbour', *Sydney Mail*, 10 December 1924, p. 26.

Civilian, 'To the Editor of the Herald', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 March 1862, p. 5.

Crisp, Christopher, 'Australia Facing the Dawn', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January 1901, p. 7.

Curacoa, 'Defenceless State of the Harbour', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 September 1843, p. 4.

Curacoa, 'Original Correspondence: Defenceless State of the Harbour', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 July 1844, p. 3.

Curacoa, 'Original Correspondence: Defenceless State of the Harbour', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 December 1844, p. 4.

'Defenceless State of the Harbour', *The Sentinel*, 22 October 1845, p. 2.

'The Defences', *Empire*, 30 January 1862, p. 3.

'Defences of the Colony', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 November 1844, p. 2.

'Defences of the Harbour', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 August 1855, p. 2.

'Defences of Port Jackson', *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 7 July 1877, p. 9.

- ‘Defences of Port Jackson: Supplement to the “Sydney Mail”’, *Sydney Mail*, 7 July 1877, n.p.
- ‘Domestic Intelligence’, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 3 December 1839, p. 2.
- ‘Domestic Intelligence’, *The Colonist*, 11 December 1839, p. 2.
- Drake, Tom, ‘Our Port Defences’, *Empire*, 6 March 1862, p. 5.
- Dunlop, E. W., ‘Fort Denison, The Story of “Pinchgut”’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 March 1932, p. 8.
- Earl, Kathleen, ‘Fort Denison’, *Sunday Herald*, 10 April 1949, p. 1.
- Elyard, W., ‘Fort Denison’, *New South Wales Government Gazette*, no. 149, 16 October 1857, p. 1964.
- Embrasure, ‘Fortify the Harbour’, *The Australian*, 30 August 1845, p. 3.
- ‘Facing the Dawn’, *Evening News*, 9 January 1901, p. 4.
- ‘Fate of Pinchgut, Will Remain As It Is: “Blowing Up” and “Garden Schemes”’, *The Star*, 7 October 1909, p. 3.
- ‘Fleet Week in the City: A Few Notes about the Preparation’, *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* (Grafton, NSW), 15 August 1908, p. 12.
- ‘Fort Denison, Historic Island: Early Day Fortifications’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May 1926, p. 11.
- ‘Fort Denison Never Convict Prison’, *Daily Mirror*, 3 August 1945, n.p.
- ‘Fort Denison: A Survival of the Early Days’, *Sydney Mail*, 27 November 1912, p. 10.
- Fortification, ‘Our National Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 March 1862, p. 2.
- ‘The Fortifications of Port Jackson’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 April 1856, p. 5.
- ‘From a Rambler’s Notebook’, *The Sun*, 22 April 1934, p. 2
- ‘From a Rambler’s Notebook’, *The Sun*, 12 July 1936, p. 2.

‘From Eyesore to Beauty Spot’, *The Star*, 30 September 1909, p. 4.

G.A.K., ‘A Place In History: Pinchgut Still Has Its Uses’, *Sunday Herald*, 7 December 1952, p. 15.

Geary, S., ‘My Visit to Fort Denison’, *The Sun*, 29 December 1946, p. 9.

G. K., ‘To the Editor of the Sydney Morning Herald’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 September 1857, p. 3.

‘Government Gazette, Oct. 14th’, *Australasian Chronicle*, 24 October 1840, p. 3.

‘The Great White Fleet Enters Port Jackson this Morning’, *Evening News*, 20 August 1908, p. 8.

‘The Harbour Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 May 1859, p. 9.

‘Harbour Islands Visited by Journalists’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 February 1932, p. 8.

Hargrave, Law., ‘Australia Facing the Dawn’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 January 1901, p. 6.

‘Haute Cuisine? Pinchgut’s the Scene’, newspaper unknown, 1 April 1992, p. 3, City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1159-0234.

H.B., ‘Fort Denison’, *The Star*, 28 September 1909, p. 3.

H. T., ‘Harbour Defences, by an Old Man-of-War’s Man’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1854, p. 3.

‘Imposing Spectacle: Unprecedented Crowds, Scenes of Widespread Enthusiasm’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 August 1908, p. 9.

‘The Islands of Port Jackson’, *Sydney Mail*, 25 March 1936, p. 28.

Jeffery, F. T., ‘The Commonwealth Memorial’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 January 1901, p. 7.

Johnson, G. C., ‘Monument on Pinchgut’, *Sunday Times*, 21 October 1900, p. 12.

Johnson, Geo. C., ‘A Permanent Federal Memorial’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 1901, p. 3.

Jones, G. Sydney, 'The Proposed Memorial of the Australian Commonwealth', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 November 1900, p. 5.

L., 'Dawes Battery', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 February 1925, p. 14.

'Legislative Assembly', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 December 1859, pp. 4-5, 8.

Legislative Council: Business Proceedings this Day', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 August 1855, p. 8.

'Legislative Council, Thursday', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 August 1855, pp. 2-4.

'Legislative Council, Tuesday, June 6, 1854', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 June 1854, pp. 4-5.

Lett, 'Our Defences', *Empire*, 15 December 1859, p. 3.

Look-Ahead, 'Defenceless State of Port Jackson and Coast', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 January 1862, p. 5.

McIvor, C., 'A Worthy Commonwealth Memorial', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 January 1901, p. 14.

M. D., 'Fort Denison: An Old Sydney Landmark', *The Australian Star*, 21 March 1908, p. 9.

Minute of the Proceedings of the Executive Council (28 February 1855) quoted in 'Legislative Council', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 August 1855, p. 4.

'Most Romantic of All', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 December 1937, p. 10.

'The Mother City to be Ablaze with Illuminations', *The Australian Star*, 11 August 1908, p. 7.

M.P., 'Fort Denison: An Islet with a History', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 March 1930, p. 13.

'Nearing Sydney, The Fleet 250 Miles Off: To-morrow's Programme', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 August 1908, p. 9.

Nicoll, C. B., 'Commonwealth Monuments', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 January 1901, p.

7.

(No title), *The Australian*, 3 December 1839, p. 2.

(No Title), *The Australian*, 10 March 1840, p. 2.

(No Title), *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 8 February 1862, p. 2.

(No Title), *Empire*, 15 July 1859, p. 4.

(No Title), *Empire*, 7 March 1862, p. 4.

(No Title), *Freeman's Journal*, 8 March 1862, p. 4.

(No Title), *Freeman's Journal*, 26 February 1862, p. 4.

(No Title), *The Sentinel*, 26 February 1845, p. 2.

(No Title), *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 13 September 1831, p. 2.

(No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 1851, p. 3.

(No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 March 1855, p. 4.

(No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 December 1856, p. 5.

(No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 1859, p. 6.

(No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 1859, p. 4.

(No Title), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 January 1862, p. 4.

O'Brien, Geraldine, 'To the Rescue: History Gets an \$8m Boost', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1996, p. 8.

'Old Fort Open to Public', *The Sun*, 12 January 1936, p. 13.

'Old "Pinchgut": A Historic Landmark', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 1931, p. 5.

O'Sullivan, E. W., 'A National Monument', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1905, p. 13

'Our Defence Against Invasion', *Empire*, 30 March 1854, p. 2.

'Our Defences', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 1 April 1854, pp. 1-2.

'Our Harbour Defences', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 December 1859, p. 8.

‘Parliamentary Paper: Harbour Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 September 1863, p. 8.

‘Parliamentary Papers: Harbour Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 June 1865, p. 5.

Passey, David, ‘Tourists to Storm our Fortress Islands’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 January 1997, p. 4.

Penelope, ‘Our Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 April 1854, p. 5.

‘A Permanent Federal Memorial’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1900, p. 6.

Pinchguttina, ‘A Voice from Pinchgut’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1854, p. 5.

P. J., ‘To the Editor of the Empire’, *Empire*, 22 June 1854, p. 1.

Polichinelle, ‘Men, Manners, and Matters’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 16 February 1901, p. 20.

‘Present Difficulties’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 April 1854, p. 4.

‘Probabilities of War’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 1862, p. 7.

‘Public Meeting’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1854, pp. 4-5.

‘Public Meeting To-Day’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 May 1854, p. 4.

‘Public Works’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 April 1857, p. 6.

‘Quay Regains its Open Spaces’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 December 1987, p. 6.

Radley, William, ‘To the Editor of the Herald’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 January 1862, p. 2.

Reattie, Ernest H., ‘To the Editor of the Herald’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 November 1900, p. 7.

Rienzi, ‘Our Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 1854, p. 2.

Salmon, Mary, ‘Fort Denison, Known as “Pinchgut”: An Historic Landmark’, *Evening News*, 18 January 1907, p. 2.

‘Saluting the Port: The Connecticut’s Broadships’, *Australian Star*, 20 August 1908, p. 10.

Seumait, ‘Our Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 April 1854, p. 2.

Simpson, B., ‘A Federal Memorial’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January 1901, p. 7.

- ‘State of Sydney Harbour’, *The Examiner*, 18 October 1845, p. 82.
- ‘Shipping Intelligence: Arrivals’, *Australasian Chronicle*, 3 December 1839, p. 4.
- Smith, ‘The Defences’, *Empire*, 30 January 1862, p. 3.
- Squeeze-Stomach, ‘Fort Denison’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 September 1857, p. 2.
- Suggest, ‘Defenceless State of Sydney’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 January 1862, p. 3.
- ‘Sydney Grows Up, Old Landmarks Go’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 July 1937, p. 10.
- Thomson, E. Dean, ‘Colonial Secretary’s Office, Sydney, October 13, 1840: Pinchgut Island’, *Sydney Monitor and Commercial Advertiser*, 24 October 1840, p. 3.
- Thursday, August 9, 1855’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August 1855, p. 4.
- Totaro, Paola ‘Convict Island to Gourmet Getaway, Pinchgut Lives On’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 March 1998, p. 3.
- ‘Treasure Island: A Backwater of Romance’, *Daily Telegraph*, 29 December 1921, n.p.
- Triton, ‘Our Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 April 1854, p. 5.
- Trollope, Gordon, ‘Fort Denison: A Popular Fallacy’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 November 1924, p. 13.
- Vereka, ‘The Russians Cannot Come’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 August 1855, p. 2.
- Very Defenceless, ‘Our Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 April 1854, p. 3.
- ‘A Voice’, *Empire*, 7 March 1855, p. 9.
- W. A. D., ‘Defenceless State of Sydney’, *Empire*, 23 January 1854, p. 2.
- ‘War and Sydney Defences’, *Empire*, 28 March 1854, p. 2.
- W. M., ‘Our Defences’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 April 1854, p. 2.
- Zillmann, Dr, ‘A Commonwealth Cantata’, *The Newsletter: An Australian Paper for Australian People*, 5 January 1901, p. 12.

Articles and Book Chapters

- Horne, Donald, ‘The New Nationalism?’, *The Bulletin* 5 (October 1968), pp. 36-38.

Official Documents and Reports

Historical Records of Australia

Barney, Major to Inspector-General of Fortifications (1839), quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XX (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 599.

Barney, Major to Sir George Gipps (1840), quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XXI, (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 53.

Gipps, Sir George to Lord John Russell (1840) quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XXI (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), pp. 52-53.

Russell, Lord John to Sir George Gipps (1840) quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XX (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 598.

Stanley, Lord to Sir George Gipps (1842), quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XXII, (Sydney Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 327.

Vaughan Evans Library, Australian National Maritime Museum

Report from the Select Committee on Harbour Defences, Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence and Appendix (Sydney: Government Printer, 1865).

Trevelyan, Mr C. E. to Under Secretary Stephen (1840) quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XX (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 601.

Under Secretary to Mr R. Byham (1840) quoted in Frederick Watson, ed., *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. XX (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1924), p. 601.

Books and Pamphlets

Berncastle, Dr., *The Defenceless State of Sydney: How it Can be Defended and How it Can be Taken* (Sydney: C. T. Sandon, 1865).

Collins, David, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country, Volume 1* (1798), ed., Brian H. Fletcher (Sydney: Reed in association with the Royal Historical Society, Australian ed., 1975).

Collins, David, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, with Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country, Volume 2* (1802), ed., Brian H. Fletcher (Sydney: Reed in association with the Royal Historical Society, Australian ed., 1975).

Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate, *Report of the National Estate: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate* (Canberra: Australia Government Publishing Service, 1974).

Department of Tourism New South Wales, *Fort Denison (Pinchgut)* (Sydney: N.S.W. Government Tourist Bureau, n.d.), State Library of New South Wales, Collection of Information Brochures, Tourist Guides and Accommodation Listings for New South Wales, 919.44.

Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, *Historic Sydney: Where to Go – What to See* (N.S.W.: Department of Tourism in association with the National Trust of Australia, c. 1980s), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.01 SYD.

- Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company, *Australia's Travel and Tourist Industry, 1965* (Sydney: Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company and Stanton Robbins & Co., Inc., 1966).
- The Heritage of Australia: The Illustrated Register of the National Estate* (South Melbourne: Macmillan of Australia in association with the Australian Heritage Commission, 1981).
- Holt, Joseph, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt, General of the Irish Rebels, in 1798, edited from his Original Manuscript, in the possession of Sir William Betham . . .*, ed., T. Crofton Croker (London: Stewart and Murray).
- Lang, John Dunmore, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, Vol. II, third edition 1852).
- Lang, John Dunmore, *How to Defend the Colony: Being the Substance of a Speech Delivered in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, on Tuesday, 20th December, 1859* (Sydney: John L. Sherriff, 1860).
- Mann, David Dickinson, *The Present Picture of New South Wales (1775?)* (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, Scholarly Electronic Text and Image Service, 2003).
- Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., *Discover the Treasure Islands of Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., n.d.), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234.
- The National Trust of Australia (New South Wales), *Register of Historic Buildings, 1968: With Additions to 31st December, 1968* (Sydney: National Trust, 1968).
- NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Discovery Tour: Sydney's Historic Forts* (Sydney: NPWS, 1992), City of Sydney Archives, Information File, 1939-98, 1159-0234.
- NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Visitor Guide: Fort Denison* (Hurstville, N.S.W.: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, n.d.), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.1 FOR.

- Ruhen, Olaf (author) and Cedric Emanuel (illustrations), *Historic Buildings of Sydney Sketchbook* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1972).
- Shaw, A. B., *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., 1937), Royal Australian Historical Society, Manuscript Collection, Red M154.
- Shaw, A. B., *Fort Denison, Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Maritime Services Board of N.S.W., n.d.), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.1 FOR.
- Sydney Ferries Limited, *Sydney Harbour Panorama: An Illustrated Survey of Points of Scenic and Historic Interest observed during the Tourist Harbour Trips* (Sydney: Sydney Ferries Limited), Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.01 SYD.
- Tourist Bureau New South Wales, *Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: N.S.W. Government Tourist Bureau, n.d.), State Library of New South Wales, Collection of Information Brochures, Tourist Guides and Accommodation Listings for New South Wales, 919.44.
- Urban Transit Authority of NSW, *Discovering Sydney Harbour by Ferry: A comprehensive, easy to follow map of Sydney Harbour and Middle Harbour showing ferry routes, historical and other points of interest* (NSW: Urban Transit Authority, n.d.) Royal Australian Historical Society, Book Collection, VF 991.01 SYD.
- Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition: During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, (Whittaker, vol. 1, 1845).
- Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition: During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, (Lea and Blanchard, vol. 2, 1845).

Women's Committee of the National Trust of Australia (N.S.W.), *"No Time to Spare!": An Exhibition of the Newly Released "A" List of Buildings* (Sydney: National Trust of Australia, 1962).

Artworks/Films

Latham, Janece, *The Sydney Scene* (Avalon Beach, N.S.W.: J. Latham, 1972).

Ross, Herbert, 'Proposed Monument in Sydney Harbour: Australia Facing the Dawn', 1925, Mitchell Library, XV1/Mon/1.

Siege of Pinchgut (Sydney: Harry Watt, 1959), film.

Online Sources

Fort Denison, *Sunday Sunset Sessions at Fort Denison*, 2016, National Parks and Wildlife Service, <<http://www.fortdenison.com.au/sunday-sunset-sessions.html>>, viewed 10 September 2016.

Heritage Council of New South Wales, *Heritage Act 1977: Criteria for Listing on the State Heritage Register*, last updated 6 September 2013, NSW Government, <<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/heritagebranch/heritage/listings/criteria.pdf>>, viewed 15 August 2016.

NSW Government Office of Environment & Heritage, *Fort Denison*, updated 13 November 2015, NSW Government, <<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5045472>>, viewed 15 August 2016.

NSW Government Office of Environment & Heritage, *What is the State Heritage Register?* Last updated 6 September 2013, NSW Government, <<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/Heritage/listings/stateheritageregister.htm>>, viewed 15 August 2016.

Office of Environment & Heritage, NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service, *Plan of Management: Sydney Harbour National Park 2012*, created 2012, NSW Government, <<http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/planmanagement/final/20120757SydneyHarbourNPFinal.pdf>>, viewed 10 September 2016.

Red Balloon, *Australian Cheese and Wine Tasting on Fort Denison*, 2016, Red Balloon, <<https://www.redballoon.com.au/product/gourmet-gifts/food-tasting/cheese-tasting-on-fort-denison>>, viewed 10 September 2016.

Secondary Sources:

Books

Anderson, Benedict R. O’G., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, revised edition, 2006).

Ashton, Paul, *The Accidental City: Planning Sydney since 1788* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1993).

Berman, Marshall, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1988).

Boyce, Dean, *Invasion: Colonial Sydney’s Fears of Attacks* (Waverley: One Off Press, 2012).

Brookes, Jean Ingram, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1941).

Burgmann, Meredith and Verity Burgmann, *Green Bans, Red Union: Environmental Activism and the New South Wales Builders Labourers’ Federation* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1998).

Burke, Peter, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity, second edition, 2008).

- Clark, Mary Shelley and Jack Clark, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour* (East Roseville, N.S.W.: Simon & Schuster, 2000).
- Clements, W. H., *Towers of Strength: Martello Towers Worldwide* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword, 1998).
- Clune, Frank, *Saga of Sydney: The Birth, Growth and Maturity of the Mother City of Australia* (Sydney: Halstead Press, subscribers' edition, 1961).
- Connell, John, ed., *Sydney: The Emergence of a World City* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Davies, Simon, *The Islands of Sydney Harbour* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1984).
- Doak, Frank and Jeff Isaacs, *Australian Defence Heritage: The Buildings, Establishments and Sites of our Military History that have become part of the National Estate* (Broadway, NSW: Fairfax Library, 1988).
- Fitzgerald, Shirley, *Sydney: A Story of a City* (Sydney: City of Sydney, 1999).
- Garvey, Nathan, *The Celebrated George Barrington: A Spurious Author; the Book Trade, and Botany Bay* (Potts Point: Hordern House, 2008).
- Grey, Jeffrey, *A Military History of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, third edition, 2008).
- Hall, Stuart, 'The Work of Representation', in Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, in association with The Open University, 1997), pp. 1-74.
- Henningham, Stephen, *France and the South Pacific: A Contemporary History* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992).
- Hill, David, *The Gold Rush: The Fever that Forever Changed Australia* (North Sydney: William Heinemann, 2011).

- Hoskins, Ian, *Sydney Harbour: A History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009).
- Lang, John Dunmore, *The Prospect for Australia in the Event of a War with France* (1858) quoted in Emphasis added, Dean Boyce, *Invasion: Colonial Sydney's Fears of Attack* (Waverley, N.S.W.: One Off Press, 2012), p. 64.
- Matthews, Jill Julius, *Dance Hall & Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity* (Sydney: Currency Press, 2005), p. 25.
- Millar, T.B., *Australia's Defence* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, second edition, 1969).
- Millar, T. B., *Australia in Peace and War: External Relations since 1788* (Botany, N.S.W.: Australian National University Press, second edition, 1991).
- Molly, Bruce, *Before the Interval: Australian Mythology and Feature Films, 1930-1960* (St. Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1990).
- NSW, Defences of Port Jackson (Minutes of Proceedings of the Executive Council) Governor General's Minute of 10th February 1855, quoted in Peter Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts: The Fixed Defences of Sydney Harbour 1788-1963* (Loftus, N.S.W.: Australian Military History Publications, 2005), pp. 55-56.
- Oppenheim, Peter, *The Fragile Forts: The Fixed Defences of Sydney Harbour 1788-1963* (Loftus, N.S.W.: Australian Military History Publications, 2005).
- Proudfoot, Peter, *Seaport Sydney: The Making of the City Landscape* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1996).
- Reeves, Andrew (with Iain McCalman and Alexander Cook), eds., *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press).

- Reid, Ralph and Amy Reid, *Into History: A Guide to Historical, Genealogical, Family History and Heritage Societies, Groups and Organisations in Australia* (North Ryde, NSW: R.S. and A.F. Reid, third edition, 1992).
- Rickard, Suzanne, *George Barrington's Voyage to Botany Bay: Retelling a Convict's Travel Narrative of the 1790s* (London; New York: Leicester University Press, 2001).
- Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir John Young (1861), quoted in Peter Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts: The Fixed Defences of Sydney Harbour 1788-1963* (Loftus, N.S.W.: Australian Military History Publications, 2005), p. 71.
- Serle, Geoffrey, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1963).
- Smith, Anthony D., *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (New Jersey; United States: John Wiley & Sons, second edition, 2013).
- Spearritt, Peter, *Sydney since the Twenties* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1978).
- Stephensen, P. R., *The History and Description of Sydney Harbour* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1966).
- Thompson, Roger C., *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era, 1820-1920* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1980).
- The Times*, 25th June 1846 quoted in Peter Oppenheim, *The Fragile Forts: The Fixed Defences of Sydney Harbour 1788-1963* (Loftus, N.S.W.: Australian Military History Publications, 2005), p. 36.
- Turnbull, Lucy Hughes, *Sydney: Biography of a City* (Milsons Point: Random House, 1999).
- Ward, Stuart, *Australia and the British Embrace: The Demise of the Imperial Idea* (Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2001).
- White, Richard (with Sarah-Jane Ballard, Ingrid Brown, Meredith Lake, Patricia Leehy and Lila Oldmeadow), *On Holidays: A History of Getting Away in Australia* (North Melbourne, Victoria: Pluto Press, 2005).

Whitwell, Greg, *Making the Market: The Rise of Consumer Society* (Fitzroy, Victoria: McPhee Gribble, 1989).

Articles and Book Chapters

Abu-Khafajah, Shatha, 'Meaning-Making and Cultural Heritage in Jordan: The Local Community, the Contexts and the Archaeological Sites in Khreibt Al-Suq', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010), pp. 129-39.

Chang, T.C., 'Heritage as a Tourism Commodity: Traversing the Tourist-Local Divide', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 18, no. 1 (1997), pp. 46-68.

Curran, James, 'The "Thin Dividing Line": Prime Ministers and the Problem of Australian Nationalism, 1972-1996', *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 48, no. 4 (December 2002), pp. 469-86.

Davison, Graeme, 'A Brief History of the Australian Heritage Movement', in Graeme Davison and Chris McConville, eds., *A Heritage Handbook* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), pp. 14-27.

Davison, Graeme, 'The Meanings of "Heritage"', in Graeme Davison and Chris McConville, eds., *A Heritage Handbook* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), pp. 1-13.

Doig, Jack, 'New Nationalism in Australia and New Zealand: The Construction of National Identities by Two Labo(u)r Governments in the Early 1970s', *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 59, no. 4 (December 2013), pp. 559-75.

Fletcher, Brian H., 'The Royal Australian Historical Society and the Writing of Australian History', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 87, no. 1 (2001) pp. 1-6.

Freestone, Robert, 'Preserving Sydney's Built Heritage in the Early Twentieth Century', *Australian Historical Studies* 29, no. 112 (1999), pp. 44-60.

Freestone, Robert & Sharon Veale, 'Sydney, 1901: Federation, National Identity and the Arches of Commemoration', *National Identities* 6, no. 3 (2004), pp. 215-31.

- Garvey, Nathan, “‘Under a Deceptious Mask’: H. D. Symonds and the Publication of Barrington’s Voyage to New South Wales’, *Bulletin* (Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand) 28, no. 1-2 (2004), pp. 62-72.
- Gibbons, Robert, ‘Improving Sydney 1908-1909, in Jill Roe, ed., *Twentieth Century Sydney: Studies in Urban & Social History* (Hale & Iremonger in association with the Sydney History Group, 1980), pp. 120-33.
- Goodman, David, ‘The Gold Rushes of the 1850s’, in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintye, eds., *The Cambridge History of Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 170-88.
- Greenwood, Justine, ‘The 1908 Visit of the Great White Fleet: Displaying Modern Sydney’, *History Australia* 5, no. 3 (2008), pp. 78.1-16.
- Grist, Penelope, ‘Imagining Battleships: The Great White Fleet in Sydney 1908-2008’, *Journal of Australian Naval History* 5, no. 1 (March 2008), pp. 5-36.
- Holmes, Katie, “‘In Spite of it All, the Garden still Stands’”: Gardens, Landscape and Cultural History’, in Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White, eds., *Cultural History in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), pp. 172-85.
- Horne, Donald, ‘National Identity in the Period of the “New Nationalism”’, in Australian Studies Centre Seminar Papers, *Nationalism and Class in Australia, 1920-1980* (Brisbane: Australian Studies Centre, University of Queensland, 1982), pp. 61-67.
- Ireland, Tracy, ‘Giving Value to the Australian Historic Past: Historical Archaeology, Heritage and Nationalism’, *Australian Historical Archaeology* 20 (2002), pp. 15-25.
- Labor Daily*, 24 June 1926, quoted in Robert Freestone, ‘Preserving Sydney’s Built Heritage in the Early Twentieth Century’, *Australian Historical Studies* 29, no. 112 (1999), p. 50.

- Lack, Clem Llewellyn, 'Russian Ambitions in the Pacific: Australian War Scares of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 8, no. 3 (1968), pp. 432-59.
- Lambert, Andrew, 'Australia, the Trent Crisis of 1861 and the Strategy of Imperial Defence', in David Stevens and John Reeve, eds., *Southern Trident: Strategy, History and the Rise of Australian Naval Power* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2001), pp. 99-118.
- Lautenschläger, Karl, 'Technology and the Evolution of Naval Warfare', *International Security* 8, no. 2 (Fall 1983), pp. 3-51.
- Lavett, L., John, 'Fort Denison, Sydney', *The Mariner's Mirror* 39, no. 2, (May, 1953), pp. 84-102.
- Maddock, Rodney, 'The Long Boom 1940-1970', in Rodney Maddock and Ian W. McLean, eds., *The Australian Economy in the Long Run* (Cambridge; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 79-105.
- Maddock, Rodney and Ian McLean, 'Supply-Side Shocks: The Case of Australian Gold', *Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 4 (1984), pp. 1047-67.
- McDonald, Terry, "'It is Impossible for His Majesty's Government to Withdraw from these Dominions": Britain and the Defence of Canada, 1813 to 1834', *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'Études Canadiennes* 39, no. 3 (Fall 2005), pp. 40-59.
- Millar, T. B., 'The Defense of Australia', *Daedalus* 114, no. 1 (Winter 1985), pp. 259-79.
- O'Callaghan Judith and Paul Hogben, 'Leisure in Sydney During 'The Long Boom'', in Paul Hogben and Judith O'Callaghan, eds., *Leisure Space: The Transformation of Sydney, 1945-1970* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2014), pp. 15-29.
- O'Keefe, Tadhg, 'Landscape and Memory: Historiography, Theory, Methodology', in Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan, eds., *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New*

- Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2007), pp. 3-18.
- O'Neill, Phillip M., and Pauline McGuirk, 'Reconfiguring the CBD: Work and Discourses of Design in Sydney's Office Space', *Urban Studies* 40, no. 9 (2003), pp. 1751-67.
- Oppenheim, P. T., 'The Paper Fleet or the Ships that Never Were. Part One: 1853 to 1870', *The Great Circle* 11, no. 2 (1989), pp. 52-64.
- Potter, Simon J., 'Australia and the British Empire: Expectations and Realities', in Deborah Gare & David Ritter, eds., *Making Australian History: Perspectives on the Past since 1788* (South Melbourne, Victoria: Thomson Learning Australia, 1st ed., 2008), pp. 46-54.
- Rickard, Suzanne 'Whose Voice Is It Anyway?: The Eighteenth Century Experience of George Barrington', in Rosamund Dalziell, ed., *Selves Crossing Cultures: Autobiography and Globalisation* (Kew: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2002), pp. 28-36.
- Rosenthal, Charles, *The Development of Architecture in N.S.W.* (1925) quoted in Robert Freestone, 'Preserving Sydney's Built Heritage in the Early Twentieth Century', *Australian Historical Studies* 29, no. 112 (1999), p. 47.
- Smith, Laurajane, 'Theorising Museum and Heritage Visiting', in Andrea Witcomb and Kylie Message, eds., *Museum Theory* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), pp. 459-84.
- Tull, Malcolm, 'The Development of Port Administration at Sydney, 1901 to 1936', *The Great Circle* 4, no. 2 (October 1982), pp. 92-104.
- Waitt, Gordon, 'Consuming Heritage: Perceived Historical Authenticity', *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 4 (October 2000), pp. 835-62.

Walsh, Kevin, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (London; New York: Routledge 1992).

Ward, Stuart, 'Security: Defending Australia's Empire', in Deryck Schreuder and Stuart Ward, eds., *Australia's Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 232-58.

Waterton, Emma, 'Branding the Past: The Visual Imagery of England's Heritage', in Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, eds., *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 155-72.

Webber, Peter, 'The Nature of the City', in G. P. Webber, ed., *The Design of Sydney: Three Decades of Change in the City Centre* (Sydney: Law Book, 1988), pp. 1-30.

Theses and Unpublished Sources

Jenkins, Sascha, *Our Harbour: A Cultural History of Sydney Harbour, 1880-1938* (PhD thesis, Department of History: University of Sydney, 2002).

Barney, George to Inspector General of Fortifications (1836), quoted in James Semple Kerr, *Fort Denison: An Investigation for the Maritime Services Board of NSW* (Sydney, N.S.W.: National Trust, 1986), p. 8.

Creamer, Howard, *Modern Aboriginal Culture and its Relation to Aboriginal Sites in New South Wales* (1986), quoted in NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, *Sydney Harbour National Park: Fort Denison Conservation Plan* (Sydney, NSW: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Draft October 1995), p. 17.

Kerr, James Semple, *Fort Denison: An Investigation for the Maritime Services Board of NSW* (Sydney, N.S.W.: National Trust, 1986).

Sydney Gazette, 13 September 1834, p. 2, quoted in James Semple Kerr, *Fort Denison: An Investigation for the Maritime Services Board of NSW* (Sydney, N.S.W.: National Trust, 1986), p. 7.

Online Sources

Ashton, Paul, *East Circular Quay*, 2008, Dictionary of Sydney,

<http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/east_circular_quay>, viewed 3 August 2016.

Boyce, Dean, *Defending Colonial Sydney*, 2008, Dictionary of Sydney,

<http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/defending_colonial_sydney#page=all&ref=note9>, viewed 20 May 2016.

Burgmann, Meredith and Verity Burgmann, *Green Bans Movement*, Dictionary of Sydney,

2011, <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/green_bans_movement>, viewed 15 August 2016.

Daniel Chandler and Rod Munday, 'Modernity', 2016, A Dictionary of Media and Communication, Oxford University Press,

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780191800986.001.0001/acref-9780191800986-e-1767>>, viewed 3 August 2016.

Ellmoos, Laila, *Fort Denison*, 2008, Dictionary of Sydney,

<http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/fort_denison>, viewed 15 January 2016.

Hoskins, Ian, *Sydney Harbour: A Cultural Landscape*, 2013, Dictionary of Sydney,

<http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/sydney_harbour_a_cultural_landscape>, viewed 3 August 2016.

Park, Margaret, *Milsons Point*, 2008, Dictionary of Sydney,

<http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/milsons_point>, viewed 3 August 2016.

University of New England, *Grey Literature*, 2016, learning module by the University of New

England, <<https://www.une.edu.au/library/support/eskills-plus/research-skills/grey-literature>>, viewed 10 September 2016.