Chapter Title: Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay, New South Wales, Australia Sources and uncertainties

Chapter Author(s): VAL ATTENBROW

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CHAPTER 1

Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay, New South Wales, Australia
### Sources and uncertainties

VAL ATTENBROW

Introduction

Around Sydney Harbour (Port Jackson[1]) and Botany Bay and the intervening coastline (an area I refer to as coastal Sydney), Aboriginal names were recorded for over 100 places, though names can be linked with any certainty to only 89 locations. For the other names the specific locations to which they belong are presently unknown or unresolved. Some names, such as Bondi, Parramatta and Woolloomooloo, were adopted by the colonists and are still used today, but for many other locations the placenames given by the British colonists persisted.

The lists of Aboriginal placenames included in this paper (Tables 1.1 and 1.2, Figures 1.1 and 1.2) were compiled as part of my research into the Aboriginal occupation of the Sydney region (Attenbrow 2002[2]). These placenames relate to specific locations, i.e. geographical features, and are not the names of clan or language group territories. They were originally recorded or first reported by a number of people over a period of 123 years – from 1788 to 1911. Because of this long history and the contexts of recording, I encountered several problems and issues in compiling the list of placenames; they concerned: ensuring the names had an Aboriginal origin, which involved identifying when and by whom they were first reported; identifying clearly an association between a placename and a specific location; and how the names should be written. However, before discussing these issues, the historical context in which the names were recorded is briefly outlined.

Figure 1.1: Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay from historical sources. See Table 1.1 for key to placenames and sources.
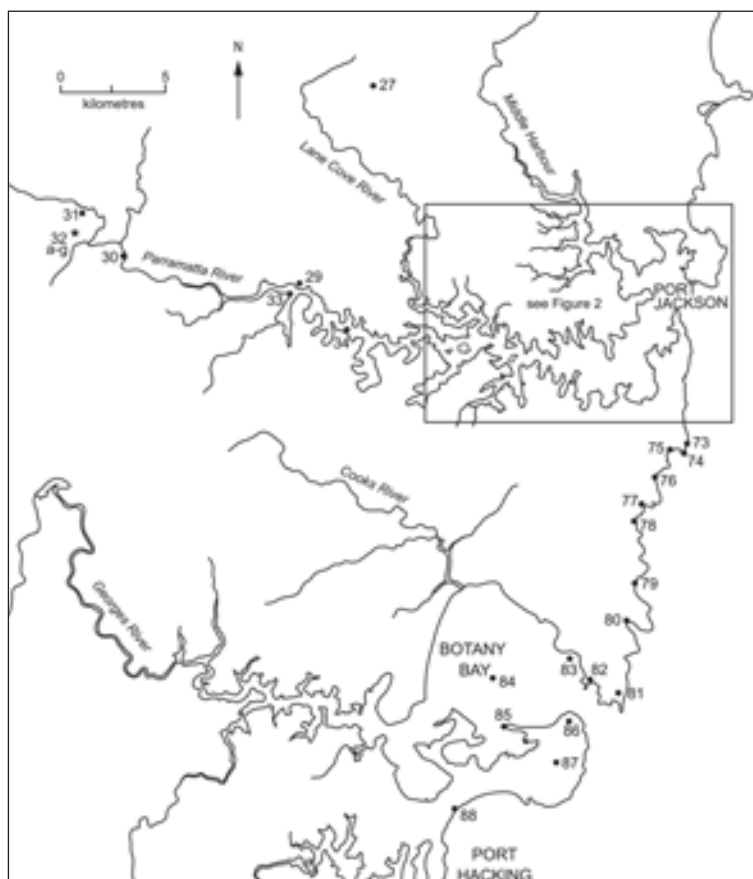
A brief historical background

In January 1788 the British First Fleet landed on Australia's south-eastern coast. Captain Arthur Phillip was to establish a penal colony, and on board the 11 ships were over 1000 people – marines, officers and other officials, as well as convicts (Phillip 1790a[1892]: 298). The first settlement was established in Port Jackson, in a small bay they called Sydney Cove. The initial reactions of the local Aboriginal people to the British were mixed – sometimes openly antagonistic with shouting and angry gesticulations and at other times curiously friendly and showing them to freshwater (Bradley 1786-1792[1969]: 59; Tench 1789: 53-54[1979]: 35]). At first the local inhabitants[3] came in and looked around the colonists' camp but then they almost totally avoided the area.

Figure 1.2: Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson from historical sources. See Table 1.1 for key to placenames and sources.
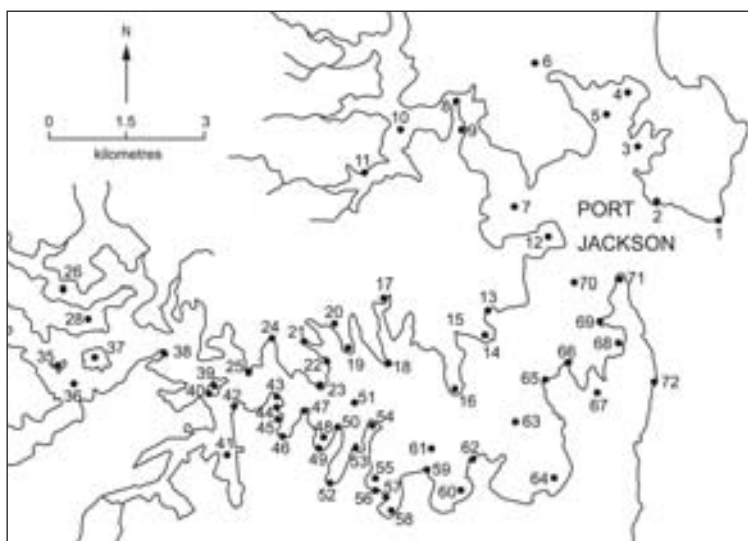

Phillip had hoped that the local inhabitants would freely visit the colonists' settlement, or that a family would reside with them so they could learn the local language, enter into a dialogue and learn more about their way of life. However, this situation, in which meaningful dialogue was absent, continued for almost two years (Phillip 1790b[1892: 308]; Tench 1789: 136[1979: 73]). As a last resort, a young man called Arabanoo was captured in December 1788 and brought to live in Sydney town (Phillip 1790b[1892: 308]). However, Arabanoo died in April 1789 during an epidemic thought to be smallpox. During the epidemic, a young boy and girl, Nanbaree and Booroong (Arbaroo), were brought into the town (White 1790[1962: 19]). Both survived the disease and acted as informants and communicators between the two groups for some time (Collins 1798[1975: 112]). The epidemic, however, had a disastrous impact on the local population – in just over a year, well over half the original inhabitants of coastal Sydney were estimated to have died (Phillip 1790b[1892: 308]).

In November 1789, Phillip captured two men Colbee and Bennelong (Phillip 1790a[1892: 300]), though both escaped shortly afterwards. Despite these and subsequent events, a strong and lasting association developed between both men and the colonists. The subsequent series of events, during which Phillip was speared in September 1790, was the major turning point in relationships between colonists and local inhabitants, and also marked the end of the local inhabitants' independence and self-reliance (Hunter 1793[1968]: 204-205).

In the early 1790s, the colony expanded rapidly – demographically and geographically. The occupied lands no longer provided a viable subsistence base for the surviving Aboriginal population who could not continue a traditional way of life in the areas settled by the British. As a result of being dispossessed from their lands, many people left the coastal Sydney area. By 1800, few of the original inhabitants of Sydney Harbour lived around its shores. However, as relatively peaceful relations came to exist between the colonists and those who remained, people from neighbouring regions came to live in Sydney town and its associated settlements. These included Bungaree and his family who came from Broken Bay. People who now camped together came from much wider and/ or different geographical areas than in pre-colonial times and group composition, in terms of the clans and language groups that people came from, was quite different. Camps existed in many different places in the Sydney region until the early 1900s – including the foreshores of Sydney Harbour, Botany Bay and the intervening coastline.

Figure 1.3: Port Jackson – Botany Bay: Number of Aboriginal placenames recorded in each period.
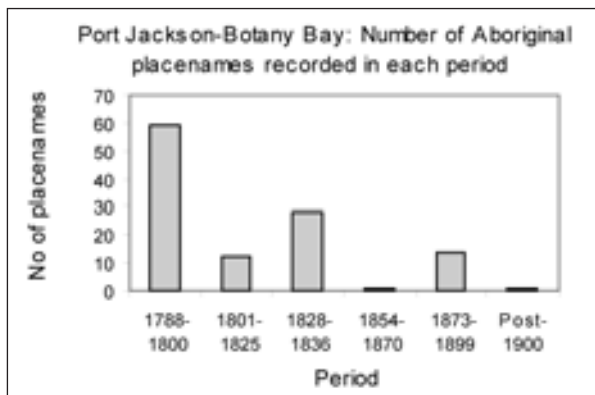
The Aboriginal placenames

In the 18th and 19th centuries, numerous Aboriginal placenames were recorded for locations in coastal Sydney. Eighty-nine locations are listed in Table 1.1 and shown on Figures 1.1 and 1.2, but there are many more recorded placenames than locations listed as some locations have more than one name recorded for them. Insufficient information is available in the historical documents which I consulted for me to definitely associate 18 placenames with specific locations and these are not included in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 and Table 1.1, but are listed separately in Table 1.2.

Some Aboriginal placenames, such as Woolloomooloo, Bondi, Coogee, Maroubra, Parramatta and Toongabbie, continued in use, whilst for other locations a placename given by the British colonists has persisted and their Aboriginal name has remained known to only a few local residents, historians, linguists and other researchers. However, in 2005, based on information in Tables 1.1 and 1.2, the NSW Geographical Names Board Dual Naming Project re-introduced Aboriginal placenames to several locations in Port Jackson which since British colonisation had been known only by a British placename (Attenbrow 2006; Jopson 2003; Skelsey 2004; *NSW Government Gazette* no. 3, 7 January 2005: 40-41).

The Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay were recorded at different times over a period of 123 years by a number of people. Except for one placename, the earliest references I found for each of the Aboriginal placenames were in documents dating from 1788 to 1899. After 1899, although numerous lists of placenames were published, only one additional placename is reported for the Port Jackson–Botany Bay area. The documentary sources in which the Aboriginal placenames have been found are discussed below, as well as some of the problems and uncertainties that exist because of their history of recording. All reported placenames have been written as they appear in the sources with their diacritics and no attempt has been made to identify how they should have been written.

Documentary sources

First Fleet officers began recording Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay in 1788 – the first year of British colonisation. The recording of other placenames continued, but it appears that the first documented reporting or acknowledgment of an Aboriginal placename for a specific location occurred principally in three periods: from 1788 to 1800, 1828 to 1836, and 1873 to 1899 (Table 1.3, Figure 1.3). However, it should be noted that the date of the first identified written record of a placename is unlikely to be the time when the placename first came into use.

1788–1800: First Fleet records

Just over half the placenames (60) were recorded initially by officers of the First Fleet between 1788 and 1800 during various interactions with the local inhabitants (Table 1.3). Three of the earliest manuscripts that include Aboriginal placenames were written between 1790 and 1792. They contain much information about the Sydney language including extensive vocabularies, an orthography, comments about grammar with examples of short sentences,

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and people's names as well as placenames (Figures 1.4 to 1.6). Two of these manuscripts were compiled by Second Lieutenant William Dawes (1790, 1790-1791[4]). His 1790 manuscript also has a rough sketch map on the inside front cover with Aboriginal placenames for several locations near Sydney Cove (Keith Smith in Jopson 2002). The third document (Vocabulary… c.1790-1792) contains word-lists which have been attributed to Governor Arthur Phillip, Captain David Collins and Captain John Hunter (Troy 1993: 45; 1994a: 14-15). Most of the placenames recorded in the period 1788–1800 come from this third document.

Some of the placenames in these three documents are mentioned in other reports, letters and publications of the time: David Collins (1798[1975], 1802[1971]), Governor Arthur Phillip (1790b[1892], 1792[1892], in Hunter 1793[1968]), Daniel Southwell (1788[1893]) and Watkin Tench (1793[1979]). However, Phillip's report of 2 October 1792 and Southwell's letter of 12 July 1788 add two further placenames – 'Toon-gab-be' west of Parramatta, and 'Woo-la-ra' for the area around 'The Look-out' on South Head, respectively. Although most of the Aboriginal placenames are reported in word-lists (e.g. Dawes 1790, 1790-1791; Vocabulary … c.1790-1792) or included in descriptions of events of the time (e.g. Collins 1798[1975]; Tench 1793[1979]), a few (Parramatta, Toongabbe, Wooloo Mooloo) were marked on maps as well (e.g. Grimes 1796; Hunter 1796, 1798). These were Aboriginal placenames that had been adopted by the British for their own settlements.

1801–1825: D'Arcy Wentworth and others

The principal written document known for this period is amongst the 'Papers of D'Arcy Wentworth…' which have dates ranging from 1801 to 1825. Unfortunately, the list of placenames is undated. The 18 placenames, written on a single page, include seven which were previously recorded (though there are variations in spelling and sometimes in location to earlier reports) as well as eleven new names (Wentworth 1801-1825).

Other people who recorded Aboriginal placenames in this period include Francois Peron (1809: 275) who visited Port Jackson in 1802 with the French Baudin expedition, and the artist Joseph Lycett (1824). Both refer to the location Woolloomooloo – as 'Wallamoula' and 'Wooloomooloo' respectively. In this period, maps produced by James Meehan, the Assistant Surveyor of Lands (1807, 1811) indicate Aboriginal placenames in the vicinity of Sydney Cove.

Figure 1.4: Example of information recorded in Dawes 1790-1791: 26, including the names of places and Aboriginal people from whom he learnt the Sydney language.

Figure 1.5: List of Aboriginal placenames as recorded in Dawes 1790-1791: 44.

Figure 1.6: List of Aboriginal placenames as recorded in Vocabulary 1790-1792: 37-38.

1828–1836: James Larmer and others

James Larmer is the principal source of Aboriginal placenames for this period. He arrived from England to work with the NSW Surveyor General's Department in 1829 and retired in 1853. His list of 'Native names of points of land in Port Jackson' was reproduced in two typescripts (Larmer 1832[1853]; Stack 1906), and two articles published at the end of the 19th century (Larmer 1832[1898]; Aboriginal Names of Places… 1900). In Table 1.1, to save repetition, references for the 34 placenames in Larmer's published lists are included for only the 1898 publication, though there are variations in the spelling of some names in each of the documents. In the 1898 version, this is due to damage to the document from which it was copied (which was acknowledged). Other variations are of a nature which suggest they are transcription or typographical errors. Larmer's published list of 34 placenames included 24 which were not in earlier documents.

Stack (1906: 46, 51–53) includes other placenames which he says were "taken from notes made by Mr Surveyor Larmer in 1833". Nine of them are in the Port Jackson–Botany Bay area and include the names 'Coogee' and 'Bondi', which also appear in Larmer's fieldbook sketches as 'Great Coogee' and 'Bondi Bay' (Larmer 1829: 58, 64). 'Wolomoloo' also appears several times on sketch plans in Larmer's 1830 fieldbook (p. 8, 16-21) as well as 'Woolloomooloo Estate' (p. 67).

The names 'Bondi'/'Bondi Bay', 'Coogee' and 'Wolomoloo' are shown on maps produced in this period – Berni 1828; 'Map of the Town of Sydney' 1831 and 1833; Caporn 1836.

Of the 34 placenames in Larmer's published list, 32 are also documented in the papers of Major T. L. Mitchell (n.d.) with some variations in spelling. A note in the State Records NSW catalogue for Location SZ1002 suggests Mitchell copied Larmer's list.

Jervis (1945: 399) says Larmer's 1832 list included the Aboriginal name of Careening Cove as 'Weeawyai', as well as 'Weye Weye' for Careening Cove Head. However, neither Larmer's 1832[1898] published list nor the typescripts (Larmer 1832: 36-37; Stack 1906: 49) include 'Weeawyai' (only 'Weye Weye' as Careening Cove Head). Interestingly, 'Weeawyai' is recorded in Mitchell's list (n.d.: 420) whereas 'Weye Weye' is missing. The original of Larmer's 1832 list was not available at the time of this research.

1854–1870: W. A. Miles and Joules Joubert

Only one previously unrecorded Aboriginal placename was documented in this period. Joules Joubert, a property owner and resident of Hunters Hill, wrote in a letter dated 27 October 1860 that he had "at last found the Native name of the Peninsula … – '*MocoBoula* two waters'". This is the only document in which this name occurs. The name 'Coogee', although used some 20 years earlier by Larmer, appears only now to be acknowledged by W. A. Miles (1854: 41) as an Aboriginal placename.

An undated County of Cumberland Parish Map for Willoughby incorporated Aboriginal placenames from Larmer's list. Comparison with other dated maps suggests it was made in the 1860s.

1873–1899: Numerous publications

It was not until the end of the 19th century that many more Aboriginal placenames were reported. In contrast to earlier lists, most of which were hand-written manuscripts, these lists are published in journals such as the *Town and Country Journal* and the *Science of Man* (later *Australasian Anthropological Journal*) as well as local newspapers e.g. the *Sydney Morning Herald*. In this period Larmer's 1832 list was published in *Journal of the Royal Society of NSW* (1898). Also, Obed West, a local resident, land-owner and businessman, included Aboriginal placenames in a series of small articles for the *Sydney Morning Herald* which were subsequently published in booklet form (West n.d.[c.1882]; Marriott 1988: xiv).

Whilst these late 19th century lists repeat placenames given in earlier sources, they include an additional 15 placenames not found in earlier documents, particularly for locations along the ocean coastline between Port Jackson and Botany Bay. Again there are variations in spelling and some uncertain provenances. Several lists and articles were written by the Hon. George Thornton (1892[1893], 1896, 1899), as well as 'Sydney Cove' (1878a, 1878b, 1878c) which may have been the pseudonym for Obed West. (Marriott 1988: 21-22). A map produced by W. H. Huntingdon in 1873 is acknowledged as a source of information about Aboriginal placenames in Port Jackson Aboriginal Names (1910), but this map has not been relocated.

Post-1899

Of the many lists of placenames published after 1899, only one additional Aboriginal placename for the coastal Sydney area appears: 'Mugga' for Long Bay (Metropolitan district) (Aboriginal Names and Meanings 1911: 214).

Aboriginal sources

None of the authors made direct statements about the source of their information. However, the entries in William Dawes' manuscripts (1790, 1790-1791) show clearly that he obtained information about the language spoken around Port Jackson direct from conversations with several local Aboriginal people who were frequent visitors to the British settlement. (e.g. Figure 1.4; see Dawes 1790-1791: 808, also 812, 813) These people included Bennelong and his wife Barangaroo, as well as Patyegaráng, a young woman who was Dawes' chief informant and teacher (Troy 1992).

It is tempting to suggest some of the placenames in the manuscript referred to as Vocabulary... (c.1790-1792) were given to the British colonists by the Aboriginal man called Arabanoo (who the colonists called Manly, until they learnt his name). My speculation is based on a passage written by Watkin Tench for New Years Day 1789:

> 1st January 1789. To-day being new-year's-day, most of the officers were invited to the governor's table: Manly dined heartily on fish and roasted pork;…

> To convince his countrymen that he [Arabanoo] had received no injury from us, the governor took him in a boat down the harbour, that they might see and converse with him: … At length they began to converse. Our ignorance of the language prevented us from knowing much of what

passed; it was, however, easily understood that his friends asked him why he did not jump overboard, and rejoin them. He only sighed, and pointed to the fetter on his leg, by which he was bound.

In going down the harbour he had described the names by which they distinguish its numerous creeks and headlands: he was now often heard to repeat that of *Weè-rong* (Sydney), which was doubtless to inform his countrymen of the place of his captivity; and perhaps invite them to rescue him. (Tench 1793: 13[1979: 142]) (my underlining)

Certainly, most placenames recorded in the manuscript are for bays and headlands. Flynn (1997: 28–29) argues on similar grounds that it was Bennelong who told King of the eight placenames between Parramatta and Prospect (nos. 32a–g in Table 1.1, Figure 1.1) as they walked there together in April 1790.

Placenames in publications by the First Fleet officers would have been known to the 19th century sources, though they are unlikely to have known of the manuscripts by Dawes (1790, 1790-1791) and Vocabulary… (c.1790-1792), which probably went back to England with Dawes in 1791 and with another First Fleet officer in 1792 respectively, and were only found in the School of Oriental and African Studies Library in 1972. Larmer's unpublished and published lists (1832[1853], 1832[1898]; Aboriginal Names of Places… 1900; Stack 1906), acknowledge the Aboriginal origin of the placenames but there are no details about the people who provided information. Larmer would have been amongst the surveyors who, in 1829, were instructed by Major Thomas Mitchell to record Aboriginal placenames, probably in response to a communication of 23 June 1828 from the Colonial Secretary (Havard 1934: 121; Millin 1945: 314). Larmer would have met Aboriginal people as he was surveying the coastline, and he may have seen names on earlier maps. Stack (1906: 46) notes that Larmer "had a wide knowledge of the Aborigines in the Coastal districts in the neighbourhood adjacent to Sydney".

Of the late 19th century authors, George Thornton and Obed West both mention they had contacts with Aboriginal people (Swancott n.d.: 11; Thornton 1892[1893]: 2, 5, 1896 in Organ 1990: 358; West n.d.[c.1882]: 29). Even though their writings date to the late 19th century, these men lived in Sydney during the early part of the century. George Thornton MLC was born in 1819 and died in 1901. He was a member of a committee that, in 1858, distributed blankets to Aboriginal people in the Sydney area. In the early 1880s he was a councillor of the NSW Aborigines Protection Association and a founding member of the NSW Aborigines Protection Board. Obed West was born in 1807 and died in 1891. He lived in the east Sydney district all his life and wrote several journal and newspaper articles on Sydney's early history. Huntingdon came to Sydney much later, but was associated with the Rev. William Ridley, a missionary to

Aboriginal communities in the Sydney region in the late 1800s (Port Jackson Aboriginal Names 1910: 34; Huntingdon 1911: 167-168). In discussing the origin of the name 'Woolloomooloo', Huntingdon (1911: 167) mentioned 'Ricketty Dick' as one of the Aboriginal people with whom the 'old colonists' spoke. Ricketty Dick, who died in 1863, was a member of a community that lived around Sydney town, Rose Bay and South Head and included Queen Gooseberry (one of Bungaree's wives) (Jervis and Kelly c.1960: 66-67; Attenbrow 2002: 135).

By 1800, after the original populations were drastically reduced in number, particularly by the 'smallpox' epidemic but also other diseases, dispossession and hostilities, there appear to have been few of the original inhabitants of lower Port Jackson living around its shores. Many people in the groups who camped around Port Jackson in the early 1800s were from other areas. For example, Bungaree and his family, who lived on the northern shore of Port Jackson, came from the northern side of Broken Bay, some 35 kilometres to the north. These people from other areas may have learnt the placenames from survivors of the Sydney clans. However, it is also possible that from this time on some Aboriginal placenames recorded for Port Jackson were given by people who did not originally come from the Port Jackson or Botany Bay area, and who perhaps gave locations or localities their own placenames.

The apparent clustering in the recording of placenames in different periods may also be due to the differential survival of written documents, to date. Future researchers may find earlier sources for placenames presently known only in post-1800s documents, as well as finding reports of other placenames.

Problems and uncertainties

Several problems were encountered, particularly when attempting to associate the Aboriginal placenames with specific localities, or in deciding how they should be written down. With regard to the latter, it was decided to include all spelling variations in Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.4 as they were written in the sources. Problems and areas of uncertainty arose for a variety of reasons, as outlined below.

1. Where an Aboriginal placename was recorded several times by different authors, each author often gave a different spelling (e.g. nos. 39, 46, 47, 52, 62, 64 and 77-78 in Table 1.1). This was perhaps due to the recorders' varying levels of linguistic expertise and experience, to the way individual recorders heard the placenames spoken, or the orthography they used. William Dawes' orthography in his 1790-1791 manuscript indicates he had some language training.

2. In some early manuscripts (e.g. Figure 1.5, see Dawes 1790-1791: 817; also 1790: 772 (inside front cover); Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 360; Wentworth 1801-1825) the handwriting is indistinct or illegible, which makes it difficult to determine the spelling of some names; e.g. Table 1.1 nos. 3 and 7, and Table 1.2.

3. The sketch map on the inside cover of Dawes' 1790 notebook has seven placenames written on it. Only two of the placenames on the sketch are well-provenanced in other documents (the island marked as 'Memel' or 'Mɪmɪl', i.e. Goat Island, and 'Dara' or 'Tara' (Dawes Point). Suggested locations for the other placenames are thus based on comparing the sketch map with other early maps and noting their relative position of other named points of land (Table 1.1 nos. 39, 40, 42, 44, Table 1.2).

4. A seemingly erroneous association is given between an Aboriginal placename and a British placename, both of which are more securely associated with other locations, e.g. in Wentworth's 1801-1825 list 'Warang' is associated with Rose Bay rather than Sydney Cove (Table 1.4).

5. The British placename, or description of a location associated with an Aboriginal placename, is ambiguous or not specific enough to identify the exact location to which it belongs (Table 1.2).

6. Some early British placenames have changed and their current names not yet identified so that the Aboriginal placename cannot be matched to a current place (Figure 1.6, Table 1.2).

7. More than one location has the same British placename, e.g. 'Breakfast Point' (at Mortlake, Balmain and Greenwich) and 'Long Bay' (in Middle Harbour and Malabar) (Table 1.1 nos. 10 and 34 respectively).

8. More than one Aboriginal name was recorded for a location, e.g. 'Gomora' and 'Tumbulong' for Darling Harbour, and 'Pannerong' and 'Ginnagullah' for Rose Bay (Table 1.1 nos. 41 and 64 respectively).

9. Aboriginal names, which may be variant spellings of the same name, are associated with more than one location, e.g. 'Kayoomay', 'Kay-ye-my' and 'Kay-yee-my' with Collins Cove and Manly Bay (Table 1.1 no. 4).

10. Variations in spelling due to transcription or typographical errors during copying and publishing, e.g. in the various versions of Larmer's list (1832[1853], 1832[1898], Aboriginal Names of Places... 1900; Stack 1906; and Mitchell n.d.). In Larmer's 1832[1898] published version, it is noted that the copy from which they were transcribing was damaged and some names were incomplete; this may be the reason for 'Yarrandab' for Macleay Point in the 1898 version but 'Yarrandabby' elsewhere, as it is listed in Larmer's unpublished 1832[1853] typescript as 'Yarrandabby' (Table 1.1 no. 57). However, for other placenames, variations may be due to transcription errors. 'Givea' given as the name for the south head of

Botany Bay in Stack (1906: 52) may be mis-copying of 'Gwea', i.e. 'iv' for 'w' (Table 1.1 no. 88), which Collins (1798[1975]: 453) said was the name for the southern shore of Botany Bay, and today is usually accepted as the country of a clan, the Gweagal.

11. Incorrect recollections by an author, particularly the late 19th century authors, e.g. the north head of Botany Bay is given as 'Bunnabee' by Larmer (in Stack 1906: 52) but as 'Bunnabi', 'Bunnabee' and 'Bunnabri' at different times by Thornton (1892[1893]: 7, 1896 in Organ 1990: 358, and 1899: 210 respectively) (Table 1.1 no. 81). Similarly, are 'Yaranabe' and 'Eurambie' incorrect recollections of 'Yarrandabby', although the former two names were recorded as the placename for Darling Point, and the latter for Macleay Point (Table 1.1 nos. 59 and 57 respectively).

Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.4 include all placenames, variations in spellings and locations that I found in documents that date from 1788 to 1850, but only the first occurrence of additional placenames in later documents up to and including 1911. Issues relating to some individual placenames are discussed below (the number beside the name indicates the location number in Table 1.1 and on Figures 1 and 2).

Booridiow-o-gule (34)

'Booridiow-o-gule' is associated with Breakfast Point in Vocabulary... (c.1790-1792: 362) (Figure 1.6) which may be present-day Breakfast Point at Mortlake on the Parramatta River, but could also be Yurulbin (present-day Longnose Point, Birchgrove) or Greenwich Point. Bradley (1786-1792[1969]: 76) referred to a point where breakfast was cooked during a survey of the upper part of Port Jackson on 5 February 1788 as Breakfast Point; the index to the facsimile edition suggests the point was "Long Nose Point" [sic] in Port Jackson (Bradley 1786-1792[1969]: 462). However, Breakfast Point is also marked as the name of Greenwich Point on an 1827 'Chart of part of New South Wales' by Joseph Cross (Russell 1970: 49).

Cooroowal (11)

In 1899 'Cooroowal' was listed as the Aboriginal name for a place called 'Fig Tree Point' (Thornton 1899: 210). Later, it was listed against 'Fig Tree Point, Middle Harbour', without explanation (Aboriginal names... 1908: 128). However, it is also possible that 'Fig Tree Point' as listed by Thornton referred to Sommerville Point, Balmain, which earlier on was also called 'Figtree Point' (Millin 1945: 323). 'Cooroowal' could even be outside the Sydney region as the 1899 and later lists included placenames that were in the Illawarra region as well as the Sydney

region. Confusingly, in Aboriginal names… (1910: 137) it is listed as "*Cooroowal* (wild fig tree), Fig-tree Point (Middle Harbour), Wollongong", but this list also has Wollongong beside the names Cubba Cubbi (Middle Head) and Currungli (Spring Cove) which are definitely Port Jackson names/places.

Gomora (41)

'Gomora' was recorded as the Aboriginal placename for Long Cove in Vocabulary… (c.1790-1792: 362). David Collins' (1798[1975]: 17, 194) descriptions suggest 'Long Cove' was the name for Darling Harbour up to September 1792 at least, and Port Jackson Aboriginal names (1910: 35) says Darling Harbour's "original names were Long Cove and Cockle Harbor".[5]

By the 1840s 'Long Cove' was the name of present-day Iron Cove (maps by W. Meadows-Brownrigg c.1846-1851 and James Willis 1868, reproduced in Kelly and Crocker 1977: 26-28). On these maps Darling Harbour is marked as Darling Harbour. In 1945 Millin (1945: 323) said that "Iron Cove is sometimes called Long Cove" (see also Jervis 1945: 394). It seems most likely that 'Gomora' was the name for present-day Darling Harbour (which had several name changes), rather than Iron Cove as I suggested in Attenbrow 2002: Table 2.1.

Gurugal (14)

Larmer (1832[1898: 229]) and Mitchell (n.d.: 420) listed 'Gurugal' and 'Gurrugal' respectively as the name for a location called 'West Head'. Today, the name 'West Head' makes one think of West Head in Ku-ring-gai Chase National Park overlooking Broken Bay, which is associated with the name 'Garigal'. However, in these 19th century sources the name is firmly listed as a place in Port Jackson. It is unlikely that 'Gurugal' is a different spelling of the name Dawes (1790–1791: 817) and Vocabulary… (c.1790–1792: 361) record for 'Inner North Head' – i.e. 'Garangal' and 'Car-rang-gel' respectively (as suggested in Attenbrow 2002: Table 2.1), as they are probably different phonologically (Koch pers. comm. 2006).

Millen (1945: 332) has 'Gurugal' as the name for Chowder Head, and in the context of other headlands at the mouth of Port Jackson being called 'North', 'South' and 'Middle Head', it is possible that 'West Head' was an earlier name for Chowder Head, as it is 'west' of the others. Millen notes that Georges Head was already named by 1801, so in 1832 if Larmer knew 'Gurugal' was the name for Georges Head he would have listed it as such and not as 'West Head'. A County of Cumberland parish map possibly dating to the 1860s, which includes Larmer's Aboriginal placenames, has the name 'Gurugal' adjacent to Chowder Head.

Kaneagáng and Kowang, and other placenames on Dawes' 1790 sketch map

Seven placenames are written on the sketch map on the inside cover of Dawes' 1790 notebook, only two of which are well-provenanced in other documents: the island marked as 'Memel' or 'Mımıl', i.e. Goat Island, and 'Dara' or 'Tara' (Dawes Point) (Dawes 1790: 727 reported by Keith Smith in Jopson 2002). The map has neither a north point nor a scale. By comparing the sketch map with other early maps and noting the relative position of the named points of land, quite definite associations can be made (e.g. Table 1.1 nos. 40, 42 and 44, even if the latter name is difficult to read). The other two placenames 'Kaneagáng' and 'Kowang' are less certain and are thus listed in Table 1.2.

Kayyeemy, Kayyemy and Kayoomay (4)

The actual locations associated with both of these placenames are much debated. Early documents and maps are not consistent or specific enough in their locational details to say which of the bays in North Harbour was originally called 'Collins Cove' and which was originally 'Manly Bay'. It thus cannot be said with certainty which of the bays were called 'Kayoomay' and 'Kayyemy', or whether the latter name was used to refer to the whole of North Harbour.

Both 'Kayoomay' (as Collins Cove) and 'Kay-ye-my' (as Manly Bay) are listed on the same page in Vocabulary… (c.1790-1792: 362) (Figure 1.6). Phillip (in Hunter 1793[1968]: 466) states that "the place where the Governor was wounded", i.e. where he was speared in September 1790 was 'Kay-yee-my'. This comment taken together with a description of events that took place at Manly Bay (p. 459) indicates 'Kay-yee-my' was the name for Manly Bay. Other writers of this time, however, refer to the place where Phillip was speared as Collins Cove (Bradley 1786–1792[1969]: 225-226) or Manly Cove (Tench 1793[1979]: 176-177). This suggests there was either confusion over the exact place where Phillip was speared, or confusion/indecision at the time as to what the different bays in North Harbour were to be called. Early maps vary in the placement of the names of Collins Cove, Manly Cove and Manly Bay (e.g. Hunter 1788a, 1788b; Grimes 1796; and Freycinet 1802 in Swancott n.d.: 10-11).

Local historians Shelagh and George Champion (1993) concluded from their research that Phillip was speared in present-day Manly Cove. Accordingly, Manly Cove could be either 'Kayoomay' or 'Kayyeemy'/'Kayyemy', or both. After 1788, the whole of North Harbour was referred to as Manly Bay, which suggests the name 'Kayyeemy' could equally have been the name for North Harbour.

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Kogerrah (58)

'Kogerrah' is listed as the placename for Rushcutters Bay in 'Port Jackson Aboriginal Names' (1910: 35), for which the source was W. H. Huntingdon's 1873 map. West (n.d.[c.1882]: 22) also said the name for Rushcutters Bay was "Kogerah", adding that it was "a name also applied to a place near George's River".

Kudgee, Coojee, Kooja, Koojah or Bobroi (77 and 78)

Sources which acknowledge an Aboriginal origin for the name 'Coogee' and situate it in present-day Coogee Bay are, except for Miles (1854: 41), late 19th century or later; they give the name as 'Kudgee', 'Kooja', 'Koojah' or 'Coojee'. Local resident Obed West, however, was adamant that the name 'Coogee' belonged to Gordons Bay and that the Aboriginal name for present-day Coogee Bay was 'Bobroi'. (West n.d.[c.1882]: 28)

Miles (1854: 41) simply said it was "a small bay between the large bays of Port Jackson and Botany Bay called by the natives 'Kudgee' or 'Coojee'". However, a yet earlier use of the name on a sketch plan in Larmer's fieldbook (Larmer 1829: 58), without referring to an Aboriginal origin for the name, shows present-day Coogee Bay as 'Great Coogee'. Maps dating from at least the 1850s to 1885 mark Clovelly Bay as 'Little Coogee Bay' (Kelly and Crocker 1977: 25, 28, 34, 40; see also discussion in Lynch and Larcombe 1976: 13-16).

Maroubra (79)

In late 18th century documents, Vocabulary… (c.1790-1792: 348) listed 'Mo-roo-berra' as "a natives name", Southwell (1788[1893: 697]) gave 'Moo-roo-bărah' as a "Man's Name", and Collins (1798[1975: 489, 492]) referred to a man called 'Mo-roo-ber-ra' in discussing ritual combats. None of these authors referred to the man's status or country.

It is not until the late 19th century that it is referred to as a placename, using several different spellings, e.g. "Maroubra or Merooberah" (Larmer 1833 in Stack 1906: 52), 'Mooroobra' ('Sydney Cove' 1878b), 'Maroobera' (Thornton 1892[1893]: 7) and 'Merooberah' (Thornton 1896 in Organ 1990: 358, 1899: 210). These 19th century placename lists vary in their descriptions:

- in 1878 'Sydney Cove' reported that 'Mooroobra' was "The name of the chief of the tribe who lived at that spot (just south of Coogee)";
- in 1892, George Thornton gave a similar description: "another chief of a tribe a little south of Coogee was called 'Maroobera', and the beach is still called so after him";

- in 1896, Thornton (in Organ 1990: 358) described 'Merooberah' as being "the native name of a pretty sandy beach a few miles south of 'Koojah', that being the name of a tribe and also their chief, who inhabited that particular locality'';
- in 1899, Thornton (p. 210) said 'Merooberah' was "A pretty sandy beach south of Kooja. The beach was named after the tribe which inhabited that particular place".

The name 'Maroubra', in its various early spellings, thus changed from being simply the name of a man, to a place named after a chief of a 'tribe', and finally a place named after the name of the 'tribe'. In other parts of Australia it is common for a person to have a personal name which is also a placename which they share with others; in those contexts, the name is not necessarily the name of a clan that is a land-owning group. The late 19th century changes in the origin of 'Maroubra' as a placename may reflect embellishment of the explanation for the origin of the placename over time. However, comments and spellings in Thornton's later writings suggest he was prone to speculation and may have had a 'bad memory' in some cases.

Mugga for Long Bay – Middle Harbour or Malabar (10)

In 1911 'Mugga' was listed as the Aboriginal placename for "Long Bay, Metropolitan district" (Aboriginal names and meanings 1911: 214). In her local history of Northbridge, Leslie (1988: 20) wrote that the Aborigines called Long Bay in Middle Harbour 'Mugga'. However, it is possible that Aboriginal names and meanings refers to Long Bay at Malabar on the coast between Maroubra and Cape Banks, as this list includes placenames from all over New South Wales with only one other coastal Sydney name – nearby Maroubra Bay. However, an earlier source (West n.d.[c.1882]: 29), gives 'Boora' as the Aboriginal placename for Long Bay which he says is between Maroubra Bay and Little Bay.

Pannerong, Bungarong, Ginnagullah or Warang for Rose Bay (64)

The Aboriginal placename for Rose Bay was recorded initially as 'Pannerong' (Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 362) and 'Pannerrong' (Collins 1798[1975]: 489-490). Wentworth's later 1801-1825 list has 'Bungarong' against Point Piper, the western headland of Rose Bay. Much later, towards the end of the 19th century, 'Ginnagullah' is reported as the Aboriginal name for Rose Bay (Huntingdon 1873 chart in Port Jackson Aboriginal names 1910: 35).

The placename 'Warang' against Rose Bay in Wentworth (1801-1825) would seem to be an error, given the spelling is essentially the same as some versions of the name recorded for Sydney Cove (Table 1.1 no. 46).

Tubowgule, Toobowgulie, Tobegully, Jubughalee and Jubùghallee (47)

The 1790s and 1807 sources for the name of Bennelong Point, whilst varying in spelling, all have a 'T' at the beginning of the name. Larmer's 1832 spelling with a 'J' is probably his adoption of a different letter of the alphabet for the Aboriginal sound 'dj' (Troy 1994a: 23-27).

'Jubagulla' written against Dawes Battery in Wentworth's (1801-1825) list appears to be an error. However, it may not be. In addition to the battery on the west side of the cove, Dawes was in charge of constructing a small redoubt on the east side of Sydney Cove which stood from 1788 to 1791, and then in the early 1800s a second battery was built on what is now called ''Bennelong Point' (McGuanne 1901: 10; see also Watson 1918: 384). Wentworth may thus have been referring to 'Dawes Battery' on Bennelong Point.

Wareamah or Biloela for Cockatoo Island (37)

Vocabulary… (c.1790-1792: 361) lists the placename for Cockatoo Island as 'Wareamah'. The name 'Biloelo' or 'Biloela', which has been cited by some (Millin 1945: 336) as the Aboriginal name for Cockatoo Island, has not been included in Table 1.1. 'Biloela' was the name given to the Public Industrial School and Reformatory for Girls established on Cockatoo Island in 1871 (Jervis 1945: 402; State Records NSW 2006). In reporting this, Jervis suggests that, although *biloela* was an Aboriginal word meaning 'cockatoo', it was taken from the Rev. Ridley's book on Kamilaroi language[6] and was not a coastal Sydney word.

Willárrá, Woo-lā-ră or Bungarung for Point Piper (62)

Larmer (1832: 35, 1832[1898: 228]) reported the Aboriginal name for Point Piper as 'Willárrá'. Earlier, Wentworth (1801-1825) had listed 'Bungarong' against Point Piper. However, 'Pannerong', probably a variation in writing 'Bungarung', was recorded more than 100 years earlier in Vocabulary… (c.1790-1792: 362) and Collins (1798[1975]: 489-490) as the name for Rose Bay. Point Piper is part of the western headland of Rose Bay, which may be the reason for Wentworth's association.

The name 'Willárrá', if a written variant of 'Woo-lā-rǎ', may have referred to a larger area than just Point Piper (Watson 1918: 374), as the latter (Woo-lā-rǎ) was recorded as the name for 'The Look-out' (Southwell 1788[1893: 699] which was at Outer South Head (Bradley 1786-1792[1969]: Chart 6), known today as Dunbar Head.

Conclusions

For Port Jackson, Botany Bay and in the intervening coastline, more than 100 Aboriginal placenames were recorded between 1788 and 1911 in a wide range of documents. For many of the placenames, the association between the name and a location known today by a British placename is clear and unambiguous. For other placenames, however, an association with a specific location and/or its spelling is less clear, ambiguous or in some cases unknown. These problems and uncertainties arise for a variety of reasons, and in many cases are unlikely to be solved. Variations in spelling a placename probably occurred because of the First Fleet authors' lack of understanding of the sound system of Aboriginal languages or the general lack of linguistic training of most. However, the late 19th and 20th century authors also often provide slightly different spellings and sometimes slightly different locations to the earlier writers, but provide no reasons for the alternative spellings or locations they use. The alternative spellings may be different interpretations or mis-readings of original hand-written lists by either the authors or the publishers, or typographical errors. Incorrect recollections may also account for some variations in spelling and location, particularly where the placenames are reported in the reminiscences of late 19th and 20th century authors.

Over half the Aboriginal placenames were recorded in the period 1788-1800, but previously undocumented names continued to be reported until the end of the 19th century. From documents found to date, it appears that there were three main periods when Aboriginal placenames for Port Jackson and Botany Bay were documented: 1788-1800, 1828-1836 and 1873-1899, with much smaller numbers reported in the intervening periods, and only one after 1900. Whether the placenames recorded in the periods after 1800 were names used by the pre-1788 inhabitants of the region, or names introduced by people who came in from neighbouring regions is not stated anywhere but is a possibility. Research by others no doubt will in time add further sources with Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay. These may include additional placenames, earlier use or recording of presently known placenames, and more certain information about the Aboriginal people from whom the placenames were initially obtained.

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Table 1.1: Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay from historical sources. See Figures 1.1 and 1.2 for locations. [All variations in spellings and sources and locations in documents dating up to 1855 are included; only previously unreported placenames with sources and other selected placenames are included from post-1850s documents. Diacritics are as written in original sources. Letters in square brackets with a question mark were written unclearly; words/letters in square brackets are my suggestions for illegible or omitted words or letters.]

No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
1	*Bora*	North Head – outer	Wentworth 1801–1825	North Head
1	*Boree*	North Head – outer	'Sydney Cove' 1878c: 641	North Head (Sydney Harbour)
2	*Garangal*	North Head – inner	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	N[orth] do [Head]
2	*Car-rang-gel*	North Head – inner	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 361	North Head
2	*Carrangle*	North Head – inner	Wentworth 1801–1825	Quarantine Ground
3	*Biri[mbinne ?]* [writing illegible]	Collins Beach	Wentworth 1801–1825	Collins Flat
4	*Kayoo-may*	Manly Cove [see text]	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 362	Collins Cove
4	*Kay-ye-my*	Manly Cove or North Harbour [see text]	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 362	Manly Bay
4	*Kay-yee-my*	Manly Cove or North Harbour [see text]	Phillip in Hunter 1793[1968]: 459, 466	Manly Bay; 'The place where the Governor was wounded' [in September 1790]
5	*Canna*	North Harbour	Wentworth 1801–1825	Manly Beach
5	*Kun'-nà*	North Harbour	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	North Harbour
5	*Kunnà*	North Harbour	Mitchell n.d.: 420	North Harbour
5	*Cannae*	North Harbour	Huntington 1873 map referred to in Port Jackson Aboriginal Names 1910: 35	Manly Beach
6	*Jilling*	Balgowlah	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Fincham's, North Harbour or Balgowlah Township
6	*Jilling*	Balgowlah	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Balgowla Township

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No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
7	No[m?]ble [writing illegible]	Middle Harbour	Wentworth 1801–1825	Middle Harbour
7	Warrin gá	Middle Harbour	Larmer 1832[1898: 229]	Middle Harbour
7	Warringà	Middle Harbour	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Middle Harbour
8	Burra-brú	The Spit, Middle Harbour	Larmer 1832[1898: 229]	The Spit, Middle Harbour
8	Burrabru	The Spit	Mitchell n.d.: 420	The Spit
9	Parriwi	Parriwi Head, The Spit	Larmer 1832[1898: 229]	Point East of Spit
9	Parriwi	Parriwi Head, The Spit	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Pt East of Spit
10	Mugga	Long Bay, Middle Harbour (or possibly Long Bay, Malabar [see text])	Aboriginal Names and Meanings 1911: 214	Long Bay (Metropolitan District)
11	Cooroowal	Fig Tree Point in Long Bay, Middle Harbour (or possibly Somerville Point, Balmain; or Wollongong area [see text])	Thornton 1899: 210	Fig Tree Point
12	Kuba Kaba	Middle Head	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	Middle H[ead]
12	Caba-caba	Middle Head	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	Middle Do [Head]
12	Cā-ba Cā-ba	Middle Head	Collins 1798[1975]: 513	The middle head of Port Jackson
13	Koreé	Chowder Bay	Larmer 1832[1898: 229]	Chowder Bay
13	Koree	Chowder Bay	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Chouder [sic]
14	Gurugal	Chowder Head [see text]	Larmer 1832[1898: 229]	West Head
14	Gurrugal	Chowder Head [see text]	Mitchell n.d.: 420	West Head
14	Gurugal	Chowder Head [see text]	County of Cumberland Parish map, Willoughby, n.d. [probably 1860s]	Gurugal inserted on map adjacent to Chowder Head
15	Taliangy	Between Bradleys Head and Middle Head	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	[?? illegible] water (on list between Bradley's Point and Middle Head)
15	Tal-le-ongi-i	Between Bradleys Head and Middle Head	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 362	Bradley Point

No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
16	*Booragy*	Bradleys Head	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	Bradley's Point
16	*Búrroggy*	Bradleys Head	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Bradley's Head
16	*Burròggy or Broggy*	Bradleys Head	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Bradley's Point
17	*Goram bullagong*	Mosman Bay	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Mossmans Whaling Establishment Sirius Cove
17	*Gorambùllagong*	Mosman Bay	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Mossmans Whaling Estt
18	*Wulworrá-jeung*	Robertsons Point	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Robertson's Point
19	*Kurrá bá*	Kurraba Point	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Point west of Robertsons
19	*Kurrábá*	Kurraba Point	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Point West of Robertsons Point
20	*Wurru-birri*	Kurraba Point western side	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	McLarens Store
21	*Wéyé Wéyé*	Careening Cove, head of	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Careening Cove Head
21	*Weeawya*	Careening Cove	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Careening Cove
22	*Wudyong*	Wudyong Point	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Point east of Milsons
22	*Wudyong*	Wudyong Point	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Point east of Milsons
23	*Ciar Billie*	Kirribilli Point	Lycett 1824: Plate 3 caption	the one next above that [i.e. Bradley's Head, as looking west]
23	*Kiarabilli*	Milsons Point–Kirribilli	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Milson's Point
23	*Kiarabily*	Milsons Point–Kirribilli	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Milsons Point
24	*Quibéreé*	Lavender Bay	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Hulk Bay
24	*Quiberee*	Lavender Bay	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Hulk Bay
25	*Warung áréá*	Blues Point	Larmer 1832[1898]: 229]	Billy Blues Point
25	*Warrungarea*	Blues Point	Mitchell n.d.: 420	Billy Blues Point
26	*Turramurra*	Lane Cove district	Larmer 1832–1833 in Stack 1906: 53	Turramurra – Big Hill – Lane Cove district
27	*Turranburra*	Lane Cove River	Thornton 1899: 210	Lane Cove River
28	*Moco Boula*	Hunters Hill–Woolwich peninsula	Joules Joubert 27 October 1860	Native name of the Peninsula beginning at the mouth of the Lane Cove River

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No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
29	*Mar-ray-mah*	Charity Point, Meadowbank	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 362	Dinner Point
30	*Paramatín*	Parramatta	Dawes 1790-1791: 806, 808	Translated as 'from Parramatta' in short sentences
30	*Para-matta*	Parramatta	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 360	Rose Hill
30	*Parramatta*	Parramatta	Phillip 13 February 1790b[1892: 309]	'Rose Hill which the natives call Parramatta'
30	*Parramatta*	Parramatta	Phillip in Hunter 1793[1968: 531]	Parramatta; 'the name given by the natives to the spot on which the town was building'
30	*Par-ra-màt-ta*	Parramatta	Tench 1793: 132 [1979: 239, n2, 325]	'the name of the settlement at the head of the harbour' … 'Par-ra-màt-ta the native name of it'
30	*Parramatta*	Parramatta	Hunter 1796 and 1798 maps	Parramatta marked on map in its present location
30	*Par-ra-mat-ta*	Parramatta	Collins 1798[1975]: 137	'Par-ra-mat-ta being the name by which the natives distinguished the part of the country on which the town stood'
31	*Toon-gab-be*	Toongabbie	Phillip 2 October 1792[1892: 645]	3 miles to the westward of Parramatta
31	*Toongabbee*	Toongabbie	Grimes 1796 map	Toongabbee marked on map near Prospect Hill; at start (SE end) of Road to the Hawkesbury
31	*Toongabbe*	Toongabbie	Hunter 1796 and 1798 maps	Toongabbee marked on map near Prospect Hill
31	*Toongabbie*	Toongabbie	Collins 1798[1975]: 189	the settlements beyond Parramatta (… distinguished by the name of Toongabbie)
32a	*Wau-maille / War-mul*	To the west of Parramatta	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 360	'In going to the westward from Rose Hill, you walk in ten minutes to …'

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No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
32b	Malgray-matta / Mal-gra-mattar	To the west of Parramatta	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 360	'In going to the westward from Rose Hill, you walk … in nineteen [minutes] to …'
32c	Era-worong / A-rar-woo-rung	To the west of Parramatta	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 360	'In going to the westward from Rose Hill, you walk … in seven [minutes] to …'
32d	Carra-matta / Car-rar-mattar	To the west of Parramatta	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 360	'In going to the westward from Rose Hill, you walk … in eighteen [minutes] to …'
32e	Boolbane-matta / Bul-barn-mattar	To the west of Parramatta	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 360	'In going to the westward from Rose Hill, you walk … in five [minutes] to …'
32f	Carro-wotong / Kar-rar-wo-tong	To the west of Parramatta	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 360	'In going to the westward from Rose Hill, you walk … in twenty-nine [minutes] to …'
32g	Mar-rong / Mararong	Prospect	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 360	'In going to the westward from Rose Hill, you walk … in seventeen [minutes] to Mararong – Prospect Hill'
33	Arrowanelly	Homebush Bay – originally an island on western side near mouth but now joined to river bank	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 360	Island at the Flats
34	Booridiow-o-gule	Breakfast Point, Mortlake (or possibly Yurulbin [Longnose Point, Balmain] or Greenwich Point [see text])	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 362	Breakfast Point
35	Gong-ul	Spectacle Island	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	8th or Spectacle Island
36	Ar-ra-re-agon	Snapper Island	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	7th island
37	Wa-rea-mah	Cockatoo Island	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	6th or Cockatoo Island

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No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
38	*Yerroulbin*	Yurulbin (Longnose Point prior 1994)	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Long Nose Point
38	*Yerroulbine*	Yurulbin (Longnose Point prior 1994)	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Long Nose Point
39	*Memel* (or *Mimil*)	Goat Island	Dawes 1790: 727 (inside front cover) reported by Keith Smith in Jopson 2002	Memel (or Miiil) is written on a rough sketch map inside an island
39	*Me-mil*	Goat Island	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 361	5th island
39	*Memill*	Goat Island	Phillip in Hunter 1793[1968]: 470	Memilla (at Memill)
39	*Me-mel*	Goat Island	Collins 1798[1975]: 497	Goat Island
39	*Milmil*	Goat Island	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Goat Island
39	*Milmil*	Goat Island	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Goat Island
40	*Wari wal*	South-western end of Goat Island	Dawes 1790: 727 (inside front cover) reported by Keith Smith in Jopson 2002	Wari wal is written on a rough sketch map adjacent to the south-western end of Memel/Mimil [Goat Island]
41	*Go-mo-ra* [see text]	Darling Harbour	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 362	Long Cove
	Tumbulong	Darling Harbour	Larmer 1832[1898: 229]	Darling Harbour
	Tumbulong	Darling Harbour	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Darling Harbour
42	*Coodye*	Millers Point	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Jack the Millers Point
42	*Coodye*	Millers Point	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Jack the Millers Point
42	*Ilkan máladál*	Millers Point ?	Dawes 1790: 727 (inside front cover) reported by Keith Smith in Jopson 2002	Ilkan máladál is written on a rough sketch map adjacent to what could be Millers Point
43	*Tara* (or *Dara*)	Dawes Point	Dawes 1790: 727 (inside front cover) reported by Keith Smith in Jopson 2002	Tara (or Dara) is written on a rough sketch map on a point of land that suggests it is Dawes Point
43	*Tar-ra*	Dawes Point	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 362	Do Do [Sydney Cove] W Point

No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
43	*Tarra*	Dawes Point	Meehan 1807 and 1811 (maps)	Tarra is inserted on northern side of Campbells Cove on western side of Sydney Cove
43	*Tárrá*	Dawes Point	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Slaughter House Point
43	*Tarra*	Dawes Point	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Slaughter House Point
44	*Melia-Wool*	Campbells Cove ?	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 362	A small cove within [presumed within Sydney Cove]
44	*Lin…?...noor?* [writing illegible]	Campbells Cove ?	Dawes 1790: 727 [inside front cover) reported by Keith Smith in Jopson 2002 as Lineagirnoor	This name is written on a rough sketch map in a relationship to Tarra that suggests it is Campbell's Cove
45	*Talla-wo-la-dah*	The Rocks – west side of Sydney Cove	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 362	Where the hospital stands
46	*War-ran*	Sydney Cove	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 352	'War-ran-jam-ora' translated as 'I am in Sydney Cove'
46	*War-ran*	Sydney Cove	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	Sydney Cove
46	*Weé-rong*	Sydney Cove	Tench 1793[1979]: 142]	Sydney
46	*Warrane*	Sydney Cove	King in Hunter 1793[1968]: 412	Sydney Cove
46	*Warrang*	Sydney Cove	Meehan 1807 and 1811 (maps)	Sydney Cove
47	*Tu-bow-gule*	Bennelong Point	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 362	Sydney Cove E Point
47	*Tubow-gule*	Bennelong Point	Phillip in Hunter 1793[1968]: 476, 487]	The eastern point of the cove [Sydney Cove]
47	*Too-bow-gu-liè*	Bennelong Point	Collins 1798[1975]: 492–3	The point [near First Govt House]
47	*Tobegully*	Bennelong Point	Meehan 1807 and 1811 (maps)	On map name is placed on western shore of Farm Cove
47	*Jubughalee*	Bennelong Point	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Bennelong Point
47	*Jubighallee*	Bennelong Point	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Bennelong Point
48	*Woggan-ma-gule*	Farm Cove	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	Farm Cove
48	*Woccanmagully*	Farm Cove	Meehan 1807 and 1811 (maps)	Marked on map in Farm Cove

No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
49	Cockaroo	Royal Botanic Gardens	Wentworth 1801–1825	Government garden
49	Cookaroo	Farm Cove Beach	Thornton 1899: 210	Farm Cove Beach
50	Yu-ron	Mrs Macquaries Point	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	East bank of do [Farm Cove]
50	Yurong	Mrs Macquaries Point	Meehan 1807 and 1811 maps	Name placed on peninsula on map
50	Urong	Mrs Macquaries Point	Wentworth 1801–1825	Lady Macquarie's chair
50	Yourong	Mrs Macquaries Point	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Mrs Macquarie's Point
50	Yurong	Mrs Macquaries Point	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Mrs Macquaries Pt
51	Mat-te-wan-ye	Fort Denison, Pinchgut Island	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	4th or Rock Island
51	Mat-te-wan-ye	Fort Denison, Pinchgut Island	Collins 1802[1971: 10]	'The small island which is situated in the middle of the harbour, and named by the natives'
51	Mattewai	Fort Denison, Pinchgut Island	Larmer 1832–1833 in Stack 1906: 51	Pinch Gut Island
52	Walla-mool	Woolloomooloo Bay	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	Cove next to Farm Cove
52	Wooloo Mooloo	Woolloomooloo	Hunter 1796 map	Name inserted on map on land adjacent to Farm Cove
52	Walloomooloo Bay	Woolloomooloo Bay	Meehan 1808 and 1811 maps	Name marked in bay
52	Wallamoula	Woolloomooloo	Peron 1809: 275	'Not far from a contiguous creek, a spot which the natives call Wallamoula, is the charming habitation of Mr Palmer, the commissary general'
52	Wooloomooloo	Woolloomooloo	Lycett 1824: Plate 4 text	Half a mile from the town of Sydney, to the south-east of Government House
52	Wolomoloo	Woolloomooloo	Larmer 1830: 8, 16, 18–21	Names marked on sketch plans as 'Wolomoloo', 'Wolomoloo Estate', 'Wolomoloo Bay'
52	Wolomoloo	Woolloomooloo	Caporn 1836 map	Name inserted on map east of Hyde Park

No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
52	*Wolomoloo*	Woolloomooloo	Map of the Town of Sydney 1831 and 1833	Name marked on map east of Hyde Park
53	*Ba-ing-hoe*	Garden Island	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	3rd or Garden Island
54	*Derawun*	Potts Point	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	East point of do [ie cove next to Farm Cove]
55	*Carraginn*	Elizabeth Bay	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	Next cove [cove next to cove next to Farm Cove]
56	*Jerrowan*	Elizabeth Point	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Elizabeth Point
56	*Jèrrowan*	Elizabeth Point	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Elizabeth Point
57	*Yarrandab* [see text]	Macleay Point	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Mr McLeay's Point
57	*Yarrandabby*	Macleay Point	Larmer 1832[1953: 35]	Mr McLeays Point
57	*Yarrandabby*	Macleay Point	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Mr McLeay's Point
58	*Kogerrah*	Rushcutters Bay	Huntington 1873 chart referred to in Port Jackson Aboriginal names 1910: 35	Rushcutter Bay
58	*Kogerah*	Rushcutters Bay	West n.d.[c.1882]: 22	Rushcutter Bay
59	*Yaranabe*	Darling Point [see text]	'Sydney Cove' 1878a: 545	Darling Point
59	*Eurambie*	Darling Point [see text]	Thornton 1899: 210	Darling Point
60	*Dienda gella*	Double Bay	Wentworth 1801–1825	Double Bay
61	*Be-lang-le-wool*	Clarke Island	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	2nd do [island coming up the harbour]
61	*Billong-ololah*	Clarke Island	Larmer 1832[1898: 229]	Clark [sic] Island
61	*Billòng-olòla*	Clarke Island	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Clark [sic] Island
62	*Willàrrá*	Point Piper [see text]	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Point Piper
62	*Wallàra*	Point Piper	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Point Piper
63	*Bo-a-millie*	Shark Island	Vocabulary… c.1790-1792: 361	1st island coming up the harbour
63	*Boam bill-…* [word incomplete – mutilated in binding]	Shark Island	Larmer 1832[1898: 229]	Shark Island

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No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
63	*Boam billy*	Shark Island	Larmer 1832 in Stack 1906: 49	Shark Island
63	*Boambilly*	Shark Island	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Shark Island
64	*Pannerong*	Rose Bay	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 362	Rose Bay
64	*Pan-ner-rong*	Rose Bay	Collins 1798[1975]: 489–490	Rose Bay
64	*Bungarong*	Rose Bay [see text]	Wentworth 1801–1825	Point Piper
64	*Pan-Ner-Rong*	Rose Bay	Larmer 1832–1833 in Stack 1906: 51	Rose Bay
64	*Ginnagullah*	Rose Bay [see text]	Huntington 1873 chart referred to in Port Jackson Aboriginal names 1910: 35	Rose Bay
65	*Burrowwo*	Steel Point (Shark Point)	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Rocky Point (South of Vaucluse)
65	*Burrow way*	Steel Point (Shark Point)	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Rocky Pt south of Vaucluse
66	*Móring*	Vaucluse Point (Bottle and Glass Point)	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Vaucluse Point
66	*Moring*	Vaucluse Point (Bottle and Glass Point)	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Vaucluse Point
67	*Coulong*	Vaucluse	Wentworth 1801–1825	Vaucluse
68	*Courmangara*	Watsons Bay	Wentworth 1801–1825	Watson's Bay
68	*Kutti*	Watsons Bay [Kutti Beach]	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Siddons and Watsons
68	*Kutti*	Watsons Bay [Kutti Beach]	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Siddons & Watson's Residences
69	*Mit-tă-lā*	Laings Point, Watsons Bay	Southwell 1788[1893: 699]	The Green Point
69	*Metallar*	Laings Point, Watsons Bay	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 362	W[est] point of Camp Cove
69	*Ku-bung hárrá*	Laings Point, Watsons Bay	Larmer 1832[1898: 228]	Lang's Point [sic]
69	*Kubungarra*	Laings Point, Watsons Bay	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Laings Point
70	*Ba-rab-bă-ră*	Sow and Pigs Reef	Southwell 1788[1893: 699]	The Mid-Rock
70	*Bir-ra-bir-ra*	Sow and Pigs Reef	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 362	The rock in the Channel
70	*Birrur bi-...* [word incomplete – mutilated in binding]	Sow and Pigs Reef	Larmer 1832[1898: 229]	Sow and Pigs

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No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
70	*Birrur birra*	Sow and Pigs Reef	Larmer 1832–33 in Stack 1906: 49	Sow and Pigs
70	*Birrur Birah*	Sow and Pigs Reef	Mitchell n.d.: 419	Sow and Pigs
71	*Burra.wă-rā*	South Head [inner]	Southwell 1788[1893: 699]	Inner South Head
71	*Bara woory*	South Head [inner]	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	S[outh] H[eald], ie South Head
71	*Barraory*	South Head [inner]	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 361	Inner Sth Do, ie South Head
71	*Burrawarre*	South Head [inner]	Wentworth 1801–1825	South Head
72	*Woo-lā-rằ*	South Head [outer], Dunbar Head, Vaucluse	Southwell 1788[1893: 699]	The Look-Out
72	*Tar-ral-be*	South Head [outer]	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 361	South Do, ie South Head
73	*Marevera*	Murriverie Pass	West n.d.[c.1882]: 26	Between Ben Buckley and Bondi
74	*Benbuckalong*	Ben Buckler	West n.d.[c.1882]: 26	Ben Buckley
75	*Bondi*	Bondi	Berni 1828	Bondi Bay
75	*Bondi*	Bondi	Larmer 1829: 64	Bondi Bay written on sketch map in present day Bondi Bay
75	*Boondi*	Bondi	Larmer 1832–1833 in Stack 1906: 52	Bondi or 'Boondi'
75	*Bondi*	Bondi Bay	Sydney Gazette 29(No. 1985) 16 June 1831: 4(col. 1).	Bondi Bay
76	*Cramaramma*	Tamarama	West n.d.[c.1882]: 28	The bay known as Nelson's
77	*Coogee*	Coogee	Larmer 1829: 58	Great Coogee written on sketch map in present-day Coogee Bay
77	*Koojah*	Coogee	Larmer 1832–1833 in Stack 1906: 52	Coogee or 'Koojah'
77	*Coogee*	Gordons Bay [see text]	West n.d.[c.1882]: 28	The bay north of the bay now known as Coogee
77-78	*Kudgee or Coojee*	Gordons Bay or Coogee [see text]	Miles 1854: 41	A small bay between the large bays of Port Jackson and Botany Bay

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No on FIG. 1.1	NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – PRESENT	REFERENCE	NAME/LOCATION – IN SOURCE
78	*Bobroi*	Coogee	West n.d.[c.1882]: 28	The bay where the two hotels are
79	*Merooberah* [see text]	Maroubra	Larmer 1832–1833 in Stack 1906: 52	Maroubra or 'Merooberah'
80	*Boora*	Long Bay	West n.d.[c.1882]: 29	Between Maroubra and Little Bay
81	*Bunnabee*	Botany Bay – north head	Larmer 1832–1833 in Stack 1906: 52	North Head of Botany Bay
82	*Wadba wadba*	Botany Bay – north head, near Bare Island	Dawes 1790-1791: 815	The name of country near Bare island
83	*Currewol* (also *Curriwul* and *Cooriwal*)	Frenchmans Bay, La Perouse	George Hill and unnamed correspondent in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 January 1883: 5, cited in Nugent 2005: 53, Fn34.	The beach near the 'Black's Camp' at La Perouse.
84	*Yarra*	Yarra Bay, La Perouse	West n.d.[c.1882]: 31	Yarra Bay
85	*Ka-may*	Botany Bay	Vocabulary... c.1790-1792: 362	Botany Bay
86	*Bunna Bunna*	Bonna Point, Kurnell/Quibray Bay	Thornton 1899: 210	Bonna Point, Botany Bay
87	*Kundal*	Captain Cook's Landing Place, Kurnell peninsula	Larmer in 1832–1833 Stack 1906: 52	Captain Cook's Landing Place, Botany Bay
88	*Givea* [probably *Gwea* - see text]	Botany Bay – south head	Larmer in 1832–1833 Stack 1906: 52	South Head of Botany Bay
89	*Goonoomarra*	Cronulla to Kurnell	Thornton 1896 in Organ 1990: 358	Beach and sand hills about Port Hacking

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Table 1.2: Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay from historical sources: names for which a location was not determined or unresolved.

ABORIGINAL NAME	NAME OR INFORMATION – IN SOURCE	REFERENCE	COMMENTS
Kaneagáng	*Kaneagáng* is written on a rough sketch map inside a 'point of land' adjacent to two well-provenanced placenames – an island marked as *Memel* or *Mimil* (Goat Island) and *Dara* or *Tara* (Dawes Point), and three other points of land.	Dawes 1790: 727 (inside front cover) reported by Keith Smith in Jopson 2002.	Smith equates *Kaneagáng* with Yurulbin, but depending how the map is oriented and interpreted, i.e., if *Ilkan máladál* is Millers Point and *Kowang* is East Balmain, it could be Darling Point on Pyrmont peninsula.
Kowang	*Kowang* is written on a rough sketch map inside a 'point of land' adjacent to two well-provenanced placenames – an island marked as *Memel* or *Mimil* (Goat Island) and *Dara* or *Tara* (Dawes Point), and three other points of land.	Dawes 1790: 727 (inside front cover)	Depending how the map is oriented and interpreted, i.e., if *Ilkan máladál* is Millers Point and *Kaneagáng* is Darling Point, it could be part of East Balmain peninsula. If *Cow-wan* (see below) where Lt Gen. Ross had a farm, is another spelling of *Kowang*, this would support it being part of East Balmain peninsula.
Yéra yérára	Do of a pond of [tol.?] water between it & [where fishing party ?].	Dawes 1790-1791: 815	Possibly Yarra Bay, La Perouse (No. 84 in Table 1.1), but this entry is one of three on a single page. It comes after *Wadba Wadba* which is said to be near Bare Island (No. 82 in Table 1.1), but before *Paŋaráŋ* which is Captain Parker &c dined – – –. The phrase 'where fishing party' is ambiguously placed. It is possible that the description after *Yéra yérára* ends after the '&'. The three names listed together could be interpreted as '*Yéra yérára … between it = Wadba Wadba & Paŋaráŋ*, and if so could be referring to a lake associated with the Waterloo and Lachlan swamps.
Ngangoon	Bush or Rush? point [initial letter unclear]	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	

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ABORIGINAL NAME	NAME OR INFORMATION – IN SOURCE	REFERENCE	COMMENTS
Too roo magoolie	a small cove	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	
Karamúng	? well of ? water [writing illegible]	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	
Ng'algara	ditto … ?? [writing illegible]	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	
Talia	??? [writing illegible]	Dawes 1790-1791: 817	
Tuberai	Another do [Head]	Vocabulary … c.1790-1792: 361	
Weeaggy-wallar	a little sandy bay	Vocabulary … c.1790-1792: 362	
Boor-roo-wan	an island	Vocabulary … c.1790-1792: 362	Some late 19th century and subsequent lists associate *Booroowan* with Garden Island, but Vocabulary … c.1790-1792: 362 lists Garden Island separately with another name - *Ba-ing-hoe*.
Tarrangera guy	where the fishermans hut is	Vocabulary … c.1790-1792: 362	Possibly somewhere in Sydney Cove as this name is listed after other placenames in Sydney Cove
Cow-wan	Ross Farm	Vocabulary … c.1790-1792: 362	Listed after *Gomora* Long Cove. *Cow-wan* may be another spelling of *Kowang* (see above). Lt Gen. Ross had a farm at Balmain, and thus *Cow-wan* may be part of the East Balmain peninsula.
Pa-rein-ma	The Point called the docks	Vocabulary … c.1790-1792: 362	
Boum|bana?|kine [letters illegible]	Greens Flat	Wentworth 1801-1825	
Corumbla	Long Beach	Wentworth 1801-1825	
Cullagala	North West Flat	Wentworth 1801-1825	
Yamba	a point near Botany Heads	Thornton 1899: 210	

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Table 1.3: Port Jackson – Botany Bay: number of Aboriginal placenames recorded in different periods, sources of information and geographic areas. (Note: there are more provenanced placenames than listed in Table 1.1 and shown in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 as more than one name is known for some locations.)

Period	Sources of information	Geographical area	No. of placenames – previously unrecorded		
			Prov-enanced	Unprov-enanced	Total
1788-1800	The First Fleet journalists: Daniel Southwell 1788 Arthur Phillip 1790b, 1792 William Dawes 1790, 1790-1791 Vocabulary... c.1790-1792 (attributed to Phillip, King & Collins) Watkin Tench 1793 Arthur Phillip in Hunter 1793 Philip Gidley King in Hunter 1793 David Collins 1798, 1802 Maps by C. Grimes 1796 John Hunter 1796, 1798	Port Jackson – north and south shores and islands along Parramatta River Parramatta–Toongabbie area	46	14	60
1801–1825	D'Arcy Wentworth 1801-1825 Francois Peron 1809 Joseph Lycett 1824 Maps by James Meehan 1807, 1811	Port Jackson – north and south shores Woolloomooloo Vicinity of Sydney Cove	9	3	12
1828–1836	James Larmer fieldnotes: 1829, 1830 James Larmer typescripts: '1832' and E. Stack 1906 James Larmer published 1898 and 1900 *Sydney Gazette* 29 (No. 1985) 1831 T. L. Mitchell n.d. Map of the Town of Sydney 1831, 1833 Maps by P. L. Berni 1828 and W. G. Caporn 1836	Port Jackson – north and south shores North Harbour Middle Harbour Coastline between Port Jackson and Botany Bay	29 (but see text)		29

Period	Sources of information	Geographical area	No. of placenames – previously unrecorded		
			Prov-enanced	Unprov-enanced	Total
1854–1870	W. A. Miles 1854 Jules Joubert 1860 Co. of Cumberland Parish map Willoughby n.d. (ca 1860s)	Coastline between Port Jackson and Botany Bay Hunters Hill peninsula Port Jackson north shore	1		1
1873–1899	'Sydney Cove' 1878a, 1878c Obed West n.d.[c.1882] George Thornton 1892[1893], 1896 in Organ 1990, 1899 Map by W.H. Huntingdon 1873 in Port Jackson Ab'l Names 1910	Coastline between Port Jackson and Botany Bay North Head (outer) Lane Cove River Farm Cove Beach Rose Bay Botany Bay–Kurnell peninsula	14	1	15
1911	Aboriginal Names and Meanings 1911: 214	Long Bay (Metropolitan district)	1		1
Totals			100	18	118

Table 1.4: Aboriginal placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay from historical sources: erroneous associations.

NAME – ABORIGINAL	NAME – IN SOURCE	REFERENCE	CORRECT ASSOCIATION
Jubagulla	Dawes Battery	Wentworth 1801-1825	Bennelong Point [see text]
Warang	Rose Bay	Wentworth 1801-1825	Sydney Cove
Boum billie	Shark Beach	Wentworth 1801-1825	Shark Island

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Endnotes

1. Port Jackson is generally known as Sydney Harbour, but Sydney Harbour is only one of three harbours within Port Jackson, the others being Middle Harbour and North Harbour.

2. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 and Figures 1.1 and 1.2 include some additions and amendments made since Attenbrow 2002: Table 2.1 was published.

3. I use the term 'the local inhabitants' as coastal Sydney was inhabited by numerous clans, each affiliated with a specific area of land, and I am talking generally about more than one clan. There is also much debate about the name and number of language groups and/or dialects in the region (Attenbrow 2002: 22-35).

4. Dawes 1790-1791 is an undated manuscript bound with Dawes 1790 and Vocabulary… c.1790-1792. Dates within the undated Dawes manuscript (see Figure 1.4) indicate it was compiled during 1790 and 1791. I have therefore cited it as Dawes 1790-1791, as other recent researchers have.

5. 'Cockle Harbor' probably refers to Cockle Bay, which was the term commonly used in historical accounts.

6. Ridley, W. 1875, *Kámilarói, and other Australian Languages*, Thomas Richards, Sydney: 20 lists "cockatoo – bīloëla or morāi".