

# Critical Discourse Analysis of Street Naming Practices in Bunbury, Western Australia

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Lipovac, Magdalena

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Magdalena Lipovac

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF STREET NAMING PRACTICES IN BUNBURY, WESTERN  
AUSTRALIA

Diplomski rad

Mentor: dr. sc. Mateusz-Milan Stanojević, izv. prof.

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UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Department of English

Magdalena Lipovac

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Advisor: Associate Professor Mateusz-Milan Stanojević

Zagreb, September 2019

Povjerenstvo:

Dr. sc. Ivana Bašić, viši lektor

Dr. sc. Marina Grubišić, viša asistentica

Dr. sc. Mateusz-Milan Stanojević, izv. prof.

Committee in charge:

Dr. Ivana Bašić, senior lector

Dr. Marina Grubišić, teaching assistant

Associate Professor Mateusz-Milan  
Stanojević

## **Abstract**

This thesis deals with street naming practices in Bunbury, Western Australia. More specifically, Bunbury's street name discourse has been analysed within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis in order to illuminate its relationship with the societal power structures that have been shaped by the town's colonial history. To do so, we used a corpus of 593 street names whose origins and meanings are detailed in Bunbury's street name register, provided by the town's council. The results of our research reveal that a layer of European street names has been imposed upon the land, while the indigenous Noongar people have been denied representation. Such homogenous names introduce a Eurocentric version of history into the public discourse, serving as a means of its validation and an aid for the maintenance of existing power structures. As a vehicle for public commemoration, street names have been utilised to subjugate and marginalize the Noongar community, while the imperialist demand for the establishment of a European society prevailed.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, colonial street names, Australia

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## 1. Introduction

At its peak, the British Empire encompassed nearly one quarter of Earth's surface and over one quarter of its entire population (Encyclopaedia Britannica Online n.d.). Through assertive colonial expansion, British imperialists sought not only territorial and economic growth, but also the institution of social and cultural authority over colonised peoples. In other words, the claiming of landscapes was accompanied by their cultural transformation. British explorers and settlers made sure that the newly formed societies on indigenous land were and remained "overwhelmingly European in character" (Marshall 1996, 7).

One of the strategies used to achieve this goal was the imposition of European place names onto British dominions all over the world. For instance, certain colonial territories in Africa were given the designation 'British', such as British Somaliland, British Togoland, and British Cameroons. In a like manner, several of the original Thirteen American colonies were named after British monarchs: North and South Carolina after King Charles I, Georgia after King George II, and Virginia after the Virgin Queen Elizabeth I (State Symbols USA n.d.). Halfway across the globe, the whole of the Australian continent was named by an English explorer, its name coming from the Latin *Terra Australis*, or Southern Land (National Library of Australia n.d.). Such European place names were not applied only to large territories like continents and states. Rather, they pervaded colonial landscapes and permeated everyday lives of their inhabitants, as they were also utilized to label smaller localities – cities, towns, and streets.

The research framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is particularly useful for the study of such place and street names, as it shines a light on the relationship between language use and societal power structures (Van Dijk 1995). By employing the approach of CDA, one can uncover the underlying ideologies and political intent of the agencies in charge of a certain mode of discourse – which in this case would be the British agencies in charge of place naming, intent on setting up a European society on colonised indigenous land. Researchers in the field of critical place name studies have been operating under the framework of CDA for several decades now, seeking to unearth precisely the interplay between an area's place names and its social and political reality (Alderman 2008).

Following that tradition, we have utilized CDA principles to research Australia's linguistic landscape and examine how it relates to its colonial history. More specifically, we settled on a case study of Bunbury, a town established in the early colonial days of Western Australia. An interpretation of its street names through the lens of CDA provides valuable insight into the societal power relations shaped by the arrival of British settlers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – as indigenous communities were overpowered by imperialist demand for the establishment of a society dominated by European values.

The paper is structured in the following way. The next section provides more details about Critical Discourse Analysis and its application in place name research, with a particular focus on the colonial context. The third section presents the research design, laying out the methodology as well as the research questions and hypotheses. In section four, we present the case study itself, as we briefly report on Bunbury's history before moving on to the discussion of the study's results. Lastly, the conclusion revisits the previously established hypotheses in light of the research results.

## **2. Theoretical background**

### **2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis and commemorative street names**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that focuses in particular on the relationship between language use and society (Van Dijk 1995, 17). Research in CDA acknowledges that discourse is often motivated and shaped by implicit political intentions and ideologies, which it aims to uncover. It also seeks to find how societal relations of power, dominance and inequality are reflected in and reinforced by the use of language (Van Dijk 1995, 18). In doing so, CDA recognizes that specific social groups are allowed to participate in certain modes of discourse that others are denied from. It is the social elites that have preferential access to and consequently control over the most influential types of discourse in society – a privilege that is in effect a social resource of power. When this power is abused to control the minds of recipients and promote the interests of the powerful, elite-controlled discourse can become an expression and the legitimization of



different forms of inequality, reflecting and perpetuating major social problems such as racism (Van Dijk 1995, 19-20).

One influential mode of discourse commonly characterised by preferential access and elite control is the language of places and streets. While traditional place name research treated its subject of study as passive entities and “unproblematic indicators” of the land’s culture and history for the better part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the contemporary approach following the cultural turn in humanities and social sciences falls under the framework of CDA (Alderman 2008, 197). No longer concerned with traditional etymological and taxonomic issues, place names scholars have moved towards critically interpreting and explaining the intent behind place naming. And while it is undeniable that place names do reflect the cultural and historical context under which they came into existence, that is not everything there is to them. Critical place name studies also recognise that they are powerful semiotic texts that belong to the structures of power and as a result they present the political, ideological and commemorative priorities of former periods (Rose Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2010).

It is precisely this commemorative dimension that makes such place names – and especially street names, since they are so commonly utilized for commemoration – a particularly interesting field of study. Commemorative names satisfy two functions: practically they are used to mark a location and help people navigate through their environment, while also functioning symbolically as representations of an official and authorised account of history. They reveal what was considered historically important and worthy of public remembrance by those agencies in charge of the naming process (Azaryahu 1996). And keeping in mind the aforementioned exclusiveness of this mode of discourse, i.e. the fact that only the official agencies with their own particular political agendas are allowed to participate in it – it is certain that their authorised account of history is just one version of it. There are other social groups who may, and most certainly have, experienced reality quite differently. Yet, their account is left out of the official discourse which seeks to construct a hegemonic version of history, celebrating it as a “definitive representation(s) and interpretation(s) of the past” (Azaryahu 1996, 319). It logically follows that identification with this discourse is a source of social distinction for those included, while simultaneously leading to the marginalisation of those excluded (Alderman 2008, 199). And even beyond merely reflecting the policymakers’ worldview, commemorative place names are also an aid in the legitimation and advancement

of their ideological stance and political interests. The official version of history they construct validates, and in turn helps uphold the existing power structures and socio-political order (Azaryahu 1996).

There are other strategies, as well as other modes of discourse, that serve the same purpose. For instance, commemorative monuments and heritage museums are too politically and ideologically charged and they also convey symbolic meaning to those who interact with them. However, place names have an edge over them. According to Maoz Azaryahu (1996), the main merit of street names as conductors of political and ideological agendas lies in the fact that they are a normal part of everyday life, being quite ordinary and mundane. Unlike monuments and museums, which are evidently and markedly loaded with political intent and symbolic meaning, place names are not. When a person gazes at a commemorative monument of a former country leader, they are aware that a symbolic meaning is being conveyed to them. Because the symbolic is in the foreground and people are aware of it, they may reject the internalization of such meanings.

However, when a person utters a commemorative street name while making plans to meet at that location, they do not think about its specific historical meaning and significance. Everyone uses place names in conversation, but scarcely anyone considers their involvement in the socio-political world. In a nutshell, people generally do not view place names as expressions of ideology and politics precisely because they are a part of their normal workaday lives – which they expect to be void of such influences. Place names act as an entry point for the authorised version of history to slip into the sphere of ordinary life, reshaping that historical account into something familiar whereupon it begins to seem like the “natural order of things” (Azaryahu 1996, 320).

## **2.2. The colonial context**

Everything presented thus far of course remains applicable when considering place names in the colonial context. Nonetheless, there are a few particularities that still need to be addressed. Below, the points brought up by two relevant papers are laid out, since they served as inspiration for our own analysis: a study of place names of Hawai'i (Herman 1999) and a critical place name essay that focuses on the USA (Grounds 2001).

According to Herman, the Western street names imposed upon Hawai’ian territory served as an additional way of asserting control over land that did not belong to the colonial invaders – over land they were conquering and wished to keep under their thumb. He argues that the imposition of such a layer of Western names contributed to the transformation of a Hawai’ian space into a Western space. This is in line with other writing about the place naming process on the whole, where it has been described as a means of “claiming the landscape, materially and symbolically” (Alderman 2008, 199). And it can be argued that nowhere is this as evident as it is in the role of naming in colonial contexts, where such discourse followed and reinforced the expropriation of indigenous land.

Furthermore, Herman studied the role of colonially imposed place names in terms of their imposition of “order, knowledge, language – onto a space rendered passive, unknowing” (1999, 76). According to him, the colonial Age of Exploration can be understood as a “project to cover the globe with order, to subject other lands and people to names and categories, hierarchies and schema, of European design” (78). Just like indigenous peoples were viewed as primitive and their traditional knowledge considered frivolous and unscientific, so were their place names ignored because they did not constitute order from the Eurocentric perspective. For the colonizers, to institute European place names meant to introduce order and bring civilisation to uncivilised land.

Lastly, Herman found that indigenous Hawai’ian people and their language are represented in the street names of their own country only when “they no longer pose a major political obstacle to American hegemony” (78). They gain access to these places of public memory only if it is safe for the colonizers and doesn’t undermine the stability of the power structures they established. To put it differently, indigenous people (the socially marginalized) are denied access to this mode of discourse until they conform to the colonizer’s authorised version of social reality and history.

Richard Grounds writes that the process of naming “within one’s own cultural idiom is a fundamental procedure for obtaining orientation in a new land” (2001, 300). In other words, names from one’s own linguistic and cultural context reconstruct the new and unfamiliar country they are imposed upon into something familiar. This is, once again, in agreement with other academic writing on the subject, where place naming has been described as “an attempt

to render the unfamiliar more manageable” (Rose Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2010, 454). Grounds goes on to identify such naming strategies as a method of claiming authority over a territory, keeping in consonance with Herman’s thinking. He poses that it was important for the British colonizers in Africa to use that method of placing “a familiar label on that which they ‘discovered’ in an effort to establish, to their own satisfaction, their right to the territory and to refashion it for their own habitation” (301). If we synthesise Herman’s points with Grounds’, we can conclude that the British colonial practice of imposing familiar names onto a new and unfamiliar place contributed to its transformation into a British space.

And lastly, the role of naming in nation building has been extensively studied by critical place name scholars, who recognised the potential of commemorative street names to reinvent notions of national identity (Alderman 2008, 196). Such naming practices can be found in colonial locations as well, particularly when those regions started seeking independence from their colonial rulers. For example, Grounds notices a wish to move away from an overreliance on place names with European origins in late 19<sup>th</sup> century USA. This was achieved by introducing decidedly American names, which contributed to the creation of a distinctly American identity.

Because Australian colonial history is comparable to historical circumstances of the abovementioned former colonial territories, Herman’s and Grounds’ arguments will be utilized for the interpretation of street naming practices in Bunbury.

### **3. Research design**

#### **3.1. Methodology and data collection**

Bunbury was chosen as the subject of this study for several reasons.

Firstly, it was established on indigenous Noongar land as one of Western Australia’s earliest colonial settlements. Therefore, a detailed critical discourse analysis of its street names will give insight into the commemorative priorities of the governing colonial authorities.

Secondly, it was important to select a town of an appropriate size, so that we could compile a large enough street name corpus. Fittingly, the greater Bunbury region has a

population of about 80,000 people, making it the third largest city in the state with a total of 755 street names (Bunbury City Council n.d.)

Lastly, it was necessary to find reliable data regarding the meaning and origin of these street names. Bunbury's public roads street name register lays out the origins for the majority of them (Bunbury City Council 2007). Out of 755 total names, the meaning is unknown for 75 and for another 83 it is uncertain. Such names were not included in the study, bringing the total of street names analysed to 593.

### **3.2. Research questions and hypotheses**

To show how Bunbury's street names both reflect and help maintain the political and social hierarchies of the area they lay upon, the following research questions were drawn up:

1. What is the intent behind and the consequence of street naming practices in Bunbury?
2. Are the indigenous Noongar people and their culture included in the discourse of Bunbury's street names?

Based on these questions, research hypotheses were formulated as follows:

1. Bunbury's street names reflect and validate the authorised version of history introduced by British settlers, in turn helping maintain the existing social order.
2. The indigenous Noongar people are denied access to the discourse of Bunbury's street names unless they conform to the colonizers' authorised version of social reality and history.

### **3.3. A caveat**

In order to not misrepresent the nature of place naming, it is also important to note that just as the social elite can use politically and ideologically charged discourse to keep the existing social order in place, so can the socially marginalized use it as a means of resistance and opposition (Van Dijk 1995). Place and street names are not permanently etched into the landscape – on the contrary, it is precisely because of their political and social nature that they are quite commonly disputed and amended (Azaryahu 1996). In the interest of gaining wider public recognition and legitimacy, various social groups endeavour to control the naming

process (Rose Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2010). In addition to opposition through 'official' means, resistance can come in the form of alternative pronunciations, as well as a flat-out refusal to use a street's official name (Azaryahu 1996).

In Bunbury, we have found no evidence of legislative opposition to political and social injustice through the renaming of streets. Unfortunately, we do not have access to Noongar knowledge and oral lore, which could provide further valuable insight into the matter.

Due to such research limitations, the utilization of place naming for the purposes of social resistance will not be covered in this paper.

## **4. Case study: Bunbury, Western Australia**

### **4.1. The historical context**

For about 45,000 years, several socio-dialectal groups of Aboriginal Noongar people have lived in the south-west of today's Western Australia (South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council n.d.). To have a connection with this land is an integral part of what it means to be Noongar, as is caring for the country and all things in it (South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council n.d.). Noongar people led semi-nomadic lives, freely moving over the land in line with the seasonal changes, in order to be closer to food and water supplies (Tilbrook 1983, 3). They had been careful not to overexploit or harm their environment by employing traditional farming and hunting methods, which held no destructive consequences for the natural resources within it (Palmer and Collard 1996, 20).

In early 19th century, their way of life was interrupted by the arrival of British colonizers, accompanied by extensive exploration of the land and the establishment of new towns along the coastline. The newly arrived explorers and settlers treated the country they landed on as *terra nullius*, ignoring any land rights of the people who had inhabited it for thousands of years prior. They were quite aware of the existence of other inhabitants, but the territory in question was viewed as undeveloped, uncultivated, and therefore readily available for the Europeans to claim by right of occupancy (Brasch 2007, 14).

It was at this time that the town of Bunbury was established on the south-west coast of Western Australia. In 1830, Governor James Stirling, the administrator of the surrounding Swan River Colony, first set up a short-lived military station in the area. It eventually grew into a township and by 1841 the lots in the town had been surveyed and declared for selection. The town was named by Stirling after Lieutenant Henry William St. Pierre Bunbury, who carried out explorations in the region (Western Australian Land Information Authority n.d.).

Since the European newcomers settled along the shore of Western Australia, the local Noongar people were pushed inland, restricted in freedom of movement and spatially marginalized. They no longer had free roam of their former hunting grounds, nor did they have access to the fishing waters that were commonly the backbone of their livelihood. What's more, British colonisation also depleted their traditional food resources, thereby creating a dependency on imported European goods. As a result, many Noongar people were compelled to take up servant posts working for the settlers. From the colonizer's perspective, this was seen as ideal: a way to assimilate the local Aboriginal population as they adopt British customs and beliefs, while also providing a much-needed source of labour for the new settlements. The government offered monetary incentives to those settlers who trained Aborigines in the required domestic and trade skills (Tilbrook 1983). In essence, the assimilation of indigenous people was encouraged, so long as they were kept to submissive roles - constricting them not only to the outskirts of the land, but to the outskirts of society as well.

In early 20<sup>th</sup> century, such attitudes of racism were further intensified and legitimized by the state of Western Australia through the imposition of discriminatory legislation. The Aborigines Act of 1905, which remained in force for over 50 years, has had significant negative impacts on the lives of Noongar people. The Act established the position of Chief Protector of Aborigines, who had far-reaching authority over many facets of an Aboriginal person's life. He was the legal guardian of all Aboriginal children under the age of 16. He could manage, retain or sell any property belonging to an Aboriginal person without their consent, and he could grant or deny a marriage between an Aboriginal woman and a non-Aboriginal man. Moreover, the state also had the authority to place and keep any Aboriginal person within the boundaries of a reserve, as well as deny them access to certain municipal districts and towns (Aborigines Act 1905). This legislation ushered in an "apartheid regime where Aboriginal people in

Western Australia were discriminated against in all sorts of ways” (South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council n.d.).

Some Noongar people were also compelled to deny their heritage, as exemptions from the Act and its dire consequences could be made for those who did not habitually associate or socialize with other Aborigines and were sufficiently assimilated into the roles allowed to them in a European-dominated society (Tilbrook 1983, 69). They had to choose between belonging, in the eyes of the law, to “a rejected section of Australian society” and denouncing a key part of their identity while detaching from their Noongar families and culture (Tilbrook 1983, 5) In other words, they were only allowed access to full citizenship rights if they fit within the colonial idea of what Noongar people should be like.

The 1905 Act was followed by many amendments in the same vein and it was not until the 1970s that these discriminatory laws were repealed (South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council n.d.).

Evidently, Western Australia has a turbulent history of almost two centuries of racial inequality and discrimination. In the next section, we will show not only how its history is manifest in Bunbury’s street names, but also how these names aid in the validation and preservation of the power hierarchies that shaped it.

## **4.2. Results and discussion**

This section starts with a presentation and discussion of quantitative results. Attention will be aimed at both street names with Aboriginal ties and at commemorative street names. The latter will be further sorted into five subcategories, each of which will be discussed separately.

Next, three examples of note will be examined and commented on. These include a street name commemorating a controversial colonial figure, a grouping of streets named after colonial explorers and their Aboriginal guides, as well as the only street that commemorates a prominent member of the Aboriginal community.



### 4.2.1. Quantitative results

The first question to answer was how many of Bunbury's street names have ties to the indigenous Aboriginal population and culture. Two ways were identified for this condition to be met: either the name draws its linguistic origin from an Aboriginal language or it commemorates a person of Aboriginal descent. Only 34 out of the total 593 names, a mere 6%, make this cut.

As was outlined previously, upon their arrival in Western Australia, British colonizers treated the land as *terra nullius* and claimed it as their own. Exerting military and economic power, they established towns along this territory, Bunbury being one of them. Its streets plainly show signs of yet another strategy of asserting control over the land: naming as a means of claiming. In consonance, the vast majority of street names imposed upon the landscape are of European etymology. They mirror and validate the viewpoint that Western Australia was practically unoccupied upon the colonizers' arrival, when other people had been living there for tens of thousands of years.

What is more, this is an obvious example of British imposition of knowledge and order onto a "space rendered passive, unknowing" (Herman 1999, 76). Just like the Noongar people themselves were dismissed as primitive and their land therefore treated as unoccupied, their place names were also ignored. Instead, European names were introduced to bring order into a land considered previously untouched by civilization.

In addition, the sheer numbers make it obvious that the discourse of Bunbury's street names is characterized by preferential access: the immigrating white population is allowed to participate, while the indigenous Noongar people are not. The British are favoured with representation and remembrance as they get to see their language and culture depicted on the social stage of public discourse. The authorised version of history exhibited in that discourse excludes the perspective of the Noongar, who experienced the past and its social reality quite differently. Their history is in effect erased from streets as places of public memory. Instead, the only history worth remembering and commemorating according to the official agencies is white, British and colonial.

Let us also extend the argument made by Herman regarding Hawai’ian street names to the situation in Bunbury, which has been similarly affected by colonialism (1999). We argue that this layer of street names imposed by the colonizers assisted in the transformation of a Noongar space into a British space. Through it, the Noongar were excluded from participation in the social and political realm, just like they were often physically excluded from entering this space through official legislation (Aborigines Act 1905). Because the colonizers employed several such strategies, the exclusion was made all-encompassing and the space and its history rendered homogenously British.

Next, the names were categorized as either commemorative or non-commemorative. Figure 1 shows how common each type is:

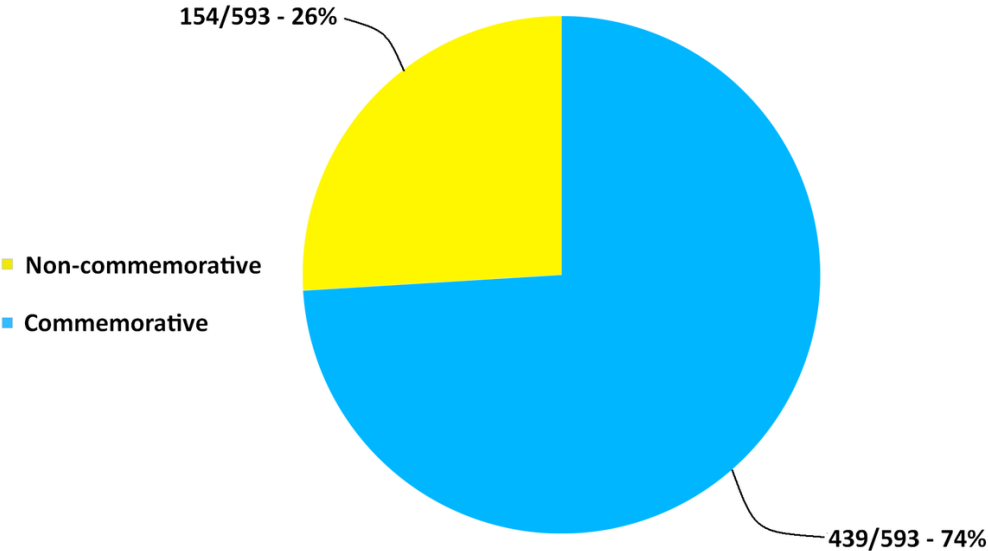


Figure 1: *Bunbury street names categorized by commemoration*

As is evident, the majority of Bunbury’s street names are commemorative. This points to the fact that the official agencies in charge of naming in Bunbury have been, for the most part, tapping into not only the navigational but also their symbolic purpose.

The overlap between Aboriginal and commemorative, or rather non-commemorative street names is quite telling. The pie slices representing names with Aboriginal ties have been singled out in Figure 2:

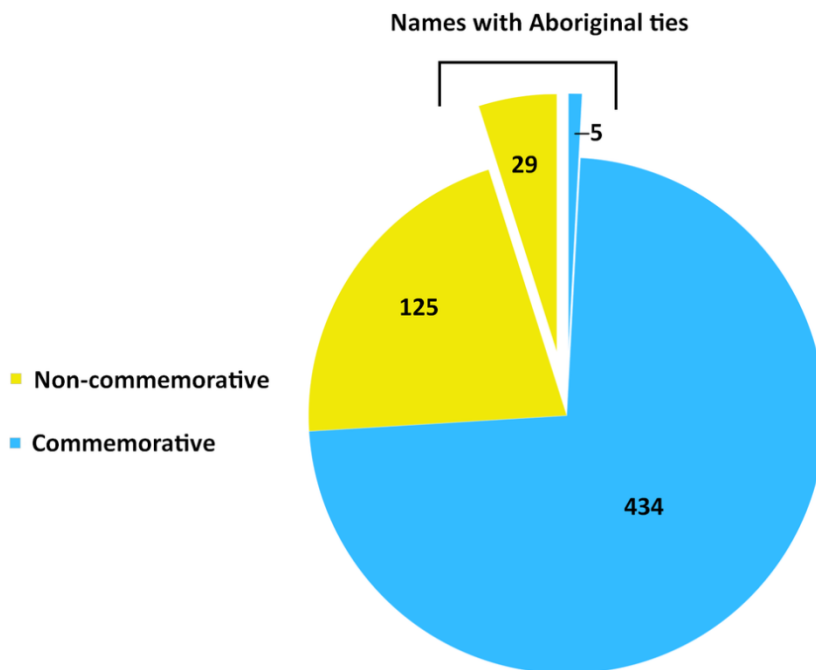


Figure 2: Commemorative and non-commemorative street names with Aboriginal ties

Out of 34 street names with Aboriginal ties, 29 are non-commemorative. Two commemorate other locations in Western Australia that just happen to bear names of Aboriginal etymology, while only three names in the whole of Bunbury commemorate a person of Aboriginal descent.

The small grouping of non-commemorative names that are allowed into the official discourse are names of plants and other wildlife. Such names are not as politically and ideologically charged as commemorative ones, meaning that they do not threaten existing power structures. In essence, even when words from an Aboriginal language are introduced, they are still symbolically silent. They are only accommodated within the abovementioned authorised version of history because they do not contradict it.

Somewhat alike are two of the names commemorating Aboriginal persons, but this point will be further elaborated on in section 4.2.2.

Considering their quantity and notable political and ideological aspect, this next section will go into more detail regarding commemorative names. To make matters orderly, they were sorted into five subcategories, according to whom or what they are commemorating. The subcategories are as follows: (1) names commemorating people, (2) names commemorating ships, (3) names commemorating places, (4) names commemorating

the University of Oxford, and a final (5) miscellaneous grouping. Figure 3 shows the distribution of street names along these subcategories:

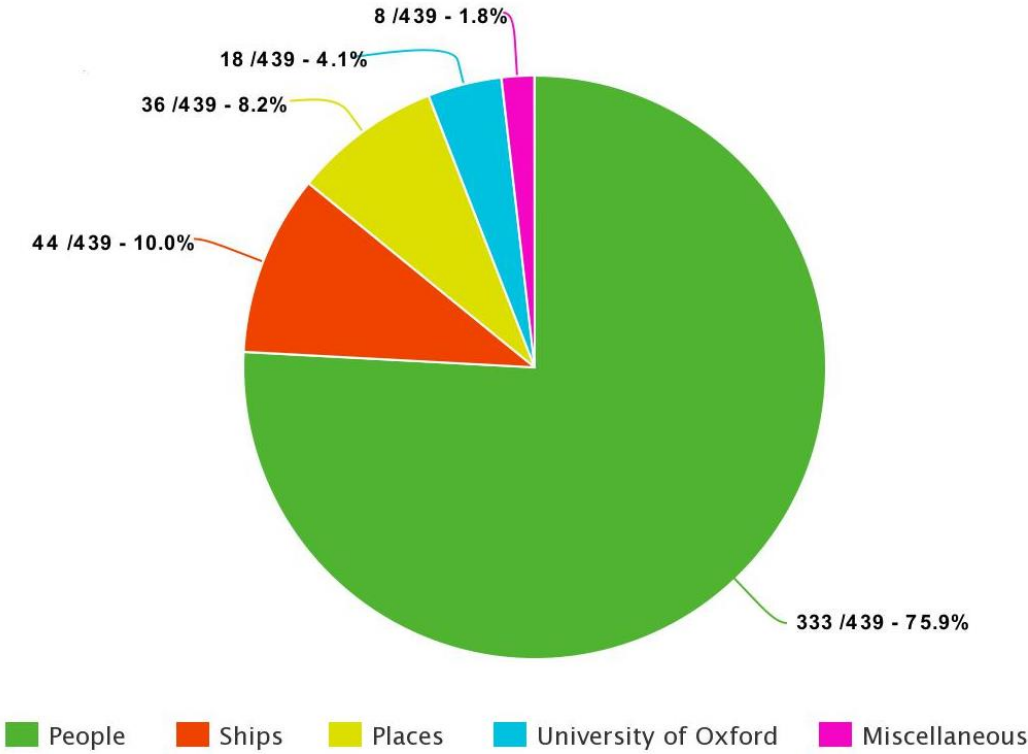


Figure 3: Commemorative street names in Bunbury

People are most commonly commemorated, adding up to 333 streets, which is 76% of all commemorative street names. In fact, this subcategory is the most populous overall, encompassing 56% of all streets in Bunbury.

Local figures make up most of it, with 311 streets named after local politicians and city hall workers, military men, railway workers, land surveyors, early settlers and other prominent persons who lived in the area. Additionally, a surprisingly small number of 10 streets commemorate figures of the British Empire; several are named after religious saints; a few more after French colonial figures; and the final three after persons of Aboriginal descent.

Particularly interesting for our study is the commemoration of 19 land surveyors. These were the men in charge of exploring and physically claiming the land for the British government and the establishment of its colonies. Names of 84 early settlers, the first European people to live on that land and claim it as their own some two centuries ago, are also recorded on Bunbury’s streets. What is more, 39 street name descriptions in the official Bunbury street name register

mentions ownership, indicating it is the reason for commemoration. To illustrate, Brown Street was named after Thomas Brown, a long-time resident who “owned land in this locality” (Bunbury City Council 2007, 7), Flynn Street after Ignatius Flynn who “once owned the property” (10), and Cannon Place commemorates “early settlers of the area and original owners of the land” (17). Referring to the Cannons as the land’s ‘original owners’ is itself indicative of the colonizers’ stance that the land they were claiming was uncultivated and unoccupied prior to their arrival.

It logically follows that a physical claim on the land authorised by the British colonial authorities or the state of Western Australia is considered a worthy reason for claiming those locations in their political and social context as well. Material possession leads to commemoration – and the relationship between the two is marked by reciprocity. Symbolic commemoration in turn validates and legitimizes the physical claim on the land.

The next commemorative subcategory comprises of ship names, which is unsurprising given the fact that Bunbury is a coastal town. What does deserve our attention in particular is the fact that 14 out of 44 of these names commemorate colonial ships that brought British settlers and supplies to Western Australia. They were quite literally the vessels of colonialism and their names invoke images of British imperialist ambitions. Their inclusion in the discourse of Bunbury’s street names honours and validates the system that employed them. In other words, we can see evidence of the legitimation of British imperialism through its indirect commemoration on Bunbury’s streets. To circle back to arguments posed previously, these names once again perpetuate a singular authorised account of history in which the colonizing British powers brought civilisation to previously uncivilised and, for all their intents and purposes, unmanned lands.

The third subcategory includes commemoration of various locations. Out of 36 such names, one was named after a province in Italy, 17 commemorate rivers and other towns in Western Australia, 7 are named along the theme of European Grand Canals, and 11 are named after family homes of settlers or towns back in Great Britain.

Firstly, we suggest that the 17 Western Australian names could have served as an aid in the creation of a distinct Australian identity, separate from that of the British Empire. By introducing names which are markedly Australian in their symbolic capacity, the authorities

employed naming as a method of nation building. Additionally, another street name from the miscellaneous category clearly served the same purpose: Premier Street, which was surveyed in the 1890s, commemorates “Western Australia’s move to self-government with a Premier as head of government” (Bunbury City Council 2007, 37).

Secondly, Bunbury’s official street name register identifies seven streets named along the same theme – Grand Canals. This includes streets that bear the names of Venetian suburbs, rivers, and bridges, as well as a province in France. Examples include San Marco Promenade, Basilica Place, Rialto Close and Venezia Boulevard. They are all located in Pelican Point, an area of Bunbury that encompasses three housing estates with valuable waterfront properties, as well as an 18-hole golf course. It has been purposefully developed as a low-density residential area “with allowances for larger homes and grander housing designs” (Bunbury City Council 2013, 7). Therefore, it is safe to say that this is an exclusive area meant for the richer inhabitants of Bunbury. Its developers must have been aware of the power of place naming as an “important branding strategy”, as the street names that lay over the estates were evidently chosen specifically because they invoke romantic imagery of the old continent (Alderman 2008, 201). Derek H. Alderman notes that such marketing strategies are employed to attract residents by giving them a “sense of sophistication” and a “point of social distinction” (2008, 201). Essentially, the Grand Canal names symbolically reflect the monetary worth of the properties and having a home with such an address provides its owner with a degree of social distinction.

Thirdly, let us focus on the commemoration of 11 family home and town names. This grouping exemplifies how naming can be used to render the unfamiliar familiar. The new foreign space of Bunbury was given the name of something the settlers had already had intimate knowledge of, in order to transform that unknown space into something more “manageable” (Rose Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2010, 454). For example, Evedon Street was named after a surveyor’s hometown in England (Bunbury City Council 2007, 44), while Wexford Lane got its name after the Congregation of Sisters of Saint John of God moved from Wexford, Ireland to Bunbury in 1926 (48). On top of that, Henley Drive (23), Marlston Drive (29), and Willoughby Street (49) were all named after family homes of Bunbury’s early settlers and surveyors. As they emigrated from Britain, these people symbolically took a part of their home with them. Evidently, naming strategies very much alike those employed by the British in colonial Africa,

as has been reported by Richard A. Grounds, were used to assert control over this land in Western Australia (2001). This argument could of course be extended to all other street names of European etymology, but it is this particular grouping where it is the most obvious. Familiar old country names have been simply transplanted onto a new land so that the settlers could further establish their claim on it, while simultaneously aiding in the transformation of this Noongar space into a British space.

The fourth commemorative subcategory includes a series of 18 streets named after colleges and permanent private halls of the University of Oxford. For instance, Trinity Rise was named after Trinity College (Bunbury City Council 2007, 46), Hildas Close after St Hilda's College (23), Pembroke Street after Pembroke College (36), Christchurch Place after Christ Church College (11), and so on. We have already illustrated how the imposition of European street names on the whole was a colonial strategy of introducing order in a space considered unknowing, but let us expand upon that argument. Such imposition is indicative of the British colonial attitude of authority over knowledge – and out of all the streets in Bunbury, that attitude is the most obvious in this grouping. Palmer and Collard report that local Noongar oral lore and knowledge have largely been dismissed by the white settlers as unscientific (1996). In contrast, an academic establishment from the English speaking world – the University of Oxford – is commemorated on 18 separate occasions. Clearly, these streets reflect the viewpoint that the British have dominion over knowledge. Even more than that, they also legitimize the perspective that British scholarly tradition is all-around superior to Noongar knowledge and oral heritage.

The final miscellaneous category consists of eight street names that did not quite fit into any other category, including commemorations of a few significant events from the history of the British Empire, as well as several streets commemorating the life events of a local bishop. All of them are of European etymology, so the arguments outlined at the beginning of our discussion still apply.

#### **4.2.2. Notable examples**

This section is dedicated to three particularly compelling examples of commemoration. We will start with the controversial colonial governor James Stirling, then move on to the Forrest brothers who explored Australian territory with the aid of Aboriginal guides Tommy

Windich and Tommy Pierre, and finally finish up with Henry Calgaret, a member of the local Aboriginal community.

#### **4.2.2.1. James Stirling and the Pinjarra massacre**

Stirling Street commemorates Sir James Stirling, the first governor of the Swan River Colony, an appointment he held from 1829 to 1838 (Bunbury City Council 2007, 43). He was not only the Colony's founder, but also "for almost a decade its ruler and patriarch" (Crowley, "Stirling, Sir James (1791-1865)" 1967). The early colonial days of his administration were witness to numerous violent encounters between the British colonizers and the indigenous Noongar population (Palmer and Collard 1996, 31).

In all likelihood the most atrocious act of violence committed by Stirling is referred to by many older Eurocentric sources as the Battle of Pinjarra (Bates 1926; Cygnet 1934; Crowley 1967). Clearly a euphemism, the name downplays the severity of this one-sided bloodshed while implying that both parties were involved in the conflict as active participants. The Noongar community recalls this event quite differently, describing it, more appropriately, as the Pinjarra Massacre (Palmer and Collard 1996).

Not only does the designation differ, but so do the reports of what actually transpired on the morning of October 28<sup>th</sup> 1834. Below, we present two divergent accounts of events – one praising the Battle of Pinjarra (The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal 1834) and one condemning the Pinjarra Massacre (Palmer and Collard 1996).

The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal, a contemporaneous local weekly newspaper, reported on the matter a few days after it happened. The article starts with an assurance of its accuracy and truthfulness, based on the fact that a respected unnamed 'Gentleman, an eye witness' provided them with first-hand insight (382). According to him, a party of 25 men led by James Stirling were riding through the bush to survey the land they recognised as "another place of resort for the natives of the district", but on which they nonetheless intended to establish a town (382). While riding, they unexpectedly came across a Noongar encampment. Seeing that some Noongar people had murdered a white settler not long before, Stirling wished to interview the group they stumbled upon – and should they prove to be the ones responsible for the murder, punish them. However, because of the noise



in the encampment, the Noongar were reportedly unable to hear Stirling's party calling out to them. Still unnoticed, some of the party circled around the camp to wait by the river. Once Stirling rode out into the clear, the Noongar stood up and seized their weapons. When they saw that the horsemen showed no signs of slowing down or stopping, the Noongar started retreating towards the river. At this point, the article completely fails to remember the pretence it laid out earlier, i.e. Stirling's supposed intention to interview the Noongar, as there is no mention of a further attempt at peaceful conversation. The Noongar escaped towards the river where they came across the other half of Stirling's party. Caught in a cross fire, between 25 and 30 were shot – with the probability that the bodies of more who had been killed were carried down the stream unnoticed. On the other side, two members of Stirling's party were injured, one of whom died as a consequence after this article was published (Palmer and Collard 1996). The article praises Stirling's assertiveness and leadership, referring to his party's actions as a "severe but well-merited chastisement" (382). Public sentiment at the time seems to have been in agreement, as the article also states that this "successful and decisive encounter with the Natives of the Murray, who have for some time been the terror of the neighbourhood, was received with general satisfaction" (382). Many white settlers and colonial administrators viewed the attack not only as a necessity, but also a responsibility of colonial leaders who were tasked with the protection of their people (Palmer and Collard 1996, 54-58).

To contemporary eyes, even through such an approving description, Stirling's decisions still read as a heinous act of violence. However, there is more to this story. Scholar and Noongar elder Lenard Collard conducted more extensive research into the matter, concluding that the official Wedjela (white man) story "suffers from an enormous lack of credibility" (Palmer and Collard 1996, 31). Collard reports that the colonial settlement near Pinjarra led by Thomas Peel was in deep trouble by 1834 – and all of that trouble Peel blamed on the Noongar. Following his logic, the only answer to this problem was a display of military superiority over who he saw as troublesome. Wanting to ensure the optimal development of his colony, Stirling was in agreement. In both their eyes, such development was hindered by the presence and actions of a key indigenous population that needed to be stifled. The indigenous population targeted were the Binjarrup Noongars, who had "made their name as the strongest, most able and least willing to relinquish their control" (32). To achieve his goal, Stirling

assembled a special unit of mounted police which trained for several months prior to the Massacre. By further critically studying Stirling's own records of the event, Collard deduces that the Pinjarra Massacre was a carefully planned surprise attack "designed to place Nyungars in a most vulnerable position" (52). In clear opposition to the above reported 'first-hand' account of events, the confrontation was in fact not coincidental.

What's more, Collard reports one important question posited by the local Noongar community: why would such a highly skilled group of people not offer more resistance during the conflict? Well, according to Noongar lore, the site of the Massacre was an old Noongar women's area. It is quite likely that the group attacked was comprised mostly of women, children and elders protected only by a handful of young fighters. Collard concludes that Stirling must have known this or he would not have sent so few people to confront what would have been 80 of the Colony's most infamous Noongar warriors.

Taking Collard's findings into account, we can confidently say that Stirling did not intend to act as a protector of his people. Rather, as the colonial invader he was set on breaking the Noongar resistance to colonial supremacy and establishing dominion over the land and all the people inhabiting it – by any means necessary.

It almost goes without saying that the commemoration of James Stirling in the streets of Bunbury extends to a commemoration of colonialism and British imperialist politics. Stirling not only established, but was also instrumental in maintaining the power structures of early colonial Bunbury. Honouring his legacy through street name commemoration legitimizes those structures as well as their underlying ideology which viewed the white settlers as naturally superior to the indigenous peoples.

Even further, by honouring the man responsible for the mass murder of the Binjarrup Noongar, the naming authorities in Bunbury not only justified, but also praised his military actions. It was on account of those actions that he was hailed as the protector of the Colony. Distressingly, even one hundred years after the fact, an article was published in the West Australian celebrating the Massacre's centenary (Cygnet 1934). It reads in part:

*On Sunday next we will be celebrating its centenary; just one hundred years will elapse that day from that other day when Governor Stirling rode forth with his miniature 'army'*

*to do battle with the blacks and to teach them once and for all that the white man had come here to stay for good. It was not like Stirling to take a life for a life, but as he saw it, and as his advisers saw it, the very existence of the colony depended on a cessation of attacks on, and killings of, settlers and soldiers; and, even more than that, the success and the progress of the settlement depended on the recognition by the blacks of the white man's supremacy and of the fact that they, the black people, would have to accommodate their future life and ways of living to the needs and necessities of their white supplanters in the ownership of the soil.*

He was not commemorated in spite of what he did to the Binjarrup in Pinjarra, but because of what he did. This commemoration introduces a Eurocentric version of history into official discourse – the version that places Stirling on a pedestal as the resolute and brave leader who protected civilisation from the uncivilised brutes that threatened it. He personifies the disdainful colonial attitude that justified violence and expropriation under the guise of edification and establishment of order.

The problematic commemoration of his name is still a source of social marginalisation for the Noongar. For them, Stirling's name is not associated with protection and safety, but with pain and death. The street name discourse completely ignores their lived experience of the Massacre – it is not the murdered Noongar women, children and elderly that are commemorated, but their murderer is given such an honour. And the prejudiced version of history his name asserts into public discourse still to this day perpetuates and validates the racist attitudes he and his contemporaries held.

#### **4.2.2.2. White explorers and Aboriginal guides**

The next notable example that deserves more detailed attention is a grouping of streets named after British colonial explorers John and Alexander Forrest and their Aboriginal guides Tommy Windich and Tommy Pierre.

Sir John Forrest was a Western Australian-born surveyor, explorer and politician. Between 1869 and 1874, he led three expeditions into the interior. Later in life, he had a remarkably successful political career, going on to become Western Australia's first Premier. The

Australian dictionary of biography described him as “the most successful and influential public man in his home State during the whole of his career” (Crowley 1981).

John’s younger brother Alexander was also his second-in-command for two of John’s transcontinental expeditions, as well as the leader of several more. The Australian dictionary of biography even reports that his contemporaries considered him a better bushman than John, with him being “quicker to accept and persevere with risks”. In between such expeditions, Alexander had his hands in several pies: working as a surveyor of the Albany district, conducting business as an investor during the 1880s-1890s gold rush, and serving as the mayor of Perth for 6 years (Bolton 1981).

At that time, white respectable men undertook exploration as a means of social advancement (Bishop and White 2015, 33). In consonance, the Forrest brothers’ expeditions made them into celebrities in the white Australian context, laying down the groundwork for their subsequent remarkably successful political careers. The contemporaneous press reported on John’s “courage and endurance” (Crowley 1981), referring to him as the “intrepid” explorer (Western Mail 1905; Daily Advertiser 1913). A 1905 article from The West Australian reported on the procession organised in honour of the brothers’ return from the bush, noting that their “journey down to Adelaide resembled a Royal progress”. According to the article, “the greatest enthusiasm marked the proceedings, both the Forrest brothers being specially felicitated upon the entire success of their labours”.

Throughout the exploration of Australia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, European explorers were accompanied – or, more appropriately, guided by indigenous people (Bishop and White 2015, 32). And while the ‘leading’ white explorers were awarded the overwhelming majority of both social accolades and financial gain, they were not the only ones who caught the attention of the contemporaneous white public. The indigenous guides were often crucial for the success and survival of their parties and while their role has been for the most part undervalued, they were not completely ignored. In fact, several guides were treated as “minor celebrities” at the time. However, such celebrity status did not lead to a better life. On the contrary, Bishop and White suggest that it was quite possibly a burden, as it could have been “hindrance to their returning to their own communities, and yet it was never enough to lead to acceptance in white society” (47). Moreover, the material compensation the guides were

given in exchange for their indispensable service was indeed paltry, especially when compared to the pay issued to other members of the exploring party. Given their poor circumstances, many guides died at quite a young age (36).

Tommy Windich belonged to the Kokar people who spoke the Njaggi Njaggi language, but he was also fluent in other languages of the region (Crowley 1976). He guided several white men in their exploration of Australia, including John Forrest. Windich accompanied John on all three of his expeditions, while Tommy Pierre joined in on the last one (Costello 1936). Unfortunately, less has been chronicled about Pierre and no records were found that could tell us more about his heritage. But we do know that both Windich and Pierre died no more than six years after their expeditions with Forrest, when they were still quite young (Bishop and White 2015, 47). The Forrest brothers paid for Windich's tombstone, which they had inscribed with this rather patronising and self-aggrandizing sentiment (49):

*Erected by*  
*John and Alexander Forrest*  
*in Memory of*  
*Tommy Windich*  
*Born near Mt Stirling 1849*  
*Died at Esperance Bay 1876*  
*He was an aboriginal native of Western Australia,*  
*of great intelligence and fidelity, who accompanied them on EXPLORING*  
*EXPEDITIONS*  
*into the interior of Australia, two of which were from*  
*PERTH to ADELAIDE.*  
*Be ye also ready!*

It is evident that the brothers treated Windich's grave as an opportunity for self-promotion. This tombstone inscription implies that the only thing worth remembering about Tommy Windich is his 'faithful' service and contribution to 'their' accomplishments. His grave is in effect a memorial to the Forrests as well.

The location of Tommy Pierre's grave is unknown. However, a 1936 article from the regional Sunday Times did remark it would have been "gracious" of the local Historical Society to have erected a memorial on the graves of several indigenous guides – including Pierre – to serve the memory of "these faithful servants" (Costello, 4).

We can clearly see that the only attribute the white colonial community thought qualified Windich and Pierre for 'gracious' public honouring is their 'subservient' helping hand in the establishment of white colonial Australia.

Moreover, Windich's and Pierre's street name commemorations could also be interpreted as an extended commemoration of the Forrest brothers. What seems to particularly bolster this line of thinking are the street name descriptions themselves. This is the way Windich Street is described in Bunbury's official street name register (Bunbury City Council 2007, 49):

*Tommy Windich was an Aboriginal tracker who accompanied John and Alexander Forrest on their explorations of the country, including the expedition from Perth through the centre to Adelaide. He died in 1876 and is buried in Esperance. The Forrest brothers had inscribed on the headstone of his grave "He was an aboriginal..., of great intelligence and fidelity..."*

Pierre Street is labelled similarly (36):

*Tommy Pierre, an aboriginal, was a tracker with the Forrest expedition of 1874 which crossed from Perth to Adelaide through the centre of the continent.*

The sentiments expressed by these descriptions mirror the sentiment on Windich's tombstone. Once again, Windich's and Pierre's significance is derived from their association with the Forrests. On the other side, the descriptions of streets named after the Forrest brothers make no mention of any indigenous guides – even though the guides were the crucial reason behind not only the Forrests' success, but also their survival. Their street name commemorations stand on their own, whereas Windich's and Pierre's are dependent.

Furthermore, while Windich and Pierre are commemorated in one street name each, there are multiple streets that are somehow associated with the Forrest brothers (Bunbury City Council 2007). Forrest Avenue commemorates John specifically (17), while Forrest Street commemorates the entire family (18). Further, Alexander's sons are commemorated in the

names of Fitzroy Street (17) and Grant Street (20). The only reason his sons are recorded in the official discourse of Bunbury's street names seems to be their familial relation to Alexander, as once again the official register description does not detail anything about them personally besides that fact. Once more, these streets seem to be an extended commemoration of Alexander himself. The same could also be said for Premier Street, the street that "commemorates Western Australia's move to self-government with Premier as head" – since John Forrest indeed was that first Premier (37).

The Forrests were obviously heroes in the white Australian context and their commemoration legitimizes the ideology and power hierarchies introduced by British colonialism. And it may seem odd that Windich and Pierre would also be commemorated and to a certain degree celebrated in a society that at the time considered indigenous people inferior to the white race, restricted their personal freedom, ousted them from their own land and limited their access to food sources – among other atrocities. However, in the eyes of their contemporaries Windich and Pierre were not just any indigenous people – they were guides who aided white explorers in their inspection of a land that the colonialists intended to claim. Bishop and White report that such guides "were 'friendly natives' in a landscape of potential enemies" (2015, 50). They did not threaten colonial dominance the way other indigenous people may have. Not only that, but they also played an important part in the promotion of colonial interests. For the colonialists, they 'proved' a possibility of successful assimilation. Such assimilation never presumed equality between the white newcomers and indigenous peoples, but rather expected the indigenous to accept white supremacy and live their lives accordingly – as 'faithful servants'. In other words, the guides were "a model for how Australians felt Aboriginal people should be" (51).

Keeping all that in mind, it makes perfect sense that the official colonial naming authorities would want to commemorate the names of those indigenous people who fit the mould set out for them in the white Australian context. While other more 'menacing' members of the indigenous community were denied access to the public discourse of Bunbury's street names, Windich and Pierre were only allowed it because they conformed to the colonizers' authorised version of social reality and history. Much like the previously examined non-commemorative street names of Aboriginal etymology, Windich Street and Pierre Street do not threaten the status quo. In fact, they do even more than that: they validate the view that peaceful

assimilation to the satisfaction of both sides is possible. The authorised version of history that we've mentioned many a time – the version that places the white Europeans as naturally superior to the indigenous, who are relegated to servant roles – is legitimized through both the streets commemorating the Forrest brothers *and* the streets commemorating Windich and Pierre.

#### 4.2.2.3. Henry Calgaret

Aside from Tommy Windich and Tommy Pierre, Henry Calgaret is the only other person of Aboriginal heritage to be commemorated in a Bunbury street name. However, his commemoration is different in that it is likely not dependent on Calgaret's contribution to the preservation of colonial power hierarchies. Instead, it seems to be a positive example of public remembrance and honour bestowed upon a prominent member of the local Aboriginal (presumably Noongar) community. The street name description in the official Bunbury street name register reads (Bunbury City Council 2007, 10):

*The late Mr. Henry Calgaret was (a) respected member of the Bunbury aboriginal community. He was born in 1918 and died in 1976, an inspiration to his people.*

Unfortunately, whereas it was quite simple to find additional information about other people whose commemorations have been studied in more detail, that is not the case here. These two sentences are pretty much everything we have been able to find about Henry Calgaret – we do not know what in particular made him an 'inspiration to his people'.

Nonetheless, let us for a moment delve into speculation. There is a tombstone in the Bunbury cemetery that was erected in the memory of Horace M. Calgaret, whose birth and death coincide with the years listed in the Calgaret Street name description (Find a grave database and images 2017). Furthermore, an official Western Australian Government Gazette from 1954 mentions a Horace Malcolm Calgaret, reporting that he had been granted a Certificate of Citizenship under the 1944 Natives (Citizenship Rights) Act. Obviously, the overlap in information available about Horace and Henry is significant: both are recorded as a person of Aboriginal heritage with the last name Calgaret who lived from 1918 to 1976 in the Bunbury area. This could be a coincidence, but it is also possible that Horace and Henry are the same person and that the street name register simply recorded the wrong first name.



What is significant here is the fact that Horace was granted citizenship under a law that was markedly discriminatory towards indigenous peoples. In order to qualify for citizenship, an Aboriginal person had to meet a range of conditions. And once such citizenship was granted, they were not considered 'native or aborigine' anymore (Find and Connect Web Resource Project for the Commonwealth of Australia 2013). In essence, Horace – like many others – had to give up his Aboriginal identity in order to gain access to the rights that other white Australian citizens already had.

If we take it as fact that Henry is indeed Horace, then the street name description becomes somewhat ambiguous. According to it, Calgaret was a 'respected member of the Bunbury aboriginal community' – but who was he respected by? By society at large, by the members of his community, or perhaps by the white settler community – much like Windich and Pierre were? We do not know why he is described as an 'inspiration to his people'. Was it because he advocated for their rights as humans? Or was it because he was forced to give up his Aboriginal identity and conform to the colonial idea of what an indigenous person should be like – in effect, being the inspiration desired from the Eurocentric viewpoint?

Unfortunately, we simply do not have enough information to produce a more accurate in-depth study. If we had access to local Noongar oral lore, that could be the solution to the problem because H. Calgaret has been forgotten in most other aspects of public memory.

## **5. Conclusion**

This thesis has examined the street naming practices employed in Bunbury, Western Australia. The research aimed to situate its street names within the area's historical, social and political context. Bunbury being a town with a turbulent colonial history, our aim was to shed a light on the way this mode of public discourse was utilised to subjugate and marginalize the indigenous Noongar community, as imperialist demand for the establishment of a European society prevailed.

Operating within the established framework of Critical Discourse Analysis allowed us to formulate two research hypotheses, first of which being:

1. Bunbury's street names reflect and validate the authorised version of history introduced by British settlers, in turn helping maintain the existing social order.

Our analysis has verified this hypothesis. In keeping with contemporary scholarly research in the field of critical place name studies, we have also found that the public discourse of Bunbury's street names has served as an aid in the legitimisation and maintenance of a racially discriminatory socio-political order introduced by the arrival of British colonial settlers in Western Australia.

Firstly, we have determined that the overwhelming majority of the analysed street names, 94% to be exact, is of European origin. Such a layer of European street names imposed upon indigenous land indicates that Bunbury's naming authorities took advantage of naming as a means of claiming, so to legitimize the physical claim on the land. This gave way to a homogenous Eurocentric version of history at the centre of public discourse and memory – a version that excludes the lived experiences of the Noongar and ignores their land rights. Instead, the only recorded history is white, British and colonial.

Secondly, we have identified numerous examples where the honour of street name commemoration was bestowed upon colonial figures. 84 early settlers, 19 land surveyors, 14 colonial ships and 2 prominent colonial explorers are all among those commemorated. Their inclusion in the public discourse of Bunbury's street names honours and legitimizes the imperialist system that employed them. Akin is the commemoration of colonial governor James Stirling, who was responsible for the Pinjarra Massacre that claimed the lives of many local Noongar people. We contend that Stirling Street functions as validation of colonialism and the violent imperialist politics that were justified as necessary for the safety and progress of 'civilisation'. Honouring a mass murderer legitimizes the structures and the underlying ideology that encouraged him to enact such acts of violence: the ideology that placed the white settlers as naturally superior to the indigenous people, hailing them as ambassadors of civilisation to supposedly previously uncivilised *terra nullius*. And as these street names provide an entry point for such an authorised version of history to slip into the sphere of ordinary life, they help uphold existing power structures and socio-political order by reshaping it into something familiar, normal and natural.

The second hypothesis was formulated as follows:

2. The indigenous Noongar people are denied access to the discourse of Bunbury's street names unless they conform to the colonizers' authorised version of social reality and history.

In line with previous similar research of colonial place names (Herman 1999), we have also been able to confirm that the same strategy of indigenous exclusion has been utilised by the naming authorities in Bunbury. Only 34 street names in the whole of Bunbury have some ties to the Aboriginal population and culture. What is more, 29 of those streets bear non-commemorative names of plants and other wildlife and therefore do not carry the same political and ideological implications that commemorative names do. In other words, these names do not challenge the status quo.

In addition, out of all 593 street names analysed, we have identified only three that commemorate persons of Aboriginal descent, including Aboriginal guides Tommy Windich and Tommy Pierre. Since they aided in the white exploration of Western Australia, the contemporaneous white society viewed them as success stories of peaceful assimilation. We have deduced that it is only because Windich and Pierre conformed to the colonizers' vision of society that expected the indigenous population to assume subservient roles that they were awarded commemoration in Bunbury's street names. It is clear that the rare instances of Aboriginal representation in Bunbury's street names are only allowed because they do not threaten existing power structures.

The only example of possibly positive indigenous representation cannot definitively be labelled as such. H. Calgaret, a "respected member of the Bunbury Aboriginal community", was commemorated in the naming of Calgaret Street, but that is all that we can tell for certain. We do not know who he was respected by – by the white settler society, making his inclusion in Bunbury's street name discourse similar to that of Windich and Pierre? Or by the Aboriginal community itself, making for a lonesome example of positive representation? This situation illuminates room for further research: the inclusion of Noongar knowledge and oral lore would provide invaluable information and a much needed alternative perspective of the issue. And not only could it supply more detail on Calgaret's life, but it might also provide insight into potential acts of resistance and opposition to the 'official' street name discourse.

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## 7. Appendix: street names table

| Street Name      | Meaning   | Origin     | Commemoration     | Commemoration subdivision | People subdivision    | Local figures subdivision |
|------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| ABBA L           | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places                    |                       |                           |
| ABRAHAMSON MEWS  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                    | Local figure          | Early settler             |
| ABSOLON ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                    | Local figure          | Early settler             |
| ACACIA ST        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                           |                       |                           |
| ADAM RD          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                    | Local figure          | Early settler             |
| ALBERT RD        | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                    | Special               |                           |
| ALEXANDER STREET | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                    | British Empire figure |                           |

|                 |           |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| ALLEN ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| ALLNUT CT       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| ALYXIA DR       | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| AMBROSE GREEN   | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| ANCHORAGE COVE  | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| ANN WY          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Surveyor             |
| APEX DRI        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| ARGYLE AV       | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| ARMANTA DR      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |
| ARMITAGE ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Surveyor             |
| ARTHUR ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Special      |                      |
| ARUM CNR        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| ASHBANK GRN     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |
| ASHFORD PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| ASHROSE DR      | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| ATKINS ST       | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| AUSDEN          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| AUSTIN ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Surveyor             |
| AUSTRAL PDE     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| AUSTRALIND BYPA | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                      |
| AVONBANK WY     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |
| BALDOCK ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| BALGORE WY      | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| BALLIOL CT      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |              |                      |
| BALSA ST        | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| BANDAK RD       | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| BANK ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Surveyor             |
| BANKSIA ST      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| BANTING ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BARCLAY ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| BARNARD ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BARNES CR       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BARR RD         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| BARTLEY ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BASILICA PL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                      |
| BAUDIN TCE      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Special      |                      |
| BAUHINIA AV     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| BEACH RD        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| BEAGLE PL       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |
| BEDDINGFIELD    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |

|                       |         |            |                   |        |              |                      |
|-----------------------|---------|------------|-------------------|--------|--------------|----------------------|
| ST                    |         |            |                   |        |              |                      |
| BEDWELL CT            | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BELCHER ST            | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BELLE ST              | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |              |                      |
| BENJAMIN ST           | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Surveyor             |
| BENNETT WY            | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BENSON CT             | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BERGERSEN CT          | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| BEVERLEY PL           | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Surveyor             |
| BICKERTON PL          | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BIESIOT ST            | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BIRCH ST              | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| BIRKDALE PL           | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BLACKBOY<br>PATH      | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BLACKWOOD<br>DR       | Known   | Australian | Commemorative     | Places |              |                      |
| BLAIR ST              | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| BLUEBUSH RD           | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BLYTHE ST             | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| BOAB CT               | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BOLTON ST             | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Surveyor             |
| BONNEFOI<br>BVD       | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Special      |                      |
| BORONIA PL            | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BORYA BEND            | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BOURKE ST             | Unknown |            |                   |        |              |                      |
| BOVELL ST             | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| BOYALLA ST            | Known   | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BOYANUP-<br>PICTON RD | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BRAMBLE GR            | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |              |                      |
| BRAND AV              | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| BRASHAW ST            | Unknown |            |                   |        |              |                      |
| BRAUND ST             | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BRAY ST               | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BREELYA ENT           | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BREEN PL              | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BREND TOR ST          | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | Places |              |                      |
| BREWERY L             | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| BRIGHT ST             | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| BRITTAIN RD           | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| BRITTEN ST            | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |



|                 |           |            |                   |                      |                               |                   |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| BROADWAY        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                   |
| BROWN ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| BRUCE ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| BRYANT CL       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| BUNNING BVD     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Surveyor          |
| BURNELL ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| BURT ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| BUSHELL ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| BUSSELL HWY     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |                               |                   |
| BUSWELL ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Early settler     |
| BYTHORNE PL     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                   |
| CALADENIA WY    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                   |
| CALGARET ST     | Known     | Aboriginal | Commemorative     | People               | Person of Aboriginal heritage |                   |
| CAMBRIDGE CR    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Other                |                               |                   |
| CAMPBELL WY     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| CANNING ST      | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                               |                   |
| CANNON PL       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Early settler     |
| CANTWELL CT     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| CAPORN ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Councillor/ Mayor |
| CAREY ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Early settler     |
| CARLSON PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| CARMODY PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| CAROB ST        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                   |
| CARR ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Councillor/ Mayor |
| CARUSO ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| CASSIA PL       | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                   |
| CASTLE ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Other                |                               |                   |
| CASUARINA DR    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                   |
| CATHERINE CT    | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                               |                   |
| CAVENDISH GRN   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |                               |                   |
| CELOSIA WY      | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                   |
| CENTENARY RD    | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | Other                |                               |                   |
| CHADD CT        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| CHAMPION ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                               |                   |
| CHARLES ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Miscellaneous     |
| CHARTERHOUSE ST | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Other                |                               |                   |
| CHRISTCHURCH    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of        |                               |                   |

|                 |           |            |                   |                      |                       |                   |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| H PL            |           |            |                   | Oxford               |                       |                   |
| CHURCHILL DR    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | British Empire figure |                   |
| CIARA ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                   |
| CINGALESE CT    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                   |
| CLARE ROW       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |                       |                   |
| CLARKE ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| CLAUGHTON WY    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/ Mayor |
| CLEMATIS        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                   |
| CLEMENTS ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Surveyor          |
| CLEWLOW ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler     |
| CLIFFORD ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| CLIFTON ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Surveyor          |
| CLYDE ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                   |
| COBBLESTONE ST  | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                   |
| COLLEGE ROW     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                   |
| COLLINSVILLE WY | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                   |
| COLUMBA ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Religious saints      |                   |
| COLUMBINE TCE   | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                   |
| COMET ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                   |
| CONSTITUTION ST | Uncertain | Australian | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                   |
| COOKE ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                   |
| COOTE PL        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/ Mayor |
| CORAL ST        | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Surveyor          |
| CORANA ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                   |
| CORKWOOD ST     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                   |
| CORNELL CR      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| CORNWALL ST     | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | British Empire figure |                   |
| COSTELLO CT     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/ Mayor |
| COUSINS AV      | Unknown   | European   |                   |                      |                       |                   |
| COVERLEY ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| CRADDOCK PL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/ Mayor |
| CRAIGIE ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| CRAMPTON        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler     |

|               |           |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
|---------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| CRANBROOK WY  | Unknown   | European   |                   |                      |              |                      |
| CRAVEN CT     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| CREEK ST      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| CREWS CT      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| CRIMP WY      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| CROSS ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| CROWEA ST     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| CROWHURST WY  | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| CUMMINS PL    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| CUSWORTH DR   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| DALHOUSIE ST  | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |
| DAPHNE RD     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| DARWIN WY     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |              |                      |
| DAVENPORT WY  | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| DAVIE ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| DAWSON PL     | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| DEAN PL       | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| DELAPORTE WY  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| DENNING RD    | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| DERMER PL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| DETTMAN DR    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| DEVONSHIRE ST | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |
| DICKEN PL     | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| DILLON ST     | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| DIXON ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| DODSON RD     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| DONNELLY AV   | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                      |
| DOOLAN ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| DORIS ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| DOUGLAS ST    | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| DOWNING ST    | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| DROSER CRSS   | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| DRYANDRA CT   | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| DRYSDALE PL   | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| DUDLEY RD     | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| DUNBARTON WY  | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |

|               |           |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
|---------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|--------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| DUNCAN WY     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                       |                      |
| DUNSTAN ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                       |                      |
| DWYER ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| DYINDA ST     | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| EADES ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          |                      |
| EASTMAN AV    | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| ECCLESTONE ST | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
| EDEN ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | British Empire figure |                      |
| EDNIE ST      | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
| EDWARD ST     | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | British Empire figure |                      |
| EEDLE ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| EELUP RTY     | Uncertain | Aboriginal |                   |        |                       |                      |
| ELATA CT      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| ELIOT ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| ELIZABETH CR  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| ELMBANK CL    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                       |                      |
| ELVEY PL      | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
| EPACRIS ELBOW | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| ERICA ENT     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| ESTUARY DR    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| EULALIA ST    | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
| EVEDON ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places |                       |                      |
| EVERLASTING L | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| FAIRWAY CT    | Uncertain | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| FARNELL ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| FEDERAL ST    | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
| FERN ST       | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| FIELDER ST    | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| FIREBUSH GLEN | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| FITZROY ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| FLAHERTY CT   | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| FLANAGAN ST   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| FLORA WY      | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
| FLOREAT ST    | Uncertain | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| FLOYD CRSS    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| FLYNN ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| FOREMAN DR    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/          |

|                 |           |            |                   |        |                  |                      |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|--------|------------------|----------------------|
|                 |           |            |                   |        |                  | Mayor                |
| FORREST AV      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Early settler        |
| FORREST ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Early settler        |
| FORSTER ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| FORUM WY        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                  |                      |
| FRADELOS PL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| FRANCIS ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Religious saints |                      |
| FRANKEL ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| FRANKLAND WY    | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places |                  |                      |
| FRANKLIN ST     | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                  |                      |
| FRASER ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Surveyor             |
| FRYER PL        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Early settler        |
| FUSCHIA WY      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                  |                      |
| GALYUNG RD      | Uncertain | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                  |                      |
| GANFIELD ST     | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| GARDNER PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| GARVEY PL       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| GEOGRAPHE WY    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                  |                      |
| GEORGE ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| GERRARD PL      | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                  |                      |
| GIBBONS RD      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| GIBBS ST        | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Early settler        |
| GIBSON ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Early settler        |
| GIDGEE ST       | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                  |                      |
| GILLMAN L       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| GIORGI RD       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| GLENEAGLES WY   | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                  |                      |
| GLENROY ST      | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                  |                      |
| GLOVER ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| GODWIN ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                  |                      |
| GOLDSMITH ST    | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Early settler        |
| GOLDWYRE ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Early settler        |
| GORMAN LOOP     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| GRANT SMITH ENT | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |
| GRANT ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Early settler        |
| GREENSELL ST    | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Surveyor             |
| GREGORY ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure     | Miscellaneous        |

|                  |           |            |                   |                         |                             |                      |
|------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| GRIFFIN L        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| GRIFFITH PL      | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                             |                      |
| GUDREN ALLY      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                   |                             |                      |
| GUILE FAWY       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| GURINDA ST       | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| GUTHRIE ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| GWINDA ST        | Uncertain | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| HAIG CR          | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | British<br>Empire<br>figure |                      |
| HAKEA CR         | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| HALES ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HALEY ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Surveyor             |
| HALIFAX DR       | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places                  |                             |                      |
| HALL CL          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of<br>Oxford |                             |                      |
| HALLO WY         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HALSEY ST        | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                             |                      |
| HAMERSLEY<br>DR  | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| HAMILTON RD      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HANDS AV         | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| HARDWICK<br>BEND | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HARLAND ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HARRIS RD        | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HARRISON PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| HARWOOD          | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                             |                      |
| HASTIE ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| HAWKINS ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| HAYDOCK ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HAYES ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| HAYWARD ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| HENLEY DR        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places                  |                             |                      |
| HENNESSY RD      | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                             |                      |
| HENRY ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HENSEN ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HENTY DR         | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places                  |                             |                      |
| HERBERT RD       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HERTFORD<br>ELB  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of<br>Oxford |                             |                      |
| HESTER PL        | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| HEWISON ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| HIGGINS ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Councillor/<br>Mayor |

|                 |           |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| HILDAS CL       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |              |                      |
| HILL ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| HILLCREST AV    | Uncertain | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| HISLOP ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| HOLLY WY        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| HOLMAN ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| HOLTMAN PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| HOLYWELL ST     | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| HONEY L         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| HOOPER PL       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| HORDERN PL      | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |
| HORNER ST       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| HOSKINS ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| HOTCHIN ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| HOTHAM WY       | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                      |
| HOUGH RD        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| HOUSTON CR      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| HOVEA ST        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| HOYLAKE AV      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                      |
| HUDSON RD       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| HYACINTH L      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| INCANA L        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| INCE RD         | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| INGRAM CT       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| INKPEN RD       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| INVERNESS WY    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| IONE ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |
| IRIS WY         | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| IRWIN ST        | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |
| ISANDRA BEND    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| ISERNIA PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                      |
| ISLAND QUEEN ST | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |
| IVER ST         | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| IVEY CT         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| JACARANDA CR    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |
| JACK KENNY L    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |

|                      |           |            |                   |                         |                             |                      |
|----------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| JACKSONIA ST         | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| JARRAH ST            | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| JARVIE CR            | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Surveyor             |
| JARVIS ST            | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| JASMINE WY           | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| JEFFREY RD           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| JETTY RD             | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| JINDEE ST            | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| JIPSE CR             | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| JOEL CR              | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| JOHNSON ST           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| JOHNSTON RD          | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| JORDAN WY            | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| JOSEPH<br>BUSWELL RD | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| JOSHUA L             | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places                  |                             |                      |
| JUBILEE RD           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Other                   | British<br>Empire<br>figure |                      |
| JULIA DR             | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Surveyor             |
| JUNIPER WY           | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| JURY BEND            | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| KAESHAGEN<br>ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| KALARI RISE          | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| KARRI ST             | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                             |                      |
| KATHERINE ST         | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                             |                      |
| KEARNEY WY           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| KEBLE HTS            | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of<br>Oxford |                             |                      |
| KEDDIE ST            | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                             |                      |
| KEEN CT              | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| KELLY ST             | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| KENDLE CL            | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| KENNEDY ST           | Unknown   | European   |                   |                         |                             |                      |
| KERIL PL             | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| KESTRAL ST           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                   |                             |                      |
| KILMARTIN PL         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| KIMBER ST            | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| KING RD              | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Early settler        |
| KINGIA ST            | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |
| KINKELLA DR          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| KNIGHT ST            | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                | Miscellaneous        |
| KOOMBANA             | Uncertain | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                             |                      |



|                |           |            |                   |                      |              |                      |  |
|----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|--|
| DR             |           |            |                   |                      |              |                      |  |
| KURARA L       | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |  |
| KURRAJONG CIR  | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |  |
| LAKES ENT      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |  |
| LAKESIDE DR    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |  |
| LANTANA L      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |  |
| LARSSON PL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |  |
| LATREILLE RD   | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |  |
| LAWHILL ENT    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |  |
| LAWRENCE ST    | Unknown   | European   |                   |                      |              |                      |  |
| LEE ST         | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |  |
| LEFROY PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |  |
| LEICHARDT ST   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Surveyor             |  |
| LERICI CIR     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                      |  |
| LESCHENAULT DR | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Special      |                      |  |
| LETTIS PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |  |
| LEWIS PL       | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |  |
| LIAM ST        | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |  |
| LIGNUM REST    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |  |
| LINCOLN GR     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |              |                      |  |
| LITHAM PL      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |  |
| LITTLE ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |  |
| LITTLEFAIR DR  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |  |
| LLOYD WY       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |  |
| LOCKE ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |  |
| LOCKWOOD CR    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |  |
| LOCKYER PL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |  |
| LOUISE CL      | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |  |
| LOVEGROVE AV   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |  |
| LOWE ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |  |
| LUMPER ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |  |
| LUPIN LINK     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |  |
| LYONS COVE     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler        |  |
| MACAULEY ST    | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                      |  |
| MACNISH CL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |  |
| MACQUEEN CR    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |  |
| MADRAS ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                      |  |
| MAGDALEN PL    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |              |                      |  |
| MAGNOLIA DR    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                      |  |

|                |           |            |                   |        |                     |                      |
|----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|--------|---------------------|----------------------|
| MAIDEN PARK RD | Unknown   | European   |                   |        |                     |                      |
| MAJOR ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| MANGLES ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Early settler        |
| MANSFIELD ST   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Special             |                      |
| MARABANK LOOP  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                     |                      |
| MARCHANT ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Miscellaneous        |
| MARI CT        | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                     |                      |
| MARIGOLD CT    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                     |                      |
| MARLSTON DR    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places |                     |                      |
| MARMION ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| MARTIN ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Miscellaneous        |
| MARY ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Religious<br>saints |                      |
| MASON ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Miscellaneous        |
| MAWSON PL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Early settler        |
| MAXTED ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| MCCOMBE RD     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Miscellaneous        |
| MCKENNA PL     | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                     |                      |
| MACKINNON WY   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| MENZIES PL     | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                     |                      |
| MEREDITH WY    | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places |                     |                      |
| MERILUP HTS    | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                     |                      |
| MERVYN ST      | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                     |                      |
| MICHELE ST     | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                     |                      |
| MIDAS ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                     |                      |
| MIDGLEY CL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Miscellaneous        |
| MILI CT        | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                     |                      |
| MILL ST        | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                     |                      |
| MILLER ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Special             |                      |
| MILLIGAN ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Early settler        |
| MIMOSA LINK    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                     |                      |
| MINDALONG CL   | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                     |                      |
| MINGA CT       | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                     |                      |
| MINNINUP RD    | Uncertain | Aboriginal | Commemorative     | Places |                     |                      |
| MINORS FAWY    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| MISTLETOE CT   | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                     |                      |
| MITCHELL CR    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure        | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| MIYAK WY       | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                     |                      |

|                |         |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
|----------------|---------|------------|-------------------|--------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| MOLLOY ST      | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| MONDAK PL      | Known   | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| MONEY ST       | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| MONGER CT      | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| MONKHOUSE ST   | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| MONOGHAN PL    | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| MONTGOMERY RD  | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | British Empire figure |                      |
| MOOLYEEN RD    | Known   | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| MOORE ST       | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| MOORLAND AV    | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| MORGAN PL      | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| MORRISSEY ST   | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| MOSEDALE AV    | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| MOSS ST        | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| MOSSOP ST      | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| MOUARN ST      | Known   | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| MULGA RD       | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| MUMMERY CR     | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| MUNRO LOOP     | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| MURRAY DR      | Unknown |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
| MYALL WY       | Known   | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| MYRTLE ST      | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| NALBARRA DR    | Known   | Aboriginal | Commemorative     | Places |                       |                      |
| NAMPUP ST      | Unknown |            |                   |        |                       |                      |
| NANDUP ST      | Known   | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| NASH ST        | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| NATURALISTE AV | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                       |                      |
| NENKE WY       | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| NEPTUNIA ROW   | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                      |
| NEVIN CT       | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| NEWMAN ST      | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| NEWTON RD      | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| NIELSEN GR     | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| NILE PL        | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                       |                      |
| NISBETT LINK   | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| NORRIE ST      | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |

|                  |         |            |                   |                      |                  |                   |
|------------------|---------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| NORTH ST         | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Early settler     |
| NORTHWOOD GDNS   | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Councillor/ Mayor |
| NOWLAND CT       | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Councillor/ Mayor |
| NUYTSIA AV       | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                  |                   |
| NYABING WY       | Known   | Aboriginal | Commemorative     | Places               |                  |                   |
| O'CONNOR ENT     | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Miscellaneous     |
| O'MEEHAN GRN     | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Councillor/ Mayor |
| OAKLEY ST        | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Early settler     |
| OATES CL         | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Miscellaneous     |
| OCEAN DR         | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                  |                   |
| OLD COAST RD     | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                  |                   |
| OLDHAM PL        | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Miscellaneous     |
| OLEANDER PL      | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                  |                   |
| OLIVE RD         | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Miscellaneous     |
| OLIVER ST        | Unknown |            |                   |                      |                  |                   |
| OLSEN GR         | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Miscellaneous     |
| OMMANNEY ST      | Unknown |            |                   |                      |                  |                   |
| ORCHID DR        | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                  |                   |
| ORIEL CT         | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |                  |                   |
| OTWAY ST         | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                  |                   |
| OXFORD ST        | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |                  |                   |
| PAIN WY          | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Miscellaneous     |
| PAISLEY ST       | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Early settler     |
| PALM ST          | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                  |                   |
| PALMER CR        | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Miscellaneous     |
| PALMERSTON ST    | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                  |                   |
| PARADE RD        | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                  |                   |
| PARK ST          | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Miscellaneous     |
| PARKDALE AV      | Unknown |            |                   |                      |                  |                   |
| PARKFIELD ST     | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                  |                   |
| PARNELL ST       | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Early settler     |
| PARRY ST         | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Councillor/ Mayor |
| PATRICK ST       | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Religious saints |                   |
| PAYTON WY        | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Councillor/ Mayor |
| PEARCE CT        | Known   | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure     | Early settler     |
| PELICAN POINT DR | Known   | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                  |                   |

|                   |           |            |                   |                      |                               |                      |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| PEMBROKE ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |                               |                      |
| PENDAL ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| PENNANT RD        | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                               |                      |
| PEPPERMINT BVD    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                      |
| PERKINS AV        | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Early settler        |
| PERRY ST          | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                               |                      |
| PETHERICK ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Early settler        |
| PICKERSGILL ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| PICKWORHT RTT     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| PICTON CR         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | British Empire figure         |                      |
| PIERRE ST         | Known     | Aboriginal | Commemorative     | People               | Person of Aboriginal heritage |                      |
| PIMELIA RD        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                      |
| PITURI CL         | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                      |
| PLATO ST          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                               |                      |
| PLAZA ST          | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                      |
| PLOWERS PL        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Early settler        |
| POAT ST           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| POINCIANA PL      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                      |
| POPLAR BR         | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                      |
| PORTOFINO CR      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |                               |                      |
| PORTSEA CT        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                      |
| POSSUM WY         | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                               |                      |
| POWELL CT         | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                               |                      |
| PREMIER ST        | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Other                |                               |                      |
| PRENTICE ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Early settler        |
| PRESTON RIVER PDE | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Surveyor             |
| PRESTON ST        | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                               |                      |
| PRESTONWOOD ST    | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                               |                      |
| PRINCE PHILLIP DR | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | British Empire figure         |                      |
| PRINSEP ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | British Empire figure         |                      |
| PRITCHARD CRSS    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure                  | Councillor/<br>Mayor |

|                     |           |            |                   |        |              |                      |
|---------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|--------|--------------|----------------------|
| PROFFIT ST          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| PROPERJOHN<br>ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| PROSSER ST          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| PROTEA PASS         | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| QUEENSBURY<br>ST    | Unknown   |            |                   |        |              |                      |
| RAGLAN ST           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |              |                      |
| RAGNA CT            | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |              |                      |
| RAMILLIES ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |              |                      |
| RAMSAY ST           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| RAMSDEN ST          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| RAND CT             | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| RAWLING RD          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| READING ST          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| REDGUM WY           | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| REGAL CT            | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| REGAN CT            | Unknown   |            |                   |        |              |                      |
| REGENT PL           | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| RENDELL ELB         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| REYNOLDS WY         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| RIALTO CL           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places |              |                      |
| RICHMOND ST         | Unknown   |            |                   |        |              |                      |
| RICHTER RD          | Unknown   |            |                   |        |              |                      |
| RIVIERA WY          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places |              |                      |
| ROBERTS CR          | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| ROBERTSON<br>DR     | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| RODGERS PL          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| RODSTED ST          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| RODWELL PL          | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| ROEGER PL           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| ROMAN RD            | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| ROSCOMMON<br>PL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places |              |                      |
| ROSE ST             | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| ROSSITER ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Miscellaneous        |
| SABINA WY           | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places |              |                      |
| SAGE CT             | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| SALTBUSH CL         | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| SALVIA LINK         | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |              |                      |
| SAMPSON RD          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure | Early settler        |
| SAMUEL<br>WRIGHT ST | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |              |                      |

|                   |           |            |                   |                      |              |                   |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| SAN MARCO PROM    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                   |
| SANDRIDGE RD      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                   |
| SANDYMOUNT PL     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                   |
| SARAH PL          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler     |
| SCARLET DR        | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                   |
| SCOTT CR          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous     |
| SCOTT ST          | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                   |
| SEASHORE MEWS     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                   |
| SERPENTINE WY     | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                   |
| SHANAHAN RD       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/ Mayor |
| SHANNON L         | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                   |
| SHAW CL           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler     |
| SHENTON ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler     |
| SHERLOCK WY       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous     |
| SHERRY ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/ Mayor |
| SHORT ST          | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                   |
| SIMPSON AV        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous     |
| SINCLAIR CL       | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler     |
| SKEWES ST         | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/ Mayor |
| SLEE PL           | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Miscellaneous     |
| SLOAN CT          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Councillor/ Mayor |
| SLYVAN ST         | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                   |
| SMOKEBUSH DR      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                   |
| SMYTHE CR         | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |              |                   |
| SNAKEWOOD BEND    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                   |
| SNOWS PL          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler     |
| SOLGLOT ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |              |                   |
| SOMERVILLE DR     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                   |
| SOUTH WESTERN HWY | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |              |                   |
| SPENCER ST        | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure | Early settler     |
| ST ANDREWS DR     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |              |                   |
| ST ANNES DR       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |              |                   |

|                |           |            |                   |                      |                       |                      |
|----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| ST JOHNS MEWS  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |                       |                      |
| ST MARKS PL    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Other                |                       |                      |
| ST PAULS PL    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Religious saints      |                      |
| ST PETERS GRN  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |                       |                      |
| STALLARD PL    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| STANBURY CR    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| STANLEY ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Surveyor             |
| STEERE CR      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| STEPHEN ST     | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                       |                      |
| STINGRAY PASS  | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| STINTON ST     | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| STIRLING ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | British Empire figure |                      |
| STIRTON CT     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| STOCKLEY RD    | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| STOKES WY      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| STONE ST       | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                       |                      |
| STRICKLAND ST  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| STUART ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Surveyor             |
| STUBBS CL      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| STURT ST       | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| SULPHUR ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                      |
| SUNDEW TRL     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| SUNGROVE AV    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| SUNNINGDALE ST | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |                       |                      |
| SUTHERLAND WY  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| SWANSEN PL     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| SWEENEY ST     | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                       |                      |
| SWEETING WY    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| SYLVAN WY      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| SYMONS ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| TASMAN PL      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| TAUNTON ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |                       |                      |
| TEEDEE ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| TEELUK RD      | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| TELFOLD ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| TEMPLE RD      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |



|                |           |            |                   |                      |                       |                      |
|----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| THE AVENUE     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| THE STRAND     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| THISTLE ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                      |
| THOMAS ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| THUNDER WY     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| THYME WY       | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| TILLEY SR      | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                       |                      |
| TIMBER MILL PL | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| TIMPERLEY RD   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| TINGLE ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |                       |                      |
| TIPPING ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| TOBIN PL       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| TONE WY        | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Places               |                       |                      |
| TREEN ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Surveyor             |
| TREMANDRA WY   | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| TRINITY RISE   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of Oxford |                       |                      |
| TROON CT       | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| TROTT CT       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| TRUSTY ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                      |
| TUART ST       | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| TURNBERRY WY   | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| TURNER ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Surveyor             |
| TUXFORD FAWY   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| TWEEDIE ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| TWILIGHT TCE   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                |                       |                      |
| UNDERWOOD ST   | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                       |                      |
| UNIVERSITY CL  | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| UPPER ESP      | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| VENEZIA BVD    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places               |                       |                      |
| VENN ST        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Early settler        |
| VERBENA BVD    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                      |                       |                      |
| VERSCHUER PL   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| VICKERY ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | Local figure          | Miscellaneous        |
| VICTORIA ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People               | British Empire figure |                      |
| VIEW ST        | Unknown   |            |                   |                      |                       |                      |

|               |           |            |                   |        |                       |                   |
|---------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|--------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| VITTORIA RD   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Other  | British Empire figure |                   |
| VIXEN ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                       |                   |
| WAKEFIELD AV  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | British Empire figure |                   |
| WALKER ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| WALLIS RD     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/ Mayor |
| WALLRODT CR   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| WALTER ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler     |
| WARATAH CR    | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                   |
| WARD ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/ Mayor |
| WARREN ST     | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | British Empire figure |                   |
| WARWICK PL    | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                       |                   |
| WASHINGTON AV | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                       |                   |
| WASS DR       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler     |
| WATERWITCH ST | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships  |                       |                   |
| WATTLE ST     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                   |
| WEBBER ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| WELLINGTON ST | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | British Empire figure |                   |
| WENN CT       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler     |
| WEST RD       | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                   |
| WESTWOOD ST   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler     |
| WETHERLY DR   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| WEXFORD L     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places |                       |                   |
| WHALE VIEW    | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                   |
| WHATMAN WY    | Unknown   |            |                   |        |                       |                   |
| WHITE ST      | Uncertain | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| WHITLEY PL    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler     |
| WILKERSON WY  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Councillor/ Mayor |
| WILKES ST     | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Early settler     |
| WILLIAM ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Miscellaneous     |
| WILLIS COVE   | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People | Local figure          | Surveyor          |
| WILLOUGHBY ST | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Places |                       |                   |
| WILLOW DR     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |        |                       |                   |

|                 |           |            |                   |                         |                                     |                      |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| WILSON RD       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| WIMBRIDGE RD    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Miscellaneous        |
| WINDICH WY      | Known     | Aboriginal | Commemorative     | People                  | Person of<br>Aboriginal<br>heritage |                      |
| WINSOR ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Miscellaneous        |
| WINTHROP AV     | Known     | Australian | Commemorative     | Other                   |                                     |                      |
| WINTON ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Miscellaneous        |
| WISBEY ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Early settler        |
| WISTERIA CT     | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                         |                                     |                      |
| WITHERS CT      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Early settler        |
| WITTENOOM ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Early settler        |
| WOLLASTON ST    | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Miscellaneous        |
| WOOD ST         | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                                     |                      |
| WOODLEY RD      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Miscellaneous        |
| WOODROW ST      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Early settler        |
| WOONNAR ST      | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                                     |                      |
| WORCESTOR BEND  | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | University of<br>Oxford |                                     |                      |
| WRIGHT ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                   |                                     |                      |
| XAVIER ST       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Miscellaneous        |
| YABINI CT       | Known     | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                                     |                      |
| YARDLEY CT      | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| YATE WY         | Known     | European   | Non-commemorative |                         |                                     |                      |
| YOOKSON RD      | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                                     |                      |
| YOOKSON WEST RD | Unknown   |            |                   |                         |                                     |                      |
| YORLA RD        | Uncertain | Aboriginal | Non-commemorative |                         |                                     |                      |
| YOUNG CL        | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | Ships                   |                                     |                      |
| ZAKNIC PL       | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Councillor/<br>Mayor |
| ZOE ST          | Known     | European   | Commemorative     | People                  | Local figure                        | Miscellaneous        |