Selling the Waterfront: A critique of the tourism industry's representation of Millers Point,Sydney

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RESUMEN

El amor analiza las consecuencias que tiene el desarrolla del turismo, como una estrategia para revitalizar las áreas costeras. La disponibilidad de espacios económicos en ellas constituye una consecuencia de la acumulación de capital que tiene una fuerte expresión a nivel local.

La construcción de infraestructura portuaria para servir a las actividades comerciales e industriales no es económicamente viable para las actuales economías contemporáneas. carcterizadas por una producción flexible y diversificada y con un gran desarrollo del transporte.

Una alternativa viable y de mayor importancia que la construcción de grandes infraestructuras para la revitalización de las áreas costeras es la remodelación de los paisajes litorales que permitiá la llegada y acumulación de capitales y. en consecuencia. enfatizar el consumo.

Existen tres alternativas para remodelar este paisaje costero: la primera es poner de relevancia las elementos culturales o curiosidades en términos de espacios y lugares; por ejemplo. una iglesia de arquitectura trodicionai, espacios libres. etc. La segunda. considera un redesarrollo del potencial turistico para celebrar festivales y eventos de distinta naturaleza o creación de centros de compras en edificios antiguos. La tercera se refiere al uso de nuevas lugares construidos especial- mente para el turismo. como hoteles, circuitos turísticas y centros de descanso y recreación.

Dentro de estos mecanismos de remodelación del paisaje. los atributos de los lugares se constituyen en bienes de gran atracción. fácilmente comerciables. en donde la localización es un valioso elemento desde el punto de vista del turismo.

Este artículo analiza la primera de las tres alternativas. en donde se trata de promover y desarrollar el pasado como patrimonio cultural. tomando como ejemplo "Millers Point", una bahía próxima a Sydney, Australia.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to examine the rcpresentational consequences of employing tourism as a strategy for revitalizing waterfront arcas. Redundant econornics spaces at water- fronts are a local expression of the emergence of a ncw phase of capital accumulation. Port infra- structure built to service mercantile and industrial capitalism is no longer economically viable for contemporary economies dedicated to flexible production and transportation. One significant manner in which revitalizing the waterfront can occur is by refashioning the landscape to facilitate a form of accumulation emphasising consumption rather than production activities. Britton (1991) identified three possible mecha- nisms of refashioning the landscape. First, existing places and spaces can be marked with some indicator (generally a sign/plaque) or notified in a tourist guide-booklbrochure to direct the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990) and marketed as cultural attractions or curiosities, for example a unique church, public house or open space. Second, existing places can be co-opted into commercial redeveloprnent schemes with tourist potential, for example festival places or shopping centres in redeveloped older buildings. Third, new places can be especially created for tourism, for example hotels, tour-parks and leisure worlds. Through these mechanisms, the attributes of place becorne a saJeable cornrnodity as part of the uni- que tourist experience on offer at that location. Whilst experiencing such places, tourists often also partake of other services; what Goodall (1993) refers to as the augmented tourism pro- duct. Such consurnption can become the basis for both physical and economic renewal in a locality.

This paper analyses the first of the assi- milation process, the rnarking and packaging of the past as 'heritage'. Drawing upon the example of Millers Point, a harbour-side precinct of inner- Sydney, the consequences of this process assimilating places into the tourism production

process by the use of tourist markers, guidebooks and brochures are illustrated.

COMMODIFICAnON OF HISTORY AS HERITAGE

The past has been transformed into a saleable itern, a commodity to be consumed (Featherstone, 1990). The extension of the logic of commodity markers into the spheres of consumption and culture has enabled history ro be transformed into heritage as a form of "cultural capital" (Zukin, 1990:38). The commodification of past events through capital investment into culture industries provides a base for a precinct to compete with other locations in accommodating consumption-led accumulation (Goodwin, 1993).

Fascination with the past is not solely a contemporary occurrence. The current era is distinguished, however, by the intertwining of heritage values and capital accumulation (Jacobs. 1992). Making explicit the inextricable link between culture and commerce, the market defines what becomes or does not become heritage (Ashworth, 1990). Imbued with economic valué. the history of places is manipulated for capital gain both by local authorities under pressure to maximize their revenues and by private sector (Hewison, 1987). Commodification of the past is therefore a selective process. Figure 1 dernonstrates the muJtiplicity of possible versions, themes, perspectives and foci. What is deemed worthy of 'marking' and conservation, no longer pivots primarily upon the vernacular, but increasingly upon money and the decision of official organisations or commercial enterprises (Spearritt, 1991). Assimilation of place into the tourism production system, with the primary objective of selling an experience, determine the treatment of historie landscapes and the nature of their conservation.
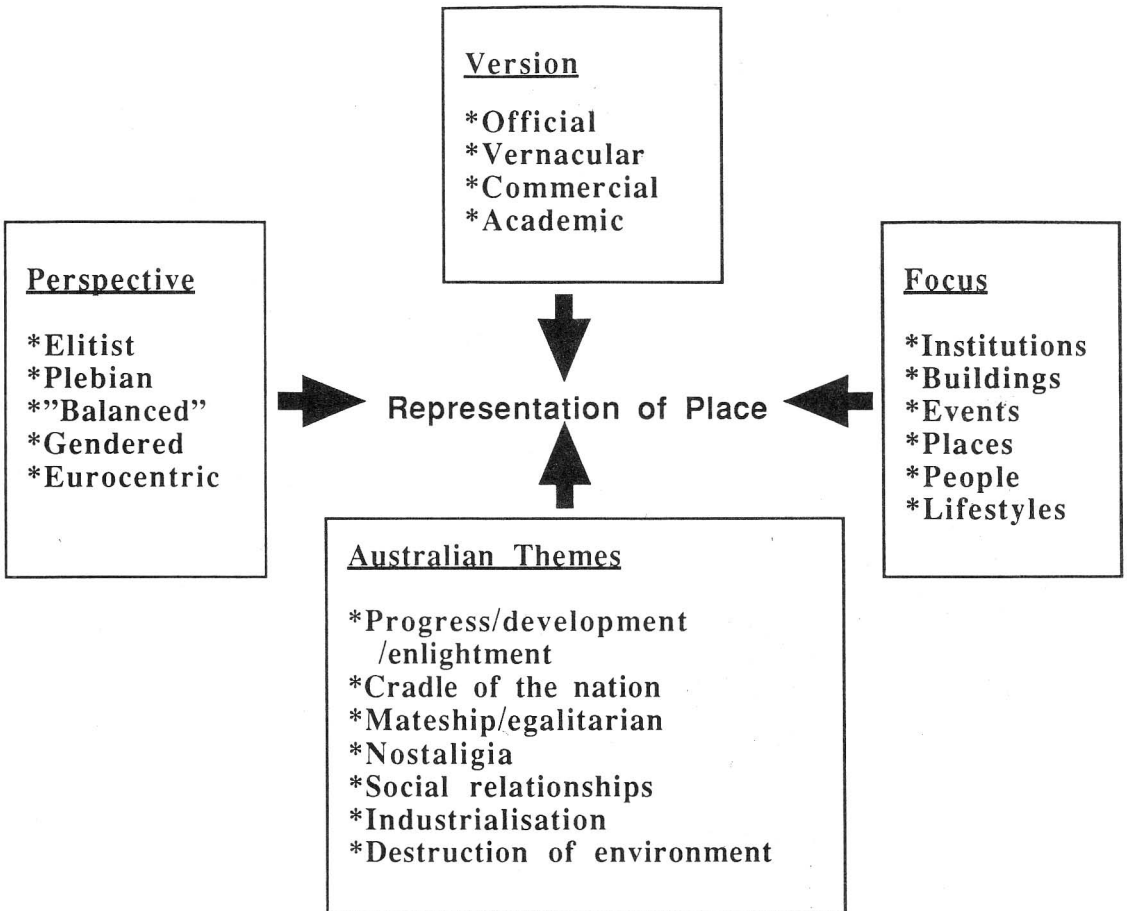

Figure 1: Competing Variables in the Representation of History.

ASSIMILATIONj REPRESENTATION OF HERITAGE INDICATED BY MARKERS, GUIDEBOOKS AND BROCHURES

Markers, guidebooks and brochures are the rnechanisrns by which the tourisrn industry indicates that a place, event 01' view is deemed worthy of attention (MacCannell, 1989). Specific choices have been made about what is elevated to the status of attraction, what they signify about sites/sights and what is ignored. Though ambiguity remains, directing the tourist gaze and informing that gaze with particular interpretations of the past shapes and limits the multiplicity of readings Iikely to be made by visiting tourists (Britton, 1991; Horne, 1984; Urry, 1990). Although no explicit agenda may shape the interpretation of history as heritage, what is valued as significant reflects the power of balance of various interests and their status in both the past and the present (Jacobs, 1992; Jamieson, 1985). Alternative interpretations may be overlocked in favor of interpretations which exclude critical analyses 01' oppositional ideological content (Philo and Kearns, 1993). The tourism and leisure industries are firmly embedded and institutionalised within an established network of social control, class, ethnic and gender relationship which are reflected in the manner in which history is presented. Heritage based tourisrn cannot pose a threat to hegemonic ideologies nor to the predominant power structures in society (Britton, , 1991). Rather, it can help socialise its participant population into the dominant political and cultural ideologies (Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1990).

MilJers Point and its assimilation into a tourism production process can be considered in these terms. The markers and tourist Iiterature use to direct, promete and inform the tourist gaze can be shown to promulgate a distinct and partial history which ignores the history of hardship, social inequality, unequal gender relations and volatile industrial relations upon which the area's vernacular identity was constructed.

WHY A HERITAGE INDUSTRY AT MILLERS POINT?

Bounded to the east by the Sydney Harbour Bridge and Observatory mn, Millers Point 'encompasses the western side of Dawes Peninsula as far as the northern end of Kent Street (Figure 2). Millers Point is unique in that it
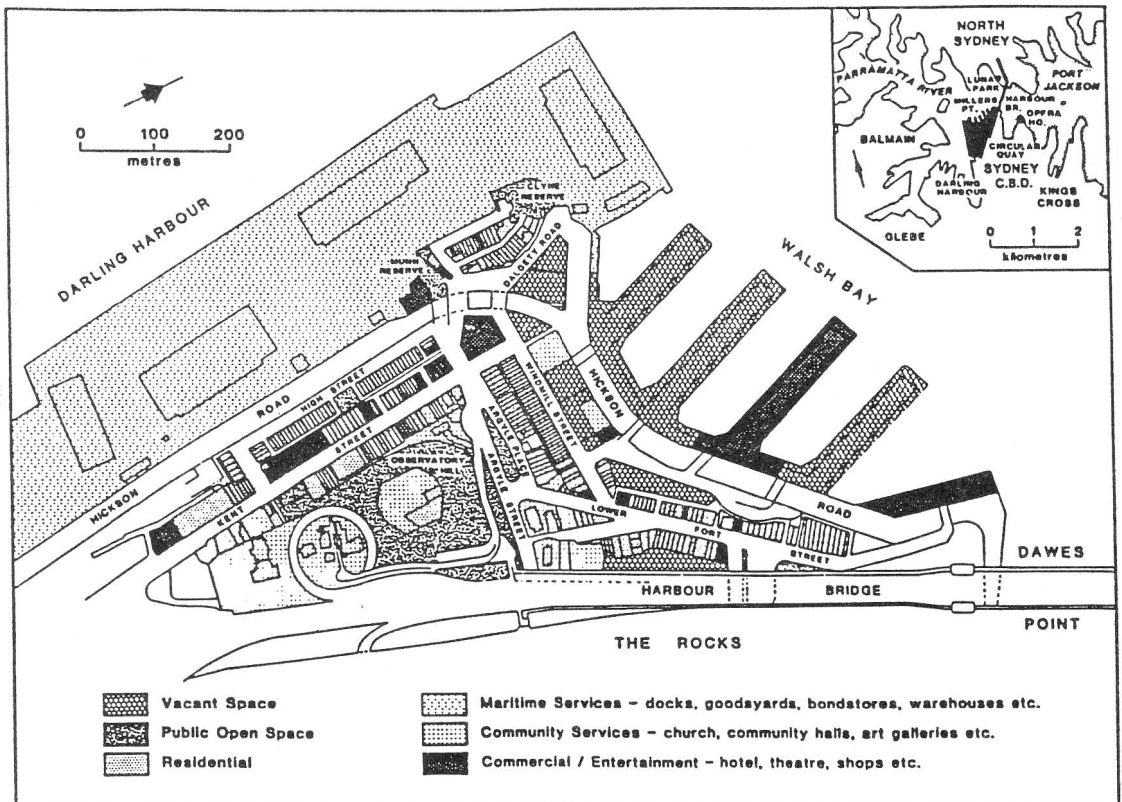

Figure 2: Millers Point, Sydney.

is one of the few Sydney precincts that has artifacts dating from the early 1800s. Physical, social and economic boundaries have results in the isolation and maintenance of its historical integrity. The precinct has been largely protected from the forces of gentrification and CBD expansion by its maritime economic base. Since 1901, the majority of the property has been owned and managed by the NSW's state government authority, the Sydney Harbour Trust (renamed the Maritime Services Board in 1936 (MSB». The neighbourhood of Millers Point developed around international trade in raw commodities, particularly to the United Kingdom, associated with borh mercantile (1788-1850) and industrial (1851-1920) capital accumulation in Australia. The physical and social landscape still reflect these activities and the class structure that accompanied them. Millers Point has its wharves, warehouses, narrow street of worker's housing and more grandiose streets housing wealthy merchants. Much of the built infrastructure of these two periods of capital accumulation remains, but the industrial infrastructure in particular has been el oses and remains abandoned.

Assimilation into the tourism production system as a means of reinvigorating capital accumulation in Millers Point is a viable option, based on its heritage values. The area is clearly laden with attributes, experiences and unique attractions in a relatively cornpact and identifiable locale.

A CRITIQUE OF HISTORICAL REPRESENTATION IN MILLERS POINT

Markers in Millers Point direct the tourist gaze to two distinct eras. First, the area's early colonial history (1788-1850), represented as 'the village in exile', where particular aspects of Australia's European invasion are claimed to be central 10 the founding of the modern Australian nation. The second era (1851-1990), is represented as an era of wealthy merchants. Figure 3 illustrates where each marker is Iocated and what it signifies. The marked sites are chiefly buildings rather than events or views.

The village in exile

Official histories are reproduced on a series of site plaques and signs erected by the Royal Australian Historical Society (RAHS), the Society of Australian Genealogists and Sydney City Council. These marked sites largely draw attention 10 the 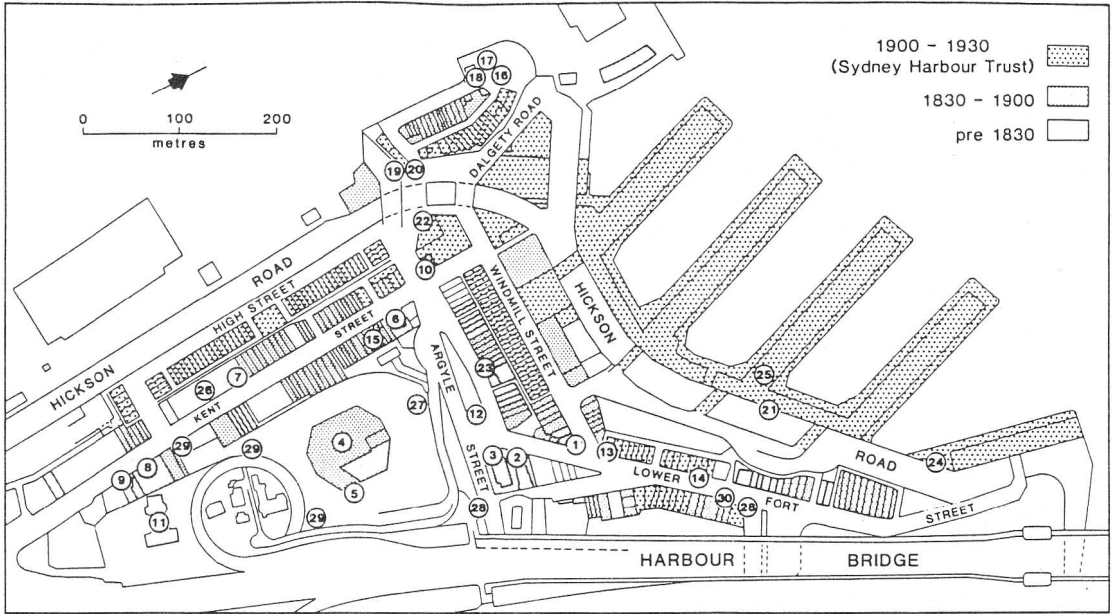physical expressions of decisions taken by the elite between 1788-1850 -the church, the army, governors and merchants. Commercial histories are also signified by a series of markers erected by a number of enterprising businesses including The Hero of Waterloo (hotel/pub) and The Lord Nelson (hotel/pub).

These marked sites are continually reiterated in the guidebooks and brochures referring to the area. The range of material available in retail outlets and tourist information centres is noted in Table 1. This table indicates the frequency with these marked sites are noted in these guidebooks and brochures and illustrates the effort made to direct the tourist gaze towards these sites. Combined with the markers physically placed at the sites themselves these are powerful guiding forces constructing favored paths for the tourist to follow. Directions not only on where to gaze but also on what to experience is provided by the promotionalliterature.

One brochure declares that Millers Point "presents an essential experience for every visitor; that haunts of soldiers, sailors, convicts and merchants, ...see sorne of Sydney's oldest building, hear fascinating tales of our early history, inspect recycled warehouses, explore stone steps and cobbled lanes and delight in courtyards and cottages" *(The Rocks Walking Tour* brochure). Promises are given of exploration and delight in Australi as early history. Tourist are informed they will receive "reminders if the earliest days of the colony" and experience "cottages... dating from the 1830s-1880s (in) a streetscape of historical and architectural significance".

Observatory Hill is marked as the central attraction of Millers Point and is described by *The Essential Sydney* (brochure produced by the NSW Tourist Commission) as a "great attraction of Sydney". The RAHS marker explains that Observatory Hill was critical to the defense of the colony bec ause "the spacious harbor which attracted Governor PhiIlip to Port Jackson as the place of settlement for the First Fleet also provides security problems for the young colony". Touri sts can also gaze at the Observatory and, according to the guidebook *Walks Around Sydney,* "marvel that the foundations were first laid at this site in 1804 and completed in 1825. By 1837, the tower had been built and in 1858 they began dropping the yellow time ball at 1 pm." (Ford, 1988). This signal, according to the RAHS brochure 1788 is *just around the comer,* became a Sydney "tradition",

The narrative of these, and other markers of this era, positions Millers Point as a key location from which the Australian nation was forged.

No	Marked Site	Erected by	No	Marked Site	Erected by
Era 1: The Village in Exile, 1800-1850			*Era 3: Industrial Millers Point, 1900-*		
1.	The Hero of Waterloo (1844)	The proprietors	16.	Clyne Reserve (1981)	Maritime Services Board
2.	Holy Trinity Church School (1844)	Royal Australian Historical Society	17.	Clyne Reserve Bus Stop	Sydney City Council
3.	The Garrison Church (1840)	Royal Australian Historical Society	18.	Harbor Control Tower (1974)	Maritime Services Board
4.	Sydney Observatory (1825)	Royal Australian Historical Society	19.	Munn Reserve	Sydney City Council
5.	Fort Phillip Wall (1804)	Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences	20.	Palisades Hotel (1913)	The proprietors
6.	St Brigid's School (1831)	Royal Australian Historical Society	21.	Walsh Bay Wharves (1906-1922)	Royal Australian Historical Society
7.	Observatory Hotel, 1800's site history	Royal Australian Historical Society	22.	Sydney's oldest butcher's shop (1896)	Proprietor Don Parish
8.	Richmond Villa (1849)	Society of Australian Genealogists	23.	Latvian Community (founded here 1913)	Latvian Organization
9.	Glover Cottages (1820s)	Royal Australian Historical Society	24.	Pier One (reopened 1982)	The developer
10.	The Lord Nelson Brewery (1841)	Proprietor, B. L. Hayden	25.	The Wharf Theatre (1984)	NSW State Government
11.	Military Hospital (1815)	Royal Australian Historical Society	26.	The Observatory Hotel (1993)	Nara Resort Chain
12.	The village green, Argyle Place (1830)	Royal Australian Historical Society	*Maps and Signposts*		
Era 2: A wealthy, egalitarian, merchant society, 1850-1900			27.	Observatoy Hill	Australian National Trust
13.	Outbreak site of bubonic plague (1900)	Royal Australian Historical Society	28.	Directions to "The Rocks"	Sydney Cove Authority
14.	Colonial House Museum (1880s)	Proprietor, S. Ball	29.	Directions to the Sydney Observatory and Ervin Gallery	
15.	Rawson Hall (1904)	Society of Australian Genealogists	30.	Sydney Explorer Bus Stop	State Transit

Figure 3: Marked Tourist Sites **in** Millers Point.

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Table 1

Assimilation through the marketing of existing places through brochures* and guidebooks.

Brochure or Guidebooks	Attraction									
	The Hero of Waterloo	The Holy Trinity Church School	The Garrison Church	Sydney Observatory	Fort Phillip Wall	St Brigid's School	Observatory Hotes, site history	Military Hospital	Walsh Bat Wharves	Pier One
1788 Is Just Around the Corner		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
The Rocks: A self guided Walking Tour*	X	X	X		X			X	X	
Sydney: The Lonely Planet Guide		X	X	X	X					
Walks around Sydney	X		X	X						
Around the Quay	X			X	X				X	X
Sydney Best Visitors' Guide*			X	X						
The Book of Sydney Suburbs						X	X			
The Rocks: Sydney's First Place*			X	X						
Sydney Observatory*					X					
Fodor's Sydney					X			X		
Australian Hotels Association*		X								
The Lord Nelson*		X								
Aird's Guide to Sydney	X							X	X	
Seven Days in Sydney										X

* Broehures are different iated by being rnarked with an asterix within the table.

Together with the attraction brought 10 light and elaborated upon by the markers and guidebooks, a narrative structure about the place and its heritage is built up through the nature of the discourses utili sed. These discourses, though not necessarily accepled unproblernatically by their consumers, direct the tourist gaze towards a lirnited ran ge of interpretations and closes off yet others. They posi tion the tourist to read the landsca pe represented within the framework in which it is presented and within its silences intact. As Gam e (1991) suggest, this process is influential in creating the public memory of a place and in shaping public understand ing of that place and its past.

Constructed within a narr ative of 'c radle of a nation' onl y the old est homes and hotel s in the precinct are considered worthy of drawing the tourist gaze. The Captain Cook Hotel, The Dumbarton Hotel and the Palisade Inn are overlooked in preference for The Lord Nelson Hotel and The Hero of Waterloo which contest each other for the description as Sydney's oldest hotel. The Hero of Waterloo (1844) is described by the proprietors as "Sydney's oldest licensed hotel". The Lord Nel son Brewery Hotel (1834) is described in *Sydney: Lonely Place Guide* as "Sy dney's old est continuously licensed hotel" (White, 1991) "w hich will take the traveler back to the earl y period of Sydney's development, where a se nse of history ca n be experienced" (Australian Hotels Association Brochure). The RAHS brochure 1788 *is just a ound (he comer* describes The Lord Ne lson as "the oldest extant hotel whi ch is still trading in the same bu ilding. Its fir st licensee was WilIiam WelIs who received a conditional pard on in 1837 having been tran sported to NSW for Jife in 1810",

A similar selection process operates on the homes of the precinct. Tourists are instructed to gaze only at the oldest. In Argyle Place attention is drawn by *The Rocks;* A *self-guided walking tour* (brachure) to "the terraces... built between 1826-69, the oldest of which is N° 48". In Kent Street, Glover Cottages are described by Pollon (1988) as both a "significant heritage attraction... and the oldest terrace in Sydney".

The fact that those histories embodied in the built environment are more likely to be preserved and re-represented as historical artifacts is an ímportant aspect of the partiality and contingency of heritage tourism. Unfortunately, social conditions and local memory are not grounded in the built environment and cannot be recreated in such a manner. So, they tend to be lost from the representation of history through the artefactual past Jacobs (1992). The selective nature of the heritage industry is illustrated by considering the representations of women and indigenous peoples in the rnarking of heritage at Millers Point. Little is shown of the lives of the majority of emancipated and convict women. Women's stories of labor, love, abuse and pleasure, are rarely toldo Romanticised portrayals of happy, singing, dancing, drinking barmaids who flaunted their sexuality trivialises the experiences of women at this time (see Figure 4). Women worked as publicans, cooks, housemaids, nursemaids. weavers, and wives. Suicides amongst females -for which Cockle Bay (now Darling Harbor) became notorious- is testimony to the pressures that women endured. Women's stories of labor, love, abuse and pleasure, are rarely told. The exclusion of aboriginal tourist experiences from Millers Point reflects that, within months of invasion, the aborigines of Sydney had been marginalised in their own land. The are no plaques to the 1789 smallpox epidemic that decimated Sydneys aborigines. Graffiti in Pottinger Street, with eomments sueh as "26 Jan 1788-Invasion Day" and "desecration of a nation", is a reminder of the partial history told by the markers, Distasteful reminders of a darker history are noticeable by their absenee, reflecting trends in other tourism loeation with a discordant past (Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1990).

A wealthy, egalitarian, merchant society, 1850-1900

Fewer markers annotate the legacy of this seeond era as it has fewer artifacts to offer whieh could claim the status of being Sydney's oldest or first. Just three markers are 10 be found, erected by the RAHS, The Society of Australian Genealogists and another praprietor.

Figure 4: Representation of Women in the Argyle Tourist.

Markers and broehures of this era reproduce the myth that Australia was a working man's paradise by describing the pieturesque nineteenth century hotels, couages, terraeed housing, village greens as well as eobbled steps and eourtyards as 'picturesque' and 'charrning'. A romantieised (and thoroughly marketable) myth has been weaved around the upper elass terraced housing dating from the nineteenth century. Brochures dircct the tourist to the "gracious Georgian terraces of Lower Fort Street" (Rocks Walking Tour brochure). The Colonial Museum, in which six rooms are furnished in the period of the mid-1880s, encourages the tourist to experience the living conditions of a wealthy family in the early years of the colony. No reference is made to the hardships of their residents'lives. not to the social bonding of the laboring community born of vas social inequity.

Schools are marked by the RAHS to direct the tourist to not only the oldest and first within the nation but also to reproduce the hegemonic notions of an egalitarian Australian society. The myth of the 'workingman's paradise' was generated initially in the 1830s by British wool and manufacturing interests to attract migrants to the colony of NSW. St Brigid's Church School is marked by the RAHS as the "oldest school in Sydney still operating on its original site in its original building". The Holy Trinity School, whilst not the oldest can claim to have educated the first Australian Prime Minister, Edmund Barton. The plaquemarking Fort Street School (1850-1974), presently the National Trust Centre, informed readers that the school was established by the Board of National Education which stood for "equal opportunity to all colonist independent of rank, class or description of persons".

The interpretation provided by the markers again silences the lived experiences of many people. Most of the benefits of the 'workingman's paradise' were only available to a minority of the working class; the skilled, white, young, male labor force. The benefits did not extend to men out of work, when employment could be very insecure. In 1859, two-thirds of Sydney's buildings trade workers, were out of work (Niland, 1968). Neither did the benefits extend lo wornen, children, unskilled laborers nor Chinese 'cornrnunities'.

Poverty, overcrowding, racism, exploitation, disease and crime, the dominant characteristics of Millers Point in the late nineteenth century (Fitzgerald and Keating, 1991), are omitted from the tourist experience. During the late nineteenth century, Millers Point was deserted by the elite, as more and more carriers, lumpers, wharfies and laborers were crammed into the available houses. The evidence that much of Millers Point was considered te be a slum by 1900 is overwhelming, even allowing for notoriously judgrnental comments from the middle-class commentators. Fox example, Aldermann Chapman wrote in 1875, "...neither Dr Red nor myself, although we have both of us lived a great many years in Sydney, could not have credited without ocular inspection the terrible state of overcrowding which we witnessed" (Mayne, 1982:56). Beth McNamara in 1894 wrote that "...if Australia at present presents the Working man's paradise, 1 should hardly care for a glimpse even of the working Man's Hades" (Mayne, 1982:63). The conditions eventuated from a housing scarcity. Large areas of inner Sydney were being con verted from housing to warehouses and offices. In Millers Point, the result was the crowding of six, seven or eight people in three of

four-roomed houses. Numerous inquiries were held, inspections carried out and volumes written about overcrowding and insanitary conditions, though no action was taken by politicians, city councilors or landlords. The conditions are largely unrecorded in the markers and promotionalliterature for the area.

One exception is the RAHS marker in Ferry Lane indicating the site of the outbreak of the 1900 bubonic plague. The plague has gained a notoriety far out-weighing its initial importance. Other diseases, typhoid fever in particular, were killing more citizens in turn-of-the-century Sydney. This plague was seized upon by State representatives as justification for appropriating all waterfront land. The marker reproduces the official story that appropriation of property occurred unproblematically for the purpose of dealing with the outbreak of rats and fleas. The ill habits of residents were apportioned the blame over social inequalities, inadequate sanitation and health facilities. An alternative interpretation of state government appropriation is one motivated less by public welfare and more economic restructuring, so as to increase the efficiency and profitability of the port (Fitzgerald and Keating, 1991).

Characteristics of the past lacking charro or incongruous with the officially constructed representations, encapsulated within the metaphor "cradle of nation", are masked; poverty, disease, racism, crime, gangs, suicide and overcrowding. As Lowenthal (1985:352) cornmented,

> we alter the past to 'improve it', exaggerating aspects we find successful, virtuous, or beautiful, celebrating what we tale pride in, playing down the ignoble, the ugly, the shameful...

Such a representation of the cultural heritage of Millers Point allows conflictual elements to be cast aside and leaves dominant social norms unthreatened.

The unmarked industrial beritage of the twentietb century

The built environment of the earIy part of the twentieth century has survived strongly, yet is largely ignored by the network of markers, brochures and guidebooks. The representation of the precinct within the metaphor 'cradle of nation' has privileged the nineteenth century over those artifacts of the industrial heritage. This contrasts sharply with the manner in which industrial heritage in the U.K. has been commodified (Goodall, 1993; Harris, 1989). Marked sites of

this era inelude three public parks, erected by Sydney City Council and the MAB, two wharves, erected by the New South Wales Government following their refurbishment to a theatre and a marker at Sydney's oldest butcher shop, erected by its owner, Don Parish. With the exception of the Sydney Dance and Theatre Companies these sites are not deemed of marketable interest to tourist and are not picked up on the relevant brochures and guidebooks (Table 1). Table 1 lists which marked attractions are referred to in both tourist brochures and guidebooks of Sydney.

The tourist gaze, as yet, is not directed towards the 20th century industrial heritage associated with the virtual company town constructed by the Sydney Harbour Trust, and the architecture of Walsh Bay finger wharves. The built environment, social conditions and local memories 0l' this era are neglected.

There are no markers to inform the tourist how the Trust's engineer H. D. Walsh reshaped the landscape of the bay to enable the wharves to operate as double deckers. Walsh's engineering accomplishments ineluded, excavating Hickson Road from the bedrock, employing a new system of hydraulics and constructing a rat-proof sea wall.

There are no plaques to Jim Healy, the Communist union organiser, who became secretary of the Waterside Workers Federation in October 1937, and presided over the changes in conditions on the waterfront during the war years. In 1943, the most significant change to working conditions on the wharves came with the introduction 0l' the gang rotary system 0l' hiring wharf labor, resulting in the hiring 0l' registered workers on a rotating roster. There is no visible record 0l' such influential developments. Equally absent is all evidence of the shared experience 0l' the residents 0l' this tight-knit comrnunity during the early years of the century, the Depression and the austerity of the nineteen forties and fifties. The remain only in the memories 0l' Mil!ers Poinr's dwindling aged population. As this community disperses and its older residents die, the version 0l' hisiory promoted 0l' Mil!ers Point promoted though interpretation for a tourist consumer market, a version that is artifact-centered and bereft 0l' social history, will become hegemonic with its selective representations of history.

CONCLUSION

Assimilating waterfront arcas, or any other redundant economic spaces, into the tourism production process through packaging the past using markers and guidebooks is one mechanism by which a local economic base can be restructured towards consumption-Ied accumulation. Transforming the past into a marketed product, commodification, privileges which ever aspects of the past are deemed of commercial interest. In the case of Millers Point priority has been given to marking and marketing artifacts deemed significant to the founding of the modern Australian nation. Commercial and official representations of Millers Point emphasize the first, oldest and glorious examples of the British colony. Millers Point is represented as a place where tourist can experience the 'charro', and 'egalitarian' nature 0l' this '1800 urban vil!age' and 'marvcl' at the ingenuity and constructions of the first Australians. Whilst tourists may not accept these representation uncritically, certain paths in the generation of a public memory of Millers Point are closed.

Representations of Millers Point within the metaphor 'cradle of the Australian nation' results in a very selective heritage. Preferences of Millers Point's commodified history have resulted in prioritising of official over vernacular histories, artifacts over mentifacts, first and oldest structures over al! others, the elite over the proJetariat, men over women, Anglo-Celtic over indigenous peoples, the glorious over the ignoble, colonisation over industrialisation, egalitarian ideology over extant social relationships. Such a selective representation of Millers Point allows conflictual elernents to be cast aside and leaves dorninant social norms unchallenged. Ideology, as well as commercial interest, plays an important role in the selection and interpretation of the structures to be presented. The selective nature of heritage represented at Millers Point adopts specific hegemonic notions regarding class, ethnicity and gender. Without cultural initiatives that involve the residents of Millers Point to represent thernselves the working-class life and experience will be lost, Already these lives have been excluded from both the official and commercial representation of Millers Point.

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