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

Diplomski rad

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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 19th 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 20th 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 19th 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 20th 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:

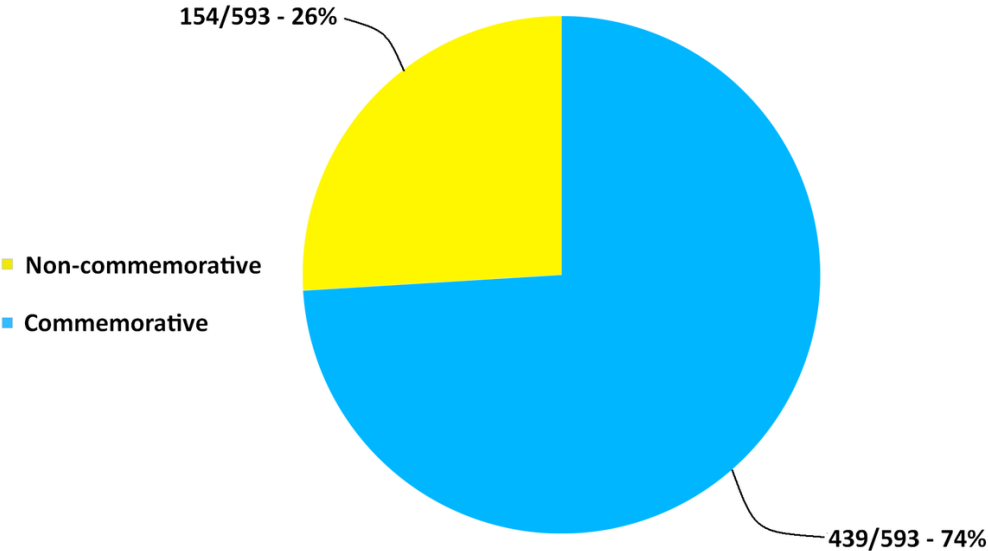


Figure 1: *Bunbury street names categorized by commemoration*

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:

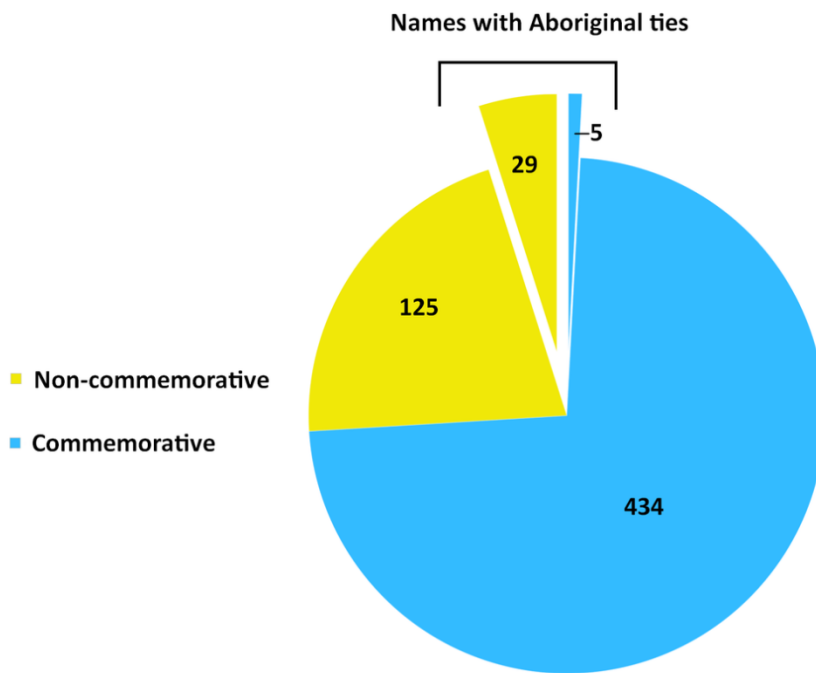


Figure 2: Commemorative and non-commemorative street names with Aboriginal ties

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:

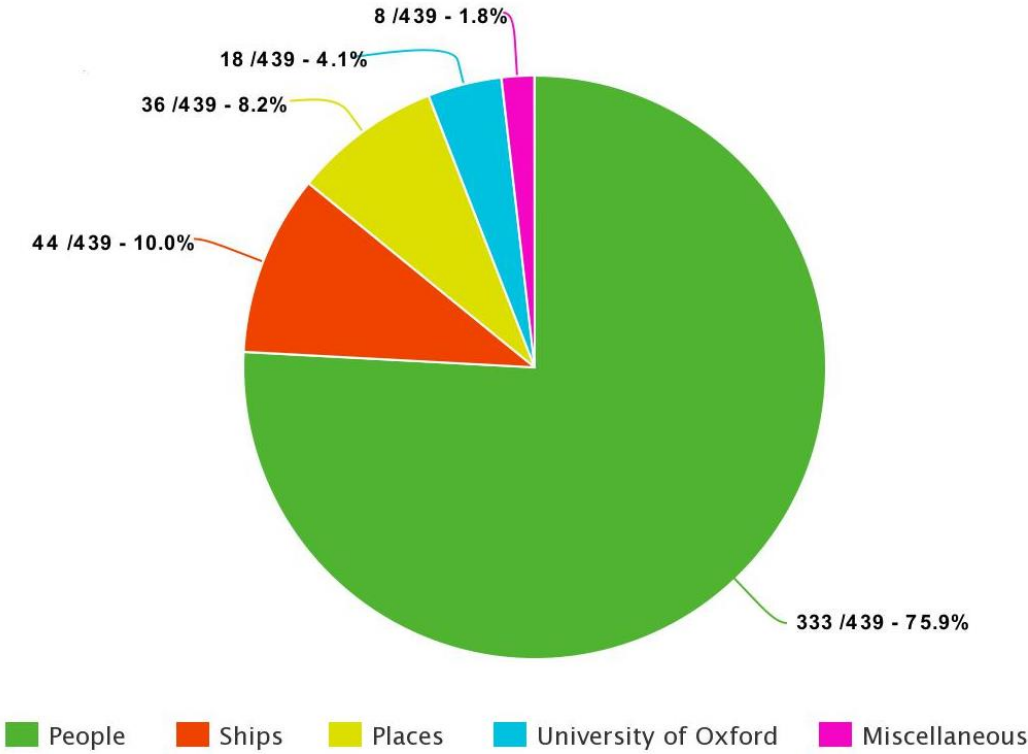


Figure 3: Commemorative street names in Bunbury

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 28th 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 19th and early 20th 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/ 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/ 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/ 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 PATH	Known	European	Non-commemorative			
BLACKWOOD DR	Known	Australian	Commemorative	Places		
BLAIR ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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 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/ Mayor
BOYALLA ST	Known	Aboriginal	Non-commemorative			
BOYANUP- PICTON RD	Known	European	Non-commemorative			
BRAMBLE GR	Known	European	Commemorative	Ships		
BRAND AV	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ Mayor
CROWEA ST	Known	European	Non-commemorative			
CROWHURST WY	Unknown					
CUMMINS PL	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ Mayor
DENNING RD	Uncertain	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous
DERMER PL	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ 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/ 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/ 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/ 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/ 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/ Mayor
GWINDA ST	Uncertain	Aboriginal	Non-commemorative			
HAIG CR	Uncertain	European	Commemorative	People	British Empire 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 Oxford		
HALLO WY	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous
HALSEY ST	Unknown					
HAMERSLEY 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/ Mayor
HARDWICK 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 ELB	Known	European	Commemorative	University of 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/ 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/ 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/ Mayor
HOOPER PL	Uncertain	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Early settler
HORDERN PL	Unknown					
HORNER ST	Uncertain	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ 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/ 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/ 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 BUSWELL RD	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Early settler
JOSHUA L	Known	Australian	Commemorative	Places		
JUBILEE RD	Known	European	Commemorative	Other	British Empire 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 ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ Mayor
KALARI RISE	Known	Aboriginal	Non-commemorative			
KARRI ST	Unknown					
KATHERINE ST	Unknown					
KEARNEY WY	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ Mayor
KEBLE HTS	Known	European	Commemorative	University of Oxford		
KEDDIE ST	Unknown					
KEEN CT	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ Mayor
KELLY ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ 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/ 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/ Mayor
MARTIN ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous
MARY ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Religious 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/ Mayor
MCCOMBE RD	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous
MCKENNA PL	Unknown					
MACKINNON WY	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ Mayor
MISTLETOE CT	Known	European	Non-commemorative			
MITCHELL CR	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ Mayor
MONKHOUSE ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Early settler
MONOGHAN PL	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous
MONTGOMER Y RD	Known	European	Commemorative	People	British Empire figure	
MOOLYEEN RD	Known	Aboriginal	Non-commemorative			
MOORE ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ Mayor
NEWMAN ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous
NEWTON RD	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ 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/ Mayor
PICKWORHT RTT	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ 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/ Mayor

PROFFIT ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ Mayor
PROPERJOHN ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Early settler
PROSSER ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ Mayor
PROTEA PASS	Known	European	Non-commemorative			
QUEENSBURY 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 DR	Uncertain	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ Mayor
ROEGER PL	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous
ROMAN RD	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous
ROSCOMMON 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 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/ 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/ 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
SWEENY 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/ Mayor
THUNDER WY	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ Mayor
TOBIN PL	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Councillor/ 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/ 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/ 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/ Mayor
WIMBRIDGE RD	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous
WINDICH WY	Known	Aboriginal	Commemorative	People	Person of Aboriginal 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 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/ 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/ Mayor
ZOE ST	Known	European	Commemorative	People	Local figure	Miscellaneous