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Addendum March 2009



STONNINGTON THEMATIC ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY



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For changes (edits/additional words)
refer separate document: Update 1
Addendum March 2009



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i Painting of Glen Ferrie (Unknown date, possibly c.1845).
[SLHC Reg. No. 8054]

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INTRODUCTION

The *Stonnington Thematic Environmental History* comprises Volume 1 of the Stonnington Heritage Study 2005 (hereafter referred to as the study). This section provides an overview of the purpose, background and key outcomes of this study.

U1

Update 1
Additional words inserted

PURPOSE

The *Stonnington Thematic Environmental History* (the study) provides an explanation of the themes and activities that have been important in shaping the present-day City of Stonnington (the study area), which was created in 1994 and comprises the former City of Prahran and the City of Malvern. The study area is shown in Figure 1.

It is important to understand that it is not intended as a complete social or political history of the municipality, but rather as a summary of human use and impact upon the landscape from the time of the arrival of the first Indigenous inhabitants. It is not a chronological record and has not been prepared in that way.

Rather, the history is organised according to themes so as to provide a context to assist with the identification of heritage places that illustrate the rich natural and cultural history of the study area. These heritage places include buildings and structures, precincts, objects, ruins, trees and landscapes. The themes are also embodied in the historic or continuing use of places and people's social and spiritual associations with them.

The themes used in this environmental history have been adapted from the *Australian Historic Themes* (AHT) set down as guidelines by the Australian Heritage Council (AHC) and the *Thematic List of Post Contact Aboriginal Places/Sites* prepared in 1999 for Aboriginal Affairs Victoria (AAV) and the Australian Heritage Commission.

The AHC notes that:

The consistent organising principle for the Thematic Framework is activity. By emphasising the human activities that produced the places we value, and the human response to Australia's natural environment, places are related to the processes and stories associated with them, rather than to the type or function of place.

Finally, it is important to understand that the history is not arranged as a hierarchy giving priority, weighting and privilege to some themes, nor is it simply a checklist. One place may have many themes reflecting the integrated, diverse and complex way that places evolve over time.

On this basis, each chapter includes:

- ✦ A brief introduction, which provides an overview and includes a list of the relevant AAV or AHC theme
- ✦ An outline of the history of the study area associated with the particular theme
- ✦ A summary of the historic or natural values and a list of the heritage places associated with the theme. The lists of heritage places are not exhaustive; rather they are representative of the many places that this study and previous studies have identified.

Introduction

BACKGROUND

The study is an outcome of Council's response to a recent review of the Stonnington Municipal Strategic Statement and the findings of two key planning reports, which (among other things) identified a need for the City of Stonnington to address gaps in its Heritage Strategy including that the significance of some parts of the municipality had not been comprehensively assessed. In addition, the planning reports observed existing data shortfalls in the citations for individual places and the comparative analysis for heritage places.

The objectives of the study are therefore to:

- ✦ Identify the key themes and sub-themes in the historical development of the study area
- ✦ Explain how these themes have influenced settlement and development patterns within the study area
- ✦ Provide a clear context for the identification, assessment and continuing management of places of heritage significance in the study area.

STUDY OUTCOMES

It is expected that this thematic environmental history for the study area will provide:

- ✦ An indication of places of potential Indigenous, natural and cultural significance within the study area including those identified by previous studies as well as new, previously unknown places
- ✦ A context for the comparative assessment of places of Aboriginal, natural and cultural significance
- ✦ A strategic base for establishing a future work program for the next stage of the Heritage Strategy to be undertaken for the study area.

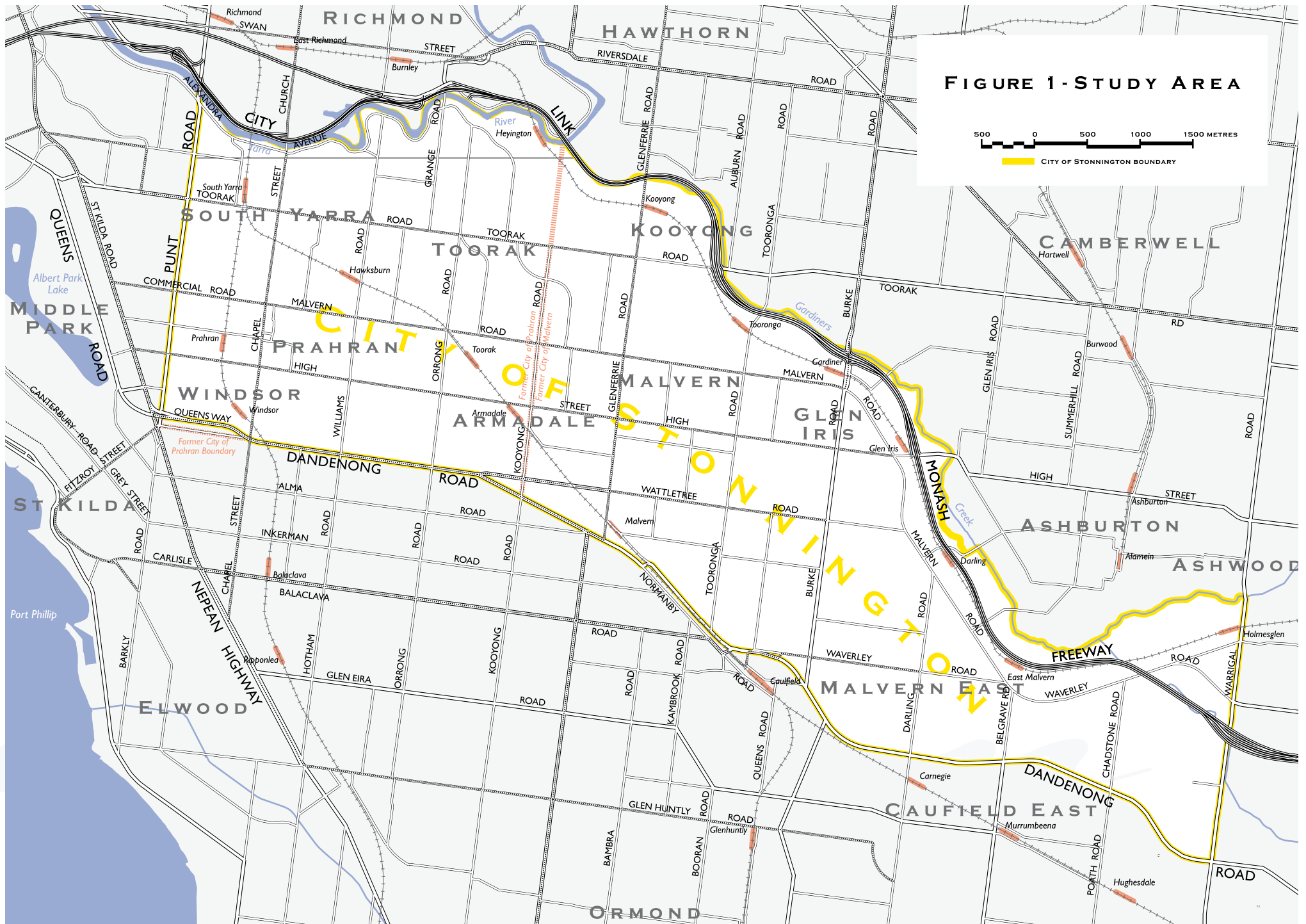


FIGURE 1-STUDY AREA





ii Steam bus travelling west in High Street, 1905.
[SLHC Reg. No. 1304]

PREFACE

As described in the Introduction, this environmental history provides an explanation of the themes and activities that have been important in shaping the City of Stonnington so as to provide a context to assist with the identification of heritage places that illustrate its rich cultural history. It should be read in conjunction with the other local histories and heritage studies prepared for the study area, which are listed in the bibliography to this report.

THE CITY OF STONNINGTON TODAY

The land that is now known as the City of Stonnington is the traditional country of the Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung peoples. As we shall see in Chapter 1.4, although the Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung are two distinct nations of people they shared much in common. They belonged to a larger affiliation of tribes known as the Kulin Nation. The tribes of the Kulin Nation spoke similar languages and shared the same spirit ancestors.

As shown in Figure 1, in 2006 the City of Stonnington covers 25.62 square kilometres east of the Melbourne Central Activities District with the Yarra River and Gardiners Creek forming natural boundaries to the north. The city's suburbs are Armadale, Glen Iris, Kooyong, Malvern, Malvern East, Prahran, Toorak, South Yarra and Windsor.

Stonnington is close to central Melbourne and has a well developed transport network including trams, trains, buses and roads. Suburbs are mainly residential although there are pockets of light industry and commerce. The main industry in the city is retailing, and shopping centres such as Prahran's Greville and Chapel streets, High Street Armadale, Glenferrie Road in Malvern and the Chadstone Shopping Centre attract people from all over Melbourne.

Stonnington contains several of Melbourne's most prestigious private schools while others are just outside the city boundary. Correspondingly, the number of state secondary schools is low.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

U1

Before considering the content of this Thematic Environmental History it is important to remember that the City of Stonnington is made up of two quite distinct municipalities which were merged in 1994: the City of Prahran and the City of Malvern. For this reason, much of the Thematic Environmental History refers to the separate histories of these areas and, while they do have some shared history, they also had strong differences, rivalries and amazing episodes of cooperation – for example, creating the Prahran-Malvern Tramways Trust (See Chapter 4.6).

Chapter 1 describes the creation of the physical landscape of the study area from both Indigenous and scientific perspectives. It provides a vivid portrayal of river and landscape formation, flora and fauna, geology and Indigenous creation stories. Chapter 2 follows by describing how the natural environment was altered following European settlement, particularly noting the man-made changes to the physical landscape.

Chapter 3 moves through the displacement of Indigenous people, waves of migration, pastoralism and land booms noting the rise of influential entrepreneurs and other successful people in the city.

Chapter 4 looks at how transport influenced patterns of settlement in the area including residential and commercial and, particularly, retailing development. Following on from this, the origins of Prahran and Malvern councils in the Road Boards set up to manage the road network and the involvement in the development of Melbourne's tram network is noted in Chapter 5. Perhaps allied to the area's magnetism for the wealthy and famous, the study area has close connections with early government and with prominent politicians at a local, state and national level. Chapter 5 gives the details.

Economic development is dealt with in two chapters. Chapter 6 focuses on industries from farming through to manufacturing. Retailing is a major theme in the study area and Chapter 7 examines the important role of shopping centres in creating the area's identity.

The study area has always had some of Melbourne's grandest houses and Chapter 8 considers the social and physical manifestation of wealth and status in the area. Working-class housing and higher density living is also considered in its reflection of the original landscape topography. The chapter also covers gentrification and development of parks and open spaces.

The related themes of Education, Community and Culture are dealt with in Chapters 9 and 10. Education is a strong theme in the study area, which is notable for the high number of private schools. Meeting places and community buildings such as schools and churches are important in any community. These buildings and places are important markers on the landscape and have significant social value. Chapter 10 describes the community and cultural development of the study area including worship, philanthropy, self-help and the development of two strong historical societies in Prahran and in Malvern – reflecting the dual-municipality foundation of today's City of Stonnington.

As described above, this thematic environmental history is set out in thematic, not chronological order. The following table is provided to assist in understanding how the historic themes set out in each chapter are associated with key dates in the historic development of the study area. Please note that this table is indicative only of broad timeframes associated with each theme and reference should be made to the appropriate chapter in this environmental history for more specific information about the actual periods of influence for each theme.

Theme	Period of Influence										
	Pre– 1835	1835– 1860	1861– 1880	1881– 1900	1901– 1920	1921– 1940	1941– 1960	1961– 1980	1981– 1993	1994– 2005	2005–
Creation											
Altering the environment											
Settling the land											
Transport											
Governing & administering											
Local, regional & national economies											
Retailing											
Building suburbs											
Education											
Community & culture											

	Primary period of influence
	Secondary or continuing period of influence

Preface

TERMINOLOGY

The terms used throughout this report in relation to heritage conservation are consistent with *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Heritage Significance*. A glossary of some key terms and their meanings is provided at the end of the history section of this report. Otherwise, plain English has been used wherever possible.

The following specific terms are used when talking about particular areas within the City of Stonnington:

- ✧ The term ‘study area’ is used when speaking of anything broadly associated with what is the present-day City of Stonnington, but which occurred prior to June 1994 (when the City was formed)
- ✧ ‘City of Stonnington’ is used when speaking of anything specifically associated with the present-day municipality after June 1994
- ✧ ‘Prahran municipality’ or ‘City of Prahran’ is used when speaking of anything specifically associated with the former City of Prahran (and its previous incarnations)
- ✧ ‘Malvern municipality’ or ‘City of Malvern’ is used when speaking of anything specifically associated with the former City of Malvern (and its previous incarnations).



iii 'Plan of Suburban Allotments at Gardiner, Parish of Prahran, County of Bourke' (Plan Room, Surveyor General's Office, 1857), which includes references to soil and vegetation types. This plan shows part of the present-day City of Stonnington, generally in the south-east between Kooyong Road and Warrigal Road.

[Malvern Archives]

CREATION

Chapter 1

Chapter 1





CREATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the creation of the physical landscape of the study area by blending two perspectives: that of Indigenous people and that of science and geology. The aim is to provide an understanding of what the landscape was like prior to changes that occurred since the arrival of non-Aboriginal people from the early nineteenth century onwards.

For thousands of years, the study area was used and modified by Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung people, who are part of the Kulin Nations. The eastern part of the study area was a place where Aboriginal people, including those who had been displaced from other parts of Melbourne, came to live and socialise. The occupation by Indigenous communities is also remembered in the names and meanings of places and landscapes. Understanding the evidence of the pre-contact landscape and how it influenced the early settlement of the study area is fundamental to an overall understanding of the later historic development of the municipality.

This chapter provides a scientific explanation of the geomorphology, waterways, flora and fauna associated with the study area. The vision presented of the pre-contact landscape is of a swampy scene around the waterways with thickets of trees, woody and heathy woodland, scrub and floodplain. Wildlife was plentiful and, along with vegetation, adapted gradually to a regime of management by the Indigenous peoples. It is interesting to contrast this with the accompanying section on spiritual places, which explains that the area of the study is the traditional country of the Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung people. This provides the parallel creation stories of places such as the Yarra River and describes the spiritual importance of the land to Aboriginal people and how they interpreted and understood it.

Material dealing with the Indigenous history of Stonnington contained in this Thematic Environmental History has been drawn from sources of public record. Council has prepared an Indigenous History of Stonnington that will further enhance this information

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Living as Australia's earliest inhabitants; Tracing the evolution of the Australian environment.

iv J. Cotton c. 1845. Native encampment on the banks of the Yarra. Watercolour with graphite pencil and glazing medium. Note: This image may not be of the Yarra within the boundaries of the study area.
[LaTrobe Picture Collection State Library of Victoria. Accession number: H252. Image Number: b28308]



v Scenes of the pastoral landscape around Avoca that show the transition from the natural to cultural landscape (not dated, but appear to be c.1870). Avoca was situated on the banks of the Yarra just to the east of Punt Road.
[SLHC Reg. No. 2051.14, 2051.16]





vi Aerial view c.1930 of the confluence of Gardiners Creek and the Yarra River showing the wide alluvial flats. Glenferrie Road passes from left to right through the middle of the image while the playing fields of Scotch College and Kooyong Tennis Stadium can be seen at the middle right.
[SLHC Reg. No. 226]

HISTORY

1.1 Geomorphology – creating the landscape

This section provides an overview of the physical features of the study area as they appear on the surface of the land, and how this is related to geological structures and process. This is illustrated in Figure 2.

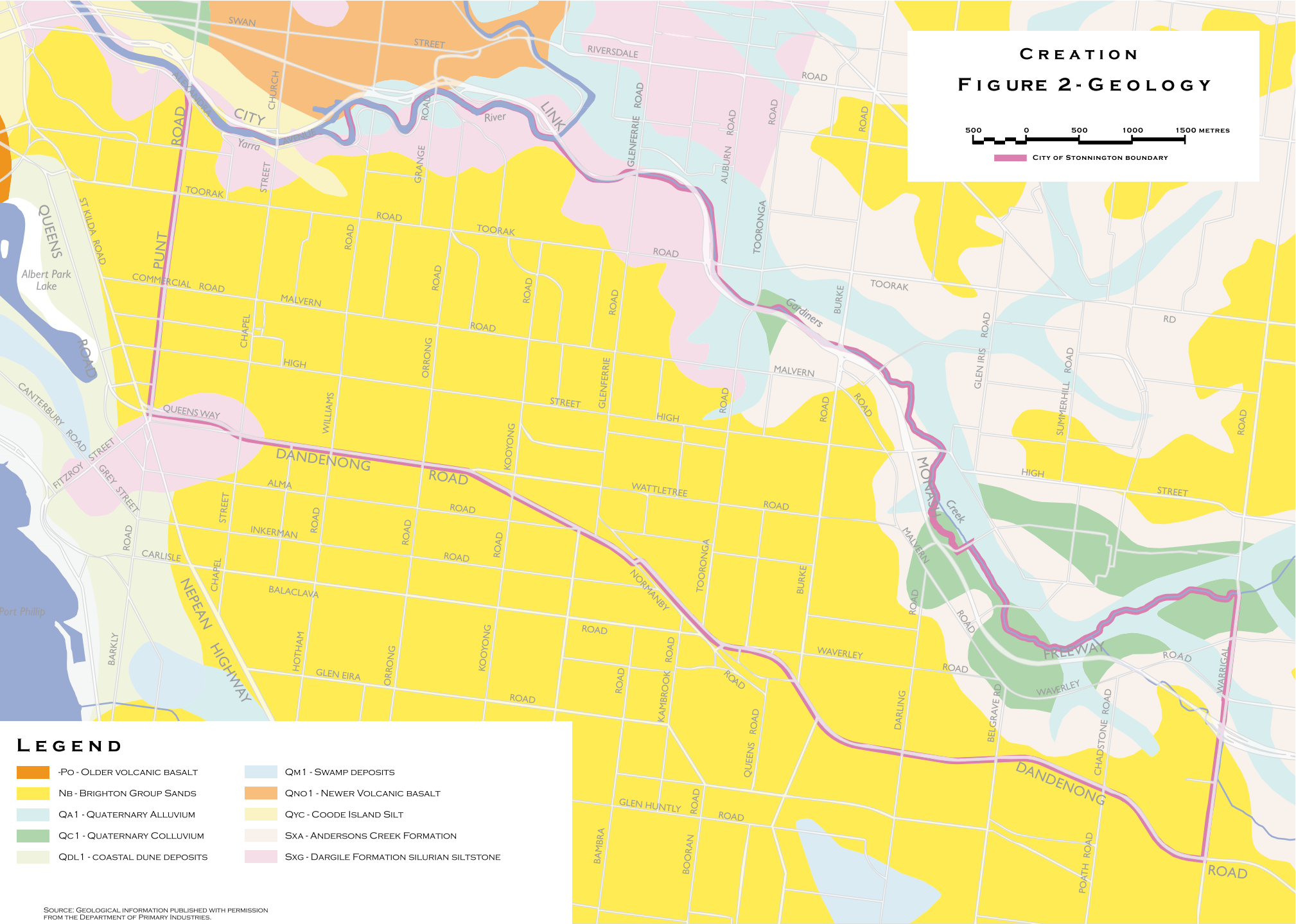
The geology (and hence landform and soils) of Stonnington is the result of a long series of depositional and erosion sequences forming part of what is known as the *Nillumbik Terrain* (Burns, unpubl. p.6; Hills, 1975:323), comprising the *Dargile* and *Andersons Creek* formations. These formations underlie most of Melbourne and consist of sediments of layered siltstones, sandstones and mudstones and conglomerate of Silurian Age (around 400 million years ago), which have undergone uplifting, tilting, folding and faulting.

Following extensive erosion, the *Nillumbik Terrain* was characterised by a very low relief coastal zone traversed by very mature and old age streams. The area was then partially inundated by the ocean during Tertiary times (40–20 million years ago) resulting in the deposition of sands and gravels of the *Brighton Group* (shown in yellow on Figure 2). This flooding was partially caused by sea level rise and partly by the sinking of the earth's crust in the Bass Strait area.

In the late Tertiary period (around 10 million years ago) the *Nillumbik Terrain* was uplifted and probably tilted towards the sea. As this occurred streams began cutting their courses through the Tertiary sands and Silurian bedrock to form valleys such as that of the Yarra River and Gardiners Creek.

As the streams gradually cut down through the sediments, alluvial material was deposited when the streams flooded (shown on Figure 2 in light green), so the older alluviums were left at higher levels (darker green).

During the period known as the Newer Volcanics (from around 4 million years ago to recent times), basalt lavas (shown as pale orange) flowed from the north down the Merri and Darebin Creek valleys to the Yarra and down the Yarra, damming the Yarra and Gardiners Creek (Hills, 1975:230) and probably also Hawksburn Creek. Alluvial sediments were deposited in the lakes formed on the lower Gardiners and Hawksburn Creeks, and on the Yarra. When the Yarra cut a new valley along the eastern edge of the lava flows the lake drained, exposing the lake beds. This is the origin of the wide alluvial flats on the lower Gardiners and Hawksburn Creeks, and why the banks of the Yarra in the study area between Heyington Place and Punt Road tend to be higher and cliffier than the opposite bank.



1.2 'Swampy Poor Ann'

The waterways and swamps of the study area as they would have been prior to the arrival of non-Aboriginal people are shown in Figure 3. The Yarra River and its main tributaries – Gardiners Creek and Hawksburn Creek – were main channels of a drainage network that resulted from millions of years of erosion and other geological processes briefly described in Chapter 1.1. They provided an important habitat that supported a particular range of plants and animals. The swampy nature of the study area at the time of first settlement by non-Aboriginal people created hazards for the early settlers, and led to disparaging remarks about the area. Joseph Crook, in an article published in an October 1897 edition of the *Prahran Telegraph* recalls that:

It was only on rare occasions that the Prahranites indulged in theatre going, for it was no joke finding the road home in the dark, and we never attempted it unless four or five of us went together. Then it was only when the moon shone, and even then we would sometimes land among the swamps, from which Prahran was called by the Melbournites 'Swampy Poor Ann' (Prahran Local History Catalogue, Registration No. 10692).

Swampy thickets of tea-tree and paperbark occurred particularly at the confluence with minor tributaries, and at a range of billabongs along the river. Brackish water sometimes extended past the rocky 'falls' at the site of what is now Princes Bridge as far upstream as Dight's Falls (Finn 1967:38). The waters, the tea-tree scrub and the reeds swarmed with birds – black swans, ducks and pelicans, and with black fish, bream, flounder and herring.

Kooyong Koot Creek or Gardiners Creek as it later became known was a little braided stream flowing in a wide swampy floodplain mostly covered in 'ti tree' (Hall, 1911). The ti tree referred to is probably what is now known as Swamp Paperbark or Woolly Tea-tree, or a mixture of the two. In heavy rain the creek would spread out through the surrounding scrub-covered flats and flow slowly to the Yarra. The present-day suburbs of Kooyong, Malvern, Glen Iris and Malvern East drain to Gardiners Creek.

Many other smaller, mostly intermittent tributaries flowed generally northward to the Yarra and Gardiners Creek. Rainfall seeped through the porous Brighton Sands soils to the underlying relatively impermeable Silurian clays. The hidden topography of the clay channelled the soil water, and where the overlying sands had over millions of years been eroded, the groundwater emerged as springs.

Finn (1967:37) provides an idyllic description of the waterways:

Large trees, like lines of foliated sentinels, guarded both sides and their branches protruded so far riverwise as to more than half shadow the stream. The waters were bright and sparkling, and wooed by the fragrant acacias shaking their golden blossom-curls.



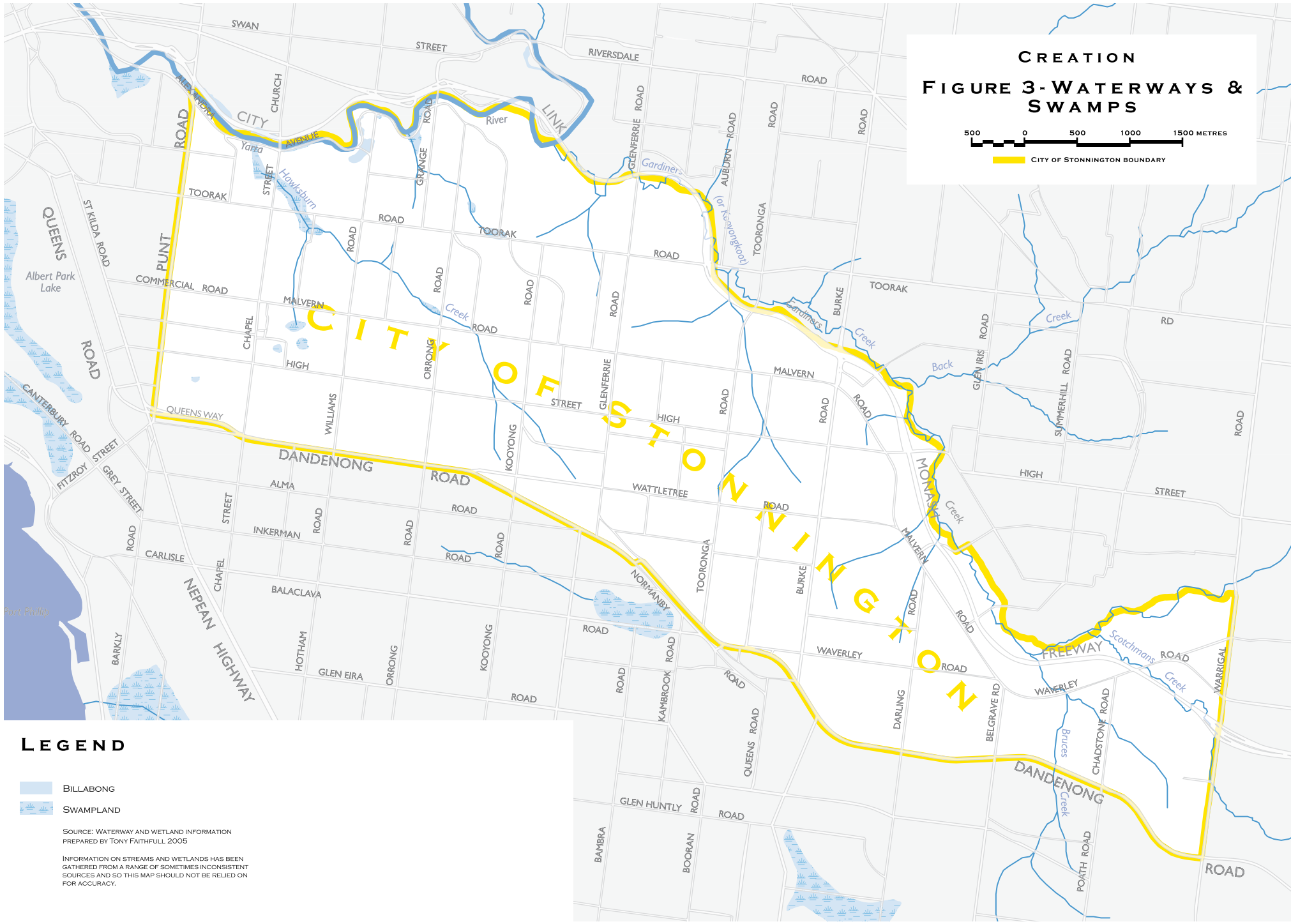
vii 'A little braided stream' – View of Gardiners Creek c.1895. [SLHC Reg. No. 7560]



viii 'Sentinels shadowing the stream' – c.1895. View of Yarra River near Gardiners Creek. [SLHC Reg. No. 7900]

CREATION
FIGURE 3-WATERWAYS & SWAMPS

500 0 500 1000 1500 METRES
 CITY OF STONNINGTON BOUNDARY



LEGEND

- BILLABONG
- SWAMPLAND

SOURCE: WATERWAY AND WETLAND INFORMATION
 PREPARED BY TONY FAITHFULL 2005

INFORMATION ON STREAMS AND WETLANDS HAS BEEN
 GATHERED FROM A RANGE OF SOMETIMES INCONSISTENT
 SOURCES AND SO THIS MAP SHOULD NOT BE RELIED ON
 FOR ACCURACY.

ix This house, on a much reduced allotment, still stands at 8 Gordon Grove, South Yarra.

[SLHC Reg. No. 2051.7]



1.3 Flora and fauna

The development of the original flora and fauna communities in the study area was the result of a long dynamic process whereby plant and animal species moved in and out as climate, water levels, soils, fires and grazing levels changed. The species themselves slowly evolved to better cope with environmental changes as well as coping or competing with, and taking advantage of other plant and animal species. In addition, by the time of settlement by non-Aboriginal people it is thought that plant and animal communities had adapted to tens of thousands of years of Aboriginal land management, including regular burning of the bush, harvesting and re-planting tuberous bulbs, and hunting. The flora and fauna of the study area clearly provided a rich diet, which could have supported large gatherings of Aboriginal people. Food items included possums, wallabies, waterbirds, fish and the staple tubers and bulbs. Many indigenous plants had medicinal or other uses well known by the Aboriginal people (Wigney, 1994). Unfortunately, the complex interrelationship between Aboriginal people and the natural environment is not fully understood.

1.3.1 Grassy woodlands and tea tree swamps

As we shall see in the next chapter, the native vegetation within the study area was cleared quite rapidly and few early records were made. Consequently, it is difficult to accurately describe the vegetation that would have occurred in the study area prior to the early nineteenth century. Joseph Crook, in an article published in the 28 August 1897 edition of the *Prahran Telegraph*, provides an almost contemporary account of the vegetation in the Prahran district in 1849:

... in August 1849 when I first saw it was a dense bush of big trees, full of birds, kangaroos, opossums and wild fowls, with no roads. From the outlet of the present drain at the railway bridge over the Yarra to Motherwell Street was a swamp thickly covered with Ti-tree, while from the upper part of Chapel Street from High Street to St Kilda was a thick wattle scrub. Mount Erica was covered with heath (Prahran Local History Catalogue, Registration No. 10692).

Mount Erica was near the present-day intersection of High Street and Williams Road. It is remembered by the eponymous Mount Erica Hotel.

The plan shown at the beginning of this chapter, dated 1857, provides some broad descriptions of the vegetation in the south-east part of the study area, which includes 'Heath and Scrub' in the area between what is now Kooyong Road and Tooronga Road, to 'Wooded with Box Gums' in the area east of Burke Road extending to Warrigal Road.

In 2001, Oates and Taranto created a set of maps showing the Ecological Vegetation Classes (EVC) for the Port Phillip and Westernport Region as the authors concluded they probably were in 1750, based on ecological factors and historical records such as the newspaper reports and plans described above. The reconstructed EVCs are a very broad typology of vegetation communities, which are shown in Figure 4.

Generally speaking, soils based on the Brighton Sands supported *Grassy Woodland*, but on the more well-drained areas (e.g., parts of Armadale) it supported *Heathy Woodland*. Along the Yarra and Gardiners Creek was a continuous strip of *Floodplain Riparian Woodland*, with the smaller tributaries carrying *Creekline Grassy Woodland*. What is now the Como Park area carried *Swamp Scrub*.

1.3.2 A source of food and medicine – fauna of the study area

Early indigenous fauna records for the study area are few, and it is almost impossible to determine the exact number and type of species that may have been found there before settlement by non-Aboriginal people. The Land Conservation Council (1991) lists the following numbers of faunal species occurring in the 'Melbourne 2' district, which includes the study area:

- ✧ 316 indigenous birds of which approximately 200 might have occurred in the study area
- ✧ 51 indigenous non-marine mammal species, 41 indigenous reptiles, 22 indigenous amphibians, and 26 indigenous freshwater fish, most of which might have occurred in the study area

A large but unknown number of indigenous insects and other invertebrates would also have occurred. All these species depended on each other and the indigenous flora species.

x This 25m tall sculpture of jarrah, aluminium and polycarbonate resins created by artist Bruce Armstrong stands sentinel in Melbourne's Docklands, and is said to represent Bunjil.



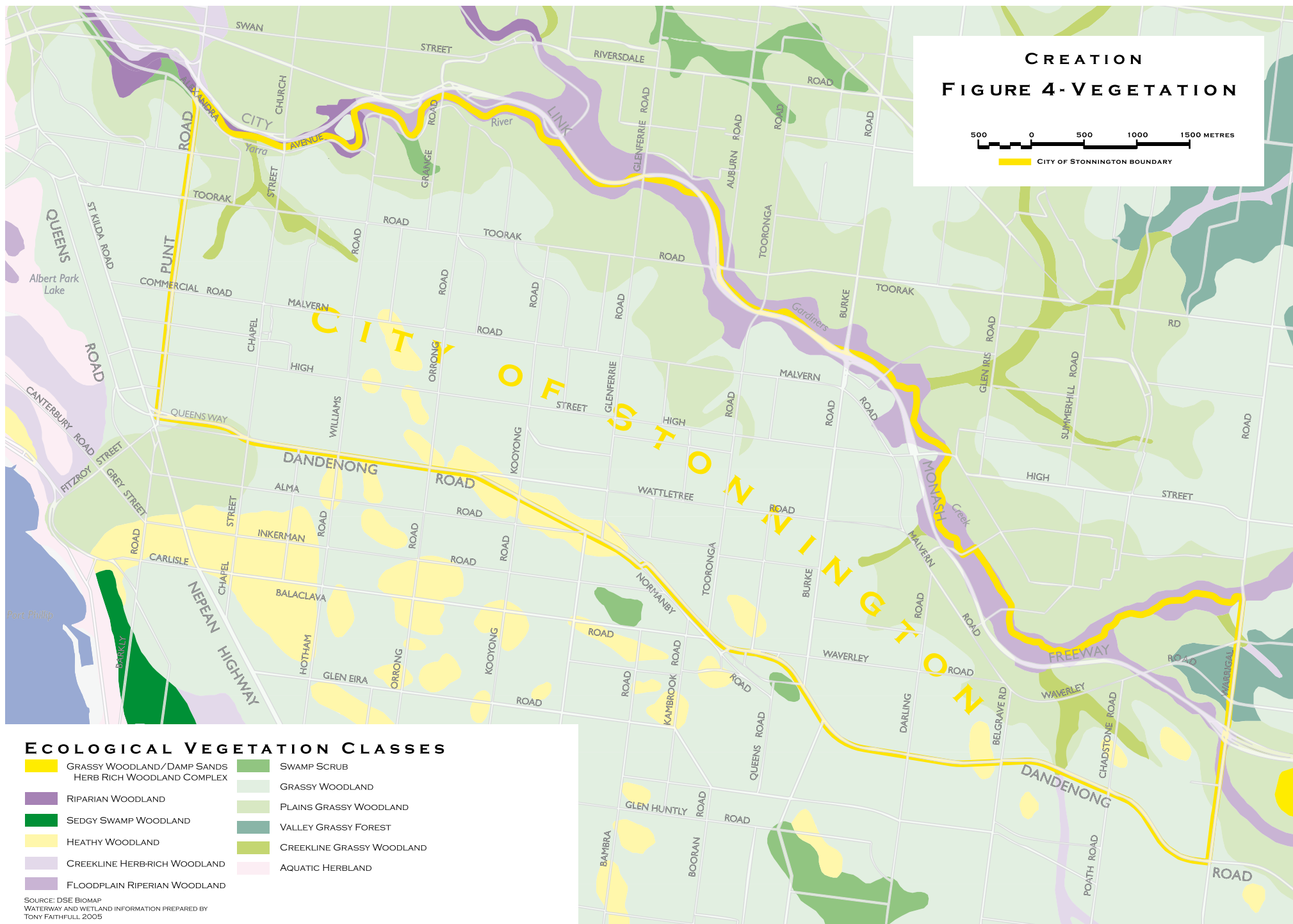
1.4 Spiritual places

The study area is the traditional country of the Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung peoples. Although the Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung were two distinct nations they shared much in common. They belonged to a larger affiliation of five central Victorian tribes known as the Kulin Nation. The other Kulin people were the Wathaurong, the Dja Dja wurrung and the Taungerong. The people of the Kulin Nation shared similar languages and culture and maintained close economic ties (Hercus 1968: map, unpaginated). Archaeologists believe that Aboriginal people have been in Victoria for more than 30,000 years. Throughout this long history their relationship with the landscape (where and how they lived) changed according to factors such as climate change and resource availability, and cultural change. It is possible, however, to assume that the land of the Kulin has been occupied for many thousands of years.

The Boonerwung language was one of five languages that were so similar that they could be grouped together and described broadly as the Kulin languages. Boonerwung, Woi wurrung and Taungerong were the Eastern Kulin languages. The Western Kulin languages were Wathaurong and Dja Dja wurrung. These groups formed the Kulin Nation. The people of the Kulin Nation not only shared language, they had similar traditions, customs and close economic ties and had the same spirit ancestors (Hercus 1969: map, unpaginated).

1.4.1 Bunjil

The Great Spirit ancestor Bunjil created the earth, trees and animals of the country that is now within the study area. Bunjil's brother Pallian created the seas, waters and fish. According to Boon wurrung stories, Port Phillip Bay used to be a huge plain where the Boon wurrung hunted animals and gathered plants. At this time, conflict arose among the tribes of the Kulin Nation. The people neglected each other and squandered the land's resources. Their behaviour made the sea angry and it rose up, covering the plain and threatening to flood the rest of their country. The people appealed to Bunjil to stop the sea from rising. Bunjil told the people that they would have to stop their bad behaviour and start following his laws. The people agreed to this, whereupon Bunjil commanded the sea to stop rising. The coastline of the Boon wurrung as we know it today was created. After Bunjil stopped the rising of the sea, the Kulin people chose the great meeting ground on land now occupied by Government House to come together to discuss the business of the Nation, to celebrate and to dance (story told by Boonerwung elder Caroline Briggs in an address for National Reconciliation Week www.yarrahealing.melb.catholic.edu.au).



1.4.2 Yarra River

There are a number of stories about the creation of the Yarra River. Billibellary, an important Woi wurrung leader, told the following version. Billibellary's brother Burrenupton and family are believed to have occupied the land on the south bank of the Yarra upstream to Gardiners Creek (Ellender and Christiansen 2001:35). The waters of the Yarra River used to be locked up in the mountains, creating a vast inland lake that covered most of the hunting grounds of the Woi wurrung. Mo-yarra was a headman of the Woi wurrung who decided to rid the country of the water by digging a channel south to Westernport. Little water followed him, however, and the hunting grounds remained inundated. Some time later, a new headman, Bar-wool, recalled Mo-Yarra's efforts to free the Yarra and decided to try again himself. He cut a channel with his axe but was stopped by the mountain, Baw Baw. Turning north, he was stopped again by Donna Buang and his brothers. Cutting westward through the hills to War-ran-dyte he met another Woi wurrung man, Yan-Yan, who was cutting a channel for the Plenty River in order to drain Morang. The two men decided to work together and continued digging through the areas we now know as Heidelberg and Templestowe. From here the ground got much harder and the two men had to work much more slowly and used a lot of stone axes. Between the Darebin and Merri creeks they cut a narrow twisting track as they looked for softer ground. When they finally reached the sea the waters rushed out, freeing the country of the Woi wurrung from water but inundating Port Phillip (Massola, 1968:58).

Woi wurrung leader William Barak told the following version: Two boys were playing when one of them climbed a wattle tree to find wattle-gum. Sitting high up in the branches he began throwing lumps of gum down to the other boy but when they reached the ground they disappeared. The boy eventually noticed a hole in the ground and, thinking the gum might have fallen into it, poked it with his spear. An old man who had been sleeping beneath the ground came to the surface. He was very angry and carried the terrified boy off. The path he made as he carried the boy became the Yarra River. The little boy cried with fright and eventually Bunjil heard his distress. Bunjil threw sharp stones onto the ground in front of the old man causing him to fall and cut himself to pieces, allowing the boy to escape and run home. Just before the old man died Bunjil appeared before him and said, 'Let this be a lesson to all old men. They must be good to little children' (Massola 1968:55–56).

ALTERING THE ENVIRONMENT

Chapter 2

Chapter 2





ALTERING THE ENVIRONMENT

INTRODUCTION

This chapter follows on from Chapter 1 as it focuses on the impact of settlement by non-Aboriginal people on the natural environment. These impacts in Victoria generally are well documented and the non-Aboriginal settlers in the study area followed the same pattern of modifying the landscape to make it more suitable for urban development.

As this chapter shows through describing changes to the indigenous vegetation, fauna, waterways, and landforms, environmental impacts of European settlers were immediate and dramatic when compared to the gradual changes across previous millennia. Forests were cleared and indigenous flora and fauna were decimated. Remarkably, there are some survivors and this chapter describes them. Waterways came under dual attack from pollution created by the ever-expanding city of Melbourne and from efforts to control man-made problems of flooding and erosion. Today, little of Gardiners Creek remains unaltered and its water, along with that of the Yarra, is of poor quality and supports less wildlife than it once did, although as we shall see steps are being taken to redress this situation. Nonetheless, the grossly modified landscape that exists today is a stark contrast to the pre-settlement landscapes described in Chapter 1.

This chapter incorporates the following theme:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Tracing the evolution of the Australian environment.

HISTORY

2.1 Changing the landscape

This section considers how activities associated with the urban development of the study area in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries resulted in physical changes that, in some cases, quite dramatically altered the landscape. This ranged from the immediate impact of the loss of vegetation to the more gradual changes that have resulted in new courses of waterways, the loss of swamps and the levelling of hills.

2.1.1 Clearing of timber

Timber of course was initially the primary fuel for the new settlement, as well as the most widely used structural building material. The study area wasn't rich in tall straight timber, being mostly woodlands, and evidence suggests that most of the suitable timber for construction was cut down by the mid-nineteenth century. A map prepared by Collis and Couchman in 1857 includes annotations, which suggest that much of the municipality east of Tooronga Road was still forested in 1857. Selwyn (1860), however, shows almost all the study area being cleared, with the exception of Toorak, which was cleared in the succeeding decades as the land was subdivided.

Little is known of any early timber industry in the study area, but presumably the better timber would have been used in local buildings and fences by the early European settlers, as clearing took place. Much of the forest was cleared for grazing and burnt. Wattles were valued for their bark, which was used for tanning, but the removal of the bark killed the tree. The remaining poorer quality timber would have been cut for firewood, and what was too small for firewood (such as the thickets of tea-tree along Gardiners Creek) was cut for brushwood fences and garden brush houses (Burns, unpubl., p.41). Firewood was in great demand fuelling the kilns of the study area's brickworks and Tibbets (1983:6) also believes that the South Yarra, Toorak and Prahran areas 'quickly became the principal sources of firewood for the Melbourne settlement'. Itinerant timber gatherers are said to have taken wood to the township either by boats along the Yarra or on bullock-drays.

As well as active clearing, the use of the land for grazing compounded the effects on the native vegetation not only because of the clearing necessary to create good grass, but as a result of the trampling with sharp hooves so different to the native grazers, and also of the intense and close grazing which sheep and cattle do. Native plants struggled to survive the higher soil nutrient levels resulting from sheep and cattle grazing. Often graziers deliberately introduced exotic grasses to compete with the native vegetation to 'improve' their pasture. It is not clear how much of the municipality was grazed, but grazing began from the first years of settlement of Melbourne, and John Gardiner is known to have moved herds of cattle into Gardiners Creek in 1835, having brought them overland from Sydney (Cooper, 1935).

Consequently, by the end of the nineteenth century very little remained of the original vegetation. However, a number of reserves were set aside very early (Collis and Couchman, 1857). These included a reserve on Gardiners Creek each side of where High Street crosses and the Police Reserve around present-day Malvern East Station. These reserves were supplemented by acquisitions by the City of Malvern, which aimed to create parkland with a boulevard road all along the creek. This is discussed further in Chapter 8.8.

The indigenous vegetation was often replaced by trees and gardens using exotic species in an attempt to 'civilise' the landscape and make it more European in appearance. The three scenes in Illustration iv and photographs v at the start of Chapter 1. show the beginnings of this gradual transition from the natural to cultural landscape in the area surrounding the property known as *Avoca* in South Yarra.



2.1.2 Quarrying

The study area was naturally endowed with deposits of alluvial clay suitable for making bricks. With the high demand for building materials in early Melbourne, particularly in the gold boom years of the 1850s, large quarries were established throughout the study area and brickmaking became the chief industry.

From at least the early 1840s small operators were working in the low-lying parts of South Yarra, Prahran and Windsor, however the northern end of Chapel Street from Toorak Road to the river became the major centre of brick production. As we shall see in chapter 6.3.1, the longest-running works was on the corner of Toorak Road, where Robert 'Daddy' Davis quarried the clay for three decades (Malone, 2000:8–9).

The quarrying at the north end of Chapel Street profoundly altered the landscape in that area. Illustration xi (opposite) is an impression of the cutting that once existed at the north end of Chapel Street where it passed through what was known as 'Forrest Hill'. Quarrying to exploit the clay and stone deposits had all but removed the part of the hill on the east side of Chapel Street by the early twentieth century as shown in photograph xii. This left a crater at the side of the road with a cliff behind, threatening the foundations of nearby houses. This was in turn filled in by later industrial development and now is the site of high-rise residential buildings.



xii View c.1915 looking south-east toward South Yarra showing the quarry that removed Forrest Hill on the east side of Chapel Street. The image also shows the first stage of construction of Alexandra Avenue. The chimneys show the brickworks associated with the quarry.
[SLHC Reg. No. 7101]

xi (left) View c.1860 showing the cutting through 'Forrest Hill' at the north end of Chapel Street. [SLHC Reg. No. 2353]

Altering the environment

2.1.3 Making roads and railways

The construction of roads and railways also had a significant impact upon the landscape in the form of cuttings and embankments. In 1860, the construction of the railway to Windsor via South Yarra required major earthworks to create an embankment where the bridge over the Yarra entered the study area as it passed through the swamp at the foot of Forrest Hill, and then to form cuttings where it passed through South Yarra and Windsor. Cooper (1924:181) cites a report, which states that in the construction of the line 200,000 yards of earth were removed.

In the early twentieth century the construction of Alexandra Avenue resulted in dramatic changes to the Yarra bank. As we shall see in Chapter 4, Alexandra Avenue was a late addition to the study area's road system and unlike most of the other roads did not follow the straight lines of Hoddle's grid, following instead the serpentine curves of the Yarra. In 1903 work commenced on cutting through the steep Yarra bank from Punt Road, but by 1918 it had only reached Chapel Street. Prahran Council continued the work during the 1920s, partly as a way of employing unemployed workers. The project was stepped up in the early 1930s, when various sources of unemployment relief funds, including a large contribution by Sidney Myer, enabled Alexandra Avenue to be extended to Grange Road. The construction of this stage required deep cuttings into the side of the Yarra bank, creating steep walls as shown in photograph xiv. Soil from Como Park was used to create a levee that formed the basis of the roadway connecting Alexandra Avenue with Williams Road. As we shall see in Chapter 8.8 Alexandra Avenue developed into a pleasant boulevard and a cause for civic pride (Wilde, 1993:13 and 34–36), but it forever changed the character of this part of the study area, which until then had remained largely undeveloped.

2.1.4 Taming the waterways

As we have seen in Chapter 1, the Yarra and to a lesser extent Gardiners Creek were important features for Aboriginal people and the European settlers. The Yarra provided reliable drinking water, was navigable by small boats upstream to Dight's Falls and provided fish and waterbirds for food. Gardiners Creek was a reliable freshwater resource invaluable for the cattle grazing it allowed John Gardiner. Both waterways were barriers to land movement and so it is not surprising that they have historically formed the northern boundaries of the study area. However, the waterways were also prone to flooding with disastrous consequences for the developing urban areas.

The following section describes how the waterways in the study area have been modified since the late nineteenth century. The extent of the changes is shown on Figure 3. As shown on this map, all waterways in the study area, other than the Yarra River and Gardiners and Scotchmans creeks, have been converted over the years into underground pipes collectively known as the stormwater system, managed now by Council and Melbourne Water. The changes to the Yarra River, Hawksburn Creek and Gardiners Creek are described below.

Yarra River and Hawksburn Creek

According to the Yarra River Precinct Association (2005), severe flooding was a regular feature of the Yarra River's original narrow and twisting watercourse. The first flood was recorded in 1839. The biggest recorded flood – in 1891 – saw the water rise 14 metres higher than normal. It destroyed 200 houses in Collingwood and Richmond.

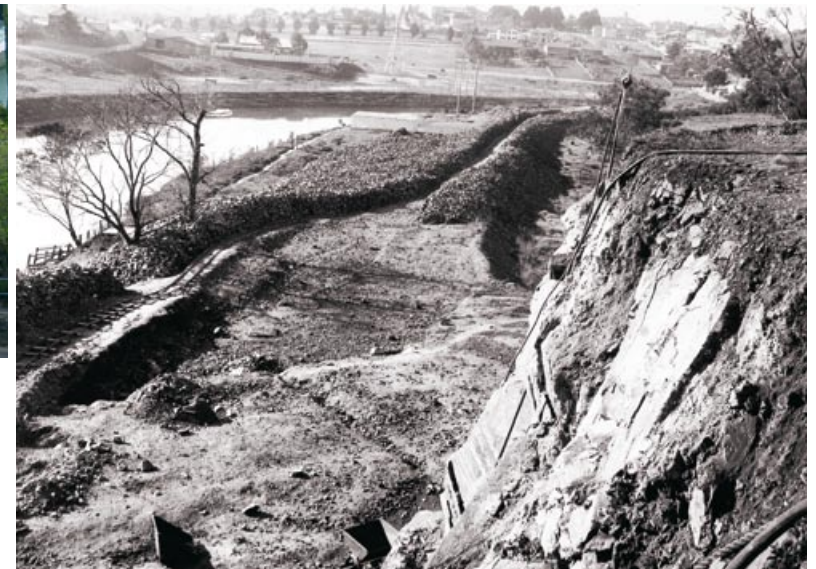
A bar of rock, just downstream of Princes Bridge, banked up water which regularly flooded South Melbourne and kept much of the land south of the Yarra as permanent swamp. A lengthy program of works was carried out from the late 1880s to help alleviate the flooding. The rock bar was blasted and the river was widened and straightened, including construction of the 1.5 km Coode Canal at Fishermans Bend. This led to the river becoming brackish as far upstream as Dight's Falls.



xiii View c.1915 looking south-east from Richmond showing the gently sloping land on the south bank of the Yarra east of Chapel Street prior to the construction of Alexandra Avenue
[SLHC Reg. No. 7101] *and (right) c.2005 a similar view today.* [Context 2005]



xiv (right) View c.1931 showing excavations to allow construction of Alexandra Avenue east of Chapel Street
[SLHC Reg. No. 6151] *and (above) c.2005 the cutting as it appears today.* [Context 2005]



Altering the environment

xv Floodwaters in Toorak Road (looking east near River Street) during the 1934 flood.

[SLHC Reg. No. 7394]



The 1896 *Yarra Improvement Act* enabled the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) to carry out major widening and realignment works between the city and Chapel Street, including removal of the billabongs on the north bank upstream of Princes Bridge, near the Botanic Gardens. However, flooding was not really controlled in the Yarra until a series of dams in the upper catchment caught the peak flood flows. In addition, between 1924 and 1929, the MMBW removed 24,400 items of natural debris from the river to improve flood control and navigation. In 1929 a new river channel was cut at Burnley opposite Como Park, to make a straight, wide section, creating Herring Island in the process. These works did not prevent another disastrous flood occurring in 1934 when floodwaters reached Toorak Road.

xvi *Regrading works at Como Park c.1932. This view looking south-east shows the sweeping curve of the new levee bank road connecting Williams Road with Alexandra Avenue [SLHC Reg. No. 6144.1] and (right) a similar view today. [Context 2005]*



Fringing swamps were less suitable for settlement, but were gradually drained and filled. As shown in the photograph xvi, the swamp between the Yarra and Williams Road became Como Park and was regraded after floods in the 1920s and 1930s, with excess material used to form a levee between the park and the Yarra to carry what is now Alexandra Avenue. Another swamp, upstream on Hawksburn Creek from its confluence with the Yarra adjacent to Yarra Street, was drained and filled and now forms the grounds of Melbourne High School. During the 1960s the construction of the South Eastern Freeway (now the Monash Freeway) further altered the course of the river, removing a point of land near Yarradale Road.

Hawksburn Creek was a tributary of the Yarra, which as shown on Figure 3 crossed the study area from a point near what is now the corner of Wattle tree and Glenferrie roads and joined the Yarra near what is now Melbourne High School. In the lower reaches of the Hawksburn it formed a series of swamps around what is now Toorak Road and Chapel Street. The low lying land around these swamps was progressively developed for housing and industry and the water in the Hawksburn increasingly carried sewage and industrial waste, creating a major health hazard. The creek was converted into an open drain in the 1870s and gradually ‘improved’ until the underground Main Drain was completed about 1915. The swamps were drained and filled and part of the land now forms the grounds of Melbourne High School. (*A Place in History*, No. 14)



xvii *(right) View looking south from Hawthorn toward Kooyong showing the Gardiners Creek floodplain. Glenferrie Road is on the right, 1912 [SLHC Reg. No. 82] and (above) a similar view today. [Context 2005]*



Altering the environment

Gardiners Creek

The route of Gardiners Creek through the study area has been almost completely altered. Once tree clearing and brush removal along the valley and on surrounding hills commenced, a self-reinforcing chain of events happened. With less vegetation to absorb rainfall and help it soak into the ground, rainfall ran off into waterways much faster, leading to higher peak flows. These flows were no longer slowed by the dense tea-tree thickets on the valley floors, and with the trampling by cattle of the creek banks, soils erosion commenced. Concern about flooding and erosion led to efforts to speed flows safely downstream to the Yarra. The areas that were treated and straightened only exacerbated erosion problems elsewhere, and by the 1930s much of the creek had become an erosion gully cut by the raging water and straightening works tens of metres down into the flood plain (Burns, unpubl., p.41). Ironically, with the natural retarding qualities of the creek removed, the MMBW had to construct ten retarding basins on the upper Gardiners Creek to slow somewhat the flow of floodwaters down the creek.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries river flats along the creek were often used as rubbish dumps, or filled to create more useable land, often for industry. One example is downstream of Burke Road where Gardiners Creek once had two channels, but the northern one was filled in and became part of the Melbourne Brick Company land.

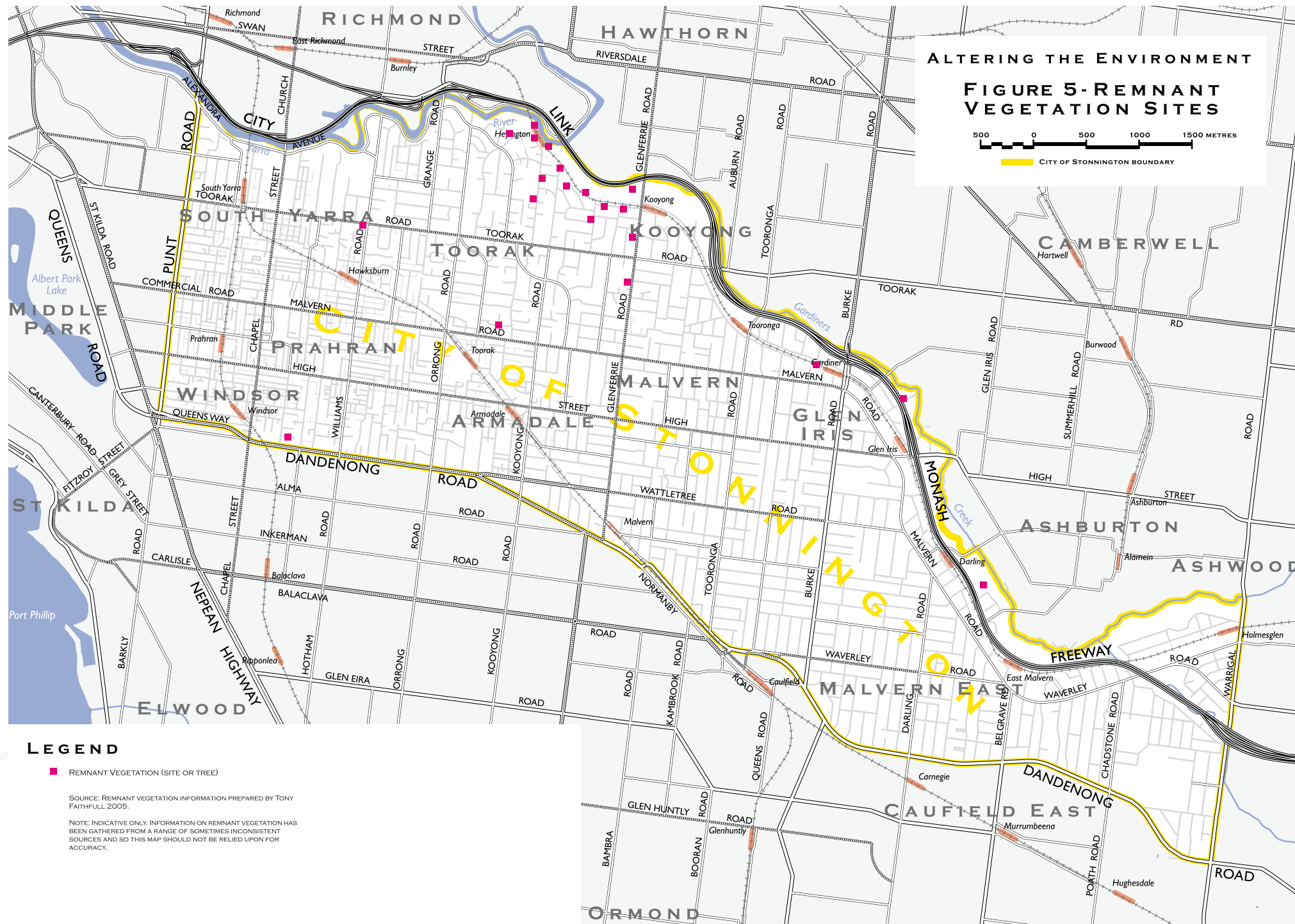
Another use of the creek was for open space. In Malvern East, the alignment of the creek was altered in the inter-war period by the works to create the Malvern Municipal Golf Links. The course of the creek, which consisted of a series of streams surrounded by swamps, was drained and filled and a new creek bed was cut by sustenance workers from Scotchman's Creek to Warrigal Road. Despite these works, flooding on the course was frequent and Malvern Council undertook further works to straighten deepen and widen the creek.

In the later twentieth century a new threat to Gardiners Creek emerged in the form of roads or, more particularly, freeway construction. The *Gardiners Creek Valley Study Drainage Study Team Status Report* (February 1977) describes re-alignment and erosion control works over the length of the creek between Toorak Road and Warrigal Road, as does Burns (1984). These studies were carried out at the request of councils and the community to understand the impact of the construction of a freeway along Gardiners Creek, which was subsequently constructed as an arterial road, now the Monash Freeway. Roadworks of this kind have had major detrimental effects on Gardiners Creek, especially downstream of Burke Road.

From these descriptions it is evident that little if any of the creek banks were left undisturbed. Nonetheless remnants of the original vegetation survive and, as we shall see in chapters 8 and 10, steps are being taken to restore some of the original vegetation.

ALTERING THE ENVIRONMENT

FIGURE 5-REMNANT VEGETATION SITES



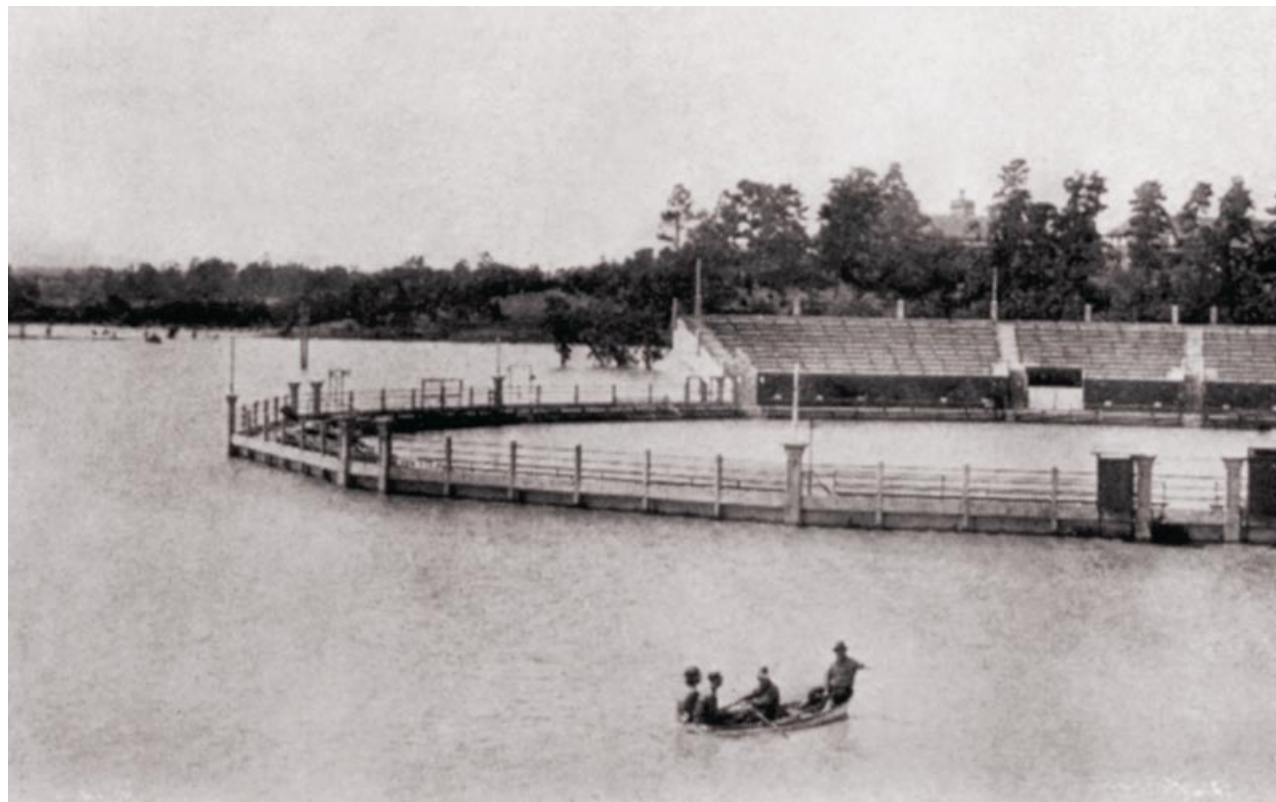
LEGEND

- REMNANT VEGETATION (SITE OR TREE)

SOURCE: REMNANT VEGETATION INFORMATION PREPARED BY TONY FAITHFULL 2005.

NOTE: INDICATIVE ONLY. INFORMATION ON REMNANT VEGETATION HAS BEEN GATHERED FROM A RANGE OF SOMETIMES INCONSISTENT SOURCES AND SO THIS MAP SHOULD NOT BE RELIED UPON FOR ACCURACY.

Altering the environment



xviii A submerged Kooyong Tennis Stadium during the 1934 floods.
[SLHC Reg. No. 620]

2.2 Environmental impacts

Although the flora and fauna communities of the study area were still subject to dynamic change at the time of settlement by non-Aboriginal people, the speed of change increased enormously during the nineteenth century. As we shall see in later chapters, urban development in Stonnington began early and was effectively complete by the early twentieth century. The environmental impact of the modifications made to the landscape since the mid-nineteenth century have been dramatic, with few surviving remnants of the pre-contact landscape. This section considers the environmental impacts of changes to the landscape brought about by non-Aboriginal settlement in the nineteenth century.

The known sites of remnant indigenous vegetation in the study area are shown in Figure 5. This map is based on the limited surveys and studies described in the following section and should not be considered as complete, particularly in relation to isolated remnant indigenous trees.

2.2.1 Reducing biodiversity – effects on flora and fauna

Today the indigenous vegetation of the study area has been almost totally removed, with only one site recorded on the Oates and Taranto (2001) mapping of remnant vegetation. This site is a narrow strip along either side of the railway line adjacent to Kooyong Lawn Tennis Club and Warra Street, Toorak. This constitutes less than 0.1% of the original indigenous vegetation. Even this small area is unprotected and under threat. The site is actually larger than indicated on the map and extends from Glenferrie Road to the Yarra River.

A very significant omission from the Oates and Taranto (2001) map is the remnant vegetation site on a very steep escarpment above the Yarra River below Heyington Station. This is recorded on Biosites mapping (Department of Natural Resources and Environment, 2002) as being regionally significant. It is the only site recorded in the study area on the Biosites mapping, and the only site recorded for the study area in the *Society for Growing Australian Plants Maroondah Inc* (1993), which mentions a 1945 plant list for the site. The site includes at least one massive remnant *Eucalyptus globulus*, now rarely found as remnants in Melbourne. It occurs along with at least 13 other remnant species. These sites have been protected by default by the rail reserve.

A number of small sites along Gardiners Creek and railway lines were not recorded on DSE's maps, including at Glenburn Bend, either side of High Street, Hedgeley Dene Gardens, north of the Malvern East Tennis Club, and at the Malvern Valley Public Golf Course. These sites typically have three or four species, commonly including River Red Gums (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) and Tea Tree (*Melaleuca ericifolia*).

An unknown number of isolated remnant indigenous trees occur in parks and private property across the municipality. Only one is listed on the National Trust's Register, being the *Bursaria spinosa* at 391 Toorak Road, South Yarra, which is listed as being of regional significance. Four indigenous trees are listed in the *Prahran Significant Tree and Garden Study*, all identified as River Red Gums. The study deliberately did not focus on indigenous remnants, or on public parkland, and as a result makes almost no mention of the significant number of remnant indigenous trees in the Heyington area. One that is mentioned, the Yellow Gum (*Eucalyptus leucoxylon*) at the northern end of Kooyong Road is misidentified as *E. camaldulensis*. Casual observations even in private land have turned up a number of other records. Other undocumented isolated trees undoubtedly occur scattered throughout the municipality.

The known remnant indigenous vegetation sites in the study area are shown in Figure 5. However, this list has been compiled from the incomplete surveys as described above and should not be relied on for accuracy.

Of the approximately 280 indigenous plant species thought to have occurred in the study area at the time of settlement, only 19 were known to remain in 2005. Of the 140 species recorded in the Department of Natural Resources and Environment's (DNRE) Flora database (which includes records from soon after the time of settlement), only three taxa have Victorian rare or threatened species status and only one of these is listed under the *Flora and Fauna Guarantee Act*. The reliability and locational accuracy of these important records requires confirmation and should be treated with caution. The records of *Callitriche palustris* and *Lepidium pseudohyssopifolium* are based on apparently unvouched lists generated by Jim Willis in the 1940s and the specimen records of *Thelymitra X merraniae* are undated with the collector unknown. It is highly unlikely that these species still survive in the study area.

Since the early 1970s a movement to restore native vegetation has emerged in the study area. As will be discussed further in chapters 8 and 10, sites where significant revegetation work has occurred include the Gardiners Creek Valley, the Malvern Urban Forest, and a small patch above Heyington railway station known as WM Dane Park.

Altering the environment

The loss of indigenous vegetation has had a predictable impact upon indigenous fauna in the study area. The Department of Sustainability and Environment (DSE) Flora Database records 140 indigenous species occurring in the study area (DSE, pers. comm.). As discussed in Chapter 1.3 it is estimated that at least double that used to occur. The DSE estimate is based on surveys at various key sites in the study area. A more detailed picture is provided by two surveys carried out within or close to the study area:

- ✧ The first was a survey of fauna of Herring Island (which is just outside the study area within a bend in the Yarra opposite Como Park) carried out by Larwill (1994), which listed 18 indigenous bird species, three indigenous mammal species, three indigenous reptile species, and no amphibians. Fish were not surveyed
- ✧ Secondly, the *Malvern Urban Forest Masterplan Report* lists 25 native bird species, four species of native mammal, no reptiles, no amphibians and no native fish.



xix View c.1931 of construction of Alexandra Avenue east of Chapel Street, which exposed the cliff face in that location. [SLHC Reg. No. 6153]



xx View in 2005 of Gardiners Creek near Toorak Road showing the remnant c.1940 bluestone-lined channel. [Context 2005]

Combining the lists compiled by these surveys provides a representative list of the following species:

- ✦ 33 birds (out of the 300 estimated to be present at settlement)
- ✦ four mammals out of 51
- ✦ three reptiles out of 41
- ✦ no amphibians out of 22
- ✦ no fish out of 26.

The Grey-headed Flying Fox recorded from both the sites is listed as vulnerable under the *Federal Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act*, and listed as threatened under the Victorian *Flora and Fauna Guarantee Act* (DSE 2005). Unfortunately it is not clear from the reports whether this species roosts at the Urban Forest or Herring Island (which would be significant) or was just seen flying overhead (which would not be significant).

Some improvement to these numbers would be expected with additional survey effort, but it is clear that much of the fauna of the study area has been decimated.

2.2.2 Geodiversity

Few areas within the study area retain significant geodiversity values today. Most of the exposures of bedrock or geomorphological features have been excavated, levelled, filled, smoothed, straightened, built over or otherwise removed. As we have seen, the northern end of Chapel Street provides just one example, but there are many others.

One exception is the Yarra River bank below Heyington Station, which retains the Silurian outcrop to water level. This assists in understanding the processes described in Chapter 1 that formed the distinctive landscape in that area.

On the other hand, the cuttings created by road and rail and other urban development have also exposed some of the underlying geology of the area. This can be seen in Alexandra Avenue, (refer to photograph xix, opposite) and in the railway cuttings through South Yarra and Prahran. These may be significant from an educational point of view if they provide good views of the geology, geomorphology or soil development.

2.2.3 Turning rivers into sewers – impacts on waterways

As the development of Melbourne progressed its waterways carried not just rainwater run-off, but sewage and industrial waste. From the nineteenth century until well into the twentieth industry viewed the waterways as little more than convenient dumping grounds for all manner of industrial waste. The lower Yarra in particular received a heavy load of toxic and organic pollutants. Finn (1967:37) eloquently describes the Yarra of around the 1870s:

... a fetid, festering sewer befouled midst the horrors of wool-washing, fellmongering, bone crushing and other unmentionable abominations ...

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the MMBW started construction of sewers to reduce the pollution of rivers and improve public health. Construction of sewers in Prahran commenced in 1897 and the first house connections were made by 1898. By the middle of the twentieth century the study area was almost entirely connected and this led to an improvement in water quality. With the creation of the Environment Protection Authority (EPA) in the 1970s less industrial waste was disposed of into the Yarra and its tributaries and the health of the waterways has steadily improved. However, stormwater run-off continues to degrade water quality, particularly because of illegal sewer connections to stormwater pipes.

Today, Melbourne Water (2005a) rates the lower Yarra as having moderate water quality, poor aquatic life, moderate habitat and stability, poor vegetation and poor flow characteristics, while it rates Gardiners Creek as having poor water quality, poor aquatic life, good habitat and stability, very poor vegetation, and very poor flow characteristics.

Altering the environment

HERITAGE

The modified natural and cultural landscape associated with the themes of *Creation* and *Altering the Environment* within the study area has important natural and historic values. These values are sometimes expressed in tangible ways, such as by surviving fabric (for instance, buildings, structures, trees and landscapes), but are also apparent in the associations and meanings embodied by the place for different communities. This chapter provides a summary of values associated with these places and provides a representative list. It should, however, be noted that the places described in this history are based on limited surveys and it is probable that additional sites would be identified if a comprehensive study of the places of natural and geological significance of the study area was to be undertaken.

Creation

The remnant parts of the natural environment and landscape within the study area are important for their contribution to biodiversity values of the region and for providing valuable habitat for native fauna. They are also important as they provide valuable and now rare evidence of the landscape as it would have appeared prior to non-Aboriginal settlement.

The confluence of the Yarra River and Gardiners Creek and the area around Heyington Station provide evidence of the creation of the present-day course of the Yarra, and the draining of the lake that was formed by lava flows blocking the course of the Yarra and Gardiners and Hawksburn creeks. This site provides an important opportunity for further research that would increase our understanding of this process. Examples of heritage places associated with the theme of *Creation* include:

- ✧ The landscape and geological formations along the banks of the Yarra at the confluence with Gardiners Creek.
- ✧ Remnant indigenous vegetation sites including:
 - ✧ The sites between Kooyong Tennis Club and Warra Street, Toorak, and along Gardiners Creek (Glenburn Bend, High Street, Malvern Golf Course and other locations) and the Yarra River
 - ✧ The cliff site adjacent to Heyington Station
 - ✧ The site adjacent to the rail line east of Gardiner Station.
- ✧ Remnant indigenous trees including the *Bursaria spinosa* at 391 Toorak Road, South Yarra (listed on the National Trust Tree Register), River Red Gums (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) Yellow Gums (*E. leucoxylon*) and others scattered through the study area.

Altering the Environment

The modifications to waterways in the area have historic significance as they provide evidence of the measures taken by European settlers to promote settlement by controlling the effects of flooding and reclaiming swamps for various forms of land use. The exposed cuttings formed by activities such as road and rail construction or quarrying have natural significance for their ability to provide further information about the geological development of the study area. Examples of heritage places associated with the theme of *Altering the Environment* include:

- ✧ Como Park and the adjacent levee bank/roadway that connects Williams Road with Alexandra Avenue
- ✧ 'Exposures' of geological formations such as along Alexandra Avenue, particularly the cliff and levee formations between Chapel Street and Williams Road, and railway cuttings in Armadale, Prahran and South Yarra
- ✧ The Prahran Main Drain (formerly part of Hawksburn Creek), created between c.1870 and 1915
- ✧ Herring Island (created as a result of Yarra River straightening), which is just outside of the study area
- ✧ Remnant c.1940 bluestone pitchers that line part of Gardiners Creek downstream of Toorak Road, which provide evidence of the efforts to straighten the creek and reduce flooding impacts.

SETTLING THE LAND





SETTLING THE LAND

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the displacement of Aboriginal people, migration, links with pastoralism and the central role of land speculation in the study area's development.

The first Europeans to arrive in the Port Phillip colony came mainly from Britain and Ireland and settled the north bank of the Yarra. Aboriginal people tended to settle on the south bank and this area became associated with Aboriginal camps, missions and stations. In particular, this chapter describes the 'native village' supervised by missionaries, which was on an 895 acre site beside the Yarra from 1837.

Migration is a central theme in the study area's development and this chapter looks at who the immigrants were, where they came from, why, and what they did when they got here. Almost all were seeking a better life and the grand mansions and villas in the area show that many fulfilled their dreams. This includes the man who is, perhaps, the most famous of the study area's immigrants: Simcha Baevski, a penniless Russian Jew who founded the Myer department store. Also noted is the fact that post-war migrants provided much of the labour for the study area's, mostly Prahran-based, industry.

Although pastoralism was not itself a key feature of the study area's developing landscape, pastoralists were central to it as they built their mansions and town houses here with money made in the bush. So too did land speculators and many of Melbourne's most notorious sub-dividers called the study area home. Their demise in the 1891 financial crash mirrored that of 'land boomers' everywhere and is described in the last section of this chapter. So too are government schemes to make home ownership accessible to the working man through closer settlement and war service homes.

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Aboriginal Affairs Victoria (AAV)

Associations with settlements and towns.

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Peopling Australia – Migrating, Promoting settlement;
Building settlements, towns and cities – Planning urban settlements.

HISTORY

3.1 Aboriginal associations with settlements and towns

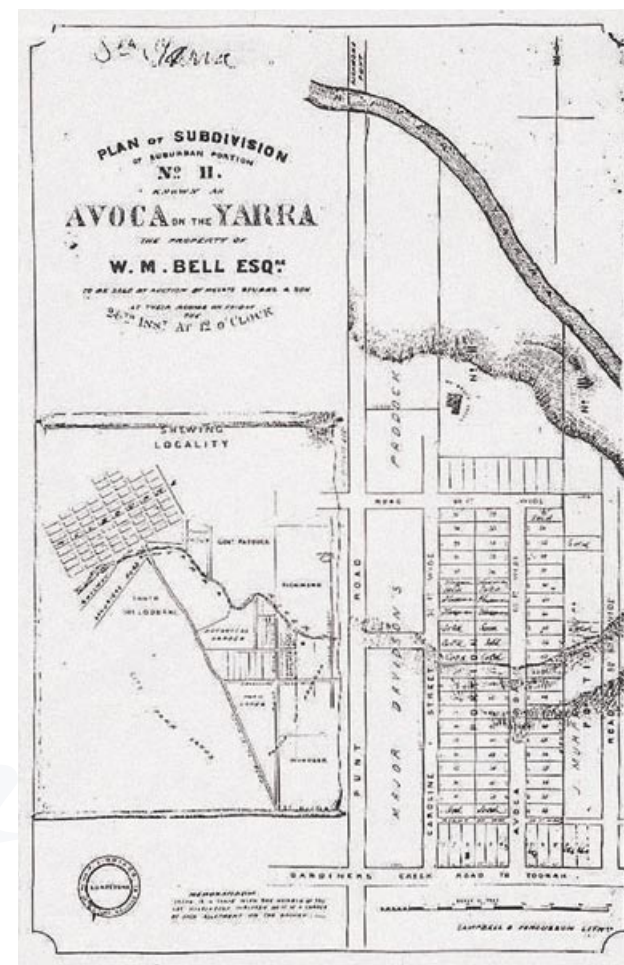
When European people first occupied Melbourne, they primarily settled on the north banks of the Yarra while the Aboriginal population generally chose to occupy the south side of the river. The south side provided both open grassy woodland and swamps and would have been rich in game and resources (Presland, 1985: 32). The first government policy initiatives in relation to the Aboriginal people of Port Phillip were centred along the south banks of the Yarra River and in the first years of the European settlement of Melbourne this area was associated with Aboriginal missions, stations and camps.

The first government policy objective in relation to Aboriginal people in the newly settled Port Phillip district of the Colony of New South Wales was the establishment of an official mission under the supervision of George Langhorne. Governor Richard Bourke hoped to 'civilise' Aboriginal people by creating native villages under the supervision of missionaries. Langhorne had previously acted as Anglican catechist to Aboriginal prisoners on Goat Island in Sydney Harbour and had reservations about the creation of such villages. He felt that Aboriginal people were unlikely to stay in one place and adopt a lifestyle so different from their traditional ways. Ultimately, however, he accepted the commission and upon arriving in Melbourne was asked to work with Captain William Lonsdale to establish a 'native village' (*Historical Records of Victoria* Vol. 2A, p.153).

As shown on Figure 6, Langhorne and Lonsdale selected a site of about 895 acres on the south side of the Yarra River extending between two surveys that eventually became Punt Road and Williams Road (Barwick 1984:115). The mission encompassed some of the land that is now the Royal Botanic Gardens and met the western edge of John Gardiner's pastoral run. As we shall see, parts of the mission land were later alienated as land was surveyed for sale at the Crown land sales in 1840. Langhorne's mission started in 1837 and managed its residents by 'rewarding' them with food, clothing and land if they were deemed to be co-operative and hardworking. Conversely, these inducements were withdrawn for 'poor behaviour'. In the first few months Langhorne was surprised by the mission's success and was particularly pleased by the fact that parents often left their children at the mission when they left its grounds. This may have been a result of the punitive measures he employed, denying children a meal a day if they left without permission (*Historical Records of Victoria* Vol. 2A, pp.153-154).

Plans to extend the mission were drawn up in the year it opened and were met with enthusiasm by Governor Bourke. English was being taught to a number of boys and young men who had been persuaded to live there and initially their teacher was 21-year-old John Thomas Smith who later became a prominent publican and Mayor of Melbourne. Smith's successor quickly resigned, however, dispirited by the failure of the young men to participate in a strict program of education. A number of the children were taken away by their parents in the summer of 1837–38 to learn traditional skills. Some of them did not return (*Historical Records of Victoria* Vol. 2A, pp.205–207).

xxi Subdivision plan c.1865 for 'Avoca on the Yarra' subdivision.
[SLHC Reg. No. 10384]



Settling the land

In mid-1838, Aboriginal residents on the mission came to grief in two incidents. The first involved the theft of potatoes from the land occupied by John Gardiner at the eastern edge of the mission. This incident is one of the few recorded instances of conflict between Aboriginal people and settlers in the present-day study area. Langhorne went to Gardiner's home after a number of mission residents told him that three people had been shot while stealing potatoes from Gardiner's field. Gardiner's men confirmed that a number of men had indeed been fired upon. Two of the men escaped across the river but one, Tullamarine, was knocked down with a musket-butt and captured. Tullamarine and another man involved in the theft, Jin-Jin, were subsequently arrested and committed to trial in Sydney. While in gaol, Jin-Jin and Tullamarine set fire to the prison's thatched roof, enabling Tullamarine to escape. Tullamarine, his wife and children left Melbourne and Langhorne recounted that two other families who had been resident on the mission intended to join them (Langhorne, G. 1838, *Mission Report for April 1838* reproduced in *Historical Records of Victoria* Vol. 2A, pp.213–14).

In another example of conflict, the involvement of some of the mission's residents in the theft of sheep and their subsequent arrest led Langhorne into dispute with Lonsdale and caused a number of Aboriginal people to leave the mission. By late 1838, staff losses and funding cuts were resulting in the winding down of mission activities and in 1839 Langhorne resigned. The site itself, however, was to continue to be of importance, with the mission buildings becoming the headquarters of the Aboriginal Protectorate. The story of the Aboriginal Protectorate is told in Chapter 5.1.



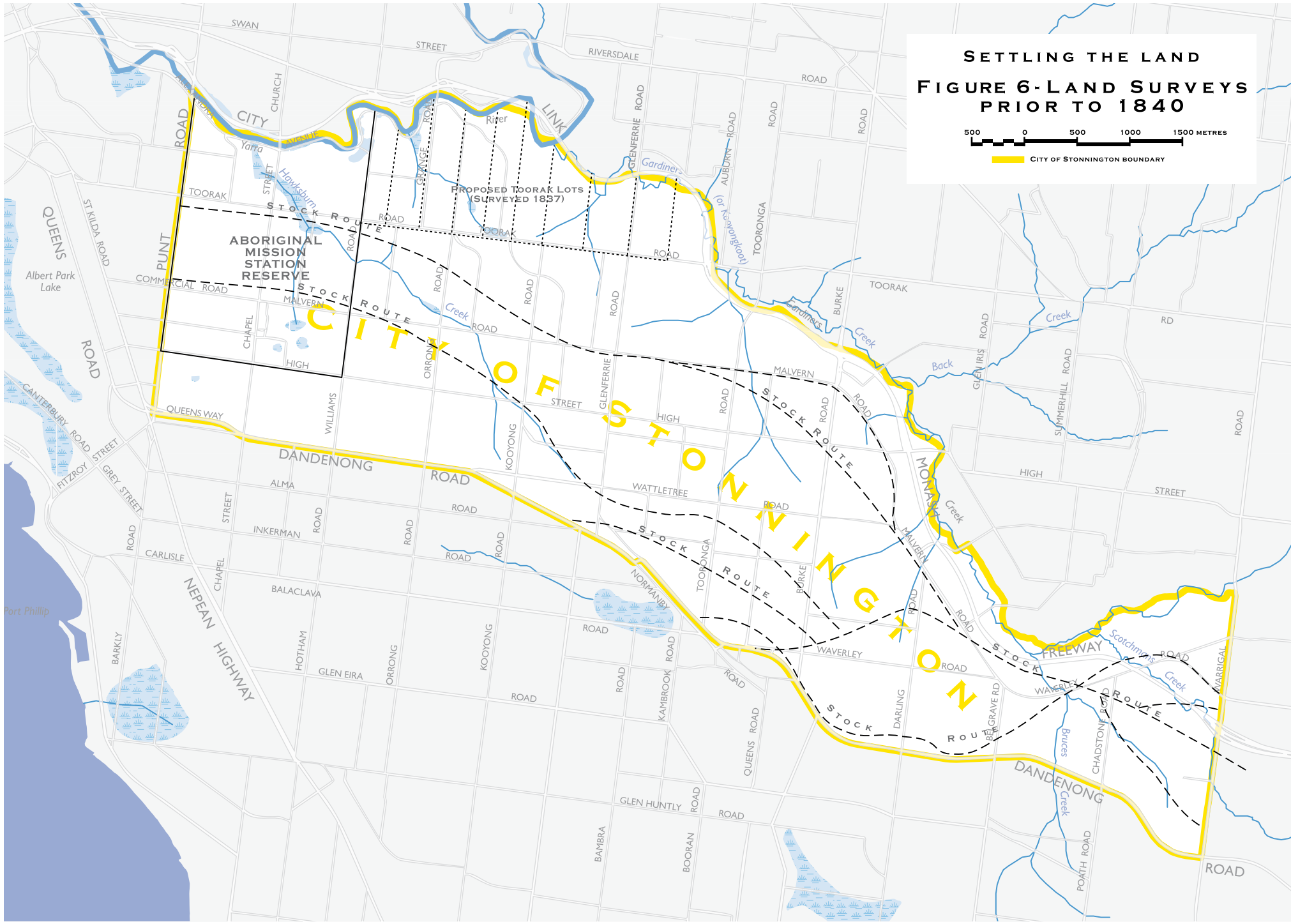
xxii W.F.E Liardet c.1875. *Escape from the first gaol*. Water colour with pen, ink and pencil. This iconic image from Liardet depicts the escape of Tullamarine and Jin-Jin from Melbourne's first gaol after being arrested for the theft of potatoes from John Gardiner.

[La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria. Accession number: H28250/4. Image number: b28156]

SETTLING THE LAND
FIGURE 6-LAND SURVEYS
PRIOR TO 1840

500 0 500 1000 1500 METRES

CITY OF STONNINGTON BOUNDARY



Settling the land

3.2 Pastoralism

Victoria's pastoral industry was established in the 1830s and 1840s by people who brought livestock, mainly sheep, across Bass Strait from Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) or overland from the Riverina District of New South Wales, following Major Thomas Mitchell's successful expedition south of the Murray River to find new pastures. The first pastoralists grazed their animals on vast areas of land illegally, thus acquiring the name squatters. (Over time the term 'squatter' became synonymous with wealthy pastoralists.) In 1836 the government formalised their occupation of the land by means of pastoral licences, for which pastoralists paid £10 per year. The pastoral industry was a precarious economic pursuit, and many pastoralists failed, but there was huge wealth to be made, particularly from wool production and stock breeding.

Although the study area was only fleetingly part of the squatters' domain, it has had a strong connection with Victoria's pastoral industry, as the place chosen for the city estates of many wealthy squatters.

3.2.1 Pastoral occupation

The first occupation of the study area by a pastoralist occurred when John Gardiner arrived with his cattle in 1836. Gardiner was a member of the first party of overlanders, who brought sheep and cattle overland to the Port Phillip District from the Riverina. For about two years Gardiner occupied a large area around the junction of the Yarra River and the creek that was then known as Kooyong Koot, but now bears his name. This run is believed to have extended to the edge of the Aboriginal mission as shown on Figure 6. Cooper (1935:1–3) believed that Gardiner's homestead was on the corner of Toorak Road and Elizabeth Street, Kooyong, but later research suggests that it was in Hawthorn. In 1838 Gardiner moved to a better run at Mooroolbark.

Another overlander, David Hill, arrived with his family and livestock in 1839 and briefly held a pastoral licence on land near the study area, but died soon after. His family remained to take up residence in the study area. Hill's widow, Jane, purchased land in the first Crown land sale in the study area held in 1840, and their daughter and son-in-law, Jane and James Glover (another pastoralist) built a villa, *Mount Verdant* (demolished) in South Yarra (Malone 2002:3–5). As we shall see, the beginning of the Crown land sales in 1840 signalled the end of the brief pastoral age within the study area; however, it was not the end of the strong association between the municipality and the pastoral industry in other parts of Victoria.

3.2.2 A 'woolly aristocracy' – squatters and their town houses

Some squatters who prospered in the bush purchased properties in the study area, where they established town residences, convenient to their business and political interests in the city, while they maintained their principal residences at their country homesteads, thus creating the impression of what Dingle (1984:82) describes as a 'woolly aristocracy'. The Armytages of *Como* were the most prominent in this category (the story of *Como* is told in detail in Chapter 6.1). Others, having made their fortunes, employed managers on their pastoral runs or retired from pastoral activities altogether, to take up permanent residence in the best parts of the study area. At first their houses were relatively modest, but as Victoria's prosperity increased, so did the inclination to identify with such prosperity by building mansions and enjoying extravagant lifestyles. Alexander Landale of *Aroona* (demolished) presented an interesting self-portrait of a squatter living in Toorak:

... the 'squatter' as we know him now, is an educated gentlemen who maintains an establishment in town and spends his money freely on those thousand-and-one luxuries which cause the circulation of money and benefit the classes who supply the luxuries which they are not wealthy enough to enjoy (Victoria's Representative Men at Home, cited in Malone, 2002:7).

xxiii Aroona, c.1890.
[SLHC Reg. No. 2407.1]



Settling the land

John Goodman, a squatter who had pastoral interests in central Victoria, lived at *Miegunyah*, a ten-acre property in Orrong Road in the 1850s. His modest six-roomed house was enlarged by a later owner. Goodman was a member of the Legislative Council and the Prahran Council, and briefly served as Commissioner for Customs (Cooper, 1924:76–77, Malone 202:32–33). Another squatter with interests in the city was Archibald Fiskin, who in 1879 built a mansion on the corner of Kooyong and Malvern roads. The house was later purchased by another pastoralist, Colin Simson, who renamed it *Carmyle* (Foster, 1999:54–5). Simson's brother, John, bought a 20-roomed mansion in Toorak – *Trawalla*, built in 1867 for a Melbourne merchant – and enlarged it by 30 rooms (Malone, 2002:24).

xxiv *Como*, from a painting by William Tibbits, c.1875.
Courtesy National Trust of Australia (Vic). [SLHC Reg. No. 2364.1]



xxv *Mount Verdant, overlooking the Yarra*, (date unknown).
[SLHC Reg. No. 2366]

3.3 Land speculation

The close proximity to the village of Melbourne and the favourable topography of the high ground overlooking the Yarra quickly established it as a desirable place for settlement. As we shall see, the first land sales in the 1840s quickly established a cycle of speculation and subdivision that was to culminate in the feverish atmosphere of the 1880s land boom when land was taken up, subdivided and re-sold (often many times over) by entrepreneurial settlers and speculators, many of whom were migrants, as Melbourne boomed in the wake of the riches brought by the gold rush. It was during the early land sales in the 1840s that a pattern of ownership emerged with wealthy and influential people acquiring more favourable sites on the high ground, while the lower swampy areas of Prahran and Windsor were set aside for the farming industry and working-class houses.

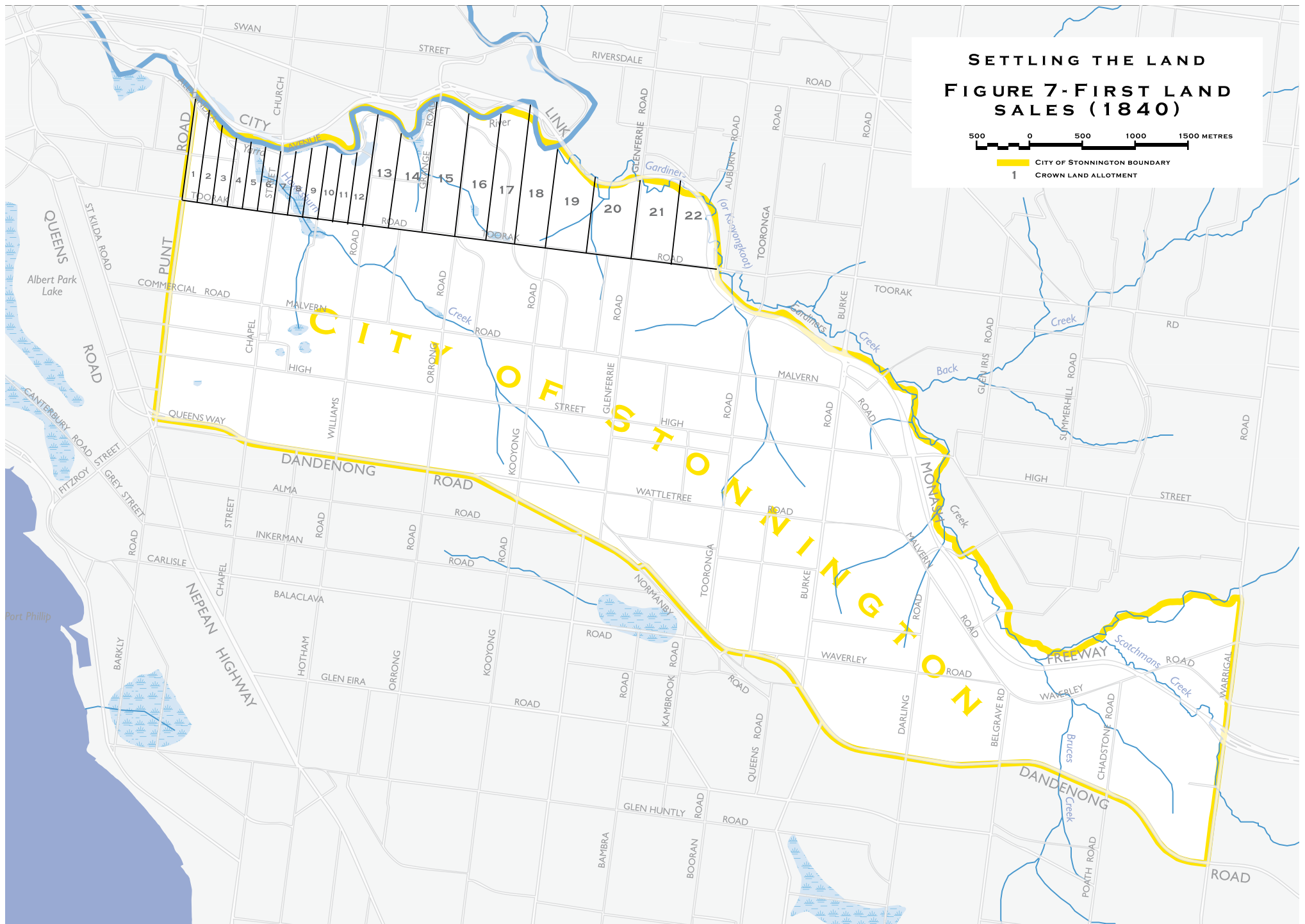
Speculation in land led to fortunes being made and lost in the study area, from lands both within and outside the area. Within the study area there were early indications that its land would be highly valued, but demand rose and fell with each boom and recession, as did the fortunes of speculators. Although speculation is a common theme running through the history of buying land in Victoria, it is of particular significance in the study area's history. It was here that a number of the most notorious 'land boomers' built their own boom-style mansions, only to lose them in the financial collapse.

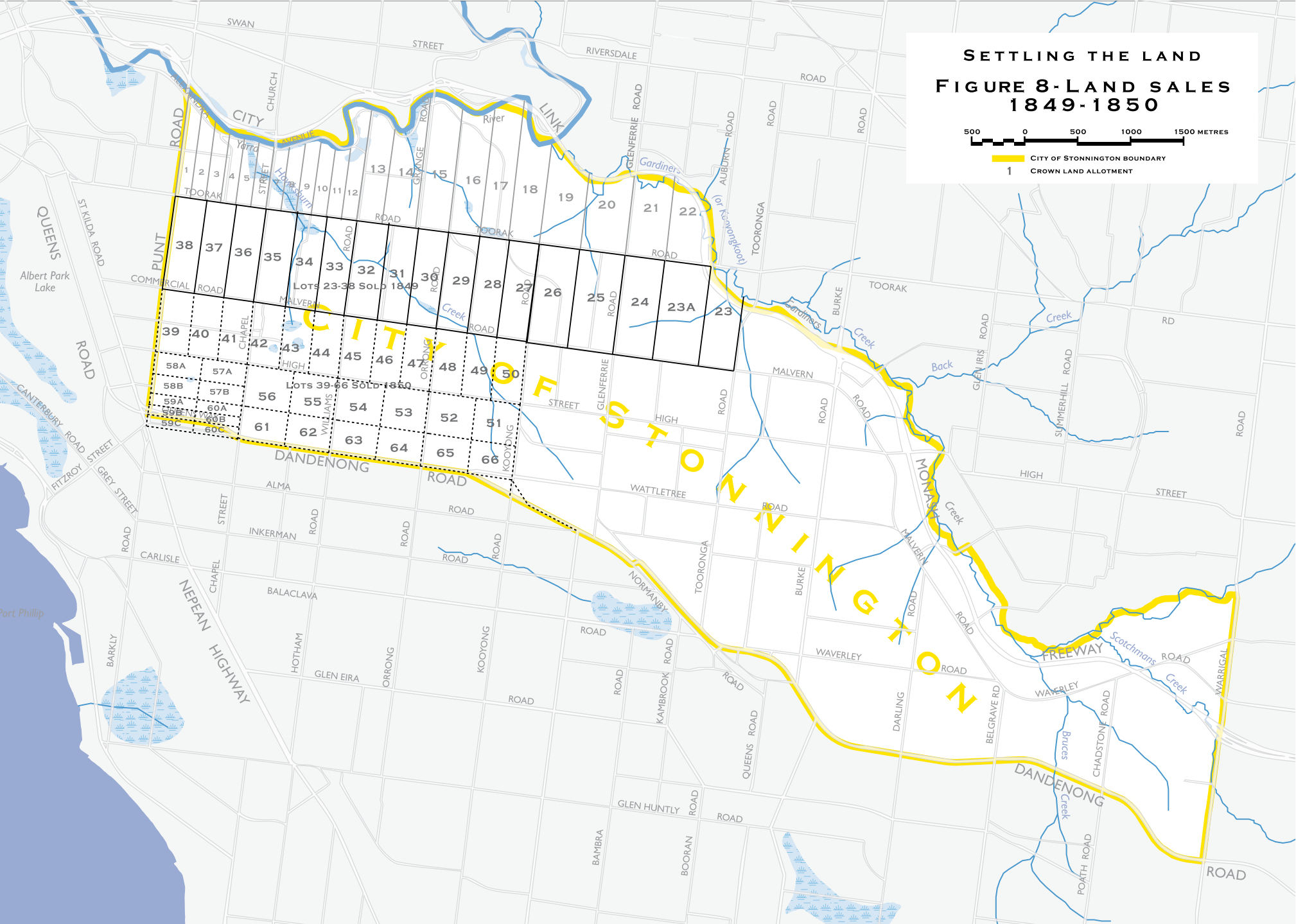
As we shall see, this cycle of land speculation and subdivision reached its frenzied zenith in the 1880s before coming to a spectacular end with the financial crash that resulted in the 1890s' depression. This halted further development for many years, until it was revived again in the early twentieth century and ushered in a new, and somewhat less frenetic, period of land sales and subdivision. Nevertheless the trend was upwards, as metropolitan Melbourne expanded, particularly in the preferred undulating country to its east.

By the end of the 1930s the subdivision of the study area for suburban allotments was almost complete. While many years of subdivision and new development would build upon these early divisions, the die was largely cast and the almost continuous cycle of speculation and sales is revealed in the patterns of subdivision in many parts of study area today.

3.3.1 Crown land sales 1840–1850

Sales of Crown land in and around Melbourne commenced in 1837. Robert Hoddle, the Government Surveyor, subdivided the land according to a grid plan, paying no attention to the natural topography. The first sale of land within the study area took place on 10 June 1840, when 22 allotments in the western part of the Parish of Prahran (comprising the northern section of the former Prahran municipality and the north-west corner of the Malvern municipality) were offered. As shown in Figure 7, the agricultural allotments, ranging in area from 19 acres to 65 acres, were north of Gardiners Creek Road (now Toorak Road) sloping down to the Yarra River and Gardiners Creek. The elongated blocks were designed to give each allotment access to water. The sale attracted considerable interest and most allotments were bought by speculators looking for future profits as Melbourne expanded. Few of the initial purchasers actually settled the district. (Cooper, 1924:14; Malone, 1998:1)





Settling the land

Update 1

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One original grantee who did remain to settle on his allotment was Lieutenant Charles Forrest, who bought allotment 6. In 1841 Forrest built *Waterloo Cottage* on the high ground overlooking the Yarra River at the northern end of Chapel Street. This house, believed to be the first erected in the City of Prahran, was still standing in 1923 (Cooper, 1924:14–16), close to the site of Melbourne High School, but has since been demolished. Another grantee was Peter Ferrie who purchased allotment 21, which he named 'Glen Ferrie'. Ferrie is thought to have constructed a house by 1841.

Most original Crown grantees subdivided their allotments for resale, with the better parts purchased fairly quickly by merchants, pastoralists, professional men, government officials and former army officers like Forrest, who established estates in the best locations. Some purchasers, including Chief Protector of Aborigines George Augustus Robinson, built more than one house, to become landlords. Robinson's own house, on part of allotment 8, was called *Tivoli*. Sales of the low-lying ground was slower, and generally resulted in areas of poor quality housing for rent, such as 'Daly Town' near the northern end of Chapel Street (Malone, 1998:19). East of Kooyong Road, allotments 19 and 20 remained in the hands of speculators until the mid 1850s (Foster, 1999, ch.2).

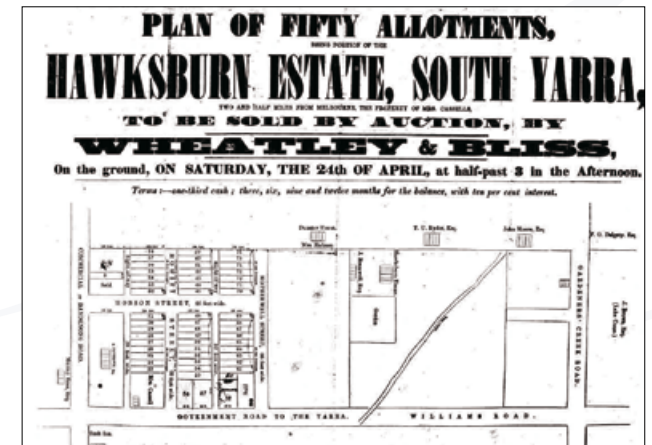
When the study area's second and third land sales took place in June 1849 and May 1850 (refer to Figure 8) the process of speculation and subdivision for resale was repeated, with the best land on the high ground selling as estates for the wealthy, and the slower resale of the poorly drained low areas. Purchasers included local residents G.A. Robinson, Dr E.C. Hobson and R.A. Balbirnie, who were obviously aware of the potential of the land. In the early 1850s Balbirnie sold most of his allotment 33 to the Cassell family, who established the Hawksburn estate (Malone, 2000:34 and 36). Balbirnie also bought allotment 24, east of Glenferrie Road, which he divided into seven allotments (Foster and Stefanopoulos, 2001:11).

The purchaser of the whole block bounded by Punt Road, Toorak Road, Chapel Street and Commercial Road was Peter Davis, an estate agent, who immediately subdivided the land for resale as small farms, although only the well drained parts were sold before the 1860s (Cooper, 1924:11, 12 and 32; Malone, 1998:23–26, 2000:34).

At Windsor on the south-west corner of the study area, the blocks were smaller and brought the highest price per acre, presumably because of their proximity to the already developing suburb of St. Kilda, from which settlement was expected to flow. This corner was soon subdivided for working-class housing and small shops (Cooper, 1924:13–14; Malone, 1999:26–29).



xxvi View c.1870 looking north-east showing early development around Malvern Hill Hotel. [SLHC Reg. No. 1239]



xxvii Auction notice c.1858 for Hawksburn Estate.

[SLHC Reg. No. 11970] [La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria. Accession number: unknown]

It is interesting to note how the subsequent subdivision of land in the study area created a street pattern that strongly reflected the shape and orientation of these original allotments. Hence, we see that the earliest streets to the north of Gardiners Creek (Toorak) Road ran north-south, while the streets in the south-west pocket of Windsor ran mostly east-west. This can be seen in a map reproduced in Malone showing Prahran in 1856. While later subdivision and changes have blurred some of these distinctions this pattern remains largely evident today.

One speculator who did make a huge profit was John Sullivan, Colonial Surgeon to the Port Phillip District. Sullivan purchased Allotment 25, the most remote of the allotments on offer at the 1849 sale, for £151 and sold it in 1853 for £10,972. The new owner, barrister (later County Court Judge) Charles B.C. Skinner, planned an estate in the style of an English village, and named it Ledbury after a town in the English Malvern Hills. To attract land buyers Skinner built the Malvern Hill Hotel on the corner of Glenferrie and Malvern roads. Skinner's Malvern Hill Estate along with this hotel, was to give the suburb of Malvern its name. The estate failed to attract wealthy buyers looking for suburban villa sites, and was initially settled by a few workers, market gardeners and brickmakers. Eventually the small allotments were consolidated into larger blocks that attracted wealthy purchasers (Foster, 1999:28–32).

3.3.2 Crown land sales 1854–1879

Apart from the nine blocks in the north included in the 1840 and 1849 sales, Crown land sales in what became Malvern municipality did not commence until February 1854, when the first twenty allotments to the south of Malvern Road and east of Boundary (Kooyong) Road were sold as shown in Figure 9. Further sales soon followed and by the end of the 1850s most of Malvern's land had been sold. By 1879 almost all the land in the study area had been alienated from the Crown (McLaren, 1987). The allotments were smaller than those to the west, with the largest of them situated along Gardiners Creek.

One of the few original Crown grantees to settle on his estate was Michael Keeley, who in 1857 built his mansion (later called *Brynmawr*) on nine acres in Charleville (Burke) Road (Raworth and Foster, 1997:3–4). Located so far out of town, with no good roads or transport systems, the land beyond Kooyong Road attracted little urban development before the 1880s, apart from a small concentration of houses and shops around Skinner's village and the *Balbirnie* subdivision at the Glenferrie and Malvern roads intersection. A small cottage from this time survives today at 1225 Malvern Road (*Malvern Heritage Study*). Further out, the country east of Tooronga Road remained sparsely settled until the twentieth century (Bower, 1995).

Update 1 Renaming of 3.3.3

Although development spread generally from west to east, there was some early settlement in the south-east along Dandenong Road, especially after two railway lines to Oakleigh opened in 1879 and 1890. There was a subdivision made west of Chadstone Road in 1901, but little housing before 1911 (Bower, 1995). While awaiting suburban development, much of the land in the east of the study area was leased or sold for productive pursuits, mostly brickmaking or fruit and vegetable growing. These industries were gradually displaced by urban development in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

3.3.3 Speculation and land boomers - Subdivision from 1880 onwards

During the 1880s Melbourne experienced a period of unprecedented prosperity, growth and development. The urban boundaries were pushed out as people, sharing in the general prosperity and the new ideal of home ownership, sought new residential lands. An illustration of this growth is the doubling of the population of Prahran municipality in the decade between 1881 and 1891 from 20,000 to almost 40,000 (Tibbets, 1983:34).

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The study area had many acres of vacant land, held, as we have seen, by speculators waiting for the right time to sell. Malvern in particular experienced a burst of suburban development as land developers busily subdivided and auctioned choice building sites on housing estates, and builders rapidly covered them with houses. Most of the residential streets running into Glenferrie Road and High Street were created at that time, along with the main-street commercial development (Raworth and Foster, 1997:7). At Armadale the sale of George Taylor's *Auburn Vale Estate* in 1887 resulted in new residential development (Malone, 2005:22).

Land companies were floated to buy land for quick resale at large profits, offering large dividends to unwary investors. As land prices spiralled, banks and building societies over-reached their lending capacities, and borrowers borrowed beyond their capacity to repay. Eventually in December 1891 the whole structure began to collapse. People lost their savings, building stopped and new estates remained vacant. In Malvern, *Coldblo Estate* was released in June 1892, too late to catch the boom, and remained unsold, as did the *Gascoigne Estate*. The collapse resulted in a disastrous depression that brought unemployment and misery to many thousands, and halted further development in the study area – and everywhere else in Victoria – until the end of the nineteenth century.

Land dealer and financier Sir Matthew Davies built his mansion, *The Towers*, in Toorak. When his empire crashed, his household contents were auctioned, but there was no buyer for the house. *The Towers* stood empty for many years. The property was reduced by a subdivision, which formed Towers Road in 1911. The house was demolished in 1927 and the remaining property subdivided (Cannon, 1972:306–10; Malone, 2004:10–11). *Valentines* was built in Glen Iris just before the crash by Matthew's brother John Mark Davies, who was a lawyer, land developer and Attorney General. The mansion survived its owner's financial ruin, and is now part of Caulfield Grammar School in Willoby Avenue (Cannon, 1972:311–14).

One of the most notorious land boomers was James Munro, who, according to Cooper, was a grocer in Prahran shortly after his arrival from Scotland in 1858. Munro's career as a financier and land dealer commenced when he started the Victorian Permanent Building Society in 1865. He entered Parliament as Member for North Melbourne in 1874, and in 1876 built *Armadale* (117 Kooyong Road) on a large estate. The house is modest compared with the later boom-time mansions such as *Valentines*. Munro became Premier of Victoria in 1890, and was responsible, with Attorney General John Mark Davies for the *Voluntary Liquidation Act* 1891, which in effect took away the rights of minority depositors in banks and building societies. When his business empire collapsed in 1892, Munro left the country to become Agent-General in London. *Armadale* was sold and continued as a private home until its purchase by the Melbourne Bible Institute in 1944. It later became part of the King David School (Cooper, 1924:97; Cannon, 1972:242–48; Malone, 2005:8–9).

Update 1
Inserted new sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.5,
plus additional words

Prahran Mayor George W. Taylor of *Wynnstay* (demolished) and Charles H. James of *Illawarra* were also local land boomers caught by the crash.

3.3.4 Uncontrolled and unplanned development
3.3.5 Recovery and infill 1900-1940
3.4 Government assistance

U1

3.4.1 Closer settlement

During the depression that followed the crash of the 1890s the Victorian government attempted to settle more people on the land by acquiring large estates and breaking them up into small farms for sale to people of limited means. *The Closer Settlement Act* 1904 provided for compulsory acquisition of freehold land. The intention of Closer Settlement was to sell, at prices that covered the government's costs of purchase and subdivision, to genuine settlers, thus cutting out speculators. Occupation was by 31½ year lease, with a £50 deposit, and a requirement to reside on the property. A Crown Grant could be issued after 12 years upon full payment of the balance of purchase money. By 1917 about 4500 settlers were occupying farms throughout Victoria. In addition, 1046 small workmen's allotments were made available, mainly around Melbourne (*Victorian Year Book*, 1973:10–11; Bower, 2001).

In 1911 the Land Purchase and Management Board (later known as the Closer Settlement Board) purchased the Belmont Estate in Glen Iris. The property was subdivided into about 200 quarter-acre allotments, named '*Tooronga Estate*' and promoted as a future 'model portion' of the new City of Malvern. *Tooronga Estate*'s main selling point was its proximity to rail and tram routes. Those who purchased the blocks were generally clerks, salesmen, tradesmen, tramway and railway workers, who earned around £3 to £4 per week. A few years earlier Justice H.B. Higgins (a Toorak resident) had determined an amount slightly above £2 as the minimum wage upon which an unskilled worker could support his family. The majority of the Tooronga settlers moved from rented accommodation in the inner suburbs, though some were from Prahran and other parts of Malvern. Having saved up a deposit, they grabbed the opportunity to fulfil the Australian dream of a home of their own in a pleasant eastern suburb. They built modest four to six roomed houses, mostly weatherboard. A considerable number of the original lessees did succeed in paying off their land and remained as long-term Tooronga residents (Bower, 2001). Few of these houses remain today.

xxviii *Valentines*, the house built for John Mark Davies, pictured soon after its purchase by Malvern Grammar School, c.1930. [SLHC Reg. No. 290]



xxix *Armadale House*, c.1888. [SLHC Reg. No. 7197]

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3.4.2 War service homes

After World War I the government again stepped in to assist people to buy land – this time to settle returned soldiers and their families in affordable houses. In 1920 the War Service Homes Commission compulsorily acquired land between Serrell Street and Belgrave Road and developed the *Carnegie Estate*, with a capacity for 500 houses. The original plan was to provide generous recreational space on ‘garden suburb’ principles, but although the returned soldiers built their houses, the only part of the garden suburb plan to eventuate was a pair of grassy areas called Villers Square and Brettoneaux Square (Strahan, 1989:71–73).

Also in 1920, sixteen houses were constructed in Victory Square, Armadale (off Ashleigh Street) for war widows. The houses, which cost £500 each, were funded by popular subscription.

3.5 Migrating to seek opportunity

The settlement of the study area is closely linked with immigration, which is a key theme throughout the study area’s history, as waves of immigrants from overseas arrived in the study area seeking a better way of life. The early immigrants were almost entirely from Britain and Ireland, although there were some notable exceptions. Later the study area became host of many post World War II immigrants from continental Europe and later still from other parts of the world, generally reflecting the waves of immigration to Australia.

3.5.1 Fortune seekers – nineteenth century immigration

The fulfilment of opportunities for many pastoralists, land speculators and gold seekers is displayed in the study area’s mansions and villas. As Cooper pointed out, ‘These early men turned their hands to almost anything that promised to return money’ (1924:35–36). One such fortune seeker was R.A. Balbirnie, descendant of a noble Scottish family, who operated a punt across the Yarra River at the site of Princes Bridge. He made a fortune in land and lived for many years at *Balmerino* in South Yarra before returning to Britain. The study area attracted many professionally trained men (women then being denied access to the professions), particularly in the legal profession, who were ready to step into leading positions as the colony’s administrative systems were established. Edward Eyre Williams, *Como*’s first owner, arrived in Australia as a young barrister in 1842, to become a judge in the Supreme Court ten years later (Fox, 1996).

xxx R.A. Balbirnie, c.1840.

[SLHC Reg. No. 2396.1]



On the other hand immigrants with more humble trade origins are exemplified by the Woodmason family of market gardeners who arrived from England in the 1840s, worked hard to build local enterprises, and took a prominent role in municipal affairs in Malvern.

Cooper relates an amusing but very telling anecdote about Major-General Edward Macarthur, who was Acting Governor of the colony in 1856. Macarthur happened to be chatting with Sergeant Dowling, an Irish immigrant, and suggested that the Sergeant was 'better off in Prahran than if he had remained in Ireland'. Dowling replied 'Faith, and had your Excellency remained in Scotland, it would indade (sic) have been a long time before you would have become a governor'. For the record, Macarthur was actually born in Bath, England (Cooper, 1924:111).

The gold rush of the 1850s brought the first groups of Chinese settlers to Melbourne. A well-known Chinese immigrant living in nineteenth century Malvern was Kong Meng Lowe, a wealthy merchant and leader in Melbourne's Chinese community. Kong Meng, his English wife and their family were well-known in the community. They lived at *Longwood* (demolished) where they had a tobacco plantation employing Chinese workers (Cooper 1935:124–26). A number of Chinese men, having tried their luck on the goldfields, established laundries in the area. Malone notes a couple of Chinese laundries in Prahran (1984:16–17) Win Vears remembers one in High Street, Armadale, in the 1930s:

There was a little shop that was a Chinese laundry, and you could see the little, tiniest man with his pigtail (Vears, interview, 5 July 2000).

xxxii Longwood, the residence of Kong Meng Lowe and his family, Elizabeth Street, Malvern c.1890. [SLHC Reg. No. 90]



xxxi High Street shops, including Sam Lee's Chinese Laundry. [SLHC Reg. No. 11745]



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3.5.2 Creating a cosmopolitan society – twentieth century immigration

Before World War II, immigrants settling in the study area were predominantly Anglo-Celtic (as in most parts of Victoria), but there were some exceptional examples of immigrants of non-English speaking background who, having prospered in business, settled in prestigious parts of the municipality.

Perhaps the most famous ‘rags to riches’ resident was Simcha Baevski, the Russian Jew who arrived penniless in Australia in 1899, and as Sidney Myer founded the huge retailing empire. In 1920, having made his fortune, Myer settled with his wife Merlyn at *Cranlana* in Toorak (www.myerfoundation.org.au).

Jupp (1988:644–45) notes that there were some Jews from Eastern Europe living in Prahran from the 1920s, close to the larger communities in neighbouring St. Kilda and Caulfield, and to the synagogue built in 1929 in South Yarra, just outside the study area’s border. The Jews were strongly identified with the clothing industry, an industry that was an important part of Prahran’s economy (see chapter 5). The Nathan family of furniture manufacturers established the well-known Maples store in Chapel Street in 1906 (Malone, 1983:26).

An early Greek immigrant to settle in the study area was successful hotelier and businessman Anthony Lucas, who bought the Toorak mansion *Whernside* in 1918. Lucas established the Australia Hotel in Melbourne and was a leader of Melbourne’s Greek community. *Whernside* later became the home of Jewish immigrant and business tycoon, Solomon Lew (Strahan, 1989:58–59; Jupp, 1988:647). Almost every town in Australia had a Greek café, and this tradition was carried on in Prahran with a number of restaurants and cafés in Chapel Street run by Greek or Greek Cypriot families (Jupp, 1988:510; Malone, 1984:25).

Prahran’s cosmopolitan character really developed in the 1950s and 60s, as immigrants arrived from all parts of Europe. They occupied the old working-class houses and newly built Housing Commission flats in the suburbs of Prahran and Windsor abandoned by Australian-born residents moving out to new suburbs. Post-war immigrants provided much of the workforce for the study area’s thriving industrial sector, then based in Prahran. One of the largest European groups was the Greeks. Their strong presence in the study area is evidenced by the St Demetrius Greek Orthodox Church, which was converted from the former Mt Erica Methodist Church, and the Greek community centre in High Street (Malone, 2001:39).

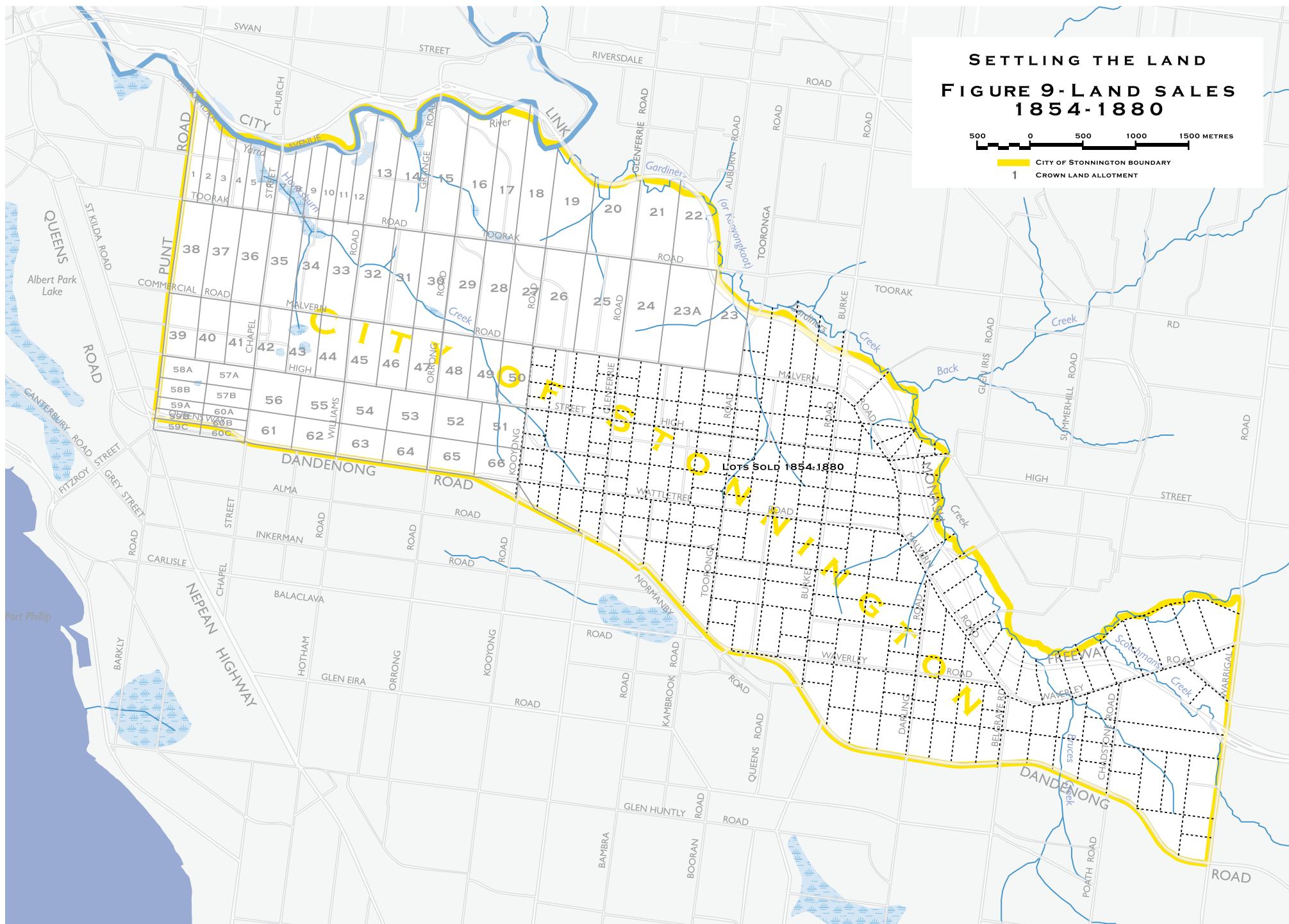
By the 1980s many Greeks had moved out to Malvern. This pattern of migration is demonstrated by St Catherine’s Greek Orthodox Church in Epping Street, Malvern East, which has a large congregation, and a Greek Senior Citizens Club meets at the Malvern Town Hall.

Since the 1970s the European immigrants have been joined by people from Turkey, the Middle East, Asia and South America – many of them once again escaping the effects of war and oppression. Many of these immigrants were initially housed at the Housing Commission estates in Prahran. One significant group in Prahran is the Khmer, most of whom came as refugees from Cambodia. The Khmer Language Cultural Centre was established in Prahran in 1980s (Wilde, 1993:230; Jupp, 1988:657–58). From the 1970s a strong Indian community has formed in Prahran and Malvern (Wilde, 1993:70–73; Jupp, 1988:546).

xxxiii (right) During World War II members of the Greek community present a Greek flag to Prahran Mayor Alfred Woodfull. The flag was flown from the Town Hall on the day of appeal for contributions to the war effort in Greece, c.1941.

[SLHC Reg. No. 8657]





HERITAGE

The theme of *Settling the Land* is illustrated by a variety of places that have important heritage values. These values are sometimes expressed in tangible ways, such as by surviving fabric (for instance, buildings, structures, trees and landscapes), but are also apparent in the associations and meanings embodied by the place for different communities. This chapter provides a summary of values associated with these places and provides a representative list. For further examples, reference should be made to the heritage studies and reports listed in the bibliography.

Pastoralism

The study area is important within the metropolitan area for its associations with many of the important early pastoralists who played an important role in the development of Victoria. While many of the mansions and houses associated with pastoralists have been demolished, those that survive include *Carmyle*, *Como*, and *Trawalla*, which provide important evidence of the wealth of the pastoralists and their position of influence in society.

This era is also commemorated by street names associated with early pastoralists or their estates – for example, Tivoli Road, Daly Street.

Land speculation

The places associated with the theme of *Land speculation* provide important evidence of the pattern of settlement in Melbourne. The study area is of interest because it vividly illustrates how the topography influenced and reflected the social divisions within nineteenth century society. This is illustrated by the distinct contrast between the pattern of development between the closely subdivided working class areas on low lying land, and the spacious ‘garden suburbs’ of the wealthy on higher ground that will be explored further in the *Building Suburbs* chapter.

Crown land sales

The early land sales quickly established the importance of the ‘high ground’ along the south banks of the Yarra as the favoured residential domain of many of the most wealthy and influential people in early Melbourne society. This land was the first to be sold and was strategically located close to the city and on the important trade routes to the emerging rural districts in the south and east.

Places associated with this theme, which generally date from before 1860 are very rare. Known examples include:

- ✧ Malvern Hill Hotel
- ✧ Houses and buildings associated with early Crown Allotment estates such as *Avoca* (8 Gordon Grove, South Yarra), *Brynmawr* (now part of Sacre Coeur Catholic Girls School, 172 Burke Road, Glen Iris), and *Viewbank*, 9 Viewbank Road, Glen Iris
- ✧ Houses associated with early Crown allotment subdivisions include a group in and around Avoca and Caroline streets, South Yarra, including *Richmond House* (56 Avoca Street), 64 Avoca Street, *Caroline House* (74 Caroline Street), 75 and 76 Caroline Street, as well as the houses at 18 Douglas Street, Toorak, and 5 George Street, Prahran

The study area illustrates how far Melbourne expanded in the nineteenth century during the development boom fuelled by the gold rush, before the interruption caused by the 1890s’ depression. This illustrated by subdivisions such as the *Gascoigne Estate* in Malvern East which was not fully developed until the twentieth century, as well as Victorian era houses scattered throughout Malvern east of Glenferrie Road such as in Stanhope Street.

Settling the land

Update 1 Changed words in heading

U1

Speculation and land boomers

The study area is notable for the strong associations with many of the most notorious nineteenth century land-boomers and property speculators who had significant influence upon the settlement of the study area and Victoria generally. The wealth and status of these people at the height of the property boom was demonstrated by the often extravagant design of the house and its grounds, while the depression that followed was often poignantly reflected in the later subdivision that reduced their grounds, by the conversion of many to institutional uses or the eventual demolition of others. The surviving land-boomer mansions and the surrounding development in the study area therefore provide important evidence of this notorious chapter in Victoria's history. Examples include:

- ✧ *Armadale* (now part of King David School)
- ✧ *Valentines* (now part of Caulfield Grammar School)
- ✧ *Illawarra* (now on a much reduced allotment in Illawarra Court).

U1

Update 1 Additional words inserted

Government assistance

This theme provides evidence of how State and Federal Governments at various times have entered the property market to assist people with purchasing land to build a home. Examples include the Carnegie Estate War Service Homes, in and around Villers Square and Brettoneaux Square.

Migrating to seek opportunity

Immigration has been a strong and continuing influence upon the development of Victorian society, and the study area is particularly notable as a place where a variety of immigrant groups came to live, particularly in the post-World War II era. Foremost among these was Melbourne's Greek community who established a considerable presence in the study area. Examples of heritage places associated with the theme of *Immigrating* include:

- ✧ St Demetrius Greek Orthodox Church, High Street, Prahran
- ✧ St Catherine's Greek Orthodox Church, Malvern East
- ✧ Prahran Migrant Resource Centre – originally housed at the former Salvation Army Citadel, and now at the Grattan Gardens Community Centre.

Archaeological places

The parts of the study area west of Williams Road were among the earliest parts of Melbourne outside the CBD to be settled. Although many of the earliest buildings and neighbourhoods have been demolished or redeveloped, it is possible that archaeological evidence may remain that could provide valuable evidence of the early settlement of Melbourne. Places that have archaeological potential, which have been identified by this study include:

- ✧ The car park behind Chapel Street, to the south of shops facing Commercial Road
- ✧ The Housing Commission estates in Malvern Road
- ✧ The vacant land on the east side of Chapel Street to the north of the Como Centre, and the semi-industrial land on the west side of Chapel Street, north of Toorak Road.

TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATIONS

Chapter 4





TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATIONS

Update 1
Additional words inserted

INTRODUCTION

Patterns of settlement were strongly influenced by transport options and in particular, by the development of the railway. This chapter charts the transport developments in the study area from rivers and waterways to bridges, roads, railways and tramways.

U1

Early access to the study area was by river and bank-to-bank transport was provided by a thriving and competitive industry of punt and ferry operators. Next followed bridges, whose construction and up-keep sparked rivalry across municipal boundaries, but opened important new routes into the study area. There is a section on the origins and development of the main road routes through the study area, which functioned first as roads for horse-drawn vehicles. The role of Prahran City Surveyor, later founding Chairman of the Country Roads Board, William Calder, in instigating road improvements suitable for the motor transport age, is noted. The development of solutions to later problems such as the flow of traffic through the study area, particularly the Monash Freeway, had a significant physical and social impact on the municipality in the post-war era.

The chapter also describes the important role of railways and tramways in shaping the residential and commercial development of the study area, particularly the rise of commuting and growth of shopping centres.

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Developing local, regional and national economies –
Moving goods and people; Building settlements,
towns and cities – Supplying urban services.

HISTORY

4.1 Water crossings and travels – punts and ferries

In the very early days of settlement the lack of roads and bridges meant that access to the study area for some visitors and settlers was along the Yarra River by boat. Punts and ferries were important to the development of the study area throughout the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth by which stage most of the major roads and bridges had been constructed.

Rev. Waterford travelled by boat when he visited Gardiner at his station in June 1838 (Cooper, 1935:10). Although punt services connecting roads across the river were soon established, river transport remained an alternative for some early settlers – the Bell family, for example, who lived at *Avoca* on the banks of the river in the 1850s, travelled by boat for their weekly trip to church in Melbourne (Cooper, 1924:53).

Watt's ferry service was established on the Yarra River, downstream from the present Princes Bridge, in 1838. R.A. Balbirnie, one of the study area's largest landholders, set up a rival punt service near Watt's ferry. When a wooden bridge was built to link Swanston Street with St Kilda Road in 1845, Balbirnie leased it and collected the tolls (Priestley, 1984:34; Malone, 2002:9; Cooper, 1924:36). Road access to the study area was then via St Kilda Road and along the rough bush track originally known as Gardiners Creek Road that eventually became known as Toorak Road (see section 4.4.1). John Hodgson began a ferry service upstream from Chapel Street around 1844, and Brander's ferry operated near the Botanic Gardens. From the mid 1850s another punt crossed the river at Richmond, thus giving the name Punt Road to the track that formed the western border of the area (Priestley, 1984:41).

Twickenham Ferry service, thought to have been established in 1880, carried passengers across from Grange Road, Toorak, linking the area with Hawthorn. The Burnley Ferry, which operated from 1896 to 1944, crossed from Williams Road, South Yarra, to Burnley Street, Richmond. Passengers had to descend from the high ground on the South Yarra side via a flight of steps, then cross the swamp on a boardwalk to reach the ferry (Malone, 2002:10, 11 and 19).

As late as 1931 a new ferry service was commenced between South Yarra and Princes Bridge, and seems to have been a success for a few years. Passengers embarked from jetties at Punt Road and Caroline Street (Wilde, 1993:29–30).

Transport & communications

4.2 Bridges

4.2.1 Church Street bridge

Until 1857 the only bridge linking the study area with Melbourne was Balbirnie's wooden bridge connecting Swanston Street and St Kilda Road across the Yarra River. This bridge was replaced by a stone bridge, and then by the present Princes Bridge in the 1880s. Local councils, including Prahran and Malvern, contributed to its cost (Malvern Archives).

The first bridge leading directly into the study area was built across the Yarra to link Chapel Street with Church Street, Richmond. It was initiated by both Richmond and Prahran Councils as a way of encouraging trade and establishing the two streets as main roads through the growing suburbs. An iron bridge, bought by the Victorian Government from Britain as surplus from the Crimean War, was installed and opened in October 1857. In 1909 Prahran Council first became concerned about the safety of the bridge, and there was an attempt to close it in 1914, but years of campaigning by Prahran Council were necessary before the State Government and Richmond Council would consider a replacement. According to Cooper (1924:163–78), Prahran Council wanted a bridge that would 'reflect credit on the City of Prahran ... a structure of beauty and permanence ... worthy to be the highway to the northern city gate'. The resulting three-span Monier arch bridge, designed by leading architect Harold Desbrowe Annear and engineer J.A. Laing, and completed in 1924, fitted the bill, and is still an

impressive entry into the study area, although now altered at the Richmond end to accommodate the Monash Freeway. Technically, it was the culmination of quarter of a century of development in reinforced concrete in Victoria, led by (Sir) John Monash, the founder of Reinforced Concrete and Monier Pipe Construction Company, which built the bridge (see Alves, Holgate and Taplin, 1998, Introduction; Heritage Victoria citation). The new bridge stimulated development in Chapel Street by allowing the tramway service to be connected to Richmond (this will be discussed in Chapter 5).



xxxv The bridge over Gardiner's Creek, c.1890. [SLHC Reg. No. 5209]

xxxiv Twickenham Ferry terminal (near present day MacRobertson Bridge), c.1880.

[La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria.
Accession number: H28232] [SLHC Reg. No. 9026]



4.2.2 Hoddle bridge

At Punt Road the punt continued in operation until the opening of the bridge at Anderson Street (now known as the Morell Bridge) in 1898. Meanwhile, a footbridge was built near Punt Road in 1866, to be replaced by another footbridge in the 1890s. This steel truss bridge was dismantled and moved to Kensington, where it linked the Melbourne Abattoirs with the sale yards across the Maribyrnong River. The present Hoddle Bridge was built by the Country Roads Board in 1938. It is a four-span reinforced concrete girder bridge, which, at the time of construction had the longest spans of their kind in Australia. This bridge immediately resulted in Punt Road becoming a link in the major route connecting Melbourne's northern and southern suburbs (Priestley, 1984:41–2; Country Roads Board, *Annual Report*, 1939:35; Lay, 2003:152).



xxxvi First Chapel Street bridge, erected in 1857 and shown here in 1921.
(SLHC Reg. No. 9536)

4.2.3 MacRobertson bridge

The MacRobertson Bridge, a three-span steel truss construction, was built in 1934 and opened as part of Victoria's centenary celebrations. It replaced the Twickenham Ferry at Grange Road. The bridge was funded by a grant from confectioner MacPherson Robertson (Lay, 2003:152). It was altered and extended in 2000 as part of the City Link project, which upgraded the Monash Freeway that passes underneath.

4.2.4 Bridging Gardiners Creek

Gardiners Creek presented another barrier to the study area for those travelling to and from the east between the Malvern municipality and neighbouring Hawthorn. Early creek crossings were fords, or logs placed across the creek or in the stream. Such crossings and their approaches became 'glue pots' of mud during wet weather, and were often impassable.

Timber bridges were constructed across the creek at Glenferrie Road in 1857, Toorak Road in 1860 and High Street in 1861. There was a toll gate at the High Street bridge. Some years later the poor condition of these bridges prompted lengthy negotiations between the Gardiner Road Board (later Malvern Shire Council) and the Road Boards of Hawthorn and Boroondara, revealing municipal rivalries that existed at the time. Eventually the bridges were replaced. A new bridge was built at High Street in 1891, and at Toorak Road in 1915, the latter being washed away in the 1934 flood (Lay, 2005:151, 153 and 189). These old creek crossings are now lost beneath the Monash Freeway. The wooden bridge connecting Hawthorn and Malvern along Glenferrie Road was replaced by a brick bridge some time around 1890. The brick bridge was widened in 1912 with an unusual reinforced concrete addition when the tramway was extended into Malvern (Cooper 1935:82–92, Alves, Holgate and Taplin, pp.127–28). It can still be seen under the Monash Freeway.



xxxvii Outer Circle Railway – Black Bridge over Gardiners Creek, c.1930.
[SLHC Reg. No. 5092]



Transport & communications

4.3 Roads

As we shall see, the main east-west and north-south roads in the study area originated from the grid lines drawn on Hoddle's subdivision plan of the Parish of Prahran. The lines ignored the area's topography, so the gradients of some roads emphasise the natural undulations of the landscape to this day. The later development of main roads is best understood in the context of the development of Melbourne's metropolitan road system, as most of them are on transport links through the study area, linking northern and southern suburbs, and the south-east with central Melbourne.

The strong grid pattern was reflected in the smaller streets and lanes between the main roads associated with the complex patterns of subdivision that have taken place throughout the study area's history. Deviations from the grid occurred particularly along the interface with the waterways to the north and east (notably Alexandra Avenue and Malvern Road), and in some of the subdivisions in Toorak during the inter-war and post-war period.

4.3.1 Following Hoddle's grid – early development of main roads

The northernmost line on the Prahran Parish plan coincided with the track that led from St Kilda Road to Gardiners Creek, which was originally known as Gardiners Creek Road. In 1851 the track turned south-east and followed the creek towards Oakleigh, on the stock route to Dandenong and Western Port, and ultimately to Gippsland. When the Governor of Victoria took up residence in *Toorak House* in 1854, the western section of Gardiners Creek Road became the study area's most important thoroughfare – in the eyes of the government – and it was the first to be graded and surfaced. Gardiners Creek Road began to be known by its present name of Toorak Road from the 1850s, but the old name was still in use until 1898 (Lay, 2003:150–1).

Other east-west roads across the study area were also used as early routes to Dandenong. High Street and Malvern Road both joined the route along the Gardiners Creek to Oakleigh. Indeed, High Street was once called Middle Dandenong Road. By 1856 the main route to Dandenong followed the southern survey line of the study area – the road we now know as Dandenong Road. The route commenced at St Kilda junction, heading east along Wellington Street. At Chapel Street it widened into the three-chain road that Hoddle, with some foresight, had reserved as a stock route before the land was sold (Lay, 2003, 153–8).



xxxviii View c.1932 showing what is thought to be the opening of Alexandra Avenue east of Chapel Street. [SLHC Reg. No. 9006]

The northern end of Chapel Street remained a rough track to the river until the construction of the bridge in 1857. As soon as the bridge linked the study area with Richmond, Chapel Street became the main thoroughfare for the study area. At that time, and for many years after, Chapel Street went through a deep cutting north of Toorak Road. The years of mining the clay for brickmaking eventually levelled the high ground and eliminated the cutting (Malone, 1983:8–9).

Punt Road was also an insignificant thoroughfare, especially at the steeply sloping northern end, until construction of Hoddle Bridge in 1936 connected it with Hoddle Street. Punt Road thus became part of Melbourne's key north-south route, from Epping to Port Phillip Bay, in what appears to have been part of Hoddle's greater plan. By 1944 Punt Road was an 'extremely busy main highway', and in 1969 the section between Swan Street and the Yarra River was the state's busiest road (Wilde, 1993:31–32; Lay, 2003:186–87).

Glenferrie Road, named after *Glen Ferrie*, the property of Peter Ferrie, which was on the corner of Toorak Road, followed a subdivision line from Hawthorn. Originally known as Barkly Road, it was an early route between Richmond and Brighton (Lay 2003:189) and was also known by a more prosaic title incorporating those suburb names.

Burke Road is believed to have originated as an Aboriginal track to the north of the study area and formed the western boundary of Elgar's Special Survey that covered present-day Balwyn and Box Hill. The road reservation was extended south into and through the study area in the early 1850s before the land was subdivided and sold. The section running through the study area was known as Charleville Road until the name of the entire road was changed to Burke Road in honour of the explorer Robert O'Hara Burke, in the 1860s (Lay, 2003:189–90).

Warrigal Road is another main route stretching from north to south through the eastern suburbs. It formed the parish boundary, and also the municipal boundary at the south-east of the study area (Lay, 2003:19–21).



xxxix Former stables at Toorak House, (date unknown).
[SLHC Reg. No. 8515]

Transport & communications

4.3.2 Changing modes of transport – from horses to motor vehicles

In the nineteenth century the ownership of a carriage was an indication of wealth and status. The large houses and mansions of the wealthy had stables and coach houses for their equipages. *Avoca* (8 Gordon Grove, South Yarra) built in the 1850s still has its stables and coach house (*Prahran Conservation Study*, precinct 1–10). The stables at *Stonington* still exist; indeed the house itself is a reminder of horse-drawn transport as it was built by John Wagner, an owner of Cobb and Co. Malone has noted that the owners of a number of villas on large allotments in Denbigh Road, Armadale, had carriages and stables (Malone, 2005:30).

Those who could not afford horse-drawn vehicles of their own walked, or they could hire a cab. There were two livery stables at Toorak Village, and one at 23 Northcote Road, Armadale. After the advent of the railways there were cab stands at railway stations, functioning in much the same way as taxi ranks do now (Paxton 1983:25 and 29; Malone, 2005:16). One of the last known cab shelters in Melbourne was recently reinstated on its original site in the grounds of Christ Church, Toorak Road, at the south-west corner of Punt Road just outside the study area.

xl Horse and carriage at Avoca.

[SLHC Reg. No. 2051_10]



Deliveries of milk, meat and other household necessities were made by horse and cart. The horse-drawn milk cart persisted well into the 1960s; however delivery horses were beginning to be replaced by motors after World War I. Coach builders proliferated in Prahran's industrial district before the war. A. W. Hinton and Son, whose workshops were in Izett Street, gradually switched to building and servicing motor trucks, until the firm eventually became panel beaters (Wilde, 1993:140–42).

Alan Martin and Joseph King established the coach building business, Martin and King, in a rented shop in High Street, Armadale, in 1888, moving to larger premises at 85 High Street by 1909. The firm continued as a family company into the twentieth century, and diversified its operations for the new transport era by manufacturing train carriages and buses, and, following a move out of the study area, car bodies for the Ford Motor Company (Malvern Archives). The Armadale Coach Factory in Kooyong Road, south of High Street, did not make the transition to the motor era, and disappeared soon after the turn of the century (Malone, 2005:25).

Horse-drawn buses operated along the main roads. An early experiment in public motor transport in the study area was the steam bus that operated between Prahran and Malvern for a few months in 1905–1906. It was said to be the first public transport of its kind, but it was found to be unreliable, and abandoned in favour of the reliable horse (*A Place in History*, No. 41).

James Paxton, who grew up in Toorak in the early twentieth century, described the roads as 'rough and unsealed' in his youth. He was aware of only 20 cars in the district in 1909 (Paxton, 1983:12, 19). However, motor vehicles were soon to gain pre-eminence as the major form of transport not only in the study area, but throughout Victoria and the rest of Australia. Priestly (1984:170) notes that:

Road construction accelerated after 1918 as road traffic was undergoing its spectacular motorization. By 1924, there were nearly ninety thousand motor cars, lorries and cycles registered in Victoria, although that was still less than half the estimated number of road vehicles pulled by horses. Just four years later, horse and motor vehicle numbers were balanced, and thereafter the fast-breeding petrol engine took precedence.



xli Steam bus heading west on High Street, c.1905.
[SLHC Reg. No. 1304]



49
A. WHINTON
MOTOR BODIES BUILT TO ORDER
PAINTED & TRIMMED
RUBBER TYRES FITTED
TO ALL VEHICLES

VEHICLES
STORED
ON COMMISSION

ESTD 1890
A. WHINTON
COACHBUILDER
PHONE 1021 WIND

VEHICLES OF ALL KINDS
BUILT TO ORDER
REPAIRS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION
AWARDED 1ST & SPECIAL PRIZES
ROYAL AGRICULTURAL SHOWS MELB. 49



Sho
Room

4.3.3 Twentieth century improvements and the rise of motorised transport

As the number of motor vehicles increased, so did the need for improvements to roads. The Prahran municipality was fortunate to have William Calder as its City Surveyor from 1897 to 1913, and it was he who instigated a program of road improvements during the early stages of the gradual transition to motorised transport. In an effort to find the best and most economical surface, a variety of materials were tried. The new Neuchatel asphalt was laid in Commercial Road in 1912, and in 1919 red gum blocks, with a coating of tar, were laid in Malvern Road. Concrete surfaces were tried in other places, particularly in residential subdivisions during the inter-war period. Bluestone was used extensively for kerb and channelling during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but was gradually replaced by concrete kerbing by the mid-twentieth century. During the 1920s almost all of Prahran's streets were surfaced. Calder went on to become the first Chairman of the Country Roads Board, when it was established in 1913. Calder's house, *Kia Ora*, still stands at 25 Denbigh Road, Armadale (Wilde, 1993: 20–21; Malone, 2005:30).

A late addition to the main road network was Alexandra Avenue, which was opened between Chapel Street and Williams Road during the interwar period. Earlier stages, from Punt Road to the Cremorne railway bridge were opened by 1914, and to Chapel Street by 1918. This section of Alexandra Avenue between Chapel Street and Williams Road was to be the only major addition to the road network in the study area until the 1960s.

As the volume of motor traffic increased on Melbourne's roads, and as the metropolis expanded outwards, particularly to the east, the study area's main roads became busier and more congested. Large volumes of traffic were travelling through the study area between the city and outer suburbs to the south and east. At a local level, the design of subdivisions began to explore ways to discourage through traffic from the inter-war period onwards. The layout of Montalto Avenue in Toorak is one example of a subdivision that was intended to discourage through traffic, while the increasing use of cul-de-sacs is another.

In the 1950s the State Government began considering ways of easing congestion on Melbourne's roads, and in the 1960s the Metropolitan Transport Committee recommended a plan that provided for 307 miles of freeways and arterial roads. Two freeways were to impinge on the study area, but the F2, which was to follow the railway line through Prahran, was not built, owing to strong local opposition to the proposal (Wilde, 1993:96–99). Although there was also considerable public opposition to the second freeway proposal, the South-Eastern Freeway – now known as the Monash Freeway – leading from Punt Road to the south-eastern suburbs was eventually constructed in stages over four decades commencing in the 1960s.

Transport & communications

The Monash Freeway had its origins in Melbourne's first freeway, the section of the South-Eastern Freeway stretching along the northern Yarra bank from Hoddle Street to Grange Road, which was opened in 1962. An extension to Toorak Road was completed in 1969. During the 1970s the Mulgrave Freeway approached Melbourne from the south-east. Neither freeway crossed the study area, but plans were made to link the two freeways through what was called the 'C3 route', which followed the Gardiners Creek valley on the Malvern side. The use of the valley as a road corridor had been suggested as early as 1929, in the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission's Report. However, 45 years later the prospect of a freeway going through the then City of Malvern sparked unprecedented protest in the community and a number of activist groups formed. They protested against the proposed demolition of hundreds of houses that were in the path of the freeway, the loss of large areas of parkland and sports grounds, damage to the natural environment and the noise and pollution the freeway would produce. These protests delayed construction of the freeway for several years, during which time traffic congestion increased in Malvern's streets, highlighting the reason for the freeway proposal. The linking section was eventually completed in the early 1990s, and the name of the whole freeway was changed to the Monash Freeway in 1999 (Priestley, 1984:269–70; Strahan, 1989, ch.11; Lay, 2003:198 and 211–12). The Monash Freeway now takes many thousands of cars daily through Stonnington to and from Melbourne's outer south-eastern suburbs, as well as providing access to the area for its residents.

Other major improvements were made to traffic flow on Dandenong Road, which formed a bottleneck at Chapel Street where it originally connected with the much narrower Wellington Street that eventually intersected with Punt Road and St Kilda Road at St Kilda Junction. Although St Kilda Junction is outside the study area, it was the funnel through which traffic on two of the municipality's busiest thoroughfares – Punt and Dandenong roads – passed, to join traffic from St Kilda Road. From the 1950s remedies were sought for the increasing traffic congestion at this major junction, but it was not until 1968 before the opening of the major intersection works. This included a new partially sunken roadway (Queens Way) passing under Punt Road and St Kilda Road that connected Dandenong Road (which until then had terminated at Chapel Street) to Queens Road and thence to the city. The associated ramps and concrete walls became a feature of the modern traffic management environment (Wilde, 1993:84), and created a barrier that effectively divided Wellington Street from Windsor.



xliii Roadworks in Dandenong Road, east of Chapel Street, c.1910.
[SLHC Reg. No. 8646]

4.4 Railways

Railways had a significant influence upon the development of the study area. As we shall see in later chapters, they stimulated the residential and commercial development that had already begun slowly in the western part of the municipality. The fast and frequent transport system enabled workers to settle in the area and commute to jobs outside the area. It also brought shoppers into the area, particularly to the Windsor end of Chapel Street, which developed quickly in the 1860s (Wilde, 1993:8).

4.4.1 Early private railways

Rail travel was introduced to Victoria in the 1850s by private companies, and two of the lines serving the study area had their origins in private railway services. In 1857 the Melbourne and Suburban Railway opened a line to St Kilda. In 1859–1860 this line was extended to Brighton by another company, the St Kilda and Brighton Railway Company, via a loop line to Windsor. The loop line was carried across St Kilda Road on an overhead bridge.

In 1860 the Melbourne and Suburban Railway opened another line through Richmond to South Yarra, Prahran and Windsor. Substantial engineering works altered the landscape for this line, including an embankment constructed across the swamp at the south of the Yarra River, and a deep cutting through Forrest Hill. In 1862 the Melbourne and Suburban Railway bought out the St Kilda and Brighton Railway Company, closed the loop line from St Kilda and ran their trains directly to Brighton through Windsor (Cooper, 1924:179–84). A reminder of the loop line is the Windsor Siding Park, close to the Windsor Station.

South Yarra Station located on Toorak Road (originally known as Gardiners Creek Road Station) was constructed in 1862 by Melbourne and Suburban Railway, and was altered in 1883, 1915–16 and again in 1918 to accommodate the growth of the train system, which resulted in new lines to serve increasing patronage. It is now thought to be one of only two surviving stations in the metropolitan area that were originally built by private companies.

4.4.2 Developing state railway systems in the late nineteenth century

In 1878 the Victorian Government purchased the existing railways through the study area as part of its project to build a line through Oakleigh to Gippsland. The new Oakleigh line, which was opened in 1879, ran through Malvern, Armadale, Toorak and Hawksburn to join the existing line at South Yarra (Wilde, 1993:7).

The arrival of the Oakleigh railway coincided with the beginnings of the land boom that saw huge urban growth in the study area. As we have seen, the population of the municipality of Prahran almost doubled in the decade to 1891 (Tibbits, 1983:34) and there was also considerable development in the western part of the Malvern municipality. Proximity to the rail services was a major selling point used by estate agents in all parts of Melbourne, and residential subdivisions closest to the stations generally sold first. The introduction of special workingmen's fares in 1882 also encouraged workers to settle in suburbs along rail routes, enabling people to move out from the inner areas where they worked (Priestley, 1984:152).

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The new railway cut through estates and communities, changing the shape of urban development. This can be seen around Armadale Station, where each side of the railway developed quite differently. Malone describes the eastern side as 'solidly residential' with its late Victorian and early twentieth century houses. The west side was a rail reserve and remained undeveloped for a long time. It accommodated a wood merchant, police station and scout hall, and some public housing – Victory Square (now demolished), built for war widows after World War I, and the Ministry of Housing's *Tillotson Terrace* units, built as recently as 1988 (Malone, 2005:2–4).

Meanwhile, the Malvern Shire Council had campaigned for the Oakleigh railway line to take a route through the Glen Iris Valley, thus stimulating development in their shire, but they had to wait until 1890 for a line to serve the eastern part of the shire. The new Glen Iris line was built from Burnley to Oakleigh, joining the new Outer Circle Line north of Oakleigh. The Outer Circle Line was built to link Gippsland with North Melbourne through the eastern fringe of Melbourne, thus bypassing the city centre. The line was carried across Gardiners Creek on a long timber trestle bridge, known as the Black Bridge. This bridge was on the site of the Malvern Valley Golf Course, and was demolished in 1938. The junction of the two new lines was at Waverley Road Station, on the south side of Waverley Road about 500 metres east of Belgrave Road. The Glen Iris line to Oakleigh opened in 1890, but the expected residential development it was to serve was stalled following the economic collapse. As there was insufficient traffic to keep the line viable at the eastern end, the line beyond Darling was closed in 1895. The ill-fated Outer Circle Line also closed in sections between 1893 and 1895 (Cooper, 1924:306–07; Fiddian, 1997:36–37, 80; *A Place in History*, No.66). Evidence of the Waverley Road Station can be seen in the Urban Forest.

4.4.3 Twentieth century improvements

In 1911 the Railways Commissioners refused Malvern Council's request to reopen the Darling to Oakleigh section of the Glen Iris line, but instead considered extending the line across Gardiners Creek to Glen Waverley. This extension was eventually authorised in 1926. New stations were built at Malvern East and Holmesglen in 1929, and the final section to Glen Waverley opened in 1930. Again, the expected urban development was delayed by economic depression, and also by the imposition of a Construction Rate on property along the line to finance its construction (Cooper, 1935:202–4; Fiddian, 1997:79–80; Raworth and Foster, 1998).

Apart from the extension of lines, one the biggest projects undertaken by the Victorian Railways in the early twentieth century was the electrification of the network. Work on the electrification of Melbourne's suburban railways was planned as early as 1914, but was delayed by World War I. In May 1919 Melbourne's first electric train service ran on the Essendon to Sandringham line, through the South Yarra Station to Windsor section in the study area. The Dandenong line, including the South Yarra to Malvern section, was electrified in 1922, as was the line to Darling (Fiddian, 1997:57). This project included regrading of the line to Oakleigh and the duplication of the line to Darling.

As a result, a series of new stations were constructed at Armadale, Hawksburn, Malvern and Toorak. These stations were built to an almost identical design including a two-storey central building, curtain wall and verandah on platform four, red brick construction with render banding, cantilever verandahs, ornately shaped parapets and arched openings with render voussoirs. They were designed by J.W. Hardy, chief architect for the Department of Way and Works, between 1908 and 1918.

As we shall see, the electrification of the rail network coincided with the expansion of the electric tramways. This led to the need for grade separations at key intersections where the tram and train lines crossed. This is discussed further in section 4.5.2.

xliv Malvern Railway Station c.1900 [prior to the improvements made when the line was electrified [SLHC Reg. No. 1356] and (right) a view in 1997. [Context 2005]



xlv (right) Re-grading of Oakleigh railway associated with electrification at Hawksburn Station c.1915 looking east toward Williams Road. The new line is the lower one on left [SLHC Reg. No. 8894] and (above) a similar view today, also looking east. [Context 2005]



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4.5 Tramways

Like the railways before them, the tramway network had a major influence on the pattern of development within much of the study area, both residential and commercial. While the early cable trams were limited to just Chapel Street and part of Toorak Road, the formation of the Prahran-Malvern Tramways Trust was the catalyst for a massive expansion of the network, which enabled the suburban development of then-inaccessible areas of the municipality. As we shall see, in the first decades of the twentieth century new development essentially followed the extension of the electric tram network as existing routes were extended and new routes opened.

4.5.1 Cable trams

Melbourne's first cable tram commenced taking passengers between Spencer Street and Richmond in 1885. The trams were pulled along by a constantly moving underground cable, which was powered by a huge steam-driven winding engine. Unlike the American systems, the entire operation was operated by one company, with no competing lines. The Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Company was granted a monopoly franchise from 1885 to 1916, after which the system was handed over to the government. The system was so comprehensive within its area of operation, that there was no way for a competing electric tram service to get into the city centre. As we shall see, electric trams, when they started in Melbourne, were for the most part acting as feeders to the cable system (www.railpage.org.au/tram/cable.html).

xlvi Cable Tram No. 17 (Carlton to Prahran) in Chapel Street c.1915.

[SLHC Reg. No. 7068]



Trams could not cross the Yarra River until bridges strong enough to take their weight could be built. After the new Princes Bridge was opened in 1888 cable tram routes extended from Swanston Street along St Kilda Road to Windsor and along Toorak Road to South Yarra, turning into Chapel Street towards Prahran. The Toorak Road line was extended to Irving Road in 1889, and the Windsor line was extended to the St Kilda Esplanade in 1891. An engine house for the cable winding machinery was built on the corner of Chapel Street and Toorak Road, while a smaller engine house for the trams to St Kilda was in Wellington Street (now outside the study area) (Priestley, 1984:130–31; Wilde, 1983:8–9; Malone, 1998:17, 1999:38).

As we shall see in Chapter 6, these early cable trams played a major role in the early development of Chapel Street and Toorak Roads as popular shopping centres, giving access to the shops for people from outside the study area as well as local shoppers. This important role was continued and expanded when the operation of the network was taken over in 1920 by the newly formed Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board and the system was gradually electrified and integrated with the new electric trams.

xlvi First electric tram to leave Malvern depot in 1910.

[SLHC Reg. No. 1104]



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4.5.2 Prahran-Malvern Tramways Trust

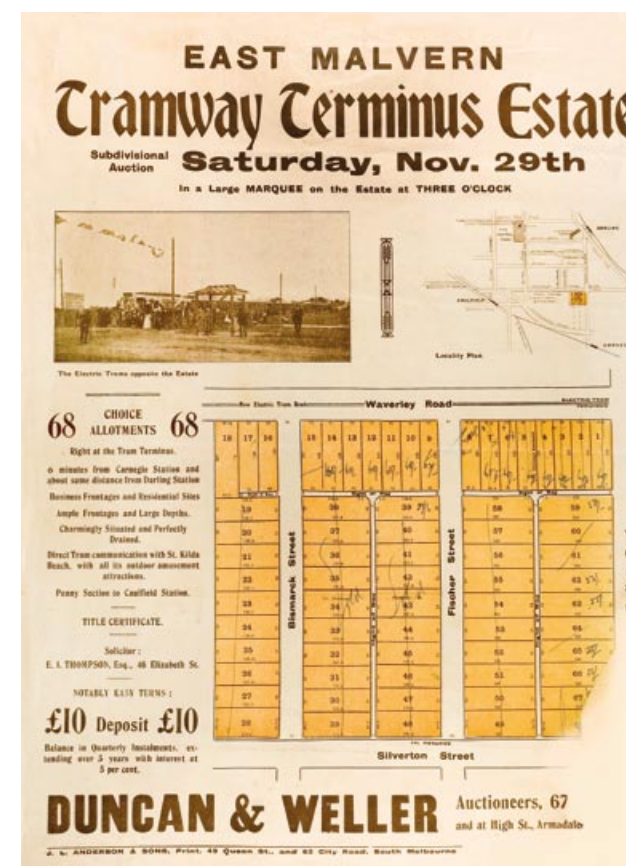
With the tram system restricted to the inner suburbs, partly as protection for the railway system's revenue, only the western part of the study area around Prahran was serviced by the cable trams. Out at Malvern the Shire Council began campaigning in the 1890s for the right to run a municipal tramway system. After protracted negotiations with the government and Prahran Council, an Act of Parliament brought the Prahran-Malvern Tramways Trust into being in 1907. It was the first of the municipal tramway trust to be formed and led to the establishment of similar tramway trusts in other municipalities.

The Prahran-Malvern Tramways Trust was the most successful of the municipal tramway trusts that developed Melbourne's electric tram network in the second decade of the twentieth century. The assets and operations of the Trust, along with those of all other tramway companies and trusts, were taken over by the newly formed Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board in 1920.

Work began on the Trust's first lines along High Street, Glenferrie Road and Wattletree Road in 1909. Poles supporting the overhead electric lines were installed along the routes, and a large power house and tram shed was built in Coldblo Road, on the failed 1892 *Coldblo Estate*. The first Prahran-Malvern Tramways Trust tram rolled out of the Coldblo depot on 30 May 1910. The Trust's first lines were along High Street from Charles Street, Prahran, to Tooronga Road Malvern, and via Glenferrie Road and Wattletree Road to Burke Road East, Malvern (Cooper, 1935:202–17).

The new tramways were a great success. Over the following decade existing routes were extended and new routes opened. The High Street line was extended to Punt Road in 1911 and to St Kilda Road in 1912 and eastwards to Glen Iris in 1914. The route along Wattletree and Dandenong Roads to Chapel Street was opened in 1911. Extensions beyond the study area reached Caulfield and St Kilda in 1911, Hawthorn and Kew via Glenferrie Road in 1913, and Camberwell Station via Malvern and Burke Roads in 1917 (Malvern Archives; George et al, 1997). Initially the electric tram network acted as a feeder to the cable trams, which maintained their monopoly over the city centre, but after both systems were taken over by the MMTB in 1920, the old cable tram routes were progressively electrified and the system was integrated.

xlvi 1913 promotional leaflet for the Tramway Terminus Estate in Malvern East. [SLHC Reg. No. 64]



xl (right) Laying tram tracks in Dandenong Road, Armadale c.1911. [SLHC Reg. No. 1616]



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The development of the tram network also led to improvements in roads and bridges. To enable trams to cross waterways, bridges had to be wide enough and strong enough. The Prahran-Malvern Tramways Trust's extension of the Glenferrie Road line to Hawthorn in 1912 necessitated the widening of the brick bridge across Gardiners Creek. This addition was built by John Monash's Reinforced Concrete and Monier Pipe Construction Company, using concrete as an economic alternative to brick. Interestingly, the relatively new reinforced concrete technology was not trusted to bear the weight of trams, so the lines were laid across the old brick section of the bridge (Alves, Holgate and Taplin, p.128). Reinforced concrete had proved its worth by the time the Church Street Bridge was built in 1924, and a new tram link was made with Richmond across the bridge. This relieved some of the pressure from the St Kilda Road route (Cooper, 1924:311), and gave direct access between Richmond and Prahran for both workers and shoppers.

As we have seen, the development of the new electric trams network roughly coincided with the electrifying and upgrade of the railways. A consequence of both projects was a State Government directive that grade separations had to be created at key intersections of the tram and train routes. This necessitated the regrading of the railway line from Malvern to Hawksburn.

A cutting was made for the railway, with bridges at High Street and Malvern Road (where it crossed Orrong Road) and Glenferrie Road replacing the former level crossings. This meant that Malvern, Armadale, Toorak and Hawksburn Stations had to be lowered and reconstructed (Tibbits, 1983:34; Malone, 2005:3). The tram shelter on the railway overpass in Malvern Road is a reminder of the relationship between the two transport systems.



1 Prahran and Malvern Tramways Trust electric tram promoting men to enlist in World War I, c.1914.

*PROV, Tramways Collection, neg H399
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Office Victoria, Australia. [SLHC Reg. No. 5067]*

HERITAGE

The theme of *Transport and Communications* is illustrated by a variety of places that have important heritage values. These values are sometimes expressed in tangible ways, such as by surviving fabric (such as buildings, structures, trees and landscapes), but are also apparent in the associations and meanings embodied by the place for different communities. Like other inner-metropolitan areas, the study area illustrates the close relationship between the development of transport networks and the pattern of suburban development in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, the study area is notable for how it illustrates particular phases such as the importance of first the railways and then the tramways to the development of retail centres in the study area and for its close associations with the development of the tramway network. This chapter provides a summary of the values associated with these places and provides a representative list of places. For further examples, reference should be made to the heritage studies and reports listed in the bibliography.

River transport and crossings, punts and ferries

No physical evidence of early river transport or punts and ferries remains; however, they are remembered in place names such as Punt Road.

Roads and bridges

The places associated with this theme provide rare evidence in the form of stables and other buildings that illustrate the importance of horse-drawn transport in the era before motor cars. The study area also provides evidence of the development of Melbourne's road network, particularly during the twentieth century. Places associated with this theme include:

- ✦ Examples of stables are found at *Stonnington* and *Toorak House*. The stables formerly associated with *Avoca* have been converted to a private house, which is situated in Caroline Street, South Yarra. There are also some small stables in residential areas in Malvern
- ✦ A. W. Hinton and Sons workshops in Izett Street
- ✦ William Calder's house, *Kia Ora*, 25 Denbigh Road, Armadale
- ✦ Bluestone kerb and channelling is still extant in many streets throughout the study area, and is a key component of the historic character of these areas
- ✦ Examples of inter-war concrete streets can be found in Lewes Drive (which includes a central island at the head of the court containing an original cast-iron lamp-post) and in the Coolgardie Precinct, and the Moorakyne/Stonnington Precinct
- ✦ Montalto Avenue is an example of an inter-war subdivision, which was designed to reduce through traffic
- ✦ Early twentieth century boulevards and parkways – Dandenong Road, Alexandra Avenue
- ✦ Church Street Bridge, Hoddle Bridge, and the MacRobertson Bridge
- ✦ Monash Freeway viaduct as it crosses Glenferrie Road Bridge, which illustrates the development of road transport over a 50-year period
- ✦ St Kilda Junction and Dandenong Road extension (Queens Way) between the Junction and Chapel Street, both outside the study area, but emblematic of the physical changes made as a result of the increase in the car traffic in the post-war period and now a highly visible entry point and physical boundary to the study area.

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Railways

The study area is particularly notable in a metropolitan context as it provides evidence of all of the key historic phases of development of suburban railways including the early private companies in the mid-nineteenth century that led to the formation of the Victorian Railways, and the expansion and electrification of the system in the early twentieth century. The buildings and significant feats of engineering such as bridges and cuttings demonstrate the importance of railways to the development of Melbourne and Victoria in the nineteenth century. The study area is also notable for evidence of 'failed' systems such as the ill-fated Outer Circle Line, which demonstrates how the system over-extended its reach in the late nineteenth century. Places associated with the development of the railway network including station complexes, plantings, bridges, cuttings and other infrastructure are now an important part of the historic cultural landscapes of the study area. These places include:

- ✦ Windsor Railway Siding Park (part of the route of the abandoned St Kilda loop line)
- ✦ Armadale, Hawksburn, South Yarra, Malvern, and Windsor railway stations
- ✦ Remains of Waverley Road Station in the Malvern Urban Forest (site of part of the Outer Circle Line).

Tramways

The study area is particularly notable for its strong associations with the development of Melbourne's electric tram network. The Prahran-Malvern Tramways Trust (PMTT) was the first and most successful of the municipal tramway authorities formed prior to the establishment of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board. The former PMTT Depot in Glenferrie Road and the extensive network of trams within the study area and beyond are a testament to the extraordinary achievements of the PMTT in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Other places associated with this theme include:

- ✦ Former cable house corner Chapel Street and Toorak Road (part of the former Capitol Bakery building)
- ✦ Ornamental tram poles along Dandenong Road
- ✦ Tram shelter on railway bridge, Malvern Road, Armadale
- ✦ Bridges on High Street, Malvern Road and Glenferrie Road constructed to provide grade separation between electric trams and railways.



Update 1
Additional words inserted

GOVERNING & ADMINISTERING AUSTRALIA

Chapter 5





GOVERNING & ADMINISTERING AUSTRALIA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores how the various levels of government administration have been developed in the context of the study area. It begins with one of the important associations of the study area with the early government administration of Aboriginal people.

The need to develop and maintain roads as described in the previous chapter led to the establishment of early local government bodies such as road boards, which evolved into the two local councils. This marked an important step in the historic development of the study area. The Cities of Prahran and Malvern developed quite distinct identities, which were centred on their Town Halls.

Stonnington also has strong links to politics at both a state and federal level. The study area has the distinction of being the only municipality that has provided two official residences for Governors of Victoria, firstly during the era of colonial administration, and later immediately after Federation. Since the time of responsible government in Victoria the study area has been home to an extraordinary number of prominent politicians at both state and federal levels, mostly on the conservative side of politics.

During both World Wars, and after, many of the large buildings in the study area were suitable for war-time use and were taken over for the war effort. The area's people and factories also contributed to the war efforts.

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Aboriginal Affairs Victoria (AAV)

Government administration of resources for Aboriginal people.

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Governing; Developing institutions of self-government and democracy; Administering Australia; Defending Australia; Establishing regional and local identity.

HISTORY

5.1 Government administration of resources for Aboriginal people

As we have seen in chapter 3.1, following the closure of Langhorne's Mission the buildings were taken over by the Aboriginal Protectorate as a headquarters from which to administer one of the most important Aboriginal policy initiatives in the early history of Port Phillip. The Aboriginal Protectorate is one of the most significant chapters in the history of Australian Government policy. Throughout the 1830s concerns had been voiced in both Australia and Britain over the violent manner in which settlement was proceeding in the colonies. There was clearly a need to manage the conflict arising from the European occupation of traditional lands (Presland, 1985:96). In 1835, a new government was elected in Britain which resulted in the appointment of members of the Humanitarian Reform Movement to the Colonial Office. On advice from Tasmania's Governor Arthur, a House of Commons Select Committee on Native Peoples was established. The committee made a number of recommendations, among which was the establishment of an Aboriginal Protectorate. The system was to be trialled in the Port Phillip District.

The Aboriginal Protectorate comprised a Chief Protector (George Augustus Robinson) and four Assistant Protectors. The Protectors were required to live and travel with the Aboriginal people in their district, record accurate census data and learn their language and customs. The ultimate aim was to persuade them to settle down on reserved areas of land. Once settled, the people were to be educated and taught Christianity and agriculture. The Protectors were also responsible for the distribution of rations and supplies (Foxcroft, 1941:58).

Governing & Administering Australia

William Thomas was the Assistant Protector for the Melbourne-Westernport region. Despite the fact that the Assistant Protectors were required to travel throughout their region, Thomas spent the first couple of years assisting Robinson managing the camps on the south bank of the Yarra where Aboriginal people continued to congregate. Robinson's tendency to constantly recall Thomas from his field duties back to Melbourne to assist with the camps caused considerable tensions between the two men. Thomas was horrified by the conditions he encountered in the Yarra camps. The camps had become a point of congregation for a number of Aboriginal tribes who were suffering the many effects of rapid and comprehensive dispossession. Many of the people were seriously ill and violence was rife. Alcoholism and sexual violence were becoming a major problem and Thomas found that he received little assistance from the authorities to manage this situation. The Government in fact essentially shifted blame and responsibility for the condition of the Yarra camps to Thomas by requiring the Protectorate to break up the camps and persuade their residents to return to their traditional lands. Attempts to do so were a failure (*Historical Records of Victoria* Vol 2B: 518).

Government authorities were very keen to move Aboriginal people away from the camps on the Yarra as a matter of priority. Robinson wrote to La Trobe:

I am decidedly opposed to aboriginal natives visiting towns, or indeed any settlement where a large body of whites are congregated... The expelling of the natives from the environs of the township, and depriving them of the use of firearms, involves, unless carefully entered upon, a question of no ordinary import, a question affecting the future peace and wellbeing of white inhabitants of this rising province (GA Robinson to CJ La Trobe, 28 October 1839, reprinted in the Historical Records of Victoria Vol 2B: 600).

Robinson himself successfully speculated in property in the area and purchased a number of lots in what is now the study area, including places along Chapel Street. It has been suggested that Robinson employed Aboriginal people to help him build his properties. A list of words compiled by Clark and Heydon (2002) contains a number of Aboriginal place names associated with or close to Robinson's properties. These include *Kubering*, *Narmbeet*, *Mowung* and *Terneet*.

5.2 Governing Australia

The Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria, Charles Joseph La Trobe, provided his own modest house in Jolimont, which he sold on his return to England in 1854. Since separation from New South Wales and the discovery of gold in 1851 the insignificant Port Phillip district had become the thriving colony of Victoria, and a house befitting the Lieutenant Governor of such a Colony was sought. As it happened, a suitable house was available in the study area. A wealthy merchant, James Jackson, had built a mansion, *Toorak House*, on 148 acres in 1850, but had died at sea on a voyage to England in 1851 and never lived in his new house. Subsequently Jackson's family let the house to a tenant for two years, and then leased it to the Victorian Government. *Toorak House* was the official residence for five successive Governors, until 1875, when the new Government House was built in The Domain. Before Lieutenant-Governor (later Governor) Sir Charles Hotham took up residence in 1854, Gardiners Creek Road (now Toorak Road) was made – the only properly formed road in the study area for some time. *Toorak House*, believed to be the study area's oldest surviving mansion, is now owned by the Swedish Church (Malone, 2004:3–5; *A Place in History*, No.26).

ii Arrival of Governor Sir George Sydenham Clarke, KCMG FRS, at Malvern Town Hall on 10 December 1901 to take up residence at Stonington.
[SLHC Reg. No. 1175]



iii Toorak House, 1854. Drawn by S.T. Gill.
[SLHC Reg. No. 2378.1]





At the time of Federation in 1901, Melbourne was selected as Australia's seat of government. Consequently the Governor General took up residence in Government House in The Domain, and another suitable mansion was sought for the Victorian Governor. Again, a house with the prestige and grandeur appropriate for the Governor was found in Malvern. Stonington, a large boom mansion in Glenferrie Road, had been built for John Wagner, a partner in Cobb and Co Coaches, in 1890. After Wagner's death in 1901, the mansion was taken over as the residence of seven successive Governors of Victoria, prior to the transfer of the Commonwealth Government to Canberra. The property was purchased by the Victorian Government in 1928, and has since been used, mainly, for educational purposes. The spelling of the property's name was changed to *Stonnington* but reverted to *Stonington* when Stonnington was adopted as the name of the new municipality formed following the Kennett Government's municipal restructure in 1994 (*A Place in History*, No.34). The original spelling – *Stonington* – for the house has been used throughout this study.

5.3 Creating a centre of Australia's political life

As Strahan has commented, 'Malvern's political eminence has become part of the nation's annals' (1989:190). As Toorak, Armadale and Malvern developed into desirable and prestigious suburbs they naturally attracted successful people with ambition, leadership qualities and an interest in public life who formed strong networks within the study area. Clearly, the presence of the Governor in *Toorak House* attracted politicians to live in the area in the mid nineteenth century as did *Stonington* in the twentieth. As we shall see, many prominent members of Parliament, both state and federal (but mostly on the conservative side of politics), including several Victorian Premiers and Prime Ministers of Australia have had close associations with the study area.

5.3.1 Politicians and their places of residence

State Government

At least six Premiers have been residents of the study area, before, during or after their term of office. One of the first was (Sir) James Alexander McPherson MLA, Premier 1869–70, who built *Umina* in Toorak in 1875. The house was later owned by Norman Bayles MLA, who was a famous tennis player. *Umina* is now the headquarters of the Country Women's Association (Malone, 2004:13; *Victorian Year Book*, 1973:1150).

George Briscoe Kerferd, who was Premier for a year in 1874–75, and later Attorney General, became a judge of the Supreme Court in the mid 1880s. He built the large mansion *Everton* near the corner of Malvern Road and High Street. The house was later called *Ranfurlie* and became part of Korowa Girls' School before it was demolished (*Victorian Year Book* 1973:1150; Cannon, 1972:387; Raworth and Foster, 1997:8–9).

Graham Berry stands out as a rare radical parliamentary representative of the study area who attained high office in government. Before he entered Parliament, Berry was a grocer, whose shop was on the corner of Palermo and Chapel streets. Berry was Premier of Victoria for three terms between 1875 and 1881. He is perhaps best remembered for his action on 'Black Wednesday' 1878, when he sacked 200 conservative civil servants, ostensibly as a cost-cutting measure, but also as a purge of conservative elements from his administration (Cooper, 1924:45; Malone, 2000:51; *Victorian Year Book*, 1973:1151; de Serville, 1991:114).

Governing & Administering Australia

Landboomer Sir James Munro was Premier from 1890 until his financial ruin in 1892. As we have seen in Chapter 3, his *Armada House* is now part of the King David School. Sir William Irvine, a Chief Justice and then Premier from 1902 to 1904, lived at *Glamorgan* (demolished) in his later years. Glamorgan School now occupies the site (Malone, 2002:21).

The most recent and probably longest serving of the study area's politician residents is Lindsay Thompson, who has lived most of his life in Glen Iris, and has been involved in the local community. Thompson taught at Spring Road School, Malvern and Melbourne High School before entering politics. He represented local people in both houses of State Parliament for 28 years from 1955, during which time he was Minister for Education in the Bolte and Hamer Liberal Governments, and Premier of Victoria in 1981–1982 (recorded interview 13 July 2000, MECWA).

Federal Government

At the federal level the forebears of Prime Ministers Malcolm Fraser and Stanley Melbourne Bruce resided in the study area. Bruce's father built *Wombalano* (demolished) in Toorak (Foster, 1999:50–52). Sir Simon Fraser, Malcolm's grandfather and a Member of Parliament himself, built the Toorak mansion *Norla* (demolished) in 1889 (Malone, 2004:48–49).

Henry Bourne Higgins, a radical politician and judge, lived at his residence *Doona* (demolished), in Glenferrie Road near the corner of Stonnington Place from 1884 until his death in 1929. Higgins was a father of Federation, a Member of the first Commonwealth Parliament, a High Court Judge and President of the Arbitration Court. He is perhaps best known for his 1907 'Harvester Judgment', which was the first attempt to set a minimum wage based on the needs of a worker and his family. The Higgins electorate is named after him (*A Place in History*, No.35).

Australia's longest serving Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, lived in Haverbrack Avenue, Malvern, after his retirement. The house was purchased as a permanent home for Menzies and his wife, Dame Pattie, by a group of wealthy businessmen. Dame Pattie moved to Kooyong after her husband's death in 1978 (Langmore, 1992:197–98). The Sir Robert Menzies Reserve in Toorak Road, Malvern, is the study area's memorial to Menzies.

The federal politician who had the strongest association with the study area was Harold Holt, who in 1939 was elected as a conservative representative for the seat of Fawkner, which then covered much of the study area. When the new seat of Higgins was formed in 1949, it covered much of the old Fawkner electorate and took in the eastern side of the study area. Holt was Member for Higgins in Canberra until his death in 1967. For most of his political career, Holt was a cabinet minister and Treasurer in successive Menzies Governments. He took over from Menzies as Prime Minister in 1966. Holt and his wife, Zara, bought the house at 112 St George's Road, Toorak, and this was their main home until they moved to the Lodge in Canberra. Holt disappeared from a Portsea beach in December 1967 and was presumed drowned (Carroll, 2004:202–05; Langmore, 1992:207). Ironically, his monument in the study area is the Harold Holt Memorial Swimming Centre in High Street, Glen Iris.

5.3.2 Forming political associations

Malvern Town Hall, situated in the heart of the 'blue ribbon' Liberal seat of Higgins, has seen many a political meeting, mostly – but not entirely – of the conservative kind. Harold Holt launched his electoral campaigns in the Town Hall in the 1940s, (Strahan, 1989:203–04) as did Lindsay Thompson a decade later:

[Malvern Town Hall] always had a certain fascination for me and I had my first election meeting, during the by-election campaign in Higinbotham in January 1955, at the Malvern Town Hall. The other speakers were the late Harold Holt and the late Sir Henry Bolte. It was a memorable evening listening to them (recorded interview 13 July 2000, MECWA).

Strahan notes that Malvern Town Hall was the venue for a demonstration in favour of women's suffrage in 1900. A year earlier 'a number of ladies' attended a Town Hall meeting about Federation. Much later, the Malvern Town Hall was also the venue for public meetings to discuss the proposed South Eastern Freeway link (Strahan, 1989:197–98, 201 and 259).

liv Doona, the residence of Judge Henry Higgins from 1884 until his death in 1929.

[SLHC Reg. No. 1418]





5.4 Developing local government authorities

As we have seen in the previous chapters, as roads were developed, so there was a need to maintain and improve them. This led to the creation of Roads Boards in the 1850s, which were the forebears of what would later become the Cities of Prahran and Malvern. The *Road Act* 1853 established the Central Road Board with the authority to build main roads, and gave local communities the power to elect district road boards which would be responsible for the provision of local roads. The creation of road districts, with their elected road boards allowed land holders and householders a role in the development of their districts. This was the earliest form of local government and evolved into local councils, which eventually became the City of Prahran and the City of Malvern. Over time, the Prahran and Malvern municipalities developed quite distinct identities, which were centred on their Town Halls.

The formal declaration of local government authorities began to define the character of each area, which in turn led to the sense that new settlers belonged to a community of similar interests. As a result the first civic and community institutions began to form, which shall be discussed further in chapters 9 and 10.

In the Victorian municipal restructure of 1994 the Cities of Prahran and Malvern were amalgamated to form the City of Stonnington.

5.4.1 The municipality of Prahran

For the residents of the low-lying parts of Prahran the most pressing need was drainage. In April 1854 a meeting was convened in the district's first church, the Independent Chapel (demolished) in Chapel Street to discuss the matter. The meeting resulted in the formation of the Prahran Road District, proclaimed on 17 May 1854. The boundaries of the Road District were set at Punt Road, the Yarra River, the Main Dandenong Road and the 'road running from the Main Dandenong Road east of Mrs Chomley's to the River Yarra', later known as Kooyong Road. There did not seem to be any interest in forming a Prahran Road Board to administer the District, and in the following year on 24 April 1855, the same area was proclaimed the Municipal District of Prahran under the new *Municipalities Act*. Prahran was thus among the first local government authorities created in Melbourne. Not all residents of the District were in favour of the new municipality, however. People living on higher ground did not want to see their money spent on drainage for the people of the lower areas, and the formation of a Municipal Council was stalled while the opposing groups argued. Eventually the first Prahran Council was elected in February 1856, with merchant F.J. Sargood, of Dandenong Road, as Chairman (Cooper, 1924:55–84).

Early council meetings were held in the Mechanics' Institute, built in Chapel Street in 1856 (later moved to High Street) before the Town Hall, Council Chamber and offices, designed by Crouch and Wilson, were opened in 1861 (Cooper, 1924:112–13). Reflecting the municipality's elevation to the status of a City in 1879, the building was extended and renovated in the 1880s, taking over the site of the Court House on the corner of Greville Street. A larger city hall was built behind the original building and the tower was replaced with the present taller more ornate tower. The new hall was rebuilt after it was damaged by fire in 1916. In the 1920s the idea of building a new civic centre on another site was considered and abandoned, so the Town Hall remained in its location at the hub of Prahran (Malone, 1983:10–11).

The Town Hall was the centre of administration for the Prahran municipality, and also a centre of social, cultural and political life for the municipality's residents. Over the years it has been the venue for many balls, concerts, school speech nights and fundraising functions. In earlier times many forms of official assistance were channelled to communities through local councils, so that local Town Halls served as welfare centres, where people came for relief from disasters – floods in the case of Prahran – unemployment relief, immunisations, and to apply for the age pension. The Prahran Town Hall was also the centre of political activity, and protest meetings (Malone, 1983:12–13). The building thus provided a focal point for the local community, as well as expressing civic and parochial pride.

Governing & Administering Australia

5.4.2 The municipality of Malvern

On the Malvern side of the study area, municipal development took a slightly different path. Shortly after the Gardiner Road District was proclaimed on 7 October 1856, the Gardiner Road Board was elected at a meeting at the Wattle Tree Hotel. Stock and station agent Gideon Rutherford was the Board's first Chairman. Cooper notes that Malvern is one of the few cities in Victoria to pass through all the municipal grades (Cooper 1935:21–24, 26). The Shire of Gardiner was proclaimed on 26 May 1871, and the name was changed to Shire of Malvern in February 1878. Malvern was proclaimed a Borough in February 1901 and a Town in April 1901. The City of Malvern was declared on 30 May 1911 (*Victorian Municipal Directory*).

It seems that the Gardiner Road Board held its early meetings in a schoolroom at St George's Anglican Church in Glenferrie Road. Later Road Board and Shire Council meetings were held in the Court House, which was built around 1858. In 1878 a site was reserved for a Shire Hall, Court House and Public Library on the corner of Glenferrie Road and High Street. It was decided that the Shire Hall building would incorporate a new Court House – the old one having to be moved to make way for the new building – and the Crown Law Department contributed towards its cost.

It was not uncommon for several functions to be combined in nineteenth century municipal halls, even though they represented different levels of government. The arrangement between municipal and colonial governments to share costs resulted in large and impressive civic centres that proclaimed the status of the town or shire. The Malvern Shire Hall was indeed an impressive building, reflecting the prosperity of the boom years of the late nineteenth century and Malvern's growth during that time. Designed by Wilson and Beswick, it incorporated the Shire Hall, Court House, Municipal Library and the necessary offices for council and court officials. The new building was opened in July 1886. In 1890 the Hall was extended to the north and the second tower added (Cooper, 1935:148–52; McIntosh and O'Neill, 1991:35–37). A new main hall was built and further additions made in 1926. Like the Prahran Town Hall, Malvern Town Hall has been the venue for a variety of social and fund raising-events, and political meetings as well as the community's municipal and civic centre.

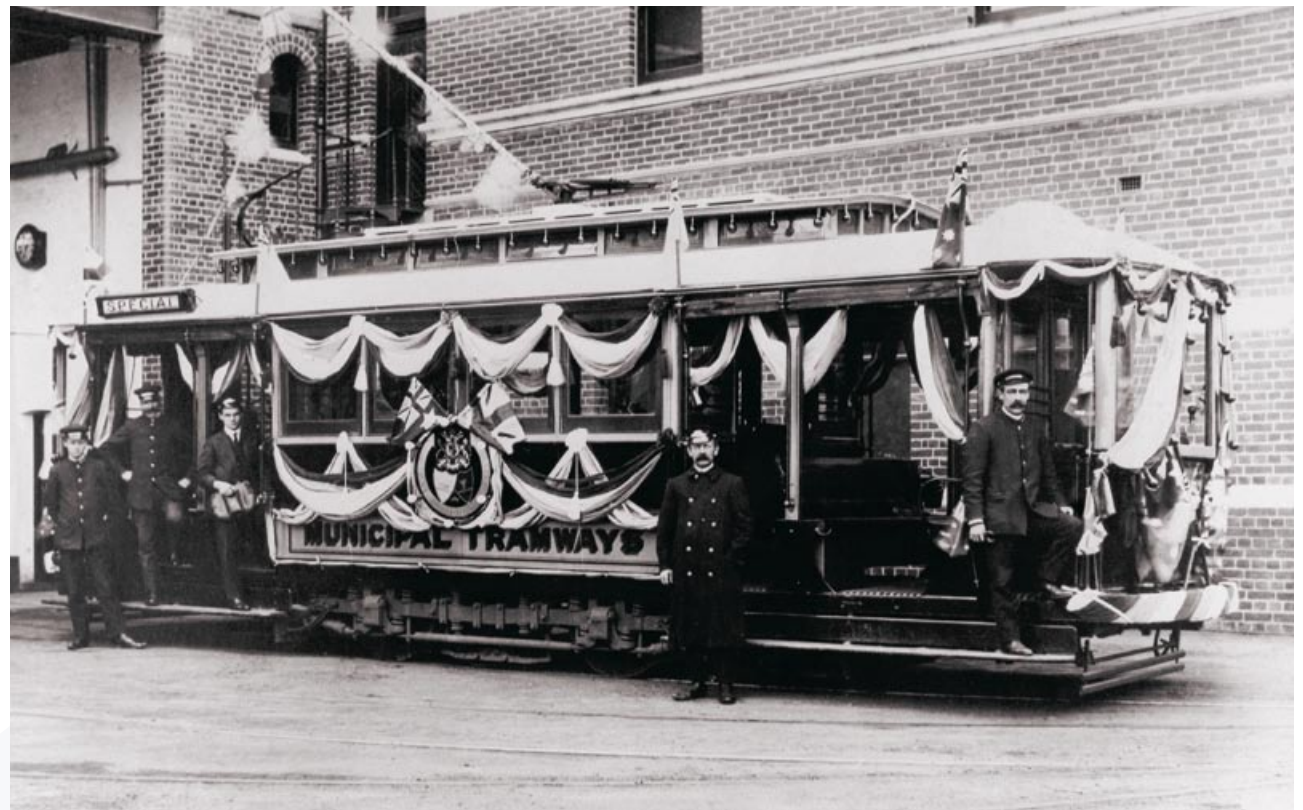
5.4.3 City of Stonnington

The City of Stonnington was formed in 1994 as part of the then State Government's program of municipal restructure. It comprises the whole of the former two cities, with the exception of a small portion of Prahran between Queens Way and Wellington Street, which was excised and became part of the City of Port Phillip. Since amalgamation the new council has been conscious of the need to avoid dividing the city along the old Kooyong Road boundary. This desire has been reflected in the ward boundaries, which have been re-drawn three times; each time it has included wards that extend across the former municipal boundary.

Maps showing the ward boundaries of the City of Stonnington and for the City of Malvern and City of Prahran are included in Appendix 3.



Ivi Prahran Town Hall c.1861 showing the old court house at the corner of Greville Street. [SLHC Reg. No. 7397]



Ivii Electric tram decorated to celebrate the proclamation of the City of Malvern in 1911. PROV, Tramways Collection, neg H386 © State of Victoria. Reproduced with the permission of the Keeper of Public Records, Public Record Office Victoria, Australia. [SLHC Reg. No. 5068]

Governing & Administering Australia

5.5 Defending Australia

During both World Wars the two Town Halls in the study area made their contributions to the war efforts. The Prahran Town Hall was a recruiting centre during World War I. At the commencement of World War II the Malvern Council boasted that it was the first suburban council to establish a recruiting depot in a Town Hall (Malone, 1983:12; Strahan, 1989:172). In both wars the Town Halls were venues for fundraising activities of organisations that were geared up to support the war effort, including Red Cross and the Prahran Patriotic Society.

In World War II a number of the study area's mansions were put to use for the war effort. *Woorigoleen* (demolished, was located 530 Toorak Road) built for pastoralist William Cumming, was used for accommodation for members of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (Malone, 2005:33–34). *Stonington* was used as a Red Cross convalescent hospital. *Heathfield* (formerly *Wombalano*, demolished, only entrance gates remain) the home of newspaper proprietor Sir Keith Murdoch and Lady Elisabeth Murdoch, was used as the headquarters of Lt. Gen. George H. Brett, US Air Force in command of American troops in Australia (*A Place in History*, No.33). Meanwhile, part of the site of the old 'Black Bridge', which once carried the Outer Circle Line across Gardiners Creek, was used for anti-aircraft gun emplacements.

After the war *Greenwich House* (Irving Road, Toorak), which had seen as many name changes as owners, became a hostel for female staff of the Royal Australian Navy. It now houses the Chinese Consulate (Malone, 2004:34–35).

Some of the area's factories switched to the production of weapons and uniforms during the World War II. In Malvern, Martin and King produced aircraft parts. An army tank factory was established at Holmesglen (now part of Holmesglen College of TAFE), towards the end of the war – too late to make any contribution.

Another building used for the war effort was Melbourne High School. The Heritage Victoria citation for this property notes that:

The size and prestige of the building, as well as its key central location, led to its occupation by military authorities for four years from 1942, during which time the students were relocated to buildings in Malvern and Camberwell (VHR H1636, File No. 603146).

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Inserted new section 5.5.4

Iviii Everton (Ranfurlie) home of George Kerferd, c.1887.
[SLHC Reg. No. 1279]



Governing & Administering Australia

HERITAGE

The theme of *Governing and Administering Australia* is illustrated by a variety of heritage places that have important heritage values. These values are sometimes expressed in tangible ways, such as surviving physical fabric (buildings, structures, trees, landscapes etc.), but are also apparent in the associations and meanings embodied by the place for different communities. The strong associations of the study area with this theme once again reflects the wealth and influence of many of the people who chose to settle here, and is directly linked to the decision to use *Toorak House* as the residence for the Governor. This chapter provides a summary of the values associated with these places and provides a representative list of places. For further examples, reference should be made to the heritage studies and reports listed in the bibliography.

Governing Australia

The study area is notable within the metropolitan area for its strong associations with the governing and administration of Victoria since the mid-nineteenth century. This association is particularly demonstrated by the two former Governor's residences (*Toorak House* and *Stonington*) as well as the many residences associated with politicians, judges and other public servants. Places associated with this theme include the former Governors' residences *Toorak House* (21 St Georges Road, Toorak) and *Stonington* (336 Glenferrie Road, Malvern).

A place of political pre-eminence

The places associated with the theme of *Governing and Administering Australia* have historic and social significance as evidence of the importance of the study area in the development of Victoria and Australia's political life. The study area is notable in a metropolitan and even a national context for the number of politicians and eminent public servants who have chosen to live here. It illustrates how the strong connection between wealth and privilege and political influence led to the study area becoming the home of many of Australia's most powerful and influential politicians. Places associated with this theme include houses such as *Umina* (3 Lansell Road, Toorak) and *Armada* (117 Kooyong Road, Armadale). Other places with political associations include Sir Robert Menzies Reserve, Toorak Road, Malvern, and Harold Holt Memorial Swimming Centre, High Street, Glen Iris.

Developing local government authorities

The study area demonstrates the development of local government administration in the nineteenth century in Victoria, which in turn illustrates the growth of Melbourne. The rapid growth of the municipalities and their 'coming of age' during the late nineteenth century in particular is illustrated by the stages of development of the municipal offices, with the grandeur of the buildings from the 1880s expressing the prosperity and civic pride at that time. Places associated with this theme include the former Wattle Tree Hotel (later *Glendearg*, 196 Wattletree Road), Malvern Town Hall complex, and Prahran Town Hall complex.

Defending Australia

Places within the study area were associated with Australia's response to overseas conflict. Although little physical evidence exists to demonstrate these associations, the places associated with this theme are of interest because they illustrate the many different and varied ways that buildings and people were employed to support the war effort. Places associated with this theme include *Woorigoleen* (demolished), Melbourne High School and *Greenwich House* (now the Chinese Consulate, 75–77 Irving Road, Toorak).

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DEVELOPING LOCAL, REGIONAL & NATIONAL ECONOMIES

Chapter 6





DEVELOPING LOCAL, REGIONAL & NATIONAL ECONOMIES

INTRODUCTION

Early industries in the study area made use of the natural resources of the land, including clay and stone deposits for brickworks and construction materials, and the soil for farming, particularly market gardening, and plant nurseries. These primary industries were gradually displaced by urban development and were eventually replaced by secondary manufacturing in the twentieth century.

Although the study area was not a major industrial centre like Richmond and Collingwood to the north, its industry did have an effect on the development of the area and for a time played an important role in the development of a viable manufacturing base in post-war Victoria. Small-scale manufacturing, mainly around Prahran, produced a range of products, including food, clothing, furniture and vehicles of various kinds, a number of which became household names such as IXL, Kia Ora soft drinks and the Malvern Star bicycle. In addition, many of Australia's captains of industry and commerce who contributed to the development of the national economy made their homes in Toorak.

A major feature of the study area's economic history is the growth of retailing and hospitality activities – this is discussed in detail in the following chapter.

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Developing local, regional and national economies; Working.

HISTORY

6.1 Working the land

6.1.1 Farming and market gardens

As noted in Chapter 3, the original government subdivision of land in the study area created agricultural allotments. Although the sales attracted many speculators, there were many others who settled and farmed the land. Until the 1880s most of the study area was rural, with large parts under cultivation or grazing. Early settlers along the river, such as the Bells at *Avoca*, had small farms (Malone, 2000:7). It was usual for the mansions of the wealthy to be self-sufficient, with dairy cattle, poultry, kitchen gardens, orchards and vineyards (Foster, 1999:43). In the 1870s *Como* had an orchard, orange grove, vegetable garden, piggery, cow shed and hay shed (Fox, 1996).

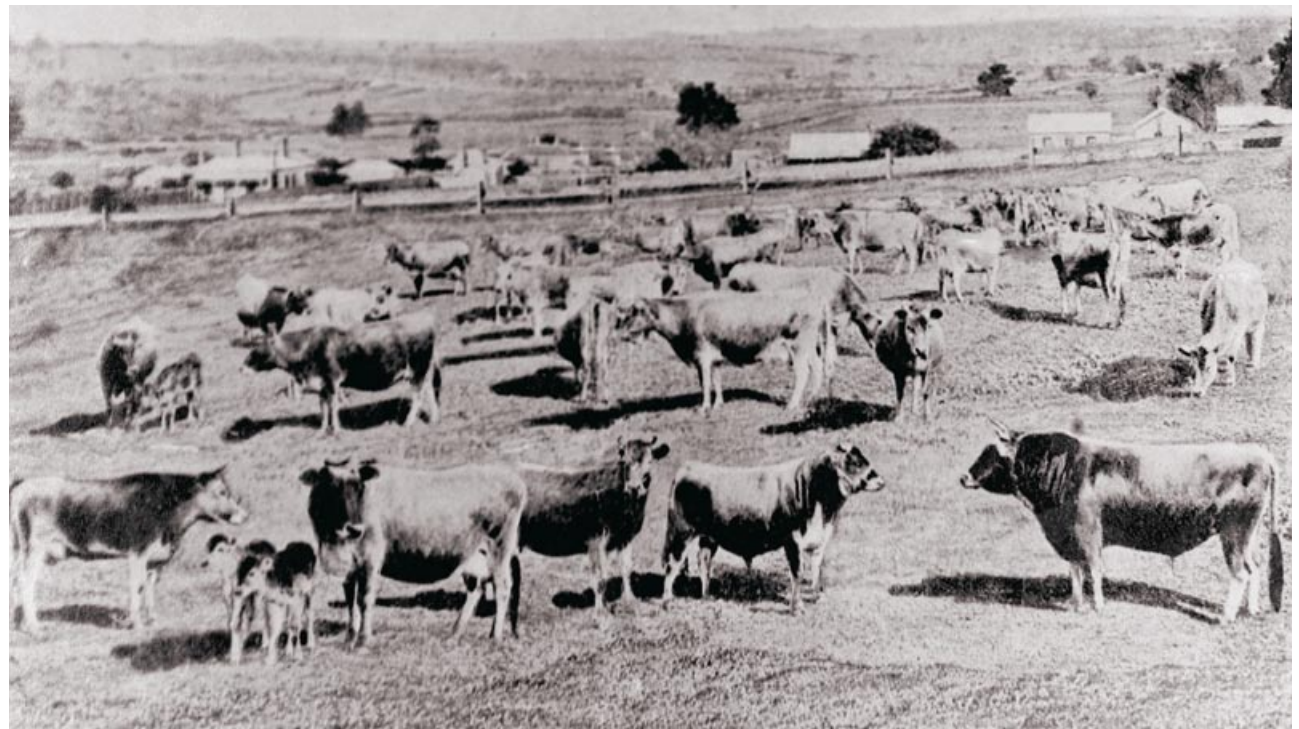
In Prahran, Windsor and parts of South Yarra, much of the ground awaiting development was cultivated as small market gardens in the 1850s and '60s. The early importance of this industry is illustrated by the opening of Prahran Market in 1864 (this is discussed in detail in chapter 7) Malone's sketch map of Prahran in 1856 shows market gardens scattered throughout the area west of Orrong Road (Malone, 1982:12). These were short-lived with the land being opened up for urban development, but further out to the east fruit and vegetable growing was to be the district's mainstay for several decades.

The Malvern municipality was situated in the Oakleigh Division of the Port Phillip region. Here the soil, climate, access to water and proximity to the Melbourne markets (including Prahran Market) combined to make the district suitable for market gardens and orchards.

It was possible to make a living from vegetable growing on small holdings, often leased from the large landholders. Implements were simple and cheap, and the work could be carried out by the gardener and his family (Peel, 1974:123–24; see map showing Divisions, p.14). By 1871 there were 32 market gardens and 26 orchards in the Shire of Gardiner (Bower, 1995). Cooper (1935:84) described the view southwards from the corner of Toorak and Tooronga roads as a ‘chessboard pattern of market gardens’.

Some market gardeners developed large enterprises. In the late 1850s brothers James and William Woodmason commenced growing vegetables on leased land in Malvern. They progressively purchased small parcels of freehold land to consolidate their holdings. William diversified into seed production and dairying. The Woodmasons’ Dairy and Iceworks on the corner of Malvern and Glenferrie roads was a local landmark for many years. William was a judge at agricultural shows, and both brothers were prominent in local government (‘The Woodmasons of Malvern’, Malvern Archives).

Bower has noted that by 1887 there were only 15 market gardens in the Shire of Malvern, mainly in the west. However some market gardens, orchards and dairy farms continued in the eastern part of the shire well into the twentieth century before they were displaced by suburban development. One example is *Nirvana*, a property in Waverley Road, Malvern East, that was purchased at the Crown land sales in 1857 by Peter Tulloch, who developed a market garden, which survived until the land was subdivided c.1913.

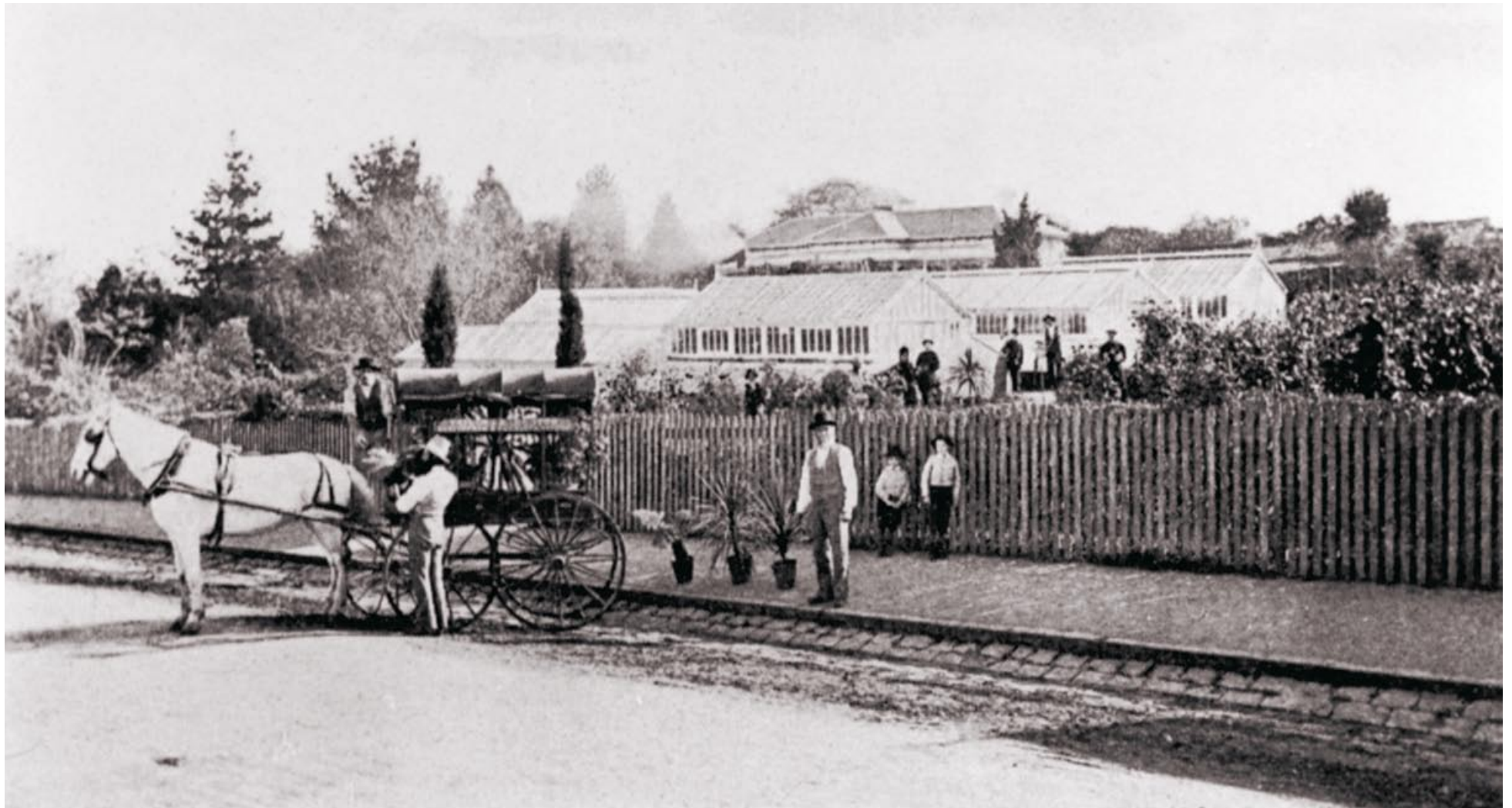


lix Woodmason dairy herd at Malvern.
[SLHC Reg. No. 1248]

Developing local, regional & national economies

ix Nursery of Messrs Taylor & Sangster, c.1906.

[SLHC Reg. No.2406.2]



6.1.2 Nurseries

While the study area did not have a large number of nurseries, some of the most important were in South Yarra and Toorak. Hubbard (1992:16) notes that ‘The early businesses took advantage of the relatively cheap semi-rural land values, the proximity to clients’ gardens and a moderate micro-climate’. Many were located on or near Gardiners Creek Road (now Toorak Road). As we shall see, the creation of beautiful gardens is an important theme in the study area and many nurserymen appeared to have worked in or designed these gardens as well.

Probably the most important nurserymen, not only within the study area but also Victoria, were William Taylor and William Sangster. Together they established a nursery at the corner of Wallace Avenue and what is now Toorak Road in 1867, which survived at least until World War I. Sangster, who was considered to be the leading landscape designer of his day, worked at the Royal Botanic Gardens before becoming the head gardener at Como in 1855. Other important early nurserymen included Smith and Adamson (c.1860), Handasyde and McMillan (c.1850s–60s), and Joseph Harris (c.1870), who was also MLA for South Yarra (Hubbard 1992:17–18).



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6.2 Creating a manufacturing industry for Victoria

Although the study area is not now a major industrial centre, it did make a significant contribution to Victoria’s manufacturing history apart from the brick and tile making already described. From the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century Prahran was a centre of industry. Its factories, centred on Chapel Street and its environs, employed many workers from within the suburb and beyond. There have also been a few significant manufacturers in other parts of the study area. The industries that developed during the nineteenth century were generally small enterprises, although there were a few factories employing hundreds of workers. The main industries represented were food processing and clothing, furniture making, and industries associated with transport and the building trade.

In the latter part of the twentieth century business restructuring, industry rationalisation, rising land values and the loss of tariff protection forced these industries out of the study area – either to more modern factories on cheaper land elsewhere, or, in the case of manufactured products that can no longer compete with imports, to oblivion.

6.2.1 Brick and tile manufacturing

As we have seen in chapter 2.1.2, the natural deposits of alluvial clay in the study area coupled with the high demand for building materials in early Melbourne, particularly in the gold boom years of the 1850s, meant that brick and tile making became the chief industry.

From at least the early 1840s small operators were working in the low-lying parts of South Yarra, Prahran and Windsor, but the northern end of Chapel Street from Toorak Road to the river became the major centre of brick production. The longest running works was on the corner of Toorak Road, where Robert ‘Daddy’ Davis quarried the clay for three decades. His brickworks were the forerunner of the Australian Gas Retort and Firebrick Manufactory, later known as the South Yarra Firebrick Company, which continued operations into the 1970s. Another large brickworks from the 1850s was Hart and Preston’s in Malcolm Street, South Yarra (Malone, 2000:8–9).

Two electrical appliance factories moved into the space left by brickworks after the clay deposits at the northern end of Chapel Street were exhausted: Hecla opened in 1925 and Electrolux in 1936. Both industries ceased by the 1970s and were replaced by high rise residential development (Malone, 1984:30).

Developing local, regional & national economies

In the Malvern municipality there were ten brickyards in 1871, mainly around Union Street, Armadale, where Thomas Conquest was working the clay in the 1860s. After Conquest's death in 1885, his widow ran the business (Cooper 1935:135). What is now the Robert Menzies Reserve on the south side of Toorak Road in Malvern was the site of the Co-operative Brick Company, which manufactured a brick trademarked 'Spear', named for one of the owners. The brickworks used a Hoffman Kiln, which operated into the late 1970s (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.109). In Malvern Henry Cawkwell's Tile Works, which commenced in 1870, made the tessellated tiles that were fashionable as paving for front verandahs of Victorian era houses. Cawkwell's tiles were used in many of Victoria's public buildings (*A Place in History*, No.51; *Malvern Heritage Study*, 1992:97).



Ixii Tile worker's cottages at 1 and 3 Cawkwell Street, Malvern. [Context 2005]

Ixi Cawkwell Tile Works (date unknown) showing factory workers.
[SLHC Reg. No. 1450]



6.2.2 Food processing

Food processing became an important industry in the study area during the early twentieth century and a number of the study area's food producers became household names including IXL, Table Talk biscuits, Kia Ora soft drinks and Red Tulip chocolates.

Bread and beer are two commodities that were produced in a small way for local customers before the development of large-scale production concentrated the industry in the hands of a few large companies. There were a number of early breweries in Prahran. The Victoria Brewery commenced in Chapel Street in 1858, and lasted almost twenty years. It is not known whether this brewery was absorbed into one of the larger brewing companies such as Carlton United. In 1876 the building was taken over by the Victorian Jam Company and for a century it was known as the Jam Factory. The factory utilised produce grown near Melbourne, preserving fruit and vegetables and making jam for the national and export market. The Jam Factory became Prahran's largest employer, with up to 1000 workers, many of them women, employed in the busy season. Following changes of ownership, the factory became part of Henry Jones' IXL Company. As the orchards and market gardens close to Melbourne were replaced by suburban development, the company's operations were moved closer to suppliers in the Shepparton district and Dandenong Ranges. The factory was closed in the 1970s and was converted into a retail and entertainment centre (Malone, 1983:46–9, 2000:52–3; Wilde, 1993:155).

The Stockdale family opened their first bakery in Prahran in 1860. Over the years they expanded, until in the 1920s they occupied the site of the former tramways engine house. Their 'model', Capitol Bakeries, designed by prominent architects Norris and Partners, became a landmark on the corner of Chapel Street and Toorak Road. Other large well-known bakeries in the mid-twentieth century were Gawith's in South Yarra and Golden Crust in Armadale. Golden Crust also produced pasta and other grain-based foods.

In the pharmaceutical industry, Aspro, first made in Windsor by the Nicholas brothers, became another household name. The Nicholas family mansion *Homeden* in Toorak has been demolished, but the Nicolas's garage, formerly the stables, survives at 3 Lawrenny Court (Malone 1999:2, 2001:23–4, 2004:9; Wilde, 1993:132; *Prahran Conservation Study*, p.3–26).

Ixiii Former Capitol Bakeries at the corner of Chapel Street and Toorak Road, South Yarra. [Context 2005]



Developing local, regional & national economies

6.2.3 Clothing

Prahran and South Yarra were also centres for clothing factories, knitting mills and milliners from the 1870s well into the second half of the twentieth century. Enterprises ranged from small dressmakers like Mrs Bury, who worked from her Chapel Street home in the 1850s and '60s, to the Swinborns' shirt factory set up in a house in Commercial Road around the same time, and the Barcol Manufacturing Company, which had knitting mills behind Holt's Building in the 1920s (Malone, 1983:46, 1999:21–2, 2001:46). Wilde has noted that in the 1920s Prahran had two millinery factories, a men's hat maker, six 'costumes and dresses' factories, five knitted goods factories and five tailors. These were the larger clothing businesses, employing up to thirty people. Many more people worked, like Mrs Bury, at home or in small workrooms above the shop, producing made-to-measure garments for individual customers. New factories were still being opened in the 1940s and '50s, such as Newman's raincoat factory, which employed post-war immigrants (Wilde, 1993:150–52; Malone, 1984:43–44). The Acme Knitting Mills Dyers and Bleachers were still operating at 556 Chapel Street, South Yarra, in the 1980s, and the Sheraton Shirt factory in River Street, South Yarra, was still in operation in 1979 (Malone, 1983:46; recorded interview with Jessie, 25 March 1999, PH and AS).

Ixiv The 3000th house leaves the HCV Holmesglen factory on 10 May 1951.

[SLHC Reg. No. 2151]



6.2.4 Other manufactured goods

Apart from the brickworks in the study area, another early contribution to the building industry was George Pepper's factory in Prahran. Pepper made moulds for the decorative plasterwork, such as ceiling roses, widely used in Victorian houses (Malone, 2001: 51).

A later, but major contribution to Victoria's building industry was that of the Housing Commission's factory at Holmesglen, which between 1946 and 1980 manufactured many thousands of prefabricated concrete houses as a quick and cheap solution to the post-war housing shortage. These houses and high rise apartments were built throughout Melbourne, including Prahran, and regional Victoria. The Holmesglen factory was a former Commonwealth armaments factory, and is now part of Holmesglen College of TAFE (*A Place in History*, p.68).

Thomson's Steam Car, believed to be the first Australian made motor car, was built in 1896 by Herbert Thomson at his workshop at 835 High Street, Armadale. The vehicle was powered by steam, with a water tube boiler heated by kerosene. Thomson supplied vehicles to the Metropolitan Fire Brigade (*A Place in History*, p.40).

Another household name that had its origins in the area was the Malvern Star bicycle, which was first made in 1903 by champion cyclist Thomas Finnigan in his shop at 185 Glenferrie Road. The business was bought by (Sir) Bruce Small in 1920 and the headquarters moved to Prahran in 1925. Later the headquarters and factory were moved outside the study area. Champion cyclist and politician (Sir) Hubert Opperman was associated with the firm after it was sold to (Sir) Bruce Small, when it became the largest of its kind in the Southern Hemisphere (*A Place in History*, p.55; 'Silver Anniversary: Allied Bruce Small Ltd 1920–1945', Malvern Archives).

6.3 Constructing capital city economies

While Prahran and South Yarra were contributing to Australia's economy through its local industries, parts of the study area were residential suburbs favoured by people who built the business and administrative structures underpinning Australia's economy. Although it was natural for the wealthy to make their homes in the salubrious parts of the study area from the time of early European settlement, the fact that the Governor resided in Toorak from 1854 was also a drawcard for those seeking to enhance their social status. Many businessmen, stockbrokers, financiers, lawyers, bankers and senior government officials built or purchased large houses in Toorak.

Early resident James H.N. Cassell of Hawksburn was Director of Customs for Victoria in the 1850s (Malone 2000:36). Stockbroker James Butters, newly rich from the gold boom, settled in Toorak the 1860s. One of Toorak's many failed land boomers, he sold his property, *Glyn*, to Sir Edward Miller, son of Henry 'Money' Miller, who had established a banking and insurance empire during the gold boom (Foster, 1999:65).



Ixv Malvern Star race showing riders outside a hotel, c.1909.
[SLHC Reg. No. 2712]



Developing local, regional & national economies

Merchant and shipping agent James Lorimer, who built *Greenwich House* in 1869, contributed to Melbourne's developing economy as a founding commissioner of the Melbourne Harbor [sic] Trust and president of the Chamber of Commerce and was a founder of the Free Trade League in the lead-up to Federation. Lorimer was also a Malvern Councillor and Shire President (1878–80), and Member of the Legislative Council. As his wealth, status and family increased Lorimer built a larger house, *Belcroft*, nearby. It was later sold to another of Henry Miller's sons, Albert Miller, who renamed it *Whernside*. That mansion was subsequently inhabited by a series of businessmen, including hotelier Anthony Lucas, managing director of BHP Sir Colin Fraser, Bernard Dowd, Dennis Gowing (better known as used car dealer Kevin Dennis) and Solomon Lew (Foster, 1999:46; *Malvern Heritage Study*, p.381; Strahan, 1989:58–59). *Whernside* thus epitomises the perennial connection between Toorak and big business.

In 1924 Charles Ruwolt, a director of Vickers Ruwolt, a large Abbotsford engineering works, engaged architect Arthur R. Barnes to design a Georgian Revival mansion for him at 11 Glenbervie Road. He lived there until it was purchased by the Education Department in 1951.

Ixvi *Waiora*, c.1900.

[SLHC Reg. No. 5025]



Ixvii A view of *Waiora* today.

[Context 2005]



Other notable founders of business empires included mining magnate and property developer Bowes Kelly, who lived in *Waiora* (321 Glenferrie Road) in the 1880s before he built his mansion *Moorakyne* (demolished) (*Malvern Heritage Study*, pp.151, 273), Essington Lewis, an industrialist who lived at *Kooringa* (demolished) in Toorak, and H.C. Sleigh, founder of Golden Fleece Petroleum, whose house was built in Wallace Avenue in 1936. Prominent retailers include Oliver Gilpin, the proprietor of a national network of chain stores, who lived at *Kia Ora* (demolished) in Finch Street, Malvern East, until the 1930s, and Sidney Myer, whose Toorak house *Cranlana* is still owned by the family.

Ixviii *Cranlana*, c.1910.

[SLHC Reg. No. 12071]



Ixix The entrance gates in 2004.

[SLHC Reg. No. 12073]



Developing local, regional & national economies

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HERITAGE

The theme of *Developing Local, Regional and National Economies* is illustrated by a variety of places that have important heritage values. These values are sometimes expressed in tangible ways, such as by surviving fabric (such as buildings, structures, trees and landscapes), but are also apparent in the associations and meanings embodied by the place for different communities. This chapter provides a summary of values associated with these places and includes a representative list. For further examples, reference should be made to the heritage studies and reports listed in the bibliography.

Working the land

The good arable farming land of the study area enabled many of the large estates to be self sufficient and led to the development of related industries such as nurseries. The proximity of the study area to Melbourne meant that what was not required could be readily sold (from 1864 at the Prahran market) and the study area played an important role as a source of fresh produce for Melbourne at a critical time of its development and well into the twentieth century.

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Places associated with this theme are now extremely rare in the study area. Some known examples include:

- ✧ *Como*, 16 Como Avenue, South Yarra
- ✧ *Avoca*, 8 Gordon Grove, South Yarra
- ✧ The early house at 30 Macfarlan Street, South Yarra, which was associated with a nurseryman

Lillirie, 1089 Malvern Road, and early farmers' cottages at 1215 (demolished) and 1225 Malvern Road, Malvern.

Creating a manufacturing industry for Victoria

The study area was a centre for brick-making – significant in the growth of Melbourne – and, in Prahran from the late nineteenth century, for industries centred on food processing and clothing which produced several Australian household names. The industries developed in the inter-war period, in particular, made a significant contribution to the establishment of a manufacturing base that formed the basis of the Victorian economy during the latter half of the twentieth century.

Places associated with manufacturing are becoming rare in the study area as industries cease and the buildings are demolished or adapted for new uses. Some surviving examples include:

- ✧ Although the factory buildings associated with brick-making have all disappeared, workers' houses are still extant at 73–75 Elizabeth Street, and 1–3 Cawkwell Street, Malvern
- ✧ Factories include the former IXL Jam factory (Chapel Street, South Yarra), former Capitol Bakeries (Cnr. Chapel Street and Toorak Road, South Yarra), a former milliner factory (Grattan Street, Prahran), and the former Housing Commission of Victoria factory at Holmesglen (now Holmesglen College of TAFE)
- ✧ Holt's Building, Chapel Street, Prahran
- ✧ Thomson's workshop, 835 High Street, Malvern
- ✧ Malvern Star shop (former), 185 Glenferrie Road, Malvern.

Creating capital city economies

Throughout its history the study area has been a residential magnet for the wealthy and influential: professionals and founders of business empires who have made a significant contribution to local, state and even national economies. One manifestation of this is the significant number of mansions detailed in the study, many of which are connected to well-known people.

Houses associated with 'the captains of industry' in this chapter include:

- ✧ *Whernside*, 2A Whernside Avenue, Toorak
- ✧ *Waiora*, 321–327 Glenferrie Road, Malvern
- ✧ *Cranlana*, 62 Clendon Road, Toorak
- ✧ *Glenbervie*, 11 Glenbervie Road, Toorak.

RETAILING & HOSPITALITY

Chapter 7

Chapter 7





RETAILING & HOSPITALITY

INTRODUCTION

Retailing is a major theme in the study area. While all areas have shopping centres, in most cases they serve mostly local needs. The study area, on the other hand, is notable for including within its boundaries a number of major centres that serve the metropolitan area (and wider) such as Chapel Street, Glenferrie Road, High Street and Chadstone and illustrate the changing modes of retailing over the past century.

As we shall see, the development of shopping centres throughout the study area strongly reflects the influence of different modes of transport beginning with railways, then tramways in the early twentieth century and, finally, the motor car in the post-war period. At a local level, many early shops were within walking distance of their customers or railway stations – this accounts for the small groups of corner shops scattered throughout residential areas, many now closed. The shopping centres also reflect the changing socio-economic circumstances of suburbs in terms of the mix and range of goods and services provided. The importance of local shopping centres to the area's identity is also discussed.

The chapter concludes with a section on hospitality and entertainment, which illustrates how the hotels of the nineteenth century developed into the fine restaurants and nightclubs that the study area is known for, which attract people from all over Melbourne.

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Developing local, regional and national economies;
Marketing and retailing.

HISTORY

7.1 Serving local communities

As the scattered communities developed throughout the study area, the first 'shopping centres' formed along the main roads (often at a crossroad), or near a hotel or key public buildings, and were usually within walking distance of customers. In the 1850s, for example, a number of shops, hotels and small business were clustered around the corner of Punt and Toorak roads – butcher, bakers, and a hay and corn store – serving the everyday needs of local residents. Shopkeepers lived above the shop, or simply set up shop in the front room of their house. In the smaller back streets, corner shops served the local neighbourhood. Malone notes a few of these shops in Fawkner, Argo, Davis and Phoenix streets, South Yarra (Malone, 1998:10, 11, 38).

Malvern's first shopping centre was the small group of shops around Skinner's village and the Malvern Hill Hotel at the Glenferrie and Malvern roads intersection (Bower, 1995). At the southern end of Glenferrie Road, the Gardiner Hotel and a few stores on the corner of Dandenong Road served the passing trade on the Gippsland stock route and the few local farmhouses in the 1850s. In 1860 Robert Alway opened a general store, known as 'Wattle Store', on the south-west corner of Wattletree and Glenferrie roads. The store was later carried on by Robert's nephew, Adolphus Francis Alway. Real estate agent A.F. Alway (and Son) was established in Glenferrie Road in 1881, and later moved to Station Street. It was one of Malvern's longest running businesses, remaining in the Alway family for 99 years (Malvern Archives).

The coming of the railways led to groups of shops developing around railway stations. At Hawksburn, shops extended along Malvern and Williams roads from the Bush Inn, which was established on the corner by c.1860. After the Oakleigh railway cut through Hawksburn in 1879, a small group of shops was built next to the station there. They included a butcher, dairy, grocer, greengrocer and lolly shop. Local landlord, and estate agent, E. Naylor also had his office and residence there (Malone, 2002:44, 2000:41; Wilde, 1993:135). These shops can still be seen with their iron verandahs, although their use has changed with changing shopping practices. Similar small groups of shops, and sometimes hotels, were also established around other railway stations.

As the electric tram network was developed throughout the study area, new shopping centres sprang up along the new routes. As we shall see, High Street and Glenferrie Road developed into major centres, but a number of small centres also developed, particularly at or near the terminus of routes such as in Waverley Road, Malvern East, and at the intersection of Wattletree and Burke roads, Malvern East.



Ixx Bennett & Woolcock's butcher's shop, Prahran, 1906.
[SLHC Reg. No. 7307]

Retailing & hospitality

7.2 Creating specialised shopping centres

Toorak Village

Toorak Village took shape where part of Balbirnie's estate was subdivided into small allotments between Bruce Street and Toorak Road, then known as Gardiners Creek Road. This was an ideal spot for a shopping centre, as the road had been made to *Toorak House*, a little further on, when it became the residence of the Governor of Victoria in 1854. Notley's Hotel opened in the same year and shops soon clustered around it. By 1858 the shopping strip included a post office agency, blacksmith, carpenter, coach builder, dairy, grocer and draper. As Toorak's local shopping centre, it had a village atmosphere, and in the 1930s there was an attempt to contrive the English village look with Tudor style facades. By the 1940s the Village had developed a special character, with a number of cafes, and speciality shops or 'boutiques' – sweet shops, dressmakers, milliners, florists – run by individual owners seeking to cater for the particular tastes of their wealthy customers. One famous boutique was 'Magg', an exclusive dress shop opened in 1949 by Zara Holt and Betty Grounds. The proprietors' husbands were a prominent politician and architect, respectively (Malone, 2002:13–17; Langmore, 1992:207).

High Street Armadale

At Armadale the shops that clustered along High Street and around the station had a similar village feel to that of Toorak Village, with shopkeepers and customers sharing a sense of community. The Armadale Arcade, built in 1893, had a row of shops with offices above, leading to the station. Nearby, the site of Munro and Baillieu's former real estate office was redeveloped as a picture theatre, which operated from World War I until the introduction of the 'talkies' in the late 1920s (Malone, 2005:24–29). The shopping centre served the local community until the 1950s, although there were a few special shops that attracted customers from further afield. Win Vears remembered High Street in the 1930s:

When I was growing up, High Street – which was the nearest big shopping centre to us – was full of shops, for people [who] wanted to go and do their daily shopping for their fruit, their vegetables, their groceries ... There were four grocers, there were about four butchers, there was the Boomerang Cake Shop, which was known far and wide for their cakes. There was Curtin's – delicatessen, I think you'd call them that. They had a big crest over the door to say they looked after the Governor. Now people would come for miles for different shops like that in that area. There was even, I remember, a Chinese laundry. That was before the war. But it has changed – look at High Street now ... very up-market shopping (recorded interview 5 July 2000, Mecwa).



Ixxi Toorak Village shops, corner of Toorak and Grange roads.
[Context 2005]



Ixxii Former Armadale Arcade in High Street, Armadale.
[Context 2005]

The Armadale shopping centre, like many other small local centres, suffered decline from the 1950s as shopping patterns changed, but later re-invented itself as a specialised antique shopping and tourist centre. The first of many antique shops began appearing around 1940, and the old picture theatre became Sotheby's auction room for antiques and art in 1989 (Malone, 2005:6–8, 26–29). High Street now has many antique stores and markets, plus a range of galleries, old and rare book specialists and restorers and wedding boutiques.

Prahran Market

It seems that dissatisfaction with the Melbourne market among both producers and consumers led to the suggestion that markets for the sale of fresh produce be established in the suburbs. It was argued that growers from the market gardens and orchards to the east of Melbourne would have less distance to cart their produce, thereby bringing cheaper and fresher products for the customer. Prahran Council purchased a site in Greville Street in 1864, but hesitated to develop the site. The Prahran Market eventually commenced in 1868 and was a success. By 1881 the market had outgrown its site. For the next ten years it operated from an area north of Commercial Road, close to the present market site. A new market was built in Commercial Road and opened in 1891. The market attracted shoppers from neighbouring suburbs and other parts of the metropolis, and by the 1920s extensions were necessary. Following a fire in 1950 the market was rebuilt, and it was modernised and redeveloped in 1981. The market gained an early reputation for good produce and remained popular over many generations as produce, stall holders and shoppers reflected the waves of immigrants after World War II. It worked in conjunction with Chapel Street in establishing Prahran as one of Melbourne's leading shopping suburbs (Cooper, 1924:230–33, 253–57; Wilde, 1993:137–40).



lxxiii Commercial Road c.1892 showing Prahran Market at left.
[SLHC Reg. No. 6027]

Retailing & hospitality

7.3 Creating Melbourne's leading shopping centres

This section explores the development of three of the major centres within the study area: Chapel Street, Glenferrie Road and Chadstone Shopping Centre. As noted in the introduction, these centres illustrate the growth of the study area over more than a century, and the influence of various modes of transport.

As we shall see, the decision to locate the municipal buildings of Prahran and Malvern on Chapel Street and Glenferrie Road assisted in their early development. The opening of railways was a boost to early development, but it was the coming of the tramways along the length of each street that enabled the growth that really cemented their reputation among the leading shopping centres in Melbourne.

Almost a century after these two centres were first established a new form of shopping centre was to rise in the east at Chadstone, which was perhaps the most potent expression of the pre-eminence of the motor car in the post-war period.

A 'Shopper's Paradise' – Chapel Street

Commercial Road was originally earmarked as Prahran's main shopping and commercial strip, and a number of businesses were located there in the 1850s. However a few factors undermined the original intention suggested by the name of that road. In 1856 both the Court House and the Mechanics' Institute were built in Chapel Street, the former on the corner of Greville Street and the latter a little to the north. The Mechanics' Institute was the venue for early meetings of the Prahran Council (Cooper, 1924:110–12, 156), as well as other community meetings. Two hotels built in the 1850s – the Royal George, on the opposite corner of Greville Street to the Court House, and the Prahran, on the south-west corner of Commercial Road – also brought people to this part of Chapel Street. In 1860 this was the vicinity selected as the site for the new Town Hall, which opened in 1861, completing the public precinct for the small Prahran community (Malone, 1983:53, see map of Central Prahran 1860–1865; Malone, 1999:4–7). The construction of the bridge across the Yarra River at the northern end of Chapel Street in 1857 diverted traffic from Commercial Road. The arrival of the railway and opening of the Prahran Railway Station in 1860 finally sealed the fortunes of the central part of Chapel Street, and also led to the development of a subsidiary centre along Greville Street leading to the station.

Soon the stretch of Chapel Street between Commercial Road and High Street, on both sides, was full of shops of all kinds, supplying the everyday needs of local residents. Early shops were small, mostly single-storey buildings, with living quarters for the shopkeepers and their families behind. Later shops were larger and had a second storey for the family residence (Malone, 1983:17).

The 1880s boom brought further growth, and larger and more impressive shops were built. The establishment of branches of several large banks in the strip confirmed Chapel Street's supremacy as a retail and commercial centre (Allom Lovell, 2000:45). Although the trains were already bringing shoppers from further afield, it was the arrival of the cable trams in 1888, bringing people right through the shopping area, which really set the seal on Chapel Street as one of Melbourne's major shopping centres, which was epitomised by grand retail buildings such as the Prahran Arcade (282–284 Chapel Street). The arcade was erected in 1888–89 and comprised a complex including a hotel, restaurant and café, Turkish baths, and 29 shops.

The depression of the 1890s slowed trade and halted development, but the new century saw the establishment of several department stores and a new spate of shop building on a grand scale. One of the first big emporiums was, appropriately enough, the 'Big Store', which supplied just about everything for the home and opened in 1902. However, most of the grand commercial buildings in Chapel Street, including the large emporiums, were constructed in a five-year period from 1910 including the Osment Buildings (1910–11), Holt's Building (1912), Love and Lewis (1913), while Conway's and The Colosseum were both constructed in 1914.

Perhaps the most impressive of the new department stores was that of Charles Moore, who took over the drapery business of Jacob Read in 1903. Read had established a successful men's clothing firm in the 1870s which had become one of Chapel Street's largest businesses, lending its name to 'Read's Corner'. Moore specialised in ladies fashions, some of which were made in the shop's workroom. Moore retained the old name but expanded the business and rebuilt the shop into a much larger emporium in 1915 (although it was never fully completed along the Chapel Street frontage) (Malone, 1983:21–22; Allom Lovell, 2000:6–12). The large domed building at the intersection of Commercial Road, now known as 'Pran Central', is still a major landmark and icon of the study area.

Chapel Street also had number of furniture stores, the best known being the Maple's Store at the corner of High Street (Malone, 1983:23–28). The variety and choice of shops was an important part of Chapel Street's appeal to shoppers, who could buy everything in one trip, including fruit and vegetables at the market near the corner of Commercial Road. Chapel Street's heyday was in the 1920s, when it reigned supreme among Melbourne's shopping centres. According to Cooper, writing in 1923:

Chapel Street has often been described by the wholesale merchants, the princes of Flinders-lane, as the best shopping centre in the whole of Australia (Cooper, 1924:49).

Even Cooper thought this may have been an exaggeration, but the statement does indicate the importance of Chapel Street to the clothing and fashion industry, then controlled from Flinders Lane, Melbourne.

After the Depression of the 1930s, Chapel Street had stronger competition from city shops, especially the large department stores such as Myer and Buckley and Nunn. Nevertheless, Chapel Street's popularity among suburban shoppers continued until the 1950s, when the car began to replace trams and trains as transport for shopping trips. Parking was difficult in and around Chapel Street, although the council did try to provide parking space. As discussed later in this section, the opening of a new concept in shopping at Chadstone in 1960 further changed people's ways of shopping.

In the late twentieth century various attempts to revitalise Chapel Street included the conversion of Read's into Pran Central, and the former IXL Jam Factory into a shopping arcade. Central Chapel Street became a trendy centre of fashion and entertainment for the new population of professionals who now reside in Prahran and other inner suburbs.

The Windsor Quarter at the southern end of Chapel Street has in recent years developed a strong focus on art, music and alternative lifestyles brought about by a strong student presence.

Retailing & hospitality

Glenferrie Road

The shopping precinct in Glenferrie Road, extending from High Street to Dandenong Road, developed later than the Chapel Street shopping centre, and although some of the first shops were established as early as the 1850s it is very much a product of the 1880s land boom. As we have seen, the opening of the railway line from South Yarra to Oakleigh in 1879 brought the beginnings of suburban development and during the economic and land boom of the 1880s many acres of market gardens were subdivided into housing estates. Residential settlement in turn stimulated commercial development, which began around the railway stations.

Glenferrie Road had its beginnings in the small shopping strip that developed beside Malvern Station along Station Street between the south end of Glenferrie Road and Claremont Avenue. Meanwhile, as we have seen, a similar centre was formed in High Street around Armadale Station (Raworth and Foster 1997).

Ixxiv Glenferrie Road c.1915 looking south.

[SLHC Reg. No. 679]



As at Prahran, it was the establishment of the civic complex – the Shire Hall, with the Court House and Public Library – that eventually determined the size and boundaries of Malvern’s main commercial centre. The impressive civic centre on the corner of High Street and Glenferrie Road was opened in 1886, forming one point of a triangle with the other two points at Armadale and Malvern stations. The new *Town Hall Estate*, diagonally opposite, was sold in 1888 and included commercial sites along High Street. The E S and A Bank was built on the south-east corner. A large number of storekeepers and tradespeople established businesses along Glenferrie Road before the economic crash of the 1890s temporarily halted development.

Commercial growth re-commenced in the new century. The next boost came with the development of the tram network of the Prahran and Malvern Tramways Trust from 1910, which ensured the continued growth of the shopping centre. The development of the centre followed the tram route along Glenferrie Road from Dandenong Road to the High Street intersection, thence along High Street where it met the group of shops around Armadale Station. At its peak the centre included seven banks and several theatres (Raworth and Foster, 1997). Over the years Glenferrie Road and High Street shopping centre has rivalled Chapel Street, and in the 1920s attracted crowds of Friday night shoppers nearly as large as those in Chapel Street (Malone, 2005:25).

Chadstone

In 1960 a ‘new era in suburban shopping’ was introduced with the opening of Melbourne’s first regional shopping centre. It was built on thirty acres of the former farm of the Convent of the Good Shepherd at Chadstone. The shopping centre was developed by Myer, with the first suburban Myer department store as its centrepiece, plus 72 shops, a supermarket, child minding facilities and other conveniences, all under one roof. Shoppers need not depend on trams or trains, because twenty of the thirty acres was given over to car parking. It is interesting that in 1960 it was assumed that the average woman was not a driver. *The Malvern Advertiser* suggested that housewives may like to take their driving lessons while travelling to or from the new shopping centre. Following its purchase by the Gandel Group in 1983, the Chadstone Shopping Centre was enlarged by twenty-six percent, and further extensions have subsequently been made, increasing the number of shops to around 400 and adding an entertainment precinct. The present, much larger, centre bears little resemblance to the original centre as it opened in 1960 (*A Place in History*, p.69; Strahan, 1989:241–42 and 270–71).



Ixxv Aerial view of Chadstone (looking south) in 1960 – note the Convent of the Good Shepherd in the upper right corner. [SLHC Reg. No. 1077]

Retailing & hospitality

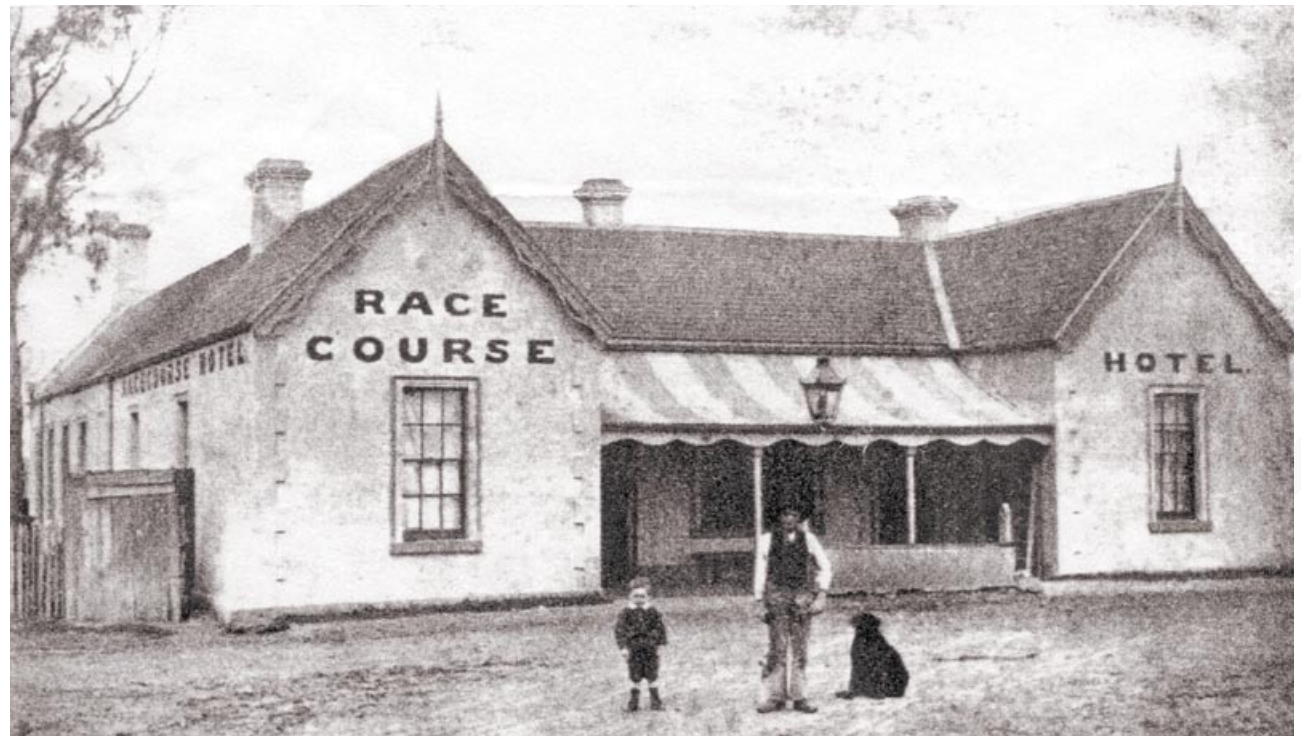
7.4 Providing hospitality and entertainment

7.4.1 Early hotels

Early inns or hotels were established along the main tracks and at crossroads to provide accommodation and refreshments for travellers, and were usually the first commercial buildings in a settlement. As communities grew, hotels became meeting places and centres of social life. Prahran had over twenty hotels in the 1850s and this number had more than doubled to 50 in 1888. Many would have been small local pubs, where brickmakers or other local workers sought refreshment after the day's work. Malone mentions the 'sing-song' evenings at hotels such as the Prince Albert in Chapel Street, Windsor. Many were situated in the small back streets off the main roads (Malone, 1983:53, 1988:10).

Malvern's first hotel, the *Malvern Hill*, was built on the corner of Glenferrie and Malvern roads in 1853 to encourage settlement in Skinner's estate. The original timber building was replaced by the present two-storey brick building in 1861. Another early hotel in Malvern was the *Wattle Tree*, where early meetings of the Gardiner Road Board were held. This hotel closed in 1866, but the building remains at 196 Wattletree Road (*A Place in History*, p.58).

lxxvi Racecourse Hotel, c.1858 [SLHC Reg. No. 8220]
and (below) the hotel today. [Context 2005]



The *Racecourse Hotel* was built in 1858 by Rody Heffernan, on the corner of Scotchman's Creek (Waverley) Road and the Main Dandenong Road. Heffernan owned substantial landholdings in the district, and had run several hotels in Melbourne, including the Horse and Jockey. He had an interest in horse racing, and it is believed that the clearing of land for a racecourse at Caulfield in 1857 encouraged Heffernan to purchase the prominent site opposite. A blacksmith's forge was established next to the hotel for the benefit of stockmen and travellers on the Main Dandenong Road. By 1866 the hotel had been enlarged to 12 rooms and John Graham was the 'beerhouse keeper'. After John died his widow, Margaret, ran the hotel until 1911. The original building has had a number of alterations and extensions, including the addition of a second storey and Spanish Mission style façade in 1926 (Malvern Archives).

The *Racecourse Hotel* was one of two hotels that were associated with the nearby Caulfield Racecourse. The other was the *Turf Club Hotel*, which was established in 1871 on a site on the north side of Dandenong Road directly opposite the entrance to the course (though the direct connection was lost somewhat when the railway went through in 1879). The original single-storey building was replaced by a two-storey brick hotel in 1923. In 2005, it was occupied by a Dan Murphy liquor store (Malvern Archives).

The pub was an important part of working-class social life, particularly for men. Malone mentions Roderick Marshall, an engine driver living in Armadale in the 1920s, who had:

... a few beers and a Saturday afternoon flutter with the S.P. bookie who worked from the hotel next door (2005:5).

The S.P. (starting price) bookie was a bookmaker who took bets from people who couldn't attend the racecourse. It was an illegal form of gambling, but was popular among working-class people until the middle of the twentieth century, when the TAB was set up. The action was centred on pubs and back lanes in Melbourne's inner suburbs, including Prahran (Wilde, 1993:127–28). The present author can remember seeing the S.P. bookies and their customers huddling in the back lanes of Prahran in the 1950s.

Malone (1988) traces the changing role of hotels, from providers of accommodation for travellers, meeting places for local organisations and entertainment venues for the community, through the era of the 'six o'clock swill' that accompanied six o'clock closing from 1916 to 1966, reducing the activities of many hotels to the bar trade.

Retailing & hospitality

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7.4.2 Developing a modern hospitality industry

The gradual relaxation of Victoria's restrictive liquor laws from the late 1960s revived the hospitality industry, and brought new opportunities for entertainment in the study area, particularly in Prahran and South Yarra. Malone has noted the sprinkling of cafes, tea rooms and restaurants in Chapel Street before World War II (1984:26–27). In the 1950s a few European chefs developed fine dining in restaurants such as Maxim's at a time when licensed restaurants were rare in suburban Melbourne. Maxim's was opened in the former *Duke of Edinburgh Hotel* in South Yarra in 1957, becoming a leading restaurant for Melbourne 'society', before moving to *The Como Hotel* in 1989 (Will, 2000).

Since the 1960s many new restaurants, bars, taverns and nightclubs have opened in South Yarra and Prahran, some providing live entertainment such as jazz or rock bands. Many of them occupied early hotels, which changed their name, image and style of service, often more than once, to appeal to new generations of residents and visitors from other parts of Melbourne. In 1988, 27 of the municipality of Prahran's 50 nineteenth-century hotels were still in existence, some rebuilt, many renamed and all modernised. The original *South Yarra Inn*, opened in 1853, has been through a number of guises – *South Yarra Club Hotel*, *Hatter's Castle*, *Trakkers Inn* – surviving a century and a half of changing community needs and tastes on its prominent site at the corner of Punt and Toorak roads (Malone, 1988). The former *Duke of York Hotel* in High Street became *Edward's Tavern*, the *Morning Star* in Chapel Street became *Frost Bite* (Malone, 2001:7, 2000:60).

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As we shall see in Chapter 9, churches were often adapted to suit new congregations and sometimes this happened with hotels and their clientele. In the 1980s, two hotels in close proximity in Commercial Road began to cater for the gay and lesbian community. One, the *Exchange* opened its doors in 1986 and has operated continuously ever since, while the nearby *Market Hotel* opened soon after and, after several incarnations, is now a nightclub. The establishment of these venues has led to several other gay and lesbian businesses opening in the Commercial Road area including Hares and Hyenas, Melbourne's first gay and lesbian bookshop. The opening of these hotels and venues in South Yarra is no mere coincidence; anecdotal evidence suggests that South Yarra and Prahran, like St Kilda, have long been popular places for the gay and lesbian community to live, a fact that may be partly attributed to the high percentage of flat accommodation that has existed in this area since the 1920s (see Chapter 8).

Changes to liquor laws also led to the development of nightclubs, some of which are in former hotels. This is discussed in the historic context of ballrooms and dance halls in Chapter 9.

Ixxvii These images show the development of the South Yarra Club Hotel from the 1860s (top right), South Yarra Club Hotel (below) (date unknown) to the present day (bottom right).

[SLHC Reg. No. 12305 and 7430] [Context 2005]



[La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria. Accession number: H83.376]

Retailing & hospitality

HERITAGE

The theme of *Retailing and Hospitality* is illustrated by a variety of places that have important heritage values. These values are sometimes expressed in tangible ways, such as by surviving fabric (such as buildings, structures, trees and landscapes), but are also apparent in the associations and meanings embodied by the place for different communities. This chapter provides a summary of values associated with these places and provides a representative list. For further examples, reference should be made to the heritage studies and reports listed in the bibliography.

Retailing

Retailing was, and is, of major significance to the study area and to Melbourne as a whole. The study area's retail development is linked directly to the evolution of different modes of transport beginning with railways, then tramways and, finally, motor cars. The ability to chart the changing face of retailing from the late nineteenth century to the present day within the study area is unique in Melbourne.

The shopping centres within the study area contain some of the finest examples of nineteenth- and twentieth-century retail architecture in Melbourne, which reflects the development and prosperity of the centres over many years.

The shopping centres within the study area have strong associations with the communities as places where local people have gathered to work, shop and socialise. They are an integral part of the identity and character of the neighbourhoods within the study area, and of the study area as a whole.

Examples of heritage places associated with the theme of *Retailing* include:

Serving local communities

- ✧ Shops at 338–360 Punt Road, South Yarra – a small Victorian era centre
- ✧ Hawksburn Station shops, Oban Street – a small centre associated with a railway station
- ✧ Central Park shopping centre and Waverley Road, Malvern East, are examples of inter-war centres around a tram terminus.

Creating specialised shopping centres

- ✧ Toorak Village
- ✧ High Street, Armadale
- ✧ Prahran Market.



Ixxviii Mrs Ethel May O'Mullane in front of her ladies' drapers/haberdashery, 198 Glenferrie Road, Malvern, 1918. [SLHC Reg. No. 58]

Creating Melbourne's leading shopping centres

- ✦ Chapel Street between Dandenong Road and Toorak Road. The centre includes early one and two-storey shops south of High Street, the 'emporia' district between High Street and Commercial Road, and the Victorian and Edwardian speciality shops between Commercial and Toorak roads
- ✦ Glenferrie Road (between High Street and Dandenong Road), which is a very intact Victorian and Edwardian shopping centre
- ✦ Chadstone Shopping Centre.



Ixxix *The changing face of hotel design - the Duke of Edinburgh Hotel in Toorak Road as seen in 1870 (left) and a c.1940 view (above) of the Hotel Max in Commercial Road, the streamlined Moderne style.* [SLHC Reg. No. 7498 and 12294]

[La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria. Accession number: H92.20/426]

Retailing & hospitality

Providing hospitality and entertainment

The places associated with the hospitality and entertainment industry provide evidence of how people in the study area and Melbourne generally have wined, dined and socialised over many years. Hotels have always been important meeting places and centres of social life and the study area is no exception. What is of particular interest in the study area is how the places associated with the hospitality industry were adapted and developed to serve the changing needs of specific groups such as the wealthy residents, migrants and, more recently, the gay and lesbian community. Toorak and South Yarra became notable centres of Melbourne's nightlife in the post-war period and many of Melbourne's earliest fine restaurants and nightclubs were within the study area.

Examples of heritage places associated with the theme of *Providing Hospitality and Entertainment* include:

- ✦ Racecourse Hotel, cnr. Waverley Road and Dandenong Road, Malvern East
- ✦ Former South Yarra Club Hotel, cnr. Toorak Road and Punt Road, South Yarra
- ✦ Former Wattle Tree Hotel, 196 Wattletree Road, Malvern
- ✦ Malvern Hill Hotel, cnr. Malvern Road and Glenferrie Road, Toorak
- ✦ Former Duke of Edinburgh Hotel (later Maxim's Restaurant), Toorak Road, South Yarra
- ✦ Exchange Hotel, Commercial Road, South Yarra.

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BUILDING SUBURBS

Chapter 8





BUILDING SUBURBS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter specifically considers the residential buildings associated with the development of suburbs and examines how wealth and social status were reflected in the design and siting of houses, creating neighbourhoods often ‘cheek by jowl’, but often with vastly different characters. As we have seen in Chapter 3, from the earliest time of settlement, the more desirable higher ground was claimed by upper and middle class residents, leaving the less-desirable (and often flood-prone) lower reaches to workers’ housing and industry.

Of major significance to the history of the study area is the social and physical development of some of Australia’s most prestigious suburbs, particularly Toorak. The growth of middle-class suburbs such as Malvern is discussed in the context of middle-class suburban aspirations, economic booms and recessions, and the development of public transport routes that influenced their creation. The working-class residential areas reflect the original topography and their relationship with the local industries, and include the Housing Commission flats built in the mid-twentieth century.

This chapter also considers the way the physical fabric of the residential properties represents the lifestyles of the wealthy and middle class, and explores the strong tradition of patronage of leading architects by wealthy residents. The list of architects whose work is represented in the study area reads like a ‘who’s who’ of Australian architectural practice. Some architects also lived within the study area in their own creations.

Some very significant changes have affected the study area through the twentieth century – firstly, the trend to shared accommodation and flat building from quite early in the century, and more recently the gentrification of much of the old working-class housing stock.

Finally, the chapter outlines the creation of the pleasant private and public landscapes, particularly the public gardens and tree-lined boulevards that have been a notable feature of the study area since the late nineteenth century and contribute so much to the character and identity of Stonnington today.

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Building settlements, towns and cities; Planning urban settlements; Developing Australia’s cultural life.

HISTORY

8.1 Creating Australia's most prestigious suburbs

8.1.1 Self-made men and landed gentry

As de Serville has pointed out, Toorak 'was the only suburb to acquire and keep a name which was synonymous in the public mind with wealth, extravagance and display'. Toorak's 'climb to fashionable pre-eminence' was due to its pleasing topographical features and the presence of the Governor's residence from 1854 (de Serville, 1991:147). As we have seen, Toorak and the higher parts of South Yarra were settled by pastoralists, army officers, merchants and people in the higher ranks of the professions, particularly law. According to de Serville, they tended to be self-made men, rather than gentlemen of the English upper class, and Victorian colonial society was very conscious of this class distinction. Early colonial 'society' consisted of English landed gentry and high government officials, but few of them actually lived in the study area.

The old distinctions between traditional society and the newly rich were challenged during the gold rushes, when fortunes were made by those supplying the needs of the gold generation. Nevertheless, even when James Paxton was growing up in the early twentieth century, there were still traces of the old social divide:

The inhabitants of Toorak were mostly the families of professional men or those with private means. Many wealthy graziers (invariably called squatters until recently) also lived there, preferring to live an urban life rather than on their country properties for which they employed managers.

However, wealth had no bearing on social acceptability. Family background, relationships and profession were the measuring stick. Quite a few wealthy and successful business men lived in Toorak but those in retail trade were never admitted into the magic circle (Paxton, 1983:18).

One of the early Toorak settlers who did make his money from the retail trade was Henry Duggleish, who prospered from trading on the goldfields. He built *Beaulieu* in the late 1850s, and sold it to the founder of the Buckley and Nunn store in Bourke Street, Melbourne (now David Jones). The property, in Heyington Place, is now part of St Catherine's School (Malone, 2004:15–16). A later, extremely successful retailer to establish his home in Toorak was Sir Sidney Myer. In 1920 Myer and his wife Merlyn (nee Baillieu) bought and renovated *Fyans Lodge*, formerly the home of a Western District squatting family, renaming it *Cranlana* (Malone, 2004:44).



lxxx *Beaulieu, c.1890.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 7863]



lxxxi *Interior of Beaulieu, showing the main vestibule, c.1904.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 7866]

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Another Toorak resident who was accepted into colonial 'society' was barrister Edward Eyre Williams, who became a Supreme Court judge in 1852. Williams built a single-storey house in South Yarra, which he and his wife Jessie called *Como*. This house and property is interesting in that it shows the layers of history, representing the status and aspirations of a series of owners, and thus helps to explain the rise to pre-eminence of Toorak in particular, but also South Yarra, which is *Como*'s address.

8.1.2 Seats of the mighty – mansion estates in the nineteenth century

As we have seen, the 'wealth, extravagance and display' described by de Serville was often manifested in the construction of a suitably impressive mansion, usually set within expansive grounds. These 'seats of the mighty' were not all in Toorak, with *Stonington* and *Moorakyn* part of a group lining the east side of Glenferrie Road, Malvern, while others were in Kooyong.

Sometimes, as in the case of *Como*, houses were enlarged by successive owners. The 1852 *Como* constructed by the Williams family was grand by the standards of its time, but it was vastly enlarged and changed by later owners. *Como*'s third owner John Brown, was a self-made man, having started colonial life as a builder, grown rich through land speculation, and was a successful wine merchant at the time he purchased the property in 1853. Brown and his wife Helen, were not accepted into society, but spared no expense in developing the house and gardens so that they could entertain lavishly. Unfortunately Brown's financial situation deteriorated, and *Como* was sold in 1864. The new owner was wealthy pastoralist Charles Henry Armytage, whose father had established a squatting dynasty in the Western District. Charles' mother was the daughter of a convict, and his wife, Caroline, was the daughter of English gentry, albeit impoverished. In only one generation the gentry had cancelled out the convict, and the Armytages were accepted into society. *Como* was again enlarged and enhanced to accommodate the social lifestyle and reflect the wealth of its owners. After Charles died in 1876, Caroline maintained *Como*, and the lifestyle of a wealthy squatting family, even through the depression of the 1890s. *Como* remained as the city home of the Armytage family, although most of the land was sold off for housing subdivision, until in 1959 the remaining daughters of Charles and Caroline virtually gave the property to the National Trust (Fox 1996).

As Victoria's boom progressed, the mansions became more elaborate, one of the best examples being *Illawarra*, built by land-boomer, Charles Henry James in 1891. *Illawarra* and several other boom-time mansions in the study area have already been mentioned in Chapter 3.

After the collapse of the boom, many mansions were put to other uses, subdivided or demolished. Sometimes, as in the case of the Miller family's *Glyn* (Kooyong Road) or the Gurner family's *Glyndebourne*, mansions were rebuilt in a more modern style (Foster, 1999:65).

8.1.3 The end of an era – mansion estate subdivisions in the twentieth century

From quite early on large estates were beginning to be subdivided, leaving the mansion surrounded by an acre or two of garden. After the last Governor departed from *Toorak House* in 1875, the Toorak Estate was subdivided by George Lansell, creating Lansell and St George's roads. This is shown in plans lxxxiii (page 126). A number of mansions and large villas including *Homeden*, *The Towers* (both demolished) and *Umina* were built in the vicinity. However, the subdivision of the grand old estates in Toorak began to increase after the turn of the century and particularly after World War I when rising labour costs made the cost of servants and other people to maintain the estates prohibitive.

This process of subdivision created a unique pattern of development, which can still be understood and interpreted today. Although the new subdivisions imposed new road patterns within the original grids, in many cases the new estates and streets bore the names of the old properties, while the original house was retained within its reduced garden. Often the old driveway to the mansion would become a new street – Merriwee Crescent, for example, is the former carriage drive for *Moonga* (Foster, 1999:66). Some mansions, such as *Trawalla* (Wilde, 1993:68) and *Glyndebourne*, survived with reduced land, surrounded by the newer houses, which are often situated on large residential blocks that take advantage of the topography. *Glyndebourne Heights Estate* ‘touching Toorak Road’, offered 16 villa sites in 1915 (agent’s advertisement, in Foster, 1999, after p.69). Often the mansion survived the first subdivision round, only to succumb to demolition in a later subdivision, as did *Moonga*. Similar patterns were repeated throughout Toorak and other parts of the study area during the twentieth century, and can now be seen in the variety of housing styles representing the different eras in which the estates were subdivided.

The area centred on Albany Road demonstrates this process (see Foster, 1999 Chapters 5 and 6). In another part of Toorak a small estate at St George’s Court replaced the large Federation villa, *Kildrum*, which in turn had been built on two blocks of Lansell’s subdivision of the Toorak Estate. *Kildrum* had a life of only 38 years, succumbing to the pressure of development just before World War II. The group of houses – most designed by leading architects – subsequently built in St George’s Court demonstrates the continued development of Toorak as an affluent suburb up to the war. One prominent resident of the Court was Harold Winthrop Clapp, Chairman of the Victorian Railways Commissioners from 1920 to 1939, who lived at No. 11 (Raworth, 1997). Clapp was the son of Francis Boardman Clapp, who was instrumental in developing Melbourne’s cable tram system (*Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2, p.398).

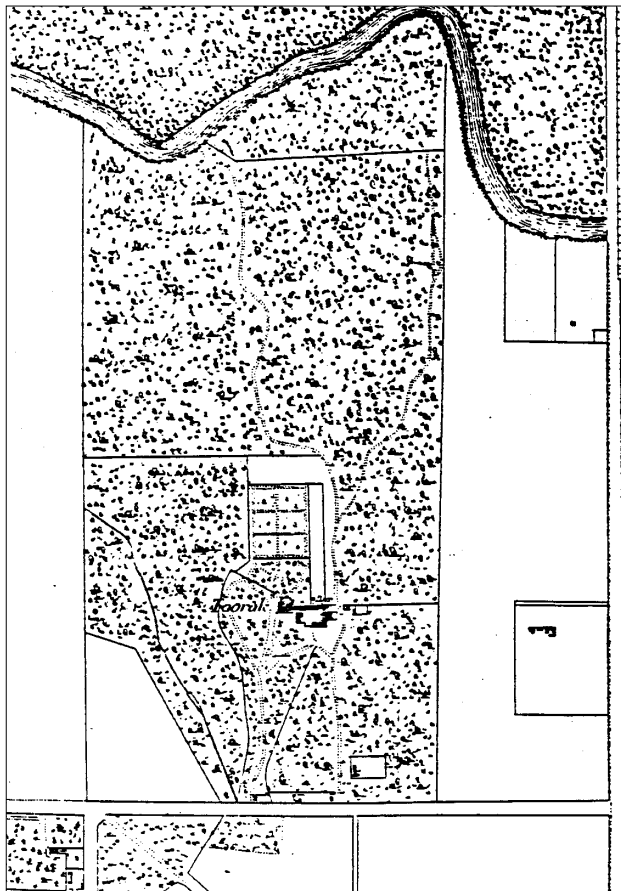
Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, the process of replacing Toorak’s big old houses with big modern houses continued. Increasingly, though, old houses were being replaced by apartment blocks. This will be discussed later. Nevertheless, Toorak has maintained its status as one of Australia’s most prestigious suburbs.



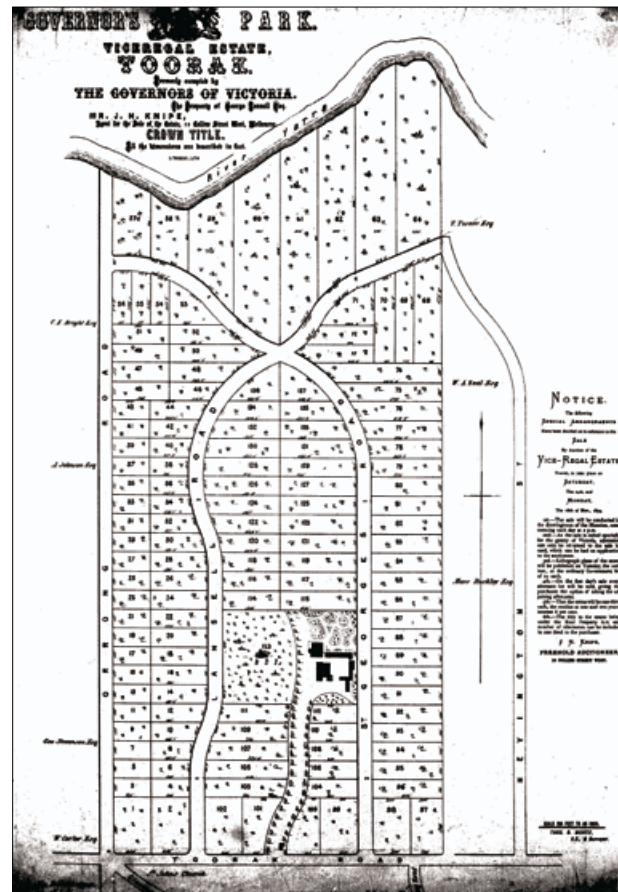
Ixxxii Glyndebourne the old (above with Brenda Gurner in the foreground) in 1903 and the new (below) in 1919. (SLHC Reg. No. 1603 and 1607)

Building suburbs

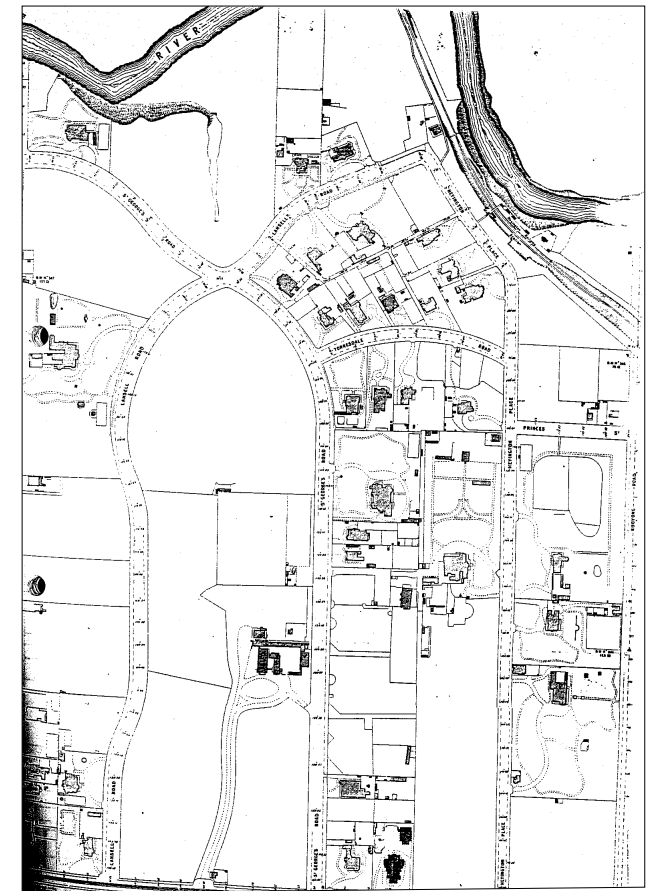
Ixxxiii These plans show the sequence of subdivision of the land originally occupied by Toorak House from 1855 to 1895.



1855 Kearney Plan.
[As reproduced in Context 1991]



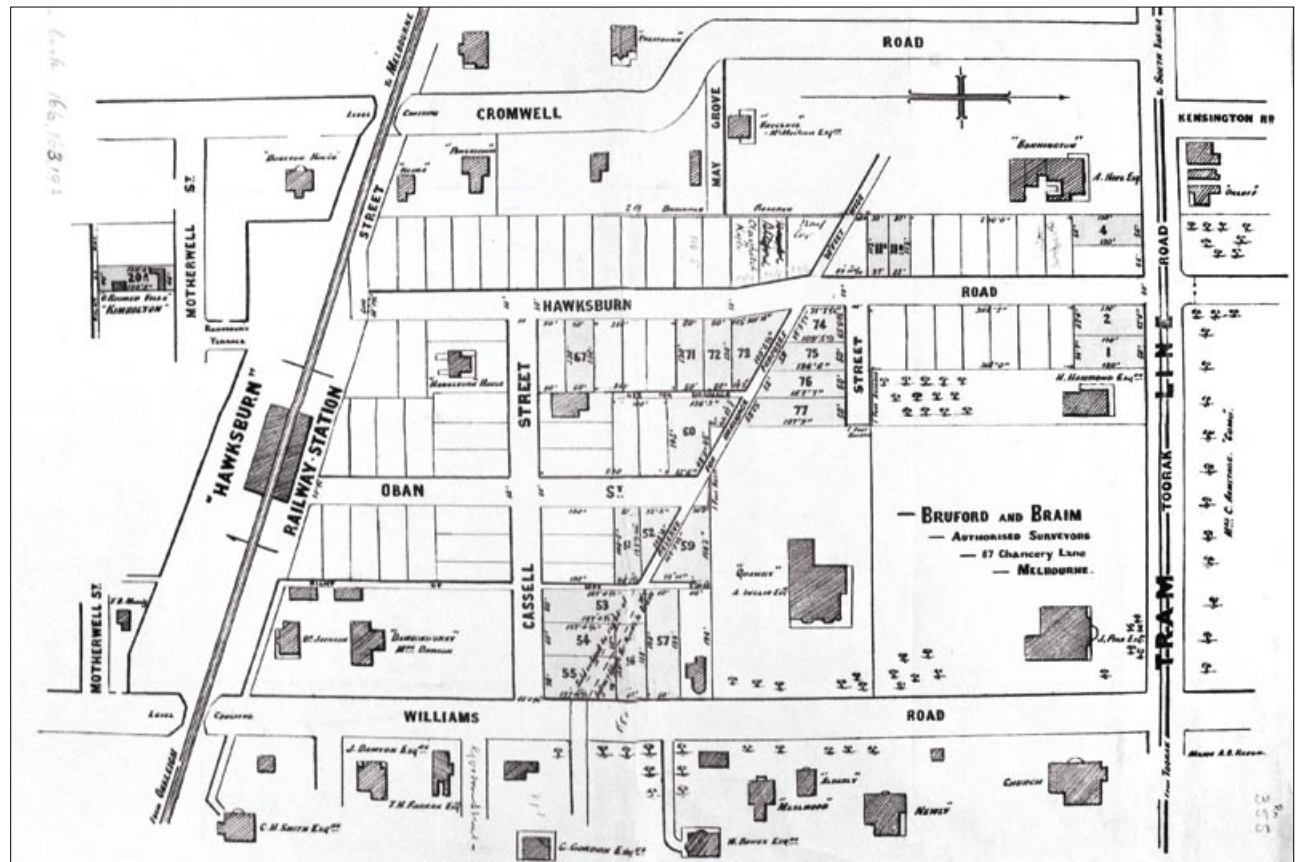
c.1875 Subdivision plan.
[SLHC Reg. No. 11972]



1895 MMBW record plan showing the development of large villas and mansions in the subdivision. [As reproduced in Context 1991]

8.2 Middle-class suburbs and the suburban ideal

The subdivision of large estates was repeated in other parts of the study area from the nineteenth century. At Hawksburn, for example, Martha Cassell, who was widowed in 1853, sold off most of her estate from the 1850–70s, beginning with land at the south-west corner of Toorak Road and Williams Road. Here, the new owners, mostly middle-class businessmen or people from pastoral families, built large houses on relatively small acreages – *Vinterfield*, *Coolullah*, *Quamby*. Mrs Cassell eventually sold all her estate, apart from the house and large garden, taking advantage of the new Oakleigh railway and nearby Hawksburn Station, opened in 1879 (Malone, 2000:36–41). Hawksburn Road shows the resulting pattern of settlement, with the larger two-storey middle-class villas on the higher land near the Hawksburn Station, and near Toorak Road, and smaller single-fronted workers' houses in the lower section in between. Similar middle-class enclaves can be found throughout the former City of Prahran, however, it was in the neighbouring City of Malvern that the development of the 'suburban ideal' was to find its fullest expression.



lxxxiv (above) Subdivision of the Hawksburn Estate, c.1900 and (left) Hawksburn House. [SLHC Reg. Nos. 355 and 2443.2]



Building suburbs

U1

8.2.1 Mansion estates and the high ground - Middle class estates in Prahran

8.2.2 'Country in the city' – suburban development in Malvern before 1920

Davison (1978:145) describes the Victorian cult of the home in the fresh air and tranquillity of the suburbs as a haven from the noise and dirt of the city – the ideal of *rus in urbe* (country in the city) which, through Victoria's prosperity and the growth of the public transport system, became possible for many working people. For most suburbanites this home was a single-storey detached house surrounded by its own garden. On a visit to Australia in the 1880s, Twopeny (1883:37) noted that this was the almost universal preference of Australians. During the boom of the 1880s many people found their ideal piece of *rus in urbe* in the Malvern municipality. Here streets of Victorian villas rapidly began to replace market gardens, especially in the vicinity of the railway lines.



Ixxxv Middle-class villa development c.1905 as viewed from Malvern Town Hall. [SLHC Reg. No. 638]

One of Mathew Davies' boom-era subdivisions, the *Gascoigne Estate*, offered 'character and stability rivalling Toorak and South Yarra', but only 27 houses were built there before the boom collapsed, and only three houses – all of timber – were built during the depression that followed. In the 1890s a number of timber houses were built in Malvern as an economy measure, but some residents complained that wooden houses would degenerate into slums. Concern about this development led to a slum abolition movement known as the 'Minimum Allotment, Anti-Slum and Housing Crusade', which held a conference in 1912 at the Melbourne Town Hall that was attended by the Mayor of Malvern. Subsequently, around 1912, Malvern Council began to declare brick areas – areas where timber houses were not permitted. By 1916 the council had also fixed the minimum area for a housing allotment at 6000 square feet, with minimum frontages of fifty feet (Strahan, 1989:66–7, 69). The regulations were clearly meant to prevent the building of small workers' cottages – Malvern was clearly intended to be a middle-class suburb. However, this did not prevent small groups of 'working-class' cottages and terraces being constructed throughout Malvern, such as the Edwardian-era terraces in Repton Road, not far from the Caulfield Railway Station.

In 1899 development of *Gascoigne Estate* and the neighbouring *Waverley Estate* was revived, partly through small speculative ventures by architecture and building firms. Ussher and Kemp built six six-roomed brick villas on the estate, and similar ventures by other firms followed. The development of Central Park by Malvern Council in 1907, and the opening of the new electric tram-line along Wattle Road in 1910, stimulated further home building by individuals. The houses were eight to ten roomed villas in the Queen Anne style, and many were designed by architects for middle-class clients. This area has been described as 'quintessential Malvern' (Strahan, 1989:64–66; Raworth, 1994:5) and set the standard for much of what followed. The ideal of Malvern as a middle-class enclave was at last being realised.

The expansion of the electric tram system as described in Chapter 4 before World War I brought further suburban development throughout most of the municipality of Malvern. In 1912 it was reported that 800 houses a year were being built in the (by then) City of Malvern, which boasted 'a progress unprecedented by any other suburb'. Much of the new development was then taking place in the Glen Iris Valley (Strahan, 1989:69).

U1

Update 1
Additional words inserted

lxxxvi 'Quintessential Malvern' – The Gables, at 15 Finch Street, Malvern East.
[SLHC Reg. No. 9537]



Building suburbs

Update 1

Renumbered 8.2.2 to 8.2.3

U1

8.2.3 'The City of Real Homes' – development of Malvern after World War I

World War I interrupted further building and much of the south-east of the City of Malvern had to wait until the 1920s for urban development. One of the 1920s subdivisions was Woodmason's *Malvern Park Estate*, the triangle between Waverley and Malvern roads and Albert Street. The publicity material showed houses in Malvern Road with the caption 'Malvern. The City of Real Homes'. Within five years of its subdivision and sale in 1922, the former maize paddocks of the Woodmason dairy farm was almost covered with Californian bungalows and Spanish mission villas. The estate was serviced by a small shopping strip at the junction of Waverley and Malvern Roads (Strahan, 1989:74–75, 77; 'The Woodmasons of Malvern').

The last part of the study area to come under suburban development – the eastern extremity to Warrigal Road – was also part of the Woodmason farm. Most of the area between Gardiners Creek, Warrigal and Waverley roads and the Outer Circle Railway reserve was sold to agent T.M. Burke, who subdivided and offered it as *Malvern Meadows Estate*. The Woodmason family kept a few acres near Warrigal Road, where in 1922 they built their large bungalow, *Green Gables* (formerly at 627 Waverley Road, now demolished). The proposed extension of the railway from Darling to Glen Waverley was expected to pass through the estate and stimulate development, but the financial burden of the *Railway Construction and Betterment Tax* imposed on the properties along the line discouraged home building. The line opened as far as Holmesglen in 1929 – the beginning of the Great Depression – but the estate was used as grazing paddocks until after World War II. After the war people finally began buying the blocks and hiring building companies, such as the Modern Home Advisory Service, to construct their cream brick houses (Raworth and Foster, 1998). Ex-serviceman, Tom Tyrer and his wife bought a block and built a house in The Rialto in the early 1950s:

The Rialto was no road, just an open drain and you couldn't drive a car into it. There was a bridge at the foot of it – footbridge, and very quiet and pleasant living. ... There was a strong community spirit in the street, because when we bought the block of land there were no houses in it, and everyone was building houses. They were generally ex-servicemen, and of course all my children are therefore 'baby boomers' (Recorded interview 3 August 2000, MECWA).

lxxxvii Real estate brochure for Woodmason's Malvern Park Estate, 1922. [SLHC Reg. No. 904]

Update 1 Renumbered 8.2.3 to 8.2.4

The Rialto actually followed the course of a small creek that ran into Gardiners Creek. The creek is now a covered drain surrounded by a strip of undeveloped green space. A small wooded park nearby maintains the rural feel that attracted Tom to the street in the first place.

U1

8.2.4 Gentrification – creating a new middle class

The 1950s saw an exodus of middle-class residents out of parts of the study area. This trend was reversed in the 1970s as the pressure for high rise development in South Yarra and Toorak brought young professionals seeking cheap houses for restoration. Many of Prahran's old cottages brought high prices, squeezing out working-class residents. The new occupants have renovated and extended the cottages, most endeavouring to restore their facades, some more sympathetically to the original than others. A number of the cottages have been completely rebuilt displaying some interesting post-modern architectural uses of the small sites.

8.3 Living in and around Australian houses

8.3.1 Grand houses – servants and extended families

Paxton (1983:11) has described the Toorak mansions that he knew in the early years of the twentieth century:

Most of the larger houses contained a ballroom, billiard-room, and conservatory, as well as the necessary number of rooms for a large family and staff. Their beautifully kept gardens were so spacious, one had to ring a bell to summon the gardeners. Many families travelled in their own carriage, so within their grounds were stables, harness and coach-rooms, and living quarters for the coachman and grooms. The drives and paths inside the properties were always gravelled, as concrete was unknown. Grass or asphalt tennis courts were prevalent, croquet lawns were sometimes another extra, but the Sabbath was sacred and they were never used on Sundays. Every establishment, whether large or small, had a chicken-run and hens were kept for laying eggs and for the table.

The prevalence of tennis courts in Toorak's backyards can be seen in an aerial view taken in 1927, looking south along Glenferrie Road (reproduced in Foster, 1999, following p.87). In later years, swimming pools were an addition to many Toorak backyards. The Nicholas family had a covered swimming pool installed in their garage building at *Homeden* some time around the 1920s while the architect, Marcus Martin, designed the pool and surrounds at *Glyn* (*Malvern Heritage Study*, pp.3–26). In the mid–1960s private swimming pools were still enough of a novelty for several Toorak identities to open their backyards for a fundraising tour of Toorak swimming pools run by the Mercy Hospital (Mercy Hospital for Women archives).



Ixxxviii Aerial view c.1930 looking east over Glen Iris Valley toward Warrigal Road showing undeveloped residential land in the inter-war period. The farm of the Convent of the Good Shepherd, later the site of Chadstone shopping centre is in the upper right corner. [SLHC Reg. No. 12]

Building suburbs

Although the large houses and mansions of the study area were an expression of wealth and status, many of them accommodated large families, which were common until World War I. The Armytages of *Como* had ten children, Octavious Beale, the piano manufacturer of *Oma* (demolished), had thirteen. For those who could afford it, a large house and garden was ideal for a family. However large families were not only the preserve of the wealthy. Lil was one of nine children growing up in a Prahran cottage after World War I. The park was their playground (recorded interview, 24 March 1999, PH and AS).

The 1921 census revealed that the City of Prahran had 160 houses with more than 12 rooms – the greatest concentration of large houses anywhere in Victoria. Such houses were built with servants in mind. *Como* had a large staff to run the house and maintain the garden. *Aberfeldie*, the home of Dr Norman Wettenhall from 1912, had a servants' wing. The provision of conveniences, such as electricity and gas, and labour-saving devices, certainly made a huge difference to housework, but in the 1920s it was still usual for wealthy families to employ a cook and a maid or two. In the 1920s and '30s houses were being designed with maids' rooms, but many houses were also designed for the housewife without home help. The small two-storey 'artistic Georgian house' at 11 Russell Street, Toorak, built in 1930 had a maid's room and 'labour saving devices' such as a servery between kitchen and dining room. World War II gave women new job opportunities. As men joined the services, housemaids took over the men's better-paid factory jobs (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.317; Wilde, 1993:38, 43, 47, 184). The plethora of guest houses in the study area (see below) may have been in part a response to the servant

shortage. Nevertheless some families still employed women to come in part-time. After the war Lil began to work for a Toorak doctor's family – minding children and doing housework – and kept the job for thirty years (Recorded interview, 19 July 2000, MECWA).



lxxxix View of c.1930s pool designed by Marcus Martin at a house in Kooyong Road.
[La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria. Accession number: LTA1929] [SLHC Reg. Nos. 802 and 798]



8.3.2 Gardens

As Paxton pointed out, gardens were an important element of the stately homes of Toorak, and some were designed by prominent gardeners. At Como, the nurseryman William Sangster was responsible for designing the garden for the Brown family, which he maintained for the Armytages until he left to go into business, as part of Taylor and Sangster, in 1866. Sangster also laid out Victoria Gardens in Prahran in the 1880s. Meanwhile Edward La Trobe Bateman, who designed many of the Botanic Gardens around Victoria in the nineteenth century, is said to have designed the original garden at *St George's* (later *Mandeville Hall*) in the 1860s, which during its heyday is thought to have featured a canal complete with a gondola.

In some cases, architects also carried out the landscape design for the houses they accompanied. Walter Butler designed at least two gardens including that at *Warrawee* in 1906 and at *Edzell* at the bottom of St George's Road for George Russell. The former garden is now lost, while the latter is thought to survive. Harold Desbrowe Annear designed the garden at *Cranlana*.

In the twentieth century Edna Walling was engaged to design the gardens of many Toorak homes, including that of *Little Milton* (Albany Road) and 401 Glenferrie Road (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.21). In 1938, she was commissioned by businessman Matt Cuming to design a garden at his newly purchased property at 161–63 Kooyong Road in Toorak, while architect Marcus Martin re-designed the associated Victorian Villa in a modern style. The 'picturesque' garden created by Edna containing formal and informal elements is one of the few of her gardens in the study area to remain largely intact today.



xc Kilgendor and Alsop's Glyn.
[SLHC Reg. No. 9542]



xcj Garden scene at Grosvenor, 1919.
[SLHC Reg. No. 662]

Building suburbs

The 1917 description of the large garden at *Kia Ora*, Gilpin's a ten-roomed villa in Malvern, with its lawns, miniature artificial lake, summer house, fernery, croquet lawn and tennis court is reminiscent of Paxton's description of gardens in Toorak (Strahan, 1989:65). The chicken run is not mentioned, although they were a feature of suburban backyards of all social levels throughout Melbourne to the middle of the twentieth century. Bower (2001) notes many poultry sheds in properties on the Tooronga Closer Settlement Estate.

A garden was part of the *rus in urbe* ideal, whether or not it was designed by a leading landscape gardener. The importance of gardens is evidenced by the formation of the Malvern Horticultural Society in 1907, whose members competed to grow perfect roses and chrysanthemums. In 1914 the *Malvern News* commented that 'it has become a reproach if the citizen's garden plot is not tastefully laid out and adorned with choice flower-beds and a well-tended lawn'. A stroll along any of Malvern's residential streets is sufficient to show the continuing importance of the front garden to the local suburban dweller (Strahan, 1989:46).

8.4 Creating Australia's most 'designed' suburbs

The study area is notable for the strong culture of patronage between architects (or designer-builders) and their often wealthy clients that has existed from the earliest times of settlement and continues to the present day. Walter Butler, for example, was known as the 'society architect' for his long list of well-heeled clients. This has resulted in a much higher than average ratio of architect-designed buildings. Foster (1999), for example, has researched the streets within the area bounded by Toorak, Malvern and Glenferrie roads and Gardiners Creek, and found that in most streets at least half the houses were architect designed. In Albany Road alone 47 of the 61 houses built since 1872 have been attributed to architects.

The consequence of this is one of the most extraordinary collections of residential architecture in Australia, which provides an important record that illustrates the development of almost all major architectural styles and movements since first settlement.

8.4.1 Houses as a symbol of wealth, status and fashion

As we have seen, houses are a measure of wealth and status and by the 1860s architects were in demand as more wealthy settlers moved into the study area. Merchant James Lorimer had his house (later known as *Greenwich House*) in Irving Road, Toorak, built in 1869 to the design of noted architect Leonard Terry. Many early houses were later enlarged by architects, often after they changed hands. The second owner of *St George* (later *Mandeville Hall*), Joseph Clarke, engaged architect Charles Webb to extend the house from its original twelve rooms to thirty rooms.

Chapter 3 has described how architects were particularly busy in the study area during the boom years – Charles D'Ebro designed *Stonington* for John Wagner in 1890, Thomas Watts designed *Valentines* for land boomer John Mark Davies in 1891, while Reed Smart and Tappin designed *Edsell* (76 St Georges Road, Toorak) for former Lord Mayor of Melbourne James Cooper Stewart, in 1892, to name a few. A great many examples of nineteenth-century domestic architecture have been lost through demolition, however, many of these demolitions made way for the work of twentieth-century architects.

After the turn of the century, architects continued to have a major influence on the wealthy suburbs of the study area, particularly in Toorak, Armadale and Kooyong. Klingender and Alsop's *Glyn* (224 Kooyong Road), the mansion designed for Sir Edward Miller in 1908, is considered an outstanding example of Arts and Crafts, an early example of this style that was strongly represented in Toorak well into the 1920s. The firm designed a number of other houses in the area. *Little Milton* (26 Albany Road) designed for Sir Leslie Moran by Muriel Scott of the firm Stephenson and Meldrum, is considered one of the finest late Arts and Crafts houses (*Malvern Heritage Study*, pp.69–70). Walter and Richard Butler were also very popular with Toorak home builders. Ballantyne and Hare, Joseph Plottel, Marcus Martin and the influential Robert Haddon were among other notable architects whose work is well represented in the study area.

The architects built predominantly in the fashionable architectural styles of Toorak in the 1920s and '30s, which were Georgian Revival and Old English. As we have seen, the latter was the style used on the shops at Toorak Village to capture the romantic atmosphere of an English village. The work of Robert Hamilton, whose charming *Denby Dale* apartments (424 Glenferrie Road) epitomise the Old English style, was much in demand. At Malvern East architects Ussher and Kemp set the trend for Queen Anne at the turn of the century with their six speculative houses on the Waverley Estate. *The Gables* (15 Finch Street) is considered to the most important example this firm's work (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.121).

xcii Robin Boyd's Richardson (Bridge) House under construction in 1954.

[SLHC Reg. No. 8997]







xciv (top left) Muriel Scott's Little Milton.

[SLHC Reg. No. 9544]

xcv (top) Roy Grounds' house at 24 Hill Street, Toorak.

[SLHC Reg. No. 13335]

xcvi (far left) Clendon Lodge, an example of 'Knitlock' construction.

[SLHC Reg. No. 13334]

xcvii (left) Harold Desbrowe Annear's Katanga.

[SLHC Reg. No. 9543]

xciii (left) Kia Ora, Finch Street in 1912, showing the Malvern Heights Bowling Club pavilion at right. [SLHC Reg. No. 7579]

Building suburbs

Update 1

Additional words inserted

8.4.2 Functional, eccentric and theatrical – experimentation and innovation in architecture

The strong culture of patronage also led to some clients encouraging their architects to step outside the dictates of fashion and explore ideas and innovation in design and construction. Other architects (or in some cases, creative designer-builders) explored stylistic innovations that pushed the boundaries beyond the restrained detailing found on most contemporary houses. One such innovator was Walter Burley Griffin, whose 'Knitlock' construction system of concrete blocks was used in Stanley Salter's house (16 Glyndebourne Avenue) in 1923, as well as at *Clendon Lodge*, a house designed in 1927.

Harold Desbrowe Annear, one of Australia's leading domestic architects, was prolific in the study area. His innovative work ranges from his 1919 bungalow at 6 Erskine Street, Armadale, to his last work, *Katanga* (372 Glenferrie Road), a modified Georgian Revival house built for solicitor Wesley A. Ince in 1933 (*Malvern Heritage Study*, pp.115–63). *Katanga* was described as 'functional, somewhat eccentric and essentially theatrical' and illustrates the interest of the period in geometric experimentation in architectural forms. This influence can also be seen in the house at 22 Stonnington Place – reputedly, the owners of this house were impressed by Annear's designs, but chose to engage the provincial firm of Laird and Buchan to 'achieve their wishes more economically than by using the society architect Annear' (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.345).

xcviii Broome, the home of architect Marcus Martin, c.1925.

[La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria. Accession number: LTA1929] [SLHC Reg. No. 815]



In some cases, the designs are in fact the earliest or purest form of particular architectural styles that were later diluted or even changed outright when they gained wider acceptance and usage. One example is the house at 19 Alleyne Avenue (the designer is not known), which is of interest for the way it adopts Far Eastern elements for its detailing that takes the 'initial Japanese influence on the Bungalow, to an extreme' (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.74). The house at 23 Moorhouse Street, designed by J. F. W. Ballantyne, is described as 'a refined example of the Prairie School', which illustrates the direct influence of Walter Burley Griffin (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.299).

In the 1940s, '50s and '60s Roy Grounds and Robin Boyd were creating modern designs to fit in with the difficult topography of the sites. Boyd's Richardson House (10 Blackfriars Close) is constructed across a creek bed, while Grounds' *Quamby* (3 Glover Court, Toorak) is a block of flats that takes advantage of a slope overlooking the Yarra River (*Prahran Conservation Study*). Grounds' innovative approach is also demonstrated by his own house at 24 Hill Street, Toorak, which Heritage Victoria (VHR H1963) describes as an experimentation in 'pure geometry', an approach he developed starting in 1930. Grounds received the 1954 Royal Victorian Institute of Architects medal for this house, which also included four flats at the rear. As we shall see, Grounds was one of a number of architects who also developed innovative designs in flats that reflected the aspirations and status of residents in the area. The development of flats is discussed in more detail below.

8.4.3 Architects and their houses

Not surprisingly, a number of the architects who contributed to the urban landscape of the study area designed and built their own houses among those of their clients – perhaps to demonstrate their skill and talent to other potential clients. Roy Grounds at 24 Hill Street was one of a number of notable architects who called the study area home. One of the first was Walter Butler who lived in his Edwardian house in Armadale, *Duncraig* (31 Hampden Road), from 1899 to 1906 (*Prahran Conservation Study*, pp.15–16) and later shifted to *Avalon*, an Arts and Crafts house (14 Power Avenue), which remained a Butler family home until 1980 (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.309). Richard Butler built his own 'Old English' style house at 6 Hopetoun Road in 1925 (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.192). Marcus Martin designed himself a Spanish Mission house known as *Broome* (6 Glyndebourne Avenue) in 1925 (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.178).



8.5 Housing the workers

8.5.1 'Struggletown' – working-class housing in the nineteenth and early twentieth century

As we have seen, topography was a major factor determining the pattern of settlement of the study area from the time the Europeans first arrived. The high ground at Toorak and parts of South Yarra was taken for the estates of the wealthy, leaving the low areas for poorer settlers. Much of Prahran was swampy, and effective drainage works were not carried out until after the formation of the municipality. It was here that the poorest residents – those who worked in the early brickyards or carted timber – were housed in rows of wooden cottages. Malone describes the slums of early South Yarra, known as 'Struggletown' (like Richmond to the north), but it appears that these were demolished quite early and replaced by cottages in the late Victorian and Edwardian era (Malone, 2000:20).

U1

As Prahran's industries developed in the nineteenth century, so did housing for its workers. Workers cottages, built by landlords such as Cr Naylor, filled the small side streets of Prahran, South Yarra and Windsor housing workers in local industry and those travelling by train and tram to the factories of Richmond and Collingwood. Although the 1921 Census found that the City of Prahran had the highest concentration of houses twelve rooms or over, it also found that one in four of Prahran's houses were of four rooms or less (Wilde, 1993:39). Even parts of South Yarra, which gained the reputation as one of Melbourne's most prestigious suburbs, developed as a working-class area in the nineteenth century along with parts of Armadale. Typically, the houses were of timber or brick, single fronted, some joined as terraces or in pairs, and some free standing with room for a small side path. Many of these small houses can still be seen in small streets running off main roads, such as Surrey Road North off Toorak Road in South Yarra, but many areas were demolished by the Housing Commission of Victoria as part of 'slum' clearance undertaken in the post-war era as discussed in the following section.

8.5.2 Post-war Housing Commission flats

The Housing Commission of Victoria was established in 1938 to improve the housing conditions of people living in poverty in the inner suburbs. Before World War II the Commission embarked in a program of 'slum reclamation' and house construction. In 1946 the Commission acquired the Commonwealth Munitions Factory at Holmesglen in the east of the study area and began mass production of prefabricated concrete housing. This was a cheap and efficient solution to the post-war housing shortage. The factory supplied houses and apartment buildings for the Commission's housing estates in emerging industrial areas on the fringe of Melbourne such as Doveton, and West Heidelberg, where the estate first served as the Olympic Village for the Melbourne Olympic Games in 1956.

Building suburbs

In the 1950s concern over the reduction of population in the inner suburbs, as people moved out to the new suburbs on Melbourne's fringes, provided new impetus for slum clearance – urban renewal as it became known – in the inner areas of Melbourne. The Commission identified several areas in Prahran as in need of renewal, and Council gave its support to the program. One Prahran Councillor was Horace Petty, who was also the Member for Toorak in the Legislative Assembly, and served as Minister for Housing from 1955 to 1961. Petty supported the Commission's plans to build high rise apartment blocks as a way of renewing Melbourne's inner suburbs, including Prahran. Despite protests from residents, the first of Prahran's Housing Commission flats were completed in Essex Street in 1960. The largest of the Commission's development in Prahran is the Horace Petty Estate, which consists of three twelve-storey blocks and several four-storey blocks, completed in 1967 (Wilde, 1993:75–79). The construction of the Commission estates resulted in the loss of many nineteenth-century workers' cottages in Prahran and Windsor.

c Horace Petty Estate under construction, 1965.

[SLHC Reg. No. 6067]



8.6 Developing higher density living

Although the Housing Commission's high-rise blocks were aimed at retaining the level of high density living already established in Prahran, there was another quite different move to higher density living in the study area, and it began much earlier. This trend began with the conversion of some of the large boom-era mansions to shared accommodation such as boarding houses and flats, and continued with the subdivision of large estates to allow the construction of purpose-built apartment developments that were (initially at least) architect-designed in the most up-to-date styles.

8.6.1 Sharing houses

In 1920 the City of Prahran had 536 registered boarding houses (Wilde, 1993:55). At one end of the market was the exclusive guest house, such as *Illawarra*, a boom-time mansion made redundant as a family home when the boom collapsed. *Illawarra* was leased to Mrs Wynne who provided long-term lodgings for five families, each with their own suite. James Paxton, who lived there with his parents from 1909 to 1914, has given a description of life at *Illawarra*. Guests had their meals in a large dining room, with a separate table for each family, and were served by a butler and three parlourmaids. People dressed for dinner. There was a staff of nine, including two gardeners (Paxton, 1983:19–20). Such guest houses enabled the Paxtons, and other families like them, to maintain their accustomed lifestyle, when for some reason they could not maintain their own establishment.

The guest house, and the slightly more humble boarding house, also provided homes for single people in a time when few people lived alone. Men, in particular, were not expected to cook or perform domestic chores for themselves. In the 1920s Betty Malone's widowed mother ran a boarding house in Armadale, where guests included single men and men who were raising children as sole parents (Wilde, 1993:57–58). However many women brought up in wealthy families were unable or unwilling to do their own housekeeping, and lived in guest houses (personal comment from this author's mother, who worked in a guest house in East St Kilda in the early 1940s). Many mansions and large houses in the study area saw service as guest houses or boarding houses including *Redcourt* at 506 Orrong Road (Malone, 2005:22).

For women who needed to support themselves, running a guest house was a respectable way to earn a living, and convenient if they had children at home. While guest houses and boarding houses were run on a business footing, many people rented out spare rooms, or shared houses with other families, as way of covering costs in times of economic hardship. Win Vears, who grew up in Armadale in the 1930s, remembered that many of the large houses in her neighbourhood were used as rooming houses, or were shared by more than one family as a way of making ends meet during hard times. Armadale then had a reputation as a poor area. Most of the houses have since reverted to single-family dwellings (Wilde, 1993:55–56; Vears, recorded interview 5 July 2000, MECWA).

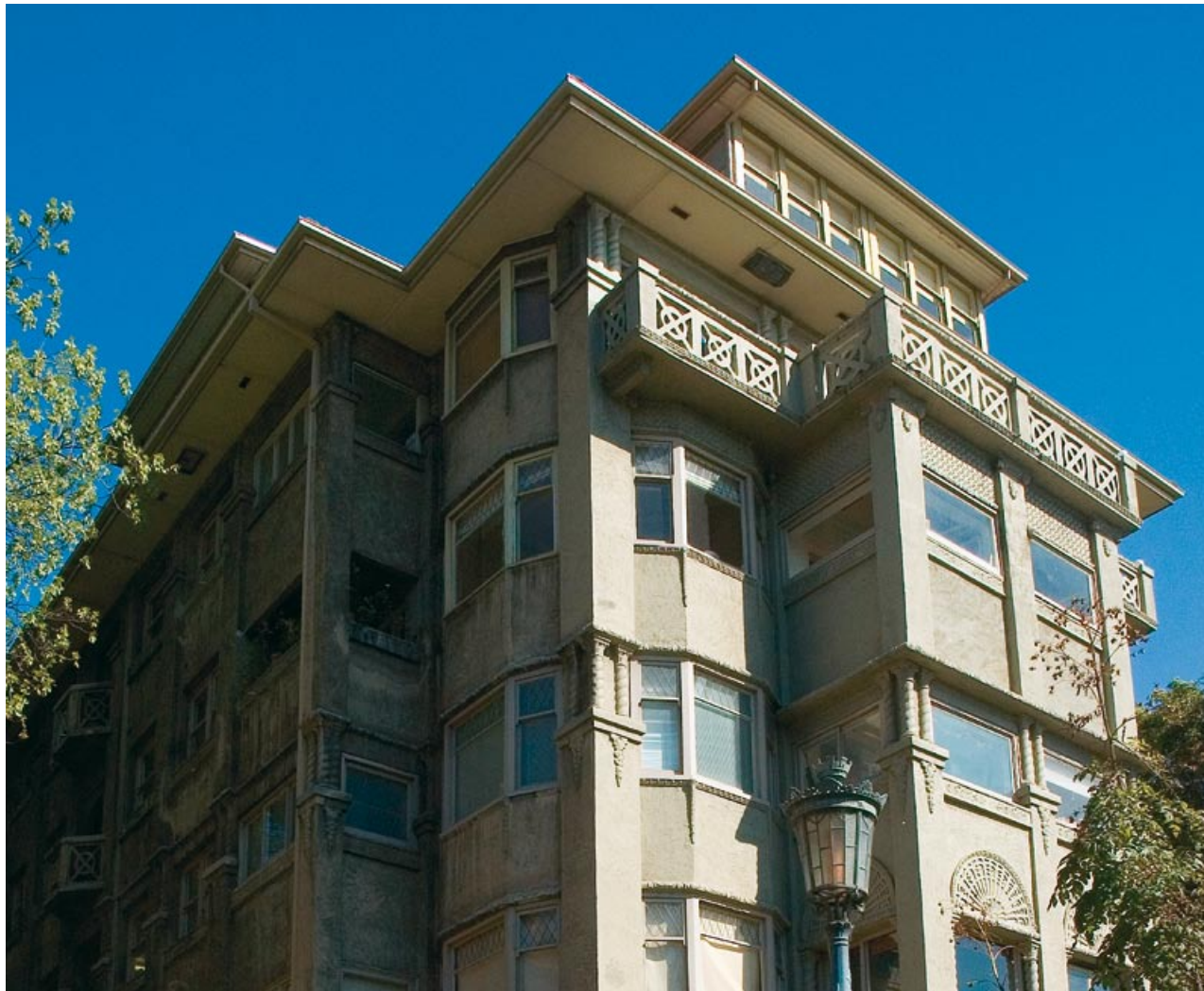


ci Cullen family cottage Denham Place, c.1882.
[SLHC Reg. No. 5023]

Building suburbs

cii Beverley Hills by Howard Lawson, Darling Street, South Yarra.

[SLHC Reg. No. 13256]



8.6.2 Developing apartment living

The first apartment buildings or flats began to be constructed in Melbourne in the first decades of the twentieth century. In many municipalities, restrictive building codes were enacted to control or stop this new form of development, ostensibly for safety reasons (though there may have also been social overtones, as we shall see below). The municipalities of Prahran and St Kilda were two that allowed and, to a certain extent, encouraged flat development to occur. Financial considerations were also an imperative. Wilde (1999:62) cites an article from the 18 October 1919 edition of the *Prahran Telegraph*:

It was held to be no longer necessary to labour with a house and all the domestic drudgery that entailed when by borrowing Continental ideas, people who could afford it could live in flats... Land has become so valuable the villa of the Victorian days, in a crowded thoroughfare, no longer shows anything like an adequate return of interest on the land's present capital value. It is more profitable to pull the house erected thereon down, and to erect flats.

One of the first purpose-built flats in the study area (and indeed the whole of Melbourne) was Fawkner Mansions, built on the corner of Punt and Commercial roads in Prahran for George Fairbairn (Jnr) in 1912. There seems to have been some cynicism regarding the venture, because the flats were nicknamed 'Fairbairn's Folly', but the apartments were occupied by professional and semi-professional families. It later became a nurses' home for the Alfred Hospital (*Prahran Conservation Study*, p.8; Malone, 1999:19).

However, widespread development of purpose-built flats did not really begin until the 1920s when the last of the remaining big estates in South Yarra and Toorak began to succumb to what Wilde (1999:40) describes as ‘the combined pressures of probate, depression and profit’. Among the first were those built by architect/property developer Howard R. Lawson on part of the old *Avoca* estate bounded by Punt and Domain roads, Alexandra Avenue and the South Yarra railway bridge. In 1922 Lawson began designing Californian Bungalow-style maisonettes capable of conversion to flats, some of which remain in the area. After the Depression Lawson began building multi-storey blocks, including *Beverley Hills*, which was set in landscaped gardens with a swimming pool. By 1935 Lawson had built 175 flats in his subdivision, and local residents were beginning to object to further development. Lawson subsequently limited his blocks to three storeys. According to Tibbits (1983:37–38), Lawson’s subdivision is a unique precinct of apartment blocks integrated with well-landscaped sites.

Apart from changing the physical character of the suburbs, the flats also changed the social mix by encouraging more single people to live within the area. Until the development of flats, the accommodation choices for single people were very limited, and the new form of accommodation provided additional freedom, particularly for unmarried women. This even led to rumblings of concern among some social commentators that flats would undermine the family and lead to the downfall of society.

However, not all flats were designed with single people in mind. Flats also became fashionable for the wealthy in Toorak and South Yarra as a way of living in a prestigious suburb without the bother of a large house and garden or servants, although some flats did include a servant’s room, such as *Denby Dale* in Kooyong (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.168). Flats in Toorak were therefore spacious and designed for families, rather than single people. *Caringal*, at 3 Tahara Road, which was designed in 1948 by John W. Rivett, even had a children’s playground on the roof. Its eighteen flats were all let before building was completed (*Prahran Conservation Study*, pp.3, 36–39).

In not all cases did the subdivision of estates lead to loss of the original houses – in some cases the old houses were retained and adapted by architects. One example is *Coronal*, a boom-era mansion in Waverley Road, Malvern, that was built in 1890 for Joseph Fielding Higgins, who lost possession in the 1890s depression. In 1909, it was purchased by Henry Lewes who in 1939 engaged the architects R.M. and H.M. King to convert the house to three apartments plus ‘an intriguing bachelor eyrie in the top of the tower’. The conversion was featured in the September 1939 edition of *Australian Home Beautiful* (Malvern Archives).

Building suburbs

The extent of flat development in Toorak and South Yarra during the inter-war period is demonstrated by the population growth in Toorak Ward of Prahran Council; between 1920 and 1940 the population of Prahran municipality increased by 12.5% and over three-quarters of that was in Toorak where the population nearly doubled. By 1934–35 there were 570 flats in Toorak Ward, as many as in South Yarra and Windsor Wards combined. This growth continued until the late 1930s and by the outbreak of World War II there were almost as many flats in Toorak Ward as houses (Wilde, 1999:64–68).

8.6.3 Architect-designed apartments

In response to resident protests about flats destroying the character of Toorak, developers began building apartment blocks and maisonettes designed to emulate mansions. One such building was Arthur Barnes' block of flats on the corner of Glenferrie Road and Monomeath Avenue, built in 1922. In 1933 Joseph Plottel designed four flats and a maisonette on the corner of Toorak Road and Evans Court. Maisonettes were a popular way of making two houses look like one large house. As we have seen, this strategy had been employed by Lawson – the small 1938 subdivision in St George's Court included three maisonettes (Raworth, 1997). Another strategy to counter criticism was to employ a leading architect to design the building – one example was Walter Burley Griffin, whose *Langi* flats were built on the corner of Toorak and Lansell roads in 1926 (Tibbits, 1983:38).

The strong tradition of patronage previously described resulted in similarly innovative approaches to apartment design. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the design of apartments began to demonstrate the influence of European modernism. Frederick Romberg was one of a number of émigré architects, and is recognised for introducing European modernism to Victoria, in particular its application to flat construction. In 1942 he designed *Glenunga Flats*, which 'broke new ground in the manner that compact flat development was arranged' (*Malvern Heritage Study*, p.205).

Another prominent architect exploring apartment design in the study area was Roy Grounds, who was later to form a partnership with Romberg. Grounds designed four blocks of apartments starting with *Clendon* (1939–40) and *Clendon Court* (1940–41) that demonstrated the Australian modern style of architecture and Grounds' exploration of geometric forms. These were followed in 1941 by *Moonbria* in Mathoura Road, and *Quamby* in Glover Court. The latter was designed to take account of a steeply sloping site, the curving street frontage and the fan-shaped allotment (*Prahran Conservation Study*). As we have seen, Grounds was later to design his own residence and four apartments at 24 Hill Street, Toorak. The influence of these buildings can be seen in aforementioned *Caringal* in Tahara Road, Toorak, which at six storeys would have been considered high-rise at the time.

8.6.4 Apartment development in the post-war era

In the 1950s the approach to flat building changed when a pro-development Prahran Council encouraged it on a large scale, and little attention was given to aesthetics in design or the effect on the landscape. The western part of the study area was close to the city and attracted professional and business people. That Toorak or South Yarra was still a prestigious address is reflected in the rents for the time – almost double that for a flat in neighbouring Richmond. During the 1960s residents began to note with alarm the number of old houses in Toorak and South Yarra being replaced by apartment blocks of ever increasing heights. These new flats, together with the Housing Commission developments, restored the population of the City of Prahran to its pre-World War II level by 1971, but the growing trend towards living alone meant that further high density housing stock was needed to increase population levels in inner suburbs (Wilde, 1993:80–83).

ciii Robert Hamilton's Denby Dale in 1938.
[SLHC Reg. No. 5005]



civ (top) Walter Burley Griffin's Langi apartments, Toorak Road, Toorak.
[SLHC Reg. No. 13257]

cv San Jose, at corner of Wattletree Road and Burke Road, Malvern.
[SLHC Reg. No. 9536]

Building suburbs

Until 1969, there were few planning controls regulating the construction of apartments – so long as the plans complied with the Uniform Building Regulations that regulated the area of the building in relation to the size of the block, the development could proceed. Wilde (1999:81–82) notes that by 1960 councillors had resigned themselves to pointing out that they had no power over development proposals, providing they were in accordance with the UBR's. Both Prahran and Malvern Councils passed by-laws in the post-war period attempting to limit flat development (as early as 1938 Malvern Council restricted flats to two storeys, with no more than four on one allotment), but to little avail as State Government policy at the time was generally in favour of higher density development (Wilde, 1993:66; Foster, 1999:75–5). The consequence was a number of high-rise apartment developments up to ten stories in height, in Toorak and South Yarra particularly along Toorak Road.

In 1969 local government authorities were finally given powers to develop their own town planning controls, and Prahran Council was one of the first to do so. Council commissioned a firm of town planners – Perrott, Lyon, Timlock and Kesa – to prepare a Residential Zoning Plan and Code. The resulting 'Perrott Plan' as it became known, set out height limits for various parts of the City of Prahran, with recommendations that flats in the high parts of Toorak and South Yarra be limited to 20 storeys. The plan prompted a huge public outcry, which will be explored in Chapter 10. The outcome was the restriction of flats to three storeys (See Wilde, 1993:88–95).

In the early 1980s, in response to further pressure for development and the Metropolitan Strategy produced by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, Prahran Council set maximum building heights as six storeys away from main roads. At the same time Singapore businessman Jack Chia proposed to redevelop the entire stretch of Chapel Street from Toorak Road to the river, including the old brickworks and Electrolux sites, with a huge luxury residential, hotel and commercial development, reaching to eighteen stories. After lengthy negotiations with Council, the State Government stepped in and gave approval for the scheme. By this time Jack Chia had withdrawn from the project because of financial difficulties. Eventually a modified version of the original plan, now known as Como Centre, was built (Wilde, 1993:114–19; Malone, 2000:8–9).

8.7 Creating public landscapes

Hoddle's plan of subdivision for the western part of the study area (the entire City of Prahran and the north-western part of the City of Malvern) did not provide for any reserves for public use or open space. A few reserves were provided in the later plan for the Gardiner section on the eastern side, including the Town Hall and Court House reserve and two water reserves – one around a spring near the corner of what is now High Street and Spring Road, and the other at a water hole on Gardiners Creek at the end of High Street. Neither the early settlers nor their local councils had much interest in creating public landscapes before the 1880s.

Consequently, the parks and pleasant open spaces that are now a feature of the study area were acquired gradually by the two municipalities. The sites were generally areas of land that were not suitable for commercial or residential development. Parks were initially proposed in the interests of public health, but beautifully landscaped public gardens soon became a source of municipal pride. Local pride was particularly evident in the Malvern municipality, which sometimes styled itself 'the Garden City'. In the late twentieth century local residents took up the cause for the natural environment, and this is reflected in the most recent parks.

8.7.1 Creating leafy suburbs

The study area's reputation as one of Melbourne's pleasant leafy suburbs must be attributed, initially, to the creation of private gardens on the large estates of the wealthy. People living in their own private park had little need of a public park. Even after most of the large Toorak estates were broken up by developers, the suburb retained its rural character. A 1932 article in *Australian Home Beautiful* eulogised the 'wide and winding roads, verdant with the foliage of ancient trees and virgin bush ... (of) Melbourne's most fashionable suburb'. The writer remarked that Toorak was the place where the 'venerable gum' was not removed to make way for a fence; rather the usual practice was to build the fence around the tree (cited in *Malvern Heritage Study*, p.297). Exotic as well as indigenous trees have remained from the old estates, to become part of the modern landscape. McDougall (1985:35) noted an old oak from the Orrong Estate that still stood in St John's Church grounds in 1985. Council street tree planting programs have enhanced the overall appearance of Toorak and many other parts of the study area.



An early suggestion that trees would beautify the street environment was made in 1877 by Prahran Councillor William Bowen. This idea was shared by some Prahran property owners who offered to pay half the cost of the trees in their street. However, Council would initially only consider planting trees along Dandenong Road, to match those already planted on the St Kilda side. It is uncertain when the trees were actually planted, but a photograph (see photograph cvi) dating from c.1900 shows a row of fairly young trees on the south (St Kilda) side of the road. Another view in Malvern (reproduced in Cooper, 1935) dating from c.1900 shows semi-mature pine trees. According to Cooper, the councils of Prahran, Malvern, St Kilda and Caulfield co-operated to develop Dandenong Road as a pleasant tree-lined boulevard.

cvi (below) Two views of Dandenong Road showing the development of landscaping. Below is a c.1900 view looking east toward Wattletree Road showing trees on the south side planted by St Kilda Council. The c.1920 view to the left shows the landscaping carried out after the construction of the tramway in 1911. [SLHC Reg. No. 211 and 1372]



After their initial reluctance, Prahran Council began planting and maintaining street trees throughout the municipality, particularly Toorak, and by 1923 had planted 6000 trees. In 1932, the Council decided to commence 'a liberal scheme of tree planting in the residential streets with the object of beautifying and enhancing the appearance of those parts of the City, which lend themselves to treatment of this kind' (Wilde, 1999:26). The principal trees were oriental planes and golden poplars. Despite the privations caused by the Depression, council, with the assistance of unemployed labour, continued to plant upwards of 600 trees a year during the 1930s. Alexandra Avenue was designed as a fine boulevard connecting Prahran with Melbourne. When the trees were planted along the section from Punt Road to the railway bridge, the rock was blasted to allow room for roots and drainage of the trees. On the river side of the avenue, four rows of poplars, willows and eucalypts were planted (Cooper, 1924:297–300). By the end of the 1930s Prahran had taken on 'a leafy and shady appearance' and so many trees had been planted that Council 'no longer bothered to keep count'. However, the spread of trees was not uniform across the municipality. Wilde (1999:33) notes that:

The oldest and biggest species were mainly in the streets of the east. ... The narrower streets of Windsor and Prahran seldom provided sufficient room for the splendour of a mature oak or plane. The result was a pattern of street trees, which served to emphasise the social and economic diversity of the city.

Building suburbs

According to Cooper (1935:167), the Malvern Council 'always had a sense of the picturesque'. In 1881 Council offered residents tree-guards to encourage them to plant trees along the roads in front of their properties, and also undertook to provide the trees – oaks, elms, aspens and poplars – and labour for their planting. Council established its own nursery for propagating trees and plants for Malvern's streets and parks. Thomas A. Pockett OBE, Curator of Parks and Gardens in the Malvern municipality from 1888 to 1918, is credited with planting 'many miles of street trees' (Malvern Archives). By the late 1920s, 118 miles of Malvern's streets had been planted with trees. Malvern Council claimed to be the first in Victoria to plant jacarandas, which became popular street trees in other suburbs besides Malvern.

Some species were found to be a nuisance, particularly the plane and golden poplar, which broke up pavements, and some of these trees were replaced with other species. Malone mentions the liquidambar that were planted in Dunraven Avenue soon after its formation in 1922 (Strahan, 1989:48–9, Malone, 2004:39).

8.7.2 Public health and municipal pride

The early establishment of Toorak as a fashionable suburb, where land was an expensive commodity, helps to explain the fact that little land in that part of the study area has been acquired for public open space. Toorak's only public parks are Brookville Gardens, adjacent to the Toorak Primary School, and the tiny W.M. Dane Park, on a slope adjacent to Heyington Station (see Chapter 9). Brookville Gardens were developed on low-lying land on the Hawksburn Creek, which was acquired by Prahran Council in 1906 (Malone, 2002:53).

Prahran Council concentrated its early program of parks and gardens in the more populous Prahran and Windsor areas, where it was believed residents needed open space for fresh air and recreation. In the 1880s Prahran Council floated a loan to purchase land for public parks. This met with considerable opposition from ratepayers, who thought that public health would be better served if their rates were spent on well-kept streets and clean back lanes. Nevertheless, Council proceeded, in secret, to buy three properties – the Orrong Potteries at Armadale, a block at Grattan Street, Prahran, and a block in High Street owned by an absentee landlord and used for grazing cows. In August 1885 the three sites, known respectively as Toorak Park, Prahran Reserve (now Grattan Gardens) and Victoria Gardens, were declared open 'to public use as pleasure grounds and places of recreation' by Lady Loch, wife of the Governor (Cooper, 1924:287–94).



cvii Floral display in Grattan Gardens, 1914.
[SLHC Reg. No. 7003]

The Victoria Gardens were designed in the traditional English style by Como's former gardener, William Sangster, who was making a name for himself as one of Melbourne's leading landscape designers. Mayor George Taylor bestowed his wife's name on the Gardens, and presented the gates and a statue of the Winged Victory. The Victoria Gardens became a focal point for family and community celebrations, school picnics and fundraising concerts. A group called Friends of the Victoria Gardens renovated the gardens before World War I and added a glasshouse, lily pond and fountain. In the 1930s the gardens were redesigned by Edna Walling. The gardens became run-down after World War II, and it was not until 1989 that restoration works, again by the Friends group, began (Malone, 2001:20–3; Wilde, 1993:35).

cviii Victoria Gardens c.1890.

[SLHC Reg. No. 2300]



Building suburbs

Princes Gardens were established on the site of the Furneaux and Goodbody sawmill and timber yard, purchased by the Prahran Council in 1906 as a playing space for the children of poorer families. It was low lying and probably flood prone. Initially it was called the Malvern Road Gardens but the name was changed in 1921, after a visit by the Prince of Wales. In 1923 the park was doubled in size with the addition of land purchased along the west side of Essex Street, and a donation of land in Walker Street by Dafydd Lewis. In 1924 a wading pool and children's playground were constructed, and the gates were brought from the mansion *Illawarra* and installed at the entrance. Later the Prahran swimming pool replaced the wading pool and skateboard ramps were added to the play area (Malone, 2001:13–14; Wilde, 1993:16–17).

In Malvern early public support for gardens seemed stronger than it was in Prahran, which may be attributed to the influence of curator Pockett. After residents protested against the intended sale of the water reserve in High Street, Council acquired the site for pleasure gardens. Malvern Public Gardens, opened in 1890, were laid out by Pockett, who was renowned for his chrysanthemums. The spring was transformed into a pond with a grotto and fountain (Strahan, 1989:39–40).

In 1906 Council purchased eighteen acres on the corner of Burke and Wattletree roads, Malvern East, for a new park. This area was still largely rural and fences had to be built to keep out straying livestock. Suburban development had commenced with the building of houses on the nearby *Gascoigne Estate*, and was to increase with the opening, in 1910, of the new electric tramline. Central Park was conveniently situated at the Wattletree Road tram terminus. Once again the gardens were laid out by Pockett, and Council built a Tudor style kiosk in 1911, followed by a bandstand in 1916. The bandstand was a venue for concerts, including performances by the Malvern Tramways Band, formed 1911 (Nigro and Foster, 1994). The band predates the formation of the well-known Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Band, which had strong associations with Wattle Park in Box Hill.

During the 1920s Malvern Council purchased a number of other sites throughout the municipality and established small parks, sports grounds and children's playgrounds.



cix Thomas Pockett's renowned Chrysanthemums at Malvern Gardens.
[SLHC Reg. No. 1019]

8.7.3 Transforming swamps into parks

In 1921 Prahran Council bought 35 acres of the *Como* estate from the Armytage family. This former lagoon was still swampy and subject to frequent flooding. The original intention was to have a park with native trees and bird sanctuary, but Como Park was eventually developed for sports activities. The use of native trees was unusual for its time and it was originally called 'The Australian Park' (Hubbard 1992:28). In the 1930s the land was regraded, with some of the soil being used to build up Alexandra Avenue, which (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4) was being made at the time. The new Como Park was opened by the Governor, Lord Huntingfield, on 24 October 1934 in the presence of 7000 people. Como Park became a popular picnic and sporting venue (Fox, 1996; Malone, 2000:1–2; Wilde, 1993:16, 28). At about the same time, Rockley Gardens were created from what had been a swamp at the bottom of Rockley Road (Hubbard 1992:28).

The site of Hedgeley Dene Gardens was acquired by Malvern Council for drainage purposes when the Hedgeley Dene farm was subdivided for sale in 1911. The land followed a small watercourse and was full of holes. Council used it as a rubbish tip for a number of years before developing it as a park in 1921. Curator F.L. Reeves designed a romantic landscape, which included a lake – presumably from an existing waterhole – with an island and rustic bridges, and a mixture of exotic and native trees and shrubs (Cooper, 1935:229–30; Strahan, 1989:42–44).

8.7.4 Transforming Gardiners Creek

The flood plain along the Gardiners Creek was of little use for residential or commercial development. Malvern Council purchased parcels of land over the years from 1904 to 1934 under the *Gardiner Valley Improvement Scheme*, envisaging a charming boulevard stretching from the Yarra River to Scotchman's Creek at Oakleigh. The vision was never fully realised, but a number of areas were developed by Council as sports grounds, beginning with the Malvern Municipal Golf Links, which as we have seen led to major changes to the course of the creek.

The creek, having been cleared of vegetation, was subject to increased flooding and erosion, and various attempts at flood alleviation were made by draining swamps, re-aligning the creek and stabilising the banks. Exotic plantings of oaks, elms and willows created the character of an English park.

The threat to these parklands in the 1970s and '80s by the (Monash) Freeway, then known as the Arterial Road Link, provoked considerable public protest. A number of pressure groups were formed, the most vocal being the Gardiners Creek Valley Association. This was the era of increased awareness of conservation issues among Australians, as the bush and its natural flora and fauna were under threat from development or commercial exploitation in so many parts of the country. The natural environment of Gardiners Creek Valley had long been lost, but attempts were made to recreate the environment of pre-European settlement with indigenous plantings and re-forming of the creek banks. However, existing exotic trees remaining from the gardens of neighbouring houses demolished for the freeway were retained (Cooper, 1935:168–70; Strahan, 1989:6–11).

In an attempt to compensate for the loss of open space caused by the construction of the freeway, the State Government made part of the old Outer Circle reserve available for a park, and 'Victoria's first urban recreational forest' was re-planted with local indigenous vegetation (Strahan, 1989:255). This is discussed in Chapter 9.

Building suburbs



cx *The Tea Kiosk at Central Park, c.1918.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 53]



HERITAGE

The theme of *Building Suburbs* is illustrated by a variety of places that have important heritage values. These values are sometimes expressed in tangible ways, such as by surviving physical fabric (buildings, structures, trees, landscapes etc.), but are also apparent in the associations and meanings embodied by the place for different communities. This chapter provides a summary of values associated with these places and provides a representative list. For further examples, reference should be made to the heritage studies and reports listed in the bibliography.

Creating Australia's most prestigious suburbs and Living in and around Australian houses

The places associated with these themes provide important evidence of how wealthy people of means lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is illustrated not only by the size and opulent design of the houses, but also in details such as servants' quarters, stables, outbuildings and the gardens and grounds, which were all intended as an expression of wealth and status.



cx (top) *Men's Open at the Malvern Municipal Golf Links, 1956.* [SLHC Reg. No. 5345]

cxii *The lake at Hedgely Dene Gardens.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 275]



cxiii *Opening of the new playing field at Como Park in 1934.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 10299]

The places associated with these themes provide vivid evidence of the dramatic phases of 'boom and bust' associated with land speculation in Melbourne. This is illustrated in various ways from the Victorian mansions set within reduced allotments surrounded by later subdivision, to the estates laid out in the nineteenth century that were not fully developed until well into the twentieth century.

Examples of heritage places associated with these themes include:

- ✧ *Como*, 16 Como Avenue, South Yarra
- ✧ *Stokell*, 49–51 Adelaide Street, Armadale
- ✧ *Beaulieu* (now part of St Catherine's School), Heyington Place, Toorak
- ✧ *Glyn*, 224 Kooyong Road, Malvern
- ✧ *Merriwee Crescent*, as former carriage drive for *Moonga*
- ✧ House, 11 Russell Street, Toorak. (an example of an inter-war villa with a maid's room).

Middle-class suburbs and the suburban ideal

The study area is notable within metropolitan Melbourne and contains many examples of houses and residential neighbourhoods that illustrate what made Melbourne 'marvellous' during the nineteenth century, as well some of the finest expressions of the ideal of Edwardian and inter-war garden suburbs in Australia. These suburbs represent the aspirations of the residents and the municipalities of which they formed a part.

Examples of heritage places associated with this theme include:

- ✧ Hawksburn and Williams roads, South Yarra, illustrates different forms of housing on low and high ground
- ✧ Grandview Grove, Prahran, a middle class Victorian enclave
- ✧ Gascoigne and Waverley Estates, Malvern East, middle class Federation era estates
- ✧ Malvern Meadows Estate, Malvern East, a post-war suburban estate.



cxiv *Entrance to an inter-war garden, Macquarie Road, Toorak, 1922.*
[La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria. Accession number: unknown] [SLHC Reg. No. 808]

Building suburbs

Update 1 Edit/Additional words inserted

Creating Australia's most 'designed' suburbs

The study area contains a rich and comprehensive legacy of almost every type of urban residential buildings that illustrate the changing styles in domestic architecture in Australia from first settlement until the present day. The study area is notable for both houses of individual or innovative aesthetic or design merit, as well as precincts with important historic character.

The study area provides evidence of the strong culture of patronage that developed in the study area between architect and garden designers and their often wealthy clients, which encouraged design ideas to be explored and challenged. This patronage, which has few parallels in Victoria and even Australia, has resulted in the study area containing many examples of housing that are notable, innovative, or simply unusual examples of their style and type.

Examples of heritage places associated with this theme include:

- ✧ *Little Milton* (house and garden) 26 Albany Road, Toorak
- ✧ *Greenwich House* (now Chinese Consulate), Irving Road, Toorak
- ✧ *Cranlana* (house and garden), 62 Clendon Road, Toorak
- ✧ *Katanga*, 372 Glenferrie Road, Malvern
- ✧ *Denby Dale* apartments, 424 Glenferrie Road, Malvern (Additional examples of architect-designed apartments are listed, page 158)
- ✧ House, 16 Glyndebourne Avenue, Toorak
- ✧ Richardson House, 10 Blackfriars Close, Toorak
- ✧ House, 19 Alleyne Avenue, Armadale
- ✧ St George's Court streetscape
- ✧ Architect's houses include Walter Butler's house, *Duncraig*, 31 Hampden Road, Armadale, 6 Glyndebourne Avenue, Toorak (Marcus Martin), and 24 Hill Street, Toorak (Roy Grounds).

Housing the workers

The study area provides evidence of the strong connection between social status and geography in society creating a pattern of larger and more prestigious housing on higher ground contrasted with the smaller working-class housing on the low ground, a pattern that can be interpreted even today.

Examples of heritage places associated with this theme include:

- ✧ Many areas of workers' cottages were demolished by the Housing Commission of Victoria in the 1960s. Intact groups survive in Tyrone Street, Prahran, Palermo Street, and Surrey Road North, South Yarra, McIwrick Street and Frederick Street, Windsor
- ✧ HCV Horace Petty Estate
- ✧ Cambridge Street, Armadale.

U1



Building suburbs

Update 1

Edit/Additional words inserted

Developing higher density living

The study area illustrates the development of higher density living in Melbourne. It is of particular interest for providing historic evidence of how apartment living was developed initially for middle and upper income people as an alternative to having a large house or mansion, before coming a more widely used form of accommodation in the post-war era.

Examples of heritage places associated with this theme include:

- ✦ *Illawarra*, 1 Illawarra Court, Toorak, and *Redcourt*, 506 Orrong Road, Armadale, which are examples of large mansions converted to shared accommodation and later, as apartments
- ✦ Fawkner Mansions, corner of Punt and Commercial roads, Prahran
- ✦ Howard Lawson apartment precinct, South Yarra – *Beverley Hills*, *Stratton Heights*, etc, which is the most comprehensive and intact groups of inter-war apartments in Melbourne
- ✦ Architect-designed apartments include *Langi* (corner of Toorak and Lansell roads, Toorak), Roy Grounds' trio of apartments *Clendon*, *Quamby* and *Moonbria*, *Caringal* (3 Tahara Road, Toorak) and *Tsoshaan*, 777 Malvern Road, Toorak
- ✦ Other examples include *San Jose*, cnr. Wattletree Road and Burke Road, Glen Iris.

Creating public landscapes

This illustrates the efforts made by the Prahran and Malvern municipalities to provide adequate open space and how this was often linked to broader concerns about public health, flooding or simply municipal pride. That the Prahran City was able to carry on tree planting during the depression provides an indication of the importance of the measure during that time.

Examples of heritage places associated with this theme include:

- ✦ Orrong Road
- ✦ Dandenong Road and Alexandra Avenue
- ✦ Central Park
- ✦ Como Park
- ✦ Hedgeley Dene Gardens
- ✦ Malvern Public Gardens
- ✦ Victoria Gardens.

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EDUCATION

Chapter 9





EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Education is a strong theme in the study area and this chapter identifies and describes the development of church, national and common schools; ragged schools; private venture schools; state schools; modern private school system; Catholic schools and state secondary education (high schools and technical schools). The study area, not surprisingly, is notable for the high number of private schools that have been established within its boundaries. As we shall see, large boom-era mansions that could no longer be maintained by their owners provided ready-made premises for many private schools. The chapter concludes with a section on the development of higher education, and notes how the large number of private schools accounts for the lack of secondary schools in the study area for much of its history.

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Educating

HISTORY

9.1 Early schools

Before the establishment of the state school system in 1872, education was provided by local community groups, particularly churches, who usually gained some government funding towards the building and running of schools. There were also schools known as ‘ragged schools’, which were set up by charitable groups to provide some elementary education for children of the poorest families. Another major provider of education at the time was the private sector. Many of the early schools in the study area were run by individuals or families as private ventures.

The National Board of Education functioned from 1851 to 1862 managing government-funded non-denominational schools, of which 193 were built throughout Victoria. This was superseded by the *Common Schools Act* 1862. Church or denominational schools sometimes became national or common schools if they obtained government funding. The state eventually took over the responsibility for primary education, and, following the passing of the *Free, Compulsory and Secular Education Act* 1872, began building state schools throughout Victoria. Churches continued to provide education, without government funding, until state aid for religious schools was re-introduced in the second half of the twentieth century.

9.1.1 Early church, national and common schools

One of the earliest common schools in the district was on the west side of Punt Road, South Yarra, just outside the study area, which would have taken children from within the study area. It became the South Yarra Primary School (Chatham, 1985:27). Chatham indicates that there was a Presbyterian Common School near the site of the Toorak Presbyterian Church (now Uniting Church) in Toorak Road in the 1870s (Chatham, 1985:8). A Congregational school was erected at the end of Cecil Place, Prahran, in 1869–70 and remodelled for use as the Protestant Hall in 1879 (*Prahran Conservation Study*).

A common school was opened in 1854 by St Matthew's Church of England in a schoolhouse near the north-west corner of Chapel and High streets. When State School No 1467 (now Hawksburn Primary School) was opened in 1875, the head teacher of St Matthew's School, Walter Gamble, was appointed its principal. Presumably this was the end of St Matthew's School. St Matthew's Church transferred to a new building in High Street in 1876 (Chatham, 1985—see map p.8; Malone, 1999:10).

At Malvern, the Anglicans received a government grant to build a denominational school in Glenferrie Road. The schoolroom also served as an Anglican place of worship until St George's Church was built in 1865 (Cooper, 1935:174).

9.1.2 Ragged schools

The ragged school movement originated in England for the purpose of teaching the poorest children to read the Bible. In Melbourne, ragged schools were concentrated in slum areas, including parts of Prahran and South Yarra, but most disappeared after the state education system commenced. However one ragged school remained in Eastbourne Street, Windsor, until the 1880s, when it was known as the Scripture Reading School. It catered for the very young children as the older ones started at the state school. Eventually the former ragged school became the Hornbrook Free Kindergarten (Malone, 2001:44–45).

cxvi *Prahran Common School, c.1875.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 7079]



9.1.3 Private venture schools

Many individuals or families established small fee-paying schools as commercial ventures. Running a school was one of few career options for middle-class women, especially single women who needed to support themselves. Chatham has identified 32 private venture schools in South Yarra, Prahran, Windsor and Toorak before 1872, and further out in Malvern many similar schools operated well into the twentieth century. Frederick Revans Chapman, son of a judge (and later a judge himself), who lived in Toorak Road as a boy in the early 1860s, remembered attending a small school run by Mrs Neil in a street behind the Ayer's Arms Hotel, on the north-west corner of Toorak Road and Chapel Street (Cooper, 1924:44–45). Chatham describes Madame Lautour's girls' school, which provided 'a housewifely curriculum based on polite accomplishments'. Madame was an experienced teacher, from France, and ran her school in Hillingdon Place, Prahran, from 1853 to 1900 (Chatham, 1985:7). In the 1880s Daniel and Martha Connelly opened Cornelia College for Ladies in Horsburgh Grove, Armadale, which later moved to Albany Road. The school was taken over by the Misses Rudd in the 1890s and renamed Strathclyde (Foster, 1999:59–50).

Education provided by private venture schools was of variable quality, and some were short-lived (Chatham, 1985:7 and 12–13; Strahan, 1989:105). However, some which acted as preparatory schools for private schools did survive, generally to be taken over by the churches and they are now part of the current private school system. A number of such schools still exist in the study area and will be discussed under private schools.

9.2 Developing a system of state education

The study area's first state school was School No 1467, opened in 1874 as Prahran School. It replaced three common schools, and served one of the most densely populated parts of the municipality at that time. The school was one of a group of schools designed by leading Melbourne architects as a result of a competition held by the newly formed Education Department in 1873, and erected in the period 1874–81, which also included Primary School No. 2855 in High Street. The competition drew a number of important Victorian architects, including Reed and Barnes, Terry and Oakden, Charles Webb, W.H. Ellerker, and Crouch and Wilson, the architects of this particular design. The Gothic style and religious flavour of the bell tower emphasise the seriousness accorded to educational provision after the introduction of compulsory education in 1873. Heritage Victoria comments that:

The competition to produce school designs was an indication of the importance accorded the task of building the state's education system by the newly formed Department of Education. Additionally, the idea of producing attractive but standardised designs reflected the enormous task of building sufficient schools to cope with the massive demand sparked by the introduction of free compulsory education in 1873. Primary School No. 1467 is significant not only as the first state school to be built in Prahran after the introduction of compulsory education, but as a reminder of this broader context of the development of state education as well (VHR H1032, File No. 602040).

By 1900, with an enrolment of almost 2000 students, the school claimed to be the largest in Victoria. The name was changed to Hawksburn in 1906 and a new infant building was added in 1911. The closure of Hawksburn Primary School in the early 1990s and its transformation into Leonard Joel's auction rooms highlights the changing demographics of the study area (Malone, 2000:44–45; Wilde, 1993:203).

Malvern's first state school originated from the school at St George's Church. Classes were also held in the Court House until 1874, when a new two-roomed school was built on the reserve in Spring Road. The Spring Road School grew rapidly, as new urban settlers populated the district. Several additions were made to the school – in 1889, 1907, 1913 and 1923 (Strahan, 1989:96; Cooper, 1935:180–81).

Later expansion in the east of the study area during the inter-war period brought increasing demands for new schools to ease overcrowding in existing schools. Considerable campaigning by local communities was necessary before the State Government addressed the backlog. Although the site of the Lloyd Street School was purchased in 1920 it did not open until 1923 and was raised to central-school status within three years, a feat that was described as a 'very creditable' achievement by the council (Strahan, 1989:98).

cxvii Spring Road State School, Malvern c.1890.

[SLHC Reg. No. 2622]



Education

State education came late to Toorak, probably because the district was settled by wealthy families who preferred to continue private education for their children. Toorak State School was opened in 1890. It later became Toorak Central School. Central schools were the State Government's way of compensating for the lack of a state secondary education system. They provided education to the equivalent of years seven and eight classes so that children could be educated up to the age of fourteen in the state system. Students were awarded the Merit Certificate on successful completion of year eight. Spring Road and Lloyd Street Schools were also central schools. Most central schools in Victoria were gradually phased out after the introduction of state secondary schools, but some remained in the study area for a particular purpose. An important role of central schools in the study area was as feeder schools for Melbourne's two prestigious state high schools, which commenced at year nine – Melbourne High for boys (see page 168) and MacRobertson Girls' High in South Melbourne. Toorak remained a central school into the 1980s. The Spring Road School, now known as Malvern Central School, is a rare example of a Year P-8 school in Victoria today (Strahan, 1989:98–99; Chatham 1985:26–27).

cxviii Melbourne High School soon after opening in 1928.

[SLHC Reg. No. 8699]



9.3 Developing the private school system

The plethora of private venture schools that sprang up in the nineteenth century catered for wealthy families, who preferred to give their children a private education even after the state system commenced (Foster, 1999:59). Even after the establishment of the state secondary system following World War I, the middle-class people of the study area, and indeed other eastern suburbs, continued the tradition of private school education for their children. Janet McCalman has shown that private school education was a crucial factor in defining and maintaining middle-class identity in Melbourne from the 1930s. Although none of the four schools featured in McCalman's *Journeyings: The Biography of a Middle-Class Generation* (1993) are actually located in the study area, her findings highlight the significance of the plethora of private schools and the dearth of state high schools in a large part of the study area throughout its history.

Some time after the Malvern State School vacated the St George's schoolroom, Clara Murray's Malvern Ladies' College occupied the premises. Commenced in 1883, the college moved to Valetta Street, Malvern. Malvern Ladies' College must have been one of the more prestigious schools of the time because it 'attracted vice-regal patronage at its prize-givings'. In 1911 the school merged with Korowa Girls School and moved from Wattletree Road to Kerferd's former house *Ranfurlie* in 1913. Korowa was eventually acquired by the Anglican Church's education system. *Ranfurlie* was used to house boarders until its demolition in 1974. New classrooms designed by Louis Williams were built in 1926 (Strahan, 1989:105–08; Raworth and Foster, 1997:8–9).

Malvern (Boys) Grammar School had similar origins. Commenced by Charles McLean in rented buildings in 1890, the school succeeded in its early years and moved into new buildings in Kerferd Street. It was taken over by the Anglican Church in the early 1920s. The school moved into *Valentines*, the former mansion of J.M. Davies, in 1924. In 1960 it amalgamated with Caulfield Grammar School, to become its Malvern Campus (Cooper, 1935:182–83; Raworth and Foster, 1997:7–8).

Other private schools in the study area, mostly girls' schools, took over mansions that could no longer be maintained by their owners. They were large buildings situated in large grounds in genteel neighbourhoods, close to the homes of their students. A number of them are still in existence – St Catherine's, Sacre Coeur and Loreto Mandeville Hall – although the latter two, being Catholic schools, have different origins (see below). These days the schools take in students from all parts of Melbourne, but perhaps parents in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries preferred their daughters not to travel far to school.

It is interesting that there are few private schools for boys in the study area. This is possibly due to the fact that three of Melbourne's large prestigious 'public schools' – Scotch College, Wesley College and Melbourne Grammar – were just outside the study area's borders and a tram or train ride from the heart of the area. These were the schools to which the professional and business men of Toorak, South Yarra and Malvern sent their sons. Public schools were founded in the 1850s and 1860s by churches, with Government financial support, to prepare students for university and the professions, and for the civil service. Religious adherence to the particular denomination of the school was not necessary, hence the name 'public school' (*Victorian Year Book*, 1973:485). They have become known as private schools in recent years to avoid confusion with state secondary colleges.

There were a few private run and church primary schools in and near the study area. These schools prepared young boys for the public school, without them having to travel far from home. One was at Christ Church, South Yarra (just outside the study area). Another was *Glamorgan* in Toorak, now the primary school campus of Geelong Grammar School. *Glamorgan*, originally a private venture school, is on the former site of Toorak College which was founded in the 1870s by a Presbyterian clergyman for the 'sons of gentlemen', taking over the school in the Toorak Presbyterian Church hall. A new school was built in Douglas Street, but apparently it attracted few sons of gentlemen, because it became a girls' school and moved to Malvern in 1918. The Douglas Street site was taken over by *Glamorgan* in 1887 (Wilde, 1993:233; Chatham, 1985:46).

9.4 Catholic schools

The Roman Catholic school system developed in response to the 1872 *Education Act*, which prohibited religious instruction in state schools. Catholic parishes set up their own primary schools. The first parish schools in the study area were both called St Joseph's. One opened in the parish church at South Yarra in 1888, before the school was built in 1892; the other opened in Malvern in 1889, before the parish was formed (Chatham, 1985:30; Strahan, 1989:106–07).

In addition, religious orders opened single-sex secondary schools – colleges for boys and convent schools for girls. Nuns and brothers – often brought especially from Ireland – founded and staffed Catholic schools. Catholicism in Australia was closely identified with the poor of Irish origin. There were, of course some outstanding exceptions, but generally the influential Irish, such as Arbitration Court Judge Henry Bourne Higgins, were Protestant. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that the Catholic Church made it its mission to provide education as a way of raising the status and influence of Catholics in the Australian community, as well as instructing children in the faith.

In 1873 five Presentation Sisters arrived from Ireland and began teaching girls at St Mary's Church, East St Kilda (just outside the study area). In 1874 they moved to *Turret Lodge*, which had been owned by merchant Thomas Anderson. The school included a boarding school for country girls, and the Sisters accepted girls from poorer families who could not pay the fees. A new convent was built in 1884, and school buildings in 1884. Sacre Coeur opened at Keeley's mansion *Brynmawr* in 1888, and the Loreto Sisters moved their convent school from Albert Park to Joseph Clarke's *Mandeville Hall* in 1924 (Chatham, 1985:33–36; 39; Strahan, 1989:106–07; Raworth and Foster 1997:4–5).

De La Salle College opened for boys in new buildings in Malvern in 1912. The Christian Brothers, founded in Ireland by Edmund Rice to teach working-class boys, opened St Kevin's College in East Melbourne, originally as a senior secondary school. In 1932, the school was transferred to the Toorak mansion *Glenbervie* (demolished) and later to the *Clovelly Estate*, near Heyington Station, where new buildings and playing fields were established (Strahan 1989:106–07; Chatham, 1985:42–43).

cxix *Mandeville Hall as redesigned by Charles Webb, c.1885.*

[SLHC Reg. No. 2088]



9.5 Developing a system of higher education

9.5.1 State high schools

One theory for the lack of secondary schools in the study area for much of its history is that many students of wealthy families attended private schools. Another is the influence of the first state high school, Melbourne High, which quickly established a reputation as one of the premier secondary schools in the state.

At the time of the *Education Act 1872*, primary education was deemed sufficient for working people. Most working-class families could not afford to keep their children at school after they were old enough to work. Technical and trade education was usually acquired on the job by people in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, while secondary and tertiary education remained the privilege of the wealthy.

A new *Education Act* in 1910 allowed the Education Department to provide high school education. A Continuation School in Spring Street, Melbourne had been providing secondary education for boys and girls since 1854, and from 1906 prepared students for university entrance. This school was renamed Melbourne High School in 1912, but it needed a new building and a larger site. Prahran Council campaigned for the new school to be in its municipality, offering a site and a £5000 cash donation. The site on Forrest Hill, overlooking the Yarra River was chosen, and the school was opened in 1927. The Headmaster modelled the new Melbourne High School on the public schools of the day and admitted only boys (Wilde, 1993:224–25). Melbourne High School was to remain the only state high school in the study area until after World War II. During that time, central schools such as at Malvern in Spring Road served as feeder schools.

Once Melbourne High was established, there was a push to provide a similar facility for girls. While Melbourne Girls' High was eventually established outside the study area, a girls' high school was established in Malvern in 1946 on part of the Malvern Primary School No. 2856 site. A freestanding domestic arts centre was built in 1945 as part of the Malvern Girls High School in the form of a single-storey brick house, purpose-built to provide a model domestic interior for teaching purposes. In 1961 a double-storey building was constructed for a library, cookery centre and music room. Malvern Girls' High continued to use the building until the end of 1993 when it reverted to Tooronga Road Primary School. At that time, Malvern Girls' High School merged with the Richmond Girls' High school to form the Melbourne Girls' College.

With the post-war baby boom came higher expectations for education, but people of the study area had to campaign for new state secondary schools to accommodate them. Win Vears remembers the campaign for a high school in Prahran:

... the Member of Parliament at the time said that only two people would go to the high school; they would either go to the technical college – Prahran Tech – or they would go to private schools. Which proved rather false, because at one time I think there were nearly a thousand pupils in the school (recorded interview 5 July 2000, MECWA).

That figure of 1000 enrolments was reached and surpassed within a decade of the school's opening in the mid-1960s. Students included the children of the huge influx of immigrants that moved into Prahran's public housing.

In 1960 Chadstone High School was opened for the children of the new housing estates at the area's south-eastern end. A few other high schools were also built in or near the study area in the 1960s and '70s, including Ardoch High School – a school that adopted an alternative approach to education – in a converted 1920s village of town houses just outside the study area on the south side of Dandenong Road.

Demographic changes and the trend towards private school education in the wider community in recent decades have led to a fall in the number of children enrolling in state secondary schools. In the 1990s many schools across the state were closed or amalgamated including Chadstone, Prahran and Ardoch. Dulcie Wilkie, one of the parents who had worked to establish Chadstone High School, was heart-broken to see it demolished. The site is now Phoenix Park, named in honour of the phoenix on the school's badge (recorded interview 27 July 2000, MECWA). Prahran High was also demolished, the site once again becoming part of Orrong Park.



cxx (above and left) Portables at Chadstone High in 1962 and the school during demolition c.1991. [SLHC Reg. No. 5302 and 8013]

Education

9.5.2 Technical schools

A tradition of working-class education had been established through the Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Arts, which proliferated throughout Victoria, but most of these became little more than libraries and meeting places. Following the findings of the Technological Commission of 1869, Schools of Mines were opened in mining districts, the first being in Ballarat in 1870. Technical schools were established in Melbourne by philanthropists, such as Francis Ormond, successful pastoralist and Toorak resident, who founded the Working Men's College (now RMIT University). George Swinburne established Swinburne Technical College in Hawthorn.

The Prahran Mechanics' institute had a significant role in the development of technical education in the study area, particularly in art and design. The Institute's School of Art and Design was established in 1870, and became a registered Technical Art School in 1909. With the help of the Prahran Council, the institute bought a new site in High Street and opened a new building. The Government began taking responsibility for junior technical education in 1912, and the new building was leased to the Education Department as Prahran Technical School from 1915. This school was the foundation of subsequent junior and senior technical schools for girls and boys in the working-class areas of Prahran and Windsor (Chatham, 1985:62-64; Wilde, 1993:216-18).

9.5.3 Colleges and universities

The Technical School that originated in the Mechanics' Institute building was also part of the evolution of higher technical education in the study area, following the introduction of TAFE and the expansion of the tertiary sector in the 1970s and 80s. The Prahran College of Technology specialised in art and design, but broadened to a more general curriculum. After a complicated process of re-namings, amalgamations and splits, various functions were taken over by other institutions and universities, and the old college site became the Prahran campus of the Swinburne University of Technology (Wilde, 1993:221-24).

cxix (right) Prahran Mechanics' Institute and Technical School and (below) in 1927 students at work, c.1916. [SLHC Reg. No. 7482 and 7470]



cxix (right) Armadale State School, c.1900
[SLHC Reg. No. 9039] *and (above) the view today.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 13333]





At the other end of the study area, *Stonington* has also played a role in the development of Victoria's tertiary education system. After the removal of the Governors, *Stonington* served a variety of uses, including St Margaret's Girls School (which later moved to Berwick) and a Health Department administration centre. From 1957 to 1973 the property was the Toorak Teachers College, which had been founded in *Glenbervie* (11 Glenbervie Road) in 1951. It was one of the new primary teacher training colleges set up to address the teacher shortage during the 'baby boom'. The Toorak Teachers College became the State College of Victoria –Toorak Campus, then the Toorak campus of Victoria College, one of the new Colleges of Advanced Education in 1973. Following the elevation of Victoria College to university status in 1992, *Stonington* became a campus of Deakin University (Heritage Victoria Citation; *A Place in History*, No.34; *Malvern Heritage Study*, p.141).

With such a large private education sector, private teacher training was another important aspect of higher education in the study area. *Mercer House*, in Mercer Road, Armadale, was an Associated Teachers Training Institution established in 1921 to train teachers for private schools. It operated for 60 years and was believed to be the oldest autonomous teachers' college in Victoria (Malvern Archives).

HERITAGE

The theme of *Education* is illustrated by a variety of places that have important heritage values. These values are sometimes expressed in tangible ways, such as by surviving physical fabric (buildings, structures, trees, landscapes etc.), but are also apparent in the associations and meanings embodied by the place for different communities. This chapter provides a summary of values associated with these places and provides a representative list. For further examples, reference should be made to the heritage studies and reports listed in the bibliography.

Examples of heritage places associated with the theme of *Education* include:

Early schools

Examples of early and church schools are extremely rare. Examples include:

- ✧ Hornbrook Free Kindergarten, Earl Street, Windsor
- ✧ Former Congregational School and Protestant Hall, Cecil Place (end), Prahran.

Developing a system of state schools and developing a system of higher education

The study area is notable within the metropolitan area as it contains a number of school buildings that illustrate the development of state education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century after the passing of the 1872 Education Act and the 1910 Act, which provided for secondary education. The sheer number of schools and their size illustrate the rapid development of certain parts of the study area in the nineteenth century as well as the enormous task facing the Education Department during that time.

The now closed state schools within the study area continue to have strong associations with local communities. As the suburbs grow and change, the school buildings remain as important markers of constancy that remind us of the early communities that created what is the study area today. Even when the buildings have been removed, communities have retained strong associations and memories of the place.

Examples of places associated with this theme include:

- ✧ Nineteenth century state schools include Armadale Primary School No. 2634 (Densham Road), and Malvern Central School (Spring Road)
- ✧ Schools that have been closed include Hawksburn Primary School No. 1467 (369 Malvern Road) and Prahran Primary School No. 2855 (High Street).



cxxiii (left) Male students and teachers outside Hawksburn State School, c.1880 [SLHC Reg. No. 7078] and (above) the view today. [SLHC Reg. No. 13369]

The theme of education in the study area is also illustrated by places associated with continuing and higher education and training. The study area is notable as it provides evidence of key stages in the evolution of higher education beginning with Mechanics' Institutes, through to Melbourne High and then to universities. The importance of education as a theme within the study area is also represented by the places that were associated with the training of teachers for both the private and state school systems. The former Malvern Girls' High is of particular significance in the history of education for girls.

Example of places associated with this theme

- ✦ Prahran Mechanics' Institute and Prahran Campus of Swinburne University
- ✦ Melbourne High School and the buildings associated with Malvern Girls High at Primary School No. 2856 (Tooronga Road)
- ✦ *Glenbervie* (11 Glenbervie Road, Toorak)
- ✦ *Stonington* Campus of Deakin University
- ✦ Holmesglen College of TAFE.

Developing a private school system and Catholic schools

The study area provides evidence about the development of the private school system in Victoria. Of particular interest is how the large number of private schools and the correspondingly small number of state schools illustrates the creation, development and establishment of the private school sector in Melbourne. The high number of private schools, and continued adherence to them rather than to the state sector, is significant as it is a key factor in determining the middle-class identity of both Melbourne and the study area. Also of significance is the study area's provision for the training of school teachers specifically for the private sector.

The private schools and other educational establishments are one of the key adaptive re-users of mansions once owned by the area's wealthy residents.

Some examples of private and Catholic schools include:

- ✦ Presentation College, Dandenong Road, Windsor
- ✦ Loreto Mandeville Hall (Mandeville Crescent, Toorak), Caulfield Grammar (Malvern Campus, Willoby Avenue, Glen Iris) and St Catherine's School (Heyington Place, Toorak) – These schools all incorporate former private mansions into the campuses.

COMMUNITY & CULTURE

Chapter 10





COMMUNITY & CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

A natural consequence of the development of communities with common interests is the need for places to meet, socialise, learn and worship. These places are important markers on the landscape, which express the hopes, dreams and optimism of the first settlers for the future development of their communities. The places also represent important stages of life within communities from early childhood to old age. Consequently, these places have great social value and associations with local residents. They also express some of the unique aspects of the study area, and help explain the diversity of the various communities within it by highlighting differences and shared experiences.

This chapter commences with a description of the way Aboriginal peoples continued their cultural connection with the land after European settlement, and how the new communities established their own cultural networks.

Of particular interest within the study area is a strong tradition of helping others – needy people in the local community and further afield – through a variety of institutions and groups. Historically reflecting the extremes of wealth and poverty that characterised the early settlement of the study area, this strong theme of charity and philanthropy is woven like a thread through many of the themes discussed in this chapter and is one of the most significant aspects of the culture of the study area today.

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Aboriginal Affairs Victoria (AAV)

Places where people independently congregated/frequented/travelled (not known if association originates in pre-contact period).

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)

Educating: Forming associations, libraries and institutes for self-education, Establishing schools; Developing Australia's cultural life: Organising recreation, Forming associations, Worshipping, Remembering the fallen, Pursuing excellence in the arts; Marking the phases of life.

HISTORY

10.1 Living as traditional owners

As discussed in Chapter 2, the area that now comprises the Royal Botanic Gardens and Government House (outside the study area) was an important meeting place for the tribes of the Kulin Nation. People continued to gather periodically at this location and in journals by William Thomas (reproduced in *Historical Records of Victoria*) he wrote that ‘there have been 300 natives of 3 different tribes for near three months near this settlement’. It is therefore not surprising that there are a number of places on or just outside the border of the study area that continued to act as meeting places for Aboriginal people. Throughout the mid-1800s, people often camped on the hill behind Christ Church in what is now Fawkner Park. It was reported the people continued to build mia-mias (temporary shelters) and hunt what game remained in the area. Other camping grounds were reported on the corners of Punt and Toorak roads and St Kilda and Toorak roads (Eidelson 1997:86–87) and Presland (1985:32) wrote that Aboriginal people camped in the vicinity of what is now Chapel Street.

cxiv A. Fauchery and R. Daintree, *Aboriginal camp, c.1858*.
Albumen silver photograph. Note: This image may not be of the Yarra within the study area.
[La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria. Accession number: H84.167/44]



Community & culture

The 300-year-old St Kilda Corroboree tree, literally on the border of the study area at the corner of Fitzroy Street and Queens Road, marks an Aboriginal meeting place. It is thought to have been a place where people gathered to conduct important ceremonial business prior to European occupation and subsequently became a fringe camp. Eidelson (1997:40) describes the location as historically and socially important because it witnessed both the cultural change and ongoing attachment to place that has been so indicative of the Aboriginal experience since the 1830s.

10.2 Worshipping

As McDougall (1985:6) has pointed out, the building of a church in a new settlement was a symbol of permanence and security. In the nineteenth century, Christianity was taken for granted as part of life for most people of Anglo-Celtic origins. Church-going, besides being an essential expression of faith, was also a means of establishing respectability and social ties within communities, and of upholding public morality. Churches were founded before their chapels were constructed, holding early worship services and meetings in private homes, hotels, schoolrooms, and even a bowling alley. Early churches were often built of cheap materials such as timber, while some were prefabricated metal structures, which were replaced with more solid and imposing structures of brick or basalt as congregations grew. Nonconformist Protestants led the way with the earliest buildings. This is perhaps due to the strong lay participation, which allowed local people to take the initiative without waiting for diocesan involvement as was the case with Anglicans and Catholics. Nonconformists also tended to go for plainer, therefore less costly, buildings.

The various denominations were generally markers of social status in the early years of settlement. The Church of England (Anglican) was the church of the establishment, although 'C of E' also covered Low Church parishes such as St. Mathew's, Prahran, as well as people with no particular religious affiliations. People of Scottish origin, including many of the wealthy squatting families, were Presbyterians, and the Catholics were predominantly the Irish poor. Nonconformist Protestants, such as the Methodists, Baptists and Independents, tended to be made up of working-class and lower middle-class English.

For many church members social life revolved around the church. Drinking alcohol and going to the pub were frowned upon by the nonconformist churches until the last few decades of the twentieth century, as was dancing – at least until World War II. Dulcie Wilkie grew up in Malvern East in the 1920s and '30s and her family belonged to the Darling Road Methodist Church:

... there was a lot of social life in the church. In fact the church was the fulcrum of your whole life. There was the Ladies' Guild and there was the Men's Club, there was the Christian Endeavour. The ladies gymnasium class was on a Monday night, and the men's gymnasium was another. Choir was Thursday, tennis was on a Saturday. ... We had children's concerts, Sunday school anniversary was a highlight (recorded interview 27 July 2000, MECWA).

The churches were also the social conscience of the community, and most of the institutions concerned with providing care for the needy were set up by churches or church members. This will be discussed further in section 10.3 – Helping other people.

As we shall see, Christian churches were thus extremely influential in founding communities and developing social networks throughout the study area. However, in the second half of the twentieth century falling church attendance and changing demographic conditions were reflected in new uses for some church buildings and in the opening of new churches by immigrant groups.



cxxv The first Presbyterian Church, Glenferrie Road, Malvern, c.1885.
[SLHC Reg. No. 104]

10.2.1 Founding churches

It was customary for the Colonial Government to make grants of land for churches of the main denominations in each area of settlement. However, as all the land in the west of the study area was sold – mainly to speculators – by 1850, no reserves of land for churches were made in the Prahran municipality. Early residents attended churches just outside the borders in Punt Road and Dandenong Road, or travelled to churches in Melbourne.

The first church to be built in the study area symbolised the founding of community, because it gave its name to Prahran's main thoroughfare. The small Independent (Congregational) Chapel was opened in 1850, a few months after the first Divine Service was held in Ellis's cottage. According to Joseph Crook, one of Prahran's earliest residents:

The chapel was erected by voluntary subscriptions. J. Morrison, brickmaker, of Domain Road, gave the bricks, which he made on his ground near the hotel in that road; Ellis's gave the stone and undertook the cartage; Westbury, timber merchant, of Bourke street, Melbourne, gave the timber; W. Jennings, of Melbourne, did the brick work; Chamney, Howard and I, the labour and carpentry; my father and brother the painter's and glazier's work; the heads of other families contributing cash. The chapel was completed and the Rev. W. Morrison preached the first sermon and opened the building in December 1850 (Crook, 1897).

This was the only place of worship in Prahran for two years, and it was also the meeting place for other community groups. The building, which no longer exists, soon became inadequate for the growing community, and a new bluestone church was built in Malvern Road near Chapel Street in 1858. The Prahran Independent Church founded the Christian Endeavour Movement – a kind of Sunday School for young people, which was adopted by other Protestant churches – and also the Melbourne Bible Institute, a training college for ministers and missionaries, which occupied *Armada* from 1941–77 (McDougall, 1985:13–17).

Methodist

The Methodists were also well represented in early Prahran. Services were held in a cottage in the 1850s, before the first chapel, a prefabricated iron building, known as the 'iron pot', was erected on the corner of Commercial Road and Margaret Street in 1852. In 1864 a new bluestone church was built on the corner of Commercial and Punt roads. The story of the Prahran Methodist Church continues under the section on the Prahran Mission below. Many other Methodist churches were founded and built throughout the study area as the population grew and the suburbs expanded. Perhaps the most impressive Methodist building was the Jubilee Church in Toorak, which was built in 1886; however, Methodism was not as strong as in Prahran and other parts of the study area (McDougall, 1985:13–17). Toorak people were more likely to be Anglicans or Presbyterians. The Jubilee Church was damaged by fire after it was closed and subsequently demolished in the 1990s.

Other Protestant denominations were represented from the time of early settlement, including the Baptists and the Churches of Christ, both of which pioneered their denominations from the study area. The Baptists commenced worshipping in South Yarra in 1853, and built their first church in Brewer (now Charles) Street. The South Yarra Baptist Church on the corner of Chapel and Wilson streets was built in 1866, and from there the Baptist Union of Victoria was formed. The first Church of Christ in Victoria commenced services in Prahran in 1853. Early services were held in a bowling alley, then the Mechanics' Institute. The Church of Christ chapel was built in High Street in the 1880s (McDougall, 1985:69–74).



cxxvi Former Methodist Church and Sunday School, 53 Alma Street, Malvern East. [SLHC Reg. No. 9535]

Community & culture

Catholic

Catholics were concentrated in the working-class parts of Prahran and South Yarra. The first Catholic masses were celebrated in Glasgow's Public House in East St Kilda in 1853. A small church, St Mary's, was built on land granted by the Government on the south side of Dandenong Road in the same year. In 1869 this building was replaced by a larger church designed by William Wardell (who also designed St Patrick's Cathedral and St John's Church of England, Toorak). South Yarra Catholics were granted land in Punt Road, opposite Argo Street (outside the study area), but the site was sold and another site purchased in Fitzgerald Street, closer to the working-class houses of the parishioners. St Joseph's Church was built there in 1888. Catholics from Toorak and Armadale attended St Joseph's until St Stanislaus' Church was built on part of the former Toorak House Estate in 1912. Local Protestant families contributed funds, probably so that their Catholic servants could have a church close by. This church was replaced by St Peter's in 1922, and became the fashionable church for 'mixed marriages', that is, between Catholics and Protestants (McDougall, 1985:56–63). Early Malvern was also dominated by Protestants, and local Catholics had no church of their own until the first St Joseph's was opened in Stanhope Street in 1890 (Strahan, 1989:90; Cooper, 1935:178). The old church became the Parish Hall when it was replaced by the present church designed by A.A. Fritsch in 1908.

Church of England

Although the largest denomination in the early years of Victoria's settlement, the Church of England was relatively slow in providing places of worship for their members in the study area. Land grants for the western part of the study area for local Anglicans were just outside the study area, in Punt Road, South Yarra (Christ Church) and Chapel Street, East St Kilda (All Saints). At the eastern end of the municipality, in Warrigal Road, the Holy Trinity Church was established on land granted by the Government for Church of England purposes. Land in Glenferrie Road was also reserved for where St George's Church was established.

St Matthew's was the first Church of England to commence inside the study area. Services were held in a cottage in 1853, and then in the Church of England Schoolroom in Chapel Street, which became known as 'St Matthew's (temporary) Church'. The permanent Church of St Matthew was built in High Street, Prahran, and opened in 1878 (McDougall, 1985:28–30).

The origins of St George's Anglican Church, Malvern, can be traced to Sunday School classes commenced in the home of Colin Campbell, *Haverbrack*, in Malvern Road in the mid-1850s. The schoolroom built in Glenferrie Road in 1857 was also licensed for church services, until St George's Church was built beside it and opened in 1871 (Cooper, 1935:172–75).

The oldest existing church building at the eastern end of the study area is Liddiard Hall, constructed in 1858 from site-fired handmade bricks on the corner of Dandenong and Warrigal roads. This building was the original Holy Trinity Church of England. A larger church building was constructed in 1919 (A Place in History, No.71).

cxvii (right) St George's Church, Glenferrie Road, Malvern in 1888.

[SLHC Reg. No. 103]



Community & culture

Independent or Congregational Church

One of the earliest churches in the study area was established in 1858 by the United Free Methodist Church on a site in Peel Street, Windsor. It replaced an earlier galvanised iron building on the site that was originally owned by the Independent or Congregational Church. In 1866 most of the congregation decided to join the Congregational Church. In 1977 it became part of the Uniting Church and the final service was held in 1979.

10.2.2 Churches as a reflection of social and economic status of suburbs

The first Anglican Church built in Toorak was St John the Evangelist, founded as a separate parish from Christ Church in 1859. The building, designed by William Wardell, was opened in July 1860 by the Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Barkly, who would have been the church's most distinguished parishioner. St John's Toorak became the fashionable church for Melbourne's prominent and wealthy citizens and was *the* church for society weddings (McDougall, 1985:35–36).

cxxviii *St John the Evangelist in 1863. Courtesy St John's Anglican Church, Toorak.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 9105]



The Presbyterians also had a strong presence in Toorak, following early beginnings in temporary buildings in South Yarra and Prahran. Services were commenced in the school hall in Jackson Street, Toorak, in 1868. The Toorak Presbyterian Church in Toorak Road was opened in 1875. One of its founders was Francis Ormond, a wealthy pastoralist and philanthropist who was also the founder of the Workingmen's College (now RMIT University) (McDougall, 1985:42–46, Malone, 2004:37). The Hawksburn Presbyterian Church was built on the corner of Cromwell Road and Motherwell Street in 1888, but was replaced in 1964 by the Cairnmiller Institute, which, under Rev. Dr Francis Macnab, combined religion and psychology for the treatment of psychiatric patients. The building continued as a church for those who agreed with the new development and in 1984 merged with the Prahran Parish Mission of the Uniting Church (McDougall, 1985:48–50).

The Salvation Army, an evangelical church with a particular mission to the poor and needy, commenced its work in Australia when Major Barker and his wife arrived in Melbourne in 1876. They were responsible for building the Salvation Army's first purpose-built citadel in Australia in Victoria Street, Windsor, in 1883. This building later became the Prahran Migrant Resource Centre (Cooper, 1924:219; *A Place in History*, No.23).

cxxix *Toorak Presbyterian Church, Toorak Road, in 1906.*

[SLHC Reg. No. 7225]



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cxix The Salvation Army Citadel of 1883, Victoria Street, Windsor (date unknown).
Courtesy Salvation Army Archives. [SLHC Reg. No. 7183]



cxixi Greek Orthodox Church, High Street, Prahran.
[Context 2005]

10.2.3 Churches as an illustration of key phases of suburban development

As suburban development spread through the study area, new churches of the major denominations were established as demand arose among the newly formed congregations. The location and building dates of these churches help to illustrate key phases of suburban development. For example, Ewing Memorial Presbyterian Church (now Uniting Church) began meeting in a butcher's shop off Burke Road, Malvern East, in 1891, at the end of the building boom. However, a permanent church in Burke Road was not constructed until 1906, when the economy had recovered and suburban development of Malvern East re-commenced (Strahan, 1989:86–87). In some cases, buildings were moved around to meet demand: The weatherboard church hall now at 53 Alma Street, Malvern East, began life in about 1890 as a Methodist Church in Glendearg Grove. In 1904 when a new brick church was built, it was used as a Sunday School. In 1928 the front portion of the building including the porch was moved to its present site where it was once again used as a church until a new church was erected in 1958 (Malvern Archives).

10.2.4 Churches as a reflection of changing demographics

Other changes in the churches of the study area reflect the arrival of new ethnic groups. In the 1960s the Greek community purchased the old Baptist Church in Charles Street, Prahran, but it collapsed under the weight of a new roof in 1968. By then Prahran had a second Greek Orthodox Church in the former Mt Erica Methodist Church, bought in 1963. In 1970 the Greek community opened their new purpose-built Orthodox Church of St Constantine and St Helen in Barry Street, South Yarra (McDougall, 1985:64–66).

Melbourne's small Swedish community did not appear to have any particular attachment to the study area when the Swedish (Lutheran) Church planned to move from South Melbourne to larger premises. Australia's Swedish community had grown following the introduction of the General Assisted Passage Scheme to Scandinavians in 1952. The property the Church bought was *Toorak House*, the former nineteenth-century Governor's residence, which was at the end of its life as a grand mansion for the wealthy. The Swedish Church very likely saved *Toorak House* from demolition, and what remained of the property from subdivision. The Swedish Church had a tradition of ministering to Scandinavian seamen, and was also a cultural centre for Scandinavians. These roles were continued when the Church opened at *Toorak House* in 1956 (McDougall, 1985:67–69; Jupp, 1988:810).

The formation of the Uniting Church in Australia, in 1977, from the amalgamation of the Congregational and Methodist Churches and some of the Presbyterian Churches, together with falling church attendances, resulted in a number of redundant church buildings in the study area. Some have been adapted for re-use – the former Prahran Independent Chapel in Malvern Road is now the *Chapel Off Chapel* Performing Arts Centre.

cxxxii Convent of the Good Shepherd, Chadstone, in 1985.
Demolished to make way for extensions to the Chadstone Shopping Centre.
[SLHC Reg. No. 7734]



Community & culture

10.3 Helping other people

The study area has a strong tradition of helping others – needy people in the local community and further afield – through a variety of institutions and groups. Many of these were set up by churches or their members, reflecting the needs and concerns of the generation. Many philanthropists and charity workers have lived in the wealthy parts of the study area, and have made their homes available for charity functions. Charity was not entirely the province of the wealthy and working-class Prahran has had its share of charity workers. Among the working class, self-help in the form of mutual societies also flourished.

Though little physical evidence remains of these early institutions, they were important episodes in the history of the community in the study area of helping other people.

10.3.1 Neglected children and ‘fallen’ women

Charitable institutions reflected both the needs and moral attitudes of the era. Of concern in the nineteenth century were neglected children and ‘fallen’ women. Concern over the number of neglected or orphaned children wandering the streets in the years following the gold rushes had led to the passing of the *Neglected and Criminal Children’s Act* 1864, which provided for the establishment of reformatories and industrial schools. This was essentially a crime-prevention measure, designed to train those children perceived to be exposed to a life of crime to become respectable workers. The Convent of the Good Shepherd, built in 1883 in Chadstone, was one such institution. It took in girls deemed to be in need of care and protection, and provided them with academic, domestic and commercial training. Chadstone Shopping Centre now occupies the Convent site (Barnard and Twigg, 2004:25; *A Place in History*, No.69).

Perhaps the influence of the rural atmosphere on the edge of the metropolis was considered suitable for such institutions, because the Salvation Army also had their Industrial School for girls at the eastern end of the study area. *Belgrave* (1215 Dandenong Road) the house built in 1873 for Robert Glover Benson, a long-term Malvern Shire Councillor, was leased to the Salvation Army from 1898 to 1912 (*A Place in History*, No.67).

The Try Boys’ Society, commenced in 1883, was a different approach to the problem of children on the streets. It was founded by Toorak merchant William Mark Foster to give underprivileged boys the opportunity to learn self-reliance through activities such as singing, sport and reading. The club commenced in Foster’s home but soon moved to St John’s Sunday School building. In 1887 the Toorak and South Yarra Try Boys’ Society built its own hall on land in Surrey Road donated by Mrs Margaret Hobson. A similar club for girls was started in 1895. After the Try Society broadened its interests and moved elsewhere its building was used as a gymnasium until its demolition in 1995 (Wilde, 1993:243; Malone, 2000:46–48).

xxxiii (right) Toorak and South Yarra Try Boys’ Society (demolished) in Cromwell Crescent in 1906. [SLHC Reg. No. 7236]



Community & culture

Malvern resident, Councillor and MLA for Toorak Alex McKinley was appointed a special magistrate for the Children's Court in 1907, serving as its Chairman for twenty years. He was President of the Children's Welfare Association and had a long connection with the Latrobe Street Mission School. McKinley fought in Parliament for legislation for children's welfare and the *Children's Court Amending Act* 1917 was largely his work. McKinley Avenue in Malvern is named in his honour (Malvern Archives).

In 1885 the Swinborn family, who were Quakers, opened a refuge and training centre for women, mainly ex-prisoners and alcoholics. The centre, called the Elizabeth Fry Retreat, after the English Quaker social reformer, was in Argo Street, South Yarra. It was run by the Swinborns until after World War II, when it was taken over by the Melbourne City Mission. It closed in the 1970s and the site is now the Argo Reserve (Malone, 1998:32–33).

The Methodist Babies Home was set up in 1929 at Copelen Street, South Yarra, by a group of Methodist laymen who wanted to 'rescue' neglected children from Melbourne's slums. It was also the place where babies of single women were kept while awaiting adoption, in an era when single motherhood was not socially or morally acceptable, nor economically possible for most women. The Home was supported by Victoria's Methodist community. Win Vears remembers the Blue Book scheme, by which small amounts of money were collected regularly from church members:

... you paid threepence or sixpence a week into it. And you just put a pinprick on it. They had young ones at the church doing it, you were asked would you do it. And I collected when I was about twelve years of age for the Blue Book.
(recorded interview, 5 July 2000, MECWA)

As social attitudes changed and single mothers were no longer ostracised by society but supported with government benefits introduced in the 1970s, the Methodist Babies Home changed its function and its name. As Copelen Family Services, run by the Uniting Church, the emphasis was on supporting families in caring for their own children, by providing temporary care in nurseries. Eventually it was decided to consolidate Uniting Church family services and locate them elsewhere. In the early 1990s the Copelen Street site was sold for residential development. All that is left of the old Babies Home is a stand of gum trees in the former garden (Vears, recorded interview, 5 July 2000, MECWA; Malone, 2000:12–14).

10.3.2 Institutes for blind and deaf children

There are some large institutions on the doorstep of the study area, which also relate to the theme of helping others. Both the Victorian School for the Deaf and the Royal Victorian Institute for the Blind had their origins in the study area. The first school for deaf people was opened in Peel Street, Windsor, in 1860. Its founder, Frederick Rose, a builder, lived at *Oxonia* (3 Foster Avenue, Malvern). The Independent Church's first minister, the Rev. W. Moss took an interest in the school, so it is possible that the school was first conducted in the small Independent Chapel (72 Peel Street, Windsor) that had opened in 1858. The school moved to other sites in Henry Street, Nelson Street and the site of South Yarra's first Methodist chapel on the corner of Commercial Road and Margaret Street, before it settled on its present site in St Kilda Road in 1866 (Cooper, 1924:212; Malone, 1998:31–32; Crook, 1897; *Malvern Heritage Study*, p.127; McDougall, 1985:17–18).

The former South Yarra Methodist chapel was then taken over by the newly formed Institute for the Blind, in which Rev. Moss was also involved. After the Institute moved to St Kilda Road, the site was used for the Braille Library, founded in 1894. The building that houses the present Braille and Talking Book Library was built in 1918. Blind people tended to live in Prahran, South Yarra and Windsor, close to the Institute and in the 1930s there was a broom factory employing blind workers (Wilde, 1993:152).



xxxiv *Braille Library and Hall, Commercial Road, Prahran.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 13332]

Community & culture

10.3.3 Prahran Mission

Prahran Mission is unique in the study area. It is a church that turned itself into a mission with the sole aim of helping people 'to live their lives with more resource, dignity and self-respect' (Malone, 1984:62). The Prahran Methodist Mission was formed in 1946 when the Prahran Methodist Church sold off its property and bought the former Holt's Chambers, a commercial building in the heart of the Chapel Street shopping centre. The building became the Mission's worship centre, and also the centre of a huge network of services to the needy. Services included clubs for women and children, craft centres, day nurseries, chiropody and dental services, firewood for the elderly, a cafeteria providing cheap meals for anyone and free meals for the destitute and homeless, an opportunity shop, rehabilitation for alcoholics and drug addicts and support for other people marginalised by society. The Mission became part of the new Uniting Church in 1977, and has continued to introduce new activities wherever needed (Malone, 1984:62–65).

An interesting dimension of the work of the Mission is that it relies on the voluntary services of a large number of people, many of whom are not particularly well-off themselves. Pensioner Bobbie Nugent who worked there as a cook in the 1990s explained:

There are several kinds of volunteers at the Mission. There are volunteers who have personality problems etcetera, and they take them into the volunteer situation to help them to blend in with people and help handle their daily life. They're called 'participant volunteers'. Then there's volunteers that must do a minimum of eight hours a week, and they're on a government allowance called a 'mobility allowance'. And then there's my kind of volunteer that goes in and that's it, just do your job. I only do two days now because I'm getting old, slowing down. But I like it because you see people, everybody knows you (Recorded interview, 18 September 2000, MECWA).

10.3.4 MECWA Community Care

Another unique home-grown organisation, Malvern Elderly Citizens Welfare Association (now known as MECWA Community Care) was established in 1958 by a group of people concerned for the aged in their local district. Care of the aged had traditionally taken place in the family, and people without family support relied on charity, because governments provided few aged-care facilities. With the support of Malvern Town Clerk Dudley Lucas, MECWA's founders took on the responsibility of providing meals on wheels, and building and running retirement villages, nursing homes and day centres. Most of its early volunteers were gathered from local churches. They raised money through opportunity shops, lamington drives and social functions. MECWA's early headquarters were in the newly built Elderly Citizens' Centre next to the Malvern Cricket Ground (demolished), where volunteers prepared and despatched meals on wheels. Their first opportunity shop opened at 136 Wattletree Road in 1964. MECWA had a number of wealthy and influential members and links with 'establishment' people. Under the patronage of people such as former Liberal Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies, MECWA could attract large donations for their fundraising appeals. The organisation's first hostel, MECWA House, opened in Warner's Lane in 1973. Several other aged care facilities followed. MECWA's activities expanded beyond local boundaries and widened to include services for people with intellectual disabilities. The D.W. Lucas Oval in Dunlop Street honours a former Malvern Town Clerk, and a MECWA founder (Marshall, 1998; *A Place in History*, No.64).

10.3.5 Working-class self-help

Prahran Mechanics' Institute

The workers of Prahran and district had access to a number of organisations which were established specifically by working-class people to promote their own welfare. The Mechanics' Institute movement was originally a form of self-improvement for working people who had little access to higher education or book learning. As already mentioned, early technical education in Victoria originated in Mechanics' Institutes, with one of the most successful outcomes in Prahran. The Prahran Mechanics' Institute commenced in Chapel Street in 1854. It held lectures and debates, and opened its library in 1861. The Institute moved to its present High Street address in 1915. It continued as a library in competition with the Municipal Library, although after World War I the library lost its educational focus (Malone, 1999: 4–5; Wilde, 1993:216–17).

Friendly societies and the temperance movement

Friendly societies originated in eighteenth-century England as a way of providing self-help and mutual support among working people. With no state welfare, the societies were an important form of social security. Members made regular contributions of a few pence to a fund upon which they could draw if unable to work because of illness. Funds were also available to pay funeral expenses and support widows and orphans of members. Victoria was the stronghold of friendly societies, probably because of its industrial base. It has been estimated that in 1890 up to one in three people in Victoria came under the protective umbrella of a friendly society (Blainey, 1991:22–23). Friendly societies were well represented in the working-class areas of Prahran and Windsor. The United Order of Oddfellows built a hall in Windsor, which later became a picture theatre, and later still a cabaret. Foresters and other societies were also represented in the area. Although meetings were sometimes held in hotels, friendly societies generally promoted temperance, as sobriety was regarded akin to respectability and prosperity. United Friendly Societies Dispensaries were built in Cecil Place, Prahran and Valetta Street, Malvern.



cxxxv *Independent Order of Rechabites Hall, Little Chapel Street, Prahran.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 13336]



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The Independent Order of Rechabites was the temperance group most strongly opposed to the use of alcohol. One of their main goals was the promotion of total abstinence. Friendly societies built meeting halls, some of which were quite elaborate during the boom years, for their meetings and social activities. Prahran's Rechabite Hall, the Perseverance Tent No 34 – the Rechabites always called their branches and halls 'tents' in honour of a Biblical character who was a total abstainer and tent dweller – in Little Chapel Street was built at the height of the boom in 1889, replacing an earlier hall built in 1871. Perseverance Tent had a strong association with Victorian Premier, temperance crusader and 'landboomer' James Munro, who was a Charter Member and Chief Ruler (Malone, 2001:48–9; *A Place in History*, No.21).

cxxxvi Independent Order of Rechabites: the procession leaving the Tent-room in October 1888 for the laying of the foundation stone for the Independent Order of Rechabites Hall in Clarence Street (now Little Chapel Street).

[SLHC Reg. No. 12303]



cxxxvii (left) Prahran Mechanics' Institute, on the original Chapel Street site, c.1900. [SLHC Reg. No. 8545]

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10.3.6 Philanthropists and charity workers

Wealthy Toorak residents have been able to contribute to the community by donating generous amounts of money for various causes inside and outside the study area. Sir Francis Ormond, a wealthy squatter who lived in *Ognez* (now demolished) in Clendon Road, was the founder and benefactor of the Workingmen's College in the 1880s, Ormond Hall at the University of Melbourne, and Toorak Presbyterian Church. Sir Sidney Myer of *Cranlana*, Toorak, was renowned for his generosity during the Depression years, when he funded, among other things, the making of Alexandra Avenue to give work to unemployed men.

Generally it was the men who gave the money and the women who did the work. In an age when married women were not expected to have paid jobs – or indeed single women from wealthy families – unpaid charity work became the career of many women. Public charity institutions such as the Royal Children's Hospital were supported in their early years by the fundraising efforts of ladies such as Dame Elisabeth Murdoch. The Murdoch family lived in *Heathfield* (now demolished), Kooyong Road, Toorak, where Elisabeth hosted many charity functions, including a fundraising meeting of the local Red Cross branch at the beginning of World War I. The Murdoch family later moved to a smaller house at 39 Albany Road, but Dame Elisabeth's charity work continued. More recently, Patricia Rayson of South Yarra has been a tireless worker for Red Cross, carrying on the tradition of her mother and grandmother (recorded interview 27 September 2000, MECWA).

Other Toorak ballrooms were venues for charity balls and parties. Isabel Ross Soden, who lived at *Mandeville Hall* in the early years of the twentieth century, hosted many memorable charity functions (*A Place in History*, No.27). In the 1970s Bernard Dowd hosted Miss Australia functions at *Whernside* (Strahan, 1989:59).

10.4 Health and welfare

10.4.1 Hospitals

Although there are no public hospitals in the study area, the Alfred Hospital is just outside its borders, on land donated by Prahran Council. The land was not in the original subdivision plan, but was later ceded to the Prahran municipality for recreation purposes. The Alfred Hospital has cared for and employed many residents of the study area.

Consequently, the study area has had a number of private hospitals. This is partly due to the existence of many large houses and mansions that could be converted into small hospitals, and to the large population of wealthy clientele, who were ineligible for public hospital care and could afford private hospital fees. The study area's largest private hospital, Cabrini, can trace its origins to the small St Benedict's Hospital, opened by the Sisters of Mercy in the converted mansion *Coonil* in 1920. When the Sisters moved to their new Mercy Private Hospital in East Melbourne in 1935, they sold St Benedict's to the Cabrini Sisters, who developed the present modern complex (Priestley, 1990).

Another representative of the small local private hospitals of the earlier twentieth century is the house on the corner of Avondale Road and Auburn Grove, Armadale. This was a private hospital financed by a local doctor and run by a matron, Sister Beeston. The hospital specialised in post-operative and maternity care (Malone, 2005:23).

Other large houses, such as *Waiora* (321 Glenferrie Road, Malvern) have been adapted for the use of larger institutions. Built in 1886 as *Cawood*, the house was the home of wealthy merchant Charles Umphelby, then mining magnate Bowes Kelly, before it was taken over for hospital use in 1912. It was run variously as a private hospital and nursing home, before it was purchased by the Mental Health Authority and used as the Malvern Clinic, the first day hospital for psychiatric patients in Victoria. In 1996, *Waiora* became the home of Very Special Kids, Australia's first hospice and respite care home for children with life-threatening illnesses (*A Place in History*, No.43).

10.4.2 Maternal and infant welfare

The study area has the distinction of providing Victoria's first purpose-built Infant Welfare Centre. This originated from the Prahran Council's Health Department and its Health Officer, rather than from either of the two influential, but rival, organisations: the Victorian Baby Health Centres Association and the Truby King Association. Council set up a Baby Health Centre in the Town Hall in 1920, and expanded the services to two other sites in Argo Street, South Yarra, and the Try Society in Hawksburn. Council's new Prahran Health Centre, as it was called, opened in 1923. It focused as much on maternal health as infant welfare, and employed Dr Mary Herring to provide ante-natal care and education. As such it was unique in its time (Wilde, 1993:168–70; *A Place in History*, No.22).

In Malvern, it seems that Council relied on the advice of a group of Toorak and Malvern matrons – who had formed the Toorak Baby Health Centre in 1920 – to establish their Infant Welfare Services. The centre was first set up under the auspices of the Victorian Baby Health Centres Association in a room in the Malvern Town Hall. The women's group supported the centre with donations of baby clothes. Malvern's first purpose-built Baby Health Centre (Barkly Avenue) was opened in 1928 (since demolished). Victoria's first Director of Maternal, Infant and Pre-School Welfare was Malvern resident Dr Vera Scantlebury Brown (Cooper, 1935:236–9; *A Place in History*, No.56).

10.5 Preserving traditions and group memories

This theme strongly demonstrates pride of the local community in the study area's history and heritage, and a will to preserve the special nature of its built environment. As already mentioned in Chapter 8, parts of the natural environment of the study area have been saved or rehabilitated because of community activism.

10.5.1 Local history collections

The people of the study area have made a commitment to preserve their history, and both Malvern and Prahran formed strong and active historical societies, with comprehensive collections, many of which are now available on-line via Council's website. Of special note is the continued use of the Mechanics' Institute Library as a local history library with a collection that covers not only local districts, but the history of Victoria generally. In High Street, Malvern, *Northbrook*, the house of failed land-boomer Donald Munro, was purchased by Council in 1945, and used by the Malvern Library. It now houses the Stonnington Local History Collection, and is used for community functions.

10.5.2 Como and the National Trust

In 1954 the sale and subsequent demolition of *Werndew*, the Toorak mansion built in 1887 by banker Jenkin Collier, spurred into action a number of prominent Melbourne people, who had been watching in dismay as one by one Melbourne's beautiful and historic buildings were demolished to make way for modern development. The outcome was the formation of the National Trust of Australia (Victoria) founded in May 1956. If *Werndew* was the spur, *Como* was the catalyst for the founding of the Trust. Charles and Caroline Armytage's last surviving daughters were still living at *Como*, but were having difficulty maintaining the large property. They dreaded the thought of *Como*'s demolition or conversion into a nursing home, and welcomed the suggestion that it could become the first property of a newly formed National Trust. The sisters agreed to sell *Como* to the Trust for less than half its value, and also gave a sizeable cash donation to the Trust. *Como* thus became the flagship and headquarters of the National Trust. It was first opened to the public in July 1956, and has become one of the Trust's and Melbourne's most visited heritage sites.

Many early influential members of the Trust were residents of Toorak and South Yarra (Malone, 2004:45–46; Clark, 1996:10–14). For fifty years the Trust has worked to protect historic buildings and the natural environment, and to educate the public to appreciate and conserve Victoria's heritage. Another Trust acquisition in the study area was the Toorak mansion *Illawarra*. Many more sites in the study area have National Trust classification. *Como* and *Illawarra* demonstrate the opulent lifestyles of the wealthy, and the notions of heritage that motivated the Trust's founders. The Trust, and the heritage movement generally, has since developed a wider view of what constitutes Australia's heritage.

10.6 Appreciating and defending the environment

10.6.1 Preserving the natural environment

Although an awareness of the value and beauty of the Australian environment grew in the general community with the nationalism of the Whitlam Government in the 1970s, there were people of an earlier age who worked to defend the native environment. One leading worker and campaigner was Dr Sir James Barrett, a prominent ophthalmologist with the Eye and Ear Hospital and public figure. Barrett was Chairman of the National Parks Association, formed in 1908 and founding President of the Town and Country Planning Association formed in 1914. These associations became part of a lobby group that urged government to reserve areas as national parks. Barrett led by example. He kept his Lansell Road property, *Palmyra* (later known as *Heimath*, demolished) as natural bushland and a haven for native animals (Clark, 1986:10; Malone, 2004:12). The long campaigns of Barrett and others eventually bore fruit in the establishment of Victoria's system of National Parks.

Gardiners Creek

In the study area public interest in the natural environment was stimulated by the threat to the Gardiners Creek Valley from the proposed freeway in the 1970s. However, concern about the effects of inappropriate development upon the creek began much earlier: Burns (unpubl., pp.44–45) describes how Malvern Council set up the *Gardiner Valley Improvement Scheme* in the 1920s to acquire a continuous strip of parkland along Gardiners Creek, preventing the use of the creek for objectionable factories or poor houses on the flood-prone land, and allowing for the construction of a boulevard road. A continuous strip was not achieved, but we owe the significant parkland along the creek today to the foresight of the early council. This is probably the earliest waterway linear park creation exercise in Melbourne.

When extension of the freeway along Gardiners Creek was proposed in the 1970s, community and council concern led to the establishment of the *Gardiners Creek Valley Study* which examined many impacts of the proposed freeway construction. The community was represented by the Gardiners Creek Valley Association which was formed in 1977 to preserve the valley and adjacent houses from an extension of the South Eastern Freeway.

The huge public protest over the freeway is noted in Chapter 4 and, although they were not able to stop the freeway, the association and other activists were able to influence the program of restoration of parts of the valley to reflect some idea of the original natural environment. The establishment of the Urban Forest was also a concession to the loss of open space which would have not been gained without community activism (Strahan, 1989:6–12, 255).

When ultimately the road was built as an arterial road, the Country Roads Board paid the City of Malvern compensation for lost parkland and damage to its park facilities. Some of this money, that which was not required for repairing facilities, was spent on landscaping areas of parkland, and the *Malvern Valley Plan* was established to direct this work.

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10.6.2 Recreating the natural environment

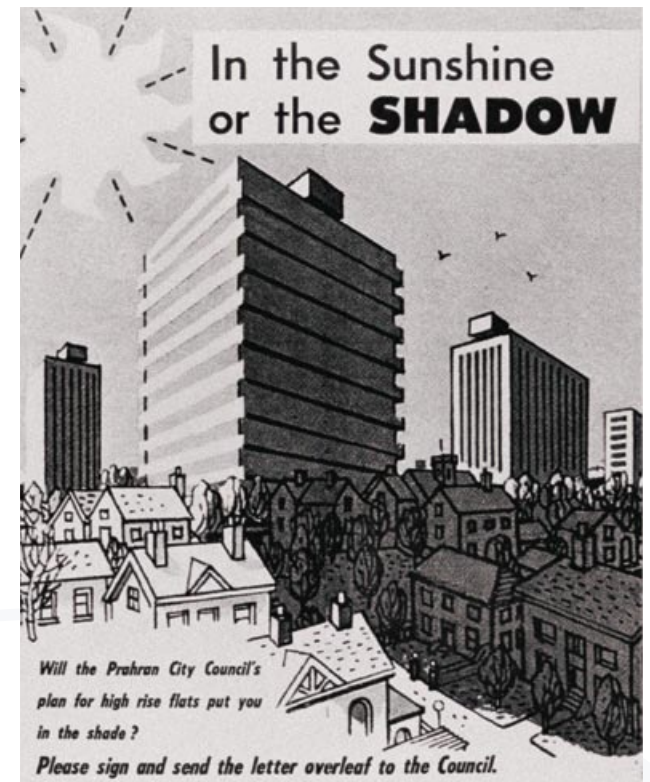
In 1979 the Outer Circle Railway land between Gardiners Creek and Dandenong Road was offered to Council for low rent by the MMBW and the Railway Construction Board, and in 1980 the Council took this opportunity to propose the development of the land as an 'urban forest' (City of Stonnington, 2001:5). The first concept plan was developed by the Forests Commission in association with Malvern City Council and funding from the Department of Sport and Recreation. Planting began in late 1983 with the involvement of Council, contract workers, local schools and community groups. Parts of the original railway ballast and platform verges (of the Waverley Road Station) are still present.

W.M. Dane Park adjacent to Heyington Station is a good but rare example of revegetation in a small park in a highly urbanised setting. When the land was proposed for sale and development in the 1990s a group of local residents, including former long-serving Prahran Councillor Bill Dane, strongly objected to the sale of the land and supported its retention as a park. In doing so they protected the large remnant native trees in the park and caused the creation of a little habitat oasis (Malone, 2002:53, 2004:18).

10.6.3 Campaigning against high-rise development

As noted in Chapter 6, there was community opposition to the building of flats, particularly high-rise blocks in the study area from the 1920s, but it was the 1969 'Perrott Plan' that brought Toorak and South Yarra residents out in protest. Patricia Rayson, inaugural secretary Toorak/South Yarra Anti-High-Rise Group remembers:

We moved here in April 1968 and just enjoying settling and getting to know the area and suddenly the Council launched their plans to [allow a] twenty-storey high-rise right along the Alexandra escarpment and fifteen-storey over on that Toorak Road hill. No-one would have had any sun. It's absolutely horrendous. So out of that we met at Miss Leeper's home at 11 Kensington Road and formed the group. Tony Sallman organised a meeting in St John's Church Hall and had John Bailey, a town planner, as guest speaker. St John's Church Hall was standing room only and Tony Sallman said, 'now a group has been formed, we need funds to fight this'. And people just dropped money into our hands as they walked out the door, and we walked out of that hall with over seven hundred dollars to start a fighting fund – incredible the reaction (recorded interview, 27 September 2000, MECWA).



cxxxviii Toorak/South Yarra Anti-High-Rise Group leaflet dating from 1970. [SLHC Reg. No. 8717]

The South Yarra Anti-High-Rise Group successfully campaigned for maximum heights of two storeys in residential streets, and led to the election to Prahran Council of people who opposed high-rise development, including Patricia herself. The fight to protect the character of South Yarra and Toorak has been continual, particularly since the raising of maximum building heights in some parts of the area in the 1980s. A number of multi-storey buildings have been allowed along Toorak Road. One example of a compromise between developers and objecting residents is the residential complex that replaced the former Methodist Babies Home in Copelen Street (Malone, 2000:14).

10.7 Pursuing common leisure interests

There were other institutions besides churches that indicated the formation of communities and helped define local identity. Early sporting clubs involving men only were formed in the study area in the 1860s. By the end of the nineteenth century many of the sporting organisations in the study area today were already in existence. Sport, like religion, could be a marker of social status, as evidenced by the private tennis courts in the wealthier suburbs of the area, and perhaps the comparative strengths of football and cricket in Prahran and Malvern. Sporting grounds made use of land, such as the creek valley flood plain, which was unsuitable for built development.

Music and dancing also brought people together for both public and private recreation. Again the various forms in which these entertainments took place illustrate the distinctive social groupings within the various communities of the study area. The cinema was also well represented in the study area.

10.7.1 Sport

Football and cricket

The South Yarra Football Club commenced in 1864 and it played at Fawkner Park (outside the study area) before it was amalgamated with the St Kilda Football Club in 1873 (Cooper, 1924:197–99: www.footypedia.com). Meanwhile, Prahran Football Club was formed in 1886 and was a member of the Victorian Football Association. The club has won several premierships in the VFA and maintained a loyal following by local residents over the years. Toorak Park, developed by Prahran Council from a former quarry pit that supplied the clay for Orrong Potteries, was opened by Prahran Mayor William Davies on 7 October 1893 and it became the club's home ground in 1899. It hosted the VFA Grand Final from 1935–38 and the 1938 final set an attendance record of 17,000. During 1942 and 1943, when the VFA was in recess, St Kilda Football Club played at the ground after the Junction Oval was taken over for military purposes. Toorak Park is also used for cricket. The Cricket Club Pavilion was opened by Prahran Mayor C. Pickford on 14 March 1925, using money awarded to Prahran by the Victorian Cricket Association for winning three consecutive premierships from 1921–23 (www.footypedia.com; Malone, 2005:4).

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In the Malvern community, the cricket club has had a higher profile than its football club. The Malvern Cricket Club was formed by 1862, and was playing on the water reserve in High Street. During the 1870s and 1880s the reserve was developed into a cricket ground, with the grandstand and dressing room constructed in 1879. According to Cooper 'the most famous cricket match in the annals of the Malvern Cricket Club' was the match in which the great English cricketer Dr W.G. Grace played in 1888. The match between the English and Malvern teams was organised by the Shire President, Cr A.E. Clarke, who was an influential member of the Melbourne Cricket Club. Clarke promoted the idea to Dr Grace because the Malvern Cricket Ground's

... charming surroundings, within the shadow of St George's Church, would suggest to the Englishmen a likeness to a cricket match on the outskirts of an English village. (Cooper, 1935:104-07)

The Shire President was echoing the yearnings for English village life, upon which Skinner had founded his Malvern Hill Estate over 40 years earlier.

One of the playing fields of the Gardiner Valley has been used for the innovative sport of cricket for blind people. Blind cricket was invented in Melbourne in 1922 and has been played on the ground at 454 Glenferrie Road, Kooyong, next to the Vision Australia Foundation (*A Place in History*, No.38).

Bowls

The study area has some of the oldest bowls clubs in Victoria, but the historian Cooper has made contradicting statements regarding the origins of the first bowling green. In his *History of Prahran*, he stated that the Melbourne Bowling Club, formed at Windsor in 1864 with 182 members, was the colony's first bowling club. Priestley has also suggested that it was also Australia's oldest bowling club. However in his *History of Malvern* Cooper described the bowling green set up by William Greaves at the Gardiner Hotel, on the corner of Glenferrie and Dandenong roads, in 1862 as the oldest in Victoria (Cooper, 1924:200, 1935:170-71; Priestley, 1984:233). Meanwhile the Malvern Heights Bowling Club operated at the private residence *Kia Ora* in Malvern from 1911-18. The Prahran Bowling Club was formed in 1865, disbanded for a few years, and re-formed in 1888. It played on greens in Grattan Gardens, until 1999. Women were not permitted to join the club until 1937 (*A Place in History*, No.4).

Horse racing and hunt clubs

According to Cooper, horse races were held at Mt Erica in the early 1860s, but the Prahran Racing Club began its activities in 1865, on the reserve between St Kilda and Punt roads, the site of the Alfred Hospital. The Prahran Racing Club appears to have been rather short-lived, and probably succumbed to competition from Caulfield.

A leisure pursuit that was almost the exclusive preserve of the wealthy within the study area was hunting. The Melbourne Hunt Club conducted the first hunt of the season at *Ranfurlie*, the property owned by the Hon. William Knox, from 1897 until its headquarters were established outside Melbourne near Cranbourne in the early twentieth century. As we have seen, *Ranfurlie* later became part of Korowa Girls' School.





Athletics

The Malvern Harriers was formed in 1892 as a men's athletic club, with a focus on cross-country running. The club centred its activities at the Malvern Cricket Ground, where it had its clubrooms. The Harriers were active in Victorian track and field championships, with an emphasis on team efforts, although some individual athletes such as Dick Crossley, who became the curator at Olympic Park, stand out. Champion miler John Landy was associated with the Harriers, as was the famous, but rather eccentric coach Percy Cerutti. Women were admitted to club competition and committee in the 1970s. Barbara Fay was an early member who pioneered the women's marathon (Robbins, 1996).

Golf

In 1891 a group of Toorak businessmen, including John Munro Bruce, established Melbourne's first golf club, the (Royal) Melbourne Golf Club, on an unsold housing estate at Malvern East. The 18-hole course extended across Burke Road from east of Finch Street, through the site of the present Central Park, from Wattletree Road to Waverley Road. The waterholes at Hedgeley Dene were used as water hazards. When the club moved to Sandringham in 1901, the course was taken over by Caulfield Golf Club, which became the Metropolitan when it moved to Oakleigh in 1907 (Foster, 1999:51; Malvern Archives).

As we have seen, the Malvern Valley Golf course was developed over many years by the Malvern Council as it acquired land in the Gardiners Creek Valley. The course had its beginnings in 1904 when 18 acres of land in the vicinity of Malvern East Station was secured as the Eastern Recreation Reserve and was finally able to proceed when 70 acres was donated by T.M. Burke from the 1923 subdivision of the *Malvern Meadows Estate*. Works commenced on construction of the course in 1924, but was delayed by the construction of the Glen Waverley railway in 1928. During the Depression unemployed relief workers were used to help construct the course and the first 9-hole section was opened in 1931. Following the success of this course, it was extended to 13 holes in 1934 and a year later the 18-hole course covering 110 acres opened with facilities at Thornbury Crescent. Much of the course was lost due to the construction of the Monash Freeway, and in 1988 a new architect-designed course was made (*A Place in History*, No.66).



cxli *Malvern Municipal Golf Links, c.1930s.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 172]

Community & culture

Tennis

As mentioned in Chapter 8, many mansions and large villas in Toorak and Malvern had their own tennis courts, and their owners were able to enjoy private games with family and friends. Win Vears remembers being invited to tennis parties at *Carmyle* in the 1930s (recorded interview 5 July 2000, MECWA). A number of municipal tennis courts and church tennis clubs were also established throughout the study area. It is, therefore, perhaps no coincidence that the most significant sportsground in the area, nationally, is the Kooyong Lawn Tennis Club in Glenferrie Road.

Unlike the other sports clubs in the study area, it did not originate as a local institution. The Lawn Tennis Association of Victoria was formed in 1892, and the first Australasian Championships were held in 1905 at the Albert Ground in St Kilda Road. Tennis grew in popularity and a larger site was sought. In 1920 the Kooyong site, formerly part of the *Moonga* estate, was purchased by the association. Facilities were constructed for international matches, and the courts were opened in 1927 by Australia's first Wimbledon champion, Sir Norman Brookes. Kooyong hosted 34 Australian Championships and several Davis Cup events, before the major international tournaments were transferred to the new National Tennis Centre at Melbourne Park. The association changed its name to the Kooyong Lawn Tennis Club in 1988 (*A Place in History*, No.28). Kooyong is still a byword for tennis in Australia.

10.7.2 Music, dancing and cinemas

Malvern Municipal Band

The tradition of brass bands originated in nineteenth-century Britain, and was continued on in many suburbs of Australian cities. One of the earliest bands in Melbourne was the Hawthorn Brass Band, formed in 1888. The Prahran and Malvern Tramways Employees Band was formed in 1911 in the home of Charles Snelling. Its name was simplified to Malvern Tramways Band a few years later. The band practised in the former *Northbrook* stables in High Street from 1932. By 1947 most of its original members, who were tramways employees, had retired or moved away and the band was renamed the Malvern Municipal Band. Over the years the band has achieved considerable success in competitions, but it was also prominent in local celebrations, commemorations and concerts at the Malvern Town Hall, the bandstand in Central Park and other local venues. The band was renamed Stonnington City Brass in 2000 (websites Hawthorn City Band, Stonnington City Band; *A Place in History*, No.45).

Other music-making – public and private

During wartime people kept their spirits up with community singing in the Malvern and Prahran Town Halls. Lil, a long-time resident of Prahran, remembers that her mother always sat in the same seat for community singing at the Prahran Town Hall (recorded interview 19 July 2000, MECWA).

Private concerts were held in the mansions of the wealthy. Nellie Melba sang at soirees at *Como* in the 1890s (Fox, 1996). Win Vears remembered being invited to a concert at *Carmyle* in the 1930s:

I had my first long frock when I was about twelve and a half, to go to a concert at Carmyle. You couldn't go unless you had a long frock. There was a maid in a black and white outfit. And the huge grand piano and the windows that opened out onto the tennis courts (recorded interview 5 July 2000, MECWA).

Dancing – from ballrooms to nightclubs

Dancing has been a popular form of community activity for people throughout the study area during much of its history. According to Cooper (1924:202) the first public dances were held in Prahran in the Royal George Hotel in the 1850s. On one occasion the weight of the dancers upstairs caused the ceiling to collapse onto the bar below. In Toorak and South Yarra the tradition of society balls was carried out in the mansions of the wealthy, many of which, like *Como* and *Toorak House*, had ballrooms. An invitation to a Government House ball was an honour anticipated and enjoyed by community leaders, including those not classed as 'society' people. Society balls were often the manner in which the wealthy supported charity, while keeping their social circle exclusive. Private balls and parties were also held for the debut into Society of daughters reaching marriageable age. Miss Leila Armytage's debut was held at *Como* during Melbourne Cup week 1894 (Fox, 1996).

Other girls made their debut in balls held in the Malvern or Prahran Town Halls. Dulcie Wilkie was sixteen when she made her debut, partnered by her brother, at the Malvern Town Hall, just before World War II. The debutantes and partners were trained in traditional ballroom dances, and were presented to the Mayor and Mayoress on the big night. In the 1930s the Malvern 'deb' set was kept together as a network that raised money for charity, emulating the society ladies of Toorak:

... you joined what was called the YML, the Young Malvern League which was for ex-debutantes and their partners. Mrs Crosbie-Gould [wife of the Town Clerk], started that in 1932 after her daughter made her debut. She thought, 'All these girls just wander off, they never see each other again.' So they worked for the Berry Street Foundling Home and the Methodist Babies' Home. They had dances and fetes and all kinds of things to raise money for them. But dances were our main event. We used to have them in the upstairs room at the Town Hall (Wilkie recorded interview, 27 July 2000, MECWA).

These dances and others in support of various causes continued throughout the war years.

In Prahran a popular dance hall was Leggett's Ballroom in Greville Street, which opened in 1920. It was neither exclusive nor parochial: people came from all over Melbourne to dances at Leggett's. After extensions in 1939, it became Australia's largest ballroom. Leggett's also provided dancing lessons, and kept up with the latest dance crazes until it closed in 1981. The building was demolished and site became a sports complex and later a residential development (Wilde, 1993:262-64).

While ballroom dancing was eventually to wane, the new forms of popular music in the post-war era and changes to licensing laws led to the emergence of nightclubs and, later, discotheques in the 1970s. The *Toorak Café and Cabaret* (situated on the north side of Toorak Road approximately where the Longford Cinema now is) was a well known nightclub, which was later known as the *Winston Charles*, *Playboy Club* and *Claridges*. One of the best-known venues of recent times was *Chasers* in Chapel Street (which opened in 1979), another was *Silvers*, in the Trak Centre at 445 Toorak Road. *Chasers* has a long history as a nightclub and cabaret and for a time in the 1960s it was known as the *Copacabana*, when it was popular with the Greek community.

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cxlii Bright young things at the Winston Charles nightclub, 1968 (formerly Toorak Café & Cabaret) shown left, (date unknown).
[SLHC Reg. Nos. 2274.3 and 8679]

Cinema

In the second decade of the twentieth century moving pictures were a new form of popular entertainment, and the study area's first theatre, the *Royal*, opened in Chapel Street in 1911, followed by the *Tivoli* in Glenferrie Road, Malvern in 1913, the *Empress* in Chapel Street and the *Armada Theatre* in High Street, and several more including the *Victory* in Wattle Tree Road in the 1920s. The arrival of the 'talkies' in the 1930s brought a new crop of theatres, including the *Windsor* on the corner of Peel and Albert streets, and the Village Theatre at Toorak Village. None of these theatres is still operating, but a few buildings, including the *Victory* and the *Armada*, have survived with other uses.

The study area had a special association with the cinema, through one of its houses and one of its residents. In 1899, the Salvation Army Film *Soldiers of the Cross*, believed to be the world's first full-length feature film, was made at *Belgrave* in Chadstone, which was the Salvation Army Industrial School at that time. Toorak resident Frank Thring (snr) was the managing director of Hoyts, and also a pioneer film producer in Australia (Wilde, 1993:254–59; Raworth and Foster, 1997:14; Malone, 2005:28; *A Place in History*, No.67).

10.8 The arts

Although the study area does not have the reputation as an artist's haunt, such as that enjoyed by Heidelberg or Eltham, a number of celebrated artists, musicians and writers have made their homes in the study area.

Carlsburg (formerly known as *Buona Vista*) was the home of Frederick McCubbin, from 1909 to 1917, and some of his paintings were of views from his house (Malone, 2000:17). Rupert Bunny lived above the newsagent's shop on the corner of Toorak Road and Caroline Street, South Yarra, from 1937–1947 (Malone, 1998:10–11). Fred Williams lived above his family's shop on the corner of Glenferrie and Malvern roads in the 1940s, where he painted his earliest signed and dated work, *Backyard Malvern (A Place in History, No.44)*. Sculptor Karl Duldig worked and ran classes in his studio in Burke Road, Malvern East, from 1953 (*A Place in History*, No.62).

Thomas Alexander Browne, better known as writer Rolf Boldrewood, had family connections with one of the earliest families to settle in South Yarra, the Forrests. Brown lived and worked at 103 Mathoura Road in his later life in the early twentieth century. Flautist John Amadio lived in the same street at number 88 before World War II (Malone, 2002:56 and 58).

In the post-war period some artists began to use redundant buildings such as old factories and the unused upper floors above many of the old shops and department stores in Chapel Street as studios. One of Australia's foremost post-war painters, Howard Arkley (perhaps best known for his paintings of suburban scenes in 'day-glo' colours) occupied a studio in Chapel Street in the 1970s in the upper levels of the Prahran Arcade building. Reputedly, he is said to have painted graffiti on the walls in his distinctive style.

Community & culture

HERITAGE

The places associated with theme of *Community and Culture* have historic, social and aesthetic values as they demonstrate the development of communities, their support services and cultural activities over time. These values are sometimes expressed in tangible ways, such as by surviving physical fabric (buildings, structures, trees, landscapes etc.), but are also apparent in the associations and meanings embodied by the place for different communities. This chapter provides a summary of values associated with these places and provides a representative list. For further examples, reference should be made to the heritage studies and reports listed in the bibliography.

Worshipping

Churches are at the hub of the study area's developing communities. The location and denomination of the churches gives an insight into the spread of different social classes and ethnic groups in the study area over time. The dates and locations of churches mark key phases of suburban development and have become local landmarks.

Churches in the study area were not only places to worship but centres of education and social life – places to meet, socialise, play sport and enjoy music and arts. They were also at the root of many welfare efforts in the study area. Some examples include:

- ✧ Founding or early churches – the United Free Methodist Church (66-72 Peel Street, Windsor), former Prahran Independent Church (Malvern Road, Prahran), Liddiard Hall (Holy Trinity Church of England, corner of Dandenong and Warrigal roads, Chadstone), St George's Anglican Church (Glenferrie Road, Malvern), St Joseph's Catholic Church (Fitzgerald Street, South Yarra), and St Joseph's 1890 Catholic Church (now the Parish Hall, Stanhope Street, Malvern)
- ✧ St John the Evangelist Church (Toorak Road, Toorak) and the former Salvation Army Citadel (Victoria Street, Windsor) reflect the historic social and economic status of the suburbs where they are located. Another example is the former Hawksburn Presbyterian Church (now Cairnmiller Institute, corner of Cromwell Road and Motherwell Street, South Yarra)
- ✧ Churches that illustrate suburban development – Ewing Memorial Presbyterian Church (now Uniting Church) Burke Road, Malvern East, and St Joseph's 1908 Catholic Church (Stanhope Street, Malvern). The former Methodist Church 53 Alma Street, Malvern, is another example, which is also a rare example of an early timber church
- ✧ Churches that illustrate social and demographic changes – Orthodox Church of St Constantine and St Helen, Barry Street, South Yarra, and the Greek Orthodox Church, High Street, Prahran.

Helping other people

The study area is notable for its strong tradition of public and private organisations established to help the less fortunate through self-help and philanthropy. Examples include:

- ✧ Buildings associated with charitable societies include the Salvation Army Citadel (later Migrant Resource Centre) Victoria Street, Prahran, Rechabites Hall (Little Chapel Street, Prahran) and the former United Friendly Societies Dispensary (Cecil Place, Prahran)
- ✧ Argo Reserve (site of Elizabeth Fry Retreat)
- ✧ Braille and Talking Book Library, 31-51 Commercial Road, Prahran
- ✧ Former Holt's Chambers, now Prahran Mission, Chapel Street, Prahran
- ✧ MECWA House (demolished), Warner's Lane, Malvern
- ✧ Prahran Mechanics' Institute
- ✧ Grattan Gardens Community Centre, Prahran
- ✧ Houses associated with charities and individuals include *Como*, *Mandeville Hall*, and *Whernside*.

cxliii Belgrave at the corner of Dandenong
and Belgrave roads, c.1900. [SLHC Reg. No. 399]



Community & culture

Health and welfare

The study area is notable for the provision of health and welfare services by local councils and private operators. The study area has no public hospitals. Instead, there were a number of private hospitals and welfare institutions which are located in the area's mansions and, historically, provided services to the wealthy residents. In addition, the former City of Prahran was a provider of a range of innovative health and welfare services to its local community during the early twentieth century. However, many of buildings associated with this theme have been demolished (e.g. *Coonil*, a mansion formerly part of Cabrini Hospital), or substantially altered or replaced with new buildings (e.g. Prahran Health Centre and Malvern Baby Health Centre). One surviving example is *Waiora* at 321 Glenferrie Road, Malvern.

Appreciating and defending the environment

- ✧ Glen Iris Wetlands
- ✧ W.M. Dane Park
- ✧ Malvern Urban Forest
- ✧ Malvern Valley Parklands.

Pursuing common leisure interests

- ✧ Malvern Cricket Ground, High Street, Malvern
- ✧ Toorak Park, Orrong Road, Armadale
- ✧ Kooyong Lawn Tennis Club, Glenferrie Road, Toorak
- ✧ Royal South Yarra Tennis Club, Williams Road, Toorak
- ✧ Bandstand (demolished), Central Park, Malvern
- ✧ The stables at *Northbrook*, 1257 High Street, Malvern, rehearsal venue for the Malvern Tramways Band for many years
- ✧ Surviving cinema and theatre buildings include the former Victory Theatre in Malvern, the former Armadale Theatre, High Street, Armadale, and the former Waverley Theatre, Malvern East
- ✧ *Chasers* nightclub (former), Chapel Street, South Yarra.

The arts

- ✧ *Belgrave*, 1215 Dandenong Road, Malvern East
- ✧ *Grantham*, (former Bona Vista). 67 Kensington Road, Toorak.

WHY IS STONNINGTON SIGNIFICANT?





WHY IS STONNINGTON SIGNIFICANT?

INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the Statement of Significance for the City of Stonnington, which is based upon the information contained in this history and seeks to describe the principal reasons for the significance of the municipality. It is intended to be:

11.1 Introduction

... a brief, pithy but comprehensive statement of all the ways in which the place is significant. It should not just be a list of every conceivable reason for significance that the assessor can think up, however, it must state clearly and unequivocally the major reasons why the place is important. It must be supported by the presentation of sufficient evidence to justify the assessment judgement (Pearson and Sullivan 1995).

In order to more readily understand the significance of the City of Stonnington as a whole, the thematic historical development has been divided into the following key chronological stages:

- ✦ Creation – Aboriginal landscape (pre 1835) – Refer to Figure 10
- ✦ Contact and change – Establishing new communities (c.1835–c.1870) – Refer to Figure 11
- ✦ Boom and bust – Creating ‘Marvellous Melbourne’ (c.1870–c.1900) – Refer to Figure 12

✦ A new beginning – Federation and garden suburbs (c.1900–c.1940) – Refer to Figure 13

✦ Creating a modern city – Motor cars and multi-cultural Melbourne (1940 onwards) – Refer to Figure 14.

The preceding chapters each include a brief assessment of the cultural and natural heritage values associated with specific historic themes in the development of the study area and identify representative places associated with each. The Statement of Significance in this chapter builds upon those assessments and should be read in conjunction with them. In assessing the significance of each stage, this chapter considers:

✦ What is significant? This identifies and summarises the legacies of each stage, which illustrate the various themes described in detail in the preceding chapters. The ‘legacies’¹ may be ‘tangible’ (or physical) elements (such as buildings, parks and gardens, monuments, railways etc.) or ‘intangible’ (such as historic events or associations, community identity or associations, etc.). Some of the physical legacies are shown on the associated Figures listed above.

¹ Legacy: We are using the word legacy in this study to mean result, in terms of a consequence or outcome i.e. what is left as a result of the processes described in this thematic environmental history.

-
- ✧ Why is it significant? This provides a summary of the reasons why each stage is significant. In accordance with the definition set out above (Pearson and Sullivan 1995), this does not attempt to list every reason, but provides an overview of the key reasons why the City of Stonnington is significant, particularly when compared to other metropolitan areas.

The exception is the Aboriginal landscape where further consultation with appropriate communities and research is required in order to establish the significant values of this stage. Council has prepared an Indigenous History of Stonnington that will further enhance this information.

11.2 What is significant?

Contact and change – Establishing new communities (c1835 –c1870)

This era saw the formation of the non-Aboriginal communities within the City of Stonnington. Settlement occurred within a framework that was to essentially define the pattern of development of the study area over the next 100 years. This framework was defined by three key elements; the landscape, Hoddle's grid, and the layout of allotments within the grid and the order of land sales. Legacies of this era (Refer Figure 12) are:

- ✧ The division of the area along class lines defined by topography with large mansion estates established by the wealthy on the higher ground along the river and to the east, while working class housing occupied the lower, swampy ground in Prahran and Windsor
- ✧ The layout of main roads that follows Hoddle's grid, and the distinctive pattern of minor streets that largely reflects the original shape and orientation of the Crown allotments when they were first sold
- ✧ Farm estates in rural areas generally in the eastern parts of the study area
- ✧ The emergence of the first shopping centres in Chapel Street, Commercial Road, Toorak Road and Glenferrie Road
- ✧ *Toorak House*, the residence of the Victorian Governor during the mid-nineteenth century
- ✧ Foundation churches and community institutions
- ✧ The first railway to Brighton via South Yarra, Prahran and Windsor.

Why is Stonnington significant?

Boom and bust – Creating Marvellous Melbourne (c1870–c1900)

The era of ‘Marvellous Melbourne’ saw the city’s rapid development in the wake of the gold rush. Development during this stage built upon the framework established during the previous era and expanded along the rail and cable tram lines, which opened new areas for development. Legacies of this era (Refer Figure 13) are:

- ✦ The completion of the railway network (with the exception of the line from Darling to Glen Waverley), which allowed suburban development to extend as far afield as Glen Iris and Malvern East
- ✦ The beginnings of the grand shopping districts along Chapel Street, Glenferrie Road and Toorak Road
- ✦ Boom-style mansions on large estates in Toorak, Kooyong, Malvern, and Armadale
- ✦ Speculative middle and working class housing estates along the new railway and cable tram lines, which heralded the beginning of suburban development
- ✦ Grand new civic and community buildings including municipal offices, courts, churches and post offices
- ✦ The creation of a free and secular state education system, together with an alternative network of private and Catholic schools
- ✦ City beautification in form of the first municipal parks and gardens and street trees
- ✦ Buildings and places associated with philanthropic and charitable societies and organisations.

A new beginning – Federation and garden suburbs (c1900–c1940)

After the interruption caused by the 1890s depression, the Federation of Australia ushered in a new period of growth and optimism. Perhaps the most significant event during this period was the Cities of Malvern and Prahran co-operating on a venture that would have a profound effect on development in the study area and beyond – the creation of the Prahran and Malvern Tramways Trust. Legacies of this era (Refer Figure 14) are:

- ✦ *Stonington*, the residence of the Victorian Governor
- ✦ The spacious garden suburbs, particularly in the former City of Malvern, which are characterised by detached houses on large allotments that came to define Australian suburban life in the twentieth century
- ✦ An extraordinary wealth of domestic architecture that illustrates almost every popular style to emerge in Australia during the twentieth century. As well as representative places, the City of Stonnington contains examples of architecture that are innovative, unusual and often unique. These include some of the earliest and best examples of Modern architecture
- ✦ ‘Mansion’ style flats and apartment buildings, including the extraordinary precinct created by Harold Lawson in South Yarra
- ✦ One of the most well-developed transport networks of any of Melbourne’s inner-city municipalities, which is notable for the extensive tramway system established by the Prahran and Malvern Tramways Trust

- ✦ A small, but important manufacturing sector in Prahran and Windsor, which specialised in food and clothing. The latter industry was closely associated with development of the Chapel Street shopping centre
- ✦ Great shopping districts in Chapel Street and Glenferrie Road-High Street, which rivalled the Central Business District for custom
- ✦ The development of a system of higher education including higher elementary schools and Melbourne High School
- ✦ Civic works including road building, the creation of new parks, gardens and tree-lined avenues such as Alexandra Avenue and Dandenong Road that transformed the environment of parts of the study area
- ✦ Places for self-help and charitable organisations to assist the poor and disadvantaged.

Creating a modern city – Motor cars and multi-cultural Melbourne (1940 onwards)

By the beginning of the post-war era, suburban development of the City of Stonnington was all but complete, with the last remaining areas of farmland soon to be transformed by suburban development. Legacies of this era (Refer Figure 15) are:

- ✦ Chadstone, Melbourne's first free-standing, suburban shopping centre
- ✦ Major improvements to road networks including the building of Queens Way and the Monash Freeway
- ✦ Altered routes of the Yarra River and Gardiners Creek
- ✦ Increased ethnic and cultural diversity, particularly in areas of Prahran and Windsor, as a result of post-war immigration
- ✦ Housing Commission estates, private flat development, and suburban estates such as the Rialto in Malvern East
- ✦ Gentrification of many former working class residential areas.

11.3 Why is it significant?

In a metropolitan context, the City of Stonnington is significant as it is one of the few municipalities that provide evidence of all of the key phases in the historic development of Melbourne from soon after first settlement until the post-war period.

Contact and change – Establishing new communities (c1835–1870)

This era is associated with the origins of Melbourne as a town founded by entrepreneurial land speculators and the phase of development associated with the gold rush. The City of Stonnington is significant as the place where many of the people who were wealthy or influential in the early development of Melbourne came to live, including many of the most notorious land speculators and thus provides important evidence of this formative period of the city's development. The City of Stonnington is also significant as the place that was an important source of produce and building materials for Melbourne at a critical time in its early development.

Because there are so few remnants of this early period of development, anything that remains must be considered to be of primary significance.

Boom and bust – Creating Marvellous Melbourne (c1870 – c1900)

This era, in the wake of the gold rush, was a time when Melbourne experienced an extraordinary period of growth and the City of Stonnington is significant as one of the inner ring of nineteenth century suburbs that illustrate the development of the dynamic wealthy city that gave rise to the term 'Marvellous Melbourne'.

The City of Stonnington is particularly notable in a metropolitan context because it includes suburbs such as South Yarra, Toorak, Kooyong and Malvern where the wealth and optimism of this era reached its fullest expression in the homes of pastoralists, land speculators and other wealthy residents, as well as in retail, commercial and civic development. The City of Stonnington is also significant as it provides evidence of the class divisions in nineteenth century society, with the mansions of the wealthy standing in stark contrast to the large areas of workers housing, sometimes in the same street.

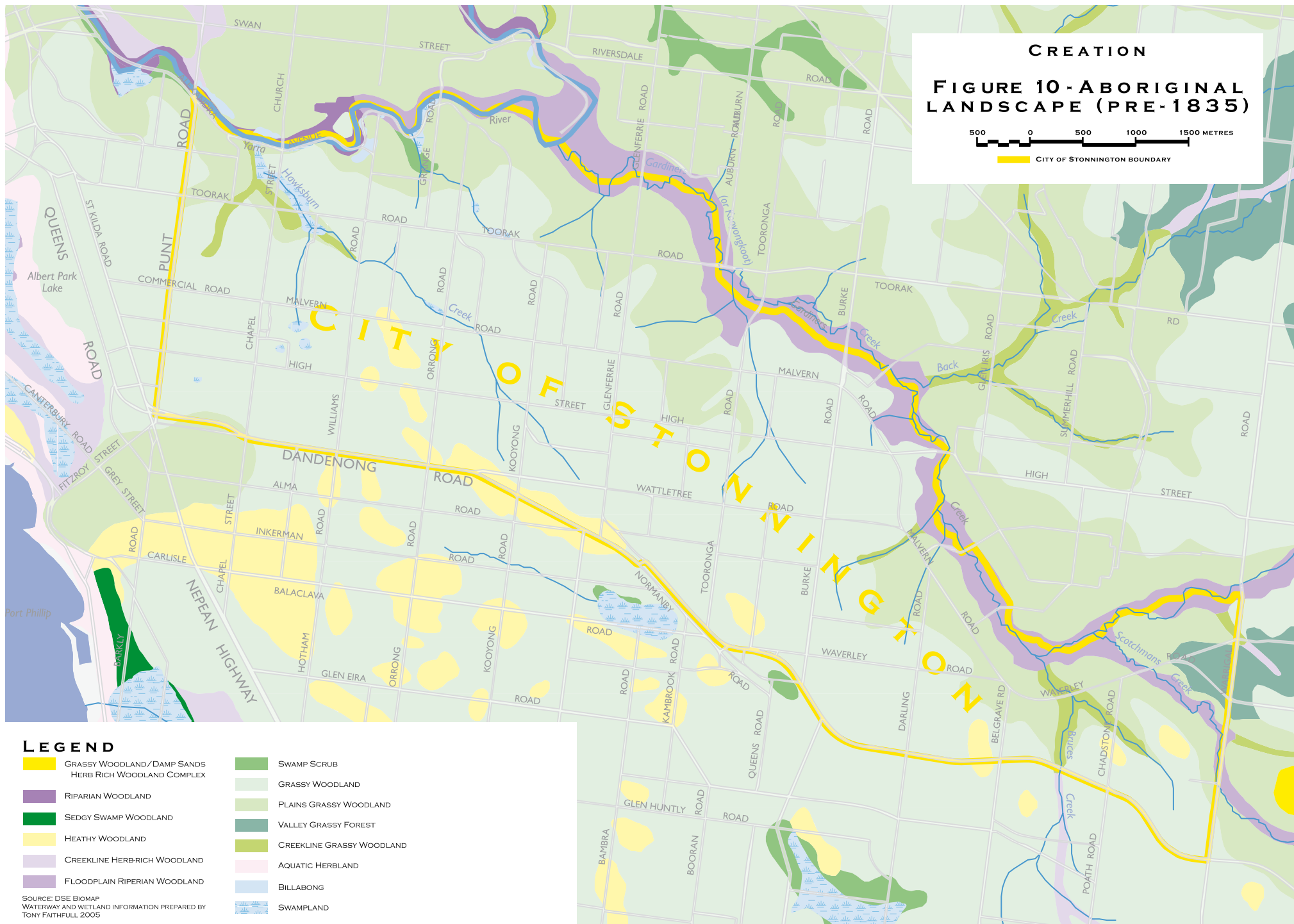
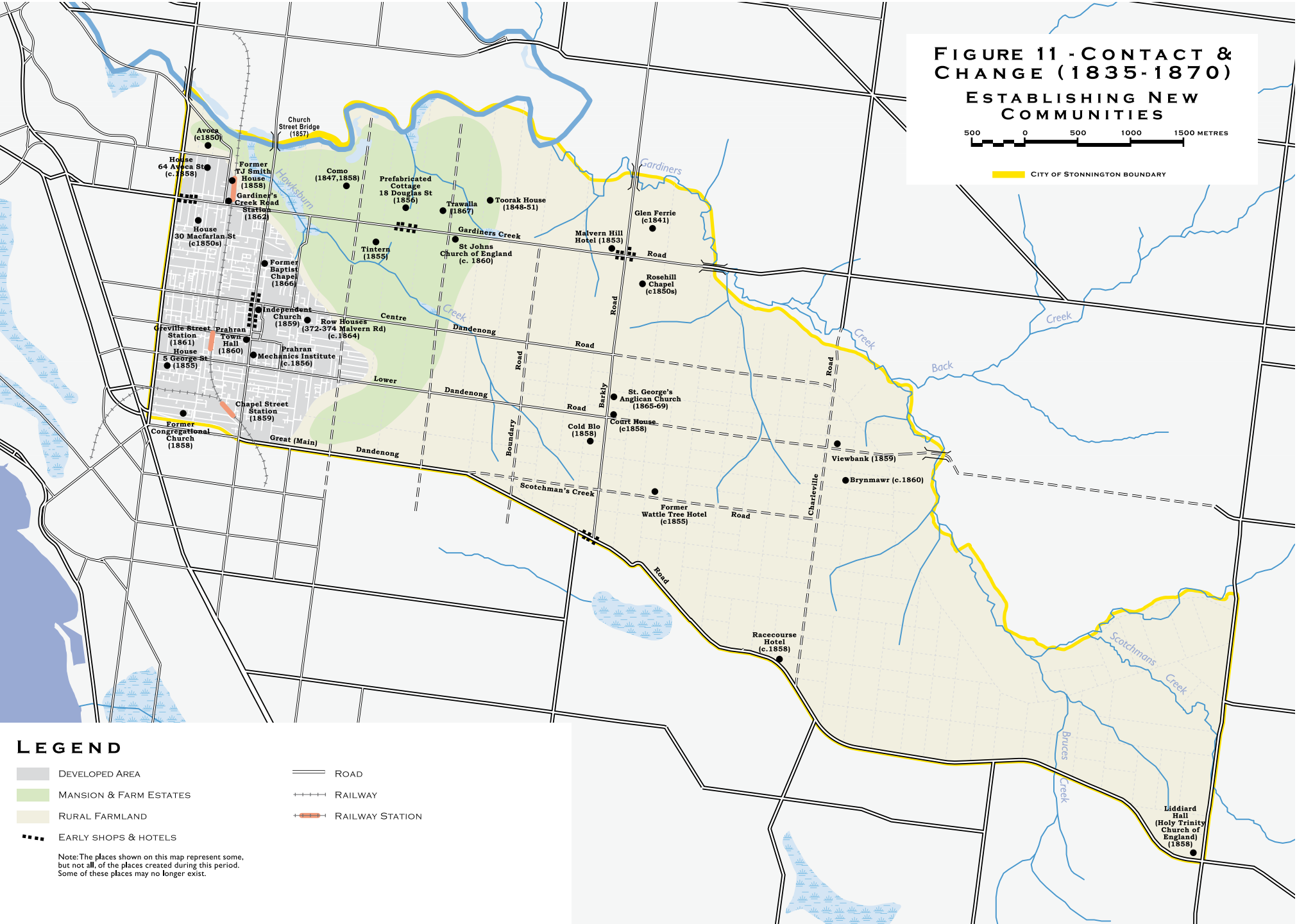


FIGURE 11 - CONTACT & CHANGE (1835-1870)
ESTABLISHING NEW COMMUNITIES

500 0 500 1000 1500 METRES

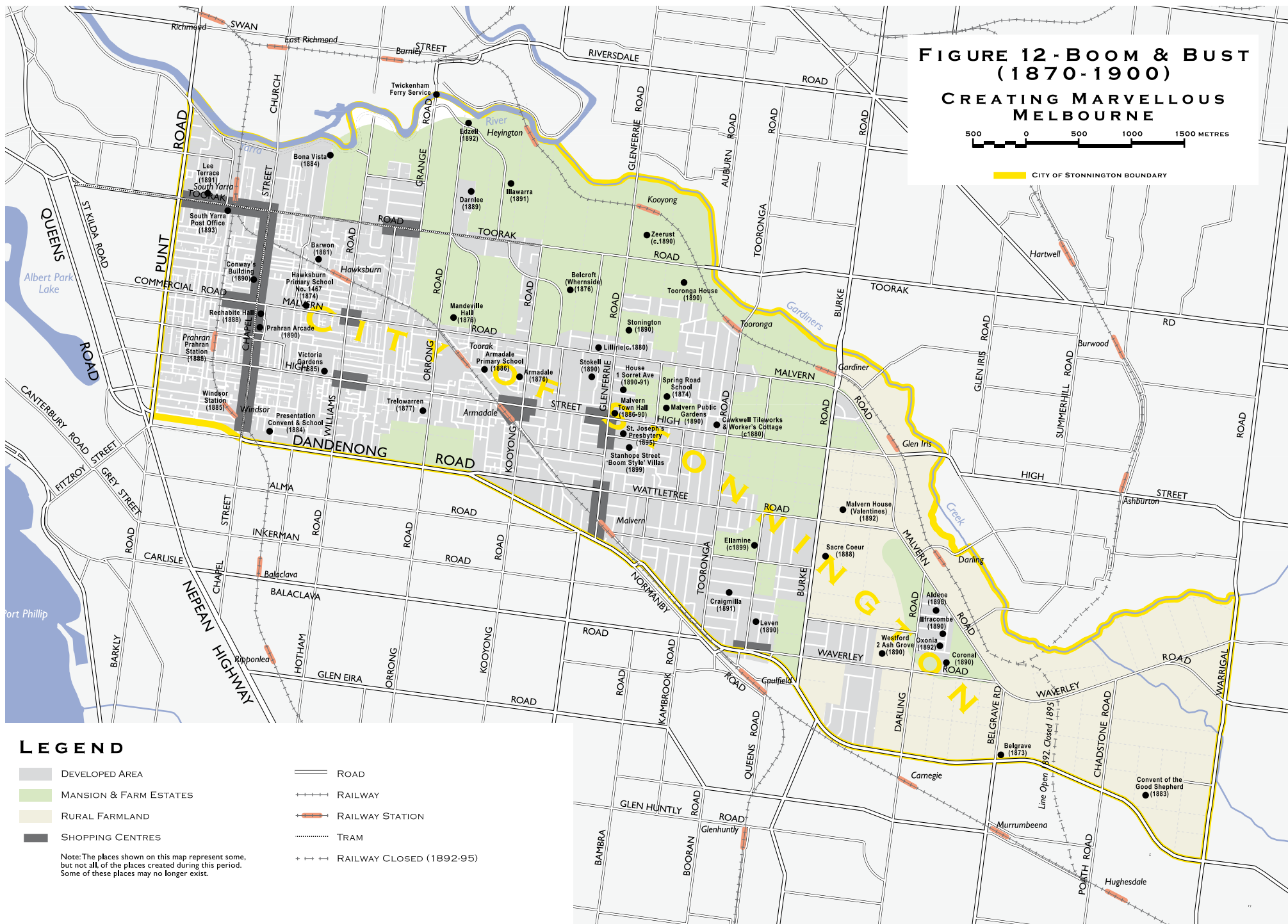
CITY OF STONNINGTON BOUNDARY

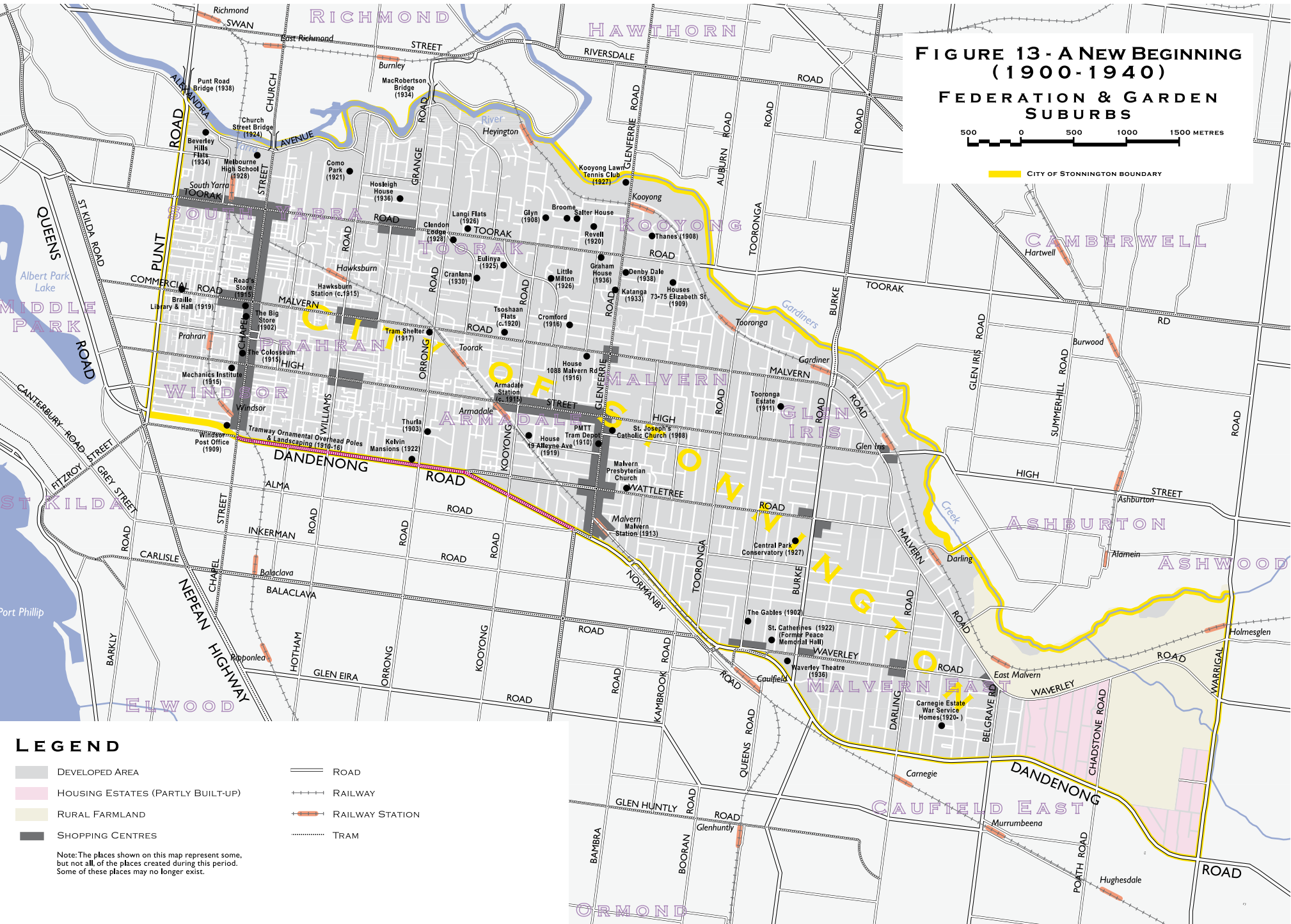


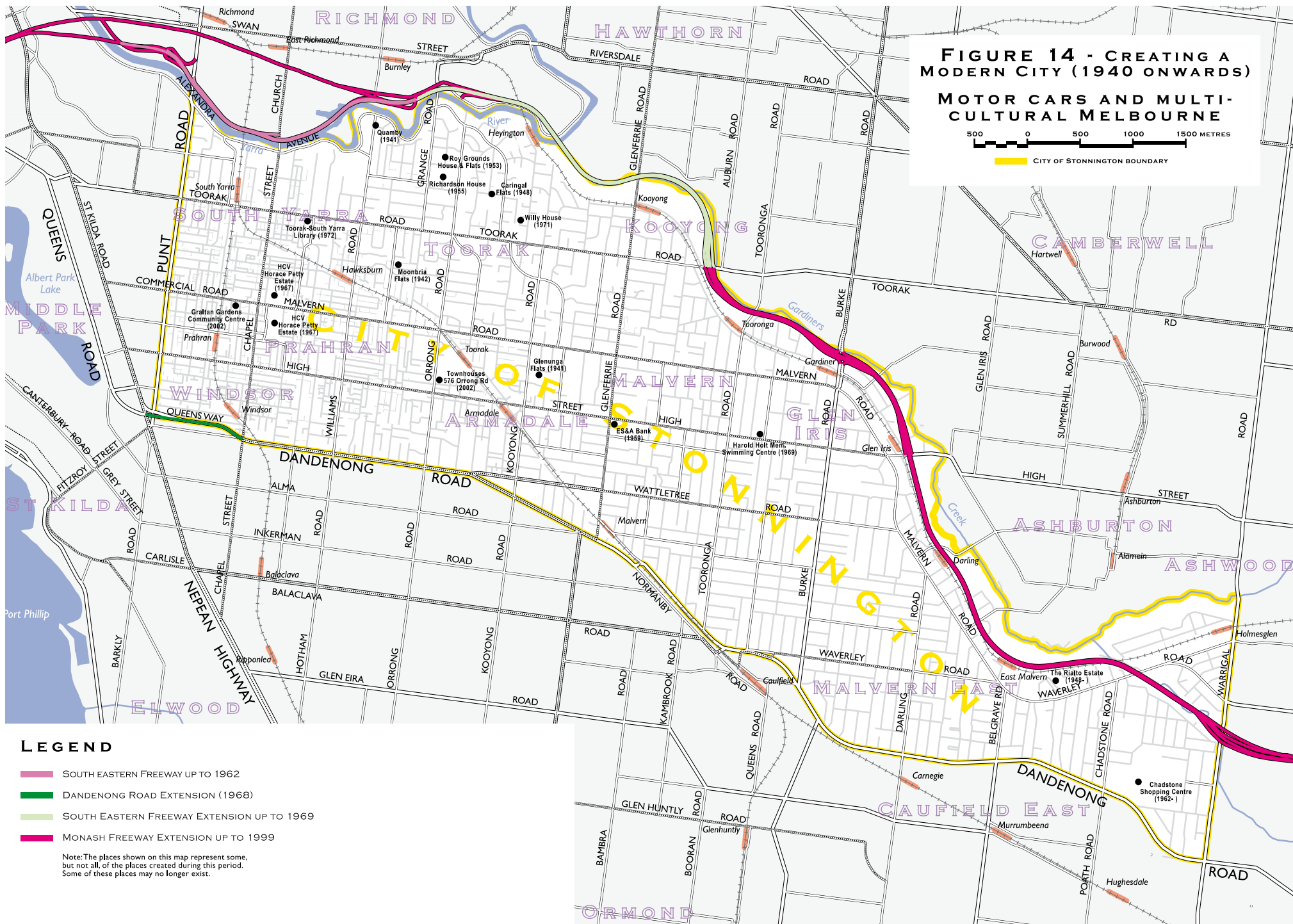
LEGEND

- DEVELOPED AREA
- MANSION & FARM ESTATES
- RURAL FARMLAND
- EARLY SHOPS & HOTELS
- ROAD
- RAILWAY
- RAILWAY STATION

Note: The places shown on this map represent some, but not all, of the places created during this period. Some of these places may no longer exist.







*A new beginning – Federation and garden suburbs
(c1900–c1940)*

After the 1890s depression, the Federation era offered new hope and optimism and led to changes in social and economic circumstances. In Melbourne increasing prosperity and improved public transport meant that a suburban home became possible even for working class people. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the study area where Prahran and Malvern Councils came together in a remarkable act of civic co-operation to form the first and most successful of the municipal tramway authorities. The creation of the electric tram network during the first decades of the twentieth century made possible the ideal of suburban living that was realised in housing estates inspired by the garden city movement.

The City of Stonnington is also significant as a place that illustrates the changing ways that Australians lived during the twentieth century from mansions on large estates to shared accommodation and apartments. In a metropolitan (and even national) context, the City of Stonnington is notable as a place where some of the best twentieth century residential architecture was created. The City of Stonnington is also significant as a place that illustrates the changing ways that Australians lived during the twentieth century. It is particularly notable as one of the places where apartment living first gained wide acceptance prior to World War II.

The City of Stonnington also demonstrates the development of manufacturing in Victoria in the inter-war period. It is of note for the associations between the clothing industry and the development of Chapel Street into a shopping centre that drew shoppers from all over Victoria.

*Creating a modern city – Motor cars and multi-cultural
Melbourne (1940 onwards)*

This City of Stonnington provides evidence of the rapid expansion and transformation of Melbourne in the post-war period as a result of State and Federal Government policies that, among other things, led to increased immigration, expansion of manufacturing and greater use of the motor car. Post-war development also reflects the policy of State Governments over many years to increase densities and the tensions that sometimes result when this conflicts with local community expectations.

The City of Stonnington and, in particular, Prahran and Windsor, was a place where many migrants, particularly those from Greece, settled and created new communities. This influx of settlers breathed new life into the inner city areas of Melbourne and contributed to the renaissance beginning in the 1970s that eventually encouraged young middle class residents to return.

The City of Stonnington is also of interest as an inner city suburb, which demonstrates the rise of community activism associated with the protection and conservation of places associated with both natural and cultural history. Some of the movements, for instance to save Gardiner's Creek or against high-rise development, have had significant influence upon planning policy at both a local and state level.

Why is Stonnington significant?

11.4 Conclusion

The City of Stonnington has a rich and diverse natural and cultural heritage that illustrates the historic occupation, use, adaptation and development of the land since the arrival of Aboriginal people. This in turn promotes a greater understanding of the history of Victoria and Australia as a whole. This history is demonstrated in the City of Stonnington by a wide range of heritage places including buildings and structures, monuments, trees and landscapes, archaeological sites, and places with spiritual or symbolic meaning. Some of these places have been mentioned in this report, and there are many others besides. All have one thing in common:

These are places that are worth keeping because they enrich our lives – by helping us to understand the past; by contributing to the richness of the present environment; and because we expect them to be of value to future generations. (The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 1999).

These places provide an insight into the complex cultural layering that gives the City of Stonnington a sense of historic continuity as well as a distinctive character. They reveal the way communities in the former Cities of Prahran and Malvern in past years thought about their local area as well as illustrating prevailing economic, social and political circumstances that were important in the development of the study area. In some cases the places and the people, uses and events associated with them had an even greater influence, extending to the whole of Melbourne, Victoria and sometimes Australia.

It is important that all aspects of this cultural layering are recognised and, where appropriate, protected and conserved to ensure that the history of the City of Stonnington as it is 'written on the landscape' can continue to be interpreted, understood and celebrated by the community now and in the future.

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GLOSSARY

Cultural significance Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations.

Cultural significance is embodied in the *place* itself, its *fabric*, *setting*, *use*, *associations*, *meanings*, *records*, *related places* and *related objects*.

Conservation *Conservation* means all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its *cultural significance*.

Burra Charter The *Burra Charter* is the short name given to the *Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*, which was developed by Australia ICOMOS at a meeting in 1979 in the historic South Australian mining town of Burra. It is now widely accepted as the basis for cultural heritage management in Australia.

The Burra Charter may be applied to a wide range of places – an archaeological site, a town, building or landscape and defines various terms and identifies principles and procedures that must be observed in conservation work.

Although the Burra Charter was drafted by heritage professionals, anyone involved in the care of heritage items and places may use it to guide conservation policy and practice.

ICOMOS ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) is a non-governmental professional organisation formed in 1965. ICOMOS is primarily concerned with the philosophy, terminology, methodology and techniques of cultural heritage conservation and is closely linked to UNESCO.

Place *Place* means site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of building or other work, and may include components, contents, spaces and views.

Post contact *Post-contact* means the period after first contact between indigenous and non-indigenous (sometimes referred to as 'European') individuals or communities.

RNE criteria The *Register of the National Estate (RNE) criteria* are used to assess whether a place has significant cultural heritage values. A list is provided in Appendix 2.

SLHC The *Stonnington Local History Collection*, which can be accessed at the City of Stonnington website. This was the source of most of the images included in the study. The registration no. of each image is cited, as appropriate.

The study area The study area is the whole of the City of Stonnington municipality. However, in documenting the history, the study may sometimes refer to places outside the study area that had an important influence on it.

APPENDIX 1

AUSTRALIAN HISTORIC THEMES

1 TRACING THE EVOLUTION OF THE AUSTRALIAN ENVIRONMENT

The environment exists apart from being a construct of human consciousness. However, a thematic approach recognises the human factor in the natural environment, and how our understanding and appreciation of the environment has changed over time.

- 1.1 Tracing climatic and topographical change
- 1.2 Tracing the emergence of Australian plants and animals
- 1.3 Assessing scientifically diverse environments
- 1.4 Appreciating the natural wonders of Australia

2 PEOPLEING AUSTRALIA

This theme group recognises the pre-colonial occupations of Indigenous people, as well as the ongoing history of human occupation from diverse areas.

- 2.1 Living as Australia's earliest inhabitants
- 2.2 Adapting to diverse environments
- 2.3 Coming to Australia as a punishment
- 2.4 Migrating
 - 2.4.1 Migrating to save or preserve a way of life
 - 2.4.2 Migrating to seek opportunity
 - 2.4.3 Migrating to escape oppression
 - 2.4.4 Migrating through organised colonisation
- 2.4.5 Changing the face of rural and urban Australia through migration
- 2.5 Promoting settlement
- 2.6 Fighting for land
 - 2.6.1 Resisting the advent of Europeans and their animals
 - 2.6.2 Displacing Indigenous people

3 DEVELOPING LOCAL, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL ECONOMIES

While Geoffrey Blainey conceived of Australian history as dominated by the 'tyranny of distance' this concept is alien to Indigenous Australians. Eighteenth and nineteenth century developments in technology made it possible to link the continent to distant marketplaces, and the incentive for almost every expedition by the first European 'explorers' was the search for valuable resources. Much subsequent Australian history has revolved around the search for a staple on which to base regional economic development.

- 3.1 Exploring the coastline
- 3.2 Constructing capital city economies
- 3.3 Surveying the continent
 - 3.3.1 Looking for inland seas and waterways
 - 3.3.2 Looking for overland stock routes
 - 3.3.3 Prospecting for precious metals
 - 3.3.4 Looking for land with agricultural potential
- 3.3.5 Laying out boundaries
- 3.4 Utilising natural resources
 - 3.4.1 Hunting
 - 3.4.2 Fishing and whaling
 - 3.4.3 Mining
 - 3.4.4 Making forests into a saleable resource
 - 3.4.5 Tapping natural energy sources
- 3.5 Developing primary production
 - 3.5.1 Grazing stock
 - 3.5.2 Breeding animals
 - 3.5.3 Developing agricultural industries
- 3.6 Recruiting labour
- 3.7 Establishing communications
 - 3.7.1 Establishing postal services
 - 3.7.2 Developing electric means of communication
- 3.8: Moving goods and people
 - 3.8.1 Shipping to and from Australian ports
 - 3.8.2 Safeguarding Australian products for long journeys
 - 3.8.3 Developing harbour facilities
 - 3.8.4 Making economic use of inland waterways
 - 3.8.5 Moving goods and people on land
- 3.8.6 Building and maintaining railways
- 3.8.7 Building and maintaining roads
- 3.8.8 Getting fuel to engines
- 3.8.9 Moving goods and people by air
- 3.9 Farming for commercial profit
- 3.10 Integrating people into the cash economy
 - 3.10.1 Assisting Indigenous people into the cash economy
 - 3.10.2 Encouraging women into employment
 - 3.10.3 Encouraging fringe and alternative businesses
- 3.11 Altering the environment
 - 3.11.1 Regulating waterways
 - 3.11.2 Reclaiming land
 - 3.11.3 Irrigating land
 - 3.11.4 Clearing vegetation
 - 3.11.5 Establishing water supplies
- 3.12 Feeding people
 - 3.12.1 Using indigenous foodstuffs
 - 3.12.2 Developing sources of fresh local produce
 - 3.12.3 Importing foodstuffs
 - 3.12.4 Preserving food and beverages
 - 3.12.5 Retailing foods and beverages
- 3.13 Developing an Australian manufacturing capacity
- 3.14 Developing an Australian engineering and construction industry
 - 3.14.1 Building to suit Australian conditions
 - 3.14.2 Using Australian materials in construction
- 3.15 Developing economic links outside Australia
- 3.16 Struggling with remoteness, hardship and failure
 - 3.16.1 Dealing with hazards and disasters
- 3.17 Inventing devices
- 3.18 Financing Australia
 - 3.18.1 Raising capital
 - 3.18.2 Banking and lending
 - 3.18.3 Insuring against risk
 - 3.18.4 Cooperating to raise capital (co-ops, building societies, etc.)
- 3.19 Marketing and retailing

- 3.20 Informing Australians
 - 3.20.1 Making, printing and distributing newspapers
 - 3.20.2 Broadcasting
- 3.21 Entertaining for profit
- 3.22 Lodging people
- 3.23 Catering for tourists
- 3.24 Selling companionship and sexual services
- 3.25 Adorning Australians
 - 3.25.1 Dressing up Australians
- 3.26 Providing health services
 - 3.26.1 Providing medical and dental services
 - 3.26.2 Providing hospital services
 - 3.26.3 Developing alternative approaches to good health
 - 3.26.4 Providing care for people with disabilities

4 BUILDING SETTLEMENTS, TOWNS AND CITIES

Although many people came to Australia in search of personal gain, they realised the need to co-operate in the building of safe, pleasant urban environments. Australian urbanisation and suburbanisation have special characteristics which set them apart from similar phenomena elsewhere in the world .

- 4.1 Planning urban settlements
 - 4.1.1 Selecting township sites
 - 4.1.2 Making suburbs
 - 4.1.3 Learning to live with property booms and busts
 - 4.1.4 Creating capital cities
 - 4.1.5 Developing city centres
- 4.2 Supplying urban services (power, transport, fire prevention, roads, water, light and sewerage)
- 4.3 Developing institutions
- 4.4 Living with slums, outcasts and homelessness
- 4.5 Making settlements to serve rural Australia
- 4.6 Remembering significant phases in the development of settlements, towns and cities

5 WORKING

Although a lot of what we call work is related to the economy, most of it is not undertaken for profit. A great deal of the work done in the home is neither paid nor counted as part of the national economy. Some of the most interesting recent social history written about Australia concerns work and workplaces.

- 5.1 Working in harsh conditions
 - 5.1.1 Coping with unemployment
 - 5.1.2 Coping with dangerous jobs and workplaces
- 5.2 Organising workers and work places
- 5.3 Caring for workers' dependent children
- 5.4 Working in offices
- 5.5 Trying to make crime pay
- 5.6 Working in the home
- 5.7 Surviving as Indigenous people in a white-dominated economy
- 5.8 Working on the land

6 EDUCATING

Every society educates its young. While European education places a great emphasis on the formal schooling system, education encompasses much more.

- 6.1 Forming associations, libraries and institutes for self-education
- 6.2 Establishing schools
- 6.3 Training people for the workplace
- 6.4 Building a system of higher education
- 6.5 Educating people in remote places
- 6.6 Educating Indigenous people in two cultures

7 GOVERNING

This theme group is as much about self-government as it is about being governed. It includes all the business of politics, including hostility to acts of government.

- 7.1 Governing Australia as a province of the British Empire
- 7.2 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy
 - 7.2.1 Protesting
 - 7.2.2 Struggling for inclusion in the political process
 - 7.2.3 Working to promote civil liberties
 - 7.2.4 Forming political associations
- 7.3 Making City-States
- 7.4 Federating Australia
- 7.5 Governing Australia's colonial possessions
- 7.6 Administering Australia
 - 7.6.1 Developing local government authorities
 - 7.6.2 Controlling entry of persons and disease
 - 7.6.3 Policing Australia
 - 7.6.4 Dispensing justice
 - 7.6.5 Incarcerating people
 - 7.6.6 Providing services and welfare
 - 7.6.7 Enforcing discriminatory legislation
 - 7.6.8 Administering Indigenous Affairs
 - 7.6.9 Conserving Australian resources
 - 7.6.10 Conserving fragile environments
 - 7.6.11 Conserving economically valuable resources
 - 7.6.12 Conserving Australia's heritage
- 7.7 Defending Australia
 - 7.7.1 Providing for the common defence
 - 7.7.2 Preparing to face invasion
 - 7.7.3 Going to war
- 7.8 Establishing regional and local identity

Appendix

8 DEVELOPING AUSTRALIA'S CULTURAL LIFE

Australians are more likely to express their sense of identity in terms of a way of life rather than allegiance to an abstract patriotic ideal. One of the achievements of this society has been the creation of a rich existence away from the workplace. While some of the activities encompassed in this theme are pursued for profit – horse racing and cinema, for instance – their reason for being is the sheer enjoyment of spectators. While many people could not pursue careers in art, literature, science, entertainment or the church without being paid, those activities do not fit easily into the categories of economy or workplace.

- 8.1 Organising recreation
 - 8.1.1 Playing and watching organised sports
 - 8.1.2 Betting
 - 8.1.3 Developing public parks and gardens
 - 8.1.4 Enjoying the natural environment
- 8.2 Going to the beach
- 8.3 Going on holiday
- 8.4 Eating and drinking
- 8.5 Forming associations
 - 8.5.1 Preserving traditions and group memories
 - 8.5.2 Helping other people
 - 8.5.3 Associating for mutual aid
 - 8.5.4 Pursuing common leisure interests
- 8.6 Worshipping
 - 8.6.1 Worshipping together
 - 8.6.2 Maintaining religious traditions and ceremonies
 - 8.6.3 Founding Australian religious institutions
 - 8.6.4 Making places for worship
 - 8.6.5 Evangelising
 - 8.6.6 Running city missions
 - 8.6.7 Running missions to Australia's indigenous people
- 8.7 Honouring achievement
- 8.8 Remembering the fallen
- 8.9 Commemorating significant events
 - 8.9.1 Remembering disasters
 - 8.9.2 Remembering public spectacles
- 8.10 Pursuing excellence in the arts and sciences
 - 8.10.1 Making music

- 8.10.2 Creating visual arts
- 8.10.3 Creating literature
- 8.10.4 Designing and building fine buildings
- 8.10.5 Advancing knowledge in science and technology
- 8.11 Making Australian folklore
 - 8.11.1 Celebrating folk heroes
 - 8.11.2 Myth making and story-telling
- 8.12 Living in and around Australian homes
- 8.13 Living in cities & suburbs
- 8.14 Living in the country and rural settlements
- 8.15 Being homeless

9 MARKING THE PHASES OF LIFE

Although much of the experience of growing up and growing old does not readily relate to particular heritage sites, there are places that can illustrate this important theme. Most of the phases of life set out below are universal experiences.

- 9.1 Bringing babies into the world
 - 9.1.1 Providing maternity clinics and hospitals
 - 9.1.2 Promoting mothers' and babies' health
- 9.2 Growing up
 - 9.2.1 Being children
 - 9.2.2 Joining youth organisations
 - 9.2.3 Being teenagers
 - 9.2.4 Courting
- 9.3 Forming families and partnerships
 - 9.3.1 Establishing partnerships
 - 9.3.2 Bringing up children
- 9.4 Being an adult
- 9.5 Living outside a family/partnership
- 9.6 Growing old
 - 9.6.1 Retiring
 - 9.6.2 Looking after the infirm and the aged
- 9.7 Dying
 - 9.7.1 Dealing with human remains
 - 9.7.2 Mourning the dead
 - 9.7.3 Remembering the dead

AAV THEMATIC LIST OF POST-CONTACT ABORIGINAL PLACES/SITES

1 ASSOCIATIONS WITH PASTORALISTS/FARMING/RURAL INDUSTRY

- 1.1 Properties where initial contact with pastoralists occurred
- 1.2 Properties where people are known to have worked
- 1.3 Properties where people are known to have lived/camped
- 1.4 Properties where people visited to obtain regular supplies of food/clothing/utensils (other than Honorary Correspondent depots)
- 1.5 Properties where people are known to have frequented for purposes other than above (or if nature of particular association is unknown)

2 ASSOCIATIONS WITH SETTLEMENTS/TOWNS

- 2.1 Places where people camped/lived around towns
- 2.2 Places where people congregated around towns (stores, parks, houses etc.)
- 2.3 Shops/industries/places where people worked around settlements/towns
- 2.4 Places where people obtained regular supplies of food and goods (not B.P.A. depots)
- 2.5 Places where people participated in settlement/town activities
- 2.6 Other facilities used/frequented by people

3 ASSOCIATIONS WITH FORESTS (NOT KNOWN IF ASSOCIATION ORIGINATES IN PRE-CONTACT PERIOD)

- 3.1 Places where people worked in forest industries
- 3.2 Places where people lived in forests

4 PLACES WHERE PEOPLE INDEPENDENTLY CONGREGATED/FREQUENTED/TRAVELLED

(not known if association originates in pre-contact period)

- 4.1 Living camps away from towns and properties
- 4.2 Ceremonial and formal meeting places
- 4.3 Places of recreation (played sport, holidays, get togethers)
- 4.4 Historical travelling routes
- 4.5 Places where people procured food and/or raw materials

5 GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION OF RESOURCES FOR ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

- 5.1 Protectorates
- 5.2 Government stations
- 5.3 Locations where Native Police were housed/camped/worked
- 5.4 Properties/locations of Honorary Correspondents to the Board for Protection of Aborigines
- 5.5 Locations of Board for the Protection of Aborigines depots
- 5.6 Places where Aboriginal Affairs have been administered by the government
- 5.7 Schools
- 5.8 Housing/shelters
- 5.9 Hospitals/houses for sick people

6 ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE CHURCH

- 6.1 Missions
- 6.2 Schools
- 6.3 Churches

7 LAND RESERVED FOR ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

- 7.1 Land reserved for general Aboriginal population use
- 7.2 Land reserved for specific individuals/families

8 PLACES OF CONFLICT

- 8.1 Places where Aboriginal people were killed/assaulted/threatened by Europeans
- 8.2 Places where Aboriginal people were killed/assaulted by other Aboriginal people
- 8.3 Places where Europeans were killed/assaulted/threatened by Aboriginal people
- 8.4 Places where Aboriginal people were imprisoned

9 PLACES WHERE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE HAVE DIED OR BEEN BURIED SINCE CONTACT

- 9.1 Location of individual burials outside of formal cemeteries
- 9.2 Location of burial grounds outside of formal cemeteries
- 9.3 Location of burials within cemeteries
- 9.4 Places where people have died

10 PLACES LINKED TO SIGNIFICANT PEOPLE

- 10.1 Places where known ancestors were born
- 10.2 Monuments
- 10.3 Buildings
- 10.4 Homes
- 10.5 Natural features associated with significant people

11 PLACES LINKED TO A SIGNIFICANT INCIDENT

- 11.1 Significant incident relating to a significant person
- 11.2 Significant incident relating to a number of people

12 ATTACHMENTS TO/ASSOCIATIONS WITH PLACES KNOWN TO PRECEDE CONTACT

- 12.1 Pre-contact food resources/areas where people continued to procure food (swamps, fish weirs, forests etc.)
- 12.2 Camp sites/meeting places
- 12.3 Spiritual places
- 12.4 Ceremonial places
- 12.5 Sources of raw materials used for making artefacts post-contact
- 12.6 Sources of bush medicines
- 12.7 Travelling routes
- 12.8 Burial/burial grounds
- 12.9 Named places

13 PLACES RELATING TO SELF DETERMINATION

- 13.1 Community resource centres (co-operatives, health services, legal services etc.)
- 13.2 Community cultural centres (museums, keeping places etc.)
- 13.3 Tourism endeavours
- 13.4 Businesses
- 13.5 Government departments
- 13.6 Land claimed/reclaimed under Native Title
- 13.7 Land owned by Aboriginal people
- 13.8 Places related to a significant

APPENDIX 2 & 3

THE REGISTER OF THE NATIONAL ESTATE (RNE) CRITERIA

CRITERION A:

ITS IMPORTANCE IN THE COURSE, OR PATTERN, OF AUSTRALIA'S NATURAL OR CULTURAL HISTORY

A.1 Importance in the evolution of Australian flora, fauna, landscapes or climate.

A.2 Importance in maintaining existing processes or natural systems at the regional or national scale.

A.3 Importance in exhibiting unusual richness or diversity of flora, fauna, landscapes or cultural features.

A.4 Importance for association with events, developments or cultural phases which have had a significant role in the human occupation and evolution of the nation, State, region or community.

CRITERION B:

ITS POSSESSION OF UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF AUSTRALIA'S NATURAL OR CULTURAL HISTORY

B.1 Importance for rare, endangered or uncommon flora, fauna, communities, ecosystems, natural landscapes or phenomena, or as a wilderness.

B.2 Importance in demonstrating a distinctive way of life, custom, process, land-use, function or design no longer practised, in danger of being lost, or of exceptional interest.

CRITERION C:

ITS POTENTIAL TO YIELD INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF AUSTRALIA'S NATURAL OR CULTURAL HISTORY

C.1 Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of Australian natural history, by virtue of its use as a research site, teaching site, type locality, reference or benchmark site.

C.2 Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of the history of human occupation of Australia.

CRITERION D:

ITS IMPORTANCE IN DEMONSTRATING THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF:

(I) A CLASS OF AUSTRALIA'S NATURAL OR CULTURAL PLACES; OR

(II) A CLASS OF AUSTRALIA'S NATURAL OR CULTURAL ENVIRONMENTS

D.1 Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of the range of landscapes, environments or ecosystems, the attributes of which identify them as being characteristic of their class.

D.2 Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of the range of human activities in the Australian environment (including way of life, philosophy, custom, process, land use, function, design or technique).

CRITERION E:

ITS IMPORTANCE IN EXHIBITING PARTICULAR AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS VALUED BY A COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP

E.1 Importance for a community for aesthetic characteristics held in high esteem or otherwise valued by the community.

CRITERION F:

ITS IMPORTANCE IN DEMONSTRATING A HIGH DEGREE OF CREATIVE OR TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT AT A PARTICULAR PERIOD

F.1 Importance for its technical, creative, design or artistic excellence, innovation or achievement.

CRITERION G:

ITS STRONG OR SPECIAL ASSOCIATIONS WITH A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP FOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL REASONS

G.1 Importance as a place highly valued by a community for reasons of religious, spiritual, symbolic, cultural, educational, or social associations.

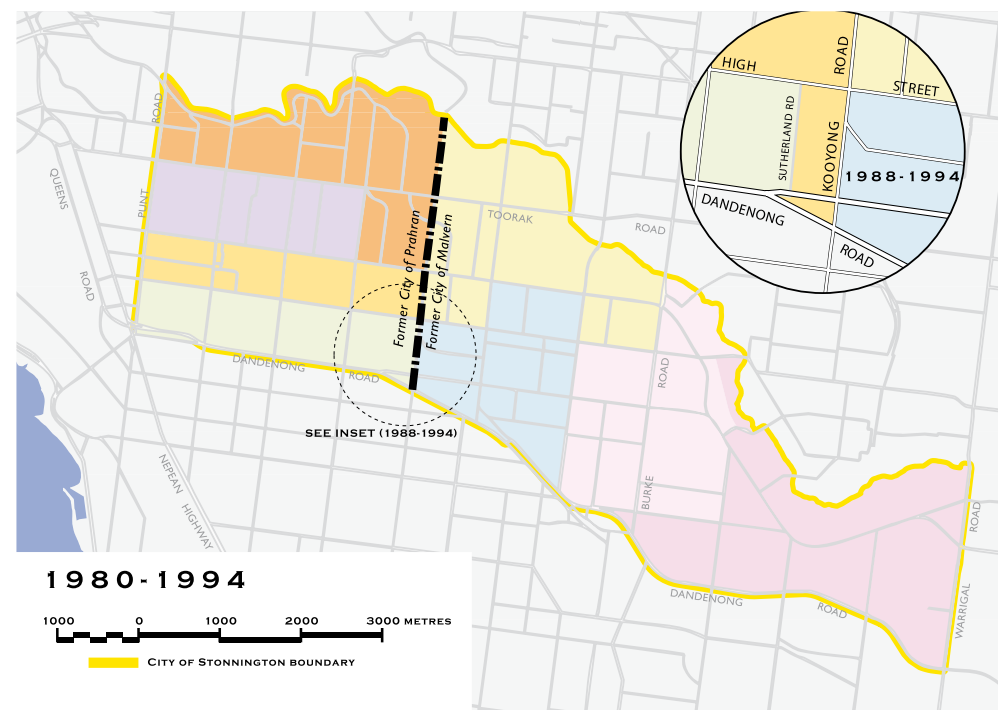
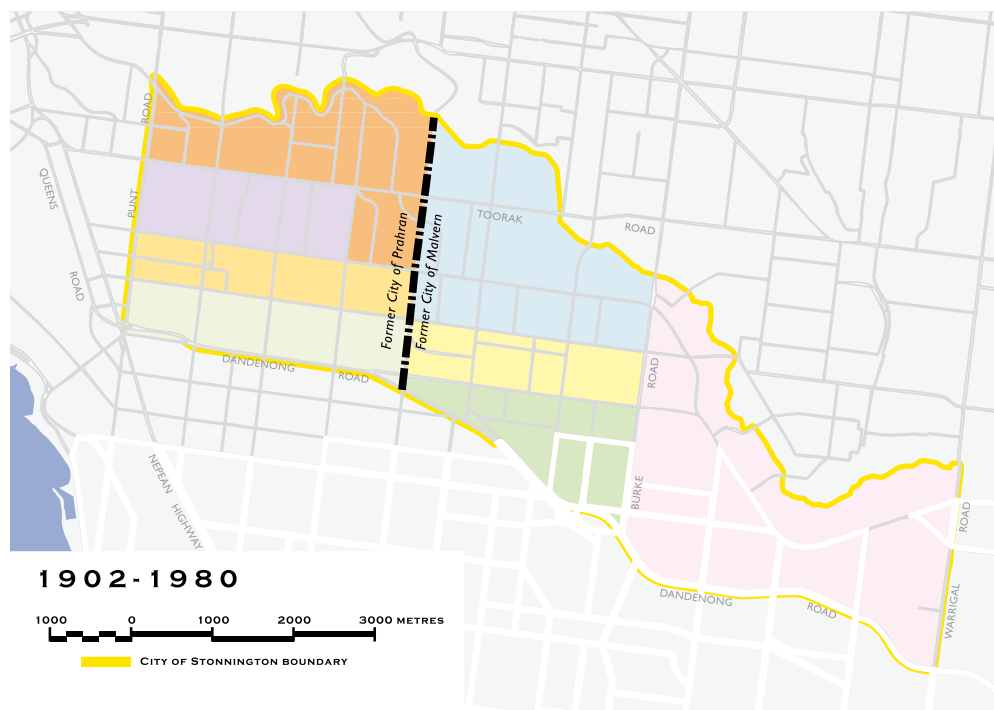
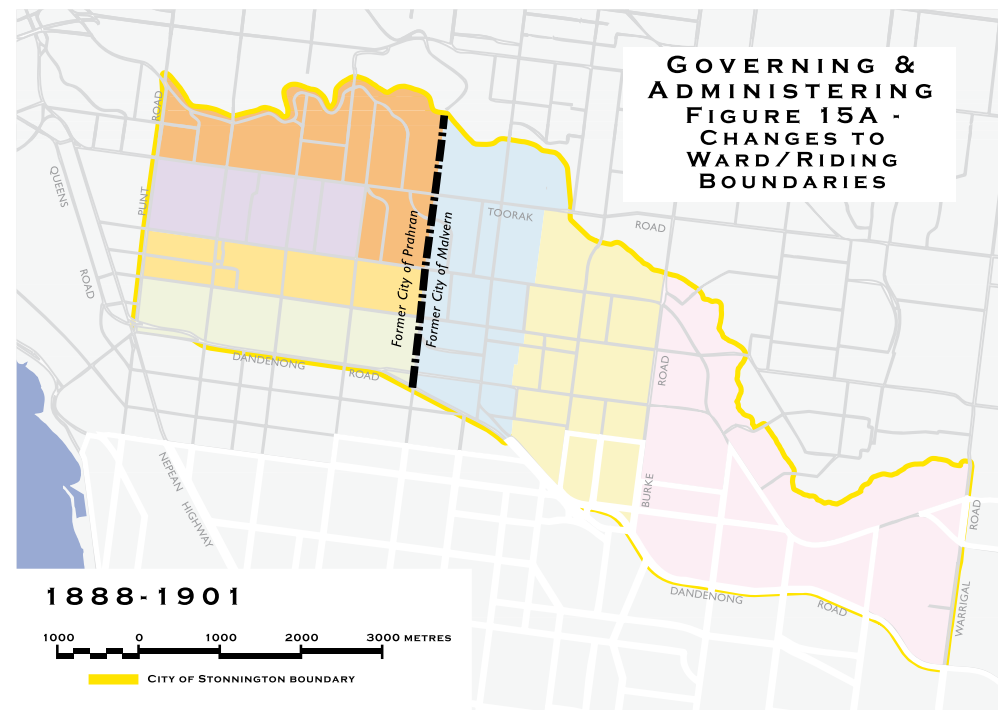
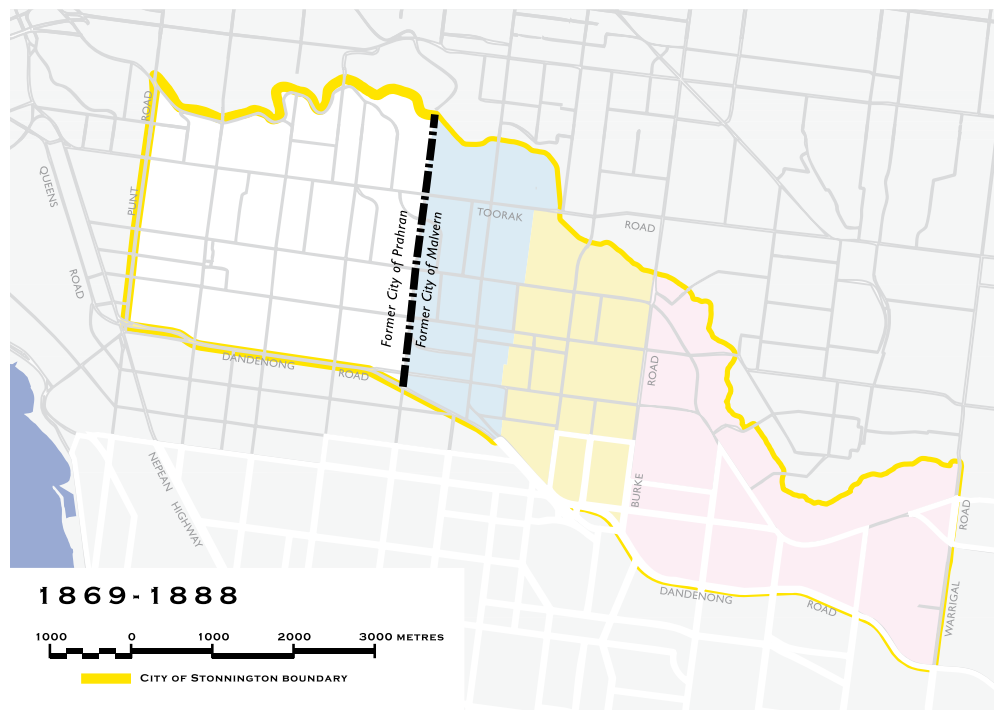
CRITERION H:

ITS SPECIAL ASSOCIATION WITH THE LIFE OR WORKS OF A PERSON, OR GROUP OF PERSONS, OF IMPORTANCE IN AUSTRALIA'S NATURAL OR CULTURAL HISTORY

H.1 Importance for close associations with individuals whose activities have been significant within the history of the nation, State or region.

WARD BOUNDARIES IN THE STUDY AREA 1869–PRESENT DAY

See following maps.



**GOVERNING &
ADMINISTERING
FIGURE 15A -
CHANGES TO
WARD/RIDING
BOUNDARIES**

