



South Yarra Heritage Review

Volume 3: Thematic Environmental History

Prepared for
City of Melbourne

August 2022



Acknowledgement of Country

We respect and acknowledge the Bunurong Land Council Aboriginal Corporation and Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation, their lands and waterways, their rich cultural heritage and their deep connection to Country, and we acknowledge their Elders past and present. We are committed to truth-telling and to engaging with Bunurong Land Council Aboriginal Corporation and Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation to support the protection of their culture and heritage. We strongly advocate social and cultural justice and support the Uluru Statement from the Heart.

Report register

The following report register documents the development of this report, in accordance with GML’s Quality Management System.

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Cover image

Sketch of Toorak Road West, c1890–1910. (Source: State Library Victoria)

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Volumes of the South Yarra Heritage Review

The findings of the Review are presented in four volumes:

- Volume 1—Methodology report

Volume 1 explains the methodology used to review and assess the heritage values of precincts and individual places. This Volume also presents the key findings and recommendations of the Review.

- Volume 2—Aboriginal Cultural Values

Volume 2 summarises the outcomes of consultation with Traditional Custodian organisations and provides an assessment of the Aboriginal Cultural Values associated with the Review area. It provides an overview of Aboriginal heritage places in the area listed in Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Register and Information System (ACHRIS) and new information found during historical research and provided by Traditional Custodians during consultation. It provides a rationale in some cases for the potential nomination or change to the extent of Aboriginal heritage places in the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR).

- Volume 3—South Yarra Thematic Environmental History (this volume)

Volume 3 presents an illustrated thematic history of the South Yarra Review area, tracing its physical development and social history complementing the City of Melbourne Thematic Environmental History (Context, 2010). It develops each theme briefly and identifies examples of places for each theme. The thematic history adopts a shared values approach, recognising both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal history and cultural values of the broader area and specific places within it.

- Volume 4—Citations

Volume 4 contains heritage assessments and recommendations for individual places and precincts. The material is in the form of citations suited to the recognition of a place in the Schedule to the Heritage Overlay in the Melbourne Planning Scheme. Aboriginal heritage values have been identified for two places assessed in this Review.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and purpose

GML Heritage (formerly Context) was commissioned by the City of Melbourne in June 2020 to complete the South Yarra Heritage Review. The Thematic Environmental History of the South Yarra area is a component of that review. This report is Volume 3 in the four-volume South Yarra Heritage Review. The four volumes comprise:

- Volume 1: Methodology
- Volume 2: Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment
- Volume 3: Thematic Environmental History
- Volume 4: Citations.

Municipal heritage studies in Victoria rely on a robust thematic history to better understand the history of the area. These are framed by historical themes as a means of providing the necessary context for heritage places. The historical themes identified in this report for South Yarra draw on the guidelines provided in *Victoria's Framework for Historical Themes* (2009), which was developed jointly by the Heritage Council of Victoria and the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Council. The thematic framework established for this Review refers to but differs somewhat from the set of themes developed for the City of Melbourne Thematic History (Context 2011). This is due to a different pattern of settlement and development in the South Yarra Heritage Review area as well as the inclusion of Aboriginal and shared heritage values.

The City of Melbourne has adopted a shared heritage values approach to the South Yarra Heritage Review, which recognises the Aboriginal and shared heritage values associated with the area. As such, the thematic history for the Review area has been developed paying close attention to the area's Aboriginal history and heritage, which is significant. In investigating the Aboriginal history of South Yarra, the Thematic Environmental History (Volume 2) forms an important resource for the Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment of the Review area (Volume 3).

A set of Aboriginal themes and sub-themes has been developed for the South Yarra Heritage Review that will be used in the assessment of the Aboriginal heritage places identified in this report as well as other potential Aboriginal heritage places that may be identified in the future. The Aboriginal themes and sub-themes were developed for a previous Context report prepared for a Joint Committee of the Heritage Council of Victoria and the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Council (VAHC), 'Acknowledging Places with Shared Heritage Values' (Context 2015a). The thematic framework was developed from a detailed understanding of Aboriginal history in Victoria. This framework was also used in the 'Hoddle Grid Heritage Review' (Context 2019).

1.2 Key objectives

The key objectives of Thematic Environmental History are to prepare a comprehensive history of the Review area that:

- pays particular attention to Aboriginal and shared histories
- makes reference to *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* (2009)
- builds on the City of Melbourne's Thematic History (Context, 2012)
- examines how the Review area has developed over time, including the natural environment, and its buildings and structures
- considers how the stories and themes significant to the South Yarra area are communicated and the role these played in the overall settlement and growth of the City of Melbourne.

1.3 The Review area

The Review area is shown in Figure 1.1.

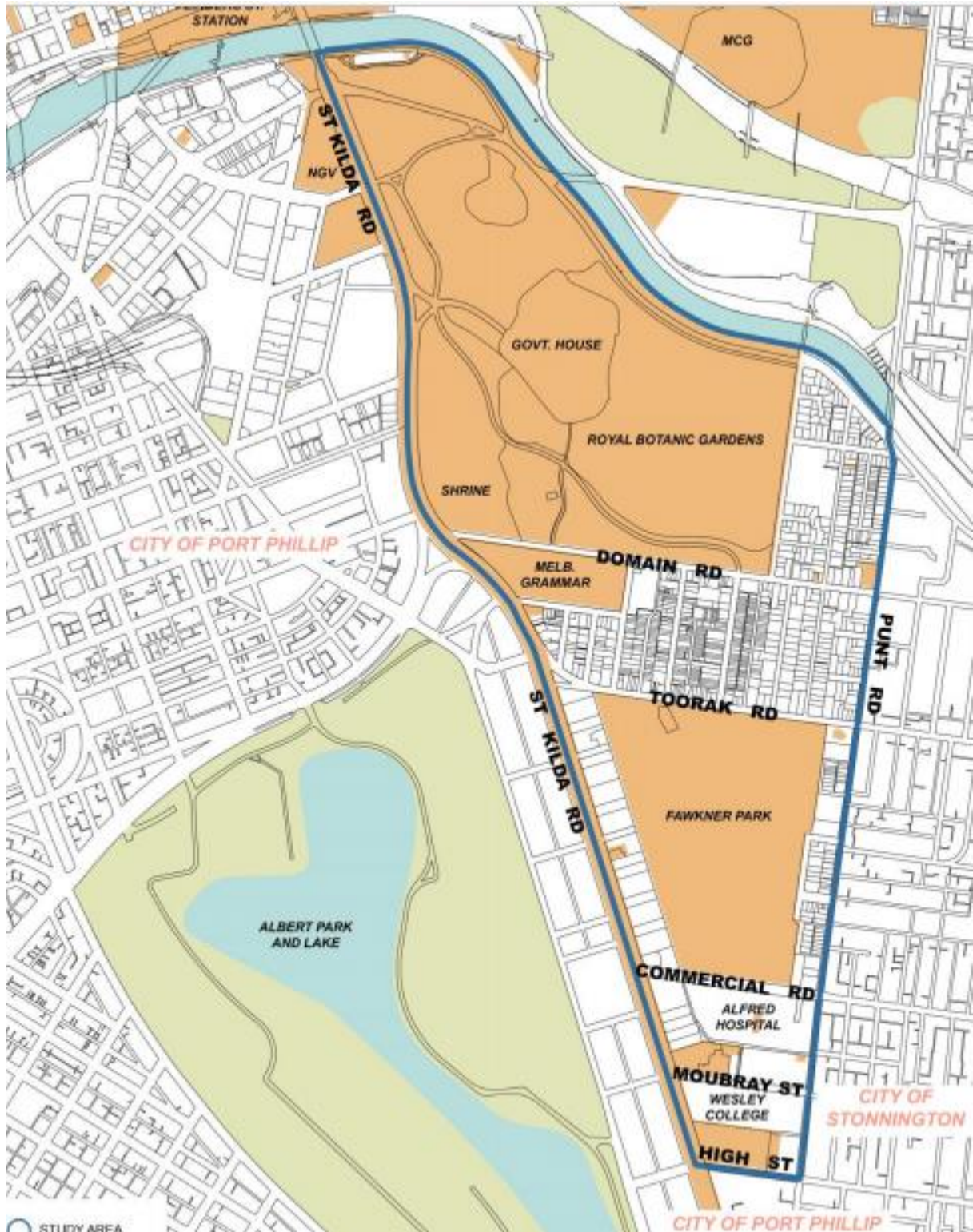


Figure 1.1 South Yarra in the City of Melbourne (the Review area), outlined in blue. (Source: City of Melbourne)

1.4 Consultation component

1.4.1 Consultation with Traditional Custodians

The Review area is part of the traditional Country of the East Kulin and is associated with the Woi-wurrung and Boonwurrung language groups. Central to understanding and incorporating the Aboriginal cultural values for the Review area, consultation was carried out for this project with three Traditional Custodian organisations that have an interest in the Review area.

At the commencement of the Review in 2020, there was no recognised Registered Aboriginal Party for the Review area, but there were three Traditional Custodian organisations that were recognised as having a known interest in the area for the purpose of consultation about Aboriginal cultural heritage. These were Wurundjeri Woi-wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation (WWCHAC); Boonwurrung Land and Sea Council (BLSC); and Bunurong Land Council Aboriginal Corporation (BLCAC).

Following the RAP boundary decision by the VAHC on 1 July 2021, WWCHAC and BLCAC were recognised as the RAPs for designated areas of central Melbourne (see Figure 1.2). Notwithstanding that each of these two RAPs have authority over certain areas, consultation has not been restricted solely to the RAP of particular areas of South Yarra but has been extended to other Traditional Custodian organisations that have a known interest in the area—that is, on land and waters for which they may not be the RAP but which they have a known interest. This means that for the WWCHAC RAP area, BLCAC and BLSC may also be consulted, and for the BLCAC RAP area, WWCHAC and BLSC may also be consulted. Although BLSC has a known interest in the area, it was not possible to schedule an onsite visit with BLSC for this project.

Following consultation, a set of Aboriginal cultural values were identified that draw on the documented history of the Review area and surrounds, the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register, and the knowledge held by Traditional Custodian organisations. Additional information provided by the Traditional Custodians during the review process informed the revised version of the Thematic Environmental History.

While the Thematic Environmental History focuses for the most part on the area of the South Yarra Heritage Review, the Aboriginal history of the area is not confined to a neatly defined area of land. This is because Aboriginal cultural identity and occupation of land and water is complex and can't easily be accommodated within the boundaries imposed by colonial settlement patterns or the cadastral land management of government authorities. Rather, the relevant area for attention is much broader and must take into account the pre-settlement landscape (including former waterways and wetlands), traditional routes and tracks across Country, relationships to other parts of the landscape or Country, seasonal considerations, and other factors.

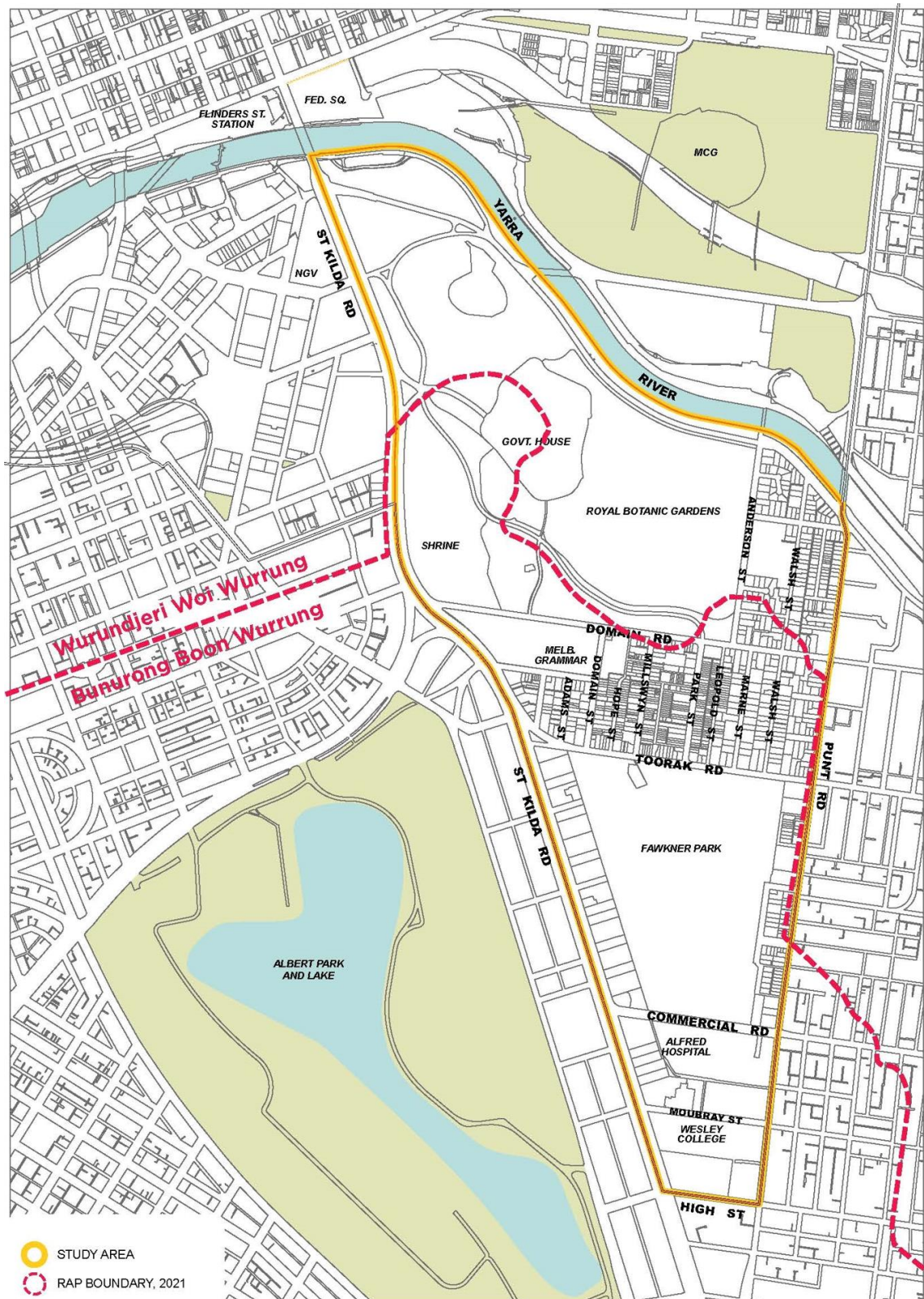


Figure 1.2 Map of RAP boundaries in the South Yarra Review area, following the RAP boundary decision in July 2021. (Source: VAHC, 2021 with City of Melbourne overlay)

1.4.2 Community consultation

The local community was consulted about the South Yarra Heritage Review more broadly, including through the City of Melbourne’s online Participate Melbourne platform, which enabled interested participants to contribute their ideas and knowledge about the history and heritage of particular places in the Review area. In addition, one online community consultation sessions were held which provided a background to the project and an outline of the identified historical themes. Online consultation was also held with members of the Melbourne South Yarra Residents Group who provided input and assisted in the provision of resources.

1.5 Language conventions

Imperial measurements have been retained in the context of historical discussion.

1.5.1 Aboriginal language

A number of Aboriginal words have been referred to in the text, which are listed below with their meanings.

The East Kulin language groups that have a close association with the subject area are Woi-wurrung and Boonwurrung. Various spellings for each of these groups exist in the historical record and continue to be used today.

The following Aboriginal terminology has been adopted in this report. Note that some Aboriginal terminology has various formats owing to inconsistencies in the historical (documentary) records.

Arweet	Bunurong (Boonwurrung) Elder
Birrarung	Yarra River, meaning ‘river of mists’ (Woi-wurrung)
Boonwurrung	The language of the Bunurong (Boonwurrung)
Bunurong (Boonwurrung)	One of the five tribal groups of the Kulin nation. Also referred to as the ‘coastal tribe’ or the ‘Westport tribe’. Their territory embraced Western Port and the sea coast around to the Werribee River.
Dutigalla; Doutta Galla	A name used by John Batman (and other early settlers) in the mid-1830s that was mistaken as a name for the Melbourne area but was probably instead the name of a Wathaurong woman. The name was subsequently adopted by surveyor Robert Hoddle as a parish name (by 1840). (The language origin is possibly Wauthawurrung)
Kooyong koot	Tributary of the Yarra named Gardiners Creek after John Gardiner, which also gave its name to Gardiner’s Creek Road (later Toorak Road)
Kulin	Refers to the confederacy of five tribal groups who share language and cultural connections. The word means ‘people’ in the Woi-wurrung and Boonwurrung languages. (The City of Melbourne occupies the Country of the East Kulin, which refers to Bunurong, Woi-wurrung and Taungurung)
ngargee	corroboree
Nakham	A term used to describe the Aboriginal Mission Reserve but with unknown origins (ref: Hoddle via Langhorne)
Narrm / Nerrm	Port Phillip Bay (in Woi-wurrung and Boonwurrung language respectively)
Nerre nerre minum	South Melbourne area
Ngurungaeta	Wurundjeri Elder (Woi-wurrung)

Prah-ra-ran, Pur-ur-ran (Prah-ran)	Almost surrounded by water (Langhorne 1889)
Taungurung	One of the five tribal groups of the Kulin Nation; also referred to by settlers as the 'Goulburn tribe'. Their territory is on the Goulburn River and the high country.
Turruk (Toorak)	East Kulin word for 'reedy grass, weed in lagoon' (Clark and Heydon 2002)
Tromgin	The large lagoon at the Botanic Gardens; adapted to form the present-day lake
Wadawurrung	One of the five tribal groups of the Kulin nation; also referred to by settlers as the 'Barrabool tribe'. Their territory is west of Werribee River and includes Bacchus Marsh and Geelong
Woi-wurrung	The language of the Wurundjeri.
Wurundjeri	One of the five tribal groups of the Kulin nation; also referred to by settlers as the 'Yarra tribe'. Their territory is the country that is drained by the Yarra River and her tributaries

References: Stephens 2014, Langhorne 1889, Les Blake 1977, Clark and Heydon 2002, Clark and Konstanski 2006

1.6 Authorship

This report was prepared by Dr Helen Doyle with assistance from Leah Tepper, Rose Mickan and Jon Griffiths.

1.7 Acknowledgements

We wish to acknowledge the assistance of the following organisations and individuals:

- Jackie Donkin, Tanya Wolkenberg, Molly Wilson and Fiona Darling at the City of Melbourne
- Traditional Owners Bunurong Land Council Aboriginal Corporation
- Traditional Owners Wurundjeri Woi-wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation
- Traditional Custodian organisation Boonwurrung Land and Sea Council
- Melbourne South Yarra Residents Group and participants in the Participate Melbourne online platform.

1.8 Abbreviations, acronyms and shortened forms use

ACHRIS	Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Register Information System
AHB	<i>Australian Home Beautiful</i>
BLCAC	Bunurong Land Council Aboriginal Corporation
BLSC	Boonwurrung Land and Sea Council
BP	before the present
BPA	Board for the Protection of Aborigines/Aboriginal Protection Board
CBD	Central Business District
CHMP	Cultural Heritage Management Plan
DELWP	Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning
ETR	Exceptional Tree Register

EVC	Ecological Vegetation Classes
FEIP	Free Entertainment in the Parks
HO	Heritage Overlay
JRVIA	<i>Journal of the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects</i>
LDAD	Low Density Artefact Deposit
MCG	Melbourne Cricket Ground
MM	'Melbourne Mansions' Index (Miles Lewis)
MMBW	Melbourne & Metropolitan Board of Works
MSYRG	Melbourne South Yarra Residents Group
n.d.	no date
n.k.	not known
NLA	National Library of Australia
RNE	Register of the National Estate
n.p.	no page numbers
PM	Participate Melbourne (City of Melbourne community consultation platform)
PPGG	<i>Port Phillip Government Gazette</i>
PPN01	Planning Practice Note 1—Applying the Heritage Overlay (August 2018)
PROV	Public Record Office Victoria
RACV	Royal Automobile Club of Victoria
RAP	Registered Aboriginal Party
RHSV	Royal Historical Society of Victoria
RBG	Royal Botanic Gardens
RNE	Register of the National Estate
S&Mc	Sands and McDougall Melbourne Directories
SHC	Stonnington History Centre
SLV	State Library Victoria
VACL	Victorian Aboriginal Council for Languages
VAHC	Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Council
VAHR	Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register
VEAC	Victorian Environmental Advisory Council
VGG	<i>Victorian Government Gazette</i>
VHD	Victorian Heritage Database
VHI	Victorian Heritage Inventory
VHR	Victorian Heritage Register
VPRS	Victorian Public Record Series
WWCHAC	Wurundjeri Woi-wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation

2 Framing the Thematic Environmental History

2.1 Overview

This Thematic Environmental History comprises Volume 2 of the South Yarra Heritage Review. It focuses on the period from the mid-1830s to the present time and covers both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal history of the South Yarra area. It also includes some contextual orientation of the period before the British colonisation of the Port Phillip area.

The Thematic Environmental History is not designed as a definitive, comprehensive chronological account of the Review area, but serves rather as a means of presenting the key historical themes of the area. A thematic framework has been developed for the Thematic Environmental History, which has drawn on the Heritage Victoria guidelines, *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* (2009). The Victorian themes are compared with the local identified themes in Table 2.2.

The Thematic Environmental History is not strictly confined to the Review area itself but incorporates a broader geographic area in order to provide additional historical and geographical context. In light of the Aboriginal history and heritage of the area, it is necessary to consider a wider area that goes beyond conventional lines on the settlers' map.

2.2 Developing a framework of historical themes for the Review area

The framework of 16 historical themes has been developed to incorporate the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal history of the area. Within each theme, discussion of Aboriginal history and heritage has been included, where known. The draft historical themes are summarised in Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1 Draft historical themes for the South Yarra Heritage Review

South Yarra Historical Themes	Summary of historical themes
1 Living on Aboriginal Country	This theme examines the recorded history of Aboriginal people in the Review area from the time prior to British colonisation through the period of initial interaction with settlers and after. It seeks to understand the landscape (land, water, sky) before settlement, as well as the resources that Aboriginal people relied on and lived in balance with.
2 Adapting the lands and waterways	This theme examines the changes and developments to the land and waterways since British colonisation in the mid-1830s, including the draining of the wetlands and lagoons, clearing of the land, road-making and tree-planting, and the development of residential areas.
3 Governing and administering	This theme examines the administration of the settlement and, from 1842, of the City of Melbourne. It also includes the presence of the military and the policing in the Review area.
4 Primary production	This theme examines land-use activities that occurred in the nineteenth century, including grazing, farming and viticulture.
5 Developing industry and manufacturing	This theme examines activities such as brickmaking and quarrying that took place along the riverbank, as well as timber-felling and wattle-barking.
6 Shaping a residential area	This theme examines the residential development of the Review area from the mid-1840s through to the 1970s and 1980s. It covers the development of detached dwellings as well as composite housing types, such as flats and duplexes.

South Yarra Historical Themes	Summary of historical themes
7 Providing transport, communication and essential services	This theme examines transport routes, including early tracks, roads and tramlines. A number of key routes are part of the Review area, including St Kilda Road, Toorak Road and Punt Road. This theme also considers the development of motor garages in the area. Other elements of this theme include communication, including the wireless station and telecommunications, and essential services, such as water supply and sewerage, and gas and electricity.
8 Providing education	This theme examines the development of public and private schools in the Review area, including South Yarra State School, Melbourne Grammar School, Wesley College and Melbourne Girls Grammar School. It also considers the development of special education.
9 Recognising religious and spiritual life	This theme examines the development of churches in South Yarra, including the many Christian churches and the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation. The area also incorporates places of spiritual significance to Aboriginal people.
10 Establishing public parks and gardens	This theme examines the large area of Crown land reserved as public parks and gardens, including the Botanic Gardens, the Government House Reserve, the Domain, the Yarra Bank and Fawkner Park.
11 Understanding the broader environment	This theme looks at the efforts of the government to understand the broader environment, principally in the fields of astronomy (through the work of the Observatory) and botany (through the work of the National Herbarium).
12 Providing health and welfare services	This theme covers the work of public and private hospitals in the Review area, and broader health and welfare provisions, such as aid to immigrants, infant welfare, special education and aged care.
13 Developing trade and commerce	This theme examines the development of commercial activity, which is somewhat limited in the Review area. It includes shops and hotels, as well as motor garages and a warehousing complex.
14 Participating in sport and recreation	This theme covers a wide range of sports and recreation, including water sports, competitive sport, horse riding and passive recreation. Places associated with this theme in the Review area and immediate surrounds include public parks and gardens, sports clubs and the riverbank.
15 Enjoying social and community life	This theme examines the rich diversity of social life in the Review area, paying attention to the relevance of social class.
16 Shaping cultural and creative life	This theme looks at the rich tradition of arts, art collecting and cultural activity, such as drama. This theme also examines the rich collection of monuments and memorials in the public parks and gardens. There is a strong theme of commemoration of war represented, for example, by the Boer War memorial (1905) and the Shrine of Remembrance (1934), both on St Kilda Road.

Table 2.2 South Yarra Historical Themes as compared to the Victorian’s Framework of Historical Themes

South Yarra Historical Themes	South Yarra Historical Sub-themes	Victoria’s Framework of Historical Themes
1 Living on Aboriginal Country	Living on Country Invasion and dispossession Defending Country Survival	1 Shaping Victoria’s environment 2. Peopling Victoria’s places and landscapes
2 Altering and adapting the land and waters	Draining the swamps Clearing the land The impact of pollution Changing the alignment of the Yarra River	4 Transforming and managing land and natural resources
3 Governing and administering	Administering Melbourne and Port Philip Administering Aboriginal people Establishing a British vice-regal residence Establishing a Commonwealth vice-regal residence Maintaining law and order Native Police Corps Establishing a military presence	7 Governing Victorians
4 Primary production	Grazing and farming Fruit-growing Viticulture	4 Transforming and managing land and natural resources
5 Developing industry and manufacturing	Brickmaking Quarries Timber felling and wattle-barking Manufacturing Home-based industry	5 Building Victoria’s industries and workforce
6 Shaping a residential area	Mansions, villas and townhouses Workers’ housing Flats, maisonettes and duplexes Postwar residential development Modifications and conversions Suburban gardens	6 Building towns, cities and the Garden state
7 Providing transport, communication and essential services	Building roads and bridges Operating ferries and watercraft Motor garages Establishing a tram network Radio communications Telecommunications	7 Connecting Victorians by transport and communications
8 Providing education	Government schools Private schools Special education	8 Building community life

South Yarra Historical Themes	South Yarra Historical Sub-themes	Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes
9 Recognising religious and spiritual life	Building places of worship Recognising sacred places	8 Building community life
10 Establishing public parks and gardens	Public parks and gardens Small reserves and plantations Street trees and road reserves	6 Building towns, cities and the Garden state
11 Understanding the broader environment	Astronomy and weather observation Botany and horticulture	1 Shaping Victoria's environment
12 Providing health and welfare services	Welfare and charitable institutions Emergency housing Hospitals Providing aid to soldiers in wartime Infant welfare	8 Building community life
13 Developing trade and commerce	Hotels Retail development Commercial enterprises Automobile showrooms Professional services	5 Building Victoria's industries and workforce
14 Establishing sport and recreation	Sports grounds Tennis courts Water sports Horse riding and horse racing	8 Building community life
15 Enjoying social and community life	Social life Clubs and organisations Entertainment Public events in parks and gardens Staying in town (guesthouses, holiday flats and residential hotels)	8 Building community life
16 Shaping cultural and creative life	Stories and literature Art Theatre Monuments and statues Civic commemoration War memorials	9 Shaping cultural and creative life

Table 2.3 Thematic framework for the study area with examples of relevant place types

Historical theme	Historical sub-themes	Examples of place types
1 Living on Aboriginal Country	Living on Country Invasion and dispossession Defending Country Survival	Trees Water (Birraring / Yarra River, Tromgin and other lagoons) High ground / hills Crown land (eg parks and gardens) Other places with Aboriginal associations
2 Altering and adapting the land and waters	Draining the swamps Clearing the land The impact of pollution Changing the alignment of the Yarra River	Yarra River Reclaimed land (former lagoons) Views Landscapes
3 Governing and administering	Administering Melbourne and Port Philip Administering Aboriginal people Establishing a British vice-regal residence Establishing law and order Native Police Corps Establishing a military presence	Government buildings Vice-regal residences Residences of mayors and administrators Sites of former air raid trenches Buildings used by the military Ares used for military training
4 Primary production	Grazing and farming Fruit-growing Viticulture	Remnant trees
5 Developing industry and manufacturing	Brickmaking Quarries Timber felling and wattle-barking Manufacturing Home-based industry	Industrial archaeology sites Factories / warehouses Quarries
6 Shaping a residential area	Mansions, villas and townhouses Workers' housing Flats, maisonettes and duplexes Postwar residential development Modifications and conversions Suburban gardens	Houses Flats and apartments Urban infrastructure (laneways, public seating, lamp posts)
7 Building transport, communication and essential services	Building roads and bridges Operating ferries and watercraft Motor garages Establishing a tram network Radio communications Telecommunications	Roads Bridges Boat ramps and jetties Horse troughs Hitching posts Motor garages Telephone exchange Wireless station Tram lines and tram shelters Water supply infrastructure Electricity sub-stations

Historical theme	Historical sub-themes	Examples of place types
8 Providing education	Government schools Private schools Special education	Schools Former schools
9 Recognising religious and spiritual life	Building places of worship Recognising sacred places	Burial places Churches and church halls Chapels of ease Sunday school buildings Synagogues Manses / vicarages / presbyteries
10 Establishing public parks and gardens	Public parks and gardens Small reserves and plantations Street trees and road reserves	Public parks Public gardens Reserves Street trees
11 Understanding the broader environment	Astronomy and weather observation Botany and horticulture	Observatory Meteorological instruments Botanical collections
12 Providing health and welfare services	Welfare and charitable institutions Emergency housing Hospitals Providing aid to soldiers in wartime Infant welfare	Immigration depots Hospitals Former hospitals Infant welfare centres Aged-care homes Convalescent homes Medical surgeries
13 Developing trade and commerce	Hotels Retail development Commercial enterprises Automobile showrooms Professional services	Hotels Shops Retail showrooms Warehouses Offices
14 Establishing sport and recreation	Sports grounds Tennis courts Water sports Horse-riding and horse-racing	Public parks Sports grounds Sports pavilions Boat houses and boat ramps Clubhouses
15 Enjoying social life	Social life Clubs and organisations Entertainment Public events in parks and gardens Staying in town (guesthouses, holiday flats and residential hotels)	Hotels Guesthouses Reception centres Picnic areas

Historical theme	Historical sub-themes	Examples of place types
16 Shaping cultural and creative life	Stories and literature Art Theatre Erecting monuments and memorials Protecting heritage	Art collections Art sites Theatres Monuments and statues Civic commemoration War memorials

2.3 Comparative timeline for the Review area

Table 2.3 Timeline of significant changes and developments in the Review area, as well as in the broader Melbourne area, and the impacts they have had on Aboriginal people and country.

Date	Aboriginal history	Local developments	Broader context
30,000 BP+	Aboriginal occupation		
1800s+	Bunurong women kidnapped from their Country on the southeast coast.		Colony of Van Diemen's Land is in its infancy.
1803			Charles Grimes travels up the Yarra River at the future site of Melbourne. Sorrento settlement is established.
1835	The Bunurong and Wurundjeri people face the invasion of their country by pastoral settlers; Batman's treaty and other negotiations with settlers.		Batman's purported treaty with the Aboriginal 'chiefs' of Melbourne to 'purchase' approx. 600,000 acres of land.
1836	William Buckley appointed by Lonsdale as an interpreter and intermediary for the Aboriginal people in Melbourne.	The area becomes part of the wider Port Phillip District of the Colony of NSW.	Governor Richard Bourke visits the settlement; the Port Phillip District is officially declared, and the town of Melbourne is named.
1837	Aboriginal mission and school established in the vicinity of the current site of the Botanic Gardens.		Survey of Melbourne township by Robert Russell in 1837, which was the basis of Robert Hoddle's later plan.
1838	The Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate is established. The Native Police Corps is established.	Brickmakers on the south bank of the Yarra.	
1839	Large celebration held on the future site of the Botanic Gardens to welcome G.A. Robinson—around 300–400 Aboriginal people attended.		Appointment of Superintendent C.J. La Trobe and Chief Protector of Aborigines G.A. Robinson.
1840	A large number of Aboriginal people are arrested in Melbourne.	Land south of the river used for grazing.	
1841	The Bunurong are provided with a camping reserve at Mordialloc.		

Date	Aboriginal history	Local developments	Broader context
1842			Corporation (City) of Melbourne is established.
1844	Bunurong people camped at site of Government House.		
1846	Yarra Mission established at the junction of the Yarra River and Merri Creek.	Site for Botanic Gardens reserved and John Arthur appointed first gardener. First land sales (Anderson St). Fairlie House erected.	
1849	Aboriginal corroboree and large campfires in the area of Fawkner Park. Port Phillip Protectorate ends. A reserve for the Wurundjeri is set aside at Warrandyte.		
1850		Princes Bridge (over the Yarra) is officially opened.	Declaration of Separation from NSW.
1851			Discovery of gold in Victoria and large-scale immigration. Colony of Victoria established.
1852		'Canvas Town' emerges on the south side of the Yarra.	
1853		Ferdinand Mueller is appointed Government Botanist. Immigration Depot is established on St Kilda Road.	
1855		Churches are granted Crown reserves along Punt Road.	
1857	Select Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the Aborigines in Victoria.	Mueller is appointed Director of the Botanic Gardens.	Yan Yean water supply laid on to parts of inner Melbourne.
1858	Board for the Protection of Aborigines is established.	Melbourne Grammar School is established. Victoria Barracks is established.	
1860		c.1861 Botanical Museum established	An Act allows formation of a voluntary militia
1863	Coranderrk Aboriginal Reserve is established near Healesville.	Observatory established in the Domain. Damaging floods of the Yarra.	
1866		Wesley College is established. Royal Victorian Institute for the Blind is established.	

Date	Aboriginal history	Local developments	Broader context
1867–68		Prince Alfred visits Melbourne and stays in South Yarra.	Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, visits Melbourne.
1868	Aboriginal people camping in Fawkner Park until the late sixties.		
late 1860s	'Mr Man' (Manerong) visits the South Melbourne (Fawkner Club) Hotel.		
1871		William Guilfoyle is appointed Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens. The Alfred Hospital is established.	Royal Commission into the low-lying lands of Melbourne.
1873		The Domain is laid out	
1875	Deputations from Coranderrk Aboriginal community to the Governor at Government House.		
1876		Government House built to design by William Wardell.	
c1880s	Destruction of 'the Falls' on the Yarra, a significant Aboriginal place.	Street-tree planting. Large estates established; mansions built.	Melbourne land boom; era of 'Marvellous Melbourne'.
1886	<i>Aborigines Protection Act 1886</i> ('Half Caste Act') forces people off the missions and reserves with many returning to Melbourne. Deputation by Elders of Coranderrk to Victorian politicians.		
1891		Flooding of a large area of Melbourne by the Yarra River.	Economic depression and collapse of housing market. Melbourne & Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) established.
1893		Melbourne Church of England Girls Grammar School is established.	
1896		<i>Yarra Improvement Act 1896.</i>	
1899–1902		Morrell Bridge (1899) constructed by engineer John Monash.	South African (Boer) War.
1901	William Barak is invited to Opening of Federal Parliament but failing health prohibits his attendance.	Beautification of St Kilda Road for royal visit; creation of Alexandra Avenue. Government House becomes the vice-regal	Federation of the Australian colonies; First Federal Parliament opens in Melbourne.

Date	Aboriginal history	Local developments	Broader context
		residence for the new governor-general	
1903	Death of William Barak at Coranderrk.		
1905		Boer War Memorial is erected on St Kilda Road.	
1913–14		Flats built in Park Street.	
1914–18		The Domain is used for military purposes. Increased development of flats.	World War I. Conscription debate and referenda.
1916		First commemoration of Anzac Day in the Domain.	Licensing Act passed in Victoria.
1917		Several local hotels are delicensed (1906–17).	
1919		Garden Court flats built in Marne Street.	Spanish Flu pandemic.
1920		Royal visit, Government House.	Visit to Melbourne of the Prince of Wales.
1924	Closure of Coranderrk; Aboriginal people resettle in Melbourne.	Electrification of tramline on St Kilda Road.	
1929+			Great Depression. Plan for General Development (planning scheme)
1930s	Establishment of the Aborigines Advancement League by William Cooper and Margaret Tucker.	Melbourne Hebrew Congregation established on Toorak Road West (1930).	High unemployment amongst workers; sustenance payments.
1934–1935	Aboriginal people at the Victorian centenary celebrations—e.g. Gum Leaf Band on Princes Bridge.	Opening of the Shrine of Remembrance (1934). Governor of Victoria moves back to Government House.	Victorian Centennial Celebrations (1934–35).
1938	William Cooper marks 26 January as a 'Day of Mourning'.		Sydney sesquicentenary celebrations.
1939	Cummeragunja Walk-off due to poor conditions; Aboriginal people come to Melbourne.		Outbreak of World War II.
1939–45	Aboriginal men and women serve in World War II.	Air-raid shelters and Air Raid Precaution drills in Fawcner Park and the Domain. Australian Army trained at Wesley College. Australian Women's Army Service stationed at Fawcner Park.	World War II. Air Raid Precautions Bill.

Date	Aboriginal history	Local developments	Broader context
c1945+			Beginning of large-scale European migration to Melbourne.
1954		Emergency public housing at Fawkner Park.	Melbourne Planning Scheme of 1954. Royal visit, Queen Elizabeth II.
1955		Moomba festival first held	
1956		Melbourne Olympic Games—use of the Yarra River, Fawkner Park, etc.	Melbourne Olympic Games.
1959		Sidney Myer Music Bowl opened.	
1962		Domain Park Flats completed (Robin Boyd).	
1967	Commonwealth Referendum re Aboriginal people being counted in the Census.		
1970	<i>Aboriginal Lands Act 1970 (Vic).</i>		
1972	<i>Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act 1972 (Vic).</i>		
1976		Former Maples warehouse converted to apartments.	
1985	Reburial of Aboriginal Ancestral Remains in the Domain.		Victoria's sesquicentenary celebrations.
1988	Aboriginal protests in Melbourne during the bicentenary.		Australian bicentenary celebrations.
1993	Mabo decision of the High Court of Australia.		
1993		Under the <i>City of Melbourne Act 1993</i> , Melbourne gained Southbank and the Victorian Arts Centre; four wards were established—Flagstaff, University, Hoddle and Domain.	Restructure of local government areas in Victoria.
1994	Victorian Native Title legislation.		
1997	<i>Bringing Them Home</i> report into the Stolen Generations.		
2000	Reconciliation Walk and 'Sea of Hands', Alexandra Gardens.		
2001			Centenary of Federation.
2006	<i>Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006 (Vic).</i> 'Stolenwealth Games' protest camp at the Domain.		

Date	Aboriginal history	Local developments	Broader context
2007	Aboriginal Heritage Regulations established.		
2009	Apology to the Stolen Generations by the Federal Government.		
2010	<i>Traditional Owner Settlement Act 2010</i> (Vic) and first agreements.		
2016	<i>Aboriginal Heritage Amendment Act</i> (Vic).		
2017	<i>Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murrong) Act 2017.</i>	<i>Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murrong) Act 2017.</i>	
2018	Aboriginal Heritage Regulations established revoking the 2007 Regulations.		
2020+	Treaty discussions with Victorian Government commence.	Metro Rail under construction.	
2021	Report of the Yoo-rrook Justice Commission.	Metro Rail under construction.	

3 Thematic Environmental History of South Yarra

Introduction

The northwest corner of the suburb of South Yarra, located within the municipal area of the City of Melbourne, has been assessed in a number of heritage studies and reports, including an early report prepared by James Colman (1972). This was followed by Meredith Gould's 'Conservation Study of South Yarra' (1985) and later work by Nigel Lewis. The Aboriginal history and heritage of the Review area has not been closely examined to date, although an Indigenous History of the City of Stonnington prepared by Ian D. Clark and Laura Konstanski takes a broader view that also covers much of the Review area (Clark and Konstanski 2006).

South Yarra is in many ways an exceptional area, relative to both the City of Melbourne and the wider Melbourne metropolitan area. The natural attributes of the area, its high ground, rich soil, tree cover and access to fresh water, contributed to its unusual pattern of development in the context of Melbourne's early colonial settlement. It was this special character and relative isolation from the town that led to it being selected as the location of the first Aboriginal mission in 1837. It was perhaps also a reason why so much of the locality was reserved for public parks and gardens. As a result of so much parkland being reserved, this has left an orphaned residential area south of the Yarra that sits between the City of Stonnington and the rest of the City of Melbourne.

The south side of the Yarra was regarded by early settlers as a highly favoured location, being on high ground and close to the growing city of Melbourne but at a sufficient distance to allow seclusion and offer pleasant surroundings. From the 1850s, South Yarra's location and emerging 'exclusive' character gave it a particular quality that did not follow the typical pattern of development of suburban Melbourne. The area became associated with 'wealth and privilege' and high society (Goad 1999: 268), and this has strongly shaped the physical development of the suburb both overtly and in more subtle ways. This is evident not only in the physical fabric that survives today but also in the layers of residential development. This includes the large estates of the 1840s and 1850s; the villa residences of boom-era Melbourne of the late-nineteenth century; the luxury flats and maisonettes that replaced the grand estates and nineteenth-century villas as the area was transformed in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s; and, finally, the architect-designed flats and avant-garde homes of the postwar period. Within the Review area, there is a remarkable legacy of fine architecture and landscape design across different periods in the development of the suburb. Architects who contributed to the rich architectural landscape of South Yarra include William Wardell, Crouch and Wilson, Anketell Henderson, Charles Webb, Leonard Terry, Walter Butler, Marcus Martin, Harry A. Norris, Robin Boyd and Neil Clerehan. A number of prominent landscape designers also helped to shape the area, including William Guilfoyle, Hugh Linaker, Edna Walling and Ellis Stones.

In many ways, this corner of South Yarra was a place apart. It was to some extent socially removed, home to the exclusive social world that was referred to as Melbourne 'Society'. At the same time, much of the locality is public space, and has been used for a range of public purposes since the beginning of British settlement. The locality also lacked the usual dynamic of town affairs and a busy shopping centre, and was without the usual range of clubs and societies that typically shaped social life elsewhere. It was part of but in many ways separate from the City of Melbourne, where the concerns of the central city dominated. This sense of separation was emphasised by the physical barrier of the Yarra River. The area shared many of the same issues and similar socio-demographic patterns as the

neighbouring (former) City of Prahran and, at various times, there have been moves by some residents to secede from the City of Melbourne and to join the municipality of Prahran.

The layered evolution of the urban environment has obscured many physical traces of the historical development of the locality and this in turn has impacted on our historical understanding of the area. The rapid transformation of the settlement to a densely built-up city erased much pre-colonial heritage. The mindset of British colonial settlers was governed by an inherent bias against Aboriginal people and Aboriginal culture. Intent on striving forward on a linear trajectory of capitalist wealth and material progress, most British settlers saw little need or interest in the places that Aboriginal people had associations with. An exception to this rule, perhaps, were the scarred trees that were treated with curious nostalgia on the part of settlers for a 'lost' Aboriginal past. The colonial impulse was to forge a new history rather than to preserve the old. Overall, settlers did little to prevent the erasure of the cultural associations of the people whose land had been taken from them.

Historically, the extensive area of public land (or Crown land) in South Yarra that retained areas of indigenous vegetation enabled Aboriginal people to continue to occupy this area and, to some extent, to practise their culture on Country—a tradition that continued for several decades after the British took possession. Grand homes and well-endowed private schools, churches and public institutions were established on land that Aboriginal people had camped on for thousands of years. There were ongoing Aboriginal cultural associations in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s with many of these places, which were used for camps and corroboree grounds, or were simply places that Aboriginal people visited or occupied. There is an extraordinary amount of detail about the Aboriginal history of this part of Melbourne from the beginning of colonial records in 1835–1836 and through the nineteenth century. Perhaps no other part of inner Melbourne has such a richly documented history of Aboriginal people. Despite this, it is not possible to understand the full story of early contact between Aboriginal people and settlers as the Aboriginal perspective of this period is poorly recorded. Incorporating some of the documented Aboriginal history of South Yarra, however, makes for a richer and fuller historical account of the area while also acknowledging the connections Aboriginal people retained with many local places.

3.1 Aboriginal Country

3.1.1 Living on Country

The landscape of the Review area, defined as the South Yarra portion of the City of Melbourne, sits just outside the CBD on the southern side of the Yarra River. This location, on mostly high ground and on a gentle bend in the river, was an important place for the East Kulin. Their occupation, use of, and deep connection with this place continued long after British settlers invaded and took possession of their Country in 1835. The locality was part of the wider varied landscape of the lower Birrarung, which might be better termed a waterscape, comprising wetlands, lagoons and river flats. This area, close to the rocky bar in the river where the fresh water from the mountains to the northeast met the salt water from the ocean, was a place rich in resources. The river provided a variety of foods, including fish, eels, freshwater crustaceans and shellfish, and was also a haven for waterbirds. The riverbank attracted smaller marsupials, including possums and native cats (quolls), and the broader flood plain was good grazing country for kangaroo, wallaby and emu.

In addition to a remarkable record of continuous human occupation and culture, both the river, Birrarung, and the bay, Narrm (or Nerrm), have seen significant change over that period. Before the last Ice Age, some 20,000 years ago, the sea level was much lower. Narrm / Nerrm was a vast plain and Birrarung followed a course across this plain to empty into the ocean in the vicinity of Cape Schanck.

South Yarra sits within a much larger landscape of importance to the East Kulin, who have occupied this country since time immemorial. Archaeological records currently date occupation to between 30,000 and 40,000 years ago. The East Kulin of the Melbourne area lived through dramatic geomorphological change. The area lies at the edge of Narrm / Nerrm (Port Phillip Bay) and has been shaped by the ocean and the impact of sea level changes over millennia. Around 20,000 years ago, the sea level was much lower and more land was exposed on the coastal edge of southern Australia, including the Bassian Shelf that formed a land bridge to Tasmania. Drawing on oral tradition, Nerrm / Narrm was described by Bunurong Elder Benbow as having once been a vast 'kangaroo hunting ground' (Victoria 1859). The low-lying area was a natural basin and formed a grassy plain, probably with areas of wetland during different periods at its lower points. At the end of the last ice age, the ice caps melted and the sea level rose significantly. The area of land that was later submerged to become Narrm / Nerrm was eventually inundated. The flooding occurred slowly over thousands of years, reaching a high point that covered much of coastal and low-lying areas of Melbourne and South Melbourne, and then subsided. Around 6000–8000 years ago, the coastal edge would have roughly corresponded with what is now St Kilda Road (Presland 2001: 11). The high ground of the Domain would have formed a distinct rise above this coastal edge.

The river, known to Aboriginal people as Birrarung was renamed 'Yarra Yarra' (after the word *yarro yarro*, meaning 'flowing', which was incorrectly understood by John Wedge to be the name for the river). Birrarung has its own story of dramatic change over millennia. Now forming the lower Yarra, the river environment and the wider landscape would have been very different tens of thousands of years ago when the river met the ocean around Cape Schanck. When the sea level rose higher, the course of Birrarung was less precise, with sea water and river water meeting in a vast estuary that connected Birrarung with the Maribyrnong. This estuary formed rich wetlands that supported diverse birdlife and provided ample plant resources—it has been described by Tim Flannery as 'a kind of temperate Kakadu' (Flannery 2000: 8). Trees in the area included River Red Gum, Manna Gum, She Oak, Tea

Tree and wattle. There would have been Kangaroo Grass, river reeds and a myriad of other grasses and river herbs.

For tens of thousands of years, Aboriginal people in what is now Melbourne modified the land and waterways in subtle but critical ways to care for Country and secure sufficient resources for human survival. The use of the land and waters was closely tied to spiritual beliefs. A light tree cover was probably maintained through firing the ground seasonally. This practice stimulated the regrowth of vegetation, which both managed the timber load and helped avert bushfire but also sustained hunting grounds for grazing animals like kangaroos and wallabies. People designed and constructed fish traps at the edge of lakes and lagoons and harvested plants, such as the root vegetable Murnong (or Yam Daisy), which was a mainstay of their diet (Zola and Gott 1992: 7–9). They made earthen ovens on the riverbank and the debris from thousands of years of harvesting shellfish left large kitchen middens on many parts of the coast. Aboriginal people also adapted to the changes in climate that affected sea level, temperature patterns and rainfall. They were deeply committed to caring for and working with Country, managing the land and its resources in a manner that was both sustainable and in line with their spiritual beliefs and practices.

At the time British settlers invaded and took possession of these lands in the mid-1830s, the Melbourne area was occupied by clans of two East Kulin language groups—the Boonwurrung language group and the Woi-wurrung language group. In the early period of settlement, the British often referred to Woi-wurrung speakers (the Wurundjeri) as the ‘Yarra tribe’, the ‘Yarra Yarra tribe’ or the ‘Waverongs’. Those who spoke the Boonwurrung language (the Bunurong) were also referred to as the ‘Port Phillip tribe’, the ‘Westernport tribe’ or the ‘coastal tribe’.

The lower Yarra area was also important as a meeting place for the five Kulin language groups—Boonwurrung, Woi-wurrung, Wathawurrung, Taungurung and Dja Daj Wurrung. The five groups met here twice a year and whenever other meetings were needed. During these meetings, Aboriginal people conducted ceremonies, followed cultural practices, traded goods, arranged marriages, resolved disputes and discussed other business (Thomas 1840, cited in Presland 2001). Such gatherings mostly took place in the warmer months when food resources were plentiful.

The area south of the Yarra (the Review area) remained an important place to the Kulin after the British arrived. This was high ground that was within a mile of ‘the Falls’—this was a narrow rocky ledge that marked the meeting point of the fresh water and the salt water and which was a good fishing spot. The broader South Yarra area was within a long-established Kulin meeting place. Camping areas were located on areas of higher ground on both sides of the river—on the present-day Domain and Botanic Gardens, as well as Eastern Hill and at Yarra Park. Like other areas of high ground in the vicinity of the lower Yarra, the South Yarra area would have been a place to gather and camp. Being high ground, the area would have had strategic advantages and offered views of Birrarung (the Yarra River) and of Nerrm / Narrm (Port Phillip Bay) beyond. There were also small creeks, some being possibly intermittent—one flowed through Fawkner Park and another flowed northwards across Domain Road and through the area of Fern Gully in the Botanic Gardens before emptying into the Yarra (Slater 1987: 43–44).

The use of this area by Aboriginal people is well documented in the colonial records as a living place and a meeting place, as an important fishing place, a ceremonial ground, and a place where burials took place. These uses and cultural practices were long established when British settlers arrived in the 1830s. John Hunter Kerr, who arrived in 1839, observed the rough outline of the new settlement on the Yarra but noted too ‘the mia-mias and camp-fires of the aborigines [sic.] still lingering among the

trees on the banks of the river' (Kerr 1872: 10). There would also have been tool-making sites and probably fish traps. The river would also have been used as a place to keep food cool during hot weather. A range of items would have been made from local resources, including tools and weapons, storage containers, fishing nets, woven bags and baskets, possum skin cloaks, and jewellery and other personal adornments. Large sections of bark from mature River Red Gums were used to make canoes. Shelters known as willams (or mia mias) were constructed from boughs and bark (Stephens 2014, vol. 4; Clark 2000, vol 1).

The rivers, creeks and swamps provided abundant resources. Large lagoons, the haunt of wild ducks, plovers, coots, swans and geese, lay between the river and the coast (Daley 1940: 8; Flannery 2002: 96). William Thomas, Assistant Protector of Aborigines for the Western Port District, noted that 'splendid swamps by the Yarra' were favoured fishing spots for local Aboriginal people and regular meeting places for clans (Presland 2008: 15). There was a series of lagoons along Birrarung, including the largest, Tromgin, where eels were caught and other food sources obtained. The river itself was integral to Aboriginal culture, and its banks were a place of ceremony and transmission of culture. There were also sources of clay near the river (and possibly ochre) that would have been used for ceremonial purposes.

The Kulin used fire to manage the landscape and to encourage the growth of particular plants, both for their own use and to encourage grazing animals. Regular campsites were also kept clear through routine burning. Robert Hoddle's plan of 1837 identifies the high ground of the Government House Reserve as 'hilly forest clear of trees'. This site was reported as having been a Bunurong campsite (Presland 2010: 40), which would concur with it being 'clear of trees' when settlers arrived in 1837.

A large number of Ancestral Remains were uncovered at the Domain in 1929 in the course of digging the foundations for the Shrine of Remembrance. The remains recovered were considerable, suggesting that this high ground had formerly been used as an Aboriginal burial ground (*Argus*, 13 November 1929: 10; *Herald*, 14 November 1929: 1)

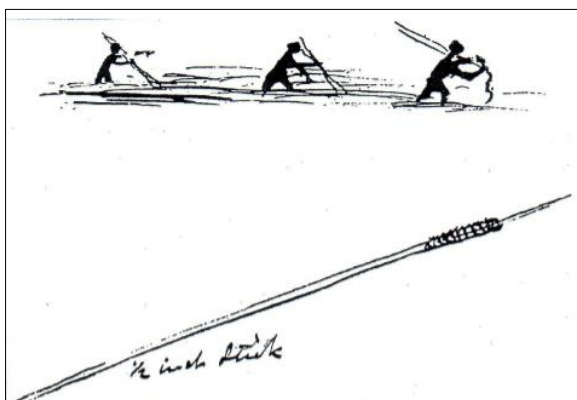


Figure 3.1 Sketch by G.A. Robinson depicting men spearing eels in the Tromgin lagoon in the Royal Botanic Gardens. (Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW)



Figure 3.2 Bark canoe made from Mountain Ash and used on the Yarra River; acquired at Kew in the 1850s. (Source: Museums Victoria)

The timbered areas of the Domain, the Botanic Gardens and the lower area of Fawkner Park would most likely have included scarred trees when settlers arrived, but these either died or were removed. There are reportedly two remnant River Red Gum remaining in the indigenous garden and billabong area of the Botanic Gardens. Scarred trees, which provide evidence of the making of canoes, tools

and implements, survived in the South Yarra area until the late-nineteenth century and were often noted by settlers or were the subject of artworks.



Figure 3.3 Watercolour titled 'A canoe tree near Princes Bridge' by Charles Bennett, 1880. (Source: State Library of New South Wales)

3.1.2 Invasion and dispossession

The Kulin had some interaction with Europeans long before John Batman, John Pascoe Fawcner and other illegal arrivals settled permanently on the Yarra (Birrarung) in 1835. They most likely would have observed Charles Grimes and his party in 1803, who navigated the 'Freshwater River' and landed at the current site of the Botanic Gardens before reaching as far upstream as Dights Falls (Clark and Konstanski 2012: 74). Grimes reported that he saw Aboriginal people near the site of the Botanic Gardens. British explorers had also ventured into Kulin territory in 1824, and during the same decade sealers and whalers were established at various points along the Victorian coast, including in Bunurong territory. There are accounts among the Bunurong of their womenfolk being taken (or kidnapped) by sealers off the coast at Point Nepean and at Western Port. These stories would have spread from clan to clan, and to the neighbouring tribes. So too would claims of sightings of convict escapees from the short-lived settlements at Sorrento in 1803 and Corinella in 1826, and of white explorers on horseback in 1824–25.

In June 1835, John Batman made a so-called ‘treaty’ with the ‘chiefs’ of the Melbourne area on behalf of the Port Philip Association where he claimed to have ‘purchased’ 600,000 acres of land across Melbourne and Geelong in exchange for some provisions and a ‘yearly tribute’. While undoubtedly a land grab on the part of Batman and the Port Phillip Association, the opportunistic settlers nonetheless assured the authorities, either naively or strategically, that they would respect the rights of the Aboriginal people, and protect them and provide for them and, somewhat idealistically, would only permit married men as settlers (Campbell 1991).

Over the next three decades following Batman’s treaty, the Aboriginal people of Melbourne faced the tumultuous and catastrophic effects of colonisation. In the space of a generation, Country was taken, sovereignty denied and the population decimated as a result of violence, conflict and introduced diseases. Aboriginal people were also deprived of traditional food sources and resources, forced to suppress language and culture, and suffered widespread injustice and discrimination.

In 1836, the Governor of NSW, Richard Bourke, sought to establish one or more ‘native villages’ on the south side of the river, about 1.5 miles upstream from the newly declared township of Melbourne (Cannon 1982: 153). The colonial authorities determined to establish an Anglican mission in this location and surveyor Robert Hoddle set aside an area of 895 acres in the vicinity of present-day Anderson Street; this included a ‘hilly area where corroborees were held’ (Cannon 1982: 153). There is a lack of certainty about the precise location and extent of the mission reserve, with some sources stating it originally lay to the east of Punt Road but moved to the west side of Punt Road in 1839 (Tibbits 1983: 4, 8-9). Most sources concur that the mission was at the site of Tromgin (Botanic Gardens) while others note that it was located to the east of present-day Anderson Street (Clark 2000, vol. 1: 8–9, 10; Clark and Konstanski, 2012: 31). George Langhorne, who had arrived in Melbourne in January 1837, was appointed to manage the mission, which was established in association with the NSW Missionary Society (Shaw 1996: 115). This site was an existing Aboriginal meeting place. William Thomas noted that at ‘the spot where Melbourne now stands and the flats on which we are now camped [on the south bank of the Yarra] was the regular rendezvous for the tribes ... twice a year or as often as circumstances and emergencies required to settle their grievances, [and] revenge deaths ...’ (Thomas, cited in Presland 1994: 35).

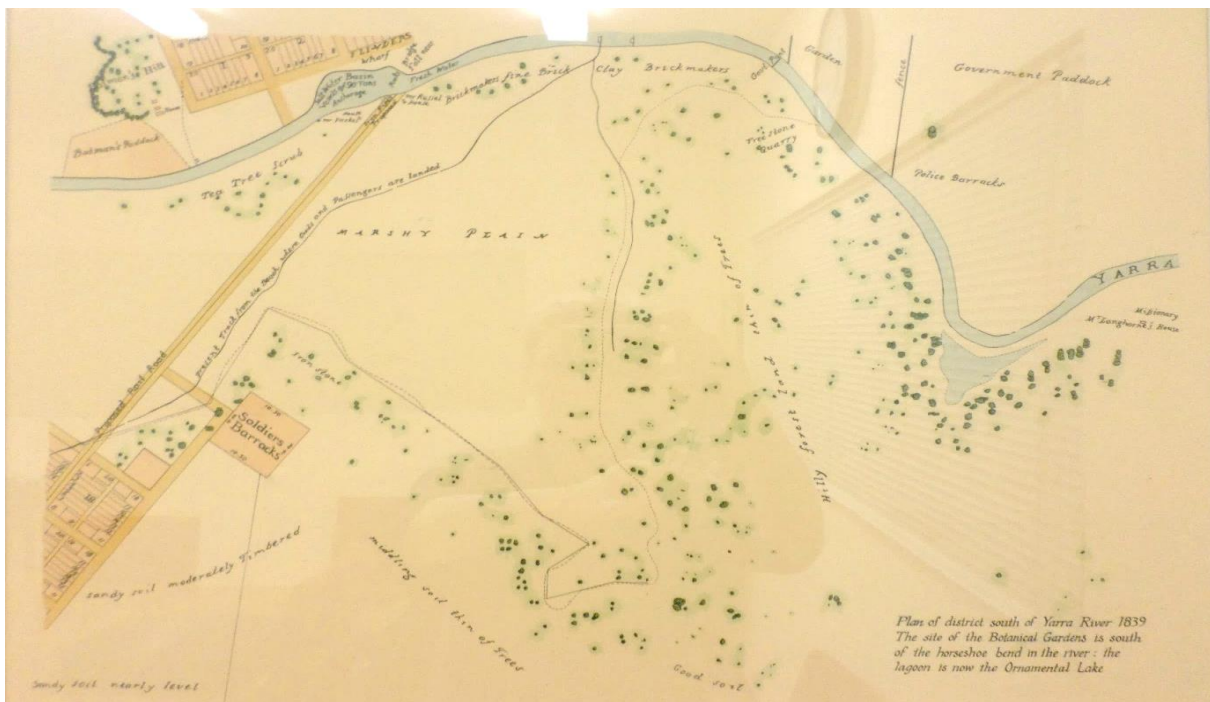


Figure 3.4 The Botanic Gardens site and surrounding area in 1839, showing the location of ‘Missionary Langhorne’s house’ at the far right of plan, which corresponds to a position close to present-day Anderson Street. (Source: copied from original at Royal Botanic Gardens, Melbourne; original source unknown)

This site, which was referred to as the ‘encampment’, was across the river from the Government Paddock or Police Paddock (now Yarra Park and the MCG), which was an early focus of administration of Aboriginal people and where the Native Police Corps occupied barracks. Many of the key figures in the administration of the Port Phillip District had temporary or permanent residence here, including Police Magistrate (and the first administrator) William Lonsdale; the Chief Protector of Aborigines George Augustus Robinson; and the ex-convict William Buckley, who was appointed an interpreter and intermediary with the Aboriginal people (firstly by Batman in 1835 and then by Lonsdale in 1836). Charles Joseph La Trobe, who arrived in 1839 as superintendent of the settlement, was permitted (not without controversy) to purchase an area of Crown land reserve at the higher northern end of the Government Paddock. There he erected a family residence that his French-speaking wife Sophie named Jolimont.

The Bunurong and Wurundjeri people were encouraged to live at the Anglican Aboriginal mission, which occupied (more or less) the site of the future Botanic Gardens from 1837 to 1839. The mission also operated a school for Aboriginal children, which sought to ‘civilise and Christianise’ them, but the school was not well attended (Cotter 2005: 23). While Langhorne’s mission ceased operating in 1839, Aboriginal people continued to occupy this general area, which was referred to as their ‘encampment’. As most of the surrounding area to the south remained unalienated, the extent of Aboriginal occupation and land use was not limited to the mission reserve.

When G.A. Robinson arrived at Port Phillip in 1839 he initially occupied a hut near the Tromgin lagoon. In 1840 he noted that the Aboriginal camp was close to his hut, which in turn was close to the freestone quarry and the lagoon (Clark 2000: 8–9). The quarry appears to be in the vicinity of the high rocky embankment to the west of the lagoon. To mark Robinson’s arrival in Melbourne in 1839 the government held a sports day and feast for the Aboriginal people, which was held near the Government House Reserve. A *ngargee* was performed that night (Garryowen 1888, vol 2: 746).

There were many Kulin at the encampment on the south bank at different times, and this number often exceeded several hundred. These were mainly Bunurong and Wurundjeri people, but there were also Taungurung (also referred to as the 'Goulburn tribe') (Clark 2000) and Wathaurung (often referred to as the 'Barrabools') groups. Aboriginal people from Gippsland also regularly visited Melbourne at this time.

As the number of settlers increased through the 1840s, so too did the demand for land and the pressure on resources available to Aboriginal people. With the growth of the settler population Aboriginal people became more vulnerable to violent attacks, exploitation and introduced diseases. The impact of alcohol was detrimental to the Aboriginal population living on the south bank of the river. Brickmakers and others were known to supply Aboriginal people with alcohol for the benefit of their own entertainment. The exploitation of Aboriginal people in this way was also associated with abusive and debased behaviour on the part of the white men responsible. From the 1840s, the authorities sought to prohibit alcohol from being given to Aboriginal people.

Superintendent La Trobe prohibited Aboriginal people from entering the central town of Melbourne from 1840 (Broome 2005: 31; Boyce 2011: 186). Aboriginal people moved between the encampment at South Yarra and other Crown land reserves south of the river to other regular locations. Some would have worked for settlers, and often this was in a formal capacity as servants (William Thomas drew up various 'master–servant' agreements for this purpose); while others worked on a casual basis, often for rations rather than wages—they collected firewood and water, and performed a range of manual tasks, such as fencing and chopping wood. They also sold items of value to the European settlers, such as fish and eels, animal skins and lyrebird tails (Cahir, Clark and Clarke 2018: 242, 243; Cannon 1983: 726; McCrae 1912).

The large areas of public parks and gardens that remain in this area have important connections to Aboriginal people. Many Kulin lived at the 'encampment' on the south bank of the river and later made camps in the Domain, Fawkner Park or on the riverbank. Bunurong people camped at the place where Government House now stands (Presland 2010: 40).

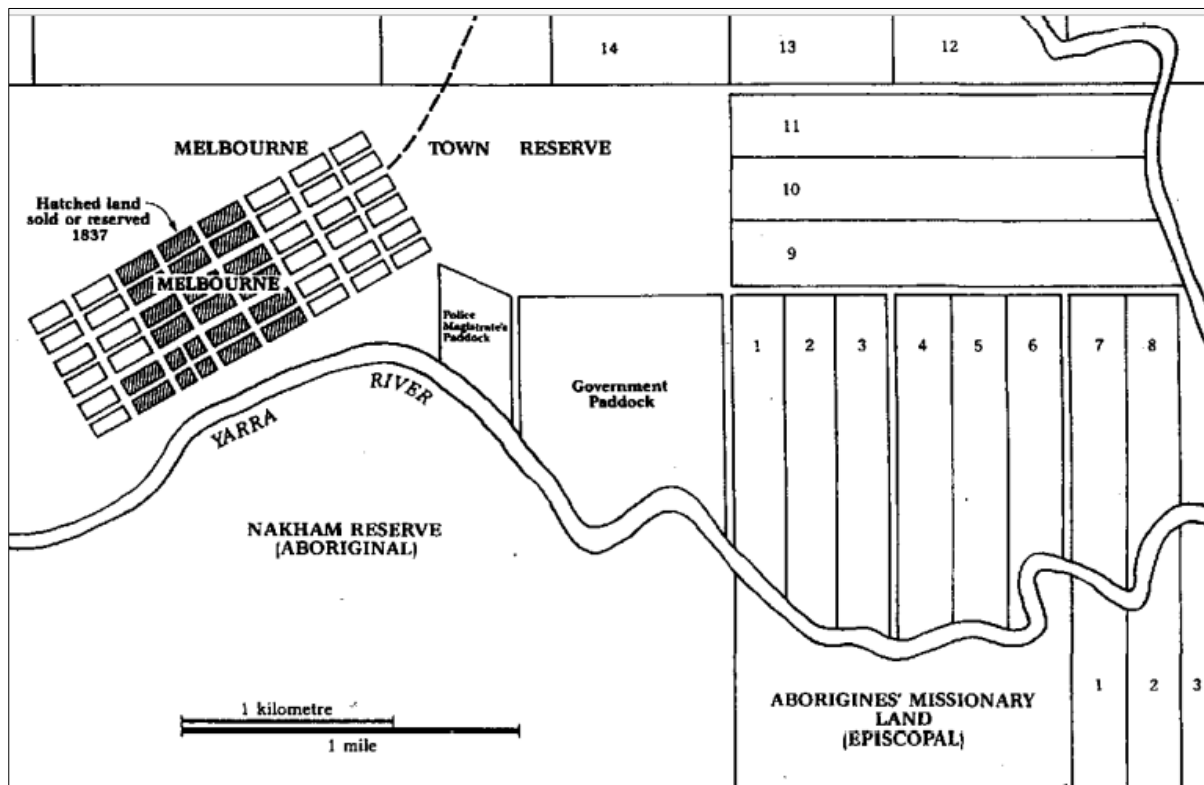


Figure 3.5 Detail from plan of Melbourne as conceived by Robert Hoddle, 1837, reproduced in *Fitzroy: Melbourne's first suburb*. The north–south boundary between the two reserves represents today's Punt Road. (Source: Reproduced in Allom Lovell & Associates, 'City of Yarra Heritage Review: Heritage Overlay Precincts', 1998, p. A12)

The site of the Aboriginal mission was reserved for botanic gardens in 1846, but Aboriginal people probably continued to have access over the following years to the large lagoon known as Tromgin. In later life the Wurundjeri Ngurungaeta William Barak referred to this place as 'the German garden' (Barak 1882), suggesting that Barak maintained an interest in the site after 1857 (when Mueller was appointed director of the Botanic Gardens). The lagoon known as Tromgin, renowned for its supply of eels, was incorporated into the design of the Botanic Gardens and became an 'ornamental lake'. This area was cut off from the river in the late 1890s as part of the Yarra improvement works but retained some remnant indigenous vegetation.

Some Aboriginal people lived at the new Yarra Mission at the junction of the Yarra River and Merri Creek—this was established in 1846 but was poorly attended (Clark and Heydon 2004). Some of the Woi-wurrung bands moved between Melbourne, Bullen Bullen (Bulleen), Heidelberg and Yarra Glen, while the Bunurong bands moved between Melbourne, St Kilda, Brighton, Mordialloc, Kananook (Frankston), and further south. There were also other Aboriginal people in the Melbourne area at this time who were from other tribes, including the 'Barrabool' (Wadawaurung) and 'Goulburn' (Taungurung) tribes, who also camped on the Yarra bank.

Aboriginal livelihoods in Melbourne had deteriorated significantly by the late 1840s. The Port Phillip Protectorate was wound up in 1849, and through the 1850s Aboriginal people were provided with even less 'protection' than the Protectorate offered. In the 1850s, Aboriginal people were increasingly fragmented due to their alienation from much of their Country, and the degradation of the land and waterways on which they relied. Many Aboriginal people continued to camp in the vicinity of South Yarra, but possibly only in the colder months.

The Bunurong were granted a ‘camping reserve’ at Mordialloc in 1841 that comprised around 822 acres (Caldere and Goff 1991: 7, 27; Wright 1989: 23). The Wurundjeri had other camps further upstream as far as Yarra Glen. In 1849, an area was reserved for the Wurundjeri at Warrandyte (Wright 1989: 22).

The Aboriginal people of Melbourne continued to occupy the areas of South Yarra and Prahran into the 1860s because here they could still access extensive areas of their Country that remained unalienated Crown land. These reserves were not formally laid out or planted as public parks until the mid-1860s (Fawkner Park) and the early 1870s (Domain). Parts of Fawkner Park and the Domain remained bushland at this time, while some areas were also being used for grazing. There were still some large trees remaining, which meant that resources could be sourced.

It can be assumed that early settlers, such as Colonel Joseph Anderson of Fairlie House and David Ogilvie of Airlie Bank, whose holdings occupied the former mission area and long-established Aboriginal camping place (Cooper 1924), had some association with the Aboriginal people they had displaced. They may have employed Aboriginal people to do odd jobs. Ogilvie was a member of the committee of the Yarra Aboriginal Mission, which was established in 1842 at the junction of the Yarra River and the Merri Creek (*Argus*, 28 May 1847:4). In 1843 he was noted as an elder of the Presbyterian Church in Collins Street, a place that Aboriginal people are shown to have camped around this time (*Port Phillip Gazette*, 8 March 1843: 2; SLV image).

3.1.3 Defending Country

In 1835 Aboriginal people were party to a form of agreement with John Batman and the Port Phillip Association, but how that agreement was understood by the Aboriginal people is difficult to know. The nature and status of Batman’s ‘treaty’, however inequitable and opportunist on the part of the settlers, necessarily changed as more and more settlers arrived at Port Phillip.

Accounts of violence and killings of Aboriginal people were common, but much went unreported. Aboriginal people were also in a highly inequitable position regarding British law. Settlers who were guilty of crimes against Aboriginal people often left the colony for fear of being charged and convicted. Charges against settlers in these cases were probably dismissed for a range of reasons. Conflict between settlers and Aboriginal people in the pastoral districts of Victoria was prolonged, and in many cases brutal, especially in the Western District and in Gippsland. Violent encounters also took place in Melbourne, including on the south bank of the Yarra River in the 1830s and in the 1840s. Two Aboriginal men from Tasmania, Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner, who were among many who fought the invaders, became the first people to be publicly executed in Melbourne in 1841.

Squatter Robert Jamieson claimed, ‘the settlers south of Yarra were invariably kind to the [Aboriginal people] and there are, I believe, few if any instances of ingratitude in return on record’ (Bride 1898: 160). While relations between settlers and the Wurundjeri and Bunurong may have appeared to Jamieson as amicable, this ignores the reports of violent conflicts between Aboriginal people and settlers on the Yarra Bank, for example at the Brickfields in the early 1840s (Stephens 2014, vol. 1: various). It also fails to consider that many of Victoria’s administrators, lawmakers and leading public servants who lived in the area contributed significantly to the injustices meted out to the Aboriginal people of Melbourne (Cotter 2005: 85).

The government prohibited Aboriginal people from being in the possession of guns in 1840 (*PPGG*; Stephens 2014, vol 1). In 1846 a large number of guns were found at an Aboriginal camp on the Yarra at Heidelberg and seized by the authorities (*Argus*, 1846, cited in Context 2018).

3.1.4 Survival

Through the 1850s and 1860s Aboriginal society in Melbourne became increasingly fragmented due to the alienation of Aboriginal people from their land, the degradation of land and waterways on which they had relied, and the consequent destruction and depletion of resources. Aboriginal groups continued to make their camps in the South Yarra area, along the river and in the Domain and Fawkner Park, and other locations (Presland 2001). An anonymous writer in the early 1900s named 'Lino' notes his grandfather's memory of seeing Aboriginal people camp in the Botanic Gardens, though does not give a date for when this happened ('Lino' 1904). The arrival of tens of thousands of new immigrants to Melbourne in the early 1850s, who were attracted by hopes of finding gold, put pressure on public land, which was made available for use as interim immigrant camp sites. The emergence of the tent city known as 'Canvas Town' from 1852, which occupied part of the present-day Domain, would have disrupted the Aboriginal occupation and use of that area.

Faced with an almost unimaginable upheaval to traditional life, Aboriginal people continued to live in the South Yarra area well into the 1850s and 1860s, as noted in contemporary accounts, reminiscences and local histories. A centenary history of Christ Church South Yarra notes that Aboriginal people were living on the riverbank and in Fawkner Park in the 1850s (*Christ Church Centenary*, 1954: 4). Anne Izett, the daughter of English immigrants, recalled coming home to Prahran from Melbourne through the 'Domain paddock' one night as a child in the early 1850s where she witnessed a corroboree (*Prahran Telegraph*, 25 July 1927: 5). In the 1850s, another settler, John Waugh, recalled seeing a large camp on the hill where Government House is now (Waugh c1900, RHSV). Frederick Chapman remembered seeing Aboriginal people camping at the Domain while he was a schoolboy at Melbourne Grammar School. From c.1858 he was used to seeing the Aboriginal camp located in the area between 'the Grammar School and Toorak Road', which was then 'covered in gum trees'. This corresponds to the area of the present-day Domain. Chapman recalled that 'watching them throwing boomerangs and climbing trees was the delight of the Grammar School boys' (*Prahran Telegraph*, 1 December 1917: 7).

There are numerous accounts in historical records of Aboriginal people camping in the public park known as the South Melbourne Park or Fawkner Park and holding corroborees there. In 1849, accounts of settlers reported Aboriginal camps in Fawkner Park and huge campfires associated with corroborees that took place in the park (City of Melbourne 2000: 5). Another account mentions that there were 'until the fifties' Aboriginal camps in Fawkner Park and 'opposite the Alfred Hospital', although the latter area may have been the southern end of Fawkner Park (*Age*, 24 March 1934: 7). Another account of early Prahran remembered the regular corroborees in Fawkner Park:

The only amusement we had up to 1851 was the natives used to meet once a month on the full moon in Fawkner Park, opposite the Fawkner hotel. The hotel lies between the Park and Millswyn street, but there was no hotel, park, or streets there then, but all bush. There the blacks held their corroboree [sic.], and I have seen the greater portion of the people of Melbourne and Prahran turnout and visit the camp on those occasions (*Prahran Telegraph*, 16 October 1897: 5).

Settler John Henry Bird, who arrived in Melbourne as a child in 1853, remembered that Aboriginal people had their camps in Fawkner Park and held corroborees there (*Argus*, 29 September 1934: 21). James W. Lorrain, who arrived in Melbourne in 1862, also recalled an Aboriginal camp in Fawkner Park (*Age*, 3 April 1948: 2). A resident of Walsh Street in the mid-1860s recalled his nurse taking him to view a corroboree at Fawkner Park (*Prahran Telegraph*, 17 May 1919: 5). William Thomas also

noted Aboriginal groups occupying Fawkner Park in 1860 and 1863 (Stephens 2014, vol. 3: 409, 411, 422). Mr W. Round recalled in 1906 that there had been an Aboriginal camp on the north-west corner of Fawkner Park but noted that an Aboriginal person had not been seen at that spot for 40 years, or since 1866 (*Prahran Telegraph*, 24 February 1906: 5).

Some Aboriginal people visited the hotels in the area in the 1860s, including the Bunurong Elder known as 'Mr Man' (aka Mingaragon or Mongarra), son of 'Old Mr Man', who frequented both the South Melbourne Hotel (which later became the Fawkner Club Hotel), located opposite Fawkner Park, and the South Yarra Club Hotel, located on the corner of Toorak Road and Punt Road (outside the Review area; demolished) (*Herald*, 18 November 1930, p. 6; Fels 2011; Stephens 2014, vol. 3). 'Old Mr Man' died in 1847 and was buried at Brighton (Fels 2011: 149–50). The association of Mr Man with the Fawkner Club Hotel ties in with other accounts of an Aboriginal camp being located at the northwest corner of the park, near the present-day Fawkner Park tennis courts and opposite the 'Fawkner [sic.] Hotel' (*Prahran Telegraph*, 16 October 1897: 5, 24 February 1906: 5). It is likely that other Aboriginal people visited hotels in the area, but no documentary record of additional associations has been found.

It is also noted in contemporary accounts that 'Old Mr Man' lived at the property of Anne Payne (sister of T.B. Payne of the Maritimo estate), probably in the 1850s. This was described in 1930 as being in the vicinity of the Tramway Engine House (situated at the corner of St Kilda Road and Bromby Street). The Tramway Engine House, erected in the 1880s, possibly replaced the former residence of Miss Payne (MMBW 1896; SLV photo c.1975). Miss Payne also lived for a period on the Maritimo estate in a house her brother had built for her, which was on the southeast corner of Domain Road and Marne Street (*Christ Church Centenary*, 1954: 20).

There were other Aboriginal camping areas in the wider area of South Yarra (within the City of Stonnington). A 'magnificent gum tree' in the school yard of the South Melbourne Free Church School was remembered by Mr G.A. Stephens as a place where Aboriginal people used to camp: Stephens was around 8 years old when the school was established in 1854 (*Herald*, 25 August 1928: 16; school history 1950s) This school later became South Yarra State School No. 583. The 'Yarra Yarra tribe' was reported to have a campsite near the Wesleyan Church on the corner of Toorak Road and Chapel Street in the 1870s and it was reported that corroborees were held at this place (*Age*, 13 October 1934: 8; *Argus*, 7 March 1939: 1; *Argus*, 23 May 1933: 8). It is possible that members of this group would travel along Toorak Road West between the campsite and the city. Further afield, there was also an Aboriginal camp in the tea tree scrub along the riverbank (this location is south of the Review area and east of Chapel Street). Maps of the area from the early 1850s give an indication of the extent of open space and public land surrounding the South Yarra area (see Figure 3.6).

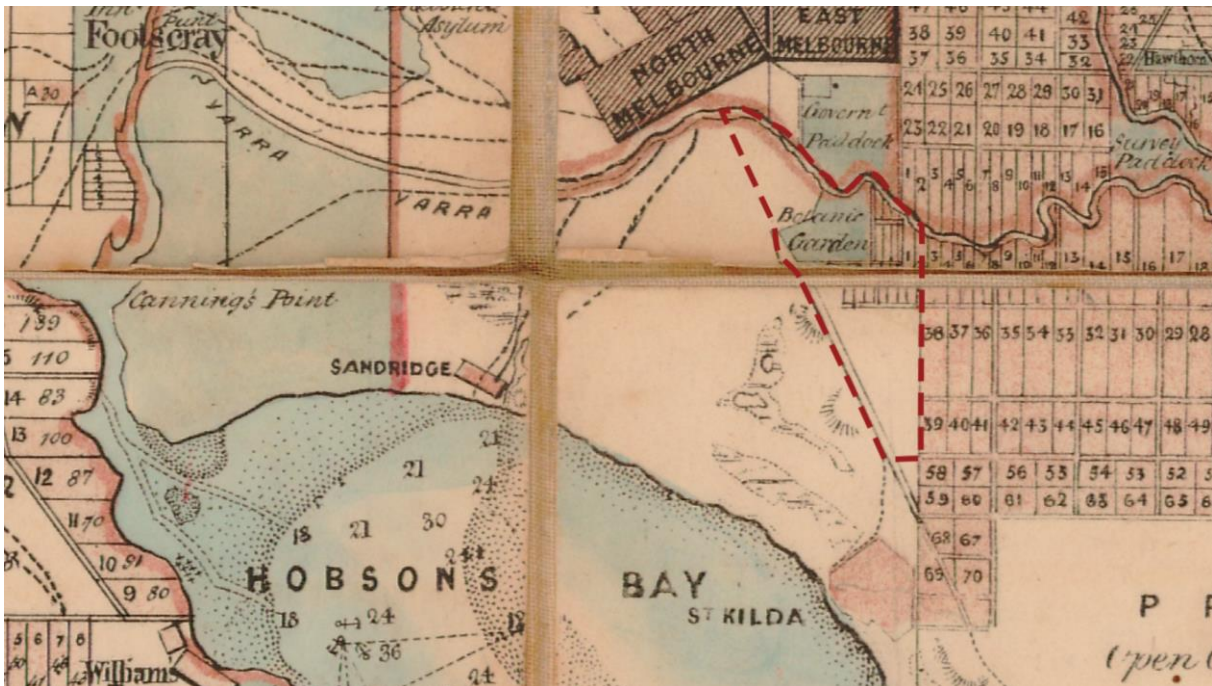


Figure 3.6 Detail from Thomas Ham's plan of Melbourne c.1850, showing the 'open country' of Prahran and South Yarra. The approximate review area is shown in red outline. (Source: State Library Victoria with GML overlay)

Until the 1860s, Bunurong people would often travel between Mordialloc (Mordy Yallock) and Melbourne and would occupy regular camps in Prahran and South Yarra, including at Fawkner Park. By the late 1860s, however, with increased residential development and general activity in the area, Aboriginal people were pushed out of the South Yarra area. The public parks were also further developed from the early 1860s. In the 1860s many of the Wurundjeri were relocated to the Coranderrk Aboriginal Reserve, near Healesville. While many Bunurong also went to Coranderrk, some lived at the Mordialloc Aboriginal Reserve, which continued to operate until 1878.

Aboriginal people living in Melbourne in the 1860s suffered from homelessness, poverty, malnutrition, cultural dislocation, alcoholism and disease. Some were admitted to the Alfred Hospital, as well as other hospitals outside the Review area. Bunurong Elder Jimmy Dunbar (*Yam-mer-book*), who was also known as 'Big Jemmy' and 'King Jimmy', was admitted to the Alfred Hospital in 1877, where he passed away. He had been living with his wife Nancy in a *mia mia* at the Mordialloc Aboriginal Reserve. Nancy had passed away at the Mordialloc Reserve six days prior to his own death (*Illustrated Australian News*, 14 May 1877: 74).

Aboriginal culture was reignited in Melbourne in the 1920s, '30s and '40s when people returned to the city from the missions and reserves after several of these had closed down. Others came to Melbourne following the Cummergunga Walk-off in 1939. Many Aboriginal people were drawn to Melbourne in search of work and shelter. While there is little evidence of Aboriginal people returning to the Review area to live, they would have visited and used the area for a range of reasons. There were also a number of events held in the Review area that involved Aboriginal people. For example, in 1934–35, a gum-leaf band provided entertainment on Princes Bridge as part of the centenary celebrations (Attwood 2009: 221; *Herald*, 12 November 1934: 8).

3.1.5 Fighting for Aboriginal rights and recognition

In the early settlement period, Wurundjeri and Bunurong leaders strove for recognition and sought land for their people on which they could farm and maintain a degree of autonomy. This included Billibillary's efforts to secure land in the 1840s. In the 1870s and 1880s, Aboriginal Elders from Coranderrk, led by William Barak, petitioned the Governor of Victoria for support in keeping the reserve from being closed down. There were several deputations by Barak and other Elders to political leaders in Melbourne (eg 1875, 1881, 1886). Barak counted many politicians as his friends, including Alfred Deakin who lived in Walsh Street, South Yarra, from the 1880s (*Argus*, 28 November 1931: 6). Barak and other senior community members from Coranderrk visited Government House in 1886 (Barwick 1983).

When Aboriginal people returned to Melbourne in the 1920s and 1930s, they became organised politically and fought to improve living conditions for Aboriginal people. This included Bunurong and Wurundjeri people as well as people from other areas. Yorta Yorta Wiradjeri man Bill Onus was a leading figure in the Aboriginal rights movement in the 1940s and 1950s.

There has been a long history of political demonstration and protest on the Yarra Bank, in the Alexander Gardens and other public parks, including protests by Aboriginal people. This includes the 'Sea of Hands' event for reconciliation in 2000 in the Alexandra Gardens and the 'Stolenwealth Games' protest camp in 2006, which occupied the Domain for several weeks during the Melbourne Commonwealth Games.

As well as fighting for civil rights and improved social services, Aboriginal people have worked for greater recognition of their history and how they have been treated by settler society. In the Review area, this is reflected in the ceremonial reburial of Ancestral Remains in the Domain which took place in 1985. In addition, a war memorial that honours Indigenous servicemen and women was erected near the Shrine of Remembrance in 2013.

3.2 Adapting and altering the land and waterways

3.2.1 Overview

As a result of British settlement from the mid-1830s, the landscape and waterways of the Review area were steadily changed and adapted. Underpinned by a capitalistic economic model, colonial settlement brought new pressures to bear on the resources of the land and water as the newcomers sought to profit from the available resources, directly or indirectly. Consequently, many of the resources that Aboriginal people relied on for their nourishment, economic life and cultural purposes were significantly reduced or restricted. Native animals, birds and fish had to compete with introduced species for food and habitat.

3.2.2 Clearing the land

When British settlers arrived at Port Phillip, the landscape was varied and accordingly supported a variety of vegetation. The area south of the Yarra was timbered, with large River Red Gums as well as wattles and other eucalypts. There was a wide range of shrubs, including tea tree and banksia. There were reeds and sedges along the riverbank and on the swampy river flats.

The colonial authorities made efforts to protect against the indiscriminate loss of timber, but timber-cutting continued unabated through the 1850s under a ruling that it needed to be better regulated. From the mid-1840s, the land was cleared and fenced for roads, houses and gardens. Some settlers retained remnant vegetation while others denuded their blocks in order to plant a landscape more in keeping with British taste.

Much of the scrub was removed to make it amenable for grazing. The vegetation on the riverbank was diminished as development and pollution increased. The wattles were destroyed through the extensive practice of wattle-barking. Many of the large trees were retained for several decades, especially those in the grounds of the schools and other institutions, and in the public parks and gardens, but they too were eventually lost over time.

Introduced plants transformed the landscape; willows (*Salix*) replaced the dense vegetation along the riverbank near Punt Hill. On country that was used for grazing, stock destroyed the native grasses and introduced pasture was planted.

3.2.3 The impact of pollution

Cattle-grazing on the low-lying land on the riverbank fouled the swamps and destroyed the vegetation, which led to erosion. The brickmakers on the riverbank dug up the river flats, and nearby a quarry operated on the high rocky bank (Hoddle 1842). Noxious industries further upstream emptied filth into the river, making the water unsafe to drink and upsetting the riverine ecology. As early as the mid-1850s, Colonel Anderson (senior), whose property fronted the Yarra, complained that the river was ‘a sea of fat and offal’ (*South Australian Register*, 9 June 1855: 3). Large gum trees were felled for timber, while the plentiful wattles faced large-scale destruction on account of the profitable practice of bark-stripping (for tanning purposes).



Figure 3.7 Painting of the Domain by Henry Gritten, 1876, showing the newly completed Government House in the background. A large old tree is being carted away. (Source: State Library Victoria)

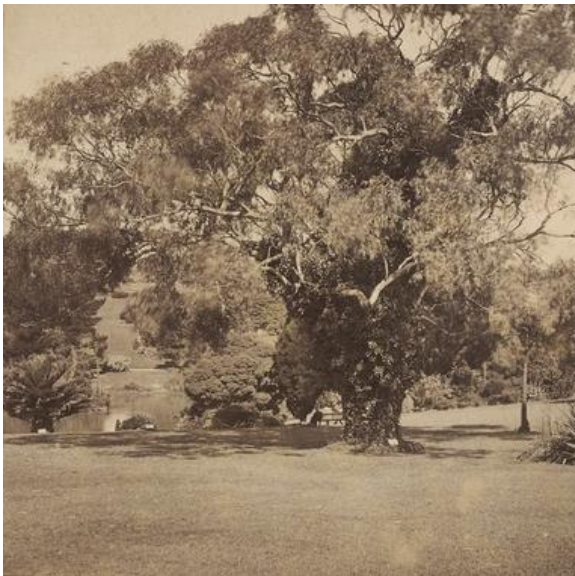


Figure 3.8 Remnant gum tree, Botanic Gardens, [n.d.]. (Source: State Library Victoria)

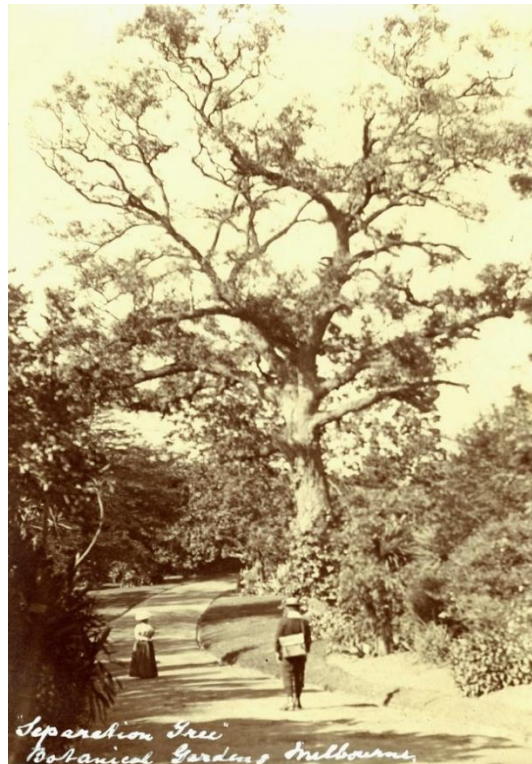


Figure 3.9 The Separation Tree, a remnant River Red Gum, in the Botanic Gardens, photographed in 1907. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H96.200/587)

3.2.4 Remodelling the Yarra and its banks

The Yarra (Birrarung) in the vicinity of the Review area was prone to extensive flooding and this posed a serious risk to the colonial settlement. There was widespread flooding in the 1840s, 1863 and 1891, which left large areas of Melbourne inundated; the low-lying area of South Richmond across the river from South Yarra was badly affected. The 1863 flood reached as far as Toorak Road but generally the floods only affected the low-lying parts of the Review area—including St Kilda Road, the banks of the Yarra and the northern end of the Botanic Gardens. Much of South Yarra occupied high ground.

There were also lagoons along the banks and the river itself was full of snags. In the 1870s, the British engineer Sir John Coode devised a plan to reshape the river to make it more workable for water traffic. His plan dated 1879 shows the area that is now the Alexandra Gardens as low-lying swampland (see Figure 3.10). This swamp area was drained in the early 1900s as part of the Yarra Improvement Works.

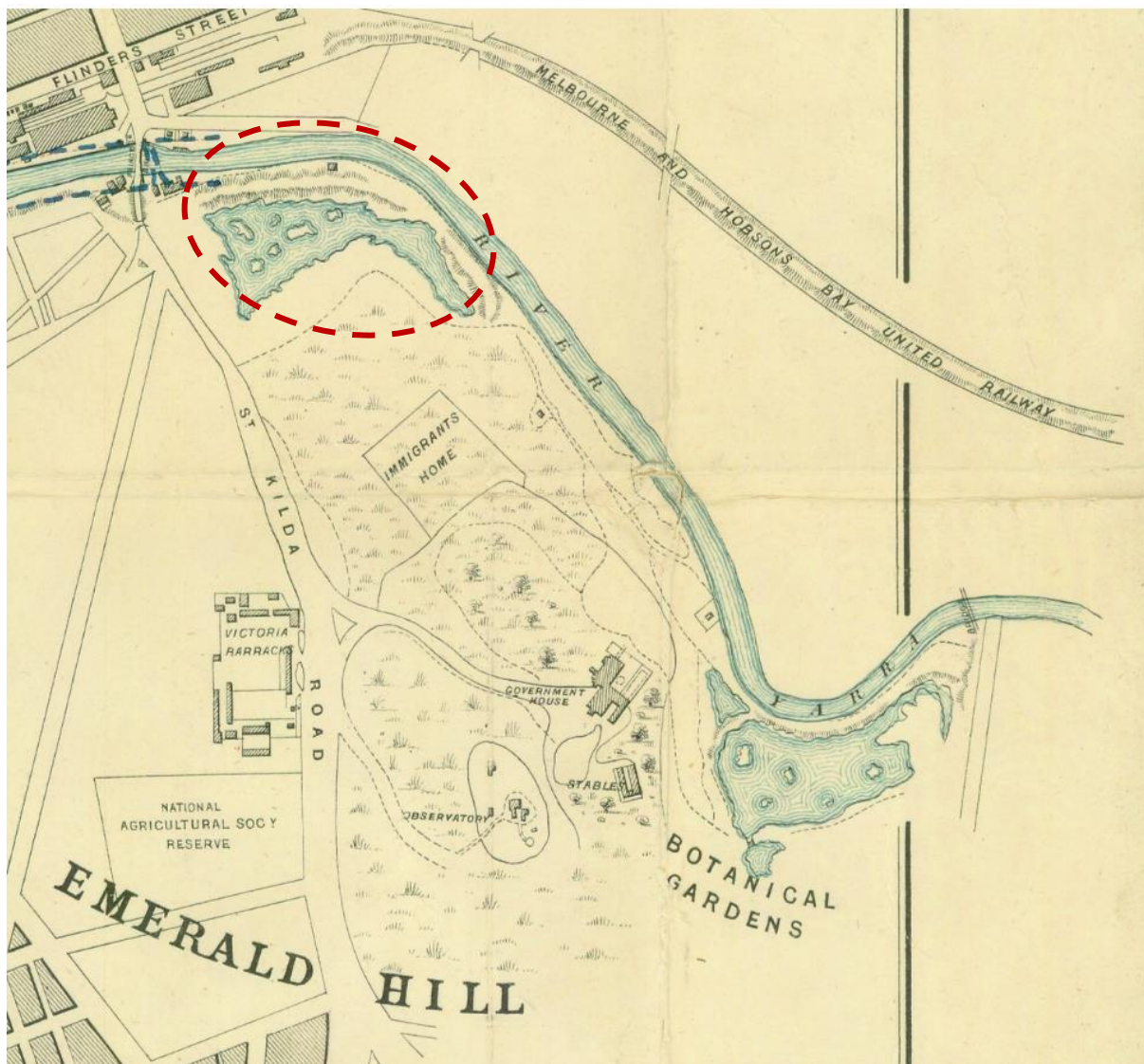


Figure 3.10 The original course of the Yarra River with lagoons shown upstream from Princes Bridge and alongside the Botanic Gardens, taken from Sir John Coode's plan of 1879. (Source: State Library Victoria with GML overlay)



Figure 3.11 Domain Reserve Lagoon, looking from the south side of the Yarra towards Melbourne, c.1870s. (Source: State Library of New South Wales)

To improve flood mitigation, the *Yarra Improvement Act 1896* set in place the means to realign the river between Princes Bridge and Church Street, including cutting off the lagoons at the Botanic Gardens that impeded flow (Dingle and Brown-May 2008). As well as being straightened, the river was de-snagged and widened. The improvement works, designed and implemented by Italian-born engineer Carlo Catani, coincided with preparing the city for the arrival of royal visitors and the opening of Federal Parliament in 1901 (Otto 2009). Despite these measures, there was another large and damaging flood that affected large areas of Melbourne in 1934. Sections of the Yarra continue to flood today.



Figure 3.12 Work on the realignment of the Yarra River 1898. (Source: University of Melbourne Archives; copyright restrictions may apply)

3.3 Governing and administering

3.3.1 Administering early Melbourne and Victoria

In 1836 Melbourne was declared a township of the Port Phillip District in the Colony of New South Wales. The Governor of NSW, Richard Bourke, made the pronouncement on his first visit to the settlement in August that year. The same year William Lonsdale was appointed as police superintendent of this district. From 1836, all the laws pertaining to the Port Phillip District and how it functioned followed those of the Colony of New South Wales. In the minds of the invaders, the Aboriginal lore that had been developed over thousands of years had no standing.

Lonsdale took up residence on the north side of the Yarra in the Government Paddock (also known as the Richmond Paddock), which was on the north bank of the river (outside the Review area). In 1839 Charles Joseph La Trobe was appointed Superintendent of the Port Phillip District and took up residence on the north side of the Yarra.

3.3.2 Aboriginal mission and reserves

In 1837, an area of 895 acres on south side of the Yarra was reserved for an Aboriginal mission (Canning and Thiele 2010: 12–13). ‘The site was a meeting place and corroboree ground that included fertile swamplands and is now partly occupied by the Royal Botanical Gardens (Cannon 1982: 153).

Despite the closure of the mission in 1839, after only two years, an Aboriginal encampment remained on the south bank of the river for several years. Chief Protector of Aborigines G.A. Robinson occupied the former mission schoolhouse at this site for a short period. Assistant Protector William Thomas, who arrived in Melbourne in 1839, also lived at the encampment periodically for a number of years. He also had other bases at Narre Narre Warren and Arthur’s Seat, but often returned to this encampment on the south side of the river. From 1846 his main Melbourne residence was located at the new Yarra Mission at the junction of the Yarra River and the Merri Creek. William Thomas and his family occupied a house at the Yarra Mission for a short time (Clark and Heydon 2004).

In 1839, shortly after the Port Phillip Protectorate was established, Robinson arrived in Melbourne from Van Diemen’s Land as the appointed Chief Protector of Aborigines. A large celebration was held in the vicinity of the present-day Botanic Gardens to welcome him, which around 300–400 Aboriginal people attended (Presland 2010: 11). A group of Tasmanian Aboriginal people accompanied Robinson to Melbourne in 1839–1840, including Nuennonne woman Truganini.

With the establishment of the Coranderrk Aboriginal Reserve in 1863, most of the Aboriginal people from Melbourne were moved there. Coranderrk was closed by the Victorian Government in 1924, along with several other Aboriginal reserves and missions in Victoria around the same period.

3.3.3 Establishing a vice-regal residence

When a separate colony was established in 1851, La Trobe was elevated to the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria. La Trobe had first considered the high ground on the south bank of the river for his official residence in 1840–1841 (Gould 1985). A plan dated 1846 shows a ‘Site for a Government House and Domain’ marked out in the vicinity of the Domain and fronting the Yarra River (‘North Melbourne South Melbourne’, 1846). There was a proposal to erect a vice-regal residence the following year, but this came to nothing apart from the site being marked out. Brickmakers and others on the south side of the Yarra near the Princes Bridge were nevertheless given notice to quit (*Argus*,

15 June 1847). Steps were taken in the mid-1850s to develop a plan for the site, but while a plan was drawn up, little progress was made (Trethowan Context Lewis 2012: 26). The construction of the new vice-regal residence was finally underway by 1874. Architect William Wardell, head of the Victorian Government's Public Works Department and master of the Gothic Revival, prepared the plans. Prior to the building's completion in 1876, the Victorian governors, including Charles Hotham and Henry Barkly, resided at 'Toorak House' in Toorak.

Situated on high ground in the Domain, the new Government House was a fine double-storey Italianate mansion with expansive views to the north and west. The grounds of the residence and the wider setting was landscaped to accommodate the new building. A lawn tennis court was laid out in the early 1880s, one of the first in Victoria (Doyle 1999). From the late-nineteenth century, the scale of the residence and the demands of the vice-regal position meant that Government House employed a large staff of domestic servants, cooks, gardeners, coachmen and others, as well as aides (clerical officers) to the governor. Government House has played a part in the governing of Victoria since 1876, including for example, the hosting of State occasions and the swearing in of new premiers and ministers.

La Trobe's former residence at Jolimont was relocated to the Domain in the 1960s. While no longer in its original location, its new setting within open parkland is comparable to its former setting.

3.3.4 Administering the City of Melbourne

In the 1840s the Review area was part of the 'Parish of South Melbourne' and was often referred to as South Melbourne rather than 'South Yarra'. At the same time, the area that later became South Melbourne was known as Emerald Hill. A much wider area, extending considerably further south than today's City of Stonnington, was also referred to in general terms as 'South Yarra' in the 1840s.

The City of Melbourne was originally known as the Corporation of Melbourne, and was established in 1842. The Corporation of Melbourne functioned as a council of elected representatives and was supported by a staff of clerical officers, property valuers, engineers, roadworkers and others, and was responsible for the maintenance of streets and roads and the provision of services to ratepayers. In 1844, the boundary of the Melbourne municipality was extended across the river until Punt Road and incorporated the Review area of South Yarra (Tibbits 1983: 1). Punt Road formed the boundary with the City of Prahran (now City of Stonnington) and St Kilda Road formed the boundary with the City of South Melbourne (now City of Port Phillip). In 1839, Charles Joseph La Trobe was appointed superintendent of the Port Phillip District and he also took up residence on the north side of the Yarra. When the Colony of Victoria was established in 1851, La Trobe was appointed the first governor of Victoria. A site for a new Government House had been first set aside on the high ground south of the Yarra in 1841, with efforts to have the area developed for this purpose from the mid-1850s (Trethowan Context Lewis 2012: 26). The new vice-regal residence was not erected on this site, however, until the mid-1870s. In the interim, the Victorian governors, including Hotham and Barkly, resided at Toorak House in Toorak.

The South Yarra area was the most favoured residential area within the Melbourne municipality. A number of Melbourne City mayors resided in the area, including J.T. Smith (seven times between 1851 and 1864), James Gatehouse (mayor, 1874–1875), and architect Frank Shapley (mayor 1917–18). E.G. Fitzgibbon, a long-serving town clerk for the City of Melbourne (1856–1891), also lived in the area.

3.3.5 A Commonwealth vice-regal residence (1901–30)

From 1901, Melbourne became the de facto capital of Australia, and, as such, the newly appointed governor-general initially resided in Melbourne. The governor-general occupied Victoria's Government House from 1901 until 1930 when the office was moved permanently to Yarralumla in Canberra. The Governor of Victoria resided at Stonington in Malvern during this period and returned to Government House in the Domain in 1930.

3.3.6 Maintaining law and order

William Lonsdale was appointed police superintendent at Port Phillip in 1836. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order and was effectively the chief administrator until C.J. La Trobe arrived as superintendent in 1839. Early policing included the mounted police force and the border police. A local judicial system was established that was run by police magistrates. The Victorian Police was established in 1853.

From the late 1830s, Aboriginal people in Melbourne faced a relatively high rate of incarceration. Through the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s, many Aboriginal people were locked up by the police. In 1840, for example, around 33 Aboriginal people were imprisoned at the Melbourne gaol at the western end of town (Massola 1969). Aboriginal people were also incarcerated on the prison hulks in Hobsons Bay, at Pentridge, in stocks and in lockups across Melbourne (Stephens 2014). Aboriginal people continued to be arrested and incarcerated in Melbourne at a disproportionate rate to their population.

A police station was operating on the east side of St Kilda Road by around 1855. With a significant increase in Melbourne's population in the 1850s, traffic on St Kilda road had also increased. Policing the area was considered critical as it was a major thoroughfare and armed bushrangers had held up travellers there in 1852. A police station is shown on an early map, situated at the far southern end of the Review area on the corner of St Kilda Road (Kearney 1855). This corresponds to the police station at 383–85 St Kilda Road, which was in operation 1876–1878 until at least the 1930s (S&Mc 1875–1931; Buckrich 1996: 200).

The Review area was within the jurisdiction of the city police stations and of the Prahran Police Station (City of Stonnington). Police kept a check on the activities in the public parks and especially on the Yarra bank, where the boat sheds area posed a dangerous place at night.

From the c.1920s, Victoria Police used the area for training the police horses (on the Tan); the horses were kept nearby at the South Melbourne Police Stables on the west side of St Kilda Road. The police also used Victoria Barracks as their headquarters from 1870 until the 1920s.

The former Chirnside mansion, Airlie, situated on the north-west corner of Domain Road and Punt Road, was acquired by the Victoria Police in 1958 and is used as a police training college (Slater 1987: 15).

3.3.7 Native Police Corps

The Native Police Corps was an Aboriginal policing corps that operated from 1838 to 1839 and again from c.1842 until the early 1850s as an adjunct service in policing the wider Port Phillip District of New South Wales. Its membership was largely made up of Bunurong and Wurundjeri men. The Native Police were involved in responding to reprisals in the pastoral districts, as well as providing expertise in tracking; this skill was employed in cases of lost children or searching for criminals. In 1843, they were involved in searching for a lost child in the vicinity of the South Yarra Pound (located at Oakleigh) (*Argus*, 2 April 1847: 2). The Native Police had their main camp at Narre Warren but also occupied

barracks in the Government Reserve or Police Paddock (Yarra Park), which was directly across the river from the Aboriginal encampment at Tromgin.

The Native Police were also present for official occasions when Superintendent, and later Governor, La Trobe was present. They served in this capacity at La Trobe's announcement of Separation in 1850, which took place under the 'Separation Tree' in the botanic gardens, and at the official opening of Princes Bridge earlier the same day.



Figure 3.13 A member of the Native Police Corps, sketched by William Strutt, 1851. (Source: National Library of Australia)



Figure 3.14 William Strutt sketch of the opening of the Princes Bridge in 1850—the 1851 drawing shows the Native Police in attendance (far right). Assistant Protector William Thomas appears left of prancing horse, with Charles Never on his right. (Source: State Library Victoria; Marie Hansen Fels, *Good Men and True*, 1988)

3.3.8 Establishing a military presence

The colonial authorities took a military approach to securing the British colonial outpost at Port Phillip. More broadly, this included establishing military outposts along the road from Sydney to Melbourne, which were in place by 1836.

Early maps show an early military barracks located on the east side of St Kilda Road in c.1839. The double-storey Victoria Barracks, situated on the west side of St Kilda Road opposite the Domain, was commenced in 1856 as the military headquarters for Victoria. The barracks was established partly in response to the Eureka rebellion at Ballarat in 1854 and to accommodate the 40th regiment. The large public reserves south of the Yarra were in close proximity to the barracks and they were used for a range of military purposes.

From the mid-nineteenth century, a number of senior military officials resided in the Review area. Colonel Anderson of Fairlie was a retired officer of the British Army in India. South Yarra was an attractive locality for military officers to reside due to the close proximity of Victoria Barracks. A large residence called The Grange, located on the corner of Grange Road and Domain Road, served as a military commander's residence. From 1901, this was occupied by the Federal Commander in Chief of the Victorian military. The Grange was badly burnt in a fire in 1912, and the property was sold shortly after. The 8-acre site was later purchased by the Victorian Government and added to the Domain reserve (*Hamilton Spectator*, 3 April 1912: 4).

From the 1860s, volunteer corps were established in many parts of Melbourne and undertook military training on public reserves. Some members of the South Yarra and Prahran Rifle Corps would have lived in the Review area and probably trained at times on the Domain. The two large private boys' schools, Melbourne Grammar School and Wesley College, operated cadet units and promoted their military success.

During World War I, a large area of the Domain as well as the Government House Reserve were used extensively for military purposes. These uses included a military camp, a wireless post, and a signalling camp (c.1915–16). Soldiers also made use of St Kilda Road and the Tan.

During World War II, a military camp was established in Fawkner Park that was used as a temporary site for the Australian Women's Army Service and for 'refugee camps'. The 'back turf' of Wesley College, facing Punt Road, was given over for military training during World War II and was dug up by soldiers as part of their preparation for trench-digging (Lemon 2004).

With the threat of air strikes in 1940–41, the government introduced Air Raid Precautions (ARP), which were organised locally. A number of air raid shelters were constructed in the grounds of the Shrine of Remembrance, Fawkner Park and the Royal Victorian Institute for the Blind. These took the form of trenches in the ground that were cut in a zig-zag pattern and were about 6 feet deep. The local ARP branch provided instructions and operated drills for local residents. Air raid shelters were also built in the back yards of some private homes and were a novel feature of the Castle Towers block of flats, erected in 1941.



Figure 3.15 Air raid shelters in Fawkner Park overgrown with weeds. (Source: Australian War Memorial)



Figure 3.16 Aerial view of the area near the Shrine of Remembrance used for air raid shelters, 1944. (Source: Australian War Memorial)

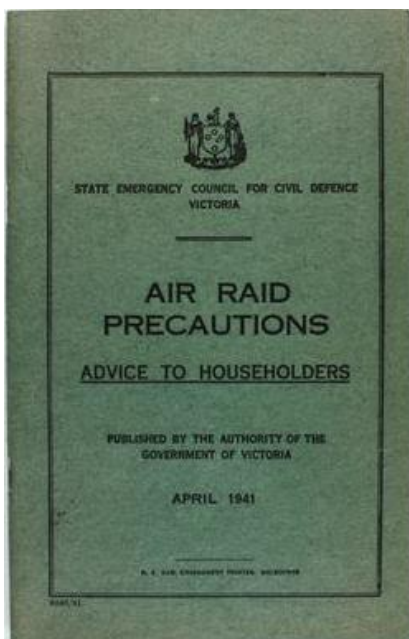


Figure 3.17 Air Raid Precautions booklet for householders, April 1941. (Source: Museum Victoria)

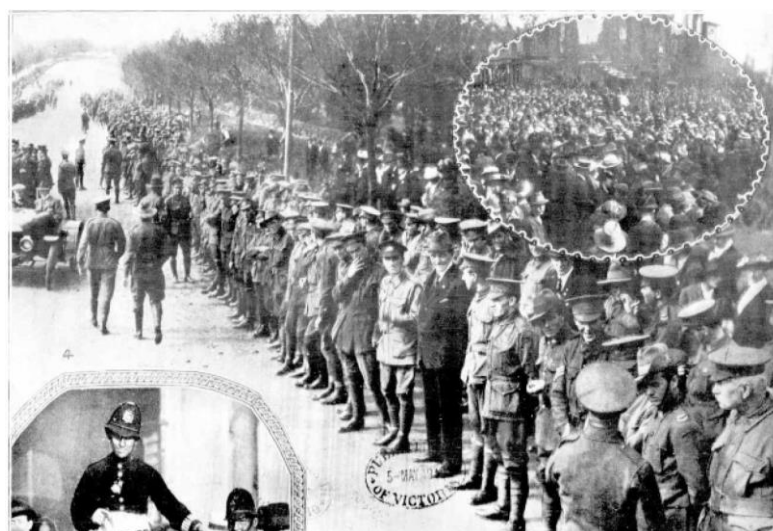


Figure 3.18 Inaugural Anzac Day commemoration in the Domain, Melbourne, 25 April 1916. (Source: *Australasian*, 6 May 1916, p. 53)

3.4 Primary production

3.4.1 Grazing and farming

The Aboriginal mission at South Yarra was established to be productive, and in 1838 there were about 3 acres under cultivation, including 2 acres that were ‘laid out as a garden for the use of the institution’ (Cannon 1982: 226).

From c.1840s and up until the 1860s, large areas of land in the Review area were leased for grazing. This included large tracts of Crown land that were reserved for public use, including the Domain, which was described in the 1840s as occupied with many ‘small farms’ (Tibbits 1983: 6). Following the closure of the Aboriginal mission in 1839, this land became part of a large pastoral run, which had formerly been held under licence by John Gardiner but was transferred to E.A. Walpole, a cousin of Gardiner’s wife, and was known as Callatini (Tibbits 1983: 4; Cannon 1990: 15; Maclean 1941: 6). This pastoral leasehold formerly extended from South Yarra to Hawthorn.

In 1840, Robert Hoddle surveyed the coveted south side of the Yarra River for the purpose of cultivation allotments that could draw on the river for irrigation purposes. The economic downturn of the early 1840s put paid to the subdivision plan and Hoddle’s vision came to nothing. There was competing pressure on this land for public purposes, including from Superintendent La Trobe who eyed it off as an ideal site for a Government House. The local economy had picked up by 1845, but La Trobe’s reservation from sale of the site upstream from Princes Bridge as a Botanic Gardens ensured that a large area of land was instead allocated for public purposes (Shaw 1996).

While the early cultivation allotments did not go ahead, areas of the river flats and the large areas of Crown land continued to be leased for grazing. The brickmakers on the south bank of the river (see Figure 3.20) shared the area with dairy cattle in the early 1840s. The area was also crossed by early stock routes to the east that are shown in an early plan by Hoddle (Gould 1985, Section 4.1). In 1846, the land east of the Botanic Gardens fronting the Yarra River was sold by the Crown as cultivation lots of roughly 9 acres each (Tibbits 1983: 2).

The Domain and Fawkner Park were leased for grazing sheep and cattle through much of the second half of the nineteenth century, at least until the 1880s, with the licence fees going to the Crown Lands Department (‘Fawkner Park’, VHR citation). In the nineteenth century, cows were also grazed on the larger estates, such as ‘Fairlie’, which was situated east of Anderson Street, fronting the riverbank. Most large properties in South Yarra kept farm animals for domestic use; typically this included poultry and a milch cow. Other land parcels that remained undeveloped through the nineteenth century were often leased for grazing, creating a bucolic scene of substantial homes on large estates interspersed with grazing or cultivation paddocks (see Figure 3.19).

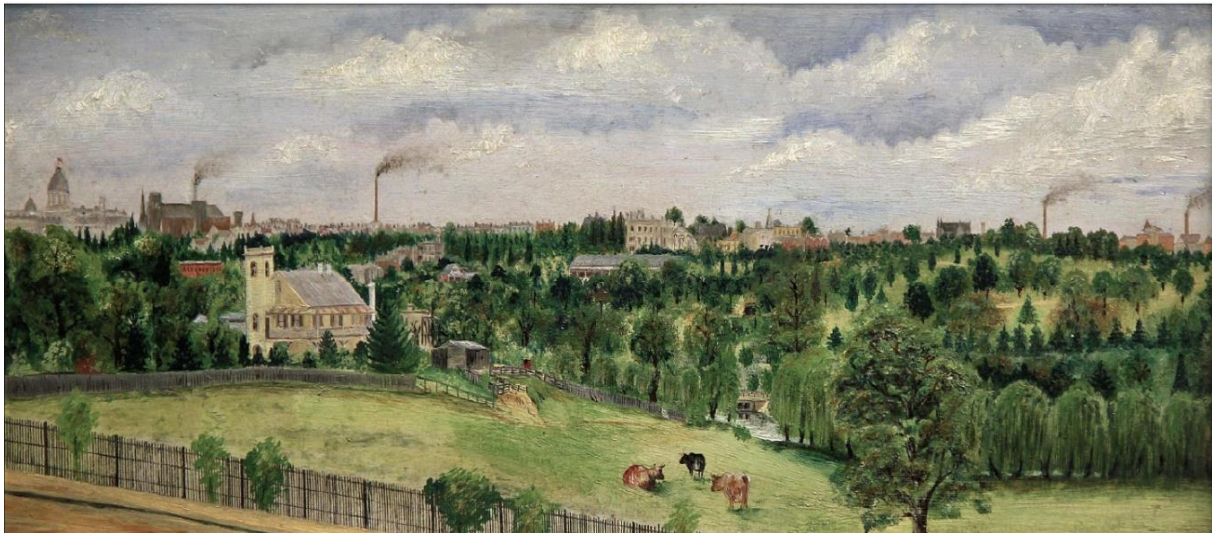


Figure 3.19 Painting of Punt Hill in the 1880s, depicting a bucolic scene on high ground above the river and within sight of the city on the opposite bank. (Source: Roy Morgan Collection; copyright restrictions may apply)

By the late-nineteenth century, the South Yarra area had established strong links with pastoral families, who often maintained a town residence here. Many pastoralists also chose to retire to this salubrious pocket of Melbourne. This pattern began in the mid-1840s—for example with Colonel Anderson, who held Mangalore station in central Victoria, and David Ogilvie, who was a part proprietor of Yering station in the Yarra Valley—and continued through the twentieth century.

3.4.2 Viticulture and fruit-growing

The sloping ground on the south bank of the Yarra was considered valuable as irrigation blocks and attracted market gardeners and vigneron. By 1847, local landowner and solicitor David Ogilvie established a vineyard at 'Airlie Bank' that fronted Punt Road and extended from the riverbank to the Punt Road Hill (PROV 1856). The ordered rows of vines on the west side of Punt Road were a prominent feature in the landscape. The vineyard was probably watered through a pump system (*Argus*, 14 October 1933: 11). Operations were intense at certain times of the year, with extensive cultivation over a large area. Ogilvie achieved success with a number of his wines during his 25-year occupation of the site. In 1850, Ogilvie had 20,000 vine cuttings available for sale that included a range of varieties used in table wine (*Port Phillip Gazette*, 22 June 1850: 3). The Airlie Bank estate was sold in 1886 and subsequently subdivided (SLV 1886).

3.5 Industry and manufacturing

There has been minimal industrial activity in this area of the City of Melbourne. Industry was specialised and short-lived. It included brickmaking and quarrying on the riverbank in the early period of settlement, and the operation of a large warehouse and distribution centre for the Mutual Store from 1889.

3.5.1 Brickmaking

Surveyor Robert Hoddle approved an area of 23 acres on the south side of the Yarra River in c.1839 for the use of brickmakers, who had dug clay pits and erected kilns in this vicinity (see map of mouth of Yarra River, c.1839). An 1842 plan of the south bank of the river near the proposed bridge crossing was marked as ‘Ground occupied by brickmakers’ (Hoddle 1842; see Figure 3.20). Known as the Brickfields, a community of brickmakers resided here in rough-built huts on the low-lying swampy ground until the mid-1840s—their industry produced the bricks used in Melbourne’s early buildings (Crook 1897). The brickmakers reportedly interfered with the Aboriginal camps in this vicinity (Stephens 2014) and Garryowen described them as ‘a brood of the greatest scoundrels of the district’ (Garryowen 1888, vol. 1: 109). A great flood of the Yarra in 1849 forced the brickmakers to resettle in Prahran (Crook 1897). This area was later developed as the Alexandra Gardens.

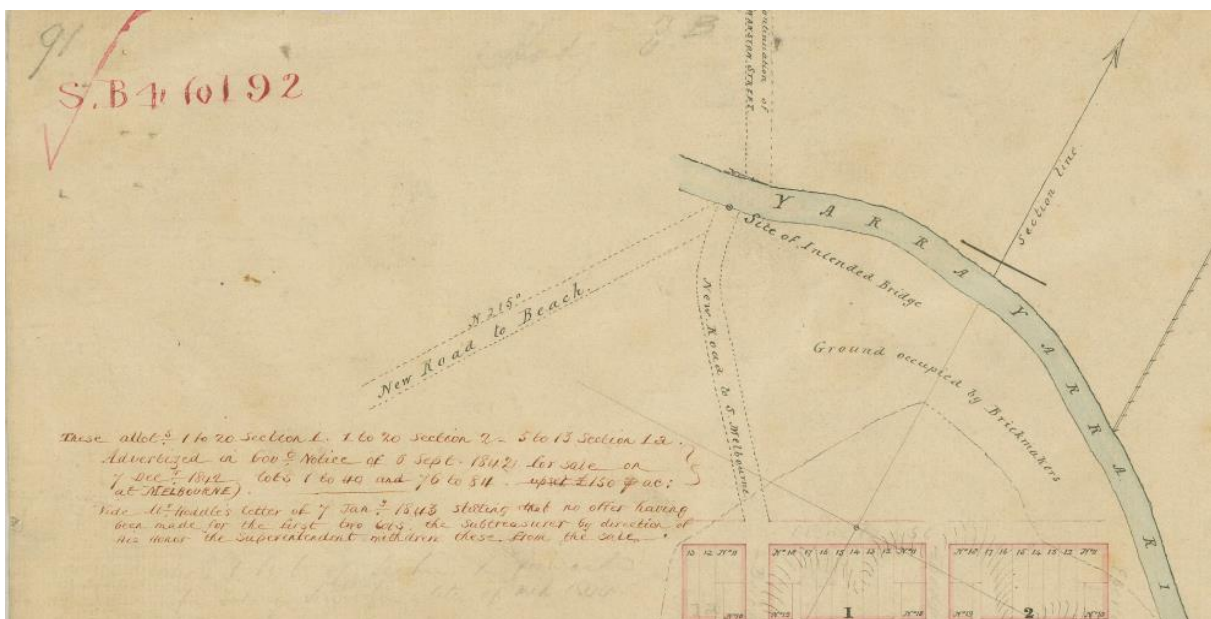


Figure 3.20 Plan by Robert Hoddle dated 1842, showing ‘Ground occupied by Brickmakers’ and St Kilda Road marked as ‘New road to S.[outh] Melbourn’, with the proposed suburb of ‘South Melbourn’ laid out. (Source: Historic Plans Collection, VPRS 8168, P0005, item M10, PROV)



Figure 3.21. View from the south bank of the Yarra, showing temporary tent accommodation, early 1850s. (Source: Shirley Roberts, *Charles Hotham*, p. 97)



Figure 3.22 Brickmakers and dairy farms on the south bank of the Yarra River, c. late 1840s. Sketch attributed to S.T. Gill. (Source: Image reproduced in Michael Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, 1991)

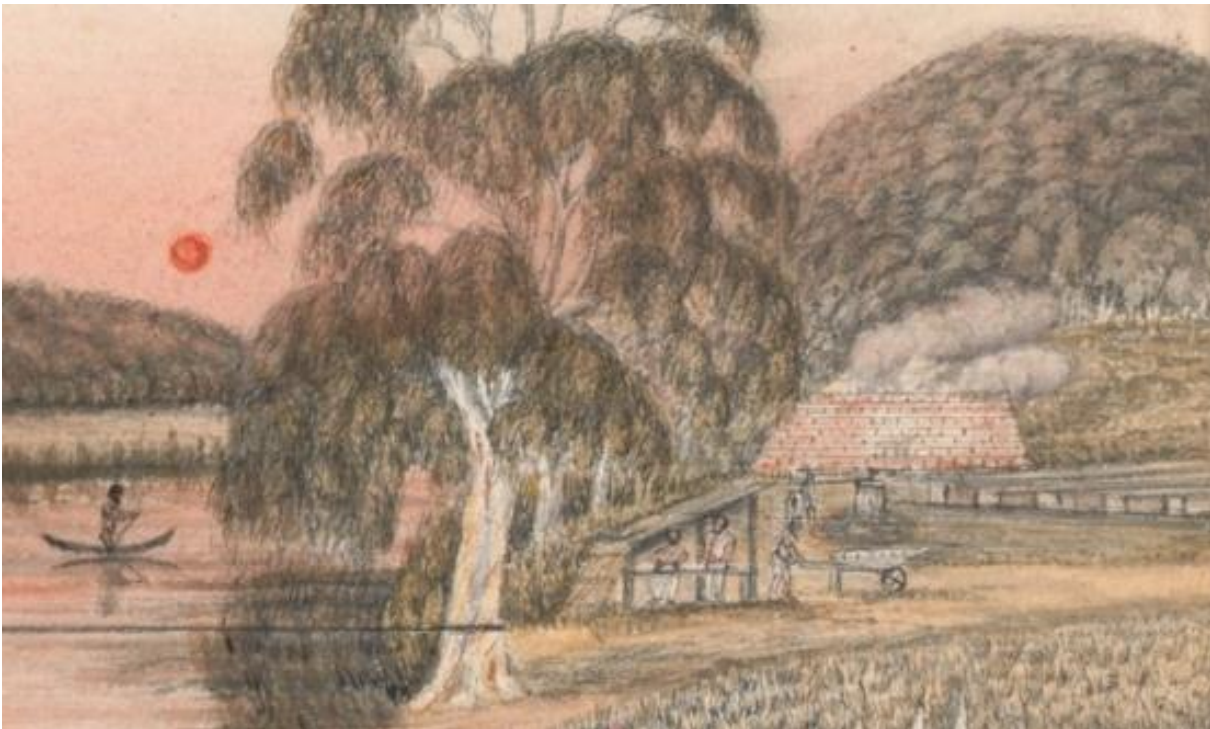


Figure 3.23 Detail from watercolour by W.F.E. Liardet titled 'The First Punt', showing what appears to be brick-workers and a large cylindrical kiln on the south bank of the river c.1838–1840. Liardet painted this in the early 1870s based on his memories and sketches from the early 1840s. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H28250/18)

3.5.2 Quarries

A freestone quarry was operating on the south bank of the Yarra, between Princes Bridge and the Tromgin lagoon from c.1839 and this continued to operate into the 1840s. Freestone was a soft stone like sandstone that was plentiful on the south bank of the river. Other quarries were sited at intervals upstream from Princes Bridge along the south bank of the river (Hoddle plan 1837/c.1839, reproduced in Gould 1985). One quarry was in the vicinity of the present-day Huntingfield Lawn in the Botanic Gardens. Stone from this site was shipped across the Yarra by punt and was used to build St James Church in Melbourne (Tibbits 1983: 6, 8).

3.5.3 Timber-felling and wattle-barking

Wattle-barking was carried out extensively from the beginning of European settlement. Wattle bark was a product used in the tanning process to prepare animal hides for use.

The collection and supply of firewood for domestic use was a key occupation of servants, children and Aboriginal workers in the early settlement.

3.5.4 Manufacturing

Manufacturing within the Review area has been atypical of the wider area of the City of Melbourne. The industrial ventures pursued were relatively isolated activities in the context of the Review area and were often short-lived.

One of the few examples of manufacturing in the area was the operation of a boot factory in the c.1860s–1870s. This was located in the double-storey former private hotel, Homerton House (Slater 1987: 47–49). In 1896, F.W. Reichelt's operations in Clowes Street included a dandelion ale brewery

and the Concordia Club (S&Mc 1896: 492). Also, the large warehouse complex in Millswyn Street, established for the Mutual Store in c.1889, was used as a bakehouse in the twentieth century through to the 1950s.

There were a few other manufacturing businesses operating in the early to mid twentieth century, including a small single-storey warehouse 24-32 St Martins Lane (1930) that operated initially as a confectioners and later a knitwear factory.

While there was no heavy manufacturing in the Review area, a more tenuous connection to industry is through the number of leading manufacturers and industrialists who resided in the area from the mid to late-nineteenth century. These included George Douglas, brass founder; James Alston of Majella (1913) in St Kilda Road, who was a manufacturer of agricultural machinery and, notably, the Alston windmill (RNE, 'Majella'); and John Dixon, who was associated with the Kia-Ora company that manufactured cordial, and built the Kia-Ora flats on St Kilda Road in 1936–37.

3.5.5 Home industries and piece-work

There was strong demand in the area for a range of domestic services through the second half of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. This included laundry services, dressmaking and other home industries such as millinery, lace-making and white-work (laundry work that specialised in whitening linen, undergarments and other items of clothing). Much of this work was performed under the somewhat draconian piece-work arrangements. Working-class women and girls who lived in the Review area would have carried out this work.

3.6 Shaping a residential area

3.6.1 Mansions, villas and townhouses

Victorian era

Surveyor T.H. Nutt prepared a survey of the south side of the Yarra in 1840, which laid out proposed cultivation allotments, but much of this area was given over to the Botanic Gardens reserve in 1846. Beginning in the mid-1840s, wealthy merchants and others with the necessary capital established comfortable residences on the high ground on the south side of the Yarra. Adjoining the Botanic Gardens (there being no road on the east boundary at that time), retired military officer Colonel Joseph Anderson erected a pre-fabricated house in 1846–47 that he named 'Fairlie House', which was designed to emulate Government House at Norfolk Island. Architect Samuel Jackson called for tenders for its construction in 1846 (Lewis MM ref. 531; *Port Phillip Herald*, 9 April 1846, cited in Lewis 2011 ref. 28197). In 1854, Fairlie House was described as 'an elegant and spacious dwelling consisting of only a ground floor ... [that] is half hidden by the Moreton Bay bignonia climbing around the slender columns of the veranda [sic]' (de Castella 1987: 81–82; from Lewis MM). The house was extended in the 1870s with a second storey to a design by Albert Purchas, which enabled views of the bay. Architect Samuel Jackson also called for tenders in 1846 for a residence on the south bank of the river adjoining the Botanic Gardens, which was described as 'cottage residence and offices': this was St Leonards, which was built c.1847 for Archibald McLaughlan (Lewis 2011 ref. 28196, citing *Port Phillip Gazette*, 18 February 1846: 3). The house had an extensive garden extending to the river (see Figure 3.24). Other early homes included the original residence at David Ogilvie's 'Airlie Bank', which was later rebuilt to a design by Samuel Jackson. The imposing residence 'Maritimo', which had a south-facing frontage to Gardiners Creek Road (Toorak Road), occupied an entire block in 1855. Other notable early homes included 'Ravensburgh House'.

The desirability of the area attracted those of means and a number of villa residences were erected in the 1850s and 1860s, for example, in Domain Road, Toorak Road, and on the west side of Park Street. From 1865, a strip of land facing St Kilda Road adjoining the newly reserved Fawkner Park to the east was sold for villa allotments. The residences erected here were substantial homes with generous setbacks (MMBW 1896). On the east side of Fawkner Park, Pasley Street was formed in 1871 to improve access to new residences (VGG, 23 June 1871: 983).

The salubrious character of the area was well established by the 1870s, particularly with the addition of the Governor of Victoria's grand new residence, which was designed by eminent architect William Wardell of the Public Works Department. During this period, the fashionable Italianate style proliferated, while other residences drew on the Gothic Revival styles. South Yarra was the suburb of choice for many military figures, politicians and leaders of industry. A number of villas served as town residences for wealthy pastoral families, including the Staughtons, Fairbairns, Clarkes, Russell-Clarkes, Chirnsides and Manifolds. An example is Airlie on Punt Road Hill, which served for a time as the town residence of the Chirnside family of Werribee Park. It was not uncommon for wealthy graziers (predominantly those from the Western District) to take out a lease on a villa or mansion in South Yarra over the winter months (for example, the Fairbairns of Mount Elephant). Successful industrial capitalists and land speculators who were enjoying growing prosperity in the 1870s and 1880s also moved to the area and built fine homes.

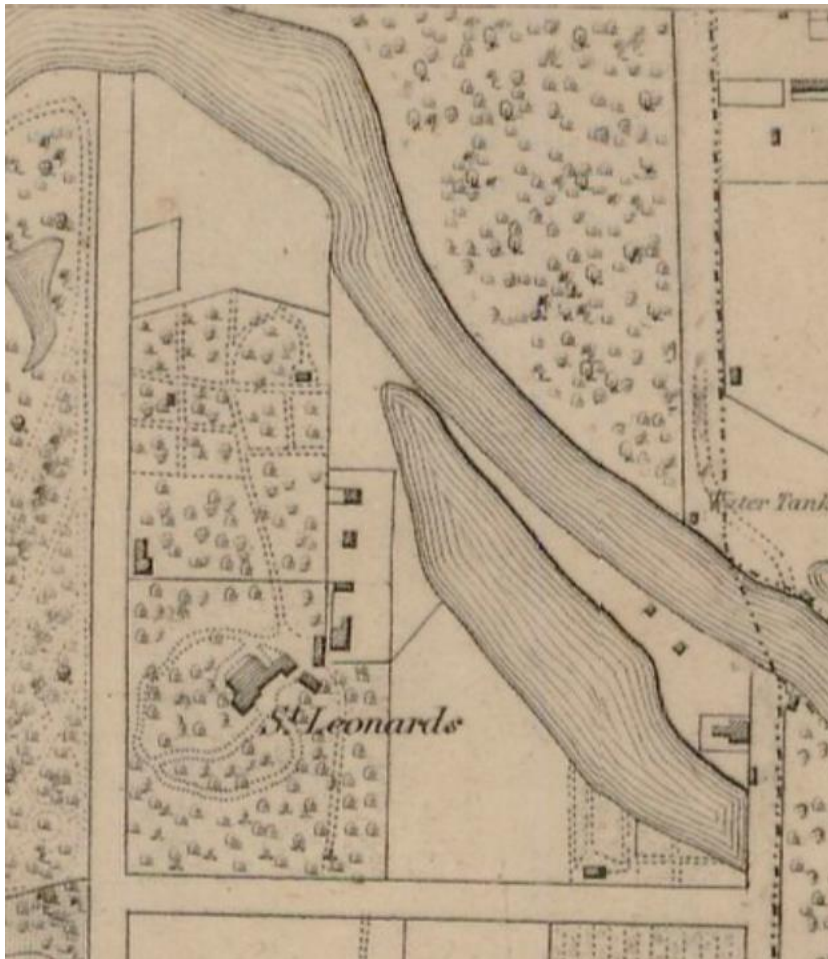


Figure 3.24 Extract from Kearney (1855), showing St Leonards estate, established c.1846, which was bounded on the west by Anderson Street and originally extended to the Yarra River. (Source: State Library Victoria)

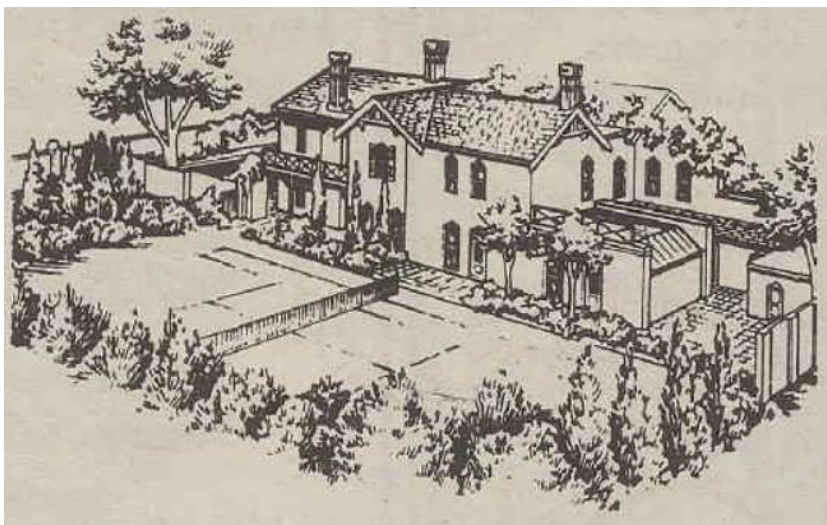


Figure 3.25 Sketch of Victorian-era 'Wavendon', 100 Walsh Street, South Yarra, advertised for sale in 1989. (Source: *Australian Jewish News*, 1989; copyright restrictions may apply)



Figure 3.26 Detail from a stylised plan of the Airlie Bank subdivision and surrounds, titled 'Airlie Bank Land', from an auctioneer's notice of 1886 (not to scale). The plan highlights the number of grand homes and prominent family names associated with the area. (Source: State Library Victoria)

Table 3.1 Examples of Victorian-era mansions, villas and residences in the Review area, including architects where known. (Where information is not known, the annotation n.k. has been used; houses that are no longer extant are marked 'demolished')

Property name	Address	Date	Historical background	Architect
Fairlie House (demolished)	Anderson Street	1846;1870s	Prefabricated house built for Colonel Anderson Second house built c.1870s E.G. Fitzgibbon Mrs Keats had a flat here, 1912 Converted to seven flats, c.1930s	Samuel Jackson Additions by Albert Purchas
St Leonards (demolished)	Anderson Street	1846–47	Built for Archibald McLaughlan Possibly later a vineyard owned by Henry Hoyt [MM ref 536]	Samuel Jackson
Airlie Bank (demolished) Airlie	Cnr Punt Road and Domain Road	1846 c.1873	Built for David Ogilvie (Ogilvy) Later owned by Elizabeth Ogilvie	[Samuel Jackson]
Witchwood (demolished)	Punt Road	c1850s	—	n.k.
Homerton House (demolished)	30 Toorak Road West	1855	Used variously as a private hotel, a school and a boot factory	n.k.
Elm Tree House	233–235 Domain Road	1857–58	Built as a residence for William Macredie; later used as an Italian consulate and cultural centre [MM ref 627] Dame Mabel Brooks hosted US President Lyndon Johnston here in the 1960s	n.k.
—	107–117 Walsh Street	1859	Built for Robert Pyman solicitor H.C. Sleigh	n.k.
Shangri-La	Park Street	c.1863	—	n.k.
Poolman House	253–259 Domain Road (corner Punt Road)	c.1860–65	Built for Richard Goldsborough, merchant Second storey added 1885 Owned by Christ Church	[J.P. Kennison]
Bromby House	3 Bromby Street	1865	Built for John Humble Rose Second storey added in 1880 Purchased by Melbourne Grammar School in 1957	n.k.
Government House	Birdwood Drive	1876	Residence of the Governor of Victoria	William Wardell
Endion (Kingsgate)	252 Domain Road	1890	Built for Francis Boardman Clapp, father of Harold Clapp Endion flats noted in 1917	Guyon Purchas
Melrose	115 Domain Road	1883	Built for George Douglas, brass-founder	Joseph Crook

Property name	Address	Date	Historical background	Architect
The Grange (demolished)	Corner of Domain Road and St Kilda Road	n.k.	Built as a residence for a military officer; later used as a school	n.k.
Shenly (not extant?)	Millswyn Street	1877	Two-storey house overlooking Fawkner Park [MM ref. 4283]	n.k.
Yarra House (now Phelia Grimwade House)	Anderson Street	1882	Built for William Cain, merchant and mayor of Melbourne Grimwade family Purchased by MCEGGS 1929	[Joseph Reed]
Maretimo, Maritimo (demolished)	Toorak Road West	[1850], 1864	Built for Thomas Budds Payne 1864: MM ref no 28379 Subdivided in 1928 to create Marne Street	[George Wharton] Leonard Terry
Moultrassie	Cnr Toorak Road West and Domain Road	n.k.	MMBW	n.k.
Rhianva (demolished)	Punt Road	c.1850s–60s	Prince Alfred was a guest during his visit of 1867–1868 Social events held here 1890s Owned by the Brobribbs Sold for demolition 1940. [Ref: MMBW]	n.k.
Goodrest	120W–126W Toorak Road	1884–85	Built for W.P. Buckhurst; his son prepared the plans [proposed house to be demolished 1888 to form Leopold Street]	Walter Buckhurst (Leavitt 1888) [Charles Webb]
Millswyn Court	62 Toorak Road West [1 Millswyn Street]	1886	Built for James Gatehouse (mayor) Later Albany Motel [MM ref. 1927]	William Salway
Raveloe	203 Domain Road	1885 [1870?]	Brick house built in 1885 for Harry Emmerton, solicitor, and his wife Alice. Their only child was Dame Mabel Brookes Sold c.1960s (SLV image)	Charles Webb
Glen Ronald	253–257 Domain Road and Punt Road	n.k.	MMBW	n.k.
Spilsby	53–57 Park Street	1888–91	Specifications and contract for alterations and additions to 'Spilsby' in Park Street, South Yarra, for Captain John Blackburn. Plan held by SLV, not digitised	Leonard Flanagan

Property name	Address	Date	Historical background	Architect
Llanarth (demolished)	Walsh Street	1887	Home of Alfred Deakin, the second Prime Minister of Australia Demolished	n.k.
Salisbury (demolished)	Walsh Street	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.
Grosvenor House	86–96 Walsh Street	n.k.	n.k.	n.k.
Fairholm (now Millen House)	55–77 Walsh Street	c.1880s	n.k.	n.k.
St Neots	244–246 Domain Road	1890	Built for Samuel Thomas Staughton Converted into flats	Hyndman and Bates
Wavendon	98–110 Walsh Street	1892	Built for Charles Emmerton Occupied by Prime Minister Stanley Melbourne Bruce Owners: Dame Mabel Brooks; Fred Schepisi Sold in 1928	Anketell Henderson
Wadhurst (not extant?)	St Kilda Road	1878	Built for Mr Morris, second principal of Melbourne Grammar School, to serve as a master's residence and boarding house	n.k.
Avonhurst (not extant?)	St Kilda Road	Post-1865	MMBW	n.k.
Armadale (not extant?)	St Kilda Road	Post-1865	MMBW	n.k.
The Oaks	65–67 Park Street	1902	—	Frederick Klingender
Lissa Dern (not extant?)	Park Street	n.k.	Built for NSW pastoralist Charles Lloyd Later possibly converted to flats	n.k.

In the case of mansions like 'Maritimo' and 'Goodrest' (see Figure 3.29), the gardens and grounds included an array of decorative and functional elements, including trellises, ferneries, orchards, fountains, stables, coach houses and other outbuildings. The grounds of large houses also often had conservatories, green houses, aviaries and fishponds. Garden paths were asphalted or gravelled; shells were also occasionally used for paving. From the early 1880s, many large homes also had tennis courts, for example, 'Goodrest' and 'Rhianva'. In 1882, Fairlie House boasted five tennis courts in its pleasure grounds (*Argus*, 11 March 1882: 5, cited in Lewis MM ref. 1033). Modest homes had a fowl-yard and most had stables, which were often accessed from a rear laneway or right-of-way. Many large homes of this period sat behind high front fences, for example 'Maritimo', which had 'a bluestone wall topped with iron railings' (Christ Church 1954: 20). Palisade fences of cast iron on a bluestone base were also common. Other fences had ornamental details—the Grecian statue on the front fence of the Victorian-era terrace houses designed by Walter Buckhurst on the east side of Park Street is notable. (Slater 1987: 35–36)



Figure 3.27 The garden setting of 'Fairlie', Anderson Street, 1904. (Source: *Melbourne Punch*, 28 January 1904, p. 22)



Figure 3.28 Drawing room at 'Fairlie', Anderson Street, 1904. (Source: *Melbourne Punch*, 28 January 1904, p. 22)

During the 1880s, a period of intense land speculation and rising prosperity in Melbourne, the Review area experienced some significant change through the subdivisions of several large estates (for example, in Park Street). This led to greater residential development in the area and a wider mix of house styles. Some large residences were retained on smaller allotments after their holdings were subdivided, which allowed for the creation of smaller-scale housing on adjacent blocks. In the case of Leopold Street (1888), which was formed from the sale of Mason's paddock, this led to an entire street of new housing.

Many large new homes were built in the Review area at this time and these appealed to public servants, politicians, professionals and public figures. Many notable figures lived in the area. The second Prime Minister of Australia, Alfred Deakin, and his family lived at 'Llarnarth' in Walsh Street, a double-storey Victorian house built in 1887 (Rickard 1996) (see Figure 3.30).

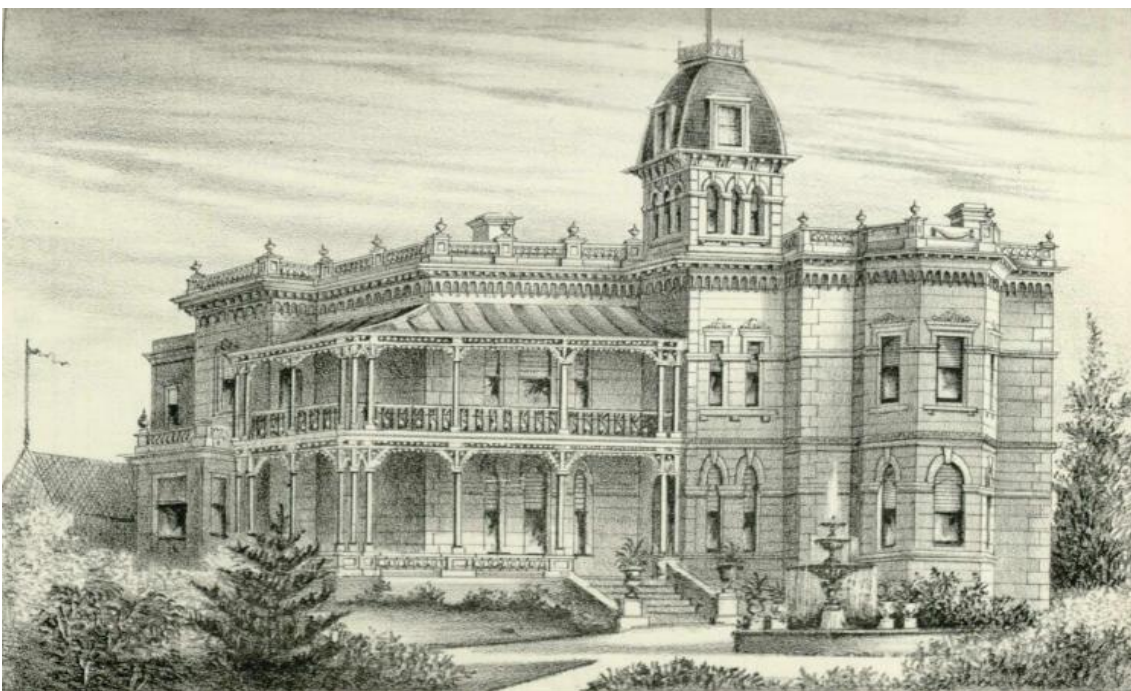


Figure 3.29 'Goodrest' in Toorak Road, the residence of W.P. Buckhurst, sketched in 1888. (Source: Leavitt, *Jubilee History of Melbourne and Victoria Illustrated*, 1888)



Figure 3.30 'Llanarth' (right) was built in Walsh Street in 1887 as the home of Alfred and Patti Deakin; since demolished. (Source: John Rickard, *A Family Romance: The Deakins at home*, 1996)



Figure 3.31 'Fairholm', Walsh Street (now Millen House). (Source: A and K Henderson Collection, State Library Victoria, Accession No. H2017.1571)

The sale of Mason's paddock in 1888 through a subdivision named 'South Yarra Hill' appealed to gentlemen buyers seeking a suburban retreat from the discomfort of the city. The coveted location was described as 'Within 20 minutes' walk from Collins Street and NO DUST' (Ham 1888). It was sold by auctioneer Thomas Ham in conjunction with the property speculators Buckhurst and Buxton. Several years earlier, land developer W.P. Buckhurst had built a mansion named 'Goodrest' (1888), which was sited prominently on Toorak Road West overlooking Fawkner Park.



Figure 3.32 'Kilbride' was a double-storey residence at the corner of Walsh Street and Domain Road. (Source: Yeo, Crosthwaite & Co. 1936, *Catalogue of the magnificent mahogany furnishings, choice china, antique silver, pictures, and Persian carpets, etc.*)

Table 3.2 Development of key streets and roads within the Review area.

Name of street/road	When formed
St Kilda Road	c.1836
Punt Road (formerly 'Government Road')	c.1843
Toorak Road West (formerly Gardiners Creek Road)	c.1846
Anderson Street	c.1847
Domain Road	By 1850
Tivoli and Mona Streets (off West Road)	1852
Walsh Street (South)— unnamed	by c.1854
Park Street	by c.1854
Millswyn Street	by c.1854
Domain Street	by c.1854
Bromby Street	by 1855
Park Place	c.1863–65
Pasley Street	c.1865
Clowes Street	By 1855
Walsh Street (North)	c.1860s–70s
Alexandra Avenue	1901
Marne Street	1918

Edwardian period (1901–17)

The lifestyle of wealthy Melbourne society reached a high point in the early 1900s. Many had recovered from the collapse of the land boom and the ensuing economic depression and were adding to or building new fine residences. At their double-storey Victorian villa, 'Raveloe', in Domain Road, Harry and Alice Emmerton commissioned a young John Monash in 1905 to install a roof of reinforced concrete for a new ballroom (Serle 2002, Poynter 1993). The wealthy also built impressive new homes that showcased the fashionable architectural styles that emerged with the turn of the century, including Queen Anne, Federation and Arts and Crafts styles. A notable example was Majella, built in 1913 for the successful manufacturer James Alston and designed by Arthur Peck in conjunction with his son Hugh Peck. Other notable architects working in South Yarra during this period included Arthur H. Fisher, Harold Desbrowe Annear, Walter Butler and Frank Stapley.

Table 3.3 Examples of Edwardian/Federation-era villa residences in the Review area. (Where information is not known, the annotation n.k. has been used; houses that are no longer extant are marked 'demolished'.)

Property name	Address	Date	Historical background	Architect
—	21 and 23 Park Street	1905	—	Frank Stapley
Spilsby	53 Park Street	1906	—	Arthur H. Fisher
Allonah	55 Park Street	1906	—	Arthur H. Fisher

Property name	Address	Date	Historical background	Architect
The Tilba	30 Toorak Road	1907	Built by Felix O'Connor Salvation Army hostel in 1940s	William H. Webb
—	88W Toorak Road	1911	—	C.E. Crawford
Majella	473–475 St Kilda Road	1913	James Alston	Arthur Peck with his son Hugh Peck
—	241 Domain Road	c.1913	[Ref: Slater 1987: 12]	Harold Desbrowe Annear



Figure 3.33 'Hamilton', a Federation-style residence built in Park Place, South Yarra, overlooking Fawkner Park. (Source: *Australasian*, 13 July 1912)

Interwar period (1918–45)

The most significant single subdivision in this period was that of Maritimo in 1918, which led to the creation of Marne Street.

During the interwar period, there was extensive residential development across middle suburban Melbourne and in parts of the older working-class areas. This was largely in the form of affordable homes and private subdivisions of modest, single-storey detached homes. State Bank houses made up a substantial proportion of new housing during this period, the development of which was enabled through an attractive financing scheme offered by the State Savings Bank of Victoria. Other affordable homes in suburban Melbourne were the product of commercial home builders such as A.V. Jennings. The interwar housing in the South Yarra pocket of the City of Melbourne saw a different pattern of development. Rather than the typical or mainstream 'suburban' styles—such as the modest Californian Bungalow, which was ubiquitous in middle suburbia (but uncommon in the City of Melbourne)—interwar residences in the Review area were more likely to be generously sized architect-designed homes set within a landscaped garden. Some of the multi-dwelling complexes built

in South Yarra in this period echo something of the London-style mews. They exuded a style that had greater affinity with the inner-city townhouse than with standard suburban Melbourne homes. Brick was the building material of choice in keeping with the ‘solid’ and ‘established’ character of the area, with timber homes barely represented.

Despite the challenges of the Great Depression, there was also a significant amount of residential development in South Yarra in the early 1930s—at least for the affluent. Despite this being a period of economic downturn, those with the means were able to purchase prestigious properties at a lower price.



Figure 3.34 Plan for new home by architects Stephenson & Meldrum for J.M. Gillespie, 1922, situated at the corner of Leopold Street and St Kilda Road. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H83.420/12)

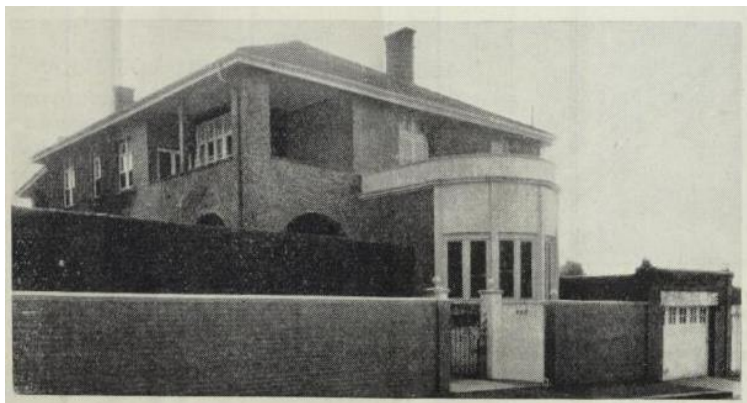


Figure 3.35 New home built in South Yarra in 1932. (Source: *Australian Home Beautiful*, vol. 10, no. 9, 1 September 1932, p. 51)

Retrospective architectural styles that evoked nostalgia for earlier English styles were fashionable at this time, including Georgian Revival and English Revival. The English Revival style of the 1930s and 1940s favoured a steep roofline, an asymmetrical layout, and the use of decorative brickwork, timber strapping, diamond pane windows and exposed stone-built chimneys. This popularity of this style in South Yarra saw the continuing expression of the picturesque aesthetic in the residential areas. Other popular interwar styles, such as Californian Bungalows, were less common, although there are some instances of this style — for example in Walsh Street.

The interwar period saw a decline in the provision of servants' accommodation and the appearance of a motor car garage or 'garages' (as one garden plan noted), which was perhaps a natural transition from the plural 'stables'. Some older homes saw the conversion of stables to a garage. Although there were new labour-saving devices available and a radically changed labour market compared to the late-nineteenth century (Cannon 1985; Raworth 1991), some large homes continued to rely on servants. At Verona, the home of George W. Ellison situated on the corner of Punt Road and the Righi, a new maid's bathroom was commissioned in 1926 (see plans, SLV).



Figure 3.36 English Revival style employed at 11 Alexandra Avenue, South Yarra. (Source: GML Heritage 2022)

As the Depression tailed off, those with capital took advantage of low land prices. Large estates were sold and substantial homes were demolished. The largest demolition was that of Fairlie House and Little Fairlie in Anderson Street, which were demolished in 1937. Comprising 71 rooms in total, this was touted as the largest demolition ever seen in Melbourne and provided for an extensive array of 'first class building materials' for sale, including 17 baths (*Age*, 2 October 1937: 2).

Many large estates were also subdivided during the 1930s and developed with smaller detached homes. The streamlined Moderne style had also become fashionable by the mid-1930s. Local architect Marcus Martin designed his own home at 240 Walsh Street at this time (see Figure 3.37).



Figure 3.37 The house at 240 Walsh Street, South Yarra, was designed by architect Marcus Martin as his own residence. (Source: *The Home: An Australian quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 3, 2 March 1936)



Figure 3.38 Moderne block of flats in Clowes Street, built in 1937, built using a method of cantilevered construction and with extensive use of glass. (Source: *Age*, 9 February 1937, p. 17)

3.6.2 Workers' housing

Some of the earliest dwellings for workers in the Review area were located in the area referred to as 'the Brickfields' on the 'south bank of the Yarra, which was characterised by a rudimentary collection of habitations. The Brickfields was a place of notoriety in the early 1840s, described as being occupied by 'a drunken, bloodthirsty, thieving crew' (Garryowen 1888, vol. II: 499). In the early 1850s, the tent city known as Canvas Town that sprung up along St Kilda Road provided new arrivals with temporary housing.

As residential development of the area progressed, the working class were employed as servants in large homes, for example as maids, groomsmen, drivers, gardeners, etc. In the mid-1850s, when the Maritimo estate extended from Toorak Road through to Domain Road and was bounded by Park Street, there were a number of workers' cottages on the west side of Park Street. The high price for land in the South Yarra area, and its original designation for the purpose of large estates and villa allotments, meant that there was limited working-class housing within the area and that rents would have been high regardless. Some of the workers' cottages may have been owned by the large landowners for whom the tenants worked. Some local tradesmen probably also occupied the smaller homes—for example, the single-fronted Victorian cottages in Leopold Street, Hope Street, St Martins Lane and Mason Street. Modest homes are also a feature of Airlie Street. The overwhelming majority of workers' cottages in the area are built of brick, although there is an occasional timber cottage, for example, in Mason Street.



Figure 3.39 and 3.40 Workers' cottages in the Review area. (Source: Victorian Heritage Database)

A plan of Melbourne prepared in 1864 by Captain Henry Cox for naval purposes shows clusters of workers' cottages in the block bounded by Domain Road, Toorak Road, Park Street and Millswyn Street (Cox 1864). Some of these have no street frontage and presumably would have been accessed by lanes.

Up until the early-twentieth century, many of those employed in the area would have lived on site as domestic servants, coachmen, stable hands and gardeners. Many of the staff at the Botanic Gardens

and at Government House also lived on site—in various types of accommodation. The large estates such as Maritimo and Goodrest had servants' quarters, usually located at the rear of the house close to the service wing. Most of the larger homes would have had servants until at least the c.1930s. The area failed to attract itinerant workers or hawkers (*Punch*, 17 June 1869: 2).

School teachers also lived on site in a teacher's residence in the mid-nineteenth century, including at the South Yarra National School. This arrangement continued at private schools in the area, with some staff housing at Melbourne Grammar School. Wadhurst, for example, was built for the headmaster. The school also provided houses for teachers in Hope Street and Bromby Street. At the north end of Domain Street, several houses are owned by Melbourne Grammar School as teachers' residences (Colman 1972: 19). Melbourne Girls' Grammar School maintains a house for the principal in Walsh Street directly behind the school.

Nurses at the Alfred Hospital and smaller private hospitals occupied onsite living quarters at the hospital well into the twentieth century. The staff at the Victorian Institute for the Blind on St Kilda Road probably also lived on site. Others who resided within their workplace included ministers of religion (for example at Christ Church vicarage); publicans and shopkeepers; brickmakers; the caretaker at Fawkner Park, and those who worked at the Masonic Charitable Institution; and women who worked in the home, including dressmakers, pieceworkers, wet nurses and whiteworkers.

The MMBW detail plan of 1894 shows clusters of workers' cottages in this part of South Yarra. These were grouped together close to but separate from the large villa residences and mansions. This differed from Toorak where there were fewer clusters of workers' housing.

3.6.3 Flats, maisonettes and duplexes

Functional and well-designed, flats had become fashionable in London through the second half of the nineteenth century. The first flats in the City of Melbourne appeared in 1906 with the Melbourne Mansions in Collins Street. These were followed a few years later with the Fawkner Mansions (City of Stonnington), which were built on the corner of Punt Road and Commercial Road (outside the Review area) in 1909–10 (Sawyer 1982: 34–35). Among the first purpose-built flats in the Review area were Mayfair at 19 Park Street (1913–14); Garden Court in Walsh Street (1918); Mayfair Flats in Marne Street (1919) (Slater 1987: 23) and Bromby Street flats in 1919 (*Argus*, 8 November 1919: 25).

Significant change to established social and economic structures was evident by the end of World War I, notably an increase in the cost of labour. Because the upper-middle class (and to some extent the middle class) relied heavily on domestic servants, the increase in labour costs in the first decades of the 1900s meant that the lifestyle of the upper-middle class was difficult to maintain. A private apartment within an existing grand home, which was smaller and hence cheaper to maintain, was an attractive option for many. Several large homes were divided into self-contained flats from around World War I, including Fairlie, where Mrs Keats had a 'pretty' flat in 1912 (*Australasian*, 27 July 1912: 45). Other large homes that incorporated early flats included 'Endion' (by 1917), 'St Neots' and 'Rhianva' (*Argus*, 18 September 1937: 4; *Argus*, 12 September 1936: 2). The large scale of these homes made them amenable to being divided up into several smaller dwellings. A small number of purpose-built blocks of flats were erected in South Yarra in the 1920s, with the bulk of early flats emerging in the 1930s.

The early purpose-built blocks of flats and maisonettes erected in South Yarra in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s were well designed, well appointed, and appealed to a discerning clientele (O'Hanlon 2002). Many flats were provided with distinctive features and exuded a refinement that was appealing

to a largely upmarket clientele. The foyers were usually expansive, with terrazzo floors and refined finishes. Some blocks of flats of three storeys or more were installed with an electric lift (*Herald*, 16 August 1922: 14). Castle Towers (1941) in Marne Street, built in wartime, boasted loggias to the ground and first-floor levels (Batters ‘Marne Street’), but also provided an air raid shelter below (Clerehan 1984). Most blocks of flats erected after the 1940s in South Yarra also had garages incorporated into the plans.



The porte cochère of Amesbury House, South Yarra. Square-set, spacious, dignified, its massive, yet graceful, proportions are consistent with the architectural character of the house itself. The triple groups of columns support a balcony enclosed by a decorative railing.

Figure 3.41 The elegant façade and porte cochere of Amesbury House in Domain Road, photographed in 1924 for *The Home*.

The extensive development of flats within the Review area was facilitated by the earlier subdivisional layer of the suburb’s history. Like the corresponding area of South Yarra along the river in what was the City of Prahran (now Stonnington), the area of South Yarra within the City of Melbourne was characterised by high land values, with large allotments occupied by large single homes. By the late 1930s, many of the large homes had been replaced by two and three-storey blocks of flats, which equated to a comparable bulk. A subdivision with extensive development of flats was that of the large Maritimo estate. Set within extensive grounds between Toorak Road and Domain Road, this was sold in two parts: the first part in 1918 and the second part in c.1927–28. The subdivision led to the creation of Marne Street, which was named after a battle on the Western Front in 1916 (Batters, ‘Marne Street’). Marne Street was largely developed through the 1930s, almost entirely with blocks of flats. By 1933, it had more blocks of flats than any other suburban street in Melbourne (*Herald*, 29 November 1933: 26). In an area with smaller land parcels there would not have been such a high take-

up of flat development. Due to its pleasant surroundings, attractive tree-lined streets and particular social cachet, South Yarra appealed to wealthy single professionals and older people who needed a smaller residence that was simpler to maintain. Many wealthy pastoral families also maintained a Melbourne address for business purposes and social visits to town, and owning a flat in South Yarra became a popular option. It was fashionable, almost essential, for members of Melbourne 'Society' to maintain a South Yarra or Toorak address. In 1928 it was noted that 'the demand is distinctly for flat suites in preference to single residences' (*Prahran Telegraph*, 4 May 1928: 1).

Alongside their functionality and modern up-to-date fittings, flats often incorporated nostalgic or retrospective styles. This period was characterised by a medley of architectural styles that drew on historicism. There were references to earlier English traditions and a degree of social and aesthetic pretension, with the use of castellations and towers—for example, 124 Millswyn Street and Castle Towers in Marne Street. Bestowing the name 'Mayfair' on the Marne Street flats was a direct reference to the London origins of this style of flat. Subsequent blocks of flats in the South Yarra Review area were also given distinctively English names—for example Castle Towers and Camelot. The luxury flats of Tudor Lodge also drew on English Revival style, while at the same time offering up-to-date domestic conveniences. Other flats drew on Spanish (or Spanish Mission) influences, which architect Howard Lawson demonstrated in several of his works. There were also a large number of Functionalist and Art Deco style flats erected in the area in the 1930s and 1940s—for example, 108 Millswyn Street.

A flat in South Yarra in the 1930s and 1940s answered the needs of many who were seeking a more compact living space but without the loss of comfort and prestige. Even with a reduced floor space to maintain and the addition of labour-saving devices, the accommodation of domestic servants remained relatively common in the 1930s; Gallia, at 733 Punt Road, for example, provided maids' bathrooms (*Herald*, 8 June 1932: 13), while the Langham House flats on Domain Road provided a maid's bedroom off the kitchen as well as a maid's bathroom and toilet (*Argus*, 2 January 1936: 4). Other helpful accoutrements that reduced the work of domestic life included hot water services, electric radiators, a house telephone direct to the caretaker and a tradesmen's hatch for deliveries. Recreational needs were also considered, with Marne Court, for example, offering a grass tennis court and a golf cage (*Herald*, 12 February 1930: 13).

Marne Street appears to have been laid out with no overhead electricity wires; this would appear to have been a design decision as electricity was being rolled out across the suburbs at that time.

Another option for residential living in the 1920s and 1930s was a residential hotel, which some considered a solution to 'maid and house problems, and the disadvantages of flat life'. The Botanical Hotel was converted to a 'high-class' private residential hotel in 1925. Offering accommodation for 40 guests, it provided hot meals, smoke-rooms for gentlemen guests and telephone on all floors (*Table Talk*, 4 June 1925: 34).

Table 3.4 Examples of flats and boarding houses in the Review area, 1912–42. (Where information is not known, the annotation n.k. has been used)

Property name	Address	Date	Historical details	Architect
Mayfair	19 Park Street	1912	Built for Elias Cunliff, one of the earliest residential flats built in Victoria	Godfrey & Spowers
Garden Court	61 Marne Street	1918	—	Joseph Plottel
Mayfair Flats	43–53 Marne Street	1919	Two knighthoods were awarded to people in Mayfair flats in 1951: McFarlane Burnet. [Refs: Lewis 2011, ref 542; AHB 15.10.1924 p 39]	Edwin J. Ruck
The Ivel	322 Walsh Street	1918	[Ref: Sawyer 1982: 106]	H.R. Lawson
Tretusis	33 Alexandra Avenue	1918	[Ref: Sawyer 1982: 106]	H.R. Lawson
Amesbury House	237–239 Domain Road	c.1923	—	Walter and Richard Butler
Kilmeny	105–107 Park Street	1923	Four flats in the block	n.k.
Maritimo	1 Marne Street	1929–30	Built for E.J. Kebby	Edward F. Billson
	Domain Road	1939	—	Shieffirrie and Davis, of Geelong
Marne Court	40–42 Marne Street	1929–30	—	Gordon J. Sutherland
Moore Abbey	50–56 Marne Street	1933	—	Robert B. Hamilton
Cromer	20–22 Marne Street	1933	Block of four flats	Leslie J.W. Reed
Balmoral	28–30 Marne Street	1933	—	n.k.
Langham	234–236 Domain Road	1935	—	Robert B. Hamilton & Associates
[Garden —?] (full name unconfirmed)	Marne Street	n.k.	—	n.k.
St Anne's	7–9 Park Street	1937	Built for Harold E. Coles (of Coles and Garrard)	n.k.
St Margaret's	2–4 Park Street	1939	Built for Harold E. Coles (of Coles and Garrard)	Arthur W. Plaisted
Gallia	733–735 Punt Road	1932	—	Eric C. Beedham and John W. Wright
Colby	197–203 Walsh Street [query]	n.k.	—	W. and R. Butler and Martin [Lewis 2011, ref. 13711]
Kilbride (boarding house)	Cnr Domain Road and Walsh Street	By 1936	Purpose-built as a boarding house?	n.k.

Property name	Address	Date	Historical details	Architect
Kia Ora	447–453 St Kilda Road	1936	—	Lewis Levy
n.k.	Clowes Street	1937	4 flats	n.k.
Park Towers	19–23 and 25–29 Adams Street	1938	18 flats, 3 storey	Arthur W. Plaisted
Tudor Lodge	180W–182W Toorak Road	1938	—	n.k.
St Leonards	23–25 St Leonards Court	1939	Block of flats [ref: Lewis 2011, ref 2538]	G.J. & B. Sutherland
St Ronans	16–18 and 20 Millswyn Street	1940	—	Bruce Sutherland
Castle Towers	11–21 Marne Street	1941–42	Described by Robin Boyd as ‘the blot of the week’ in the student magazine <i>Smudges</i>	Arthur W. Plaisted



Figure 3.42 A colour-tinted postcard depicting Marne Street, South Yarra, from *Melbourne: The City of Beauty*, 1935. (Source: Victorian Places website)

The new ‘duplex’ type of residence also became popular in the 1930s. This was often more of an upmarket version of the semi-detached housing that was seen across Melbourne in the 1930s and 1940s; these homes provided superior living quarters but were laid out on a smaller scale. The duplex

constructed in 1935 at 271 Domain Road and designed by Marcus Martin was an example of this type of residence—it included a number of elements that enabled greater engagement with the outdoors, suggesting a Mediterranean or Californian influence. There was a lily pond and sun terrace, and ‘a large “sun bay” overlooking a small walled-in garden’. The wide white columns at the front porch were designed for a vine to climb on (see Figure 3.43) (*JRVIA*, 33 (2), May 1935: 28).

A number of prominent architects who lived in the Review area designed flats and apartments in the area, including Frank Stapley; Lewis Levy who designed *Kia Ora*; Marcus Martin who lived at 240 Walsh Street; Robin Boyd; and Neil Clerehan.



Figure 3.43 Lilypond and sun terrace at the duplex residence at 271 Domain Road, South Yarra, designed by Marcus Martin. (Source: *Journal of the RVIA*, vol. 33, no. 2, May 1935)



Figure 3.44 Block of flats in Walsh Street designed by A.W. Plaisted. Note the matching low fence of brick and wrought iron. (Source: *Building*, 24 September 1940)



Figure 3.45 Block of flats in Domain Road designed by Marcus Martin. (Source: *The Home: An Australian quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 4, 1 April 1936)



Figure 3.46 Castle Towers, Marne Street, c.1941, designed by Arthur Plaisted, photographed by Lyle Fowler. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H92.20/1610)



Figure 3.47 Aerial photograph of South Yarra, looking north, by Charles Pratt, 1938. (Source: State Library Victoria)

3.6.4 Postwar residential development

Homes in the 1940s and 1950s reflected both retrospection (through the Neo-Georgian styles) and modernity (through the designs of more avant-garde architects). The proportions and simplicity of the Georgian residential style was reinterpreted in oatmeal brick (with updated features such as garages), retaining the hipped roof and façades flush with the street (without verandahs) common to the original style. The style strictly began in the 1930s rather than the postwar era, but perhaps found greater expression in the latter period.



Figure 3.48 Neo-Georgian residence at 1 and 3-5 Fairlie Court, South Yarra, built c.1940s. (Source: GML Heritage 2021)

The postwar period, and new prosperity amongst the professional classes and established money, saw a great enthusiasm for modern homes. People had grown tired of the cold, draughty and staid nature of Victorian-era houses and sought designs that were more modern and functional. The qualities of light and efficiency, and provisions such as modern kitchens and family living spaces were attractive features. Outdoor living was also an important part of the package with private swimming pools making an appearance in Melbourne's upmarket residential homes in the 1950s and 1960s.



Figure 3.49 Interior view of Domain Park flats, 1960s 'Domain Park Residential Suites' advertising brochure. (Source: Miles Lewis, 'Australian Flats'; copyright restrictions may apply)



Figure 3.50 Kurneh townhouses designed by Bernard Joyce & Associates (1966–67) and located on the corner of Anderson Street and Domain Road. Photographed by Peter Wille. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No: H91.244/3343)

3.6.5 Protecting the character of South Yarra

There was local opposition to new residential development in the South Yarra area long before the 1950s. While the construction of large blocks of flats had become a common feature of the area, these were predominantly in newer streets, such as Marne Street and on the main roads, and not initially in quieter and more established ‘suburban’ environs. The erection of the Garden Court block of flats on Marne Street in 1919 caused a stir and the owners of Raveloe next door in Domain Road erected a high brick fence to provide some privacy. This fence was once known locally as the ‘wall of hate’. There were no provisions at that time to protect the privacy of a residence from a new development that had potential to overlook the existing property (*Christ Church Centenary*, 1956, p. 20; Slater 1987: 23). Later, in 1939, members of the local community expressed shock and dismay that a four-storey block of flats was to be erected in Anderson Street, which they felt would threaten the ‘charm’ of the area. A letter to the *Argus* claimed, ‘It will be matter for lasting regret if this area of Melbourne is allowed to be exploited for commercialism’. There was local concern that that new development posed a risk that this area of South Yarra would lose its character and its ‘dignity’. Although perhaps not clearly stated at the time, there was resistance from long established residents of the area that was steeped in class difference and perhaps prejudice.

In 1940, several houses in Millswyn Street owned by the Estate of Emma Thompson were sold by real estate agents Williams & Co. (see Figure 3.51). Knowledge that the houses would be demolished for flats was a cause of distress for some community members (SHC, ref SHC7389).



Figure 3.51 Millswyn Street, looking south, 1940. (Source: Stonnington History Centre, ref. SHC7389)

From the 1950s onwards there was increased pressure in the Review area to develop larger blocks for flats. As the pattern of old homes being replaced by blocks of flats continued, there was mounting concern from a section of the community that the character of the area was being lost. The competing interests of development on the one hand and the protection of the established character of the area on the other intensified in the 1960s. In 1972, a report to the City of Melbourne by heritage consultant James Colman recommended that the historical and architectural character of the area be protected as a “conservation area” along the lines proposed by the Town and Country Planning Board and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works i.e. an area of special architectural and historic character worthy of preservation’ (Colman 1972: 8).



Figure 3.52 The sale board outside Raveloe at 203 Domain Road, South Yarra, in c.1960s advertises an 'outstanding development site'. (Source: John T. Collins Collection, State Library Victoria)

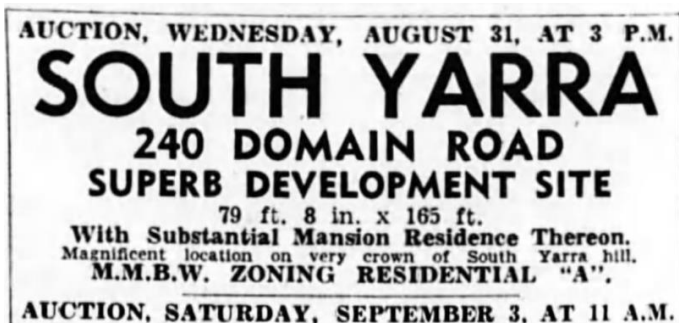


Figure 3.53 Newspaper advertisement, *Age*, 23 August 1960, p. 2.



Figure 3.54 'For sale' sign, c.1960s, detail from Figure 3.53 (above). (Source: Source: John T. Collins Collection, State Library Victoria)

3.6.6 Modified and converted buildings

A number of stables on private properties were converted to residential use, for example providing a studio flat. Some were converted for motor garages.

The conversion of the Maples warehouse into apartments in 1978 was a relatively novel development at that time, pre-dating the widespread practice of warehouse conversions elsewhere in inner Melbourne in the 1990s and early 2000s.

In c.2000, a proposed tower above the former Chevron Hotel was abandoned and the outcome was that the original 1930s building was retained, unencumbered. The former hotel was converted into apartments in 2005–06, as was the Botanical Hotel in Domain Road in 1992.

A number of buildings in the Review area have been adapted for different uses, including a factory in St Martins Lane, built c1930 that was converted for use by St Martin’s Theatre. Many larger homes were converted into flats from around the time of World War I.

3.6.7 Suburban gardens

Many of those who belonged to the comfortable middle classes in nineteenth-century Melbourne aspired to live in an elaborate villa set on a large block in the emerging suburbs. This fitted with the fashionable ideal of ‘rus in urbe’, which was to enjoy the pleasant and possibly romanticised aspects of country life in a suburban location within convenient reach of the city but not so close as to be disadvantaged by the city’s noise and pollution (Davison 1978). In his book *The Beauties of Victoria* (1956), James Sinclair discussed 200 of the principal gardens around Melbourne, including Fairlie, which he described as being ‘large, well-built and encompassed with trees and shrubs of great beauty’ (Sinclair 1852). While exotic trees were much sought after, large established gum trees were also retained and embraced as ornamental or specimen trees—for example, at Eaton House in Walsh Street (see Figure 3.55), where a large gum was incorporated into the garden layout. The typical layout for homes on large estates comprised a wide carriage drive that swept past the front of the house and also led to the rear yard that accessed a coach house, stables and service area. An expansive front lawn and garden framed the house.



Figure 3.55 Painting by Douglas S. Huyghue of a double-storey, prefabricated iron house in Walsh Street, South Yarra (c1867), showing what appears to be a remnant gum tree in the front garden—the house was the home of the Honourable Francis Eaton and Mrs Eaton. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H2015.54)



Figure 3.56 c.1880s photograph showing the retention of mature River Red Gum in the grounds at Fairlie—it has circular timber seating around the base. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H97.251/5)

3.7 Transport, communication and essential services

3.7.1 Roads and bridges

Roads

Aboriginal people used long-established seasonal routes through their Country, particularly routes between the coast and the Yarra River (Birrarung), and to and from particular camps and ceremonial places. There would have been tracks from Punt Road Hill and Birrarung, and from Birrarung to favoured coastal locations of what is now St Kilda, Brighton and Mordialloc. There were numerous camping places along the Yarra and there would most likely have been favoured tracks for accessing these. The river itself was a travel route for the Kulin. Canoes could be taken upstream as far as Dights Falls and downstream to where the river flowed into the bay. When British settlers arrived in the 1830s, they adopted many of these established routes, especially in cases where they were assisted by Aboriginal guides. Daniel Bunce, for example, was led by Bunurong guides to Western Port in 1839 along a route that followed the Yarra River then Gardiners Creek (Bunce 1857: 64).

St Kilda Road, which was the first major road leading south–southeast out of Melbourne, began as a stockman’s route known as Baxter’s Track, named after early squatter Benjamin Baxter (Buckrich 1996: 1). Tenders were called in 1850 for a ‘Road across the Clearland south of Princes Bridge’, and this to be made ‘across the Swamp from the South Embankment of Princes’ Bridge to the rising ground on the opposite side’ (VGG, March 1850). This was known until 1851–1852 as the Great Western Port Road and, later, as the Gippsland Road (Jika Jika Parish Plan, c.1851–1852). Although the ground had been cleared and levelled by 1847, the road was not initially sealed. By 1854, a metalled road had been made, three chains wide, and was marked as the ‘St Kilda, Brighton and Gt Arthur’s Seat Road’ (Ham 1854; PROV 1854b). Stone mileposts had been placed at one-mile intervals on the main roads by 1855 (Kearney 1855). These were generally cut from basalt and had a pyramidal top. The ‘one mile’ marker was adjacent to the Domain and a two-mile marker was located on Toorak Road opposite Fawkner Park. There was a toll gate and toll booth on the east side of St Kilda Road (close to the present-day Shrine of Remembrance), c.1856 to 1890, which charged passing vehicles (SHC; Context 2015b; Kearney 1855, Daley 1940).

The streets of South Yarra were improved through the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s. Millswyn Street, Park Street and Domain Street, for example, were formed and metalled in 1859 (*Age*, 3 May 1859: 6). Further streets and lanes were created as a result of subdivisions in the 1880s. Victorian bluestone was used to form street gutters, to build culverts at crossing points on the footpaths, and to pave laneways.



Figure 3.58 Toll booth, St Kilda Road, looking towards town, painted by Charles Bennett, [n.d.], c.1880s. (Source: State Library of New South Wales)

The Richmond Punt Road, later known simply as Punt Road, extending from Collingwood and Richmond to the north, terminated at the Yarra River. On the other side of the river, the road extended southwards to Ripponlea and St Kilda. There was no road bridge at this crossing point until 1938. The road got its name from the privately operated punt that operated here from c.1838 and provided a means to cross the river. On the northern bank, the road from Richmond terminated at a point slightly downstream from the road on the northern bank. The Richmond punt provided a critical if cumbersome link between the northern and southern suburbs.

Much of Punt Road was in a poor state in the 1850s. The section south of Toorak Road was described in 1857 as ‘a series of swamps, ruts, and deep soft sand, with here and there deep holes, and the stumps of the original gum-trees in the centre of the line of road’ (*Argus*, 22 October 1857: 6). Although a footbridge was provided in the late 1890s, this pocket of South Yarra close to the river and the Botanic Gardens remained quiet, isolated and relatively undeveloped. Occasionally, motorists elected to drive their vehicles across the Punt Road footbridge, which caused great alarm (Blazey 1911, SHC, ref. PH174.1. [cat entry only; not cited]). The approach to the punt was a treacherous steep section of road, which was challenging when heavy loads were involved. For this reason, most commercial traffic in the nineteenth century probably crossed at St Kilda Road.

Through the 1920s and 1930s the demands for motor transport increased in Melbourne. A road bridge was eventually constructed in 1937–38, creating an unimpeded north–south roadway. By this time, the road was properly sealed and suitable for motor traffic. As car ownership grew significantly in the 1950s, Punt Road developed into a major thoroughfare.



Figure 3.59 View of the punt over the Yarra, with vineyards visible in the distance (to the left). Photograph attributed to Charles Nettleton, 1872. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H96.1601727)



Figure 3.60 View from Punt Road Hill, looking north down to the Yarra River, 1952. (Source: Stonnington History Centre)

Punts and bridges

From the 1840s, the names of many of the main roads on the south side of the city referred to water and crossings—including the Richmond Punt Road, Gardiner’s Creek Road (Toorak Road) and the Great Western Port Road (St Kilda Road).



Figure 3.61 Watercolour by W.F.E. Liardet dated 1875 but recalling the earlier period of c.1838–40, showing the operation of the first punt on the Yarra River. An Aboriginal man in a canoe is in the background. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H28250/18)

Timber-built punts, or ferries as they were sometimes known, preceded bridges. Early punts, as described by colonial chronicler ‘Garryowen’ (Edmund Finn), comprised a ‘dray without wheels, made watertight by tarpaulin ... launched through the agency of a small rope looped round the main rope across the river’ (Garryowen 1888, vol. 2: 499). Such a contraption was set up for crossing the river by 1838 (Tout-Smith 2008: 20; Gould 1985). This is depicted in Figure 3.61 (above). This punt was located slightly upstream from Princes Bridge and was operated under leasehold by R.A. Balbirnie.

Scottish immigrant Georgiana McCrae recorded in 1841 that she crossed the Yarra on the punt with several Aboriginal people, who were permitted to have free passage (McCrae 2013: 77). Those who sought to cross the river more expediently paid boatmen who were available to provide immediate passage across.

The Melbourne Bridge Company erected a timber bridge across the Yarra in 1845 (Cannon 1991). The government replaced this with a single-span stone bridge in 1850, which was the longest single-span bridge in the world at that time. Its official opening coincided with the news of the Separation of Victoria from the Colony of NSW. In 1888, the bridge was replaced with the more substantial Centennial Bridge.

Up until the 1870s, the South Yarra pocket of Melbourne was relatively isolated. The development of transport, including the South Yarra railway (outside the Review area) and the introduction of trams in the 1880s, as well as the incursion of new roads, brought greater activity and movement to the area. The Morrell Bridge (VHR H1440) at Anderson Street was constructed in 1899 using the innovative Monier construction technique; it was one of the first bridges in Australia to use this technique. In terms of increasing road traffic, the most significant development in the area since Balbirnie's first timber bridge across the Yarra in 1945 was probably the construction of the road bridge at the base of Punt Road Hill in 1937. Increased access into the area came with the opening of the Swan Street Bridge in 1952, which connected Swan Street, Richmond, with Alexandra Avenue.



Figure 3.62 View of South Yarra from the Richmond Punt, 1861. 'View shows John Twomay, punt keeper's premises on the east side of Punt Road, South Yarra and on the west side, a summer house, the toll gate and beyond the vineyard belonging to David Ogilvie.' (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H141)

3.7.2 Ferries and watercraft

Steam ferries provided passenger services on the Yarra from at least the 1850s, and these operated through the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. In the 1880s ferries departed for Princes Bridge for trips to the various attractions upstream, including the Cremorne Gardens. Likewise, those further upstream could commute into the city by ferry.

3.7.3 Horses

The MMBW detail plans of the mid-1890s show a number of horse troughs strategically positioned at places of commercial activity—for example, outside both the shops in Millswyn Street; outside the Fawkner Club Hotel in Toorak Road West and outside Christ Church on Punt Road (MMBW 1896). There are a number of surviving links with horses in the area, including horse troughs and hitching posts—for example, outside Christ Church (Slater 1987: 9) and in Walsh Street (see Figure 3.63)—and this reflects a relatively high level of horse ownership and use prior to the emergence of motor cars. Historically, there was also a larger than usual concentration of private stables in the Review area.



Figure 3.63 John Collins, 1960s photograph of a hitching post in Walsh Street, South Yarra. (Source: John T. Collins Collection, State Library Victoria, Accession No. H98.251/940)

3.7.4 Tramways

The South Yarra railway line was constructed to the south of the Review area in the 1860s, but direct access to the Review area by public transport was provided by Melbourne’s early cable tram network, which was established in 1885. The tram lines were constructed by the Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Company, which operated routes through central Melbourne with connections to some of the inner suburbs. Cable tram lines were laid along St Kilda Road, with connections to Toorak Road via Park Street (Tram No. 8) and to Commercial Road (Tram No. 67). A tramway engine house was built on the corner of St Kilda Road and Bromby Street to help service this operation (MMBW 1896; photo SLV c1975). A ‘bus and tram route’ is marked along Park Street in a plan dated 1888 (Ham 1888).

In 1926 the Tramways Board decided to convert the cable tramline along St Kilda Road, as well as those along Domain Road and Park Street, to an electric traction system (*Prahran Telegraph*, 23 April 1926: 4). The new installation created an overhead web of electric wiring at the corner of Domain Road and Park Street.

An important figure in the development of public transport in Melbourne, Francis Boardman Clapp (1833–1920), lived in Millswyn Street and at the Airlie mansion in Domain Road. Clapp, the son of one of the founders of the Cobb & Co. carriage service, was a co-owner of the Tramway and Omnibus Co. that operated Melbourne’s cable tram network; his son Harold Winthrop Clapp was chairman of the Victorian Railway Commission (Hone 1969; Slater 1987).

3.7.5 Motor garages

Providing for the needs of travellers on the road would have been a necessary early commercial activity, and this would have included blacksmiths’ shops and the hire of horses and vehicles. One of the earliest residents in the Review area was a blacksmith named Wells. The introduction of motor cars in the early 1900s transformed the roads and saw new services introduced. As an area of relative affluence, there was a relatively high rate of car ownership in South Yarra. The Motor House Co. opened in 1908 at what is now 407 St Kilda Road. The buildings on the site today appear to date to the 1920s.

An early motor garage opened in Arnold Street in 1912, which was one of the earliest in Melbourne. The Arnold Street workshops (37–41 Arnold Street) had its main office at 391 St Kilda Road. Three motor-related businesses operated in this section of St Kilda Road in 1931 (S&Mc). This operated as Brodribb Bros Ltd from 1930 and then as Day & Son Motor Engineers from 1940 (Grow 2003: 6). By the 1930s–40s, a motor garages was operating in St Martins Lane (built 1921). There was another motor garage on Toorak Road, near the corner of St Kilda Road, as well as Southern Cross Service Station on St Kilda Road, built in the c. late 1920s.



Figure 3.64 The former Southern Cross Service Station at 391 St Kilda Road (demolished), photographed by Lyle Fowler in 1949. (Source: Harold Paynting Collection, State Library Victoria, Accession No. H92.20/3194)

3.7.6 Wireless station

A wireless station was established by the Postmaster-General's Department on the high ground of the Observatory within the Domain and officially opened in 1912. Supported by a wireless mast 180 feet high resting on a timber base, it was capable of sending and receiving messaging up to a distance of up to 1500 miles without the need of a telegraph wire (*Age*, 27 November 1911: 11; *Weekly Times*, 17 February 1912: 43). It was used for shipping and was also used by the Commonwealth Department of Home Affairs for experimental purposes and by the Police department to transmit messages from police headquarters to its wireless patrol service. The wireless station and its associated brick office were demolished in 1932 (*Age*, 26 February 1932: 9).

3.7.7 Telecommunications

The telephone was introduced in the 1880s but was initially restricted in use. Private subscribers to the service were generally only those who were in medical fields, the military or very wealthy.

Possibly necessitated by wartime communication needs, the Commonwealth Postmaster-General's Department had planned for the construction of a new automatic telephone exchange in South Yarra by 1945, but this wasn't built until 1950–51. Telecom, which superseded the government department in 1975, was the largest employer in Australia by the late 1970s (*Age*, 2 November 1979: 3). The South Yarra exchange employed a large number of telephonists, technicians and linemen.

3.7.8 Essential services

Water supply

The Yarra River (Birrarung) had been a life-force for Aboriginal people for thousands of years. The rocky ledge known as the Falls, situated downstream from Princes Bridge, protected the fresh water supply that came from the Upper Yarra. There would also have been springs and soaks on the high ground of the Domain and probably also in Fawkner Park, given that it was a regular camping place for Aboriginal people. The drainage of Fawkner Park in 1870 would also suggest there was water present (VGG, 7 January 1870: 15).

The Yarra provided the first water supply to the British colonial settlement. In the 1840s water was pumped and carted from the river and sold at exorbitant prices. The work that Aboriginal people carried out for settlers in the 1840s included carting water from the river (McCrae 1912). By the 1850s, the Yarra water (in the vicinity of Melbourne) was becoming too polluted for human consumption. Most landowners relied on private wells and tanks. An early water supply scheme, the South Yarra Water Works, was established by a private syndicate in 1855. With its main pump and storage facility constructed at Forrest Hill, near Chapel Street, the South Yarra Water Works serviced homes within South Yarra and surrounds and homes as far distant as Brighton. Landowners paid a subscription for this service (Context 2007).

The Yan Yean scheme came online in 1857 in central Melbourne, and residences in South Yarra were connected in the early 1860s. Even after the Yan Yean supply came online in South Yarra in the 1860s, many large properties relied on a private tank or well through the nineteenth century. It was not until the 1880s, however, following further improvements to the system, that the Yan Yean supply became sufficiently reliable, both in terms of supply and water quality. Nevertheless, the MMBW detail plans prepared in the 1890s show that many of the large homes in the area retained their existing wells at this time; some were located within the footprint of the house itself (MMBW 1890s, various).

Additional water supplies were required in the area on account of the extensive parkland and the Botanic Gardens. From c.1864, the Botanic Gardens drew directly on the Yarra River through a pump system established at Dights Falls at Kew (Lamb 1996). In order to augment the supply in the Botanic Gardens, its director William Guilfoyle built a 'volcano'-inspired reservoir on a highpoint of the gardens near the corner of Anderson Street and Domain Road in the 1870s. This could store water reserves that could be drawn on as needed, thus providing a more reliable water supply to the gardens (Lamb 1996). After being abandoned and neglected for more than 100 years, the volcano reservoir was restored and reinstated in the early 2000s.

The MMBW plan of 1894 shows a small reservoir next to the Government House Cultivation Paddock (MMBW 1894).

Sewerage

Prior to the introduction of a metropolitan sewerage system, cesspits were used, and, later, the pan method. The pan method serviced outside lavatories through a lane network that 'nightsoil' men accessed to change the pans overnight. In large houses, toilets were sometimes located downstairs within the body of the house but situated close to the property boundary to enable easy access.

The South Yarra area was connected to the new sewerage system built by the MMBW in the early 1890s. A series of detail plans issued by the MMBW record the complex network of pipes that were laid for this new system.

Street lighting

The first public street lighting in the area was provided by gas lamps, which were installed on the main roads by the City of Melbourne in the 1850s. In 1859, it was noted that six more lamps were installed

in Domain Road (Daley 1940; Dunstan 1984; Brown-May; *Age*, 10 May 1859: 6). Around the 1880s a new style of lamp was introduced, featuring a closed glass head atop a cast iron post, and these were erected along St Kilda Road.



Figure 3.65 Detail from a sketch of Toorak Road West, showing a decorative gas lamp on the north side of the road, c.1890–1910. (Source: State Library Victoria)



Figure 3.66 Electric tramlines being installed on St Kilda Road, looking towards the city, c.1925. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H40275/22)

Gas and electricity

Gasworks were developed in the City of Melbourne in the 1850s and a gas main was laid in the main streets. The smaller cottages were generally not connected to gas.

An electrical substation that doubled as a tram shelter was erected in Domain Road within the Domain reserve in 1933; an almost identical structure was erected in Royal Park (*Argus*, 13 February 1933: 8). This helped to regulate and maintain local electricity demand.

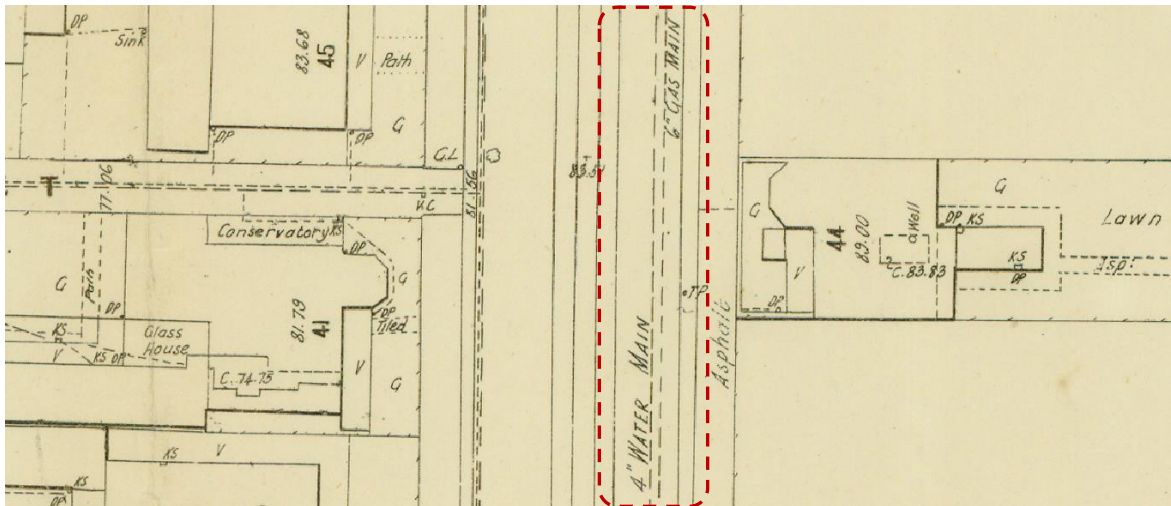


Figure 3.67 Park Street, South Yarra, showing gas main and water main (in red outline); MMBW Detail Plan Nos 898, 899, 900, City of Melbourne, dated 1896. (Source: State Library Victoria)

3.8 Education

3.8.1 Aboriginal mission school

The first formal school established in the Review area was the school at Langhorne's Aboriginal mission, which occupied the site of the Royal Botanic Gardens 1837–1839. A school building was erected at the site. The mission, which operated under the Church of England Missionary Society of NSW (Daley 1940), sought to teach Aboriginal children to read and write English, and to indoctrinate them in Christian religious beliefs. The teacher at the mission school was John Thomas Smith, a long-term resident of South Yarra, who later served as mayor of Melbourne on seven occasions through the 1850s and 1860s (Bonwick 1856: 7-75). The mission school was largely unsuccessful in its ambitions, with only a small number of Aboriginal children attending the school during its short period of operation. Wurundjeri Elder William Barak was one of the children that attended the school; he was aged around 14 at that time. He recalled singing 'Halla looler' in the 'schoolroom in the German garden', a reference to the mission site's subsequent adaption into the Botanic Gardens where the German botanist Ferdinand Mueller was the director (Barak 1882, 'My Words'). After 1839, Assistant Protector William Thomas continued the work of teaching Aboriginal children to read and write. He refers to the wooden letters that he used as a teaching tool (Stephens 2014).

3.8.2 Government schools

From the 1840s, a number of government-funded schools were established in Melbourne, including in the area south of the Yarra. Prior to the *Education Act 1872*, small church schools established were eligible for funding from the Victorian Government. A government-funded denominational school run by the Scottish Free Church was established on Punt Road in 1854. (The Free Church of Scotland was a variation of Presbyterianism that rejoined with the main Presbyterian Church in 1858). At the

same time, a National School for South Yarra (also known for a period as South Melbourne) was proposed in 1854 and a site set aside on Punt Road, which appears to be on the same site as the Scottish Free Church denominational school. This government-funded school was originally known as the South Melbourne National School. A schoolhouse designed by A.E. Johnston was erected on the site in the 1850s (Burchell 1980: 174; Lewis 2018: 6). This was designed with separate boys' and girls' classrooms, as was the standard practice for the layout of National Schools in the 1850s (PROV 1856). From 1863 this was known as the South Yarra Common School and in 1873 it became the South Yarra State School (Blake 1973, vol. 3: 302).

The Presbyterian denominational school, which later became the South Yarra State School, adjoined Fawkner Park on its western boundary. This was an area where Aboriginal people continued to camp into the 1860s. A large gum tree within the school yard was recalled by former students as an Aboriginal camping place. It is likely that this was associated with the Bunurong, who continued to camp in Fawkner Park into the 1860s during the time the school was in operation.

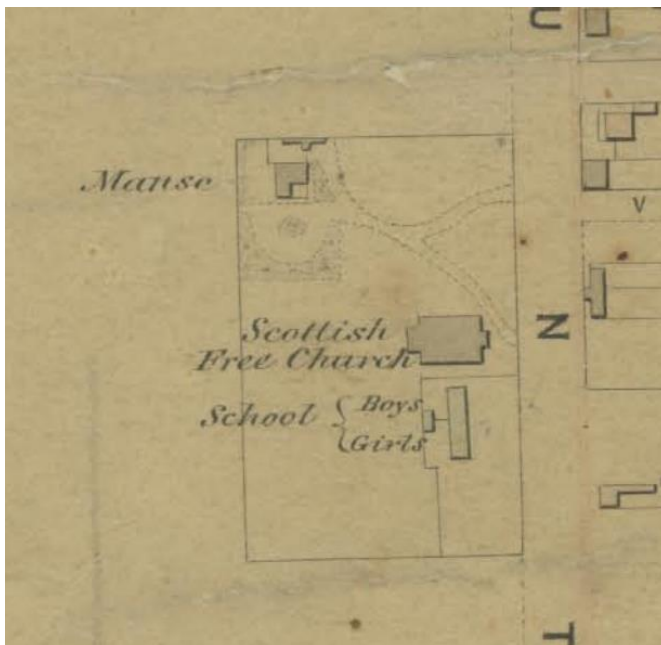


Figure 3.68 Map showing the site of the Presbyterian (Scottish) Free Church, Punt Road, South Yarra, 1856. (Source: Historic Plans Collections, PROV)

3.8.3 Private schools

As early Melbourne developed, the demand for secondary education also increased, mostly for boys but also for girls. With the University of Melbourne established in 1854, students (initially restricted to males) required a sufficient standard of education to enter university. There was no provision for secondary education by the government past Grade 8 (now Year 8), leaving the churches and private interests responsible for the operation of secondary schools. In the nineteenth century, wealthy families in the South Yarra area employed private tutors and governesses for their children and many sent their sons 'home' to England to be educated.

The four major Christian denominations (Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist) each aspired to a church-run 'grammar' school (for boys), and it was proposed in 1854 that these should be situated within a mile of central city and a Crown reserve be provided for the purpose. Parliament voted in favour of £20,000 in funds being made available for the establishment of denominational grammar

schools. (Lewis 1995; Buckrich 1996: 31). At Eastern Hill, the Presbyterians established Scotch College in 1850, and the Catholics established St Patrick’s College in 1854. The Anglicans and the Wesleyans instead sought land in South Yarra, outside the city centre, in what were then considered the outskirts of Melbourne. A site was surveyed for an Anglican grammar school on St Kilda Road in 1855, and the Melbourne Church of England Grammar School was opened there in 1858 (see Figure 3.70). Further to the southeast on St Kilda Road, Wesley College was established in 1866 by the Wesleyan Methodists (the main branch of Methodism in Victoria). A smaller private Anglican school was also operated by Christ Church (on the corner of Punt Road and Toorak Road) prior to the foundation stone of the church being laid in 1855.

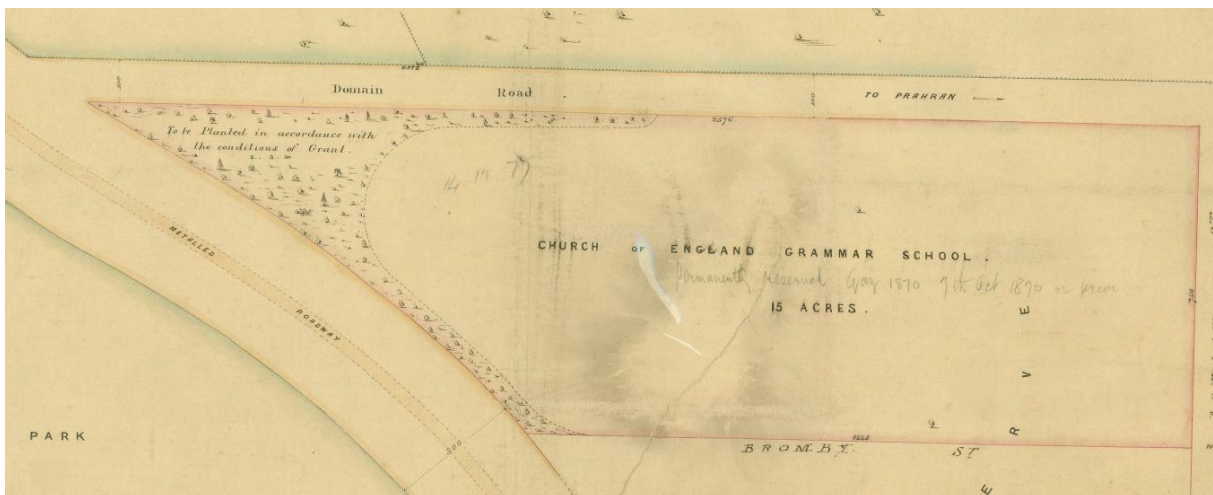


Figure 3.69 Site for a Church of England Grammar School, Parish of South Melbourne, 1855. (Source: Historic Plans Collection, PROV, VPRS 8168, P0005, Unit 223)

A double-storey villa (a former military residence) within the grounds of the Domain known as ‘The Grange’ was used as a private boys’ school from the 1890s until 1921 when it relocated to Caroline Street, South Yarra (SHC MP10596).



Figure 3.70 The Grange, South Yarra, [n.d.], c.1900s. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H36922)

There would have been few, if any, Aboriginal children at these schools in the period before World War II, and even prior to the 1970s. In the 1850s an Aboriginal boy named Bungaleen who showed promise as a student was denied entry to Melbourne Grammar School, most likely because of the racial prejudices in the school community at that time. A photograph of Bungaleen appears in Fels 1988.



Figure 3.71 An early photograph of Wesley College from St Kilda Road, c.1869, showing the remnant vegetation of the area, including River Red Gums. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H90.83/63)

A number of private (fee-paying) girls' schools were established in the area, which attracted middle-class families. Focusing on more traditionally feminine pursuits, these schools were generally small and operated from residential buildings and were not provided with the large grounds and sports fields of the boys' private schools. Many girls finished school at primary level (then Grade 8), although the daughters of wealthy families girls were sometimes taught at home with a governess. Early girls' schools included Miss Roberts's Ladies School, operating from Homerton House in 1856 (*Argus*, 15 February 1856: 8); Ravensburgh House Ladies' College, situated on the south side of Domain Road (PROV 1856); and Miss Kent's school in Millswyn Street (*Argus*, 15 April 1858: 8). Mrs Adderley's 'Ladies School' (with boarding) was located in Park Place and occupied a double-storey house overlooking Fawkner Park (*Church of England Messenger*, 1870s). The Moyne Ladies' School was operating in the area from the c.1880s. Fairholm Ladies' College, a Presbyterian girls' school located at 61 Walsh Street, operated in the 1920s and 1930s

The Church of England Girls' Grammar School was established on Domain Road in 1893. The original building took over the property known as Merton Hall. The school later acquired a site in Anderson Street and also acquired other neighbouring properties, including Yarra Bank in 1927. For a period the school used the former Fairlie House in Anderson Street as a junior school building. While Melbourne Grammar, Wesley College and Christ Church were all private church-run schools established for the education of boys, female students have also been accepted at Christ Church since the c.1940s/1950s and at Wesley College since the mid-1980s.



Figure 3.72 Sketches of a kindergarten run by Miss Vaughan in Walsh Street, South Yarra, published in the *Australasian Sketcher*, 1881. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. A/S08/10/81/321)

The Mews, built in 1874 as the early stables of Government House, was used as temporary accommodation by the Melbourne Girls' High School (1931–33) before it moved to a new building in Albert Park known as the MacRobertson Girls' High School (Blake, vol. 3: 571; Trethowan Context Lewis 2012: 156). The Mews has since been converted to a motor garage. MacRobertson Girls' High School occupied Government House for a period during World War II due to security concerns.

3.8.4 Special education

A site for a Protestant School for the Blind was reserved on St Kilda Road in the 1850s (Parish Plan). The Victorian Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb was given a site nearby, though this was later revoked. Subsequently, in 1866, a site for a School for the Blind was set aside on a parcel of land facing St Kilda Road and adjoining Wesley College (Buckrich 2004). The successful writer Tilly Aston (1873–1947), who was sight-impaired from childhood, was a boarding student at the school and went on to be appointed as head of the school in 1913 (Green 1979). New teaching techniques for the sight and hearing impaired developed in the late-nineteenth century, which were implemented at the school. The Braille Library, which was closely associated with the School for the Blind, was later established at 31–51 Commercial Road (VHR; City of Stonnington).

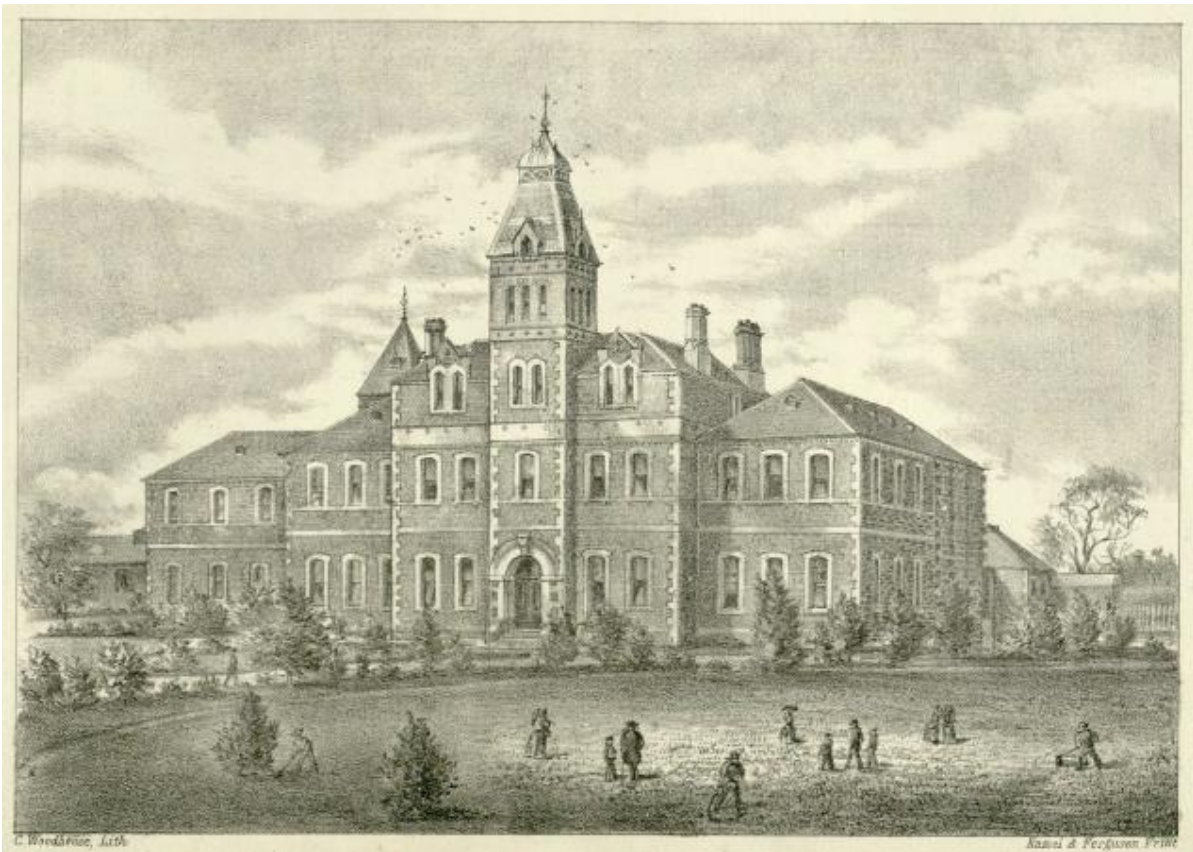


Figure 3.73 School for the Blind, St Kilda Road, 1888. (Source: Leavitt 1888)

3.9 Religion and spirituality

3.9.1 Aboriginal spirituality and sacred places

The Review area, bounded by the Yarra River and including long established places where Aboriginal people gathered for thousands of years, has many places of spiritual significance to Aboriginal people (*this is discussed in Section 3.1*). There would have been ceremonial places in this area and burial sites. One known burial site (of unknown date) with a large number of Ancestral Remains was uncovered by construction workers in the late 1920s when the foundations for the Shrine of Remembrance were being dug (*Argus*, 13 November 1929: 10; *Herald*, 14 November 1929: 1).

A number of Aboriginal burials took place on the south bank of the Yarra from the late 1830s and through the 1840s. Assistant Protector William Thomas was often present at these burials. He also recorded the customs of the bereaved, including the practice of staying by the grave, visiting the grave and lighting a fire by the grave. An Aboriginal boy who worked for Robinson, known as Peter, was buried at the 'mission station' in September 1840 and an Aboriginal woman was also buried there in the early 1840s. (Stephens 2014, vol. 1: Cotter 2005: 33).

In 1985, a Burial Stone was established at the Domain to mark the site of the ceremonial reburial of Ancestral Remains, which were returned to the earth from the collection of the Melbourne Museum. The Ancestral Remains, representing 38 different groups in Victoria, were taken from the museum, which was then located at the State Library building, and along Swanton Street to the Domain (Berg and Faulkhead 2010).

3.9.2 Establishing places of worship

The first religious institution established by colonial church authorities was the Anglican Aboriginal mission established in 1837 on the future site of the Botanic Gardens. This was managed by George Langhorne. Here, Aboriginal people were taught prayers and hymns, and a school was established for the children. The missionary compulsion to 'Christianise' Aboriginal people was at odds with Aboriginal cultural identity and a complex spirituality.

In the early days of the settlement at Melbourne, before permanent houses of worship were established, the devout often held their prayer meetings and religious services in private homes. Before the early 1850s, those living in this area of South Yarra would also travel into town to attend church services.

As settlement increased south of the Yarra, there was a desire to establish churches in the local area that would serve the growing local population. In 1852 it was proposed that a strip of land along Punt Road, between Toorak Road and Commercial Road, should be set aside for the major Christian denominations. In 1853–1854, each of the five main denominations was allocated a Crown reserve for church purposes, apart from the Catholic Church and the Independent Church which did not have the need for a church in the area at that time (Slater 1987: 7). Churches were erected along this section of Punt Road for the Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists.

A prominent site on the south-west corner of Punt Road and Toorak Road was reserved for the Anglican Church in 1855, and a foundation stone for Christ Church was laid the following year. In a progressive move, it was decided that in the new church 'the seats will be without doors' (*Argus*, 1856). Upon the church's reservation, the name of the denomination was barely stated but assumed, reflecting the strong influence of the Melbourne Establishment in the area.

In 1854, a site was set aside on this strip for a Free Gaelic Church (presumably Scots Gaelic and Presbyterian) (PROV 1854). A Presbyterian Church was established that year (Major 1954). This was also used as a church–school, which became the South Yarra National School (Blake 1973, vol. 3: 302).

A number of other mission churches or chapels of ease were established in the area by the major denominations, including a Wesleyan mission chapel in Millswyn Street and the Anglican Mission to St Chads in St Martins Lane (this later became St Martins Theatre), which was established by Christ Church around 1892 (MMBW 1895; Colman 1972; image SLV). Mission churches and chapels of ease were built for the convenience of those who lived some distance from the parish church in order to increase the reach of the parish. There was a class dimension to the size, scale and location of these more modest places of worship. They were generally designed for the working-class members of the congregation and this is demonstrated by the historical context of their location in what were formerly working-class areas of South Yarra.

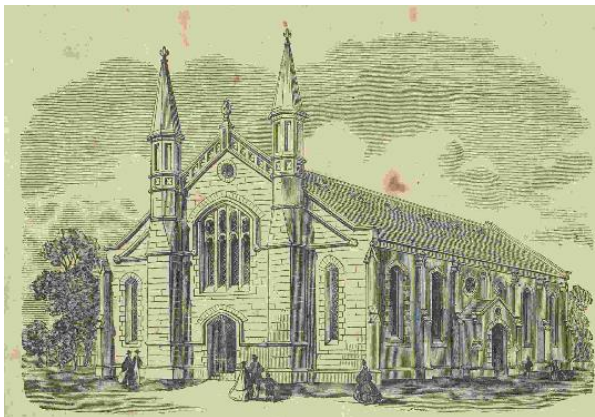


Figure 3.74 Wesleyan Church, Punt Road, South Yarra, 1864. (Source: Stonnington History Centre)

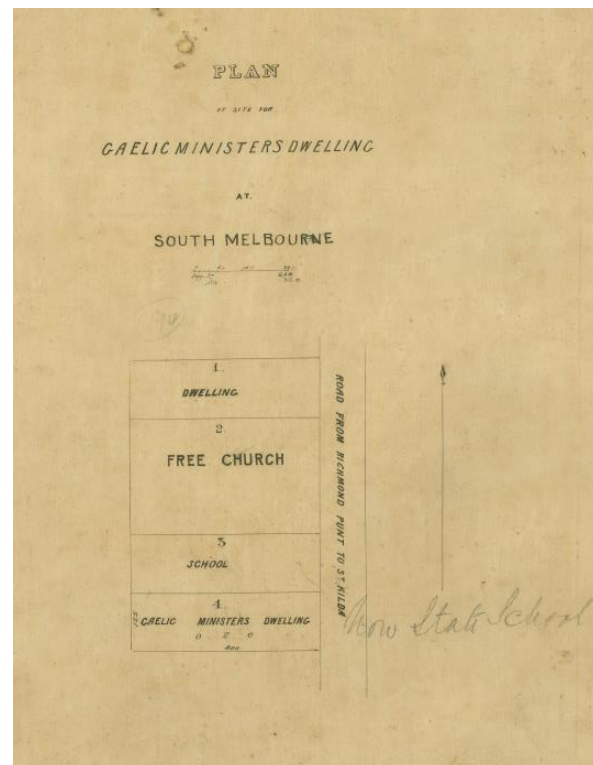


Figure 3.75 Plan for a Gaelic Minister’s Dwelling at South Melbourne, 1854. (Source: VRPS 8168, P0005, Item 195, Historic Plans Collection, PROV)

In the early twentieth century two additional places of worship—a Catholic chapel of ease erected in 1915 and the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation Synagogue completed in 1930—were established in the Review area. Up until that time, the area had only provided places of worship for Protestant denominations.

Demand for a Catholic church in the local area had been increasing from the 1890s, however, on account of the many Catholic domestic servants working in the big houses in the area. There was a parish church of St Joseph’s off Chapel Street in South Yarra, but this was some distance away. A

new chapel of ease was erected in Bromby Street in 1915 and dedicated to St Thomas Aquinas. In the 1950s the building was remodelled with a Baroque-inspired façade.

A new synagogue for the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation was erected in South Yarra in 1930 to replace the earlier synagogue established in Bourke Street in the 1840s. Some of the historical elements from the original building in Bourke Street were relocated to the new building. The movement of Jewish people to the South Yarra area saw the need for a new synagogue. A number of prominent Jewish families were established in the South Yarra area by the early twentieth century, including the Fink and Isaacs families. A Jewish day school was also in operation on St Kilda Road by 1948 (Mount Scopus).

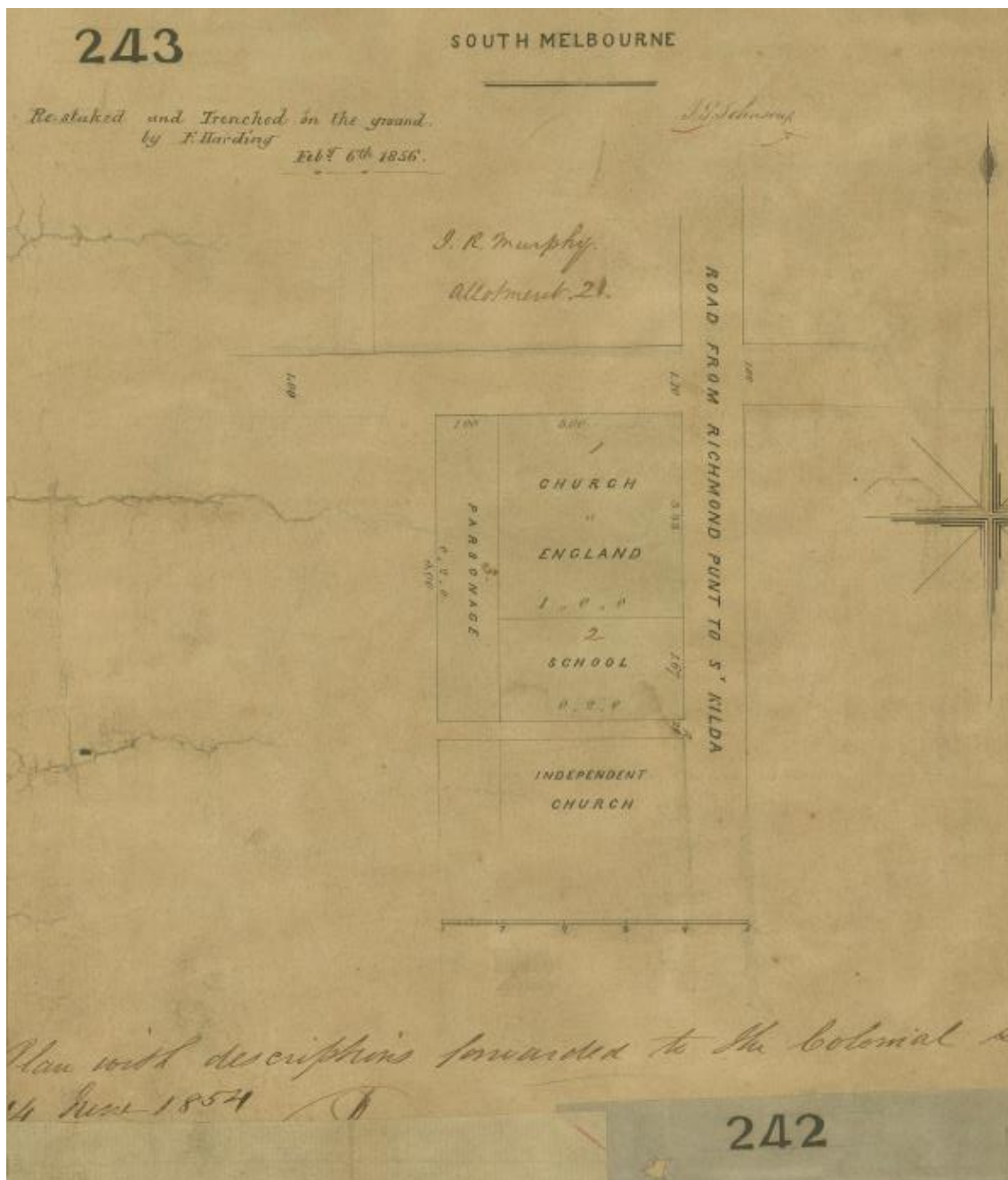


Figure 3.76 'Plan for a site for the Church of England at South Melbourne', 1856. (VPRS 8168 P0005, item 243, Melbourne South Church of England Reserve, 1856, Historic Plan Collection, PROV)

3.10 Public parks and gardens

The generous provision of land for public parks and gardens in the South Yarra area is a legacy of the colonial government's commitment to providing large areas of public open space. The reservation of extensive public parkland in the Review area shaped early settlement patterns. Large areas of land on the south side of the Yarra were reserved from sale from c.1838. These areas were formalised for the purpose of various parks and gardens by 1854.

The availability of large areas of Crown land in this part of Melbourne also provided places where Aboriginal people continued to gather, camp and hold corroborees. The public parks and gardens in South Yarra continued to be used by and accessible to Aboriginal people through the 1850s and 1860s. Aboriginal people continued to occupy and use Crown land (and also sometimes church sites) across the City of Melbourne, but the proximity in South Yarra to long-established Kulin meeting places as well as the site of the former mission made this area important to Aboriginal people. Some Aboriginal people—for example, the Bunurong in the Domain and at Fawkner Park (Presland 2001: 45)—continued to camp in this area after the establishment of Coranderrk Aboriginal Reserve, near Healesville, in 1863.

3.10.1 Royal Botanic Gardens

Superintendent C.J. La Trobe had initially selected Batman's Hill as a site for botanic gardens. This followed the acquisition of the Batman estate by the government following Batman's death. This site quickly proved unsuitable for the purpose, however, being exposed and without a source of fresh water. In 1846, La Trobe selected a second site on the south bank of the Yarra, constituting the former Aboriginal mission site. This was regarded as highly suitable for the purpose: it was place of beauty with the advantages of good soil, fresh water, undulating ground and good vantage points, and was within close proximity to town. The first gardener appointed at the Botanic Gardens, John Arthur, moved to the site in 1846 and initially lived in a tent (Slater 1987: 21).

Ferdinand Mueller was appointed director in 1857 and set about developing both a collection of plants from around the world and a botanic museum for the purpose of scientific research. Mueller approached the role as a botanist rather than as a landscape architect and arranged his expansive collections of plants by countries. He also introduced an aviary and a small zoo, and also encouraged the use of the gardens for a range of social events. Mueller was replaced by William Guilfoyle in 1873 who redesigned the gardens as a picturesque landscape, including the creation of the ornamental lake. The present-day gardens are a legacy of his vision. Later developments include a rock garden near the ornamental lake that was designed by Ellis Stones (Law-Smith 1984: 20). The area around the lake has since been re-designed with indigenous plantings.

3.10.2 The Domain

The reserve known as the Domain remained bushland in the 1850s and 1860s, with some areas cleared and leased for grazing. Avenues of trees were planted in the reserve by Ferdinand Mueller by the 1860s, but this was not done comprehensively (*Argus*, 9 June 1866: 4). Mueller also established a pinetum on the north side near the Government House Reserve. In 1873, a competition for a design for the Domain was won by Joseph Sayce Esq. of Caulfield; this plan was later adapted by Guilfoyle who succeeded Mueller as director of the Botanic Gardens the same year.

The Domain was re-designed in c.1900 in preparation for the royal visit of 1901. This included rockeries on the high bank of the Yarra below the Domain on Alexander Avenue. In the 1930s, a new

layout was designed by Hugh Linaker—the Pioneers Women’s Garden was installed in 1934 to mark the centenary of Victoria. As a public space, the Domain has been ornamented with a large number of monuments and memorials.

In the 1960s, La Trobe’s Cottage was relocated from Jolimont to the Domain.

3.10.3 Fawkner Park

Fawkner Park was still used by Aboriginal people as a living area and *ngaree* ground in the 1860s. This park had formerly been part of the larger area of public land referred to as ‘South Melbourne Park’, which incorporated land on both sides of St Kilda Road and included the Albert Park reserve. The reserve that is now Fawkner Park was originally named ‘South Yarra Park’ (and sometimes South Park). The area was first (unofficially) reserved from sale in 1854 around the time Governor La Trobe departed the colony (Sanderson 1932). It was presumably first fenced around this time. The park was re-fenced in 1857 and was used as a cricket ground from around this time (VGG, April 1857). A site of around 99 acres was temporarily reserved in 1862 (VGG, 1 August 1862: 1338) when it was named Fawkner Park after John Pascoe Fawkner, one of the founders of Melbourne.

The reserve was laid out by Nicholas Bickford and planted with European trees, but much of the park was leased as a grazing paddock. Two strips of land, the St Kilda Road boundary and along the Punt Road boundary, were excised in the early 1860s and allotments were taken up by ‘land speculators and friends of the Melbourne Council’, which drew public criticism (Carroll and Roger-Genersh 1974: 32). Another early challenge was the matter of nightsoil from the Alfred Hospital being disposed of in the park in the 1870s and causing a nuisance (Boyle 1881: 19). Tennis courts were laid in the 1920s, although stock still grazed in the park at that time. Management of Fawkner Park was transferred to the City of Melbourne in 1933.

3.10.4 Other reserves

Other smaller reserves were also set aside in the Review area and in some cases were landscaped or planted with ornamental trees. The reserve along the Yarra bank, which extends the length of the riverbank has been developed for public use since the 1850s. It has served as a pedestrian track, and then a road, and was significantly redesigned with the Yarra improvement works of c.1900.

A small irregularly shaped reserve was formed at the corner of Alexandra Avenue and Clowes Street with the creation of the Punt Road Bridge, built in 1938. A large elm tree was planted here in 1937.

3.10.5 Street trees and road reserves

In the 1850s and 1860s, streets were often poorly constructed and lacked any formal ornamentation. The work of levelling the road, removing tree stumps, and carrying out drainage and metalling were the early priorities. Mueller had advocated street tree planting from the 1850s, but it wasn’t until the 1870s that efforts at street beautification were made in the City of Melbourne. Street tree planting was restricted to the major roads, with the Mayor of Melbourne James Gatehouse planting the first shade trees in the city streets in 1875 (*Leader*, 29 May 1875: 12).

St Kilda Road was planted with elm trees in the mid-1880s and the 1890s (Context 2016b). By the 1890s, trees were also planted along Punt Road and Domain Road (MMBW 1895 and 1896). The locations of street trees in smaller streets, for example Mona Place, are also marked on the MMBW detail plans of the 1890s, along with squared tree guards (MMBW 1896, numbers 899 and 900).

The approach to Melbourne along St Kilda Road was lined with London Plane trees ahead of the royal visit in 1901. This major city thoroughfare and entrance to the city had been co-opted as part of a grand civic boulevard and was redeveloped for the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901 on the occasion of the opening of the first Federal Parliament. Alexandra Avenue was also created around this time and planted with Canary Island Date Palms that created a bold ornamental vista. St Kilda Road was again the celebrated entry point to the City of Melbourne in 1920, with the visit of the Prince of Wales. Referring to this occasion, local historian Charles Daley described St Kilda Road as a 'truly royal highway' (Daley 1940: 266). The grand boulevard was widely regarded as the most beautiful road in Melbourne.



Figure 3.77 Park Street, South Yarra, showing Christ Church steeple on the right, c.1908. The street trees appear to be London Planes or oaks. (Source: State Library Victoria)

Less typical were the low clipped shrubs in Marne Street in the 1930s, which had a domestic scale. *Home* magazine in the 1930s noted: 'A flagged walk and a strip of well-kept turf and miniature shrubs, well clipped, give Marne Street South the appearance of a private drive' (*Home*, c1930s).

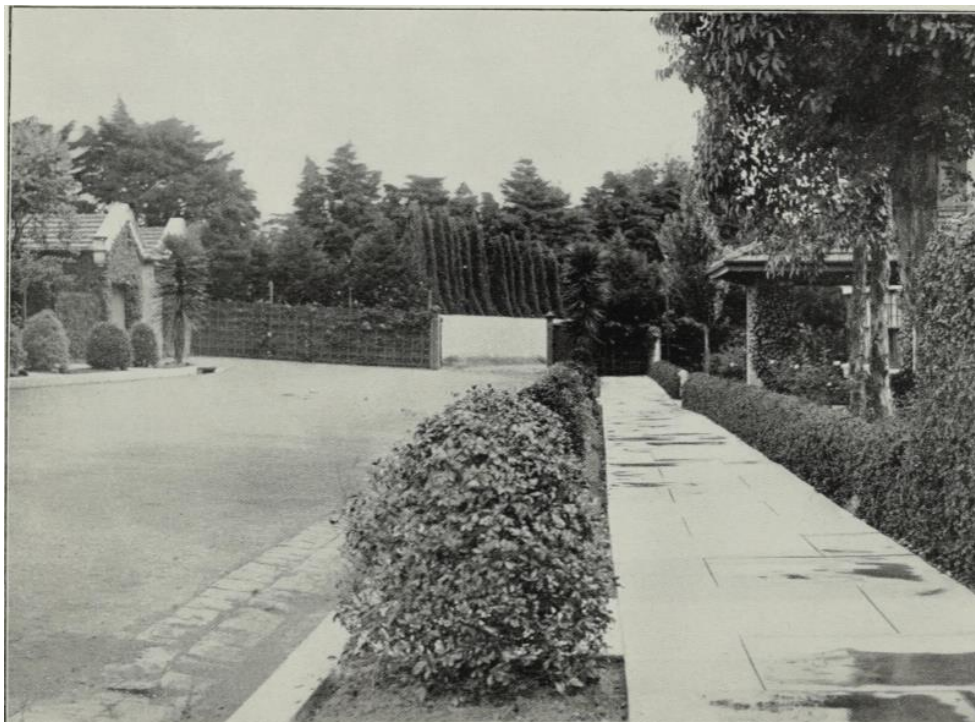


Figure 3.78 A photograph of Marne Street in *Home* magazine c.1930.

3.11 Understanding the broader environment

3.11.1 Astronomy and weather observation

The first observatory in Melbourne was established at Flagstaff Hill, but as the city developed rapidly through the 1850s a new location outside of the city was required. The Astronomical Observatory was established on a high area within the Domain in 1863, and scientist Richard Ellery was appointed director. From 1869 this was the home of the Great Melbourne Telescope, which was the largest and most technologically advanced telescope in the world at the time. Some of the scientific staff who worked at the Observatory lived locally, including Georg von Neumayer who lived at 119 Domain Road.

Meteorological records were maintained at the Observatory from 1863 until 1908. A Stevenson Screen for weather observations was installed at the Royal Botanic Gardens, probably in the early 1900s (Context 2010; Context 2017a).



Figure 3.79 Main building of the Melbourne Observatory, situated in the Domain, c.1880s. (Source: Museum Victoria, ref. MM 39842)

3.11.2 Botany and horticulture

The Botanic Gardens were established in 1846 but were not developed as a botanical collection until 1853 when German-born Ferdinand Mueller was appointed the government botanist for Victoria. Appointed director of the Botanic Gardens in 1857, Mueller developed a vast collection of botanical specimens through the 1850s and 1860s, sourced from throughout Victoria as well as further afield. He corresponded with a wide network of botanic gardens and plant collectors all over the world and operated an extensive exchange of plants (Maroske and May 1992). Several of his plant collectors in Victoria were women. In his exploring and botanical collecting in Victoria in the 1850s, Mueller was

also assisted by Aboriginal guides, for example on his trips to the Victorian Alps and through Gippsland (Clarke 2008). For a period during the 1870s, Mueller was living in Millswyn Street, South Yarra (Mueller 1874); he is also believed to have resided for many years at 28 Arnold Street (VHD).

Mueller planted the Domain area with a diverse range of forest trees that he selected from different parts of the world. He tested different species for their suitability and usefulness as a way of learning which plant resources would adapt well for cultivation in the colony. Near the Government House Reserve he planted a pinetum. In the Domain he established the Botanical Museum (c.1861), where he aimed to collect every species of plant native to Victoria. The museum was demolished in 1935 and was replaced by the National Herbarium building, which houses a highly significant scientific collection.

Various German immigrants were appointed to the staff of the Botanic Gardens, including one staff member who resided at the Under Gardener's Cottage. The German-born scientist Carl Wilhemi lived nearby in South Yarra, on the east side of Punt Road (within the City of Stonnington) (Context 2016a).

3.12 Providing health and welfare services

3.12.1 Welfare and charitable institutions

Aboriginal welfare

The earliest provision of welfare by the colonial government was the Anglican Aboriginal mission that was established in 1837 on the site of the present-day Botanic Gardens. While the mission was short-lived, the encampment remained for several years afterwards. During the early settlement period, the medical attention provided to Aboriginal people in Melbourne was inadequate, and as a result there was widespread disease. Some Aboriginal people were treated at the Melbourne Hospital (est. 1848), the Benevolent Asylum (est. 1850) and the Alfred Hospital (est. 1871).

The wider operations of the Port Phillip Protectorate, established in 1838, provided a form of social welfare, albeit limited, to Aboriginal people who had been pushed off their country by settlers. The notion of ‘protection’ was a loaded term, laden with the social and cultural biases of British colonial imperialism. While striving to restrict Aboriginal people from the perceived social and moral dangers that would befall them through interaction with settlers, the Port Phillip Protectorate was unable to prevent, and often directly contributed to other damage being done—namely, loss of Country, loss of culture, loss of family and loss of resources. (*See Section 3.1 for further discussion of the mission*).

Charitable works

Since its early beginnings, the South Yarra area has had a high concentration of residents of considerable wealth and influence. With this came considerable activity in the area of charitable works and fund-raising, which continues today. The upper-class and upper-middle class women of this group were often closely involved in church activities and felt a strong sense of duty to serve the public interest. While they were generally relieved of the daily drudgery of domestic work, they nevertheless had to manage a large home and numerous servants, as well as keep up a busy schedule of social appointments. There were several women’s committees that raised money for the various hospitals and charitable institutions in Melbourne. One group of women was the Melbourne Young Women’s Society, which raised funds for the ‘Deaf and Dumb Mission’ (Cannon 1985: 149). The churches in the area also played an important role in fund-raising for charity.

The Freemasons established the Freemasons Homes in Punt Road in c.1856 as a temporary care home for people who were in need. This institution provided a number of cottages and each embraced a picturesque style in the manner of the Old Colonists Home in North Fitzroy (O’Neill 1993). The Freemasons Homes were expanded over the years, with a convalescents’ home built in 1906 and two accommodation cottages erected in 1924. By the 1930s, a number of individual cottages had been erected.



Figure 3.80 Malowie Alms Houses (run by the Freemasons), photograph by Charles Nettleton, 1870. This view was probably taken from Punt Road, looking south-west. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H96.160/1431)

Apart from the operation of the short-lived Aboriginal mission (1837–39), there is little evidence in the nineteenth century of local efforts to raise money or to work in other ways towards supporting Aboriginal people. Local resident David Ogilvie was on the committee of the Yarra Mission in the early 1840s, though the precise nature of his involvement is not known. Christ Church South Yarra raised funds for the Church of England’s ‘Mission to the Aborigines’ from the 1860s until at least the 1890s. This supported the work of the Anglican mission stations at Lake Condah and Framlingham (*Herald*, 20 June 1868: 2).

Much of the work of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines (established in 1860), through possibly ‘well meaning’ in the context of the time, was discriminatory and draconian. In the early to mid twentieth century there were possibly other people like Helen Baillie, who lived in South Yarra but outside the Review area, who were influenced by humanitarian concerns to support Aboriginal people in their fight for civil rights and land rights.

Gerard Kennedy Tucker, the founder of the Brotherhood of St Laurence, was born at Christ Church South Yarra in 1885. He spent his childhood years at Christ Church where his father, Horace Finn Tucker, was vicar. He became an Anglican minister like his father and later contributed enormously to Aboriginal welfare through his work in Fitzroy and Collingwood.

3.12.2 Industrial school

With the passage of the *Neglected and Criminal Children’s Act 1864*, the Victorian Government established an industrial school at the Immigrants’ Depot on St Kilda Road. Industrial schools were designed to provide training to children who were neglected, criminal and vulnerable. In reality, they were notorious for their harsh treatment of children. Even before an industrial school was officially

established at this site in 1864, children who were deemed to be ‘neglected’, vulnerable or in need, had been sent to the Immigrants’ Depot. Aboriginal children were also sent here in some instances—for example in 1861 (Stephens 2014, vol. 3: 336). From 1875, the industrial school on St Kilda Road was used exclusively as a girls’ reformatory school (VGG, 13 August 1875: 1551).

3.12.3 Emergency housing

While the Review area has little to no public housing, its proximity to central Melbourne has seen its large areas of public land used for makeshift and temporary housing at different times. In the early 1850s, newly arrived immigrants in need of accommodation were permitted to occupy Canvas Town, which was a tent city that had sprung up on both sides of St Kilda Road. The gold rush had brought large numbers of immigrants to Melbourne for whom there was a dire shortage of accommodation. The somewhat unregulated operation at Canvas Town was allowed to continue for several years, with the camping area referred to in 1854 as the ‘Government Camping Ground, South Melbourne’ (VGG, 14 February 1854: 430). An Immigrants’ Aid Society was established in this area on the north side of St Kilda Road in 1853—this operated the Immigrants’ Depot, which was also referred to as the Institution for Houseless Immigrants (Context 2015b: 132; VGG, 13 June 1854: 1353). Through the 1850s and 1860s, the depot drew large numbers of people in need and also provided a place for others to obtain an evening meal. Many homeless people gathered at the Immigrants’ Depot at night (Buckrich 2004: 3). Through the nineteenth century, the homeless also sought refuge in public parks, including the Yarra bank, Fawkner Park and the Domain.

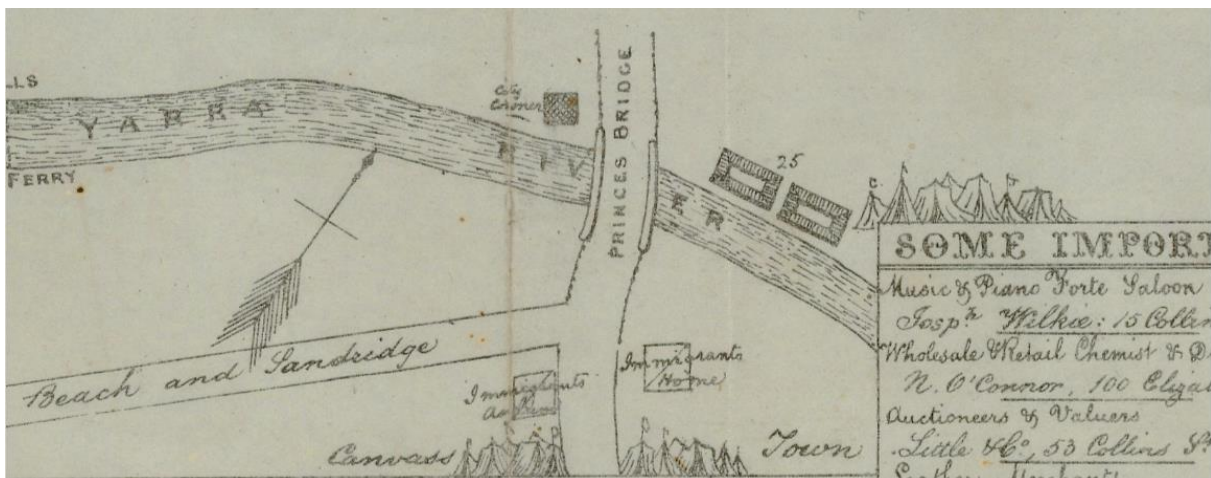


Figure 3.81 Detail from F. Proechel map of Melbourne c.1853, showing ‘Canvas Town’ on both sides of St Kilda Road, immediately south of the Immigrants’ Home. (Source: State Library Victoria)

In the twentieth century, emergency housing was again provided on public land in the area when temporary accommodation was erected at Fawkner Park in the early 1950s. The area had formerly been used by the Australian Women’s Army Service during World War II. There were 74 families living at the park in 1954 (*Herald*, 8 December 1954: 7). A number of other public parks in Melbourne, including Royal Park and Carlton Gardens, were used for temporary housing in the postwar period owing to large-scale immigration and the consequent shortage of accommodation.



Figure 3.82 Public housing, Fawkner Park, 1954. (Source: *Herald*, 1954)

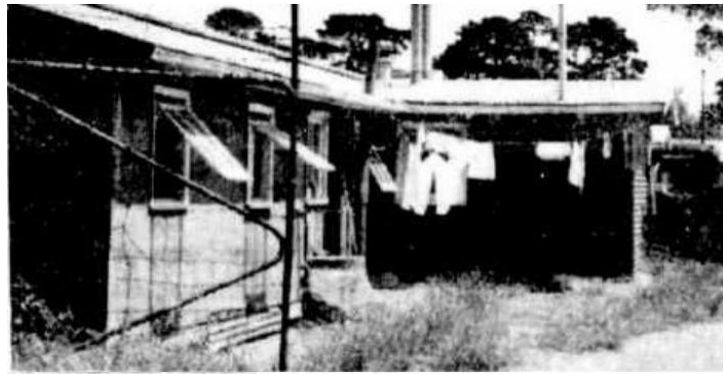


Figure 3.83 Public housing, Fawkner Park, 1954. (Source: *Herald*, 1954)

3.12.4 Hospitals

The earliest hospital in the City of Melbourne was operating by 1842 but was not formally established until 1846. Within the Review area, there was an early hospital within the Immigrants' Depot on St Kilda Road—it was reserved for immigrants and possibly the homeless and destitute (Hunter Payne and Swain 2007)

The Prince Alfred Hospital on the corner of Punt Road and Commercial Road was conceived in c.1869 and a building planned in 1870. The hospital opened in 1871 and was named after Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, who had visited Melbourne in 1867–68. A purpose-built nurses' home was established at the site c.1870s–80s. The Alfred Hospital has been developed extensively since its establishment.

A number of private hospitals and hospices have operated in the South Yarra area, including maternity hospitals. Some were purpose built while others were accommodated in large residences. Coonara Hospital was erected in 1907 on St Kilda Road (near the corner of Toorak Road) and was established by the Kelly sisters who were nurses. The building was designed by architect Isidor George Beaver. The Dental Hospital also operated briefly within the Domain. The mansion Airlie in Domain Road was used for a period as a tuberculosis hospital (Slater 1987: 14). In the early twentieth century, another private hospital operated at 88 Domain Road.



Figure 3.84 The Alfred Hospital, 1898. (Source Facebook Group, Jan Webb; copyright restrictions may apply)

3.12.5 Providing aid to soldiers in wartime

While their husbands, fathers and brothers were serving in the military during World War I, women contributed significantly to efforts on the home front. Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson, the wife of the governor-general, established an Australian branch of the British Red Cross soon after the outbreak of war in August 1914. At that time the governor-general resided at Government House, Melbourne. Assisted by a team of influential and well-connected Melbourne women, Lady Munro-Ferguson commandeered vast quantities of donated linen and other items for despatch to Australian soldiers on overseas service, using the Government House ballroom as a main depot (*Punch*, 1916–17, photograph of Red Cross committee at Government House). Throughout the war, Lady Munro-Ferguson held Red Cross meetings at Government House. The Engineers' Depot in Alexandra Gardens (established c.1900s) was used as a collection point for an enormous volume of donated goods during World War I. It was here that knitted socks, linen and other donations were brought and sorted by volunteers of the Red Cross in readiness for despatch to Australian soldiers overseas.

During World War II, there was significant work carried out, again largely by women, to assist the war effort and to provide assistance and welfare to returned servicemen. In 1940, tennis champion Sir Normal Brooks and his wife Dame Mabel Brooks provided their home 'Kurneh' to the Red Cross for use as a convalescent home for officers returning from the war. The home on the corner of Domain Road and Anderson Street was 'suited admirably to the purpose' and could provide 50 beds, with room for up to 50 additional beds that could be accommodated through the erection of huts on the tennis court (*Argus*, 1 June 1940: 4).

Jeannie Poolman donated her home (Poolman House) to the Red Cross in 1940, probably for use as a military repatriation hospital (PM 2020–21). She later donated the house to Christ Church South Yarra for use as a home for the elderly (Slater 1987: 14). When that the United States military were based in Melbourne during World War II, the American Red Cross were based in Fairlie Court, South Yarra (*Launceston Examiner*, 4 July 1942, p. 5).

3.12.6 Establishing Infant welfare centres

A leading advocate of infant welfare centres was Dr Isabella Younger Ross who lived in Clowes Street, South Yarra (*Argus*, 2 April 1956: 1). Through her efforts, the first infant welfare centre in Victoria opened in Richmond in 1917. As part of the expansion of infant welfare centres across metropolitan Melbourne and country Victoria, an infant welfare centre opened in Fawkner Park in 1947, fronting Toorak Road. It occupied a small parcel of land excised from Fawkner Park, measuring 2 roods and 34 perches (approx. 2880m²) (VGG 1947: 4826). Although termed infant welfare centres, these centres also provided care and support to children up to the age of 4 or 5 years, as well as maternal health and welfare.

3.13 Developing trade and commerce

3.13.1 Hotels

The first commercial operations in the area were established to provide for those using the main roads, and this included the provision of hotels and boarding houses. The rapid increase in the immigrant population in Melbourne in the 1850s increased the demand for more hotels. There were also probably some licensed premises in Canvas Town in the early 1850s as well as some sly grog operations.

A number of hotels were operating in South Yarra by the mid-1850s. The Botanic (or Botanical) Hotel in Domain Road was established by 1854. On the north side of Toorak Road, facing Fawkner Park, the South Melbourne Hotel (later known as the Fawkner Club Hotel) opened in 1854. Homerton House, a private hotel also situated on Toorak Road, was operating by 1855 (Kearney 1855; PROV early plan; Slater 1987: 47–49). There was also an early hotel near Clowes Street (c.1850s?) (Melbourne Directory 1860). The South Yarra Club House, which appears to have been a private club, was located at the corner of Domain and Punt Roads by 1855 (Kearney 1855; Slater 1987).

The Governor Bowen Hotel at 82–84 Millswyn Street was first licensed in 1875 (*Herald*, 21 May 1875: 1). Later names were the Morton Family Hotel (by 1878) and the Lord Brassey Hotel. The hotel was delicensed by 1917 (*Argus*, 10 December 1881: 2; PROV). Publicans typically lived on site, for example Harriet Dixon who was the resident licensee of Morton's Family Hotel in 1885 (*Herald*, 1 October 1885: 3).



Figure 3.85 Former stables at 83 Mason Street, erected c.1880s–1900s, and later converted to a motor garage. The building was originally associated with Morton's Family Hotel in Millswyn Street. (Source: GML Heritage 2021)

There was a relatively small number of hotels in the area, compared to other early residential areas of Melbourne. F.W. Reichelt operated a dandelion ale brewery on Clowes Street in the late 1880s and early 1890s (*Age*, 27 November 1889: 8). This appears to have been part of the complex known as the Concordia Club (MMBW 1900; S&Mc 1896: 492).

The *Licensing Act 1916* led to many hotels being delicensed in 1917.

3.13.2 Retail development

Commercial development in the South Yarra area of the City of Melbourne was not extensive. The area was predominantly residential with discrete commercial activity that was largely confined to on and around the corners of the main roads. On the west side of Punt Road, near Toorak Road, for example, there was a group of shops by the 1850s (*Argus*, 14 October 1933: 11).

Corner shops were established as residential developed increased. There was one such shop on the corner of Park Street and Domain Road, where Mr S. Dunne supplied newspapers in the 1860s (Cooper 1924, vol 1: 144; *Leader*, 19 April 1873: 31; S&Mc 1869).

A small group of shops and business premises were established in Millswyn Street by the late 1850s; this included a grocer (James Clerk), a butcher (Morton) and a baker (*Argus*, 2 November 1859: 3; S&Mc 1860: 134; 1885–86: 29). The Wimmera Bakery in Millswyn Street was built in 1888–89 to a design by Norman Hitchcock, and this included manufacturing operations (1945 aerial; Slater 1987: 42). Morton’s Family Hotel sat between the Wimmera Bakery and a butcher’s premises.

Several shops also emerged in Domain Road between the Botanical Hotel and Park Street, including a newsagency on the corner by the late 1860s (S&Mc 1869). A block of flats erected at 88 Millswyn Street in the early 1940s, named Ardlui, included a shop front on the ground floor (Grow 2003: 19).

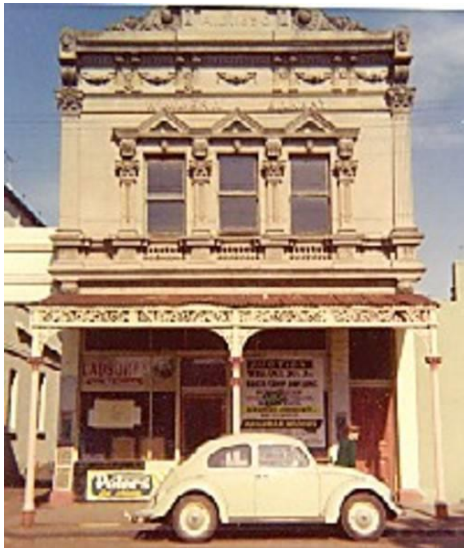


Figure 3.86 The former Wimmera Bakery, 80 Millswyn Street, South Yarra, c.1970s. (Source: National Trust of Australia (Vic.))

The large warehouse complex in Millswyn Street, established for the Mutual Store Ltd in c.1889, became known as the Mutual Store Depot in the c.1900s. It facilitated the company’s soft manufacturing departments, including the furnishing workroom and bakehouse through to the 1950s. The building had formerly been a two-storey grain store (c.1889) and stables complex. The Mutual Store Ltd used the building as a focal point for goods despatched for warehousing and for supplying the Mutual Store retail store in Flinders Street. It possibly also facilitated mail orders. In 1934, notable items sold by the Mutual Store Ltd included a souvenir china jug made for the occasion of the Victorian Centenary Celebrations in 1934–35.



Figure 3.87 Jug made by William Adams & Sons Ltd for the Mutual Store Ltd and sold on the occasion of the Victorian Centenary Celebrations of 1934–35. The jug depicts John Batman arriving at the Yarra River in 1835 assisted by Aboriginal guides from Sydney. (Source: Melbourne Museum, Item SH 210)

By the c.1920s–30s, there was modest commercial activity at the corner of St Kilda Road and Toorak Road. A double-storey row of shops at the corner of Domain Road and Park Street developed in the 1930s, probably owing to the growing population in the area due to the increase in the development of flats. The store on the corner of Domain Road and Park Street was built in the c.1920s, but probably replaced an existing shop/s (S&Mc, 1920s–30s).

3.13.3 Commercial enterprises

There was a number of discrete but significant commercial enterprises in the Review area, including boat-building and motor car showrooms.

James Edwards (later J. Edwards & Sons) ran a boat-building operation on the south bank of the Yarra River, just east of Princes Bridge, from the early 1860s. He erected gabled timber structures on the riverbank. A prize-winning boat-builder, Edwards built a range of vessels but was renowned for the quality rowing boats he built for competition. Boat builders Fuller and Jerram also occupied the area by 1901 (Buckrich 1996: 199).

Kellow Falkiner Pty Ltd Automobile Showroom (VHR) was established in St Kilda Road in 1928 on the site of the former Tramway Engine House. Designed by notable architect Harry A. Norris and richly decorated, it was regarded as the most sumptuous motor car showrooms in Melbourne. The Kellow Falkiner building subsequently became the prestigious Rolls Royce showroom and was later re-developed as the Royce Hotel.

In addition, there were other small commercial operations in the area, including Isaac Matthews, a boot manufacturer in Bromby Street in c.1901 (he had possibly established his business by the 1880s; (Buckrich 1996: 200). There was a carpet-beating service operating on the corner of Millswyn Street in 1865 (Trove 1865).

3.13.4 Professional services

By the late-nineteenth century, the residents of South Yarra represented a wide range of professions, including doctors, solicitors, accountants, architects and scientists. Some had their business premises within the Review area.

3.14 Sports and recreation

3.14.1 Sports grounds

The first public cricket ground in the area was set aside at Fawkner Park in c.1864 and was used by the South Yarra Cricket Club, which was established by the early 1850s. The ground was located not far from the eastern boundary of the park. Later, Fawkner Park also provided facilities for various sporting uses, including a football oval, tennis courts and a bowling green (Boyle 1991: 19). Fawkner Park was the home ground of the South Yarra Football Club, which was established by 1859–1860 and reputedly had its own version of Australian Rules. The club was made up of ‘mostly gentlemen and white-collar workers, many of whom had played football at well-known English public schools’ (Blainey 2010: 26–27).

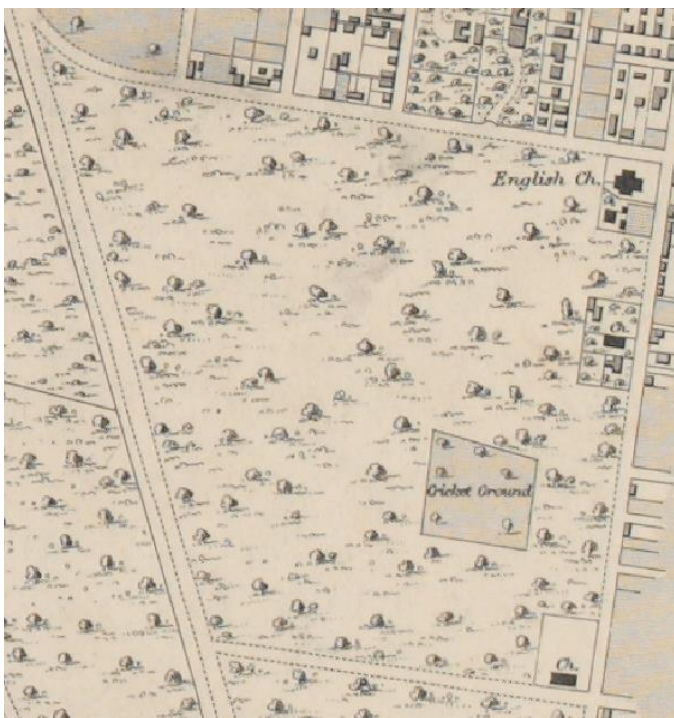


Figure 3.88 The original area set aside for a cricket ground at Fawkner Park, as shown on the Captain Cox Survey of Melbourne, 1865. (Source: State Library Victoria)

Opposite Melbourne Grammar School on Domain Road, there was a smaller public sports ground that has been used by the school for a long period of time. This has also been used for district cricket matches. Public tennis courts were laid out at Fawkner Park by 1925.

The Tan was originally laid out as an equestrian track in 1901 along Alexandra Avenue; its name refers to the tan bark that it was surfaced with. In 1974 the Tan was developed as a ‘fun and fitness track’ and extended to form a circuit around the Domain and the Botanic Gardens. At this time the track was resurfaced and exercise stations installed along the route (The Tan Track: <https://sites.google.com/a/runthetan.com/home/thetan>). It has been the venue for various fun-runs and charity events, including the Melbourne Marathon and the Sussan Women’s 10km.

3.14.2 Water sports

The Yarra River has been used for swimming and recreation for many thousands of years.

There were water sports on the Yarra from the late 1830s with early rowing races. The annual Melbourne Regatta, which followed a course from Princes Bridge to the Botanical Gardens Bridge, was operating on the Yarra from at least the 1870s (Thomas 1873: 77). The popular boating regatta known as the Henley-on-Yarra first took place in 1904. This drew enormous crowds and had a festival atmosphere. It included a competition open to groups that involved creating a themed boat. Rowing was an important sport among the ‘public schools’, and the most prestigious school boat race, ‘The Head of the River’, was first held on the Yarra in 1868.

Boat sheds on the Yarra were first established in the 1860s (Context 2017a). Although they came to be exclusively associated with recreational rowing, they were first established by James Edward as part of his boat-building operations. By 1901, there were a large number of rowing clubs with premises along the riverbank, including University, Civil Service, Scotch College, Trinity, Ormond College, Queens College, Melbourne Melbourne Amateur Athletic Club, Mercantile, Yarra Yarra and Banks (Buckrich 1996: 199).

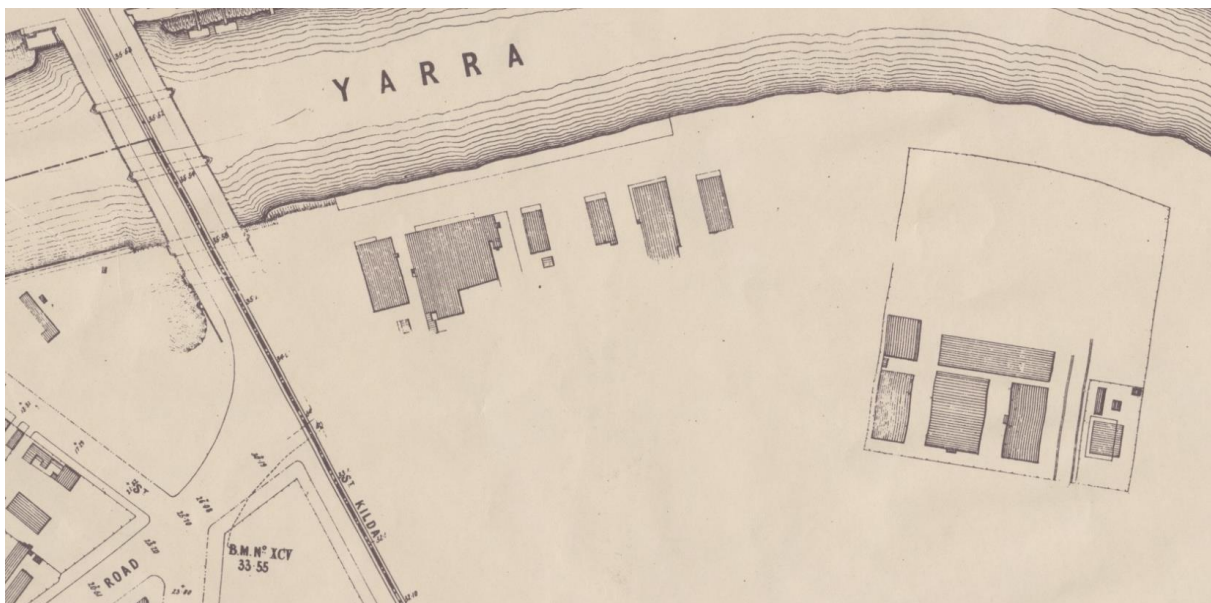


Figure 3.89 Detail from MMBW detail plan No. 26, South Melbourne and Melbourne, 1894, showing boat sheds on the Yarra Bank and boat launching area. (Source: State Library Victoria)

3.14.3 Horseracing and horse riding

Although only used for a brief period, there is believed to have been a horse-racing track on the site of the Alfred Hospital (possibly in the 1840s). There was no other known racing track in the area, although the area has strong links to horse racing and horse riding. Given the large number of wealthy landowners associated with the South Yarra area, it is likely there was a large number of racehorse owners among them. Several well-known racehorses were trained in the Domain, including Archer, who was stabled at the Botanical Hotel in Domain Road in 1861, the year he won the Melbourne Cup (Farrer 2012). There was extensive stabling attached to the Botanical Hotel, where racehorses were kept during the second part of the nineteenth century. The stables were lost in a fire in 1889 (*Argus*, 8 July 1889: 6). Horses were also later trained at the Tan.

The use of the Tan for horse riding would also suggest a relatively high participation rate in of recreational horse riding compared to other parts of metropolitan Melbourne. The carpark associated with St Martin's Theatre was formally occupied by stables where horses could be hired for riding around the Tan (Slater 1987: 30).

3.15 Enjoying social and community life

3.15.1 Social life

In the nineteenth and twentieth century, social life in the Review area was strongly defined by class structures and heavily influenced by inherited social mores and traditions from Britain. Much of the resident population within the Review area was middle or upper-middle class. Membership of a particular social class, as well as a social group, also shaped the ways in which people spent their leisure time.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, the south bank of the Yarra developed as a fashionable and exclusive residential area of Melbourne. The locality was highly desirable, within walking distance of the business district in central Melbourne but protected from the noise, dust, dirt and pollution of the streets, and the less savoury social aspects of city life. The geography of the area provided a degree of seclusion, with the river forming a natural barrier on one side, and with limited road access. Within this exclusive enclave, a high concentration of the population was well-heeled and well-connected. Some had pretensions or at least distant connections to the aristocracy. Many leading figures of Melbourne society lived in this area, from prime ministers to high-ranking military officers and members of the judiciary as well as retired pastoralists and successful merchants and industrials. As historian Manning Clark alluded, some of the nation's political decisions and influences took place in the drawing rooms of fabled 'Yarraside' (Clark 1987). The wealthy among the population were almost exclusively Protestant. Many were members of exclusive social clubs, and their children attended expensive private schools and often went 'Home' to England to pursue their education.

Social life was dominated by the seasonal events enjoyed by the social elite, such as the racing season and boating regattas. The winter was ball season and high summer was a period when people left for the seaside or for cooler climes (Mount Macedon and Hobart were popular destinations). For men, social life was oriented around private clubs and professional circles, while for women, social life was oriented around each other's private homes. The women of this class had established days for which they notified their availability to be called upon at home. The tradition of the 'At Home' and the use of calling cards were essential elements of middle-class social life and were an important means of managing social engagements and defining the membership of a social circle.

For much of the population, social life was organised by or revolved around the activities of the local churches. There were social hierarchies at play among the churches—both between the different denominations and within the individual church congregations. Christ Church South Yarra was an important point of connection for the members of the Church of England. On a par with St John's, Toorak, Christ Church was a church of choice for members of Melbourne Society—as the venue for glamorous society weddings and as the parish church attended by the governor of Victoria (the vice-regal position was almost exclusively occupied by an Anglican). The congregation of the Presbyterian Church in Punt Road also included some influential local figures. The activities of the small chapels established in South Yarra by the Anglicans and Methodists were generally attended by the working class.

Community meetings were the domain of the churches and chapels, the schools and the men's clubs. In the 1850s and 1860s, early community meetings were held in the church halls and schoolhouses—for example, at the schoolhouse of the Presbyterian Free Church on Punt Road (news article, 1856). The hotels were generally the domain of the workers, although the hotels in the Review area were perhaps less working class in their patronage than the hotels in the traditional working-class suburbs

of Melbourne. While women worked in the local hotels (including the Botanical Hotel and the Morton Family Hotel), it was likely that they had fewer female drinkers owing to the prevailing conservatism and middle-class mores of the locality and the tendency for middle-class women not to drink in hotels until around the 1960s.

Much of the social calendar amongst Society figures in South Yarra revolved around philanthropic events. It was primarily upper middle-class women who were occupied with this philanthropic work. Within this exclusive social world, wealthy, prominent and well-connected women managed philanthropic organisations that raised funds for hospitals, kindergartens, and the poor and disadvantaged. Through an array of social events, including dinners, soirees, fetes and garden parties, they also raised significant funds for churches and schools in the area.

During both world wars, social life was heavily constrained and social events were more often than not in some way connected to the war effort. During World War I, the women of South Yarra hosted card games, café chantants (musical events), fêtes and musical events at their homes. The visit of French soldiers from Tahiti to Melbourne in 1917 provided the occasion for a social event at Rhianva, where soldiers were entertained with refreshments and a café chantant (*Punch*, 13 December 1917: 40). While the end of World War I marked the end of the lavish lifestyles of Melbourne's upper class, elaborate parties, soirees and 'At Homes' continued. The 1920s were a busy social whirl before the Depression impacted on spending and lifestyle.

There were a small number of working-class people living in the Review area, the majority of whom were 'in service'—there were few factory-workers or tradespeople. By comparison, the neighbouring area of Prahran was home to a large number of factory workers, and residents of South Yarra often perceived that this group posed a threat to the social order of the more salubrious environs of South Yarra. The persistence of nefarious activities in Fawkner Park, such as the gambling and boxing that were a problem in the c.1900s–20s, was a constant cause for middle-class alarm.

3.15.2 Clubs and organisations

South Yarra lacked the typical range of social clubs that would usually be found in an inner suburb of Melbourne. Social clubs served the social class of the area: wealthy, conservative and predominantly Protestant. Many of the men in the area would have been members of the exclusive clubs in the city, including the Melbourne Club and the Australian Club; their female counterparts would have been members of the Lyceum and the Alexandra Club.

The Concordia Club, situated close to the river in Clowes Street, operated in the late 1890s and early 1900s with attractions that included a bowling alley (MMBW 1900, nos 891 and 892). This appears to have been a private club, probably with attractions such as music and dancing. It was most likely a resort for the 'fast crowd' or bohemian types, rather than for polite society or teetotallers. The club, which served alcohol to club members, was charged with sly grog selling in 1898 (*Age*, 9 March 1896: 6)

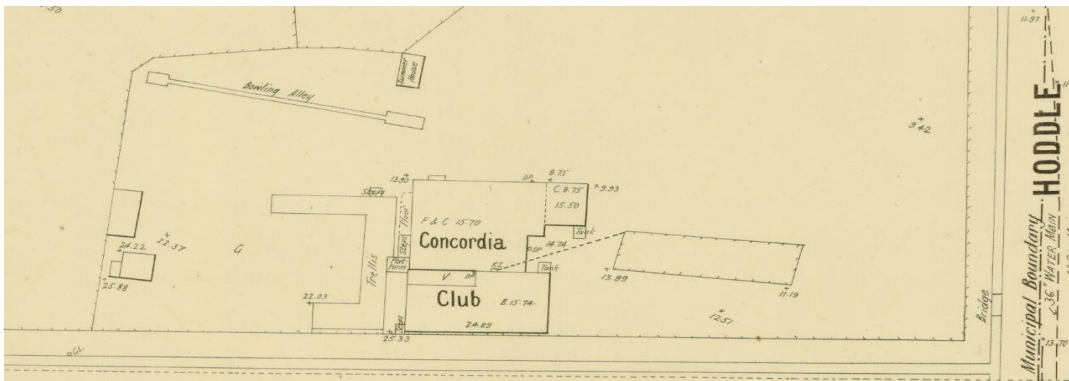


Figure 3.90 The Concordia Club was depicted in MMBW Detail Plan Nos 890 and 891, City of Melbourne, dated 1900. (Source: State Library Victoria)

3.15.3 Private entertainment and reception centres

As Melbourne’s second most fashionable suburb (after Toorak), South Yarra was known for its elegant parties, balls and soirees held in private homes. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century many of the large private homes, including Maritimo and Fairlie House, were appointed with substantial reception rooms, including ballrooms, and were often used for social functions. The ‘chapel-like ball room’ at Rhiانva was used for many balls as well as a private wedding in 1896 (‘A Woman’s Letter’, 1896). The Emmertons’ Raveloe had a ballroom added in 1905, allegedly to improve the social opportunities of their only child Mabel (Brooks) (Poynter 1993).

Social events were also held at Government House, where functions included formal receptions for royal visits, the annual Queen’s Birthday Ball, and other state occasions. Residents of South Yarra were often the guests at such gatherings as members of fashionable society or through their connections with philanthropy. On its completion in 1876, Governor Bowen and Lady Bowen hosted a lavish celebration in the ballroom for the annual Queen’s Birthday Ball. The ballroom was renowned as the largest in the British Commonwealth.

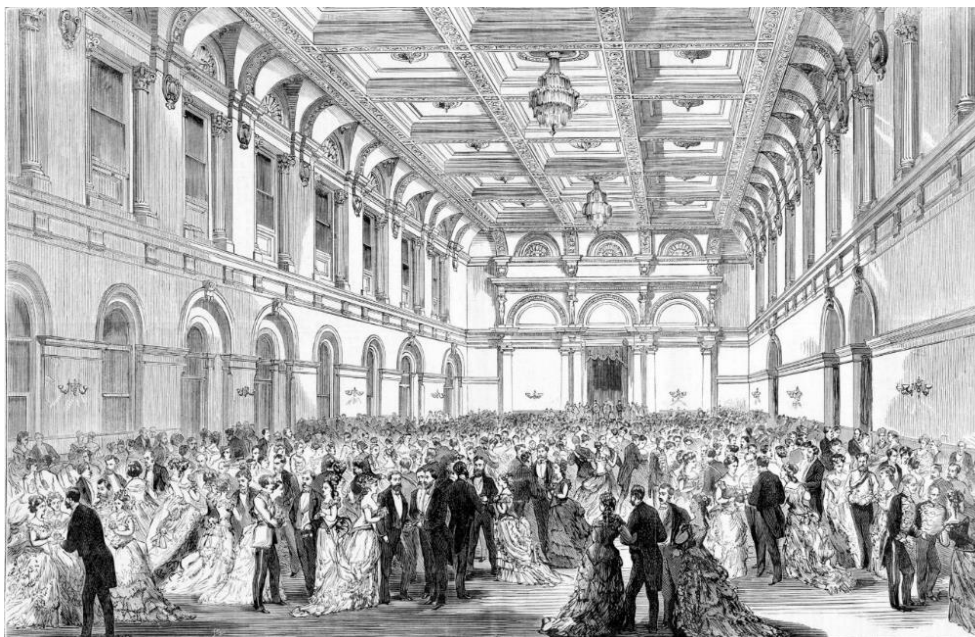


Figure 3.91 Samuel Calvert, Queen’s Birthday Ball in the ballroom at Government House, 1876. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. IAN04/10/76/152)

The late 1920s were the last years of the era of high living before the onset of the Great Depression and the significant changes that came with the war. In 1928, a ballroom was added to Poolman House with an open fireplace and a concert stage ('South Yarra: Architecture', Australian for everyone website; *Australian Jewish News*, 1988).

A number of grand Victorian residences in Melbourne were adapted as reception centres from the c.1930s onwards—in part a response to the Great Depression. One of these venues was at 203 Domain Road, which was in use for this purpose in the 1950s. Since the 1990s, private functions have been held at Gardens House, the former director's residence at the Royal Botanic Gardens.

Reception centres in the Review area have hosted weddings, engagements, coming-of-age parties and bar mitzvahs. The Dorchester was a popular venue for social functions from the 1920s to the 1970s (Context 2017a). Many large social gatherings have also been held in the public parks and gardens of the Review area, including those of church groups, sporting clubs and schools.

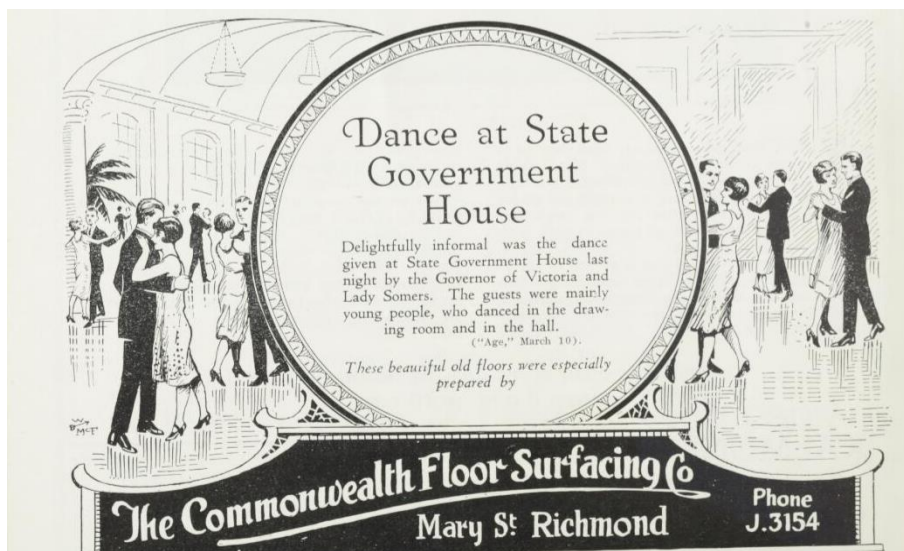


Figure 3.92 Advertisement for a timber flooring treatment that depicts the celebrated ballroom at Government House, *Australian Home Beautiful*, 1928. (Source: National Library of Australia)

3.15.4 Public entertainment

The South Yarra area was also notable as a place of public entertainment that used the public parks and gardens as their setting. These events drew a large spectrum of the population, rich and poor alike. A range of public events and civic celebrations have been held in the public reserves from the late 1830s, including musical events, fetes and sporting events. In 1838, a regatta was held on the Yarra to commemorate the third anniversary of the settlement at Port Phillip (Doyle 2003). In 1857, Ferdinand Mueller permitted a Spring Fair in the Botanic Gardens.

There were festivities associated with the opening of Princes Bridge in September 1850, the same day that Superintendent La Trobe announced the news of Separation (of the Port Phillip District from NSW) under a majestic River Red Gum in the Botanic Gardens—a tree that became known as the 'Separation Tree'. A large gathering was present at both events, including members of the Native Police Corps.

In 1863, public celebrations were held in Melbourne, and across Victoria, to honour the British royal wedding. Permission was sought by the Melbourne Town Council to erect a pavilion and several tents

on the Government House reserve. Permission was apparently granted to the request, designed to 'make arrangements for public rejoicings in the City in honour of the marriage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales'. The pavilion was for use by His Excellency the Governor to present an address and the gathering probably constituted the first Vice-Regal function at the Government House site (Trethowan Context Lewis 2012: 26, citing Rs file).

There were also lavish celebrations to celebrate royal visits to Melbourne. On the occasion of the visit of Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, in 1867–1868 there was an extensive program of civic events and lavish decorations across the city. The Duke of Edinburgh stayed at Rhianva in Punt Road, South Yarra, and a grand ceremonial 'welcome' archway was erected in his honour at the corner of Toorak Road and Punt Road (*Age*, 3 September 1932: 18).

The Henley-on-Yarra regatta, named after Henley-on-Thames, was a popular public event that commenced in 1904 and continued through to at least the 1940s. When the Moomba festival was first held, it was partly designed to replace the riverside festival that had attracted Melburnians for the previous fifty years or so. Moomba, first held on the Labour Day holiday in 1955, had wide popular appeal. The day included a parade of floats that concluded in the Alexandra Gardens where there were children's rides and a carnival atmosphere.

The Sidney Myer Music Bowl was erected in the Domain in 1959. Designed by Boyd and Romberg, it featured an innovatively designed sound shell and relied on a pioneering tensile construction technique. This became the venue for the annual event, Carols by Candlelight, and a range of other concerts and events.

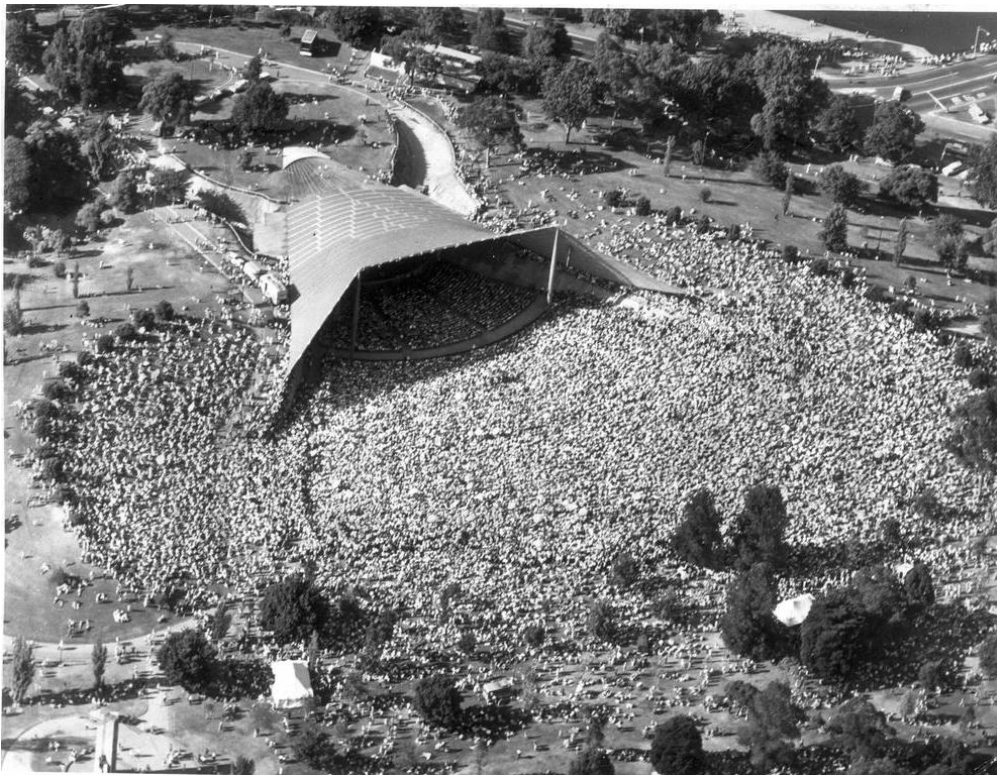


Figure 3.93 The Seekers in concert at the Sidney Myer Music Bowl in 1967. (Source: Herald-Sun Archives; copyright restrictions may apply)

There were displays of both vice-regal flavour and of new national pride on the occasion of the opening of the First Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia in Melbourne in 1901, which coincided with a royal visit. From 1901, Melbourne was elevated to the seat of the governor-general, which resulted in the introduction of new ceremonial events. The area of St Kilda Road, the Yarra bank and the Domain underwent extensive improvements in preparation for the events of 1901. To honour the royal visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in May 1901, imperialistic decorations were installed, including a large archway on Princes Bridge (Otto 2009: 10).

Subsequent British royal visits (in 1920, 1934 and 1954) saw a similar decorative treatment of public spaces. The royal visit of 1934–35 was to mark the occasion of the centenary of Victoria's foundation, which was an extravaganza of festivities, including exhibitions, fireworks on the Yarra and various events in the Domain.

Subsequent civic events in the Review area have included the Centenary of Victoria celebrations and jubilee of the Commonwealth in 1951, and the royal visit of Queen Elizabeth II in 1954. The centenary of Federation celebrations of 2001, which included a Federation Arch on Princes Bridge, failed to excite public enthusiasm.

There were also nefarious social activities in the public parks and gardens, including gambling in Fawkner Park, where a two-up school was operating in the 1920s (Whitehead 2008, 'Fawkner Park'; various news articles, 1920s).

In the 1970s some of the public parks and gardens in the Review area were the venue for Free Entertainment in the Parks (FEIP). This saw a diverse range of music and dance performances, highlighting Melbourne's multicultural community. There was no commercial picture theatre in the Review area, but in the early 1990s a popular outdoor cinema enterprise, Moonlight Cinema, began screening movies at night in the Botanic Gardens. More recently, the Botanic Gardens and public parks have been the venue of a range of festivals and other public events, including White Night.

There were various places of refreshment that operated on public land—on the Yarra Bank and in the public parks and gardens. Branders Tea Rooms was operating c.1900, and possibly earlier (John Patrick 2003). There was also a café on the Yarra Bank (Context 2017a). The kiosk at the Royal Botanic Gardens opened in the c1960s.



Figure 3.94 Musical event in the Botanic Gardens, 1869. (Source: State Library of NSW)

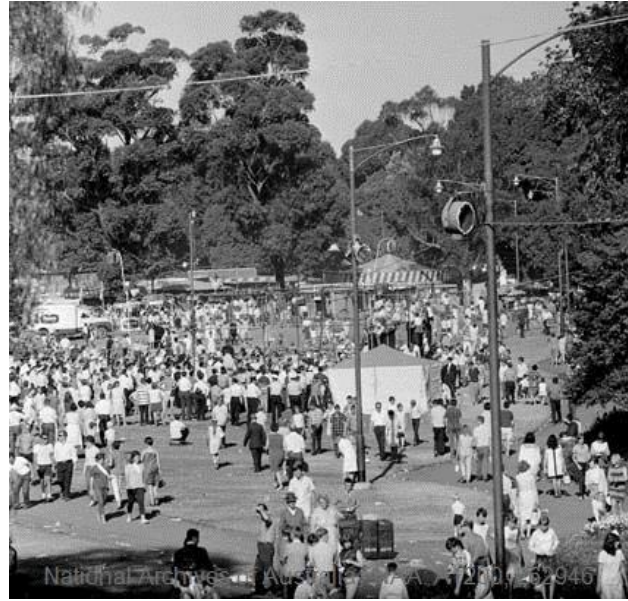


Figure 3.95 A large crowd of people at Moomba, Alexandra Gardens, 1967. (Source: National Archives of Australia)

3.15.5 Guesthouses, holiday flats and residential hotels

The fashionable upper-middle class held lavish parties and other social functions, and guests would often stay in the area for the occasion, making use of a family ‘flat’ or staying at a guesthouse such as Kilbride in Park Street. Most of the guesthouses in the Review area were located in Park Street, Marne Street, Toorak Road West and on St Kilda Road. One example was Millswyn Court on the corner of Millswyn Street and Toorak Road. The Tilba on Toorak Road West was operating from the c.1890s. A more refined boarding house was Kilbride in Walsh Street, established in the 1930s (Colman 1972: 10–11).

In the 1920s and 1930s hotel accommodation embraced new notions of glamour. The long-established Botanical Hotel in Domain Road was developed as a residential hotel in 1925, while the Chevron Hotel, built in 1934, was designed as a luxury residential hotel, complete with golf and swimming pool. The Chevron remained a glamorous destination in the postwar years, and in the 1960s was presenting a ‘sparkling floor show every night of the week’ (RACV 1960: 10).



Figure 3.96 Advertisement for the Millswyn Court Private Hotel in the 1960s. (Source: *RACV Accommodation Guide*, 1960, p. 19)

3.16 Shaping creative and cultural life

3.16.1 Writers

Among the residents of South Yarra, there have been a number of well-known writers. The novelist Katherine Susannah Pritchard, the author of *Coonardoo* (1929), taught for a short time at Christ Church Grammar School, c.1907–08 (Pierce 1987: 368; Cowan 1996). Henrietta Drake-Brockman, author of several historical novels and plays, lived at 19 Marne Street in the 1940s, where she entertained various literary figures. Novelist and historian Dame Mabel Brooks (née Emmerton) grew up at Raveloe in Domain Road; after marrying Sir Norman Brooks she moved across the road to Kurneh (Poynter 1993). Her family memoir, *Riders of Time* (1967), details much of the history of early Melbourne. Horace Finn Tucker, the progressive Anglican vicar at Christ Church South Yarra (1880–1908), wrote a number of books, including the utopian novel *The New Arcadia* (1894), which centred around Tucker's co-operative rural settlement ideals. He also published a book of poetry, *After Many Days* (1905) (Carter 1990).

A number of noted writers, including several historians, were educated in the Review area—at Melbourne Grammar School (Manning Clark, A.G.L. Shaw), Melbourne Girls Grammar School (Margaret Kiddle), Wesley College (Geoffrey Blainey), and the Victorian School for the Blind (Tilly Aston). The influential architect Robin Boyd resided in Walsh Street from 1959, where he wrote one of his influential works *The Australian Ugliness* (1960). In 2006, the former guesthouse known as Tilba on Toorak Road West was restored to a single residence by Li Cunxin, author of the bestselling autobiography, *Mao's Last Dancer* (2003).

The Review area has been represented in numerous notable works of fiction, including Martin Boyd's *The Cardboard Crown* (1952) and Jessie Couvreur's *Uncle Piper of Pipers Hill* (1889) (Pierce 1987: 368). In Manning Clark's 6-volume *History of Australia* the location of South Yarra appears under the pseudonym of 'Yarraside' (Clark 1987).

The names of several private homes in the area are allusions to classic works of English literature. Examples include Raveloe (203 Domain Road), taken from George Eliot's *Silas Marner: The Weaver of Raveloe* (1861), and Shangri-La (61 Park Street) (Slater 1987).

Other significant figures in Australian cultural life have resided in the Review area, including the film director Fred Schepisi who lived at 'Wavendon' in Walsh Street.

3.16.2 Aboriginal art and culture

There is a long history of creative expression across the Melbourne area going back tens of thousands of years. Decorative elements were among the many items that Aboriginal people made, including tools, weapons and implements, which were created and decorated in a particular manner. Possum-skin cloaks were marked with fine patterning according to Kulin tradition. Women made baskets and jewellery following particular patterns and utilising a range of resources from plants and animals.

Once British settlers arrived at Port Phillip, traditional Aboriginal cultural practices suffered, including many forms of art and creativity. The resources that were needed to practise traditional techniques also diminished from the local area as settlement increased. Nevertheless, a large quantity of Aboriginal cultural material was traded and sold in early Melbourne, including bags and baskets, skins and furs, lyrebird feathers, and tools and weapons. Much of this early trade would have taken place or been facilitated by intermediaries in the area of the camps south of the Yarra. The Wurundjeri and

Bunurong who settled at Coranderrk in 1863 continued to practise their traditional skills and also continued to sell, trade and gift their artwork.

Wurundjeri Elder William Barak was a noted artist, and some of his artworks are held in collections within the South Yarra Review area. In the 1880s, the Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Loch, was eager to see a corroboree, but when he was unable to do so Barak sent him a painting of a corroboree, which Barak's friend Ann Bon noted, 'the Governor accepted and placed on the walls beside the pictures by the old masters' (Bon 1931: 6). It is not known whether Government House retains this artwork.

In the mid-twentieth century, Yorta Yorta Wiradjeri man and Aboriginal rights activist Bill Onus produced a range of objects, including tools and furniture. He had a studio in Belgrave and often exhibited his work in the Melbourne area. He performed boomerang-throwing demonstrations in Alexandra Gardens as part of Moomba in 1955 (*Argus*, 9 March 1955: 11). In 1963, he was given permission to take away felled poplars on St Kilda Road for the purpose of making boomerangs (*Canberra Times*, 25 July 1963: 33).

3.16.3 Art and art-collecting

The visual beauty of the area, especially its parks and gardens and the river, has attracted and inspired many artists. The proximity of the area to the Victorian College of the Arts has also promoted interest in the area from local artists. Some notable artists who painted in the area include Frederick McCubbin and Arthur Streeton of the Heidelberg School. After returning from Europe in August 1923, Streeton rented the top floor of Fairlie House in Anderson Street (Clark 1996). Clarice Beckett lived in South Yarra and was educated at Melbourne Church of England Girls Grammar School. The commercial illustrator Charles Troedel, who developed a successful lithography technique, resided in Walsh Street in the 1880s (S&Mc 1885–86).

There are a number of notable art collections held in the area, and there have also been many wealthy benefactors of art in the South Yarra area as well as many significant supporters of the arts more broadly.



Figure 3.97 Arthur Streeton, *The Yarra at South Yarra*, 1887. (Source: National Gallery of Australia)



Figure 3.98 Arthur Streeton, *Souvenir of South Yarra*, 1927. (Source: Special Collections and Grainger Museum, <https://spcgm.omeka.net/items/show/10>; copyright restrictions may apply)



Figure 3.99 Alf Flood, painting of Princes Bridge, 1892, showing James Edwards' boatbuilding premises on the left. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H6461)



Figure 3.100 Clarice Beckett, *Evening, St Kilda Road*, c.1930. (Source: Art Gallery of New South Wales)

3.16.4 Theatre

Community theatre developed in the South Yarra area in the early twentieth century. Notable was St Martin's Theatre that was established in the Anglican church hall known as St Chad's in the 1930s. The public parks and gardens in the Review area have been used as a venue for outdoor theatrical performance for several decades. Since the 1990s, the Royal Botanic Gardens has been the venue for the long-running children's show *The Wind in the Willows* as well as an annual performance of a number popular Shakespeare play, including *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*.

3.16.5 Erecting monuments and memorials

The large area of the public parks and gardens in South Yarra, including the Domain, Fawkner Park and the Royal Botanic Gardens has a rich Aboriginal heritage, but this is not publicly or visibly acknowledged. Some exceptions to this include a plaque (1985) marking the site of the former Aboriginal mission in the Botanic Gardens and the burial stone in the Domain (1985).

Statues and monuments were part of the landscape of Melbourne's public parks and gardens from the 1850s. An early monument in the Review area was the 'Temple of the Winds', a romantic Classically styled monument, which was erected in 1889 to mark the jubilee of the commencement of office of the first Lieutenant-Superintendent of Victoria, C.J. La Trobe.

St Kilda Road and the Domain developed from the beginning of the twentieth century as a showpiece of the new nation and of British loyalty. Between 1901 and 1927, Melbourne was the de facto federal capital, which encouraged a high level of imperial and nationalistic symbolism and celebration, strongly expressed in the large number of monuments and statues through this area, which was an important entry-point to the city. The civic values reflected in the Domain are those represented in the earlier memorials and monuments, which are dominated by civic leaders, philanthropists, royalty and military leaders. They are predominantly erected to honour male figures, although exceptions are the Lady Janet Clarke rotunda (1913), the Pioneer Women's Garden (1934), and the more recent Tilly Aston Bell (1999).

Later monuments include the Floral Clock, installed in 1966 and given to the City of Melbourne by the Watchmakers of Switzerland and a statue of Weary Dunlop (1995) by Peter Corlett, the doctor who endured a prisoner of war camps during World War II. Since the 1990s, there has been extensive use of the Domain for public memorials, and these include the Police Memorial and the Hellenic Memorial.

War memorials are particularly prominent in the Review area. The earliest known memorial to military service in the area was the Boer War memorial, erected in St Kilda Road in 1905. With its proximity to Government House and the central city, the wide parklands on the south side of the river were considered a suitable place to honour those who served and to express both imperial sentiment and new strains of nationalism.

There were early efforts made in the Domain to honour and remember soldiers who had died. This was partly owing to the proximity of the parklands to the national military headquarters, Victoria Barracks, which sat opposite on St Kilda Road. Early memorials in the Domain included the planting of a grove of trees on the first commemoration of Anzac Day on 25 April 1916. Another early memorial was the oarsmen war memorial erected in 1918 near the boatsheds. In 1926, the Purple Cross Memorial Horse Trough was opened by Sir John Monash at the corner of St Kilda Road and Domain Road (*Weekly Times*, 15 May 1926: 9). The Nurse Cavell memorial was also unveiled the same year.

In 1916, within two years of hostilities commencing, local schools and places of worship in the review area, including Wesley College, Melbourne Grammar School and Christ Church, also erected honour boards and other memorials to the fallen. A notable collection of war memorials exists at Wesley College, which includes two marble lions (1916) guarding the front steps. Christ Church South Yarra erected a new parish hall in 1922 that was designated a Soldiers' Memorial Hall, while the South Yarra State School erected a war memorial gateway facing Punt Road in 1924 (*Prahran Telegraph*, 28 November 1924: 3. Cowling 2021). The Oarsmen Memorial Cenotaph was erected in 1918 and the Judges Memorial Stand was erected on the Yarra Bank on 1930. The Melbourne Hebrew Congregation installed a Scroll of Honour in the c.1940s.

The Shrine of Remembrance, designed as a national war memorial, was constructed on a high point of the Domain between 1927 and 1934. The movement to establish a national war memorial gained support in Melbourne in the 1920s. One of the key local proponents of the plan was Theodore Fink, who lived in Walsh Street and who was one of many in the local population who lost a son in World War I. Since its completion, the Shrine has been a focal point for the commemoration and memorialisation of military service, notable with the Anzac Day and Remembrance Day services.

3.16.6 Appreciating heritage

The Review area includes a large number of heritage-listed places on the State heritage register. Some of these places were first identified through the National Trust, which was active in the Review area from its early establishment. The National Trust retrieved the ornate front gates from the Nareeb mansion before it was demolished and had them reinstalled on Domain Road as a gateway to the Botanic Gardens. Another heritage building, La Trobe's Cottage, a prefabricated dwelling brought out from England in 1840, was relocated to the Domain in the 1960s.

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4 Appendix A: Historical maps of the study area

The following maps are included to provide a broader historical context for the development of the Review area.

4.1 James Kearney, *Plan of Melbourne and its suburbs, 1855*



Figure 4.1 James Kearney 1855, *Plan of Melbourne and its Suburbs* (northern end). (Source: State Library Victoria)

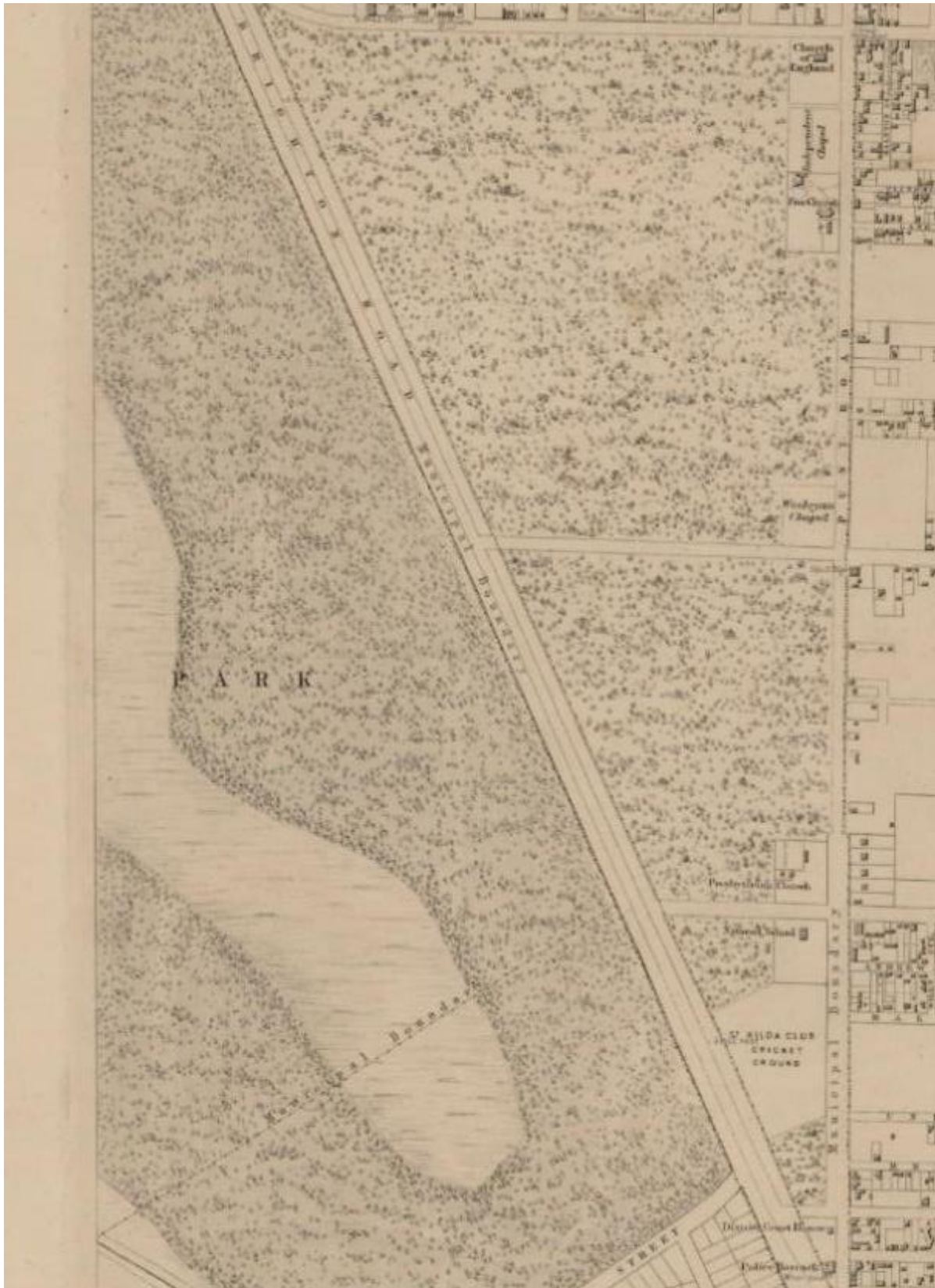


Figure 4.2 James Kearney 1855, *Plan of Melbourne and its Suburbs* (southern end). (Source: State Library Victoria)

4.2 A.S. Selwyn, Geological Survey of Melbourne, 1860



Figure 4.3 A.S. Selwyn, Geological map of the Melbourne area, c1860. (Source: State Library Victoria)

4.3 Henry Cox, survey of Melbourne, 1865



Figure 4.4 H.L. Cox map of Melbourne, 1865. (Source: State Library Victoria)

4.4 De Gruchy and Leigh, Isometrical Map of Melbourne, 1866

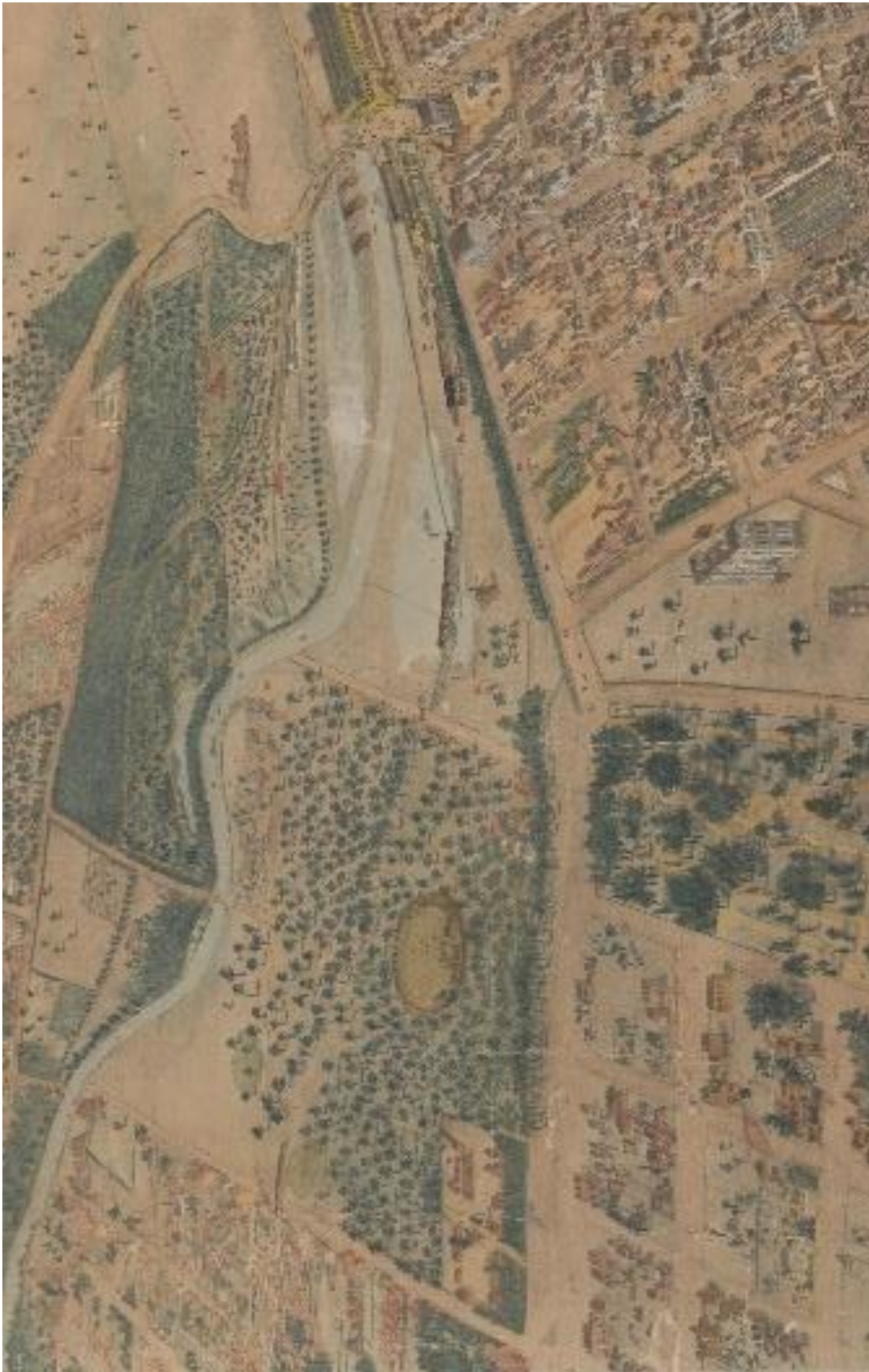


Figure 4.5 De Gruchy and Leigh, Map of Melbourne, 1866. (Source: State Library Victoria)