Port Phillip Heritage Review

Volume 1 – Version 36, December 2021

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Contents

Prepared for the City of Port Phillip by Andrew Ward, Architectural Historian

1.   Introduction

1.1   Port Phillip Heritage Review[1]

The initial Review of the cultural heritage of the City of Port Phillip was commissioned in October, 1996. The consultant team was lead by Andrew Ward, architectural historian and supported by Francine Gilfedder, horticulturalist and garden historian. Data base management and map generation was undertaken by Ian Perry of Big Picture Software Pty. Ltd. and research assistance was provided by Jenny Dalrymple of Andrew Ward's office. The project was directed by Jim Holdsworth, manager, Urban Design and Strategic Planning at the City of Port Phillip and he was assisted during the early stages of the Study by Peter Boyle, architect, as project officer.

The project was undertaken simultaneously with the City of Port Phillip Urban Character Study and a joint project steering committee was established to give support to the consultant teams. The membership of the committee was as follows:

- Councillor Dick Gross (chair),
- Councillor Pat Browne,
- Councillor Liz Johnstone
- Jim Holdsworth, manager Urban Design and Strategic Planning,
- David Spokes, general manager, Community Planning,
- Steve Dunn, manager Business and Industry,
- Geoff Austin, Department of Infrastructure,
- Dale Wardlaw, Department of Infrastructure,
- Kim Dovey, University of Melbourne,
- Lyn Harrison, community representative,
- Adair Bunnett, community representative,
- Andrew Heslop, community representative, and
- David Brand, community representative.

The support of the members of this committee throughout the course of the Study is acknowledged with thanks, their knowledge of the Municipality, their expertise and commitment to the task being highly valued.

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[1] The Port Phillip Heritage Review (Version 2) was gazetted as a part of Amendment C5 to the Port Phillip Planning Scheme in December 2000.

The City of Port Phillip, having been formed by the amalgamation of the Cities of Port Melbourne, South Melbourne and St. Kilda, had inherited several urban conservation studies. They had been prepared at different times, commencing in 1975 and using different criteria for the evaluation of the significance of places. Furthermore, the municipal boundaries represented discontinuities in the identified urban conservation areas, placing the integrity of the new City's conservation strategy at risk. The studies were as follows:

- Yuncken Freeman Ashton Wilson: South Melbourne Conservation Study (1975),

- Jacobs Lewis Vines: Port Melbourne Conservation Study (1979),

- Allom Lovell Sanderson Pty. Ltd.: South Melbourne Conservation Study (1987),

- Nigel Lewis and Associates: St. Kilda Conservation Study Area 1 (1982),

- David Bick: St. Kilda Conservation Study Area 2 (1985),

- Robert Peck von Hartel Trethowan with Henshall Hansen Associates: City of St. Kilda Twentieth Century Architectural Study (1992), and

- Allom Lovell and Associates: Port Melbourne Conservation Study Review (1995).

1.2 Updating the Port Phillip Heritage Review

Since the gazettal of the original Port Phillip Heritage Review in 2000, additional assessments of places and areas of heritage significance have been completed. The following heritage studies were commissioned:

- Graeme Butler and Associates: *Swallow Street (2004)*

- Heritage Alliance: *East St Kida Heritage Study (2004)*

- Heritage Alliance: *Elwood Heritage Review (2005)*

- Heritage Alliance: *Nightingale Street Heritage Study (2008)*

- Heritage Alliance & Built Heritage: *Review of Heritage Overlay 3 (2009 / 2010)*

- Lovell Chen: *Review of Heritage Overlay 1 (2011).*

- Lovell Chen: *Review of Heritage Overlay 1 Port Melbourne – Stage 2 Review (2012)*

- Peter Andrew Barrett: *Tiuna Grove, Elwood (2019)*

- RBA Architects and Conservation Consultants: *Fishermans Bend Heritage Review: Montague Commercial Precinct (2019)*

- David Helms: *HO6 St Kilda East Precinct Review (2020)*

- Context: *Heritage Assessment 588-590 City Road South Melbourne (2017)*

- Context: *Heritage Assessment 2-6 Blanche Street and 110-118 Barkly Street, St Kilda (December 2017)*

- Peter Andrew Barrett: *Heritage Assessment 58-60 Queens Road, Melbourne (November 2017)*

- David Helms Heritage Planning: *Port Phillip Heritage Review Update (2019)*

The resultant findings have been included in the Port Phillip Heritage Review through the Planning Scheme Amendment process.[2]

The assessment framework used in each of the above heritage assessments is based upon the framework developed by Andrew Ward as outlined in the following chapters.

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[2] The Port Phillip Heritage Review is an incorporated document in the Port Phillip Planning Scheme. Planning Scheme Amendments C24, C29, C32, C46, C52, C54, C70, C72, C74, C89 and C103 enabled new information on heritage places and heritage areas within the municipality to be included in the Port Phillip Heritage Review.

2.   Brief

The project brief was designed to address the inconsistencies inherent in the previous studies when viewed together. The objectives were stated in the brief as follows:

- *"to provide a consistent approach to building grading and the recording of building significance across the municipality, for all architectural/historical periods including the twentieth century;*
- *to identify and fill gaps in building records, e.g., to ensure that significant 20th century buildings across the municipality are identified;*
- *to ensure that building gradings are updated, e.g., some buildings have been demolished;*
- *to identify historically significant streetscapes, other public spaces, parks or elements within them worthy of protection;*
- *to provide the strategic basis for any future statutory heritage controls in the Planning Scheme using the new Heritage Place Control."*

The project tasks were to:

- Review the building gradings and assessments from the earlier studies.
- Assess 20th century buildings across the whole of the municipality to complement the work previously undertaken in the former City of St. Kilda.
- Investigate and complete building identification forms and citations for the commercial and industrial areas of Port Melbourne that were not included in the 1995 review.
- Review the Port Melbourne recommendations for area controls based on the new Model Heritage Place control.
- Prepare plans identifying the location of all graded buildings and existing and proposed urban conservation area boundaries.
- List those buildings recommended for inclusion in the Register of the National Estate and the Victorian Historic Buildings Register.
- Identify and assess the public spaces and parks within the City of Port Phillip and their contents including significant trees, monuments and sculptures.

3.   Study Method

3.1   Thematic Environmental History

A working paper was prepared (no.1) summarising the findings of the environmental histories prepared by earlier consultants so as to establish an historical context for the forthcoming field work. It was, however, agreed at an early stage, that the Review should be founded in a new thematic history of the whole of the Municipality using the trial framework of themes contained in the report entitled "Principal Australian Historic Themes: A Guide for heritage agencies" (draft), being a document prepared under the Australian Heritage Commission's National Heritage Co-ordination Strategy. This work was carried out and constitutes section 4 of the Report. The work previously undertaken by the consultants in the reports noted above was used as a source of information in the thematic history which also drew on available published histories of the former Cities of Port Melbourne, South Melbourne and St. Kilda. This work was undertaken by Andrew Ward.

3.2   Field Survey

The Thematic Environmental History provided a basis for the identification and evaluation of the significance of places in the field. The criteria for the assessment of cultural heritage significance adopted by the Australian Heritage Commission in April, 1990 were used in conjunction with the history and the field inspections to provide preliminary assessments of significance for all properties in the Municipality. A working paper (no.4) was prepared to explain how these criteria would be applied and used in the generation of computerised maps. These maps recorded information according to a system of ranking which can be explained in the following terms:

> Levels of importance were simplified along traditional lines, assigning the letter A to places considered to be of national importance, B to those of regional importance and C to those of local importance. These levels of importance had implications for the introduction or confirmation of existing statutory control provisions in the Planning Scheme. Where a place was considered to have lesser importance than level C, it was ranked D, meaning that it was likely to be substantially intact but merely representative of an era. Places of lesser cultural value were ranked E, usually implying that the place had been defaced, but not irretrievably, or that it was aesthetically undistinguished. Finally, a place was ranked F if it was considered to have been important in the past but as a result of intervention now so compromised that it was likely to be of interest only. Places having for planning purposes no cultural value were ranked N.

It is important to note when interpreting the maps produced in this way that they represent a "picture" of the Municipality that is in many instances based upon imperfect data. A quick visual inspection of the exterior of a building, after all, cannot be said to constitute a thorough appraisal. By the same token, however, if a data sheet has been prepared for a place, then the recommendations arising from the review of this data sheet have been incorporated in the maps and may therefore be counted as a firm basis for future planning decisions. The maps are therefore of greatest value for their capacity to graphically present an overview of the Municipality, not only in terms of its evolution but also in terms of the cultural value of neighbourhoods. They have been used to assist the consultant to identify potential heritage overlay areas.

The maps themselves used a digital base supplied to Council by the State Government. One of the layers of this base consists of a series of polygons representing the boundaries of properties. The mapping software allows data fields to be attached to each property with the result that the map becomes a front end to a data base table. Data generated during this Review, however, was included on the map by adding a separate data base table, linked to the map table by a unique identifying number. In this way, one can work on the data in the heritage table independently of the map. In its final form, the Review consists of data sheets for individual places linked to the map by the appropriate identifying

numbers. The mapping software was Mapinfo, having the capability of linking with Microsoft Access97 for the storage of linked data.

3.3   Heritage Overlay Areas

These areas were identified using the maps in conjunction with the work of the previous consultants. Further inspection was then undertaken in the field to verify this Consultant's findings. There are important changes between the work of the earlier consultants and this Review that can be accounted for in the following ways:

- in some instances, places have been altered since the earlier surveys. In extreme circumstances, contributory buildings have been demolished. This was, not surprisingly, most evident in the areas that had not been protected by planning scheme control.

- given the new planning scheme provisions and more particularly the urban character provisions, it was determined that heritage controls should only apply to those areas where the fabric of the place was considered to be so important that it should not be demolished. In other words, the areas of lesser cultural value could not unreasonably be managed by the urban character provisions of the Scheme. It is for this reason that the proposed heritage overlay areas have been drawn with precision and form highly irregular patterns. Their focus, after all, is on the conservation of fabric as well as character. It is argued in this Review that discrete areas, bounded more or less neatly by streets and natural boundaries are best managed by the urban character controls with heritage overlay controls applying only to those areas within the urban character areas where demolition control is required. It is partly as a consequence, therefore, of the new planning provisions, that the approach to the identification of the heritage overlay areas has changed.

- finally, and as a consequence of the computerised mapping process, changes were made on the basis of data that had been prepared consistently over the whole of the Municipality, irrespective of past municipal boundaries. Consistency carries with it the fact that comparative evaluations were made for places in this Review over a much larger area than had previously been subject to consideration. In other words, some areas, which when assessed in terms of the former municipal boundaries, were arguably the most important of their respective types, were of much lesser importance when assessed comparatively over the wider municipality of Port Phillip.

Once identified, the areas were documented in terms of their present circumstances and the elements which give them distinction. Their history was then summarised and their position in the thematic framework identified prior to preparing statements of significance with consequent recommendations.

3.4   Data Sheets

Data sheets have been prepared for several additional places previously undocumented. They include the heritage overlay areas themselves, individually significant places situated outside of the areas and a number of additional places. A standard format has been used that is similar to the heritage overlay area data sheets. Big Picture Software Pty. Ltd. was engaged during the course of the Study period to prepare a data base incorporating the data sheets for the individual places undertaken as a part of this Study as well as the work of all previous consultants. The findings of the past consultants have been reviewed as a part of this Study using the same criteria, thereby introducing consistency to the assessments. This data base forms an additional four volumes of this report.

3.5   Schedule to the Heritage Overlay Table

This schedule was prepared using the assessments arising from the field survey and checking them wherever possible against the assessments of the earlier consultants. It includes the identified heritage overlay areas and all places of individual significance outside of those areas. Within the areas, only those

places considered to be of regional or state importance have been listed. It follows that there are many places of individual significance at the local level within the identified heritage overlay areas that have not been separately listed.

Generally speaking, paint colour scheme controls have been proposed only in the retail streets of the heritage overlay areas. These controls are not proposed in the residential areas except where a place is individually listed. Interior controls for individually listed places have only been proposed where elements of the interior of a place are known to contribute to its significance in an important way. This may be on account of their architectural or aesthetic value or simply because a building of a certain type is expected to have rooms of a certain type, the absence of defacement of which would impact on its significance. By way of example, a post office would be expected to have a public space; a railway station, waiting rooms, and so on. Planning decisions impacting on the significance of the building should respect the integrity of these spaces, irrespective of their aesthetic values.

4. Recommendations

It is recommended that the findings of the Port Phillip Heritage Review Version 3, February 2005 be adopted by Council for application in the following ways:

4.1   Port Phillip Heritage Review

List the Heritage Review document as an Incorporated Document in Clause 81 of the Port Phillip Planning Scheme. This will have the effect of incorporating the Statements of Significance for the 8 heritage areas and the citations for individually significant heritage buildings into the Planning Scheme.

4.2   Heritage Place

(including heritage overlay areas and individually significant heritage buildings, structures, gardens and trees)

Inclusion of the recommendations of the Heritage Review in the schedule and maps to Clause 43.01 of the Port Phillip Planning Scheme. This would include the nominated heritage areas and the list of individual heritage places that have been identified and substantiated.

Organisation of all preliminary heritage gradings into the following categories:

- all places given a preliminary grading of A, B, C or D within a Heritage Overlay or A, B or C outside a Heritage Overlay should be collectively termed "Significant Heritage Places" and

- all places given a preliminary grading of E or F inside a Heritage Overlay or D, E or F outside a Heritage Overlay should be collectively termed "Contributory Heritage Places",

for the purpose of developing policy and administering the recommendations of the Heritage Review.

A map identifying significant, contributory and non-contributory buildings in Heritage Overlays is provided as a Heritage Policy map to assist the Council in interpreting how to apply Clause 22.04 'Port Phillip Heritage Policy' of the Port Phillip Planning Scheme. A Neighbourhood Character Policy Map is provided which identifies contributory buildings outside the Heritage Overlays.

Where a permit is required for demolition of a significant or contributory building, it should be policy to:

- Require all applications of significant or contributory buildings to be accompanied by an application for new development.

- Allow the demolition of part of a heritage place if it will not affect the significance of the place and the proposed addition is sympathetic to the scale and form of the place.

- Not support the demolition of a significant building unless and only to the extent that;

  - The building is structurally unsound or cannot be feasibly reused.

  - The replacement building and / or works displays design excellence which clearly and positively supports the ongoing heritage significance of the area.

- Not support the demolition of a contributory building unless and only to the extent that:

  - The buildings is structurally unsound or cannot be feasibly reused, and either

  - The replacement building and / or works displays design excellence which clearly and positively supports to the ongoing heritage significance of the area, or

- In exceptional circumstances the streetscape is not considered intact or consistent in heritage terms.

4.3   Conservation Principles and Guidelines

Integration of conservation principles and guidelines into the Port Phillip Heritage Policy, at Clause 22.04 of the Port Phillip Planning Scheme and the Port Phillip Design Manual, Version 3 August 2000, which will be a referenced document in the Port Phillip Planning Scheme.

4.4   Heritage Register Nominations

Nominate all 'A' graded heritage places (that have not previously been nominated) for inclusion by Heritage Victoria on the Victorian Heritage Register.

5.   Environmental History

5.1   Introduction

The area now administered by the City of Port Phillip and forming the eastern shore line and hinterland of Port Phillip Bay from Garden City in the north to Elwood in the south has a population of approximately 70,000. The majority of residents are aged between 20 and 44 and of these residents 60 per cent are Australian born. The main countries from which overseas residents have migrated are the United Kingdom, the former USSR, Greece and Poland[3]. It is both culturally and historically diverse and it must surely be that this diversity arises to a large extent from the presence of the sea which over the aeons has shaped the coastline and given form to the hinterland. It has in turn created a unique opportunity to build a place with its own distinctive lifestyles. They take its natural heritage as a starting point and add an overlay of history inextricably linked with the bay. At Port Melbourne, it is the role of the bay wharves, since the arrival of the first immigrants that have shaped its destiny.

At South Melbourne it was the pre-eminence overlooking the bay at Emerald Hill that attracted initial settlement, not only because of the views obtainable but also because the land was permanently dry. Finally, at St Kilda, the hill was attractive to Melbourne's business classes as a healthy place of residence, exposed to bay views and the sea air, whilst the shoreline at this point became a resort which has remained extraordinarily popular throughout this city's history. The story, of course is more complex than this and one which would take considerable time and more than a passing familiarity with the area to do it justice. This history, therefore, concentrates on those themes which give meaning to the built environment and therefore cultural value to Port Phillip, the place. It constitutes a brief overview and is dealt with at times in greater detail in the histories prepared in conjunction with the earlier conservation studies.

5.2   Migration

5.2.1   Sandridge

The first wave of migration through Sandridge was prompted by the reports of the early explorers including Hume and Hovell (1824-25) and others who followed, most notably Major Thomas Mitchell, the New South Wales surveyor general, in 1836. Their comments on the nature of the country they had traversed coincided with a growing demand for grazing land in the established colonies of Tasmania and New South Wales. John Batman's ship, "Rebecca" first anchored in Port Phillip Bay in 1835 and was followed by a party organised by John Pascoe Fawkner in August of the same year. Melbourne has its origins in the settlement established by these pioneers and Don Garden in his 150th anniversary history of Victoria[4] relates that from the latter part of 1835, "a handful of vessels began to appear in Port Phillip Bay discharging their cargoes of sheep onto its shores". By the following year the "dribble [of pastoralists had turned] into a steady flow". William Lonsdale arrived in October, 1836 as the settlement's first police magistrate, remaining in charge until Charles LaTrobe arrived as superintendent in October 1839. During 1838 and 1839 an influx of settlers from New South Wales brought about a social and economic re-orientation towards Sydney but from 1840 the majority of arrivals came direct from Britain[5] , often under a variety of assisted migration schemes. Between 1844 and 1848 943 felons who had already undergone a period of imprisonment in England arrived in Melbourne as "Pentonvillians" in an attempt to reduce the labour shortage[6].

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[3] City of Port Phillip: Port Phillip at a Glance.

[4] Garden, D., Victoria A History, Nelson (1984), p.30.

[5] Ibid, p.37.

[6] Ibid, pp.61-62.

All of this was to change, however, with the discovery of gold in 1851. From September, 1852, Hobson's Bay was jammed with ships and Sandridge was alive with newcomers. During that year, 94,664 people arrived in Victoria by sea, nearly 45,000 of whose citizens were from Britain and a good many more from other Australian colonies. Countries well represented included Germany, France, Italy, Denmark and America, many of whom, no doubt, had travelled via the California goldfields. A glance at the early directories reveals an overbearing majority of Anglo-Saxon names in Sandridge, but there are others too, including Dundass and Vout, builders, joiners and wheelwrights, Henry Coultas, a tailor, Jacobus Verbrugge, general dealer and a Peter Hollthuson in Nott Street. Liardet, in spite of his name, was English, having been born in Chelsea in 1799. The migrants were overwhelmingly male and under forty-five years of age, the typical Sandridge resident being a young, single, adult male, British born and giving his religion as Church of England[7]. Children who had lost their parents were a distinctive sub-group in Melbourne's population, being accommodated in purpose built orphanages at locations including Emerald Hill (the Melbourne Protestant Orphange) and Cecil street (the Catholic orphanage of St. Vincent de Paul).

5.2.2 Emerald Hill

Transient accommodation was provided with official sanction at Emerald Hill where ten acres had been reserved for the Melbourne Orphan Asylum. When William Howitt arrived in September, 1852, the locality was covered in tents in which hundreds of immigrants were housed at the punitive rate of five shillings a week[8]. From December, a much larger Canvas Town of government tents with some timber barracks near Princes Bridge "bloomed" along the west side of St. Kilda Road, south of its junction with City Road[9]. Thousands were housed there until 1854. In the autumn of 1853 a fever epidemic swept through the place and the ladies' Dorcas Society, set up in connection with St. James church, offered support, its efforts being memorialised today in the name Dorcas Street, this thoroughfare now forming a boundary of Port Phillip City. The Chinese had built a two-storeyed lodging house at the southern extremity of Emerald Hill by June, 1855. It was filled to capacity and surrounded by tents. A wooden joss house was opened in the following year and it was replaced in 1866 by the more permanent surviving building occupied by the Sze Yap Society in Raglan Street[10].

5.2.3 St. Kilda

Quarantine stations were established with a view to isolating new arrivals for strict periods prior to their release into society. By definition, these were provided in remote locations, a permanent quarantine station being established at Point Nepean in 1853. The first such station, however, arose from tragic circumstances when the "Glen Huntly" arrived at Williamstown with the fever on 17.4.1840. The Port Phillip authorities dispatched the vessel to the Red Bluff, at St. Kilda where two quarantine camps were set up, one for fever patients and the other for emigrants free from disease. The incident underscored the practice of shipping migrants out to the colonies in unseaworthy vessels which invariably experienced an outbreak of fever in the tropics on their journey south. The station at the Red Bluff was closed in June, 1840 whilst the graves, enclosed by a picket fence, marked the site of the tragedy for many years. Later, on 27.8.1898, in the presence of the civic authorities of St. Kilda, the graves were re-opened and the mortal remains of the "Glen Huntly's" unfortunate passengers transferred to the St. Kilda cemetery[11].

St. Kilda was unusual in another sense for it was here during the inter war period that the Jewish community emerged as a distinct social group. It built on a Jewish presence in the area from the

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[7] U'Ren, N. and Turnbull, N., op.cit., p.22.

[8] Ibid, p.46.

[9] Ibid, p.47.

[10] Ibid, op.cit., p. 64.

[11] Cooper,J.B., op.cit., pp30-33.

nineteenth century. Cooper notes that there were nearly fifty Jewish families here in 1871 and that they formed the St. Kilda Hebrew Congregation in that year[12]. A synagogue in Charnwood Avenue designed by Crouch and Wilson was consecrated in September, 1872 and it was followed by a school in 1874, with a building being erected in 1896. In March, 1927 a new synagogue to replace the original building was designed by J. Plottel in the Byzantine style and consecrated in March, 1927. The Jewish community has since flourished in St. Kilda and has been associated with several prominent Australians including Moritz Michaelis, Sir John Monash, Sir Isaac Isaacs and Sir Zelman Cowen, their homes remaining in the area.

5.2.4   Post War Immigration

Just as the inner bayside suburbs felt the impact of the flood of emigrants that came with the gold rush, so too, a century later, they underwent change as a result of events outside of their control. In the late 1940's Australia accepted large numbers of displaced persons and refugees from war-ravaged Europe, most of whom were from central Europe. Again, government assisted migration schemes encouraged Britains and southern Europeans, especially from Italy and Greece, to make their homes in Australia. The majority settled in the principal urban centres where industry offered employment opportunities. Victoria gained an average of over 30,000 migrants per annum from 1947 to 1961, transforming the state into a multicultural society.

Bonegilla was the principal migrant camp situated near Albury-Wodonga but in 1952 another camp was opened at Fishermen's Bend, receiving new arrivals until 1975. By this time, the percentage of foreign born people in Port Melbourne's population had increased from 5% in 1954 to 27%[13]. Most had come from Greece with much smaller numbers from Turkey or Lebanon and Italy. A similar situation prevailed in South Melbourne with Greek migrants again dominating, as they also did in Prahran. The strength of the new citizens was evidenced by a growth in popularity of soccer and by the presence of the Greek Orthodox church, which had acquired the former Clarendon Presbyterian church opposite St. Lukes c. 1966. In St. Kilda notable demonstrations of its migrant population took the form of highly successful restaurants such as the "Galleon Café", "Leo's", from 1956 and "Scheherazade" from 1958, offering fare considered exotic by the standards of the time.

5.3   Transport

5.3.1   The First Railways

Ruhen observes in his history of the Port of Melbourne that the spot colonial advance parties most frequently chose for a village or trading post was as far up any good navigable river as the small ships of the day could penetrate[14]. Here, beyond tidal influence, settlers not only obtained a source of fresh water but also attained a measure of weed and worm control for their craft, since salt water organisms could not survive at freshwater berths. This important principal guiding urban location appears to have set the scene for the founding role and early development of Sandridge. For here, the larger ships, unable to travel up the Yarra River, would weigh anchor, their cargoes being conveyed by barges at additional expense and damage to dry land. Sandridge, therefore, has its origins as a transfer point for goods and passengers on their journeys to and from Melbourne. As early as 27.10.1839 the sailors of the "David Clark" were carrying female passengers and children on their backs through the surf to the shore at Sandridge[15]. From this point they walked to the "canvas town", a temporary refuge set up by Charles La Trobe to the west of St. Kilda Road near the site of Prince Henry's hospital. When Wilbraham Frederick Evelyn Liardet arrived in November of that year, he saw the potential of the place

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[12] Ibid, pp.356-359 for an account of the Jewish presence in St. Kilda up to 1930

[13] Census figures quoted in U'Ren, N., and Turnbull, N., p.260.

[14] Ruhen, O., Port of Melbourne 1835-1976, Cassell Australia (1976), p.16.

[15] Ruhen, O., op.cit., p.25.

as a transfer point, opening his "Brighton Pier" hotel a year later with a narrow jetty projecting tenuously into the bay. Entrepreneurs like Liardet have their place in the foundation of early settlements, comparable pioneers including James Maiden and Henry Hopwood who in 1844 and after 1846 respectively established punts at Moama and Echuca on the colonial border. Nevertheless, the first wharves were established downstream from the falls, in the Yarra River.

At the same time as Liardet was opening his hotel and jetty, the bay steamer "Aphraisia" was running a ferry service between Williamstown and Sandridge. Following the gold discoveries of 1851, the coastal settlement gained business when intercolonial traders, unable to wait their turn for crowded wharf space in the river, discharged their passengers and lighter cargo at Liardet's beach[16].

The question of improvements to the overland track connecting the beach with Melbourne town had been broached at an early date when the government surveyor at Port Phillip, Robert Hoddle, proposed a "rail road" in March 1839. His plan envisaged a railway pier at Hobson's Bay and a straight line of railway cutting across the meandering track into town to terminate on the north side of the river at the upstream end of the swinging basin. It was, however, the combined impetus of separation and the gold rush, in 1851, which led to the realisation of this somewhat premature vision. The Melbourne and Hobsons Bay Railway Co. was formed in August, 1852, to build a line planned by James Blackburn, the City surveyor, between Sandridge and Melbourne. Construction commenced immediately with a contract being let, among others, to Willoughby and Mason for the construction of a pier at Sandridge.

Services commenced on 12.9.1854. It was the first steam hauled railway in the country, a distinction attributable to the rapid growth of the colonial capital arising from the exploitation of the mineral wealth of its hinterland. For the first time, Melbourne was connected with its deep water port by an efficient means of transportation.

In November, the company inaugurated a ferry service from the railway pier to Williamstown. The vessel, known as the "Comet", conveyed passengers from Geelong for a brief period prior to 1859, the ferry service itself lasting until 1930[17].

The first year of railway operations returned an eight per cent dividend to the shareholders who agreed to the construction of a branch line to St. Kilda. It was opened on 13.5.1857, construction being to the highest standards. Today, the engineer's name, William Elsdon, is incised on a stone plaque on the Dorcas Street road bridge with the year 1857 alongside as testimony to the standard of workmanship. The now closed station building at St. Kilda survives as the oldest building of its type in the State, predating Edward Snell's station building at Werribee by at least a month and the government's oldest surviving station building at Williamstown by eighteen months. Whereas Sandridge generated 570,000 passenger journeys from 31.10.1857 to 31.10.1858, St. Kilda's total over the same period was almost 937,000 with a mere 32,928 being attributable to Emerald Hill[18]. Both lines were duplicated during the next three years and in the summer of 1860-61 early morning special trains ran to Sandridge for the convenience of patrons of the Hobsons Bay Sea Bathing Co[19].

The line between the sea port and its parent settlement was almost simultaneously further strengthened by the opening of Australia's first electric telegraph line on 3.3.1854. The system was rapidly expanded nationally, with South Australia's first line, also between port and capital, opening in November, 1855[20].

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[16] Ruhen, O., op.cit., p.50.

[17] Harrigan, L.J., Victorian Railways to '62 Victorian Railways Public Relations and Betterment Board (1962), p.41.

[18] Statistics of the Melbourne and Hobsons Bay Railway Co. in Harrigan, L>J>, op.cit., p.45.

[19] Harrigan, L.J., op.cit., p.42.

[20] See Moyal, A., Clear Across Australia: A History of Telecommunications, Nelson, (1984), pp.15-34 for an account of the first Australian telegraphy installations.

Wharfage accommodation by the late 1850's was adequate only for small vessels, unloading a total of 1,440 tons daily. The Railway pier, however, could unload 900 tons daily and the Sandridge pier 500 tons. Town pier, at Sandridge, could handle up to 163 tons and the Williamstown railway pier and breakwater 1,165 tons[21].

Melbourne's merchants and traders sought to promote the efficiency of the port ultimately leading to the passing of the Melbourne Harbour Trust Act in 1876. It threatened the viability of the bayside ports; A.T.Clark, M.L.A. for Williamstown, complaining about the free traders' ambitions to improve the river wharves by raising loans of up to £250,000[22]. The Hobsons Bay Railway Co. also feared the additional competition created by the provision of a deepened channel, for in those days, the company had a monopoly over the conveyance of goods unloaded at Sandridge for transfer into Melbourne. When Sir John Coode submitted his general plan of harbour improvements in 1879, the Sandridge and Williamstown councils united in their stand against his proposals to improve the river wharves. Their efforts, however, were in vain, excavation of the Coode canal being completed by September, 1886. Nevertheless, the Trust's engineer, J.Brady, argued at that time that the bay piers would still be required as a consequence of the impact of the expanding rail network on the amounts of goods passing through the port. He also maintained that they were required to facilitate the speedy turnaround of mail steamers. In September 1889 the Railways Department let a contract for the construction of a goods office on the Railway pier[23].

When the Melbourne & Hobson's Bay Railway Company initially planned to erect a railway line to Brighton in the mid-1850s, it was proposed to place a station at the south-west corner of St Kilda junction, with the railway line itself swinging around towards the beach and on to Brighton, via Elwood. Instead however, the St Kilda station was erected in its present position, in Fitzroy Street[24].

Construction of the railway line between the terminus at St. Kilda and Bay Street, Brighton, was authorized on 24th. November, 1857. The work was undertaken by the St. Kilda and Brighton Railway Co. by the contractor William Randle who was awarded the contract in August, 1858. The first trains ran on 3rd. December, 1859. Today, the rail over bridges at Carlisle, Nightingale and Grosvenor Streets, Balaclava, incorporate the original bluestone abutments and piers erected by Randle almost 140 years ago.

The Melbourne and Hobsons Bay United Railway Co. had emerged on 30.6.1865 from the amalgamation of the Melbourne and Hobsons Bay and the Melbourne Railway Co. Finally, on 1.7.1878, the United Co. was purchased by the government: an action which led to the improvement of services through the reconstruction of railway stations at South Melbourne (1883), Albert Park (1880), Middle Park, Graham (1887) and Port Melbourne (1898). The Hobsons Bay Co. workshops at Port Melbourne were replaced in 1882 with portions of the Melbourne Exhibition buildings of 1880. They were eventually closed in 1917 and demolished soon afterwards[25].

Elwood to the south burgeoned as a destination during the prosperous Land Boom period of the 1880s and the notion of providing a railway connection was revived[26]. The local council made a deputation to the Minister of Railways in 1884, urging the extension of the railway line from St Kilda to Elwood via a tunnel under Grey Street.[27] In August of that same year, the Premier's Department announced that, while no decision has yet been made, surveys were being undertaken for two alternative routes for two

[21] Ruhen, O., op.cit., p.85.

[22] Ruhen, O., op.cit., p.121.

[23] Report of the Railways Commissioners for year ending 30.6.1890, p.54.

[24] Heritage Alliance, Elwood Heritage Review 2005, p13.

[25] Harrigan, L.J., op.cit., p. 212.

[26] Heritage Alliance, op cit.

[27] Heritage Alliance, op cit, footnotes p13.

alternative routes: one via a tunnel (beneath Grey Street) and another via the Elwood Swamp.[28] Further machinations over the next few years included an investigation by a Parliamentary Standing Committee in 1891, but still nothing had eventuated by 1893, when the Australian Handbook concluded its flowery description of Elwood with a hopeful statement that 'it is proposed to connect Elwood with St Kilda proper and Melbourne by a railway extending from St Kilda station to Elwood'. [29]

Residents on the eastern side of Brighton Road had slightly more success with their contemporaneous attempt to have a new railway station established between Balaclava and Elsternwick. This had been mooted as early as 1888, when an estate agent's subdivision plan indicated a 'railway station site' on Glen Eira Road. The following year, the Shire of Caulfield invited with City of St Kilda to join its deputation to the Railway Commissioner for the establishment of the station.[30] The department deferred the project indefinitely in 1891, stating that it might be reconsidered if land was made available.[31] This evidently did not occur for over a decade, and it was not until 1911 that drawings were prepared for the new station, which opened two years later.

5.3.2   The First Tramways

The St Kilda cable tramway opened on 11 October 1888 and ran along St Kilda Road/Brighton Road between Flinders Street and Milton Street, with a depot at the Brunning Street terminus, beside the Grosvenor Hotel.[32] A second tramway, travelling via Domain Road to Carlisle Street, opened two weeks later. In 1890, the Brighton Road tram route was extended northwards, along Swanston Street to North Carlton.[33] Seven years later, this route was diverted at St Kilda Junction to the beach, and the former Brighton Road route stopped at Queensberry Street until July 1898, when it was decided to run the trams as a shuttle service between Milton Street and St Kilda Junction. After a three-week trial, such was the backlash from local residents that full service to the city was resumed.

On 17.6.1890 the Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Co. opened its cable tramway to South Melbourne, followed by the Port Melbourne line on 20.6.1890. The South Melbourne service crossed the Yarra river on Queens Bridge and travelled down City Road (then Sandridge Road) to Bay Street to the Town pier, on the site of the present Port Melbourne Yacht Club, where it turned north along Beach Street to terminate at the Railway pier. There was a depot in Beach Street on the north side of the intersection with Donaldson Street and an engine house in City Road. The Town pier would have been an interesting place at that time for it was served by a horse powered street tramway carrying coal from the pier to the South Melbourne gas works in Pickles Street and the sugar works on the site of the present "Sandridge Bay Towers" development. The tramway skirted the north side of the boat harbour, between Esplanade East and Esplanade West and the south side of the lagoon on its run out to the gas works. The South Melbourne cable tramway route branched off the Port Melbourne line at Clarendon Street and followed the alignment of the present electric tramway to South Melbourne Beach where there was a depot. The line between Windsor railway station and the Village Belle was the last cable powered tramway to be opened in Melbourne. The first trams ran in October, 1891 and the line provided a useful access to the sea front for passengers transferring from the Prahran cable line in Chapel Street, from the railway stations at Windsor and St. Kilda and later also from the electric trams in St. Kilda Road[34].

The first few years of the twentieth century saw more community pressure, this time to extend the tram line to Bay Street, Brighton – much of this exerted by the then premier, Thomas Bent, who

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid..

[30] Ibid..

[31] Ibid..

[32] Ibid..

[33] Ibid..

[34] Keating, J.D., Mind the Curve! A history of the cable trams, MUP, (1970), p.48.

happened to live there. [35] After much debate and dispute, a new tram line opened on 5 May 1906, starting at St Kilda Station and travelling via Grey, Barkly and Mitford Streets, Broadway, Ormond Road and St Kilda Street to a terminus Park Street, Middle Brighton. [36] Tram sheds and a power house were built on a piece of land on the corner of St Kilda and Head streets, excised from Elsternwick Park. Over the next decade, the newly-formed Prahran & Malvern Tramway Trust laid out a number of electric tramlines through St Kilda and environs, the last of which – opened on 4 June 1915 – serviced Elwood, running along Glenhuntly Road from Brighton Road to Point Ormond.[37]

5.3.3   Reconstruction of the Bay Wharves

By 1899 the Railway pier had become the subject of public criticism, there being no platforms for the special passenger trains that ran out to the ships. Shelter from the rain and the heat of the day was also lacking yet of the 1.6 million tons of goods handled by the Port of Melbourne in that year, 300,000 were still being discharged at the bay piers[38]. By the turn of the century, Ruhen notes that the river berths and the new Victoria Dock handled most of the shipping[39]. The Railway Department's control of the piers was assumed by the Harbour Trust in March, 1913, just nine months following the commencement of the construction of a new pier to be known as Prince's pier from 1922. The work was finished in January, 1916, the entire structure being 1,902 feet long and 186 feet wide with two sheds providing accommodation for the Customs Department and the shipping companies. Gangways from the sheds bridged the railway lines and there were berths for four large vessels.. The construction of the Montague shipping shed in 1915 formed a part of the Railways' plan to capture the expanding bayside trade, especially for the movement of grain and wool[40].

When the old Railway pier, later known as Station pier, was rebuilt in 1926, improved accommodation was provided for the transhipment of goods and passengers along with finger wharves for the bay steamer traffic. Included in the works was the extension of the Port Melbourne station platform to the east finger wharf for the use of electric trains. The construction of the Centenary Bridge followed soon afterwards in 1934. Built by the Harbour Trust, it was viewed as the "first step towards the provision of a striking entrance to the City"[41]. Winners of the competition for the design of the bridge were the architects Hughes and Orme in conjunction with engineers W.G. Dempster and J.J.O'Donnell. It was envisaged that the bridge would accommodate a 66 foot wide roadway as well as two tramlines, though as Building pointed out, "the tramways authorities in Melbourne [had]…not been approached in this matter and it is unlikely they will extend the cable tramline to Port Melbourne beyond its present terminus"[42].

5.3.4   Tramway and Railway Improvements

When the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board took over management of the cable tramway system on 1.11.1919 it set about formulating a comprehensive plan for the integration and development of the system as a whole. The conversion of the cable system to electric traction formed a part of this plan, the first complete route to close also being the newest, running between Windsor and the Village Belle. It was closed on 29.8.1925. By October, 1926 the Board had opened its South Melbourne and St. Kilda Beach electric tramway[43] Further conversions within the City of Port Phillip were forestalled by the Depression, the Port and South Melbourne lines eventually closing on 13.3.1937. Although the

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[35] Heritage Alliance., op cit, p. 13.

[36] This tram route corresponds with present-day bus route No 600, from St Kilda Station to Brighton Beach.

[37] Heritage Alliance., op cit, p. 14.

[38] Ruhen, O., op.cit., p. 180.

[39] Ruhen, O., op.cit., p. 182.

[40] Trust News, 10/89, pp.6-7.

[41] Building, 12.2.1934, p.97 in Allom Lovell and associates: "Port Melbourne Conservation Study Review", p.30.

[42] ibid.

[43] Allom Lovell Sanderson Pty. Ltd., "South Melbourne Urban Conservation Study", 5/1987, v.1, p.4/18.

majority of lines were converted to electric tramway operation, the Port Melbourne route was replaced by buses, the disused cable tramway tracks in Bay Street remaining in situ for many years.

The Railways Department responded to the Tramways Board's improvements by electrifying the Port Melbourne line on 26.10.1919 and introducing electric services to Prince's pier. Both the bay excursion trains and Prince's pier services were withdrawn in November, 1930. "The Boat Train" was another initiative designed to stimulate rail traffic. Connecting with ships at Station pier, the inaugural service was introduced on 73.1936 and the last "Boat Train" ran in October, 1939. The first electric trains on the St. Kilda line were introduced on 31.8.1919, connecting with the Railways operated electric tramway service to Brighton from May, 1906. This service was noteworthy as the first permanent electric tramway to run in the streets of Melbourne. It was cut back progressively from 1957 to 1959.

5.3.5　Post War Changes

The post war years have been associated with a decline in the use of public transport and a corresponding increase in the number of private motor vehicle journeys. The City of Port Phillip has suffered from this process of change by the completion of intrusive road works. The Spencer Street bridge had been opened in 1930 and it was followed by the King street bridge on 12.4.1961.

The St Kilda- to- Brighton tram route remained in operation until it was closed in 1957. The tracks were pulled up and the tram shed/power station on the corner of Head Street and St Kilda Street was demolished. Today, virtually no evidence remains of the tramway infrastructure save for an inscribed timber pole near the post office in Ormond Road, and somepalm trees on the north side of Glenhuntly Road, which mark the former location of the terminus.

The reconstruction of the St. Kilda Junction in 1968 resulted in the loss of an important urban character element, marked as it was by a complex tramway junction with overhead pointman's cabin and late Victorian street architecture. The widening of High street followed in 1970, leading to the partial destruction of one of St. Kilda's most important shopping precincts. In 1973 the fun fair near Luna Park was removed and Marine Parade widened to better serve as a major outlet to the southern coastal suburbs. More recently, the suburban trains to Port Melbourne and St. Kilda have been replaced by light rail services and the rail yards and pier sidings removed.

Today, medium density housing estates occupy the land where rakes of goods trucks and workshops once stood. The station buildings on both lines have been either closed or demolished.

The Centenary bridge was demolished in February, 1991 and the east finger wharf at Station pier followed soon afterwards, leading to fundamental changes in the character of the area. Finally, Princes pier was gutted by fire in 1996 and it remains today, stripped of most of its buildings and closed to foot traffic. The Graham Street overpass lives on as an unsightly reminder of a past need to separate road and rail traffic, the present light railway to Port Melbourne scarcely justifying a structure of this magnitude.

5.4　Industry

5.4.1　Sandridge

Sandridge, unlike St. Kilda and South Melbourne, has its origins in industry: the shipping industry, with all of the associated functions that facilitate the transhipment of goods and the fitting out of ships with their crews. Compelling though this view is of the place, it is a constricting one for the industrial history of Port Melbourne is a far more varied one.

Certainly, the influx of fortune seekers who arrived with the discovery of gold in 1851 came in ships which required maintenance and ships chandlers to fit them out. But their arrival also gave birth to a transport industry, the American, Freeman Cobb operating a carrier's business briefly from the port.

Storage yards were required to hold goods recently arrived and there were boatmen, making small fortunes[44] in ferrying people to and from boats anchored in the bay. U'Ren and Turnbull state that there were also breweries, including James Byrne's in Stoke Street, coopers and blacksmiths in operation from the early 1850's[45]. It was warehousing, however, which stood out. Ingles, Adam and Gresham, and Callender and Caldwell were two of the firms which had stores and offices in King Street and a major store in Sandridge.

When the railway arrived in 1854 it spawned its own network of industrial establishments consisting of the workshops of the Hobsons Bay Railway Co. and its Sandridge shipping shed. In the same year the Swallow and Ariell Steam Biscuit Manufactory was founded in rented premises in Rouse Street. Thomas Swallow began by making ships biscuits and built a three storeyed factory in 1858, taking Thomas Ariell in as a partner in 1859. The factory faced the railway workshops and was a mere stone's throw from the cable tram terminus after 1890. It was the first such manufacturing establishment in Victoria, importing the first automatic biscuit making machine in 1880.

The Town pier, forming an extension of Bay Street, was crucially linked with the siting of at least two important factories. One was the sugar works, in existence at least as early as 1860 and burnt out in 1875. It was situated on Beach Street between Dow Street and Esplanade West and was taken over in 1876 by the ironmongers, Francis and Nott, who stayed there briefly before shifting to Bay Street. The works fell into disuse until 1887 when the Port Melbourne Sugar refinery was opened east of the lagoon. Its life was short lived however, and in May of the same year extensive rebuilding was undertaken by Harpers, the new owners who were employing 150 men at their starch factory by October. Robert Harper and Co. had been established in 1865, moving to Port Melbourne in 1885. In 1899 the firm's Beach street complex was substantially enlarged through the incorporation of the industrial buildings constructed nearby in 1891 by the Australasian Sugar refining Co. In 1894, CSR strengthened its monopoly hold on the industry by purchasing this factory complex and closing it down. The MMBW litho plan of 1894 illustrates the relationship between Harpers, the refinery and the Town pier, showing a tramway line conveying coal from the pier to the refinery and thence alongside the lagoon to the works of the Metropolitan Gas Company in Pickles Street. A second sugar works is shown on the south side of the same lagoon whilst Harper's is described as an oatmeal factory. Thus the shoreline between the railway station and the lagoon during the nineteenth century was dominated by major industrial establishments, recalled especially today by the now disused station building at Port Melbourne and the premises of the starch factory, now converted into apartments.

Further inland, in the vicinity of the lagoon which may have served as repository for industrial waste, Schumacher's Flour Mill Furnishing Works, manufacturers of milling plant, was opened in 1887 near the gasworks, in Graham Street. There was also a substantial distillery in Danks Street, facing one of the gas company's gas holders and close by the lagoon. In Ingles Street, the MMBW litho plan of 1894 shows the works of the Apollo Candle Factory and further west in the vicinity of the present Westgate freeway Felton Grimwade's Chemical Works. At this time, the extensive triangular shaped area of land contained by Ingles Street, Normanby Road and the Westgate freeway consisted of large expanses of vacant land interspersed with substantial industrial establishments including the municipal abattoir in Boundary street, founded in 1861.

The shipping industry provided employment throughout the nineteenth century. In 1860, the Sands and McDougall directory shows that there were two shipwrights on the waterside of Beach Street and a ships smith on the inland side. There was a sailmaker in Nott Street and a coal store in Bay Street along with the usual cottage industries comprised of farriers, bootmakers, bakers, milliners, tinsmiths, ironmongers, tailors, upholsterers, locksmiths, engineers and building contractors. Industries to survive into the 1890's[46] dependant upon a buoyant shipping trade included that of William Libby, sailmaker in Bay Street, J. Close and Co., stevedores in Beach Street, William Macavoy, stevedores in Dow Street,

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[44] U'Ren, N., and Turnbull, N., op. cit., p.21.

[45] Ibid, pp.21-22.

[46] Sands and McDougall directory 1890.

David Fisher, the ships smith in Nott Street, the Victorian Stevedoring Co. on the railway reserve where the pier master, Captain J. Vine was also in residence. Duthie and Atkinson were boat builders in Stokes Street along with Robbines and Sons, stevedores and the shipwrights, Peterson and Slemmon.

5.4.2   South Melbourne

Although South Melbourne has its origins as a suburban location, linked by its railway with the City, the late nineteenth century boom period laid the foundations of industry on the low lying land east of Hanna Street, now Kingsway. Amongst the leading companies were the Langland's Foundry and the Castlemaine Brewery. Inextricably linked with the fortunes of South Melbourne since that time, the boundaries of the new City of Port Phillip exclude this area, now known as Southbank. The land crossed by the Williamstown Road remained mostly unoccupied in the nineteenth century, the only exception being the stoneworks shown on the MMBW litho plan of 1894 at the north-west corner of Smith and Tarver Streets. Watsons Baths occupied the site of Prince's pier.

5.4.3   St. Kilda

By way of contrast St. Kilda hill was a residential location from the outset, giving rise merely to the small industrial establishments necessary to meet the needs of its residents. In 1860[47], these consisted typically of tailors, bootmakers, carpenters, cutlers, dressmakers, clock makers and persons engaged in the food industry, mostly located on the main highways of the settled areas. The Council had established abattoirs in Barkly Street in 1862 and there was a manure and night soil depot at Elwood, all of which were vigorously opposed by the early residents of the area who agitated for the swamp to be filled and subdivided.[48]

The St. Kilda pier was associated with local shipping activity including that of a firewood schooner which conveyed fuel from East St. Kilda to Queens wharf during the 1850's. In 1853 the St. Kilda Pier and Jetty Co. was formed in anticipation of the profit its promoters expected to receive from pier dues paid by boat owners bringing timber and building materials to St. Kilda and conveying firewood as back loading. The company's activities, however, were brought to a standstill soon after its formation by a heavy storm which blew away the pier along with its directors' aspirations for quick money[49]. Later, the St. Kilda Council used the pier, following its reconstruction, for the transhipment of stone from its quarry at Stoney Creek on the Yarra River down the bay to St. Kilda. Here it was used for pitching, channelling and road metalling.

5.4.4   Elwood[50]

Separated from nearby St Kilda by a vast swamp, the foreshore around Port Ormond was clearly considered to be a suitably remote location for some of the more objectionable facilities required by a fledgling settlement. In 1857, the St Kilda Council established a night soil depot at the intersection on Barkly Street and, later that same year, applied to the Department of Land & Survey to occupy an adjacent two acre site, bisected by the Elster Creek, for the purpose of an abattoir. [51] In December, the Melbourne Hunt Club was also granted a license to occupy somenearby land, on which they erected kennels for their hounds. [52] The adjacent abattoir site,meanwhile, was granted to the council in 1858,

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[47] Ibid, 1860.

[48] Cooper, op.cit., vol.1, pp.191-93.

[49] Ibid, p. 219.

[50] Heritage Alliance, op cit, p 9.

[51] Ibid., footnotes p 9.

[52] Ibid..

and an open slaughter yard was established, for which purpose a small timber bridge was erected over the creek a year later. [53] The new abattoir building followed in 1861.

As residential development burgeoned in Elwood in the 1850s and '60s, the manure depot and the abattoirs became a much-maligned bone of local contention. In the face of strong opposition from local residents, and repeated complaints to the Central Board of Health, the manure depot was finally closed in 1869.[54] The abattoir, however, remained in operation for another three decades before closing in 1898. The changing attitudes towards noxious practices along Elwood's foreshore also became evident when the council proposed to build its municipal garbage destructor at Point Ormond in 1890, only to be refused by the Department of Land and Survey on the grounds that the land has been 'permanently reserved for recreational purposes'.[55]

5.4.5   Growth and Prosperity

If Port Melbourne had prospered as an industrial location last century, it boomed during the twentieth when Fishermen's Bend was released for industrial development. Amongst those factories established during the 1920's were the works of the engineering company, Malcolm Moore Pty. Ltd. on Williamstown Road from 1927. Larger complexes such as General Motors Holden and the aircraft manufacturing plants including the Government Aircraft Factory and the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation were founded in the 1930's and 1940's to the north of the present Westgate Freeway and beyond the limits of the City of Port Phillip.

The low lying industrial land to the south of the Yarra River had been one of the cradles of Melbourne's industries, extending gradually to the south as vacant sites became scarce. Avoided as residential land initially on account of its susceptibility to flooding, the late nineteenth century witnessed its drainage and the beginnings of the process of industrialisation. Most of this land is outside the boundaries of the City of Port Phillip although such is not the case for the tract to the immediate south of the Westgate freeway, previously controlled by the City of South Melbourne. Here, at Ingles Street, J.Kitchen and Sons Pty. Ltd., soap manufacturers, prospered during the inter war period, occupying a 15 acre site where the company made articles which it sold under the well known brand names of "Velvet", "Witch", "Anchor" (laundry soaps), "Persil" (-"the modern oxygen washer"-), "Solvol" and "Electrine" candles[56]. Nearby in Normanby Road, the Melbourne factory of Dunlop Perdriau was established in 1901, commencing production of motor tyres in the following year. The site was filled swamp land on the western outskirts of the riverside industries at the time, allowing plenty of room for expansion. For the next eighty years it was Dunlop's largest Australian factory site. A new rubber mill across Normanby Road was established in 1913 and linked with the earlier plant by an overhead bridge. It remains today as a self storage warehouse with residential apartments constructed as recently as 1997. The firm became the City of South Melbourne's largest employer.

City Road became a focus for industrial development, consolidating its inheritance from the previous century.. James Moore had built his sawmills at 115-143 City Road in1899.[57] At 357-61 City Road the old cable tram engine house was converted for use by the Buckeye Harvester Company. Kellow Falkiner Pty.Ltd., commencing operations as a bicycle manufacturer and repairer in 1889 surviving to become one of the oldest motor vehicle builders and agents in Melbourne and building its South Melbourne premises at 380 City Road c.1940. Johns and Waygood established their head offices at the corner of Cecil Street with extensive workshops behind them following acquisition of land in 1909. Here the manufacture of lifts was carried out a much larger scale and the plant for the manufacture of

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[53] Ibid..

[54] Ibid..

[55] Ibid..

[56] Cooper, op.cit. vol.1, pp 280-282..

[57] National trust citation, 10/1989.

structural steel extended[58]. The same company opened premises at the corner of Gladstone and Kerr streets in 1938-39 where it manufactured mortar bomb cases as a part of the war effort[59]. At Ferrars Street, the Union Can Company Pty.Ltd. grew from relatively humble beginnings in 1908 to occupy a three acre site accommodating the administrative and technical headquarters of its nationwide offices as well as its production facility manufacturing food packaging articles. Interestingly, the location of this large manufactory had been determined by the need to import mild steel sheeting from Wales via the riverside wharves[60]. Monteath's foundry weathered the 1890's depression following the commencement of operations in Moray Street in1882 and prospered during the inter war period. Of unchallenged standing in foundry work after 1900, however, was the form of John Danks and Son[61] whose new works were shifted from Queensbridge Street to the corner of Hanna Street and Bank Street.

In recent decades the industrial face of Port Melbourne and South Melbourne has changed dramatically. The prestigious companies of the southernmost riverside areas have moved away, to be replaced by smaller concerns, business enterprises in need of office space, often located in pre-existing industrial premises, self storage companies and car parks. Elsewhere, modern factories are characteristic of the industrial landscape, occupying vast sites on the south side of the Westgate freeway and including the premises of Toyota Australia, Meadow Lea and Mercedes Benz, as well as industrial estates.

Port Melbourne's special nineteenth century industrial heritage is memorialised by re-cycled factories, too substantial to be demolished, and symbolically by such places as the old Port Melbourne railway station building and "Gasworks Park".

5.5 Settlement: Growth and Change

5.5.1 Three Settlements: Sandridge, St. Kilda and Emerald Hill

The greater part of Port Melbourne, the West Melbourne swamp and the low lying lands of South Melbourne is understood to have its origins as an arm of Port Phillip Bay linked by the Yarra near Princes Bridge and the Maribyrnong near Flemington. The south-easterly winds banked up mud and sand and gradually the Yarra river course was established against the limestone ridge of Williamstown. A delta, formed by the rivers, was overlaid with sand washed out from the red cliffs to the south-east and up the coast past Brighton, forming the seafront from Port Melbourne down to St. Kilda and spreading inland as shallow dunes. The site of Albert Park lake was a swamp, comparing in this respect with Yuille's swamp, later Lake Wendouree at Ballarat, and the body of shallow water known as the lagoon extended inland from the shoreline as far as the site of Raglan Street. Even today, the memory of the lagoon is recalled by the irregular configuration of Esplanade West and Esplanade East and by the Lagoon reserve and adjacent Edwards park. The lagoon, in fact, marked the eastern boundary of the future settlement of Sandridge, the land on which the latter was surveyed being described in 1841 as "sandy soil… moderately wooded [with]gum"[62]. The beach at Port Melbourne had been first charted by a European, Charles Grimes, in 1803. He described his visit in the following terms:

> At the usual time the same party as yesterday, with the addition of the doctor, went on shore; for about a mile the land was dry, a light sandy soil; afterwards a large swamp with three lagoons in it all dry. The land appears to be covered with water in wet seasons. Come to a salt lagoon about a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide; had not entrance to the sea. Soon afterwards

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[58] Pratt, A., The National Handbook of Australia's Industries, The Specialty Press Pty. Ltd., (1934)pp. 257-58.

[59] National Trust citation, 10/1989.

[60] SeePratt, A., op.cit., pp.325-27 and Priestley,S., op.cit.,p.259.

[61] See Priestley, op.cit., p.258.

[62] See early survey plan in Jacobs Lewis Vines: "Port Melbourne Conservation Study" (7/1979), p.12, reproduced here as fig…*NB Date of map given is 11/1841 although U'Ren and Turnbull give it as 1839.*

came to a large river; went up it about a mile, when we turned back and waited for the boat to take us aboard. The ground is a swamp on one side…Saw many swans, pelicans and ducks.[63]

The name Sandridge was chosen by the surveyor William Darke when he mapped the shoreline after 1836. Edward Curr, author of Recollections of Squatting in Victoria , however, visited Sandridge at the time of the first land sales when surveyors' string lines marked out the allotments to be sold and recorded that the place was then called "the Beach"[64].

Whereas the higher land later known as Emerald Hill and the St. Kilda hill was not surprisingly the first to attract urban development, it was surrounded by less attractive lower lying ground. Middle Park was occupied by swamp, sand dunes and ti-tree. South of St. Kilda hill, the land beyond Carlisle Street was also mostly low lying and swampy, remaining so until the construction of the Elwood canal during the late 1890's.

Changes to the natural order commenced with Wilbraham Liardet's entrepreneurial endeavours at Sandridge and the formation of a track between the beach and the town of Melbourne from 1839 (see section 3). Both Liardet and Alfred Lingham established their own hotels at Sandridge, the 1841 survey map of the locality showing both the "Marine" and "Pier": hotels in existence, each with their own jetties and individual tracks to Melbourne, ultimately joining to form the one track on their route north. A hut and a customs tent are shown prudently situated midway between the two hotels and there is a magazine a short distance to the south. Already the framework of the future township at this site was being sketched out with its two essential elements: the inland route to Melbourne and the shoreline development being clear from the outset. This so called "T plan", with the stem of the T being the Melbourne track, later Bay Street, and the head being the shoreline, later Beach Street, was first recognised in 1839 when the government surveyor, Robert Hoddle laid out his scheme for the development of "South Melbourne", being the whole parish south of the Yarra. His plan was changed in 1842 and provided for half acre allotments with a main street in the location of Bay Street, of about thirty metres in width, crossed by narrower roads running east-west. The survey laid out forty allotments in four blocks between the present Graham and Rouse Streets but following its advertisement in the Government Gazette Governor La Trobe withdrew the land from sale[65] possibly because he was anxious not to prejudice the future development of a port at this location. In 1849, the government constructed a pier on the site of Liardet's first jetty and another attempt was made to sell land at Sandridge. This time, the plan was drawn up by the assistant surveyor, Lindsay Clarke. Two additional blocks were offered at this time, each containing seven allotments and being bounded by the present day Bay, Beach, Rouse and Stokes Streets. Both had already seen development, as has been described.

The Brighton road during this period constituted a land route south from Melbourne past the high ground at St. Kilda to Brighton and Arthur's Seat. Coaching inns were provided along its length, the "Grosvenor" and "Elsternwick" hotels surviving in altered form, today. The St. Kilda hill may have been seen by the government as a suburban seaside resort from the outset, land being offered for sale from 1842. Government policy had initially been that a long rectangle between the Yarra River and what is now Victoria Street/ Parade would be kept as a town reserve and sold only in small allotments, with ample provision for public purposes and expansion of the town. Land immediately outside of this reserve was described as suburban and sold in comparatively large allotments whilst further afield blocks were sold as country lots. Thus St. Kilda Road was created as a broad avenue through the publicly owned land of the town reserve, as was Kerford Road, but when it crossed into the suburban lands it suddenly contracted in width to a standard half chain road, typical of others reserved by the

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[63] Log book of Charles Grimes, 2.2.1803. Quoted in N. U'ren and N. Turnbull:A History of Port Melbourne,O.U.P. (1983), p.6 in Allom Lovell and associates: "Port Melbourne Conservation Study Review, vol.1, pp.13-14.

[64] Curr, E.M., Recollections of Squatting in Victoria Then called the Port Phillip District (from 1841-1851), MUP, (…), pp.9-10.

[65] U'ren, N., and Turnbull, N., op.cit.,p16 in Allom Lovell and Associates op.cit., p.16.

government in outer areas. In more recent times, as has been noted in section 4.3.5, High Street has been widened and is now called St. Kilda Road.

Furthering the notion of St. Kilda as a seaside resort, the "Royal" hotel was built soon after 1846, not on a main road, as one would expect, but on the sea front at the east corner of the Esplanade and Robe Street. Houses were constructed after the land sales, the architect Samuel Jackson purchasing land in 1843 and 1847 and building his surviving home "Wattle House" during this period in the picturesque "cottage orne" manner[66]. H also designed "Charnwood", since demolished at St. Kilda hill.

The impetus for development provided by the gold rushes commencing in 1851 coincided with separation of the Port Phillip District from the colony of New South Wales to form the new colony of Victoria. These events were soon followed by the opening of the rail line from Melbourne to Sandridge in 1854. Apart from its economic impacts, this railway had a profound effect on the layout of the new township. Following its construction, settlement was contained to the north by the railway itself and to the south by the lagoon. These circumstances were reinforced in 1855 by a new Crown Lands Department plan for the area which confirmed that development was not permitted beyond the railway. This provision coincided with the formation of a reserve along the route of the railway for the purposes of ornamental plantations. Extending from Boundary to Graham Streets and occupying both sides of the railway between Station Place and Evans Street, it was a unique concept insofar as railway construction was concerned and a suitable memorial for the place occupied by the line in Australian history.

Following the first land sales at Sandridge in September, 1850, the certainty of land tenure and economic opportunity led to rapid development. At first, the shortage of building materials and labour encouraged the erection of prefabricated buildings which had been prohibited within the area controlled by the Melbourne Corporation by the *Melbourne Building Act* of 1850. The American merchant, George Francis Train, of Caldwell Train and Co. erected a six storeyed timber warehouse near the pier, transported from his home town of Boston. In Bay Street the Anglicans engaged architects Knight, Kemp and Kerr to supervise the erection of a prefabricated corrugated iron clad church manufactured by Samuel Hemming of Bristol and in the same year A.E. Johnson supervised the erection of an iron school for the Board of National Education.

In December 1852, the *Argus* recorded that about a hundred tents had been erected near Liardet's and there were other flimsy wooden shelters in use. The temporary shanties were clustered near Stokes Street, Nott Street, along the beach and in Bay Street, the latter being the only clearly delineated street. There was plenty of opportunity for commercial gain by traders fitting out new arrivals for the goldfields; in accommodating them, selling them horses, equipment food and entertainment[67].

No known houses survive from this period while Edwin Thomas' sketch of Bay Street in 1853[68] shows single and two storeyed timber shops with verandahs in a continuous row on one side and interrupted on the other by unoccupied ground. The buildings have that transient quality common to all towns in their initial development phase: a phase which is relentlessly superseded by more permanent structures in the wake of economic growth. Further land sales were held in 1853 when prices peaked. Sandridge was caught up in a period of frenzied growth, servicing the markets of the new colony. An 1855 plan (see fig….) shows the essential elements of the township. Commencing at the sea front there is a customs house at the corner of Beach Street and Nott Street and a reserve for the post office on the south corner of Bay and Rouse Streets. Between Rouse and Graham Streets there are allotments for the Roman Catholic and Wesleyan churches and a reserve for the watchouse. Further north again between Graham and Liardet Streets are the Seamen's, Presbyterian and Church of England reserves. Between Liardet and Raglan Streets, as the available land between the lagoon and the railway reserve narrows, there is a pool - on the site of present Lalor Street - and associated swampland. Private

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[66] Andrew C. Ward and associates: "Wattle House Conservation analysis", 3/1990, p.23

[67] See U'Ren, N. and Turnbull, N., op.cit., pp.21-22 for further details from which this account has been taken.

[68] This sketch is illustrated in U'Ren, N. and Turnbull, N., op.cit., p.20, the original being held in the LaTrobe Library Collection.

allotments are scattered liberally throughout the area and it would appear that the whole of Sandridge had been alienated by this time. Station Place is lined with small presumably residential allotments.

St. Kilda's role as a resort was consolidated in the 1850's by the arrival of the railway in 1857. An illustration of "Mooney's "Royal" hotel captures the mood with its English looking hotel, bathing boxes wheeled out beyond the water's edge, horse drawn carriage and well dressed lodgers promenading with their parasoles. Whether the scene was an idealised one or not is immaterial; it certainly depicts the image which the proprietor sought. Terrace houses were characteristic and are understood to have been unusual outside of Melbourne itself at that time. Surviving examples include 62-64 Barkly Street (1854 or earlier), 9-11 Clyde Street (pre 1854), 22-24 Princes Street, designed by Lloyd Tayler in 1856, "Eden Terrace" at 4-18 Dalgety Street (1855-57), "Marli Place" at 3-7 Upper Esplanade (1858) and others[69]. In July, 1856, the *Argus* complained of the small allotments on which houses were being built in St. Kilda, Richmond and Collingwood[70]. Overcrowding as a consequences of the gold discoveries was taking its toll. Cooper in his history of St. Kilda published in 1931 records a surprisingly large number of prefabricated iron and timber buildings being erected at the time. Today, only 7 Burnett street is understood to be representative of this aspect of St. Kilda's early development. By the time of Alexander Black's plan of 1854 there were over two hundred houses at St. Kilda built on land most of which had been sold in 1842. Ten years later, Cox's coastal survey plan shows some increase in the original settled area as well as equally dense development in the wedge between Barkly Street and St. Kilda Road to the east. A fairly continuous row of houses extends along the south side of Alma Road as far east as the railway line and their is additional development to the south. The land between Alma Road and Wellington Street was mostly vacant except in the vicinity of the Wellington Street/High Street intersection. The view in Cooper is helpful to the extent that it offers a glimpse of St. Kilda Junction c.1858. St. Kilda Road itself is a fairly narrow road in a wide reservation having no semblance of a formal layout. The verandahs of shops at the Punt Road intersection are visible whilst a police station overlooks the intersection from the north and faces the two storeyed "Junction" hotel, then run by Henry Young. Elsewhere, looking north, between Punt Road on the right and Albert Park Lake on the left is open woodland interspersed with patches of bush.

Whereas settlement at the Port commenced at an early date as a function of the formation of Melbourne town itself and whilst St. Kilda was an attractive suburban resort, there was no such catalyst to prompt the early growth of Emerald Hill. Indeed, the natural barriers combined with the comparative distance of the locality from the nearby activity centres to delay development until August, 1852[71]. Again, the impact of the gold discoveries doubtless put pressure on the government to make more residential land available. The first stage of a fifty lots sale of land took place at this time and was bounded approximately by present day Eastern Road, Park Street, Montague Street and the Sandridge (now City) Road. Included in this area, which had been laid out on a grid pattern, was the Orphanage Asylum reserve, on the top of the hill where the South Melbourne town hall now stands. Police, town hall, church and National School reserves were also included. Just prior to August 1854, the subdivided lands were extended to the "Three Chain" road, later Albert Road in the south and to Nelson Place in the west. This plan, attributed to Clement Hodgkinson by Priestley, included St. Vincents Place and the semi-circular streets which enclose it. Recalling the formally planned residential squares of nineteenth century English cities, this locality remains highly distinguished within metropolitan Melbourne, though the idea of semi-circular street layouts was not without precedent, Henry Foot's plan of the Brighton Estate, pre-dating St. Vincents Place by some eight years.

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[69] See Lewis, Dr.M.:St. Kilda-An Historical Outline in Nigel Lewis and Associates: "St. Kilda Conservation Study- Area One" 9/1982, p.34 for a complete list of these terraces.

[70] Ibid., p.34.

[71] See Priestley, S., South Melbourne A History MUP (1995), p.51.

The north-western quarter of the area was both closest to Melbourne and the most commercially oriented, supporting ten of the fourteen hotels listed in the 1856 municipal valuation[72]. James Watson was a resident of Emerald Hill in the 1860's. He wrote:

> There was no continuity of houses connecting with the city, the houses did not reach down from the upper part of Clarendon-street to the Sandridge-road, and there was none between that road and the river. The river-bank was higher than the adjoining land, which was a marsh right back beyond the Sandridge-road, which had been constructed on it, and higher up to behind the barracks to the three chain road which connected the Hill with St. Kilda-road. As many people walked to their occupation or business in the city every day a plank road had been erected across this swampy land. This footway was about 4 feet wide, built about the same height above the ground, with a handrail on one side. One of these was a continuation of Clarendon-street, and another of Moray-street joined up with one which was parallel with the river-bank that led up to the Falls Bridge[73].

The section bounded by Montague, Park, Moray and York Streets was the most intensely settled. The main street was already Clarendon Street although the principal public buildings were around Cecil Street and included the mechanics' institute, court house and municipal offices. St. Vincents Place was at that time unoccupied. Road surfaces were rough and there were constant arguments about where the levels should be set. The correct decision had important implications for drainage and at times involved lowering roadways by several feet, leaving the original buildings literally high and dry. Evidence of this can still be seen at St. Lukes church where a bluestone wall in Dorcas Street marks the difference between the original and new street level. The street grid included accommodation for a market whilst the impact of the St. Kilda railway was softened by its situation in a cutting with bluestone overbridges linking both sides of the township. Nevertheless, development on the west side lagged behind that on the east.

Sandridge, St. Kilda and Emerald Hill were geographically discrete townships during the 1860's, each with its own character and purpose and interlinked by the railway system of the Melbourne and Hobsons Bay United Railway Co. Whereas Sandridge was the port town and St. Kilda the resort, Emerald Hill was the suburban retreat for what the Victorians called the commercial classes. The 1861 census vividly demonstrated this circumstance.

5.5.2 Seaside Seats and Marine Mansions

Elwood's first land sale was held on 18 September 1851, when six blocks between Ormond Road and the Esplanade were auctioned.[74] A month later, three more eight-acre blocks were sold in Melbourne. None of these early investors, however, developed their properties immediately and, even a year later, there was still only one actual resident in Elwood: one John Broadbent, a timber-cutter working at Point Ormond, who lived in a tent at a time when, as he later claimed 'nobody else had a tent or house in Elwood'.[75]

One of the first attempts to promote settlement in Elwood took place in 1853, when J G Vautier subdivided his land as the Elwood Hill Estate, comprising 60 residential lots with frontage to 'Esplanade' and 'Government Road' (Ormond Road), and two new streets, North Elwood Street (Vautier Street) and South Elwood Street (Docker Street). In May 1853, three lots were purchased by the Reverend Joseph Docker, who engaged architects Russell, Watts & Pritchard to design a pair of terrace houses, for which tenders were called in December 1854. While these remain as Elwood's oldest surviving houses, they are an anomaly as they represented an unsuccessful attempt to introduce terrace housing

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[72] Ibid, pp.52-53.

[73] James Watson, "Personal Recollections of Melbourne in the 'Sixties'", in Victorian Historical Magazine, vol xii, no.4 (7/1928); Roads and Bridges in Victorian Parliamentary Papers, in Allom Lovell Sanderson Pty. Ltd.: "South Melbourne Urban Conservation Study", 5/1987, vol. 1, p.4/2.

[74] Heritage Allaince, op.cit, footnotes p. 11.

[75] Ibid.

(ubiquitous in nearby St Kilda) into Elwood. As it would turn out, it was an entirely different housing typology – the detached mansion on a large allotment – that would strongly characterise Elwood in the second half of the nineteenth century.

One of the first of the grand mansions in the area was Thomas Monahan's Erindale, for which architect Joseph Burns called tenders in October 1854. This two-storey bluestone house, located in what is now part of Ripponlea, stood on over 16 acres on the east side of Brighton Road, justsouth of present-day Glen Eira Road and appears on Kearney's map of 1855. This map, which shows Elwood as far south as Glenhuntly Road, gives a clear indication of the emergence of the mansion estates. While residential development in St Kilda was quite dense, it became much sparser south of Carlisle Street (then known as Beach Road), with both sides of Brighton Road characterised by a smattering of substantial houses on large allotments. The east side wasdominated by Monahan's Erindale, and the west by three particularly prominent mansions: one on the corner of Southey and Dryden streets, another on the east corner of Byron and Tennyson streets, and a third on the corner of Milton Street and Brighton Road. Another substantial estate, not shown on Kearney's map but built c.1855-56, was T J Nankivell's Chiverton, a mansion attributed to architect Leonard Terry on the west side of Brighton Road, between Burns and Scott streets[76].

Although not shown on Kearney's map, similar development took place further south, with mansions beginning to appear on those seaside blocks along the Esplanade. In December 1855, architect Charles Laing called tenders for two detached houses at 'North Elwood', designed for original landholder William Wootton Blow. [77] Six months later, the Australian Builder reported that construction of Blow's 'marine residences' was nearing completion, adding that 'a striking feature is the wide Moorish verandah which surrounds the upper and lower stories'. Blow's two houses, flanking what is now the intersection of Pine Avenue, became known as Bramshaw and Osborne House – the latter a suitably fitting reference to Queen Victoria's own seaside house on the Isle of Wight. Such evocative nomenclature was clearly significant, also being evident in another early mansion on the Esplanade, built for James Osborn in the 1850s. His house, later known as Wiltonia, was originally Bleak House – an allusion to Charles Dickens' own holiday house on the Kent coast (and, incidentally, the inspiration for his novel of the same name, serialised in 1852-53). Names such as these were indicative of the emerging trend of the 'seaside seat' that would characterise the area over ensuing decades.

5.5.3   The Late Nineteenth Century Boom

U'Ren and Turnbull write that the decades between 1860 and 1890 were perhaps the most decisive in Port Melbourne's history. The population had increased sevenfold from 3,351 in 1861 before beginning a long and steady decline[78]. At the beginning of the period the process of replacing the earlier and more temporary buildings with permanent accommodation was gaining momentum. The surviving brick court house on the corner of Bay and Graham streets was built in 1860 and the police station alongside in Bay Street in 1861-63. The long closed post office, also in Bay Street, was built in 1861. Amongst the brick hotels being built were the "Chequers Inn" which remains today at the corner of Bay and Bridge Streets and the "Fountain Inn" at the corner of Raglan and Crockford Streets. There were in fact many hotels at the Port, which was not surprising, given its foundations in the shipping trade. In 1872 the architect, Thomas (?) Watts designed a small hotel in Graham Street and Frederick Williams a larger one at the corner of Graham Street and the Esplanade. In 1873 he designed another one on the site of the old "Sandridge Inn" in Bay Street and carried out alterations to the "Bay View" in 1887, the "Prince Alfred" in 1889 and designed the new "Victoria" in 1895. In 1888 the local architect, J.B. Grut carried out works to "Chequers", the "Rising Sun", the "Exchange", the "Hibernian" and the "Cosmopolitan". The shops, mainly in Bay Street, convey something of the same picture as the hotels, a few being designed by quite distinguished Melbourne architects and then from the 1870's more and more by the locals. Frederick Williams was exceptionally busy whilst John Flannagan's group of three shops in Bay

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid. p 12.

[78] U'Ren, N. and Turnbull, N., op.cit., 78.

Street of 1874-75 survive as a testimony two his work and a reminder that the original development encompassed five shops. Williams commenced his run of commissions with a tender in 1871 for an unspecified number of shops and dwellings. There were more in Bay Street (1873) and Ingles Street, four in Bay Street in 1874 and others again later in the year. Although the main commercial street was Bay Street, others included Beach, Rouse, Graham, Nott and Stokes and there were non-residential establishments in Railway Place and Station Place, taking advantage of their proximity with the railway line.

At the beginning of 1872 a committee was appointed with representatives from Sandridge and South Melbourne to promote the establishment of a gasworks serving the locality. A lease over six acres had been negotiated on land at Pickles Street and gas was turned on in March, 1873, the South Melbourne Gas Company later amalgamating with the Melbourne and Collingwood gas companies to form the Metropolitan Gas Company. The retort house was a substantial structure from which rose a ninety foot high stack whilst the gas holders dominated their immediate environs[79]. Although residents had been purchasing gas from the West Melbourne gasworks prior to this time, the provision of a local works meant cheaper rates and improved living standards for the people of Sandridge and South Melbourne.

St. Kilda retained its importance as a seaside resort for "Marvellous Melbourne" throughout the nineteenth century. A view of the Esplanade c.1870 captures the spirit of the age with the activity on the footpaths overlooking the bay and the sailing ships at anchor. Present Jacka Boulevard has the appearance of a rough track, accessible to vehicular traffic whilst the sea baths are prominent. The St. Kilda pier is glimpsed in the distance. The baths included Captain Kenny's "Hot Sea Baths" and the facilities of the "Royal Gymnasium Baths and Sea Bathing Company", designed by W. Elsdon who had gained a reputation locally for his association with the Hobsons Bay Railway Co. These baths later became known as Leggett's, after the name of their manager[80]. The old pier of 1853 had been extended in 1857-58 and was further extended in 1873 by H. Turnbull and Co. Following agitation for a breakwater by the St. Kilda Yacht Club in 1874 ensuing debate led eventually to the extension of the pier in the form of a breakwater by the Public Works Department in 1884. It was, by this time, 1944 feet long.[81]

St. Kilda, the resort, was also the place of residence for many of Melbourne's successful businessmen. Ambrose Kyte, owner of the "Theatre Royal" in Bourke Street, built "Oakleigh Hall" pre (?) 1865 in Dandenong Road, East St. Kilda. Cooper described it as "the finest dwelling at the time around Melbourne", even though Kyte overextended himself in the process of its erection[82]. In 1873 the St. Kilda Council sent photographs of its finest houses to the Vienna Exhibition. Among them were the residences of Major Sargood ("Rippon Lea"), Thomas Alston, George Twentyman, James Service, soon to be colonial treasurer and premier, William Peterson, T.J. Crouch, a prominent architect of the day, Archibald Michie, H. Moore and Emil Thoneman. Already larger holdings were being subdivided for profit. Among them were Robert Smith's "Berochah" in Barkly Street, sold off in November 1873. The "St. Kilda Beach Estate" (1873) was comprised of 58 allotments and the "Acland Estate" at the corner of the Esplanade and Carlisle Street, close to the "Royal" hotel, consisted of 31 allotments. In January 1874 Henry Tullet announced the sale of the land between the Esplanade, the town hall and the market.

By this time the commercial streets of St. Kilda were Fitzroy Street, Acland Street and Robe Street. Commencing at Barkly Street, Alma Road, Inkerman Street and Carlisle Street were each occupied by a handful of business enterprises as was Dandenong Road, east of Punt Road and Barkly Street. High

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[79] See Proudley, R., Circle of Influence A History of the Gas Industry in Victoria, for an account of the commencement of gas supply in South Melbourne and its history thereafter.

[80] See Cooper, J.B., The History of St. Kilda from its first settlement to a City and after: 1840-1930, Printers Pty. Ltd., (1931), vol.1, pp.172-180 for an account of St. Kilda's sea baths.

[81] Ibid, pp. 219-223 for an account of the history of the St. Kilda pier.

[82] Ibid, pp. 232-33.

Street was especially important, being occupied by retailers from Dandenong Road all the way to Carlisle Street.

By the turn of the century, the area north of Blessington Street/ Carlisle Street to Chapel Street, east of Chapel Street down to Brunning Street and on the other side of the railway approaching Hotham Street was quite intensely settled. Although the building stock varied, it consisted generally of larger villas facing the main streets such as Alma Road, with smaller houses and terraces behind, in the narrow streets. Beyond Hotham Street and down the Brighton Road, houses remained in their spacious grounds. Marine Parade shared in the housing boom during the late nineteenth century and in 1888 a contract was signed to fill the Elwood swamp using sand dredged from the bay.

The 1860s saw a number of substantial houses springing up in Elwood's north-eastern fringe. Alfriston, at 131 Brighton Road (near the corner of Mason Avenue) was erected in the early 1860s, possibly for Henry C Wills, but later occupied by the Honorable Caleb Jenner, MLC. Nearby, the prominent intersection of Tennyson and Milton Streets was developed with two mansions built in 1865 for Captain H Selwyn Smith and F G Smith, respectively on the east and north corners. The latter, known as Evora, has since been demolished, although the former, Hartpury, still exists in an altered state at 9 Milton Street. The third corner of this intersection developed in 1870 with the construction of Ravelston, a two-storey mansion for prominent tobacconist Fredrick William Heinecke. Around the same time, merchant Charles Berghoff built a similar mansion for himself, named Critchall, on a large lot between Tennyson Street and Brighton Road, where Wimbledon Avenue now runs. Clearly, some of Melbourne's mostsuccessful businessmen and prominent citizens were choosing Elwood as the location for their town residences. Indeed, the suburb's reputation as a prestigious address had burgeoned considerably since the early 1860s, when Sir Richard Heales, MLA, then Premier of Victoria, built his house, Tennyson Villa, in Tennyson Street.[83]

The proliferation of mansion estates in Elwood during the 1860s becomes evident when onecompares Kearney's 1855 map with a later map of the area, prepared by J E S Vardy in 1873. This shows that a number of large properties had been established along the west side of Brighton Road, including one large mansion between Scott and Burns street, another on the south corner of Tennyson Street, and several smaller (but still substantial) examples between Milton and Dickens street. Further along Dickens Street, a large house had also been built near the corner of Tennyson Street, overlooking the south boundary of the Botanic Gardens. On the other side of Brighton Road, this type of development was less intensive, with Vardy's map showing two large properties built east of the railway line (which bisected the area in 1859), respectively with frontage to Hotham Street and Glen Eira Road.

Emerald Hill's formative period, noted above, was followed by one of tumultuous growth in company with Port Melbourne and St. Kilda. By 1880, the population of the municipality stood at 25,000. By the end of the decade it had reached 43,000. Growth was eagerly sought by the City fathers amongst whom were prominent real estate developers and financiers including Matthias Larkin, James Page, J.R. Buxton and W. Thistlethwaite. There was much for them to develop. The limits of the town extended out past Emerald Hill on all sides, and by the end of the 1880's, South Melbourne had become the industrial hub of the metropolis. Growth was inextricably linked with the general rise in the fortunes of the metropolis. No longer was South Melbourne only a suburb whose residents travelled to other parts of Melbourne for their work. Now developers set about providing cheaply constructed low rental housing to attract workers to the factories. The 1870's witnessed the expansion of residential Emerald Hill down onto the flat land at Montague. By 1880, Gladstone, Buckhurst and Thistlethwaite Streets were crammed with small cottages. Another favoured area was along the eastern side of town, between Moray Street and Hanna Street. Closer to Albert Road, there were new houses in Napier and Raglan Streets and in the narrow streets that ran behind them, while to the south, houses were spilling out across the old racecourse.

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[83] Heritage Alliance, op cit. pp18-19.

Many employers chose to live in the municipality too. St. Vincents Place had become the chosen place. John Danks lived at Merton Crescent in the 1880's, next to St. Vincents Place West. William Buckhurst, purchaser of a number of allotments at the original land sales, was another resident, strongly promoting the beautification of the gardens as well as the development of nearby Albert Park. As the park was improved and its objectionable smells dealt with, Albert Road itself became another desirable address for the elite.

When the orphan asylum moved from Emerald Hill to Brighton leading to the development of the new town hall and public offices at this location, the Church of England responded in 1881 by constructing its own shops facing Clarendon Street and the Emerald Hill. The result confirmed Clarendon Street's importance as the principal retail thoroughfare in South Melbourne.

The community leaders were usually in favour of any moves to extend the residential lands beyond their existing limits. In 1875 the Council commenced an agitation to have the areas now known as Middle Park and Albert Park surveyed for subdivision. This called for a new road to run alongside the railway line and so in 1876 Ferrars Street was extended to St. Kilda, taking the name Canterbury Road for the extension. Land sales commenced soon afterwards although few houses were built there until the 1880's.

The most controversial of all the land development schemes of the period was the government's decision in March 1875 to sell off the St. Kilda Road frontages of the Albert Park reserve. The motives behind this move are unclear but the act was consistent with previous government decisions to sell park frontages in Royal Park and Fawkner Park during the 1860's. There was much public anger over the move, but none from the Council at Emerald Hill. Under the proposal, Queens Terrace, now Queens Road, was laid out to run parallel with St. Kilda Road. An existing playing ground, the Warehousemen's Ground, was reserved from sale. Allotments would be large and expensive and the government insisted on certain building restrictions to ensure that only mansions and large villas would be erected. The most cynical part of the process was the announcement of the decision between parliamentary sittings. Auctions were held prior to the resumption of parliament and in spite of specially convened public meetings. As a consolation, perhaps, the government then moved to proclaim the remainder of Albert Park as a permanent reserve, although this was not to prevent later incursions into the park in the name of roads and improvements, most recently including the establishment of Melbourne's Grand Prix circuit in the face of local protestations.

The days of Emerald Hill, the discrete urban township, had passed. In its place was an extensive suburban and industrial area bounded by the sea on one side and merging with the adjoining municipalities on all other fronts. Although the distinctive qualities of the original settlement had been retained and enhanced, it was now a part of something much larger and it was but a sign of the times when in 1883, upon attainment of cityhood, the Council changed its name to that of the City of South Melbourne. To "Garryowen", then writing his Chronicles of Early Melbourne, the prospect of a name change was unthinkable: "It is seriously proposed to call it South Melbourne", he wrote, "and if this notion be carried out, a flagrant mistake will have been made for two reasons, viz., that it is simply conferring on a special portion of a district a nomenclature by which the whole district is officially known…Again, if it be so called, it will be nominally reducing it to a part and parcel of Melbourne, a subordinate adjunct of the principal city"[84]

5.5.4   Depression and Recovery: the Inter-War Years

The 1890's depression served not only to slow the rate of metropolitan development to a stand still but it also provided the newly formed Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works with an opportunity to catch up with its sewerage program. In March 1893, the Board opened tenders for the main trunk sewer to run through Port Melbourne. By April, 1897 the work was complete and ready for use and on 17.8.1897 the "All England XI" hotel became the first property in Melbourne to be connected with the

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[84] Garryowen, p.535 in Allom Lovell Sanderson Pty. Ltd., op.cit., pp. 4/15-4/16.

sewerage system[85]. Many connections followed, ultimately leading to a marked improvement in the standard of community health. In spite of the improvement, compounded by the introduction of electric light in 1913, Port Melbourne was appealing less and less as a desirable residential location. Unemployment and poverty, of concern prior to the depression and intensified during the 1890's remained an important issue in the twentieth century.

As Port Melbourne's interests became more closely aligned with those of its workers, specific goals directed at alleviating workers' hardship became evident in at least some local policy initiatives. The eventual result of one of these is clearly reflected in the fabric of the City. Though the development of the State Bank Garden City and Housing Commission housing estates in the inter war years were undertaken at the behest of the government, these developments followed many years of effort by the Port Melbourne Council to improve workers' housing within its municipal boundaries. The Council had been petitioning the government to unlock land at Fishermen's Bend, and to sponsor workers' housing there since 1906. In the post war period, the Town Planning Commission continued to campaign for the establishment of a state model suburb at a location such as Fishermen's Bend. The Labor Party supported the idea in 1924-25. Also in 1925, the general manager of the State Savings Bank undertook a tour of Britain where he inspected some large scale low income housing projects. The Bank purchased land at Fishermen's Bend between 1926 and 28, subdividing it in accordance with the recommendations of the Town Planning Commission. The layout of the estate was designed by Fred Cook, chief technical officer of the Town Planning Commission. His plan demonstrated some of the principles of the Garden City movement in England and especially Letchworth, just north of London, designed in 1904 by Sir Raymond Unwin, an originator and practitioner of the movement. In Victoria, the State Electricity Commission's workers' housing development at Yallourn designed in 1921 by architects Alan La Gerche and Arthur Stephenson was comparable.

Designs for the houses were prepared by the Bank's architect, G.B. Leith and were based on the British Local Government Board's Manual on the Preparation of State-Aided Housing Schemes. Work was under way in 1926 and the official opening took place in March, 1927. By 1930, 184 houses had been built, construction stopping during the depression and resuming after 1937. The vision, though having its roots in the pioneering work of the Garden City movement, harkens back also to the early days at Emerald Hill when Clement Hodgkinson set about planning a suburb having intrinsic aesthetic values. Yet the comparison stops here, for St. Vincents Place appealed to the relatively few who could afford it whilst the Fishermen's Bend project, aptly called Garden City, represented a new deal for the worker[86].

The division between rich and poor was equally clear in St. Kilda for whilst the wealthy occupied the higher ground at St. Kilda hill, the poorer residents occupied timber cottages on the lower ground of the Balaclava flats. They included servants to the wealthier residents and workers employed in local businesses. As the locality's role as a resort for the metropolis was strengthened by the introduction of public transport services focussing on the Esplanade, the Council of the day formed its St. Kilda Foreshore Committee in 1906 with both state and City Council representation. Luna Park followed in 1912 whilst the opening of venues such as the Palais de Danse in the following year provided a firm basis for the development of an identity for central St. Kilda which was celebrated not only by its proximity with the bay but also by its place as an entertainment centre for Melbourne. These changes basically only affected the St. Kilda hill area, supplanting the character of established, wealthy gentility with one of impermanence and mobility. Buildings which were particularly evocative of this change were the new guest houses and hotels, particularly those created by the conversion of former mansions.

The low lying land to the south of the hill became attractive as potential residential land given its proximity with St. Kilda and the City during the first decade of this century. The filling of the swamp, the re-alignment of the Elster Creek and its transformation into the Elwood canal was virtually complete by 1905 and it remained for the Victorian Railways with the ardent support of Thomas Bent, premier, treasurer and minister for railways, to construct an electric tramway linking Elwood and points

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85 U'Ren, N. and Turnbull, N., op.cit.p.177.

86 See Allom Lovell and associates, op.cit.,pp.23-25,26 for a more detailed account of the Garden city development.

south with the rail head at St. Kilda. Tracks were laid to the broad gauge of 5'3" rather than standard gauge adopted by the street tramways elsewhere and the line was opened on 5.5.1906. Major land sales followed in 1908 and 1913 with blocks being provided of a size sufficient for freestanding villas and bungalows. Elwood was an early suburb demonstrating new and more spacious living standards made possible only by the provision of fast electric tramway services. Others beyond the limits of the City of Port Phillip were to follow soon afterwards.

The completion of the swamp reclamation project in 1910[87], and the first sales of the reclaimed land three years later, spurred even more intense development in that part of the suburb. Over the next few years, streetscapes of new housing spread along newly-formed Addison Street, Ruskin Street, Meredith Street and Broadway. Commercial development soon followed, with ubiquitous corner shops and others flanking the intersection of Meredith and Addison streets. Elsewhere, modestly-scaled housing estates continued to proliferate. These also developed very swiftly.

During the 1910s, intense residential settlement in Elwood prompted the expansion of associated infrastructure[88] - and vice versa. Domestic power supply apparently arrived in the 1910s, after the suburb had being sidestepped when electricity mains were laid out in St Kilda (1900) and Brighton (1910). The first purpose-built church in Elwood also appeared around this time – a modest timber structure in Mitford Street for the local Methodist congregation, designed in 1910 by prolific ecclesiastical architect Alec Eggleston. It was followed, two years later, by a similarly understated timber building for the Presbyterians in nearby Scott Street, designed by the same architect. More conspicuous brick churches followed in the later teens, with St Bede's Anglican Church in Ormond Road (1916), and a new and larger Methodist church in Mitford Street (1918; demolished). The local Roman Catholic congregation, meanwhile, had acquired a site in the new Normandy Street subdivision in 1914, where they established a denominational school in 1918. A purpose-built church, however, would not be completed for another decade. The Methodists had already operated their own day school in Mitford Street from the early 1910s; however, it was not until 1917 that the first state school opened, on the opposite side of Poet's Grove.[89]

Retail development also expanded significantly during the 1910s. At the same time that isolated corner shops began to spring up in the suburb's north-east, a shopping strip began to spread along that portion of Tennyson Street near the new Presbyterian church and the burgeoning subdivisions of Rothesay Avenue (1911) and Austin Avenue (1914). More extensive commercial expansion occurred along Ormond Road and Glenhuntly Road, spurred by the opening of the new tram routes. The intersection of the two tram routes marked an important regional shopping precinct known as Elwood Junction, with the distinctive form of the Alderley Building (1920) on the prominent corner of these two roads. By 1930, there were almost thirty businesses along the north side of Ormond Road.[90]

Further east, it was the opening of the Ripponlea railway station in 1913 that similarly prompted intense retail development, this time along Glen Eira Road. If anything, this was even swifter than the development of Ormond Road shopping strip, with double-storey shops appearing within only a year or two of the station's opening. These were followed by a number of conspicuous individual shops.[91]

This period saw a marked decline in the viability of large mansions across Melbourne's suburbs in general, but it was particularly felt in the more affluent inner southern suburbs such as St Kilda and Brighton, where land was highly sought-after by a new generation of homebuilders seeking smaller detached dwellings, duplexes or flats. The days of the sprawling seaside mansions were numbered.[92]

[87] Heritage Alliance, op cit. p23.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Heritage Alliance, op cit. p23.

[92] Ibid. p.24.

Ironically, it was one of Elwood's earliest mansion estates – W W Blow's twin villas – was one of the first casualties of this trend. [93] The mansions themselves were retained on smaller blocks within the new estates, although rarely as single dwellings. The conversion of mansions into multi-unit dwellings was a recurring theme in Melbourne's more affluent suburbs during the inter-war period.[94] Some of these mansions (eg Rothermere) underwent virtually no external alteration, while others (eg Wimbledon) had discreet additions, and still others were entirely remodelled, now virtually unrecognisable as a Victorian house. But many other mansions were not so lucky. A second wave of subdivision in the 1920s and '30s saw the destruction of several mansions that had had already been partly subdivided in the early 1900s. Erindale, probably the oldest surviving house in Elwood at that time, was razed in 1923 for six new lots on the north side of Fuller Road, while the mansion that had been retained off Avoca Avenue in 1907 was finally destroyed almost thirty years later, subdivided in 1936 to create Avoca Court. Other casualties included Arranmore (1918) and Chiverton (c. 1920s), both on Brighton Road, and Monkstadt on Maryville Street (1929).

In the older parts of the City, the St. Kilda Council supported the redevelopment of existing properties into flats, leading to a trend which accelerated in the 1930's. Longmire notes that St. Kilda was second only to Camberwell in the total value of permits issued in 1937. This rate of development led eventually to the attainment of the highest levels of residential density in Melbourne and during one particular year in the early 1930's one third of all metropolitan flat development. Accommodation included bachelor flats, maisonettes, bungalow courts and mansion flats catering for a range of middle class requirements. The designs were oriented to achieving generously proportioned apartments with the result that lower overall densities were achieved than in the post Second World war period. In the early years, flats were regarded as smart and progressive accommodation and the development of architectural styles was expressive of this status. The transformation of the St. Kilda hill area was overpowering with new accommodation provided cheek by jowl with the gracious marine villas and mansions of a past era. At the other end of the accommodation market, rooming houses proliferated, providing short and longer term accommodation for visitors, often from country areas.

Elwood represented an even more desirable locale for apartment development because, unlike St Kilda, it was still underdeveloped at the turn of the century. With the completion of the swamp reclamation in 1905, and the expansion of the tramway networks soon after, land became moreavailable, more desirable and more accessible.Over the next two decades, apartment buildings sprung up across Elwood at an alarming rate to the point that they 'overwhelmed the neighbourhood'. Needless to say, the flats themselves display considerable variety in terms of their type and style. By far the most common manifestation was walk-up flats in blocks of two or three storeys, but there were also courtyard developments, sprawling multi-storey blocks, and afew oddities like the rare and unusual bungalow court development, Cromer Court (1940). Stylistically, Elwood's inter-war flats exhibit many of the architectural styles that werefashionable during that time: Tudor Revival, Mediterranean and Spanish Mission (considered highly appropriate for Elwood's seaside position) and, in particular, the Functionalist idiom, which spread through Elwood (as it did elsewhere) in the late 1930s. Still other examples were built in hybrid and eclectic styles the defied classification. Elwood's inter-war flats alsorepresent the work of some of Melbourne's finest and most highly-regarded (both then and now) residential architects, including Best Overend, Bernard Evans, Leslie J W Reed, W H Merritt, J H Esmond Dorney and Seabrook & Fildes.[95]

By the end of the inter war period, the locations of pre-existing commercial activity had been consolidated whilst the strip development along High Street had continued to spread southward as far as the Chapel Street tram terminus. At Elwood, retail centres had grown up at the intersection of Broadway and Glenhuntly Road, where the Melbourne and Metropolitan Tramways Board's Point Ormond tramline crossed the Victorian Railways' tram to Brighton Beach. Ormond Road attracted

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[93] Ibid. p.25.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Heritage Alliance, op.cit. p27.

strip development between Beach Avenue and Pine Avenue and corner shops were built throughout the new suburb at a time when the majority of householders did not have access top the private car.

Post depression recovery in South Melbourne had gathered pace by 1912 when industrial activity and employment levels surpassed those of the best years in the nineteenth century and the population rose to 43,000. The Edwardian period was associated with a surge of building activity in the newer parts of Albert Park but it represented the end of an era for the City as did the development of Elwood for St. Kilda. The new electric tramways system shifted the focus away from the coastal belt to the middle ring suburbs of Camberwell, Malvern and Caulfield and population growth rates levelled out to a peak of about 48,000 by the end of the 1920's. Two and three storeyed flats also made an impact, especially along the boulevards, with the impact of St. Kilda's flats making itself felt along Beaconsfield Parade.

By 1931 Melbourne was suffering from its second major economic depression with its associated poverty and deterioration in living standards. In 1936 the government agreed to the establishment of a Housing Investigation Board to consider housing conditions in Victoria. The Board's inspectors were thorough in their investigations and concluded that South Melbourne contained numerous slum pockets and narrow residential streets with poor houses, at times subject to flooding[96]. The Council had already made an attempt to improve housing standards in one small area in Montague. The site was a notoriously flood prone spot on the corner of Gladstone and Montague Streets. It had been occupied by twenty-one sub-standard cottages when it was purchased by Council. A new development was created on higher ground consisting of nine pairs of houses and they were made available on apparently generous terms to purchasers who were required to buy the land at site value and pay off a loan raised to cover the cost of the house. The Housing Investigation Board was critical of the Council's efforts, arguing that a lot of money had been expended on behalf of relatively few and that the beneficiaries could well have provided themselves with homes through normal channels of private assistance. The Board's findings led to the formation of the Housing Commission in 1938.

The inter war years had witnessed the final phase in the physical settlement of the present City of Port Phillip with a single exception. This was again at Fishermen's Bend which became the site of the Victorian Housing Commission's first housing estate. Port Melbourne had not been a principal target for slum abolition, the 464 houses which were examined by the Housing Investigation Board making up a mere 6% of the total enquiry. The Boards's report noted that in Port Melbourne "the slum problem is not as acute as elsewhere. A few slum pockets exist as well as narrow residential streets. There are, however, many substandard houses and replanning to eliminate narrow streets is appropriate"[97]. Whilst the investigation was still in progress, the government undertook its first experiment in the provision of public housing in Port Melbourne. In 1936, forty-four houses were constructed to Public Works Department designs in Southward Avenue and Griffin Crescent. The estate was opened in May 1936 with houses in the English Cottage style, constructed in pairs.

The Fishermen's Bend development followed using a design prepared by Saxil Tuxen of Tuxen and Miller, licensed surveyors, and Ballantyne and Wilson, architects. Tuxen's design drew on his knowledge of American suburban estate planning and Garden City principles. It included cul-de-sacs, a community centre and playgrounds. A panel of consultant architects made up of Arthur Leith, Frank Heath, Best Overend , Harold Bartlett, Thomas Buchan and John Scarborough was appointed to design the houses for the estate. Though not built according to plan, the estate was nevertheless the only early development of its type to include a community centre. It was viewed as something of an experiment and was not repeated.

The first families to move in came from Richmond, Port Melbourne and South Melbourne. They were people who had suffered greatly through the depression and there was immediate friction between the residents of the State Savings Bank houses and these new arrivals. The Commission area became known

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[96] See Allom Lovell Sanderson Pty. Ltd., op.cit., p. 4/20 for a more detailed account of the Board's report.

[97] Quoted in Phillips, A., "Kindergartens, Housing and Charity" p.30, in Allom Lovell and associates, op. cit., p.26.

as "Bagdad" after a magistrate's description derived from a reference to the "forty thieves" who lived there, while the Savings Bank area became known as "Nob Hill".

5.5.5   Post War Development

The apartment boom had abated considerably by the early 1940s, when the increasing gravity of the Second World War prompted restrictions in labour and building materials that continued well into that decade. When restrictions on building activity lifted by the mid-1950s, Elwood experienced a second wave of apartment development that burgeoned over the next two decades.[98] This phase was marked by the emergence of some new typologies of multi-unit dwelling. Low-scale walk-up flats were still erected, their form and planning now influenced by the growing importance of motor vehicles, with ground-floor carports, single units above, and larger three-storeyed blocks at the rear. The influence of the car is also evident in the atypical motor court development at 2 Southey Grove (1955), comprising a cluster of detached single-storey units around a courtyard. However, the most common manifestation was the more compact blocks of mid-rise flats, of four, five or even more storeys, which became ubiquitous in Elwood (and St Kilda) in the 1960s and 70s. This most often occurred near the foreshore (eg Marine Parade, Ormond Esplanade), where pressure for redevelopment was greatest. Other epicentres were those streets that provided views across public reserves – notably those overlooking the Botanical Gardens (viz Dickens Street, Tennyson Street and Herbert Street), Elsternwick Park (St Kilda Street), Robertson Gardens (Barkly Street) and Clarke Reserve (Mitford Street, and the south end of Lindsay Avenue).[99]

In general, detached individual dwellings were relatively uncommon during Elwood's post-war apartment boom, simply because of the intense pressure for multi-unit projects that made such valuable land unviable to low-density living. During the 1960s, those who could actually afford to bulldoze an existing Victorian or Edwardian house in Elwood to erect a new residence could also afford to engage an architect to produce a fine contemporary design – clearly evident in the relatively few examples of large houses built in Elwood in the 1960s.[100]

5.6   Education

5.6.1   The First Schools

The early settlers made their own arrangements for the education of their children. Those who could afford governesses made the necessary arrangements but the majority was reliant upon the efforts of individuals who established their own schools. Churches were also influential obtaining land grants and some on-going financial aid. From 1842 schools receiving aid were brought under a common system by means of the first Regulations for Schools, dubbed the "penny-a-day system"[101]. It was criticised along with the education being provided by the churches especially since only half the school aged children in the colony were receiving any education at all[102]. A select committee in 1844 considered the remedy to be a non-denominational government supported system of education, the genesis of which was realised in 1848 when governor FitzRoy appointed a General Education Board to establish and administer a national system. The committee's recommendations, however, were compromised by the appointment of two denominational boards to manage the church schools which would operate alongside the national schools.

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[98] Heritage Alliance, op.cit. p 27.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid, p 28.

[101] Blake, L.J. (general editor):Vision and realisation: A Centenary history of State Education in Victoria, Education Department of Victoria, (1973), vol.1,p.5.

[102] Ibid., pp.12-16.

In 1850 a proposal was received by a lady in the "healthy and lovely village of St. Kilda" to open a small private school[103]. Soon after, on 1.1.1851, Christ Church Church of England commenced services in Acland Street with a day school. It soon ran into difficulties when the teacher left for the goldfields and the school remained unstaffed until the Denominational Board made an appointment in 1853[104].

The system of dual administration proved to be unworkable although it was adopted by Victoria upon Separation. A National Schools Board was created in 1852 and the matters of teacher training and curriculum guidelines began to be addressed[105]. Schools sprang up, spurred on by the flood of immigrants associated with the gold rush years. To cope with the urgent need for accommodation, both boards obtained a variety of portable premises including canvas, iron and prefabricated composite structures. The "Canvas Town" school at Emerald Hill and the Holy Trinity church school at Sandridge both started out in tents in 1853 and 1854 respectively[106].

The Denominational Board outstripped the National Board in its development of schools at this time[107]. At Sandridge, the Wesleyan, Church of England and Catholic churches opened schools between 1854 and 1857. During the same period, these denominations and the Presbyterian church were also active at Emerald Hill. Between them, they opened seven schools, two of which were embodied in the Melbourne Orphanage and the St. Vincent de Paul orphanage. There were at least four schools at St. Kilda, each supported by one of the above denominations.

The first national school was Canvas Town. It was opened initially under the auspices of the Church of England with an enrolment of eighty-five students. Accommodation was not surprisingly, a tent, but improvements soon took the form of an iron building on the corner of Clarendon and Bank Streets.

Opening a school placed a heavy financial burden on its community, the Board although sympathetic being also starved of funds and sometimes hindered by government members opposed to the national system. Such problems surrounded the formation of the Sandridge National School in Bay Street. Several petitions preceded its opening in October, 1854 with Daniel Gilchrist as headmaster[108]. It was relocated in 1862 to an old iron store at the corner of Bay and Liardet Streets[109].

By 1860 there were two national schools in St. Kilda, one at the St. Kilda junction, opened in 1854 and the other on the north side of Inkerman Street East, east of Chapel Street, which opened in 1859-60 and was known as the National Day School. In 1861 the enrolments were seventy-one and forty-seven scholars respectively.

There were numerous private schools in addition to the Board schools, the Sands and McDougall directory for 1860 listing ten at St. Kilda, six of which were reserved exclusively for ladies. There were six private schools at Emerald Hill and two at Sandridge. With the exception of two, all were under the supervision of women. Private tuition was also offered in pianoforte at Sandridge and St. Kilda.

5.6.2 Government Intervention

In 1858, a St. Kilda resident and MLA, Archibald Michie, introduced an Education Bill to abolish aid to churches and to establish a national system[110]. The Bill was lost by a single vote in the Legislative Council and the debate continued, eventually leading to the Common Schools Act in June, 1862. It created one Board and basically combined the elements of the two earlier systems. The greatest change

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[103] Cooper, J.B., op.cit., vol.1 p.371.

[104] Ibid., pp.372-73 and Blake, L.J., op.cit., vol.3, p,.301.

[105] Blake, L.J., op.cit., p.789ff.

[106] Burchell, L., Victorian Schools, MUP (1980), p.29

[107] Blake, L.J., op.cit., vol.3, p.290.

[108] U'Ren, N. and Turnbull, N., op.cit., pp.67-69.

[109] Burchell, L., op.cit., pp.34-35.

[110] Blake, L.J., op. Cit., p.67.

however took place on 17.12.1872 when the Education Act became law. Its provisions were for education to be secular, compulsory to the age of fifteen and free in the basic subjects. An Education Department was created to administer the schools which began opening from 13.1.1873. Victorian children entered a new era of opportunity and enrolments increased immediately. The new minister for Education, James Wilberforce Stephen presided over the construction of larger complexes designed by his department's own architectural branch headed by Henry Robert Bastow, architect and civil engineer formerly with the Railways Department. A competition for the design of the larger schools was held in mid 1873 and led to the construction of the Emerald Hill (Albert Park no.1181) school in 1874. It was designed by M. Schneider on two floors with accommodation for one thousand scholars. Charles Webb, one of the adjudicators, also received a commission to design the Emerald Hill (South Melbourne no.1253) school which was opened in July, 1873 but it was not until 1881 that the premises built by James Treeby were completed.

New schools were also opened at Sandridge (Nott street no.1427) and Brighton Road, St. Kilda (no.1479), the latter being designed by Bastow and accommodating 614 scholars. It was opened in January, 1875. All of the new schools were overcrowded form the outset. The department leased former Common School buildings and other premises including church buildings, the Mechanics Institute at Emerald Hill, the Orderly Room at the Army Barracks, also at Emerald Hill and the St. Kilda town hall at various times.

Additional schools were opened as the late Victorian boom period progressed with its associated population explosion. Port Melbourne (Graham Street) was opened as an annex of Nott Street along with St. Kilda (Fitzroy Street). Four new schools were opened in South Melbourne at Eastern Road, City Road, Mills Street and Montague Street.

At the turn of the century kindergarten and continuation schools were opened by way of the Education Act of 1901. The McRobertson Girls' High school has its origins at this time, having been opened as the state's first secondary school in 1905. Known as the Melbourne Continuation School, it was later named Melbourne High School and, after separation from the boys in 1927 and removal to its present site in 1934, adopted its present name.

The development of a system of secondary education, however, came more by way of the Education Act of 1910 which provided for the establishment of Departmental high and technical schools. A preference for vocational training had already been established and the new South Melbourne Technical School of 1918 reflected the trend, its initial main function being to train returned soldiers.

Many years were to pass before further secondary schools were to be built in the City of Port Phillip, Elwood High School in Glenhuntly Road being opened in 1957 and Albert Park High School in Graham Street in 1971.

5.6.3   Other Schools

The concept of adult education had been fostered by the mechanics institutes which had spread to Melbourne in the 1850's. Institutes were opened at Emerald Hill in 1857 and in St. Kilda in 1859. The Catholic Church continued to provide its own schools alongside the State system. Included amongst them were St. Mary's, St. Kilda (1854), St. Peter and St. Pauls, Emerald Hill (1854), St. Vincent de Paul's orphanage, Emerald Hill (1857) and St. Joseph's, Sandridge (1857). By 1940, Catholic sponsored education in South Melbourne was making an important contribution to secondary schooling with its Christian Brothers College in Park Street, the Brigidene Convent High School for girls in Beaconsfield Parade and the Loreto Convent in Albert Park. A technical school was founded in Bank Street in 1924 and a Domestic Arts school at St. Peter and Paul's orphanage in 1937. A women teachers' college was also in operation at Albert Park.

The emphasis this century has been focussed on both secondary education and kindergartens, along with the introduction of new schools at Elwood. Curriculum development, migrant education and changing expectation of teaching have been important influences.

5.7   Government Services

5.7.1   Local Government: the Emergence of Cities

The whole of the City of Port Phillip was originally encompassed by the City of Melbourne Corporation and has since been formed through a process of severances and reformations summarised as follows. Melbourne was incorporated as a town in the Colony of New South Wales in 1842. It was created a City by Letters Patent of Queen Victoria dated 25.6.1847. At this time the City stretched from Point Ormond, almost as far as Henry Dendy's Special Survey, in a line directly up Punt Road to the Yarra river, east along the Yarra River to the Merri Creek and through present day Brunswick to the Moonee Ponds Creek, thence downstream to Flemington Bridge and then due south to a point on Hobson's Bay just west of Princes pier. Emerald Hill was created a Borough and severed from the Melbourne Corporation area on 26.5.1855. It was proclaimed a Town on 1.3.1872 and a City on 21.9.1883 in the year that Council agreed to change its name to that of South Melbourne. Sandridge was severed and created a Borough on 13.7.1860 and its name changed to Port Melbourne on 25.1.1884. It was proclaimed a Town on 20.1.1893 and gazetted a City on 14.5.1919. St. Kilda was severed and created on 24.4.1855 and proclaimed a Borough in April, 1863. It was gazetted a City on 8.9.1890. The City of Port Phillip was recently proclaimed by way of amalgamation of the three cities except that Port Melbourne City beyond the Westgate freeway and west of Todd Road was included within the reconstituted City of Melbourne. South Melbourne City, once extending to the south bank of the Yarra River, lost the area known as Southbank to the Melbourne Corporation. Given Emerald Hill's success in attaining municipal status before its neighbours and in spite of the efforts of the Melbourne Corporation, it is dealt with first, here, followed by Sandridge and St. Kilda.

5.7.2   South Melbourne

Emerald Hill had talented politicians to pursue its cause. They included the future Victorian premier, James Service, and future parliamentarians John Nimmo and George Higinbotham. Service became the first elected chairman of the Council and Nimmo served as rate collector and surveyor, becoming a councillor from 1867. All three were well placed to advance the interests of their constituents, Nimmo particularly so between 1878 and 1886 when he was also a member of the Melbourne Harbour Trust. Amongst the first contracts to be let by the new Council was the construction of Clarendon Street as a "proper" entrance into the town off the Sandridge Road[111]. Almost ninety per cent of Council's income was spent on essential public works, notably roads and footpaths. Road forming and metalling with blue gum kerbs flanked by gravel paths were the order of the day although pitched channels, kerbs and crossings were installed from the outset at some intersections. By the end of 1873 there were 36 miles of formed roads. Early in 1858 10,000 square feet of Yorkshire flagstone was imported for footpath construction in Cecil and Clarendon Streets. It was followed by additional orders and in 1874 tarred metal screenings, presumably using tar obtained from the South Melbourne gasworks opened in the previous year, were used to finish off all the remaining footpaths[112]. Elms, oaks and cedars were planted as street trees from 1859 and in 1868 Council assumed control of its public gardens including St. Vincent Place. A tollbar with adjacent toll collector's house was placed on the Sandridge Road late in 1855. Others were situated on the Brighton Road just to the north of Domain Road and at St. Kilda Junction early in 1859.

By June, 1860, mains carrying Yan Yean water had been brought across the river near the Falls bridge, along Moray Street and into nearly every street with water being made available through public standpipes and by means of private reticulation systems in houses. Fifty oil lamps were provided at the main intersections on the Sandridge Road in 1856. From 1859 gas was purchased from the Melbourne Gas Co. for lighting purposes and subsequently from the South Melbourne Gas Co.

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[111] Priestley, S., op.cit., p.87.

[112] Ibid., p.88.

The original land granted by the government for municipal purposes was the block bounded by the railway and Coventry, Cecil and Dorcas Streets, the Council moving its offices into temporary premises in 1856. When it became clear in the 1870's that a larger town hall was needed, a new proposal was considered. It was the Melbourne Orphan Asylum which occupied the best land on Emerald Hill. Ever since its establishment, the siting of the asylum at this location had been criticised. Besides, blocking Bank street was an irritation. The proposal which appeared to have the endorsement of most of the councillors was that the asylum should sell a part of its holdings to Council for a sum sufficient to allow it to buy a larger piece of cheaper land, further from Melbourne and also build sufficient accommodation for its purposes. The remainder of Emerald Hill would be subdivided and built on with shops and houses, having frontages to Clarendon and Park Streets. The asylum would in this way earn a considerable income from its property rentals.

Council intended to fund this initiative by providing a post office and police station in the town hall complex at the government's expense and by erecting shops and offices on the balance of its land to provide similar rental income. This strategy was a not uncommon one at the time to the extent that government departments were involved but the idea of building shops was unusual, comparing only with the old Hotham Town civic complex in Queensberry Street, opened in 1876. It was, when viewed from a different perspective, however, a sign of the times.

The asylum was initially outraged at the proposal but was ultimately won around to Council's idea. In 1875 the matter was taken to parliament. George Higinbotham introduced the bill and it was warmly received. A select committee was appointed to consider the proposal arriving at a conclusion favourable to the development. The town hall buildings were completed by the end of June 1880.

In 1899 Council's abattoirs, which had been established in Boundary Street in 1861, were rebuilt to a plan adopted by the Melbourne City Council at Kensington. The market, under full municipal control since 1895, was refurbished in stages from 1916.

Development of South Melbourne's industrial land to the south of the river prompted Council in 1907 to embark on a program of stone pitching for the main service roads. By 1924 the greater part of the City's stone paved roads was located in the Montague area[113]. During this period road improvements generally included tarring the pitched or wood lined channels, asphalting footpaths and fully pitching laneways which had been transferred from private to municipal control.

The streets were electrically let by the State Electricity Commission from 1923 and between 1905 and 1911 enamelled iron street name plates were attached to lamp posts throughout the municipality. Tree planting was intensified, mostly using Oriental planes, poplars, elms, oaks and pines, interspersed with Moreton Bay figs (in Nimmo Street), sugar gums, currajong and pittosporum[114]. Garden reserves were extended, including central rockeries along the important boulevards such as Beaconsfield Parade, Kerferd Road and Albert Road. The St. Vincent Gardens were completely refurbished.

5.7.3   Port Melbourne

From the late 1850's Sandridge was losing control over its waterfront. In 1858 its residents petitioned three times for local government but each time, their claims were opposed by the Melbourne Corporation which feared that a Sandridge Council might place taxes and charges on incoming goods and associated services, effectively holding the colony to ransom. As a result of this opposition the Legislative Assembly rejected Sandridge's submissions. Finally, when the municipal district of Sandridge was created the river frontage, wharves and piers were excluded from the deal with Melbourne maintaining control of the water ways. This process of divestment of power over its port facilities continued in the 1870's with the establishment of the Melbourne Harbour Trust which recognised the river wharves as the centre of water front activity for the metropolis.

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[113] Ibid., p.250.

[114] Ibid p.251.

The first Council of 1860 set about roadway improvements from the outset. In 1868 the Borough surveyor proposed that the lagoon be opened up to the bay, thereby allowing the pollution, much of which was draining down from Emerald Hill, to run out into the sea. Neither the government nor Council, however, had funds available for such a project with the result that consideration was given to developing the inner reaches of the lagoon as an ornamental reserve in much the same way as Albert Park was to be treated later in the century. In 1871 it was suggested - and not for the first time - that it be converted into a dock, thereby enhancing the Borough's industrial power base. Again, funds were not forthcoming and the government eventually put paid to the dreams of new docks by passing the Port Melbourne Lagoon Act of 1889. Under the provisions of this Act, the Harbour Trust was to commence draining and filling operations. Although work had progressed by the turn of the century, sufficient of the lagoon's traditional stench remained for it to be a scene of local agitation. Finally, filling was concluded in 1929 and Council turned its attentions to the creation of parklands and an infant welfare centre instead of industrial progress. By the mid 1860's there were three fenced reserves along the railway line, one of which had been grassed and a second planted with trees[115]. During the 1870's further land was reserved for this purpose and it served as a stimulus for residential development facing the parks of a higher standard than elsewhere in their immediate vicinity.

New premises were opened for Council on the market reserve in December, 1869. In May, 1881 funds were borrowed to complete the work, the present town hall complex designed by J.J.Wild also accommodating the Mechanics Institute library on the second floor.

The years leading up to the 1890's depression saw the reservation of additional land for ornamental and recreational purposes during an era when residents depended heavily on their local parks for relaxation and a change from their daily routine. A street tree planting program was commenced using young trees obtained from the government nursery at Mount Macedon. Electric lighting was introduced to the streets of the City in 1913 following agreement on supply being reached with the Melbourne City Corporation.

5.7.4   St. Kilda

Amongst the first works to be undertaken by the newly constituted St. Kilda Council was the repair of a culvert in Barkly Street, the formation of Alma Road and Argyle Street, seats for the promenade and works at the manure depot[116]. Attention was given also to forming the Great Dandenong Road, marking out other roadways and footpaths, acquiring land for Council's abattoirs, eventually closed c.1899, and the appropriation of additional reserves for the supply of sand[117].

By March of 1858 street lamps were burning at strategic locations throughout the municipality and in the following year arrangements were entered into for the supply of gas to twenty-eight new lamps by the Melbourne Gas Co. South Park - now Albert Park - had been defined by a fence along Fitzroy Street making it the leading entrance to the Esplanade and the most "capacious street" in St. Kilda[118]. The Esplanade itself had been fenced on the crown of the slope which had been grassed and planted with shrubs. Council enclosed the Blessington Street land with a picket fence and announced its intentions of creating a public garden and promenade within: again demonstrating an approach to the provision of urban amenities which stands in marked contrast to the present era of local bushland reserves and regional parks. Ideas for the layout of the gardens were sought and the entry of a Mr. Gloystein judged the most acceptable. By September 1861 a considerable portion of the walks, paths and garden beds had been laid out and several hundred plants and shrubs supplied by the Melbourne Botanic Gardens. The Esplanade gardens also received further attention and in 1869 the Alma Street, Fitzroy Street and

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[115] U'Ren, N. and Turnbull N., op.cit., p. 100.

[116] Cooper, J.B., op.cit., p. 92.

[117] Ibid., pp.136-37.

[118] Ibid.,. p.138.

Barkly Street reserves were fenced and planted. Included amongst the trees selected were pittosporum, pines, cypresses and tamarisk[119].

St. Kilda's pre-occupation with its gardens, writes Cooper, led to the early recognition of the value of St. Kilda Road as an ornamental approach to Melbourne from the south and "which, for magnificence and beauty, might in time, vie with the world famed avenues, which adorn many of the capitals of Europe"[120]. This concept, obvious enough with the benefit of hindsight, is of special interest in that it recalls the early colonists' dreams of recreating something of Europe in their remote homeland: a dream realised but sadly impoverished by the destruction of the "Junction" hotel as a fitting termination for the boulevard at its southern extremity.

The Council's beautification works were extraordinary when considered in the light of the imperatives which it faced during the same period. Drainage had been a major concern, residents of the low lying lands being required to vacate their houses to escape the stormwater being swept across their locality from the higher ground outside of Council's control. Poorly drained land also posed health problems and when the Caulfield Road Board commenced to drain the vast Leman swamp between Koornang and Grange Roads the invading swamp waters were accommodated by the construction by Council of a main drain to the sea. The project was frustrated by the government cutting its grant-in-aid by half in 1861. Meanwhile, Council pressed on with the pitching of crossings in High Street and improvements at the south end of Chapel Street, funded by revenue from the road tolls. High Street represented a crippling burden and Council's representations to the government for financial assistance, though ultimately successful in 1860, interestingly brought comment from John Myles, member for South Grant, that St. Kilda was a wealthy suburb and the place of residence of many honourable members, and that he saw no reason why it should be the subject of special consideration[121].

In 1860 portions of Fitzroy and High Streets were paved in cement. Judged a success, the experiment was extended to the Esplanade, Grey Street and additional areas of High Street in 1876. Council established a free public library at the court house in 1863. The present town hall complex, designed by William Pitt, was opened in 1888.

The Council was also a pioneer in beach improvements, successfully agitating for the formation of the St. Kilda Foreshore Committee which held its first meeting in June, 1906. It was the committee's intention to beautify the St. Kilda foreshore by renting sites along its length, thereby raising funds to carry out beautification works. Membership included representation at both State and local levels and was in itself a demonstration of the importance of the foreshore to Melbourne as a whole. The committee was given the task of managing two hectares of land between Fraser and Dickens Streets. Under the direction of Carlo Catani the area was remodelled to resemble a European resort with a split level Esplanade, amusements, dance halls and theatres. The committee's work acted as a catalyst for private investment which secured St. Kilda's position as the pre-eminent beach resort of the metropolis. To the north of the St. Kilda pier the committee embarked upon a land reclamation project which was extended by means of a continuous sea wall as far as the South Melbourne municipal boundary at Fraser Street. Lawns and gardens were formed, later to be known as the Catani Gardens after the chief engineer of the Public Works Department who had worked so tirelessly in support of the committee's objectives.

In 1923 Council gave consideration to the construction of baths for the purpose of "open sea bathing". It accepted the tender of T.R. and L. Cockram for their erection at Beaconsfield Parade, Marine Parade and Elwood in 1928 A portico had been added to the town hall in 1925 and in 1930 the Catani memorial clock tower was erected to the design of N.E. Schefferle.

[119] Ibid., p.142.

[120] Ibid.,loc.cit.

[121] Ibid., p.148.

5.8   Ways of Life

5.8.1   Port Melbourne

During the 1850's Sandridge boomed as the gateway to Melbourne and its gold rich hinterland. The population was young, predominantly male and engaged in jobs servicing the shipping trade, construction and the provision of accommodation and meals to those passing through. During the 1860's, a transient population was transformed into one with an air of permanence, focussing on the establishment of those cultural institutions which are the hallmark of civilisation. They included churches, schools, local government, lodges and societies. There were even public baths in Rouse Street, on the south side between Stoke and Nott Streets[122].The usual football and cricket teams were founded from this time with bowls and tennis clubs following in the 1880's. Large industrial workplaces such as Swallow and Ariell were to field their own football and cricket teams. Other less healthy pastimes took place indoors in the Port's numerous hotels, where gambling and billiards competitions flourished. But the hotels were also associated with moonlight sailing parties following feasting, drinking, music and song. The 'highlight' of the season was a yachting regatta watched by crowds lining the shores. Horse racing on the beach was also organised with similar enthusiasm.

Sandridge has its origins as a home for the working classes and Allom Lovell and Associates note in their 1995 history that it has been suggested that as early as the 1860's the workers of Port Melbourne forced the 'gentlemen' who represented them on Council and in their colonial legislature to adopt rather more liberal attitudes than some of their colleagues[123]. A working class political culture appears to have been strong in early Port Melbourne from this time. The 1880's saw several unions established in the area, sometimes in connection with the larger workplaces. The railway workshops, for example, employed around 125 workers during this period and had an active branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Other unions included the Port Melbourne Stevedore Labourers Association and the Hobson's Bay Fisherman's Union, formed at the "Pier" hotel in November, 1887. Major strikes of wharf labourers and fishermen in 1886-87 and of gas workers in 1890 sharpened the focus of this emerging political dimension. Other organisations developed which reflected the working class nature of the place, including a branch of the Progressive Political League, formed in 1891. The club rooms of the Port Phillip Stevedores' Association were at 25 Bay Street, near the "Pier" hotel. Here there were billiard tables and an extensive library. Members played cards and engaged in lengthy discussions on a variety of subjects, including politics, trade unionism and world events[124]. The PPSA's rules outlawed criminal and loutish behavior. May 1885 saw the formation of the Melbourne Wharf Labourers' Union, aiming to protect the rights of the river wharfies. Striking in 1886, its members were supported by the PPSA, then 800 strong, of whom 600 were Port Melbourne residents. Until 1928, men followed the piers, or the wharf. Work on the mail ships was handled by the Port Phillip Stevedores, the "bottom-enders", considered the aristocrats of the port. Stowing the cargo was their special skill. The men who handled the wharf work were known as the "top-enders" or "river rats" and were considered a lesser order[125].

Temperance interests established themselves in the late nineteenth century, the old Temperance Hall functioning today as the 'Liardet Community Centre'. When the Victorian Licensing Reduction Board examined the situation in Port Melbourne in the early twentieth century it noted that the area was "heavily overstocked with hotels…the main demand is for liquor only…The Board is of the opinion that the licensed accommodation at present levels is largely in excess of the needs of the people, and that

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[122] Sands and McDougall directory, 1860.

[123] Allom Lovell and Associates, op.cit., p.21.

[124] Lockwood, R.,The Miraculous Union: A Hundred Years of Waterfront Unionism, p.13, in Allom Lovell and Associates, op.cit., p.22.

[125] Lowenstein, W., and Hills, T., Under the Hook: Melbourne Waterside Workers remember working lives and class war:1900-1980, (1982), Melbourne Bookworkers, p.7.

the hotels left will be ample to provide for all requirements"[126]. The Board delicensed eighteen hotels in the period up to 1916, few of them surviving today. Hotels were important meeting places for societies and lodges in the nineteenth century, prior to the construction of purpose built structures. Freemasonry was strong. As well as the Masonic Lodge in Liardet Street, the original Masonic Lodge building remains at 18 Stoke Street. Facilities for seamen were provided from the 1850's, including a Bethel (seamen's church) and a Seamen's mission, the former Seamen's Institute building of 1888 still standing at 49 Beach Street.

From the early years of the twentieth century, Port Melbourne was not surprisingly dominated by labour interests. The working class nature of the population and the resulting sense of shared experience shaped the identity of the suburb with a strong sense of solidarity and community. One Port resident, Tommy Lahiff, put it bluntly: "you were either a wharfie or you worked in one of the factories. Swallow and Ariell's, Kitchens, Dunlops, Laycocks"[127]. One of Unilever's foremen in the 1950's recalled that Port Melbourne was a close knit community, rough but honest: "once you were in you were right"[128]. The people of Port Melbourne suffered enormously through the 1930's depression when between 75 and 90 per cent of young people are thought to have been unemployed.

In the post war period the influx of migrants had its impact, Mary Caporale, who was raised in Middle Park during the 1940's, clearly remembering the crowd scenes at Station pier when shipping lines, including the Lloyd Triestino, discharged their cargoes of passengers and "proxy brides"[129]. Many workers were engaged in night shifts and there were hotels, such as the "North Port", which opened at all hours in the era of six o'clock closing to dispense a drink or two to the men starting and finishing their shifts. It was the practice for the wives to collect the pay - before it could be spent although they too were known to spend time at the local pub, preparing the vegetables with friends and having a drink at the same time. In those days, Mary recalls, "you knew everyone in the street…everyone walked to walk. Weekends, as a child, were spent playing in the street, swapping comics and yabbying. The beach was an attraction at summertime, although we kept clear of the beach at Port Melbourne. 'Rube Walker' was the sp bookie - down the back lane by the 'Middle Park' pub. The 'Port Colts' played on the 'Lagoon oval' and there were always a few onlookers engaged in a game of two-up behind the gasworks with their 'nits' keeping a weather eye out for the police". To sum up, said Mary," if you were a Port boy…you were tough!" But then, she lived in Middle Park.

The coming of mechanisation, write Lowenstein and Hills, "changed the waterfront beyond belief not only the job itself but the men who worked it. The close communities are dispersed. The men now live all over Melbourne and drive good cars to work…They drive cranes and fork-lifts and many, perhaps half the work-force, are post war migrants. Sons do not commonly follow fathers"[130]. These changes have been associated with the "gentrification", of Port Melbourne during the 1970's when young middle class families moved back into the streets of workers, renovating their often substandard cottages and breathing new life into a locality which retained one of its most outstanding attributes: proximity,…proximity to places of employment and entertainment.

5.8.2   South Melbourne

Emerald Hill, as has been noted, was established later than Port Melbourne and St. Kilda as a suburban retreat for what the Victorians called the commercial classes. The most prominent occupational groups were clerks and shopkeepers, blacksmiths and mechanics, builders, bricklayers and carpenters, carters, coach drivers and railway employees. There were relatively few unskilled labourers. The existence of the St. Kilda railway from 1857 gave them a degree of mobility which other areas of Melbourne lacked

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[126] Ninth Annual Report and Statement of Accounts to 31st. December, 1915, p.34, in Allom Lovell and Associates, op.cit., p.31.

[127] Tommy Lahiff, quoted in "They can carry me out" Memories of Port Melbourne, (1991), p.57.

[128] Bob Renton, in a conversation with the writer.

[129] Conversation with the writer.

[130] Lowenstein, W., and Hills, T., op.cit., p.9.

until the following decades. As at Sandridge, the 1860's witnessed the formation of the educational and religious institutions associated with permanent settlement. The schools included National, church and private establishments and there were orphanages and a mechanics institute at Cecil Street, on the Dorcas Street corner. From the 1860's minstrel and vaudeville shows were staged in the mechanics institute. After 1880 the new town hall became the main venue for theatrical entertainments while the institute became something of the intellectual hub. A School of Arts and a School of Works operated here on Friday nights and there was a reading room, club room, chess room, whist and smoking room, a ladies' conversation room, lecture hall and other centres of activity. By 1874 the Record observed that "We have developed into a matured and prosperous town, with its mercantile, manufacturing, banking, trading and labouring interests all in harmonious play, and possessing those social and religious institutions which give dignity and security to modern civilisation"[131]. The surrounding lowlands, however, provided ample space, as they do today, for recreational pursuits including racing. A racecourse had been laid out in 1862 on the ground between the township and the seaboard. It was here that the "Emerald Hill and Sandridge Races" were held, Bell's Life remarking that it was a "very fine piece of galloping ground"[132]. Other sports were well represented in Emerald Hill too. Shooting in the swamps was popular, the destruction of wild game being so great that in 1862 the government legislated for its protection. The Emerald Hill Cricket Club had emerged by 1855, playing its first matches on temporary grounds before securing permissive occupancy of six acres in Albert Park in 1862. Boathouses near the lake first made their appearance in 1864, the lake emerging as an asset at this time as settlement extended south towards its shores and as wider Melbourne sought social diversion and outdoor recreation. The Albert Park Yacht Club was formed in 1870 and regular Saturday regattas became a feature[133].

South Melbourne grew during the nineteenth century into a suburb of contrasting life styles. "The modish part…is decidedly Queen's-terrace, between St. Kilda-road and Albert-park, and facing that reserve" wrote a contributor to The *Argus* in 1884[134]. He continued by describing the area then known as Montague but colloquially as "Salt Lake City" as a poorly drained sector with a terrible stench. It is "wonderful", he wrote, "how people can live there; yet new houses are going up there daily in thick clusters, evidently intended for persons of the artisan class. Children are being reared…in great numbers. Their chief amusement here is to play in the horrible liquid surrounding their homes." It was an area in which typhoid was rife. By this time, also, St. Vincents Place had been laid out with ornamental gardens, a bowling green and a croquet lawn, converted in 1883 for the newly fashionable game of tennis[135]. A further contrast with the niceties of South Melbourne was the problem of prostitution and the popularity of Albert Park as a location for "this most degrading of human vices".

From just fourteen hotels in 1860, the number of licensed houses had risen to eighty-six by the end of 1879 with almost one in four licensees being women. Offering an insight into their use, Thomas Walsh and his wife, Margaret, opened their "Albert Park" hotel in 1883, advertising that "Private Families, or Single Gentlemen who may desire a residence near the City, will find the accommodation in every way satisfactory"[136]. Thus the purveying of drinks was by no means the only purpose fulfilled by South Melbourne's hotels, their use as respectable residences being an important adjunct. The grandest hotel was the surviving "Victoria" on Beaconsfield Parade. It functioned as a seaside resort and "an unrivalled summer residence within a few minutes of the city"[137]. It faced the Kerford Road pier, gardens and a small rotunda on the foreshore, these picturesque elements in the coastal landscape combining with the substantial residences attracted to the seafront to create the atmosphere of an English resort town. The Emerald Hill sea baths were close by. Here, visitors, who might have arrived by cable tramway,

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[131] Record, 'The Growth of Emerald Hill' 13.8.1874, in Priestley, S., op.cit., p.83.

[132] Bell's Life in Victoria, 31.5.1862 in Allom Lovell Sanderson Pty. Ltd., op.cit., p. 4/10.

[133] Priestley, S., op.cit., p.195.

[134] The *Argus*, 16.8.1884 in Priestley, op.cit., p.121.

[135] Priestley, S., op.cit., p.132.

[136] Ibid., p.141.

[137] loc.cit.

could relax in an environment carefully planned for the needs of a pedestrian based society. In 1890 additional baths were provided opposite Armstrong Street, Middle Park.

The 1890's depression witnessed a decline in population, many of the houses and workers' cottages thrown up in the boom times being vacated and allowed to deteriorate. It provided a reason why so many parts of South Melbourne were to be scrutinised by the slum abolition movement in the 1930's when Melbourne was yet again in the grips of an economic slump. The friendly societies offered members material help in the form of sickness benefits and life insurance. The United Friendly Societies dispensary, the first in Australia, has its origins in York Street, moving later to a building in Coventry Street designed by the noted architect, G.R.Johnson. South Melbourne, however, retained its resort role during the depression, an observer in 1897 noting that 499 bicycles passed him by on Beaconsfield Parade in two and a half hours[138]. By 1905 the Princes Court fun fair included a gigantic slide called "The Chute", ornamental gardens and miniature railway rides, all of which were in the tradition of the English coastal resort town and which preceded the longer lasting Luna Park by several years. Later, South Melbourne's metropolitan importance in the matter of recreational pursuits was underscored by the formation of the Open Sea Bathing Club in 1914. Quickly renamed the Albert Park Surf Club, it set about the promotion of life saving classes and although the Great War curtailed training, it was resumed by the life saving clubs in the 1920's[139].

Writing about the inter war years, Susan Priestley notes that "if an overriding suburban ethos may be claimed for Albert Park and Middle Park, its essence was distilled through the beach"[140]. And so it was. Although the numbers of young families declined after the Second World War, they continued to enjoy that characteristic of the locality which had always given it distinction: proximity; proximity to recreational and entertainment venues, proximity to work. There was no need for a car, the Glaciarium on the site of the present Arts Centre, the beach, the lake and the entertainment centre at St. Kilda all being within walking distance or a short tram ride. Later on, the process of "gentrification", which preceded that of Port Melbourne by approximately a decade, introduced a new generation of young families, re-building the cottages of the previous century's working classes and imparting new life to a suburb which had slipped in the social pecking order on account of the deteriorating condition of its housing stock and a perceived lack of amenity in the face of competition from the quarter acre block municipalities on the fringe of the metropolis.

5.8.3   St. Kilda

A glance at the Sands and McDougall directory of 1860 offers clues concerning the distinguishing characteristics of St. Kilda. Essentially residential and served by its own privately run railway line with an unusually pompous railway station complete with semi-circular porte-cochere, there were no less than seven parliamentarians in residence[141]. There were ladies' schools, seminaries, other private schools and a circulating library along with the other occupational groups typical of the period. Amongst the architects in residence were T.J. Crouch and Nathaniel Billing, both of whom were highly successful in their day. It is clear, that St. Kilda was both genteel and further distinguished by its political connections. When police found prostitutes in Acland Street in 1886, they were ordered to leave since residence was considered to be simply unavailable to them[142]. At Balaclava, such was not the case, but on the hill, things were different. Furthermore, St. Kilda was special on account of its beach, which Council in cooperation with a number of entrepreneurs, developed into a metropolitan resort par excellence surpassing those of its coastal neighbours from an early date. The Esplanade could be reached by rail and cable tramway services and there were hotels affording fine views of the bay with a pier and

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[138] Ibid., p.202.

[139] Ibid., p.203.

[140] Ibid., p.299.

[141] They were Matthew Hervey, MLC, Archibald Michie, MLA, T. Thomas A'Beckett, MLC, James McCulloch, MLA and Richard D. Ireland, MLA, all in Alma Street, G.S.W. Horne, MLA in Carlisle Street and John B. Bennett, MLC, in Dandenong Road.

[142] Longmire, A., St. Kilda The Show Goes On: The History of St. Kilda vol.III, 1930-July 1983, (1989), Hudson, p.ix.

ornamental gardens. Its importance was recognised in the creation of the St. Kilda Foreshore Committee in 1906. Under its direction, amusements, dance halls and theatres were fostered together with open air shows and a program of foreshore improvement. Luna Park, opened in December, 1912, was described as the greatest park of its type in the world[143], setting an example which was followed in Sydney in 1935. The Phillips brothers built the Palais de Danse in the following year, though religious leaders protested about the temptations of the tango and the corruption of public morals. It was converted into a picture theatre in 1915, replaced in 1920 and the present Palais de Danse erected on an adjoining site. The theatre was burnt down in 1926 and replaced with a new venue accommodating three thousand people soon afterwards. Such was the level of commercial frenzy associated with the Esplanade at the time. During the early inter war years, St. Kilda remained a popular and highly successful resort. Visitors stayed in hotels built during the previous century and including the "Esplanade" and the "George". Guest house accommodation included the "Majestic Mansions" in Fitzroy Street and "Mandalay" on the Esplanade. Day trippers arrived from all over the suburbs via the electric tramway network, the Prahran and Malvern Tramways Trust having built its own restaurant at the Acland Street terminus of its route along Carlisle Street. Here, terminating trams travelled around a loop encircling the restaurant which was designed in a style not unlike the Moorish architecture of Luna Park itself. It was all part of the fun, replaced today by a McDonalds restaurant. Further south, the Point Ormond tram also offered access to the beach along Glenhuntly Road.

St. Kilda, writes Anne Longmire, was proud of its gardens. Visitors promenaded along the Esplanade and picnicked on lawns studded with flower beds, rockeries, continental tea rooms, palms, bandstands and statues[144]. To the gardens were added more dance halls, the "Wattle Path" opening in 1923 beside Alfred square as a dancing saloon and café selling ice-cream and aerated waters. There were also cinemas including the "Victory", the "Broadway" in Elwood and the "Memorial". The "Palais Pictures" was the showplace of Melbourne's finest performers[145].

Yet even in its ascendancy, St.Kilda as a centre of entertainment was sewing the seeds of its undoing. Vandalism, sly-grog dealing, drug peddling and prostitution blemished its reputation whilst others looked upon the facilities for mass entertainment as vulgar. Fewer holiday makers were arriving and many apartment houses and boarding houses closed their doors. Others kept them open to offer sub-standard accommodation. When the depression hit in 1929, discretionary spending was first affected with inevitable repercussions for those dependant upon the entertainment industry. To add to their woes, the amusements were becoming regarded as old fashioned whilst those with motor cars were able to drive further a field to country destinations. Coffee lounges, modern hotels and an ice skating rink helped redress the situation. The "Astor" cinema was opened in Chapel street in 1936. In 1938 Council approved mixed bathing at the baths in the same year as the "St.Moritz" ice rink opened. The Galleone coffee lounge, opened in 1933 was a foretaste of a new era in dining and street cafes. Bolstered by post war migration, the popularity of European cuisine has remained a distinctive and continuing attraction in Fitzroy Street and its environs.

While Acland Street maintained its favour, High Street went into decline. In August, 1934, the mayor, Cr. Burnett Gray stated that "High street as a shopping centre is now a memory and will never again be what it was before modern transport was introduced".

The war years gave St. Kilda a second boost in its traditional role of entertainment centre, the scarcity of petrol no doubt enhancing its competitive edge. Its identity as the heart of youth culture continued. The proliferation of entertainment venues and the general liveliness of the environment, together with the availability of new forms of less expensive accommodation attracted young people, from the middle class occupants of fashionable flat blocks, to entertainers, musicians and artists. Meanwhile, Elwood and East St. Kilda continued to develop along suburban lines with a certain vitality being given by the mix of

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[143] Ibid., p.xi.

[144] Ibid, p.6.

[145] Ibid, p.7.

residential and flat development, proximity to good public transport services, the sea and St. Kilda Hill. Prostitution, however, remained as St. Kilda's most infamous industry during this period.

The residential areas of St. Kilda, along with those elsewhere in Port Phillip, deteriorated after the war. Similarly, the standards of guest houses and boarding houses further declined. The days of the Foreshore Committee were over and as St. Kilda's identity as a centre of entertainment declined, the vacuum was filled by a range of less savoury activities consolidating its notoriety through to the 1980's. The 1950's witnessed a continuing trend towards flat development with scant regard being paid to standards of residential amenity. Construction peaked in the 1960's at a level unsurpassed elsewhere in Melbourne. St. Kilda continued to be a place not just for artists but for a whole subculture of creative people including actors, writers and students. Their natural place was amongst the diverse forms of poverty characteristic of the place and enmeshed in drugs, prostitution, itinerancy and the multiplicity of outcast groups.

In recent years, St. Kilda has revived its role as an entertainment destination for the metropolis, with an upmarket image again sponsored by Council in the tradition of the past and built on by business enterprises. Whereas Elwood and Balaclava remain essentially the domain of their resident populations, St. Kilda continues to belong to Melbourne.[146]

5.8.4   Elwood

An early parish plan indicates that the site of Elwood Beach, comprising 54 acres of land between Point Ormond and present-day Head Street, extending east to the Esplanade, had been permanently reserved as a Public Garden, with an 11-acre reserve at the southern end for a rifle range. In 1865, the Government proposed to sell off this land for private development, but concerned residents made representations to have the lots withdrawn from sale on the grounds that 'the land, at present, is being used by the public as a reserve'.[147] Some of the land at Point Ormond was subsequently proposed for annexure as part of the coastal recreation reserve, with a survey map, prepared by Clement Hodgkinson in January 1869.[148]

However, it was not until the early twentieth century that Elwood Beach really began to develop as a recreational centre. In 1907, the rifle butts in Head Street were finally closed at the urging of the St Kilda and Brighton councils, which freed up 11 acres of prime seaside land that became Elwood Park. [149] A tea kiosk was erected on Point Ormond in 1915. This was followed five years later by another kiosk near Beach Avenue, which was opened in 1921. That same year, the first of a number of sporting clubs appeared along the foreshore, when the Elwood Lifesaving Club (founded 1913) built premises at the beach end of Head Street. This was followed, three years later, by the Elwood Sea Canoe Club (the first such club in Australia, later renamed the Elwood Sailing Club), a lawn bowling club (1925), an sea bathing pavilion (1928; one of three erected by the St Kilda Council that year), public tennis courts (c.1931), a croquet club (c.1937), and an angling club (c.1939).[150] By contrast, there was virtually no development beyond the beach (ie north of Point Ormond and south of Cole Street), although the Grant Brothers boatshed and tea rooms had been established at the end of North Road by 1930.[151] Unfortunately, the post-war period saw the loss of a number of these early foreshore structures, including the original Point Ormond Kiosk and nearby jetty (both demolished in the 1950s), the angling clubhouse (destroyed by fire c.1957) and the sea bathing pavilion (demolished 1971). All but one of the sporting clubs rebuilt or replaced their respective premises during these years: the angling club (1958), the lifesaving club (1971) and the croquet club (1970s). The bowling club pavilion now remains as the

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[146] See article in The Modern Store, 3/1938, pp.20-22 referred to by Longmire, op.cit., p.62.

[147] Heritage Alliance, op cit. p 9.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid.

sole survivor of these early sporting clubs although, ironically, it no longer operates as such – it was converted into a community centre and café complex in the 1990s. Facilities for a number of previously unrepresented sports and recreational groups also established their presence along the foreshore in the post-war period, including a cricket ground (1950s), a sea scout hall (c.1958) and a soccer clubroom (1980).