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Project Team:

Helen Doyle, Principal historian and author
Natica Schmeder & Louise Homan,

architectural history
Chris Johnston, Project Manager
Jenny Walker, Support

Report Register

This report register documents the development and issue of the report entitled A History of the City of Melbourne's Urban Environment undertaken by Context Pty Ltd in accordance with our internal quality management system.

Project No.	Issue No.	Notes/description	Issue date	Issued to
1422	1	Preliminary draft	05/11/10	Robyn Hellman
1422	2	Draft Thematic History	14/12/10	Gisele Masclef
1422	3	Final Draft Thematic History	21/12/10	Gisele Masclef
1422	4	Final City of Melbourne Thematic Environmental History	5/5/2011	Gisele Masclef

Context Pty Ltd

22 Merri Street, Brunswick 3056

Phone 03 9380 6933 Facsimile 03 9380 4066

Email context@contextpl.com.au



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PREFACE

The task of writing a thematic environmental history of the City of Melbourne presents a unique set of challenges and complexities. The study area takes in both the densely built-up central city area as well as a large part of concentrated inner-urban Melbourne. This area incorporates a large population — not just currently but historically — and also a level of social and cultural diversity unparalleled elsewhere in Victoria.

The focus of this thematic environmental history is the postcontact period, recognising that the City of Melbourne is undertaking an Indigenous Heritage Study with its own thematic history covering the vast period of Aboriginal history up until the present day.

There are complexities that are specific to Melbourne as a municipality. First, Melbourne is a capital city, and has been since the 1850s, which gives it a role quite distinct from that of other Victorian municipalities. In this respect it compares more closely to Sydney, for example, than to the regional centres of Geelong or Ballarat. Second, Melbourne was briefly the nation's capital from 1901-1927. This role had implications for the kinds of buildings, services and facilities the city provided. Third, Melbourne has earned and aspired to something of an international reputation. It won fame in the 1850s as a city that offered the opportunity to make a fortune from gold; in the 1880s it was hailed as 'Marvellous Melbourne' for its dazzling growth and prosperity; and in the early 2000s it twice won the title of 'World's Most Liveable City'. Such accolades have reinforced a pride in the city and inspired the improvement of services and infrastructure. Finally, the City of Melbourne has performed a vastly different role to other large municipal centres in Victoria — as the State's first or foundation city; as a leader in municipal matters such as planning and essential services; as a complex and concentrated urban centre with a large and culturally diverse population, and a greater range of responsibilities and land-use issues. As a capital city, land values are considerably higher than elsewhere in Victoria, which has contributed to pressure from commercial property development, resulting in a fast-growing and ever-changing city. Development has meant the loss of the city's built heritage. But there has also been significant re-use of many unused and obsolete commercial and industrial buildings over the last 20 years, which has dramatically transformed the city of Melbourne, reflecting new uses by a new population of people who live and work in the city.

The role of the Thematic Environmental History is not to provide a comprehensive account of the social and economic history of the municipality. It is intended to be a concise document that takes a broad brush approach, setting out the key themes that have influenced the historical development of

a municipality and helping to explain how and why the built and human-influenced environments of that municipality looks as they do today. A thematic environmental history is an essential part in a municipality heritage study, helping ensure that the places that reflect and represent the historical development of the municipality are recognised. The Heritage Victoria publication Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes highlights what is distinctive about Victoria, and offers a guide to the development and use of themes in local thematic environmental histories. Appendix 1 compares the themes developed for this thematic environmental history with the framework of Victoria-wide themes.

This thematic environmental history is arranged around the selected themes, using these themes as chapters. It does not follow an overall chronological order, although within each chapter the narrative may progress in a linear fashion.

Identifying key historical themes for the City of Melbourne over a period of almost 200 years since colonial settlement has involved extricating and categorising the many and complex strands of historical development of this large and complex municipality. The choice and arrangement of themes and sub-themes, as set out in this document, has been determined by various factors that underlie the brief to the historian — that is, the word limit, the required time frame, and the practical need for an 'economy' of themes. Many of the sub-themes could just as logically be listed under different thematic chapters, for example the sub-theme 'Cultivating the Garden City aesthetic' could be discussed in the context of 'Shaping the Urban Landscape' as much as it could be placed with 'Appreciating the Natural Environment'. Similarly, the sub-theme 'Education' could be included in the thematic chapter, 'Creating a Functioning City', or alternatively with the chapter 'Living in the City'.

The process of determining historical themes has been similar to that undertaken for any other thematic municipal history, in that a large amount of secondary material has been drawn on in researching land-use patterns, and economic and social developments. The vast quantity of available literature relating to the history of the City of Melbourne provides a valuable, if somewhat overwhelming, resource; the archives of the City of Melbourne (now housed at PROV) are a significant collection in themselves. It has not been possible to use all of this material to prepare this report, but a selection of the available resources has been drawn on.

Following each sub-theme, the report lists examples of places and objects to help the reader understand the connection between the identified historical themes and the tangible places and objects in the City of Melbourne that relate to each theme. This is an indicative list only, for the purpose of demonstrating the different kinds of places that might relate to the different themes. Many of the places listed have been drawn from the Victorian Heritage Register.

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Each Chapter ends with some suggestions for Further Reading, designed to guide those with an interest in that theme to some further sources.

No thematic environmental history can ever be considered complete. As more research is undertaken, evidence is uncovered through heritage studies, as community stories are told and as social perspectives change, new aspects of a locality's history will inevitably emerge. This is to be welcomed. Nor does this document replace the potential for a definitive history of the City of Melbourne which is yet to be written.

Dr Helen Doyle Principal historian and author

ABBREVIATIONS

AAV Aboriginal Affairs Victoria
CBD Central Business District
MCG Melbourne Cricket Ground

MMBW Melbourne & Metropolitan Board of Works

MP Member of Parliament

NSW New South Wales

NT National Trust of Australia (Vic.)

PROV Public Record Office Victoria
RNE Register of the National Estate

SLV State Library of Victoria

VHI Victorian Heritage Inventory

VHJ Victorian Historical Journal

VHR Victorian Heritage Register

WHL UNESCO World Heritage List

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to the City of Melbourne officers (Gisèle Masclef, Robyn Hellman and David Mayes) and the External Reference Group (ERG) who guided this project and provided useful feedback on drafts prepared. The ERG comprised the following people:

Geoff Austin, Heritage Victoria

Jill Barnard, Professional Historians' Association

Graeme Blackman, National Trust of Australia (Vic.)

Professor Graeme Davison, Monash University

Meredith Gould, Heritage Advisor, City of Melbourne

John Briggs, Heritage Advisor, City of Melbourne

Dr Seamus O'Hanlon, Monash University

Dr Kim Torney, University of Melbourne

Nora van Waarden, Aboriginal Affairs Victoria

Sean Anderson, VicUrban

Vanessa Walker, VicUrban

In addition, we wish to acknowledge the assistance of Graeme Butler; Rob Birtles, CSIRO (Canberra); and Frances O'Neill, Heritage Victoria.

INTRODUCTION

The City of Melbourne lies on the north bank of the Yarra River, about 11km upstream from where the river empties into Port Phillip Bay. It occupies a natural basin fringed by wooded hills to the east and north, but with relatively flat and windswept basalt plains to the north and west. Ancient lava flows lie beneath the city, for the western side of Melbourne touches the far eastern edge of a vast volcanic plain. South of the present-day city, the volcanic prominence of Emerald Hill (South Melbourne) protrudes from otherwise flat country. The lower reaches of the Yarra flow through the central city, fed from higher, heavily timbered country to the east. A number of tributaries, including Gardiner's Creek, Merri Creek, the Moonee Ponds Creek, and the Maribyrnong River, meet the Yarra before it empties into Port Phillip Bay. Thousands of years ago, when sea levels were much lower and Tasmania was accessible by foot, the Yarra continued its meandering course around the edge of present-day Port Phillip Bay. This well-watered country was the territory of Wurundjeri and Boon wurrung people.

The town of Melbourne was planned in 1837 and laid out the following year in alignment with the Yarra, on a stretch of land that sloped gently to the river's northern bank. Its central axis was the low-lying land along Elizabeth Street. This was close to the Falls, a low waterfall over a rocky ledge that marked the point where the fresh water and the tidal salt water met, making it suitable both for seagoing vessels and for accessing fresh drinking water. Intermittent creeks flowed through the Fitzroy Gardens and along Elizabeth Street. The town was punctuated at the western and eastern end by small hills: Batman's Hill at the western end and Eastern Hill in the east, with other small rises in the vicinity of Fitzroy and of the present-day Government House. The town site looked out to more distant hills: Mt Macedon and Mt Plenty in the north, and the Dandenong Ranges in the east.

East of the city centre, the Yarra River meandered through the Yarra flats; this was a flood plain that was inundated occasionally, filling the billabong west of the site of the botanic gardens. Birdlife was prolific, especially at times of periodic flooding. The lower Yarra in its natural state was a place of beauty and diversity of plant life. The river flats were lightly wooded with a variety of Eucalypts, including Manna Gum (Eucalyptus viminalis) and the majestic River Red Gum (Eucalyptus camaldulensis), which dotted the wide flood plains. Drooping She-oaks (Casuarina sp.) were also common and clumps of tea-tree lined the banks of the river and creeks. Between the Yarra and the Maribyrnong the

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¹ Edmund Gill, *Melbourne Before History Began*, *Five ABC Radio programmes on the area around Melbourne many years ago.* ABC, Sydney, 1967, p. 11.

low-lying country was a land-locked salt marsh, which would become known to settlers as the West Melbourne Swamp.²

Melbourne began as a straggling colonial outpost on the edge of a vast southern continent, itself on the very edge of the then known world. Its vast distance from 'home' (Britain) hampered the town's initial development, but made the Yarra River and the port a vital focus for the emerging township. Relative proximity to established settlements in Van Diemen's Land and Sydney were important influences in its early development.

The city of Melbourne, along with the European settlement of Australia, was in effect born modern. The new settlement of a predominantly British population on the Yarra, although initially a pastoral venture, was founded in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. Its first 50 years of development coincided with major social reforms in Britain, including anti-slavery legislation, the rise of liberalism, universal male suffrage, knowledge of bacteriology and of the need for sanitation, and improved housing conditions.

What is now the capital city of Victoria is occupied by places of business and resort — hotels, shopping complexes, restaurants and bars. The recent burst of development in residential apartment buildings, largely centred on the revitalised riverbank and docklands, continues Melbourne's rise as a modern city centre. 4 In the 1840s, Melbourne was a very different place: of small and sometimes makeshift dwellings. Rare remnants of this early Melbourne remain. But much evidence of its beginnings as a small town and a site of primary production and subsistence gardening — populated by piggeries, chicken coops and fruit trees — has largely vanished, and nowadays is only unearthed in archaeological digs. Even before the early 1850s, there were the foundations of the necessary infrastructure for international trade and commerce, including retail markets, shipping agents, industry and finance houses — the beginnings of an entrepreneurial global city. Melbourne's motto, chosen in the 1840s, has new resonance in the light of recent developments: 'In her freedom of movement lies her power, and she gathers strength with her going.'5

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² Andrew Brown-May and Shurlee Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2005, p. 276.

³ The claim of being 'born modern' is often made for Australia in general; see for example Jan Kociumbas, *Possessions: The Oxford History of Australia 1770–1860*, Oxford University Press, 1992, Preface.

⁴ These developments are covered in Seamus O'Hanlon, *Melbourne Remade: The inner city since the 70s*, Arcade Publications, Melbourne, 2010.

⁵ Cited in *History of the City of Melbourne*, Records and Archives Branch of the City of Melbourne, November 1997, p. 19.

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CHAPTER 1: ABORIGINAL COUNTRY

Before the arrival of Europeans, the place we now know as Melbourne was the country of the Wurundjeri (Woiwurrung) and Boon wurrung (Bunurong). This landscape was adapted and altered over the course of time, both as a result of human occupation and of natural forces. The traditional owners lived lightly on the land and managed the available resources in a sustainable manner. They drew on the Yarra and its tributaries for fresh water, and regularly fired the grasslands to promote the growth of native pasture, which in turn benefitted the local food supply. There was plentiful food along the river valley and in the swampy country and billabongs to the south and west of Melbourne.

The lower river valley held important spiritual meaning for Aboriginal people. Dreamtime stories explained the formation of the land and its features, of the river Yarra and its tributaries, and the creation of Port Phillip Bay, which was part of the traditional country of the Boon wurrung. According to one Aboriginal tradition, Port Phillip Bay was once dry land. The spirit-ancestor Bunjil (the eagle) told two young companions to empty out two water containers. This water spilled out to create a great flood that formed the Yarra River and Port Phillip Bay. From that time, there was an ample water supply throughout the area that was to become Melbourne.

Melbourne was a meeting place for several neighbouring tribes. Large meetings would take place, with corroborees held and feasts prepared. Aborigines used the Yarra and its tributaries for fishing, and used the trees on the Yarra banks to make bark canoes. Camping grounds were located in the Domain, and along both sides of the Yarra in the vicinity of Yarra Park and the Botanic Gardens.

The traditional life of Aboriginal people in Melbourne was to change irrevocably with the arrival of Europeans. Many traditions were nonetheless preserved and remain an integral element of Melbourne's cultural heritage, and Aboriginal people retain traditional, historical and contemporary connections to the city. Their histories and important places are the subject of a separate heritage study and thematic history.

Further reading

See Richard Broome, Arriving (1984), chapter 1, and the more recent work by Broome, Aboriginal Victorians: A history since 1800, 2005.

⁶ These are the language group names and spelling adopted by Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages (VACL).

⁷ Isabel Ellender and Peter Christiansen, *People of the Merri Merri: The Wurundjeri in colonial days*, Merri Creek Management Committee, 2001, p. 13.

CHAPTER 2: PROMOTING SETTLEMENT

'This will be the place for a village — The Natives on shore'

John Batman, Dairy, 8 June 1835.

'The white man tells us where to go, He tells us where to turn and stand, Where our own creeks and rivers flow, In their old freedom, through the land.

> Richard Howitt, 'The Native Woman's Lament', in Impressions of Australia Felix, 1845.

2.1 Defending traditional country

When white settlers invaded the country around Port Phillip in the mid 1830s they encountered a people who had already had some contact and familiarity with Europeans. David Collins' party of marines and convicts had been stationed briefly at Sullivan's Cove (Sorrento) in 1802-03 and had sent an exploratory party to Port Phillip — and the future site of Melbourne — where contact with the Boon wurrung was made. Aboriginal people would have also heard stories of the sealers and whalers who worked seasonally at various places along the coast, and would have sighted ships at sea. There was also some contact between the Boon wurrung and sealers at Westernport in the 1820s and the 1830s, but the extent of this is not well understood.

White settlement had diabolical ramifications for the Aboriginal people. The British settlement of New South Wales from the late 1700s meant that introduced European diseases like smallpox had already spread southwards, and contaminated the Aboriginal people in Victoria, with dire consequences, including a decline in fertility. 10 Permanent settlement at Port Phillip overwhelmed the defences of the Aborigines, and left them with reduced access to their hunting grounds and food sources, and robbed them of the means of maintaining their traditional livelihood.

A permanent settlement on the lower reaches of the Yarra began with the dubious transaction known as 'Batman's treaty', which was allegedly executed by John Batman in 1835 and counter-signed by the chiefs of the Kulin nation. This agreement was made in the name of the Port Phillip

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⁸ The Kulin Nation refers to the Aboriginal people of greater Melbourne, Geelong and surrounding areas, and incorporates five language groups or tribes, including the Wurundjeri and the Boon wurrung.

⁹ Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Victorians: A history since 1800*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2005, pp. 5–6, 9, 14.

Richard Broome, Arriving, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon, McMahons Point, 1984, pp. 27–28.

Association, which was a group of pastoral speculators from Van Diemen's Land represented by Batman. The treaty document, of which several copies survive, details the 'purchase' of a vast tract of land by John Batman in exchange for a yearly rent or tribute to be paid to the Aborigines along with the supply of a store of useful items. The precise location of this transaction has long been disputed, but most likely was near the junction of the Yarra River and the Merri Creek.

As the settlement grew and access to land was further diminished, it became increasingly difficult for Aborigines to maintain their traditional livelihoods; they faced food shortages, illness, and reduced access to hunting grounds and water. By the 1840s, many Aboriginal people had been moved from the town centre to a reserve at Yarra Bend on the Merri Creek.



W.E.F. Liardet watercolour of Batman's camp at the west end of the township in the late 1830s but painted retrospectively in the 1870s.

Others continued to occupy their traditional country in and around Melbourne, returning to camps at several spots along the river. Cultural practices and exchange networks were honoured where possible. In 1841, for example, Aborigines held a corroboree at the corner of Collins and Russell Streets. Settler William Kyle, who arrived in Melbourne in 1841, recounted:

At the time of our arrival in Melbourne there was a fairly large black population. The yarra yarra tribe camped on the site now occupied by the Melbourne and Richmond cricket ground where they held numerous corroborees of much interest to the white people. In flood time they used

¹¹ J.R. Rogan, *Melbourne: National Trust Guides*, Jacaranda in association with the National Trust of Australia (Vic.), Brisbane, 1970, p. 74.

canoes made from the bark of red gum or stringy bark, those with a curved bole for preference. 12

Aborigines also occupied lands on the outskirts of the city. In North Melbourne, for example, Alfred Mattingley recalled the presence of Aborigines, who 'used to camp and occasionally would hold a corroboree in these park-like lands'. Contemporary observers commented on the 'nuisance' posed by Aborigines who lived in and around Melbourne at this time.

Some places and objects of significance

Yarra Park, including several River Red Gums (Eucalytpus camaldulesis) [VHR]

Yarra Bank

Grave of Derrimut (Boon wurrung headman), Melbourne General Cemetery

Old Melbourne Cemetery, Queen Victoria Market

Parliament House (site of Aboriginal meeting place)

River Red Gums ($Eucalytpus\ camaldulesis$) - three specimens in the Royal Botanic Gardens

Bursaria Spinosa (Blackthorn), Observatory Reserve

2.2 Founding stories

The City of Melbourne had ambiguous beginnings. A treaty between the Port Phillip Association represented by John Batman, and the Wurundjeri, has been celebrated and commemorated as a starting point, but this appears to have developed, at least in part, into a romantic fabrication. Some imagined a scene as grand as that from Benjamin West's painting 'The peaceable kingdom', depicting William Penn's treaty with the Native Americans in 1682. A noble and storylike beginning was a desirable and promising foundation for a new city. Both the act of treaty and Batman's diary entry in 1835, stating 'This will be the place for a village', underpinned the foundation myth. An observation that had been made some 30 years earlier by a gardener named Flemming, who was with Charles Grimes exploring the Yarra in 1802-03, remained little known. Yet Flemming had noted: 'The most eligible place for a settlement that I have seen is on the fresh water river'. 14

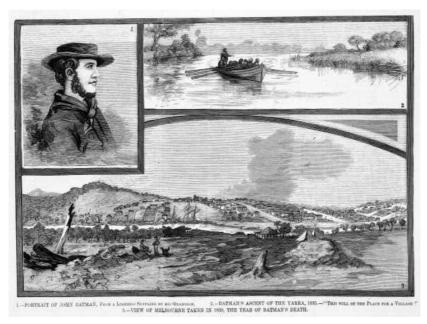
Batman's treaty was dismissed by the authorities in New South Wales and by the Colonial Office in London as having no legal standing. The members of the Port Phillip Association were popularly ridiculed as property speculators seeking a reward for trespassing on land outside the limits of permissible



¹² Meyer Eidelson, *The Melbourne Dreaming: A guide to Aboriginal places of Melbourne*, Canberra, 1997, p. 16, cited in John Patrick, 'Yarra Park Conservation Analysis', p. 4.

North Melbourne History: http://localhero.biz/article/permatitle/north_melbourne_history/
 Quoted in Tony Dingle and Andrew Brown-May, 'Yarra River', in Brown-May and Swain,,
 2005, p. 788.

settlement. Nevertheless, Batman's treaty became at least a symbol of a romantic 'amicable' beginning, however inequitable the deal actually was, and from the 1850s this was favoured over the darker tale of colonial invasion, frontier violence and appropriation of Aboriginal lands. It was a story that resonated not only with white settlers but also with Aboriginal people well into the 20th century. 15



Impression of John Batman and his popular foundation story, 1882. (source: SLV Accession No. IAN10/06/82/89)

A leading opponent and critic of Batman was Melbourne's alternative founder, John Pascoe Fawkner, who arguably did more than his rival in terms of his civic role in establishing and developing the township of Melbourne. Fawkner was at various times a publican, a city councillor, a newspaper proprietor, a horticulturist and a farmer, and was active in public life. Unlike Batman, who died early, Fawkner was able to champion his role in the founding of Melbourne until his death in the 1860s.

While Batman and Fawkner became symbolic figures in the founding story of Melbourne, it was the later bureaucrats, principally Charles Joseph La Trobe, William Lonsdale and Robert Hoddle, who were critical in administering the infant settlement, in shaping the layout of the town, and in establishing the city's institutions.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Site of Yarra Falls

Site of former Batman's Hill

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¹⁵ Bain Attwood with Helen Doyle, *Possession: Batman's treaty and the matter of history*, Miegunyah Press, Carlton, 2009.

Site of former Batman memorial stone in footpath, Flinders Street (installed 1925; now removed)

Napier Waller mural, Temple Court (c.1960s)

Batman statue (1978), National Mutual forecourt, 447 Collins Street

Fawkner statue, National Mutual forecourt, 447 Collins Street

2.3 Promoting immigration

Once the Port Phillip District had been officially declared open for settlement by the British in 1836, immigration was encouraged. Melbourne would become a site of significant New World immigration, which saw Europe expand its markets and political power through the colonisation of new lands. Immigration has been described as 'one of Melbourne's most dramatic and defining themes'. 16

The first immigrants to arrive were those with capital, many accompanied by servants. Among the first to arrive were settlers from Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales. In Britain, potential emigrants were lured by immigration agencies' promises of affordable land and better working conditions. Publications such as George Arden's Latest Information with Regard to Australia Felix (1840) were issued to promote settlement.

Immigration agents in Britain spruiked the advantages of Port Phillip. They offered both assisted and unassisted passage, the former being bound by a specified employment contract upon disembarking in Melbourne. After 1851, and the discovery of gold, the numbers of new immigrants increased dramatically. Immigrants were housed initially in hotels, lodging houses and in private lodgings. There was an Immigrants' Depot in King Street (from 1840), a site later occupied by the Model Lodging House by the 1850s. There was also an Immigrants' Home on St Kilda Road near Princes Bridge. Bridge.

New arrivals included many Europeans of various backgrounds, including a large number of Germans. The Chinese arrived in large numbers but mostly as temporary rather than permanent settlers. Chinese settlers in Melbourne faced hostile treatment from non-Chinese settlers; the government imposed a landing tax on the Chinese with hopes of deterring them.

Immigration continued through the 19th century at a more modest rate. Melbourne's population remained fairly steady through the 1890s and into the early 20th century. The population of the central city fell somewhat during this time as people were attracted to the newly developing suburbs further out. There was also a net gain of new settlers to Melbourne from within Victoria, as many in the country

¹⁶ Richard Broome, 'Immigration' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 361.

¹⁷ Rogan, *Melbourne*, 1970, p. 6.

¹⁸ Broome, 'Immigration', 2005, p. 361.

resettled in the city following the downturn in gold-mining, the declining economies of country towns, and the depression of the 1890s. Immigration during the early 20th century remained largely British, under the aegis of the White Australia Policy, with discriminatory measures applied to prevent people deemed 'undesirable' from settling.

During the postwar period, under a less restrictive immigration policy, Melbourne experienced its most significant population boost since the gold rush decade of the 1850s. This new wave of immigrants were drawn largely from southern Europe, especially Greece and Italy, and also from the war-ravaged countries of Europe. This new influx of people dramatically altered the cultural fabric of the city. In the 1970s large numbers of Vietnamese refugees settled in Melbourne, which added a new cultural dimension to the city.

Further reading

Contact history is covered by Richard Broome, Aboriginal Australians (date) and Michael Christie, Aborigines in Colonial Victoria (1997). A.G.L. Shaw's account of the early Port Phillip District (1997) covers inter-racial relations and early patterns of immigration. The story of John Batman's treaty is the subject of Bain Attwood (with Helen Doyle), Possession: Batman's treaty and the matter of history (2009).

CONTEXT

CHAPTER 3: SHAPING THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

'A quarter of an hour in the train brings the visitor into the heart of the city. On getting out he can hardly fail to be impressed by the size of the buildings around him, and by the width of the streets, which are laid out in rectangular blocks, the footpaths being all well paved or asphalted.'

R.E.N. Twopeny, Town Life in Australia, 1883.

3.1 From town to city

The first arrivals settled on the north side of the Yarra, close to the site where the fresh water met the salt water. This was marked by a low waterfall and a pool of water 30 feet deep. 19 Rudimentary huts and stores were erected along the north bank. The first trigonometric point used for survey purposes in Melbourne was Batman's Hill. 20

When Governor Bourke visited Melbourne in March 1837 he proclaimed the town and confirmed the site of the town survey. 21 Robert Hoddle and his assistant Robert Russell prepared the plan that laid the foundation for Melbourne, with Hoddle placing his plan over the original survey drawn by Russell. They produced a rectangular grid plan that was slightly off-axis so to align the new township with the stretch of Yarra River that incorporated the turning basin and the Falls. The streets running lengthwise were laid out at a width of 99 feet 'on the score of health and convenience to the future city of Victoria'. 22 These alternated with narrower lanes of 33 feet, which were intended as a means of accessing stabling and out-buildings, but instead developed into 'little' streets and were soon lined with 'many expensive buildings'. 23 Outside of the town centre, the grid format reverted to a conventional north-south alignment. Here, additional areas were laid out, along with several wide thoroughfares, including Victoria Parade and Hoddle Street.

The first land sales took place in 1837. This triggered much speculative property-buying, and, inevitably, further subdivision. Streets were laid out and the lanes evolved thereafter due to unregulated subdivision practices.²⁴

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¹⁹ Gill, Melbourne Before History Began, Sydney, 1967, p. 4.

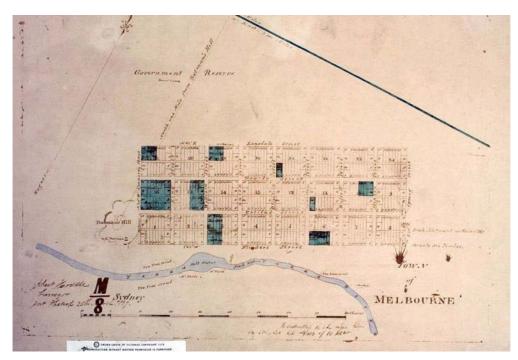
²⁰ Marcus Clarke, *History of the Continent of Australia and the Island of Tasmania*, Bailliere, Melbourne, 1877, p. 97.

²¹ A.G.L. Shaw, 'Foundation and early history' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 286.

²² Quoted in City of Melbourne History, web, p. 11.

²³ Quoted in City of Melbourne History, web, p. 11.

²⁴ Discussed in Weston Bate, *Essential but Unplanned: The story of Melbourne's lanes*, City of Melbourne and State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, 1994.



Robert Hoddle's plan of Melbourne, 1837.

The Town of Melbourne was officially raised to the status of City in 1847, partly to create an Anglican bishopric see. The Catholic Church had already declared Melbourne a bishopric see the previous year.

Miles Lewis has noted that various precincts within the city centre had emerged in the early 1840s, and that this pattern 'remained little changed into the 20th century and which ... survives today - mercantile and warehousing activity near the Pool and the wharves, banking in central Collins Street, the retailing heart between Swanston and Elizabeth Streets, the medical precinct in the vicinity of Dr Richard Howitt's house in Collins Street East, and so on.'25

The quality of buildings varied enormously and there was soon a need to regulate the types of structures erected. The City Council introduced the *Melbourne Building Act* in 1849, ²⁶ which defined the types of structures that could be erected (this is discussed further in Section 3.2).

The population of Melbourne was 20,500 in 1850.²⁷ By the mid-1850s, the city of Melbourne had the largest population in Australia and this remained the case for 40 years.²⁸ Rapid development of the city in the early 1850s, as a result of the gold rush, transformed Melbourne from provincial colonial outpost to a leading city of the British Empire. Yet while the northern side of the river developed rapidly and



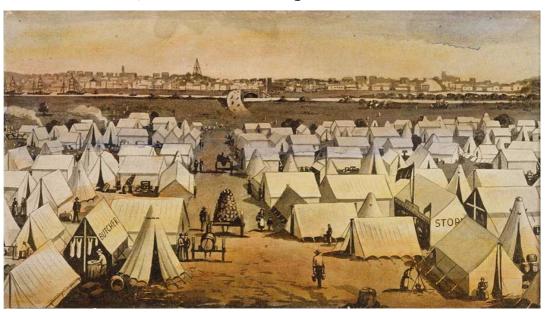
²⁵ Miles Lewis (with Philip Goad and Alan Mayne), *Melbourne: The city's history and development*, City of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1994, p. 22.

²⁶ McCombie, *The History of the Colony of Victoria*, 1858, p. 206; Miles Lewis, 'Building and construction', in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 95.

²⁷ Deborah Tout-Smith, *Melbourne: A city of stories*, 2008, p. 26.

²⁸ Bernard Barrett, *The Civic Frontier*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1979, p. 1.

speculatively, the southern side, known as 'Canvas Town', continued to be occupied by tents and stock, and had the beginnings of an industrial zone. Already there was a need for better planning. What was chiefly lacking in the 1850s, according to one contemporary journalist 'is the total want of picturesqueness in design, treatment or otherwise'. ²⁹ The city turned its back on Yarra, as one contemporary observed: 'the lines of houses on the banks, instead of sweeping round with the stream, run off at a tangent from it'. ³⁰



Canvas Town and the newly completed Princes Bridge, 1850 (source: SLV Accession No. H25127)

The shape and form of the city centre rested with Hoddle's initial plan. Surrounding areas, planned later, developed a distinctive suburban or industrial character of their own. East Melbourne, planned in the 1870s, was specifically designed as a middle-class suburb. Here buildings were subject to a regulation for better quality housing than the rudimentary cottages that characterised many of the older residential areas of the inner city. The *Building Act* was extended to other areas in the 1870s, including Carlton, which improved the quality of construction.³¹

The 1880s saw the extensive development of central Melbourne as tall and ornate commercial buildings rose up along the principal streets, each vying for dominance and admiration. Heights were nonetheless restricted much beyond 40 metres, dictated mainly by fire regulations.³²

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²⁹ Journal of Australasia, vol. 1, June to December, 1856, p. 50.

³⁰ Melbourne as it is and as it Ought to Be, Geelong, 1850, quoted in Lewis (with Philip Goad and Alan Mayne), Melbourne: The city's history and development, City of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1995, p. 28.

³¹ Miles Lewis, 'Building and construction' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 96.

³² Lewis, 'Building and construction', 2005, p. 96.

From 1890s to the 1920s there was a decline in the residential population of the central city as people moved out to the newly developed suburbs. Inner-city suburbs like North Melbourne, West Melbourne, Flemington and Carlton remained strongly residential, with a large working-class population. Here, rows of small cottages were lined up close to local factories. Boarding houses or lodging houses provided additional accommodation for single working men.

East Melbourne and Parkville, with their better quality housing stock attracted middle-class residents. East Melbourne also attracted a large number of professional consultants, especially those from the medical profession.

Calls for a planning scheme for Melbourne were made at least from 1913 when the planning 'movement' officially began. Sir James Barrett, founding president of the Victorian Town Planning and Parks Association from 1914, published a short treatise on town planning in 1918. The first town planning scheme for Melbourne was prepared by the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission in 1929. 33 New planning regulations for Melbourne were drafted in the 1950s by the MMBW rather than the City Council. This scheme was concerned with consolidating industrial areas, but also addressed issues of transport, parkways and other urban needs. The new planning regulations were prepared in 1954 but not gazetted until 1968. 34



Postcard depicting Collins Street, Melbourne, c.1910 (private collection)

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³³ J. Brian McLoughlin, *Shaping Melbourne's Future*, 1991, p. 24.

³⁴ McLoughlin, 1991, pp. 39, 44, 49. The 1954 plan is discussed further in Robert Freestone, *Designing Australian Cities*, 2007.

Development of the city took dramatic new turns after World War II, with high-rise office towers and multi-level car parks being erected in the CBD in the 1950s and 1960s. Along with car parks came traffic lights and parking meters. In the 1960s new elevated roadways were built, which Robin Boyd criticised for contributing to the 'urban ugliness'. The first significant office tower was the ICI building, erected in 1957 as the first building to exceed the 40-metre height limit (imposed by city fire regulations). The mining boom of the 1960s and an accompanying vision of modernity fuelled major developments (and associated demolitions). This was not without opposition, as will be discussed in Chapter 15.

In 1964, BP House was the first new office building to be opened on St Kilda Road, which foreshadowed the demise of a once elegant streetscape of grand 19th-century mansions. The Victorian Arts Centre opened in 1968. The 1980s saw the construction of the City Loop railway network, Collins Tower, the Rialto building and the Melbourne Central retail complex.

In the wake of economic recession, the 1990s witnessed the resurgence of the city centre as a dynamic place to live, visit and play, with the adaption of many commercial and industrial buildings for reuse as apartment living, and the creation of the new retail and residential precincts of Southbank and Docklands. Significant buildings have been converted for other uses, especially for apartment housing — for example, the former Mercy Hospital and Victoria Brewery. Commercial re-use has been made of the Melbourne General Post Office, Coop's Shot Tower, and the Queen Victoria Hospital site. In the early 2000s Melbourne's intimate spaces underwent significant change, with new bars and eateries opening up in once obscure laneways, and with many city buildings adding rooftop gardens, bars, cinemas and aviaries. 36

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Hoddle's plan of the City of Melbourne (1837) (reproduction held SLV)

3.2 Expressing an architectural style

Melbourne's earliest architecture was its most ephemeral. Most of the first dwellings constructed prior to Hoddle's Plan and the first land sales in 1837 were built of sod — cheap and quick to construct as was suitable for a new and unauthorised settlement. The pre-1837 houses, those of sod and several of timber, were demolished following the delineation of new allotment boundaries and the public land sales. As a condition of sale, a permanent building worth at least £50 (for land sold in the first two rounds) or £20 (from 1839) had to be erected on the allotment within a year. This gave rise to simple Georgian cottages, of timber or face

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³⁵ Robin Boyd, quoted in John Button (ed.), *Look Here!*, *Considering the Australian environment*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1968, p. 33.

³⁶ See O'Hanlon, Melbourne Remade, 2009.

brick, with shingle roofs in central Melbourne. Stone was generally reserved for public buildings. There was a short-lived sandstone quarry on the south side of the Yarra River which provided dark-brown stone for St James' Old Cathedral, designed by Robert Russell in 1839 (and relocated to King Street in 1913).

Timber houses were still being built, particularly in Fitzroy (outside the study area). Fear of conflagrations in areas of densely packed timber houses led to the enactment of the Melbourne Building Act, which came into effect in January 1850. It stipulated that all new buildings had to have a masonry party wall (which extended above the roofline in the case of terrace houses) and be constructed of fireproof materials. The Act was applied to the central city, East Melbourne and Jolimont, West Melbourne and a small part of North Melbourne (south of Victoria Parade). Concurrent with the gazettal of the Act was a minor building boom with a resultant rise in quality from the previous rough cottages to more pretentious, speculatively built, two-storey brick houses.³⁷

The early 1850s marked the separation of Victoria from New South Wales, with the resultant construction of stately government buildings, and the start of the Gold Rush. While the massive rise in wealth from gold allowed the construction of some of Melbourne's finest public buildings, all Neo-Classical, such as the Public Library (now State Library, begun 1854), Parliament House (begun 1856), and the Treasury Building (1858-62), it temporarily halted construction activity at its start. All available skilled labour and materials were rushed to the goldfields, leaving the many newcomers to Melbourne camped in tents on Emerald Hill and Canvas Town. The population boom and concurrent rise in the price of labour and materials led to the construction of many hastily built timber structures outside the area controlled by the Melbourne Building Act, and the importation of timber and metal prefabricated structures like the corrugated ironclad, iron-framed Walmsley House in Parkville. The construction industry had normalised by 1854. In this period bluestone (basalt) became a popular material for commercial buildings (particularly for warehouses in the west end of the central city) and dwellings, as local supply was unlimited and the quality far better than most bricks made locally.

The housing stock greatly expanded in the early Victorian period, with further construction of houses in the central city and surrounding suburbs (Carlton, East Melbourne, North Melbourne and West Melbourne). These were simple houses of one and two storeys, with bluestone or brick walls. Inferior-quality bricks were often rendered to protect them from weathering, and the rendering ruled and often coloured to resemble the more prestigious ashlar stone. Most houses did

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³⁷ Lewis, *Melbourne: The city's history and development*, 1995, pp. 38–40. Philip Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, Watermark Press, Sydney, 1999, p. 17.

not have parapets concealing their roof, and not all had verandahs. Verandah roofs were clad in corrugated iron, usually with a delicate concave profile. Better verandahs had timber friezes and brackets until the introduction of castiron elements in the 1870s. While the majority of houses were of this simple, vernacular type, the Gothic Revival was also present in the 1850s and 1860s. It can be seen in simple, gable-fronted weatherboard cottages in Carlton with decorative bargeboards, and the two-storey bluestone Clement Hodgkinson House, East Melbourne, of 1861, designed by architect Joseph Reed. Reed was a dominant figure during Melbourne's greatest period of growth. He was the architect of almost all of the University of Melbourne's 19th-century buildings, the Wesley Church, the Royal Society Building, the Collins Street Baptist Church, the Melbourne Town Hall, and the Melbourne Exhibition Building. He was also responsible for introducing polychrome brickwork after a trip to Europe in 1863, as seen in St Michael's Church on Collins Street, a residence at the corner of Powlett and George Streets in East Melbourne, and at Rippon Lea (in Elsternwick, outside the study area). Polychrome brickwork, generally red or brown with cream accents, became very popular in the 1870s.

The early Victorian period was also one of intensive church development, particularly in the central city. Most were built of stone in the Gothic Revival style, but exceptions were of rendered brick or face brick. Reed's Collins Street Baptist Church was one of the few churches built in a Classical Revival style.

In the 1870s and 1880s there was a building boom, both commercial and residential. Intensive development continued in Melbourne's inner suburbs, and also began in Kensington. Houses in the area controlled by the Building Act, as well as Carlton and Parkville, continued to be built of brick, with a shift from polychrome brick to ruled render in the 1880s. Terraces were common in the denser areas like Carlton. In Kensington, however, most new houses were freestanding weatherboard cottages, though the cladding of the front walls was often milled to resemble more prestigious ashlar. Houses of this era are readily identifiable as 'Victorian' by the general public. Freestanding houses had hipped roofs, chimneys had crisp mouldings at the top executed in render, and almost all houses had a front verandah supported by slender columns and decorated with cast-iron frieze and brackets. Terraced houses and commercial buildings concentrated ornament on parapets replete with balustrades, classical pediments and heavily modelled cast-cement detailing. Grander houses, such as Wardlow in Parkville, often boasted an Italianate tower for instant landmark quality. The height of this development is known as the Boom Style.

The 1880s property boom also made its mark on commercial design in the central city, with a new, bold generation of architects. Boom Style commercial buildings, such as William

Pitt's Windsor Hotel and the Block Arcade, were characterised by increasingly rich decoration, Mannerist exaggeration of elements like keystones and segmental pediments, and the use of multiple classical trabeated and arcuated schemes overlaid one atop the other, until flat wall space was diminished to a bare minimum. While Renaissance and Italianate influences are most closely associated with Melbourne's Boom Style, a similar treatment of materials and facades was used for Gothic Revival buildings such as William Pitt's Melbourne Stock Exchange and Rialto Building (both on Collins Street). Another variant was influenced by the English Gothic Revivalists, Augustus Pugin and John Ruskin, who called for a return to an 'honest' style by use of medieval design principles. Their influence is seen in William Wardell's ES&A (now ANZ) Bank and English architect William Butterfield's St Paul's Cathedral. 38

Alongside the property investment boom, and stylistic boldness of Melbourne's architects, the introduction of the hydraulic lift in 1887, which drew on a water supply from Dights Falls, allowed them to take office buildings to new heights. The brick-clad Australia Building of 1888, situated on the corner of Elizabeth and Flinders Lane (now demolished), epitomised this development. When completed, this 45-metre, 12-storey building was one of the tallest in the world, and Australia's tallest for many years. ³⁹ It was also notable for being constructed with load-bearing walls at a time when steel-frame construction had begun in North American cities. ⁴⁰

The 1890s depression brought a temporary halt to the brash urban and suburban expansion, both upwards and outwards. When construction commenced again in the middle of the decade, it was strongly influenced by the British Arts & Crafts movement, which in turn was shaped by Ruskin's thinking in its rejection of 'falsity' and industrialisation of design. The concealing of bricks with highly moulded and decorative cement render was rejected, as was the use of cast-iron verandah posts and friezes. Domestically, for the next three decades, 'honest' materials were considered to be face brick, terracotta roof tiles, and turned posts and timber verandah ornament. Render (usually roughcast) was used with restraint: in half-timbered gables, as flat bands, and at the tops of brick chimneys. This domestic style, known as Federation, was also characterised by diagonal axes, and deep, sheltering verandahs continuous with the main roof. Ideally these houses were freestanding on a large block, to take advantage of very modelled massing on two or three elevations. This was difficult on the narrow inner suburban allotments, and while there are a few such examples in North Carlton, the average house of c.1910 compromised in massing, but borrowed

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³⁸ Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, 1999, pp. 66–71.

³⁹ Lewis, Melbourne: The city's history and development, 1995, p. 80.

⁴⁰ Graeme Davison, pers. com., November 2010.

materials such as half-timbering in gables, red face brick with render bands, and timber fretwork.

In the central city, the American Romanesque style was adopted, often combined with Art Nouveau-influenced ornament. Again, red face brick with limited render accents were the preferred materials, and facades were articulated with large-scale round-arches, sometimes with window bays set into them. Examples of the Romanesque include the Tompkins Bros' Commercial Travellers Building in Flinders Street (1898) and Nahum Barnet's Auditorium Building in Collins Street (1913). The style was also used for more modest factories and warehouses along Flinders Lane.

While the Romanesque was favoured for commercial buildings, a classical influence prevailed for public buildings. In line with the less regimented designs of the early 20th century, this was the Edwardian Baroque style. It was characterised by mannered classical facades with deep cornices. Again, red face brick with render dressings were preferred. Landmark examples include Flinders Street Station (1901-11, Fawcett and Ashworth) and the City Baths (1903, J.J. & E.J. Clark). 41

The interwar period brought with it a jump in tall building construction in the central city, made possible by the use of structural steel and reinforced concrete framing. In response, a height limit was imposed by the City Council in 1916, dictated by the limitations on fire-fighting at that time. A maximum height of 40 metres was dictated for steel and concrete buildings, a limit that was not broken until the 1950s. Commercial buildings in the 1920s were mainly of the Commercial Palazzo style, as exemplified by Harry Norris's Nicholas Building in Swanston Street (1925). The style was an early attempt at creating a style suitable for the tall building. 42 It was divided into a base, shaft and cornice, much like a Renaissance palazzo. The scale, however, was greatly enlarged, with the shaft stretching up to 10 storeys. By the 1930s, the soaring height of the new office towers was embraced and the vertical thrust emphasised in the Commercial Gothic style and the Jazz Moderne. Landmark examples include, respectively, Marcus Barlow's Manchester Unity Building (1929-32) and the Tompkins Bros' Myer Emporium in Bourke Street (1933).

From the 1920s onward, cantilevered verandahs came into fashion, for their clean lines and modern appearance. At this time the City Council began to encourage the removal of the cast iron 'corporation verandahs', and their replacement with hung verandahs (which visually emulated the cantilevered ones). The corporation verandahs, with their iron posts and the city's coat of arms on the frieze, had characterised almost all commercial buildings in Melbourne and its suburbs up to this time. Their removal was accelerated in the lead-up

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⁴¹ Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, 1999, pp. 78–81, 88–89.

⁴² Richard Apperly, 'The Commercial Palazzo: Its origins overseas and some early examples in New South Wales in the early twentieth century', *Fabrications*, vol. 6, June 1995, pp 58–62.

to the Melbourne Olympic Games, and in 1954 a bylaw was passed, requiring their removal in the central city. Since the 1990s, a number have been reconstructed.

By the end of the interwar period, sweeping horizontal lines came into favour, foreshadowing the postwar period, but in a far more ornamented form. Some of the finest examples are the McPherson Building in Collins Street (Reid & Pearson, 1934-37) and Mitchell House in Lonsdale Street (Harry Norris, 1936).



Aerial view of Melbourne, looking north-west, with Russell Street in centre, c.1940s (source: VPRS 8357, P3, Unit 4, PROV; thanks to Jill Barnard for sourcing this image)

Domestically, there was limited construction in the inner suburbs, as they had been almost completely developed in the Edwardian era. Most new houses were in the California Bungalow style (another that ideally was designed as a freestanding house on a wide block) and the Spanish Mission style, characterised by textured render on the walls and arched loggias.

Postwar architecture in the central city began daringly to break many of the rules that had moulded the city in the early twentieth century. The 40-metre height limit was first broken in 1955 by ICI House (Bates Smart & McCutcheon), which had a glass curtain wall — popular in the 1950s. Taller towers such as these were often surrounded by plazas, creating gaps in the once continuous street-front. Concrete cladding began to overtake glass curtain walling by the early 1960s, led by Bates Smart McCutcheon's South British Building of 1960-62. It had a precast concrete façade, as did the Housing Commission high rises constructed during this period

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in suburbs like Carlton, North Melbourne, and Kensington, often at the expense of 19th-century neighbourhoods. The central city also suffered demolition of fine examples of 19th-century architecture. The unwarranted destruction of some of Melbourne's landmarks, such as the Eastern Market (replaced by the Southern Cross Hotel, since demolished), and of swaths of the inner suburbs, led to widespread backlash by the community and the introduction of heritage protection in the 1970s. 43

There was very little new construction in the inner suburbs after World War II, but the European immigrants who moved into these now-cheap areas made their mark with extensive alterations. Unfashionable Victorian and Edwardian-era houses were stripped of their cast-iron or timber detailing, often replaced with decorative mild-steel screens, and the original convex or concave verandah roofs replaced with modern flat roofs. Grungy brick was often painted or rendered over, and timber windows replaced with larger steel (or later aluminium) ones. A few houses in suburbs like Carlton were given a full 'Mediterranean' treatment with cast-concrete columns to support the flat verandah roof and terrazzo flooring. With the gradual gentrification of these suburbs since the 1970s, new owners have been reversing these alterations, while adding ultramodern additions discretely at the rear. The handful of new houses built in the postwar period were mainly cream-brick austerity houses, with corner windows and hipped roofs clad in terracotta tiles — an acceptable blend of the modern and traditional.

The 1980s and 1990s were characterised by a search for landmarks in the city, often promoted by design competitions. A popular site for festivals and demonstrations, the former City Square was modelled by Denton Corker Marshall after they won a national design competition in the 1970s; the site was subsequently re-landscaped in the late 1990s. Another major public space was Lab Architects sometimes controversial design for Federation Square, which was opened in 2002. Designed to be a people's meeting place, it has become the most popular landmark in the city.

While office building dominated in the 1970s and 1980s, there was a revival of alternative uses of city buildings in the 1990s. Economic recession in 1992-94 saw a glut of office space, depressed rents, the vacation of older low-rise buildings, and their conversion to residential use. Postcode 3000 was a planning initiative co-ordinated by the City of Melbourne from 1992 that sought to re-invigorate the central city area for housing in order to create a more livable European style of city. Apartment living in converted commercial and industrial buildings in the city and surrounding inner suburbs of North and West Melbourne has involved the creative talents of many architectural practices. High-rise housing has been provided most notably

⁴³ Lewis, Melbourne: The city's history and development, 1995, pp. 136–38.

by Nonda Katsalidis, who gained prominence for several projects of tall apartments, most recently the Eureka Tower by Fender Katsalidis in 2009. Many new apartment blocks were also built at this time, especially in Carlton, which were marketed to overseas university students.

In the latter decades of the 20th century, many lanes and alleyways had been subsumed by developments such as Melbourne Central, Collins Place, and the Hyatt Hotel. The effect on the central city of these large developments was to eliminate the human scale of the city, and alternatives such as the redevelopment of the Queen Victoria Hospital site (known as QV) made a conscious effort to re-design lanes and alley ways in a contemporary manner. The urban village of QV is a high-density, mixed-use precinct, containing retail, business, and living spaces. Its different components were designed by several key Melbourne architects from 2003, including Denton Corker Marshall, Lyons, John Wardle, and Robert McBride. This approach to retail space was further reinforced with the redevelopment of Melbourne Central by Ashton Raggatt McDougall in 2008.

Education and the arts have provided opportunities for bold and innovative architecture, especially from the mid 1990s at RMIT where Edmond and Corrigan made a colourful postmodern splash with Building 8, reworking John Andrews' Union building of the 1970s. RMIT has continued its dedication to pushing the boundaries in architecture with Ashton Raggatt McDougall's reworking of Storey Hall in 1995. Denton Corker Marshall's dominance as pre-eminent Melbourne architects culminated in their Melbourne Museum in the Carlton Gardens in 2001 and their Exhibition Centre in 2009.

The Southbank Cultural Precinct redevelopment has consolidated the arts, education and urbanism in a range of buildings and urban spaces, building on the major works of Sir Roy Grounds at the National Gallery, theatres and concert hall from the 1960s. Architects Williams and Boag have provided a space for future artists and performers at the Victorian College of the Arts Secondary School, whilst Ashton Raggatt McDougall's Recital Centre is a further exploration of their postmodern style. The redevelopment of the State Library of Victoria by NSW-based architects Anchor Mortlock and Woolley has provided an exemplar of heritage conservation and a state of the art facility.

During the 1990s Melbourne started to view itself more as an international city, looking towards the best the world had to offer when commissioning major works. Collaborations between international and local architects encouraged design from overseas and produced Federation Square, with UK-based Lab Architects with Bates Smart and McCutcheon, and the new Southern Cross Station with Nicholas Grimshaw and Daryl Jackson.

The Docklands project is a state-facilitated private-sector redevelopment directly tapping economic growth in business, entertainment and housing. The challenge was to unlock an

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area hidden to the public and reconnect it to the city centre with major infrastructure of public transport, pedestrian and road bridges. This project is derived from major international dockland redevelopments that have taken place in London, Boston, Kobe and Vancouver.

Sustainability of buildings' fabric and function has also become a critical issue in the city, with energy-saving, water-saving and water-harvesting becoming important considerations of new building design.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Parliament House (begun 1856) [VHR]

Wardlow, Parkville (1888) [VHR]

City Baths (1903) [VHR]

Flinders Street Station (1910-11) [VHR]

Nicholas Building, Swanston Street (1925) [VHR]

Manchester Unity Building (1929-32) [VHR]

ICI House (1955) [VHR]

places

3.3 Naming The names given to features and places marked out in the new settlement on the Yarra were almost entirely British in origin. When John Batman first explored the new country at Port Phillip, he named several features after himself, including Batman River (Yarra River) and Batmania (Melbourne).44 The chief water courses were a rare attempt at adopting Indigenous names. The name for the Yarra River, originally called the Freshwater River, was subsequently named by Surveyor J.H. Wedge from yarra yarra meaning 'flowing flowing'. The Maribyrnong River, the Merri Creek and the Moonee Ponds Creek were other examples.

> The township had originally been known as Dutigalla (or Douta Galla) and Bearbrass and various other names, but in 1836 Bourke declared the name of Melbourne — after Lord Melbourne, the then prime minister of Britain.

> Outside of central Melbourne, suburban districts often took the names of corrupted Aboriginal words — for example, Prahran, Boroondara, Toorak, Murrumbeena and Bundoora. Within the city proper, however, the rigidity of both the city grid and the tight form of the surrounding neighbourhoods strongly conformed to inherited British traditions and were named accordingly. This went too for the naming of the major streets and thoroughfares. The streets of the city grid were named after prominent settlers and British royalty. To some extent that remains the case today, though some effort has been made to re-identify the riverbank precinct for its indigenous heritage with the naming of Birrarung Marr.



⁴⁴ James Bonwick, *John Batman: The founder of Victoria*, Wren Publishing Pty Ltd, Melbourne, 1973 (first published 1867), pp. 23, 24.

Popular culture is also represented in the naming of AC/DC Lane (formerly Corporation Lane) in 2004.

3.4 Defining public space

The lack of a central public square was much regretted among early city planners. In regard to his plan for Melbourne in 1837, there is some dispute over whether Hoddle had intended to mark out a town square in the block bounded by Collins, Bourke, Swanston and Elizabeth Streets. 45 Regardless, the pressures of property speculation and speedy land sales ultimately spelled the end of that plan.

Soon after arriving in Melbourne in 1839, Superintendent La Trobe began a program of setting aside public reserves in the township. A block of land on the Western Hill, bounded by Lonsdale, La Trobe, Queen and William Streets, was reserved as a 'town square', and an area east of present-day Princes Bridge and north of the Yarra (present-day Federation Square and Birrarung Marr) was set aside as a proposed reserve for public purposes. The town square was never developed as such, but was used for other public purposes. La Trobe also set aside large areas of parkland 'for the health and general enjoyment of the population'. Flagstaff Hill was a popular meeting place. (Note that parks and gardens will be discussed further in Chapter 7).

In the absence of an official city square, people congregated elsewhere — in hotels, coffee palaces, clubs and cafes, 'under the clocks' at Flinders Street Station, on the steps of the General Post Office, and the Public Library forecourt. Public protests were often held outside Parliament House at the top end of Bourke Street, while public orations were made at the popular gathering place known as Speaker's Corner (on the Yarra). Melbourne's fringe of parkland was also well frequented, while the reserves for the Eastern and Western Markets served as quasi town squares. Nevertheless, the absence of an official city square remained a sore point. A solution finally emerged in the 1960s when the City Council got behind the purchase of a block at the corner of Collins and Swanston Streets. But this never succeeded as a popular meeting place, even after its redevelopment in the early 1980s. 48 The sale by the city council of a large section of the square to a major international hotel chain in the 1990s (as part of a deal to restore the Regent Theatre) left little space for people to gather. The opening of the innovatively designed Federation Square in 2000, further south along Swanston Street, however, has proved a popular public space. So too is the extensive promenade along the river that fronts the Southbank development.

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⁴⁵ Andrew Brown-May, 'City Square' in Brown-May and Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, 2005, p. 142.

⁴⁶ W.A. Sanderson, 'The Alienation of the Melbourne Parks', in *VHJ*, vol. 46, no. 4, Nov. – Dec. 1975.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Sanderson, 'The Alienation of the Melbourne's Parks', p. 551.

⁴⁸ See discussion in Seamus O'Hanlon, *Melbourne Remade*, 2010.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Speakers' Corner, Batman Avenue, Yarra Bank (two sites) [VHR] Birrarung Marr (2002)

Further reading

The theme of shaping the urban landscape incorporates planning and architectural history. For the former, see Robert Freestone, Designing Australian Cities (2007), and for the latter, see Philip Goad, Melbourne Architecture (1999).



CHAPTER 4: GOVERNING, ADMINISTERING AND POLICING THE CITY

'The new Parliament opened with whatever ceremony and state the colony could furnish ... The Corporation, headed by the Mayor, the Judges in their robes, the Town Councillors in their uniforms, the Foreign Consuls looking as like Ambassadors as they could contrive to do, and the Governor, accompanied by a staff and escorted by volunteer cavalry ...'

> C.G. Duffy, My Life in Two Hemispheres, vol. ii, 1898.

4.1 Governing of Victoria

Melbourne began as a settlement without official sanction, as neither a municipal city nor a capital city. Following the the Colony arrival of Batman and Fawkner and their respective parties in and State 1835, Governor Bourke, ruling from Sydney, proclaimed that the settlement was illegal. By the following year, however, he was forced to condone the fast-growing settlement as an extended district of the Colony of New South Wales. Melbourne's first administrative centre (the so-called 'Government Block' bounded by Collins, Bourke, King and Spencer Streets) was originally located alongside one of the key sites of its illegal foundation — the prominence known as Batman's Hill at the western end of the settlement, where John Batman had built a hut and a store.

> William Lonsdale, who arrived in October 1836 as the first police magistrate and general administrator, briefly occupied the Commandant's House located in the government block at the western end of town. By 1838, he had moved to a house in the large government paddock (also known as Richmond Paddock) located east of the township. In 1839 C.J. La Trobe was appointed superintendent of the Port Phillip District. He and his family took up residence in a prefabricated cottage that they had erected near Lonsdale's house in the government paddock and named 'Jolimont'.

> A proclamation of the impending Separation of the new Colony of Victoria from NSW was made in November 1850. The celebrations included fireworks and a giant bonfire on Flagstaff Hill, one of many that flared triumphantly from various high-points around Melbourne. 49 La Trobe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria and his Jolimont cottage became in effect the first Government House.

> From 1854, the colonial governor resided at Toorak House (outside the study area). In 1878 an elaborate new Government House, built to an Italianate style by the eminent architect William Wardell, was erected on a site overlooking the Yarra.

⁴⁹ Argus, 14 November 1850.

The surrounding public land, designated as the King's Domain, was modelled after the traditional domain or demense of Britain, and this was re-designed in the 1870s.

The first sessions of the new parliament of Victoria were held at St Patrick's Hall in Bourke Street from 1851-56. 50 A lavish new Parliament House, designed by Peter Kerr, was first used in 1856 but continued to be built in stages, although its intended dome was never completed. Towering above the Spring Street hill, it presided over the east end of town and beyond.



Photograph showing the Treasury under construction in 1858. It was built between 1857 and 1862 to a design by J.J. Clark (source: SLV Accession No. H27165)

A cluster of early government buildings were located around William Street and Flagstaff Hill. From around 1860, several government departments operated from Treasury Place (including Treasury, Surveyor-General's Department, Public Works, Premier and Cabinet, and the Government Printing Office). An early city guidebook described the Government offices as 'situated in a fine, handsome, commodious building at the east end of the town'. Later, the Land Titles Office moved to buildings located in the block bounded by Lonsdale and Queen Streets. Some government offices continued to occupy the area of the former 'government block' at the far western end of the city. There were several consulates

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⁵⁰ Chris McConville, 'The Irish Townscape of Melbourne', in Philip Bull et al. (eds), *Irish–Australian Studies: Papers delivered at the sixth Irish-Australian Conference, July 1990*, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1990, p. 97.

⁵¹ Rogan, *Melbourne*, 1970, pp. 29–31.

⁵² Robert P. Whitworth, *Bailliere's Victorian Gazetteer and Road Guide*, Bailliere's, Melbourne, 1879, p. 322.

established in Melbourne in the second half of the 19th century, including representatives of the French and German governments.

The Federation of the former British colonies into States of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 marked a major transition for the colonial government. The Victorian State Parliament continued to function in its existing form as part of the new Commonwealth, but with the federal parliament accommodated in the Victorian Parliament House, the State Parliament held its sessions in the Exhibition Buildings. Most of the functions of the State government remained the same, with the new Commonwealth assuming responsibility for areas of national interest, such as defence and customs.

Since the beginning of European settlement, there have been several official or government precincts within the central city. The earliest administrative area was the government block at the western end of town, which operated concurrently with the sites in the government reserve (or government paddock) at Jolimont, which were occupied by La Trobe and Lonsdale, and used for various police purposes. There was a concentration of government offices both in the block bounded by La Trobe, Queen, Lonsdale and William Streets through the nineteenth century, and also at the eastern end of town, centred around the Treasury Building.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Yarra Park (former government paddock) [VHR]

Parliament House (begun 1856) [VHR]

La Trobe's Cottage, King's Domain (reconstructed, relocated) (1839-40) [VHR]

Lonsdale's cottage (no longer in situ; in storage with National Trust)

Government House and grounds (1870s) [VHR]

King's Domain

Royal Exhibition Building, Carlton (1879-80) [VHR, WHL]

Old Treasury Building (1857-62) [VHR]

Titles Office, Queen Street (1874-77) [VHR]

Former Records Office, Queen Street (1900) [VHR]

4.2 Administer ing the City of Melbourne

The Town of Melbourne was formed in 1842, initially with four wards: Lonsdale, Bourke, Gipps and La Trobe. Its coat of arms, bearing a whale, a sheep, a sheaf of wheat, and a sailing ship, represented the town's chief industries at that time. The Town Corporation was established at a time when the infant settlement was in the grips of depression. It had lofty aims, promising to provide a fresh water supply and to dispose of sewage, among other things, but found that it was an ongoing difficulty to raise the necessary capital to carry out these public works.

In 1847 Melbourne was proclaimed a city. As the only existing municipality, it took in a large area of the settlement, extending as far as Sandridge (Port Melbourne) and Point Ormond (Elwood) in the south, and incorporating Fitzroy, Collingwood and Richmond. The municipal council levied rates on properties, and in turn provided a range of basic services, including drainage and rubbish removal, and regulated the issuing of various licenses. It investigated and funded options for a town water supply in the late 1840s and early 1850s.

The City of Melbourne endured an uneasy relationship with the colonial Government of Victoria, the seat of power of which was in Melbourne. Various issues of governance brought conflict and disagreement between the two tiers of government. In the early 1850s the City of Melbourne was forced to hand over the operations of the Water Supply Department to the colonial government. In 1854 it relinquished some of its control and 'lost its vital metropolitan orientation' when several new municipalities were formed, including Newtown or Fitzroy (1858). 53 Henceforth, as David Dunstan suggests, 'Melburnians could be forgiven for thinking their Corporation little more than a street maker'. 54

The Council Chambers originally occupied the Athenaeum Building in Collins Street.⁵⁵ A site for a new town hall and municipal buildings was chosen at the corner of Collins and Swanston Streets. The foundation stone of the new building was laid in 1867 during the hectic royal visit of Prince Alfred, and the grand building was completed in 1870. The Council also bought up existing commercial buildings in the vicinity of Swanston and Little Collins Streets for administrative purposes.

In 1905 the City of Melbourne expanded its jurisdiction with the addition of the former Borough of Kensington and Flemington, together with the Town of North Melbourne representing the newly created Hopetoun Ward. In more recent times, the heavily developed areas of Southbank and the Victorian Arts Centre (1993), and Docklands (2007), have come under the control of the City of Melbourne. As a result, the present City of Melbourne takes in a large and diverse area of inner metropolitan Melbourne.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Melbourne Town Hall (1867) [VHR]

Former North Melbourne Town Hall, Errol St (1875-76) [VHR] Flemington and Kensington Town Hall

City of Melbourne Archive Collection, held PROV

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⁵³ This quote is taken from David Dunstan, *Governing the Metropolis*, 1991, p. 39.

⁵⁴ Dunstan, 1991, p. 39.

⁵⁵ Rogan, *Melbourne*, 1970, p. 69.

Athenaeum Building, Collins Street (1840, 1885) [VHR]



View of Swanston Street from the Town Hall portico, taken from Ambrose Pratt, A Century of Progress, 1934

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Melbourne played a key role in the achievement of Federation, with many politicians taking an active role in the process, notably Alfred Deakin. The first Australasian Federal Conference was held in Melbourne in 1890. 56 Melbourne's Parliament House was used for the first sessions of the Federal Parliament, from 1901 until 1927, when Canberra was established. Government House was likewise used as the official residence of the Governor-General, during which time the Governor of Victoria took up residence at Stonnington in Malvern (outside the study area). As Australia's Federal capital over a period of 26 years, Melbourne developed several of her public institutions in accordance with their new national role, including additions to the Public Library. 57 Several city churches have also served a national role, for example in holding state funerals for deceased political leaders and governors. In their size and form, many of Melbourne's public buildings retain a legacy of this national role, for example Victoria Barracks which served as the headquarters of the Australian Army during World War II, long after the establishment of Canberra. 58

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⁵⁶ Tout-Smith (ed.), 2009, p. 47.

⁵⁷ Lewis, Melbourne: The city's history and development, 1994.

⁵⁸ 'Victoria Barracks' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 744.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Government House and Domain (1870s) [VHR]

Parliament House (begun 1856) [VHR]

Royal Exhibition Building, Carlton (1879-80) [VHR, WHL]

State Library of Victoria (1854, 1911) [VHR]

Commonwealth Office, Treasury Place (1912-14)

Former Royal Mint (1869-72) [VHR]

Queen's Warehouse, Collins Street, Docklands [VHR] - first Commonwealth postage stamp produced here in 1913

Victoria Barracks, St Kilda Road [VHR]

4.5 Administeri ng Aboriginal affairs

In the 1830s, John Batman and the Port Phillip Association took it upon themselves to make contact with the local Aborigines and to make arrangements for, or at least to feign efforts towards encouraging, the peaceful co-existence of the two groups. Batman's actions, although without legal standing and lacking adequate historical evidence, have nevertheless had a deep legacy with the Aboriginal people of Melbourne. His so-called 'treaty' with the chiefs of the Kulin nation has been commemorated and drawn on in the enduring national campaign that argues the need for a proper treaty akin to the Waitangi Treaty in New Zealand. Batman's treaty allegedly contracted an exchange of land for various token material items as well as an annual rent; the 'Pay the Rent' campaign that gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s drew on this story.

The Wurundjeri and Boon wurrung lived alongside the settlers, accepting rations but maintaining aspects of their traditional lifestyle where possible. Batman continued to provide food and material items from his store house on Batman's Hill. In a show of paternalism, he also provided 'kingplates' (brass name plates) for the Aboriginal leaders, or headmen, to wear. Fawkner also professed to have made some kind of 'deal' with the Aborigines in Melbourne, but this claim lacks evidence.

By the time La Trobe arrived in Melbourne in October 1839, Batman was dead. La Trobe administered the settlement from a fundamentally paternalistic position, and sought to manage the 'Aboriginal problem' as best he could. He drew on the expertise of G.A. Robinson, whom he appointed Chief Protector of the Aborigines in Victoria. Robinson spent much time travelling through the District, but when in Melbourne he lived in a house on Langhorne's mission in South Yarra. Across the river, immediately opposite this large government reserve and on the site of what would later become the botanic gardens, the Church of England had established an

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⁵⁹ Alastair Campbell, *John Batman and the Aborigines*, Kibble Press, Malmsbury, 1987, p. 188.

Aboriginal mission and school in January 1837 under the charge of George Langhorne. This lasted only a few years.

William Thomas was appointed the local protector for the Melbourne area, but he was based at Merri Creek (outside the study area).

Several sites in Melbourne have long associations with the early administration of the Aboriginal people by the colonial authorities. William Lonsdale, who was appointed the first police magistrate in 1836, occupied a site on the large government reserve (or police paddock), of which present-day Yarra Park is a part, and close to where La Trobe would later establish his Jolimont cottage. Lonsdale established a Native Police force in 1838; his own house overlooked the Native Police paddock. William Buckley, 'the wild white man', was employed as a translator and conciliator, and also lived briefly in the paddock near Lonsdale's cottage. George Augustus Robinson occupied a hut in this government reserve for a brief time in 1839 before relocating to a hut near Langhorne's mission. From this vantage point on the Yarra, close to several Aboriginal ceremonial sites and camping grounds, Robinson would have commenced his work of contacting and conciliating the local Aboriginal clans.

A watercolour by W.F.E. Liardet, executed retrospectively in the 1870s but depicting the early 1840s, shows Aboriginal people camped near the government store at the western end of the township. Here, the colonial authorities provided the Aborigines with basic provisions, continuing a practice established by Batman. Langhorne later provided this service at his mission reserve.

Ultimately, the colonial administration of the Aborigines was marred by paternalism and injustice. The twin doctrines of capitalism and Christianity were used to argue for Aborigines' adoption of western habits and the denunciation of their traditional way of life. Some humanitarian Evangelicals defended Aborigines' rights to land and cultural traditions, but these voices were few. In the Melbourne courts of justice, Aborigines suffered harshly for being unable to speak English proficiently. Unable to adequately represent themselves in the British legal system, they were frequently imprisoned and in some cases executed. 60

From the 1860s, many Wurundjeri were moved to the Aboriginal reserve at Coranderrk, near Healesville. Many, like the Wurundjeri headman William Barak, continued to travel on foot to Melbourne. During the early 20th century, Aborigines continued to live in the City of Melbourne, some living an itinerant life. Others settled in cheap housing outside of the city centre, especially in Fitzroy. Aborigines remained the subject of ridicule and discrimination.

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⁶⁰ The first public executions in Melbourne were of two Aboriginal resistance fighters, Tunnerminnerwait and Peevay, in 1842.

The civil rights movement of the 1960s paved the way for the beginnings of reparations for the unjust treatment of Aboriginal people.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Site of Lonsdale's former residence, Jolimont

Site of Native Police depot, Jolimont

Aboriginal camping ground, Yarra Park

Birrarung Marr (2002)

King's Domain

Headstone of Derrimut (Boon wurrung headman), Melbourne General Cemetery (1864) [NT]

Site of first public executions in Melbourne in 1842, corner of Franklin and Bowen Streets

..6 dministeri g justice

The court system in Victoria developed several tiers of authority. During the early years of settlement disputes were handled by police magistrate William Lonsdale. Lonsdale's first court hearing took place in a storehouse owned by John Batman, located near the corner of Market Street and Flinders Lane. The New South Wales government established Quarter Sessions in Melbourne in 1839. Hearings of the Supreme Court of New South Wales began in Melbourne in 1841.

The first gaol was built on the government block and a second one erected on Batman's Hill in 1837. From early 1840, prisoners were held at two police watch houses, and the same year a new brick gaol was built at the western end of Collins Street. ⁶³ In the 1850s prisoners were also held in prison hulks moored at Williamstown (outside the study area). A new gaol was established in 1845 in Russell Street, not far from the new Supreme Court building in La Trobe Street, which had opened in 1843. ⁶⁴ Additions were made to the Melbourne Gaol, so that by the late 1850s, the gaol, Supreme Court, Police Station, and Warders Barracks took up almost an entire city block. ⁶⁵ Following Separation, La Trobe created the Supreme Court of Victoria, the district County Courts, and other courts of law. ⁶⁶

In 1871 construction began of a new Supreme Court in William Street. The neo-classical building, with an elegant colonnaded dome above a central library, was modelled on Four Courts, Dublin, in recognition of the dominant influence of Irish lawyers and judges in Melbourne's legal fraternity. The

⁶⁶ Susan Priestley, *Making Their Mark*, Fairfax Syme & Weldon, McMahon's Point (NSW), 1984, p. 351; from Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 9.



⁶¹ From Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice: A Cultural Sites Network Study', May 2000, p. 5.

⁶² Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 6.

⁶³ Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 6.

⁶⁴ Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 6.

⁶⁵ Lynn and Armstrong, pp. 22, 66, 67, from Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 14.

Melbourne Supreme Court observed a holiday for St Patrick's Day and adopted the legal costume of Ireland rather than Britain. 67 The opening of the new Supreme Court moved the focus of the legal fraternity — the lawyers' offices and barristers' chambers — from the eastern end of town to the western end around William and Bourke Streets.68

A boom in public building through the 1880s saw many new local courts being built in the suburbs, often as one element of a larger municipal complex. The Flemington Court House was erected in 1889, at which time it was located in the former Flemington and Kensington Borough (now within the City of Melbourne).

There were various reforms and redevelopments to Melbourne's courts in the early 20th century. The High Court of Australia was created in 1903, as a partial replacement for London's Privy Council. 69 The old Supreme Court building on the corner of Russell and La Trobe Streets was demolished in 1909 and replaced by a new Magistrates' Court. 70 The prison system was also reformed in the twentieth century, and the (Old) Melbourne Gaol was closed in 1924.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Melbourne Magistrates' Court (1911-13) [VHR]

Old Melbourne Gaol (1853) [VHR]

Supreme Court of Victoria (1874-84) [VHR]

Normandy Chambers (1883)

Stalbridge Chambers (1891)

Carlton Court House, Drummond Street (1887) [VHR]

4.7 Policing

William Lonsdale was appointed the first police magistrate in 1836. He took command of a disparate group of policing the city bodies, including mounted police, water police, and Native Police. The early police were formed in loosely militarystyle groups, modelled on that of the Irish constabulary. 71

> In 1837 the early police were accommodated in barracks in the government block at the western end of town. Lonsdale's cottage and the more rudimentary timber huts that comprised the Native Police barracks were situated in the Government Police Paddock (also known as Richmond Paddock; later the site of Yarra Park). This extensive reserve, covering 220 acres, stretched from Wellington Street, East Melbourne, to the Yarra River. The Native Police Corps were stationed here from 1838-39. G.A. Robinson and William Buckley, 'the wild

⁶⁷ Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, pp. 20–21.

⁶⁸ Melbourne's Golden Mile (brochure), 2001, p. 8.

⁶⁹ Priestley, *Making Their Mark*, 1984, p. 354, from Doyle, 2000, p. 23.

⁷⁰ Priestley, 1984, p. 30, Doyle, 2000, p. 24.

⁷¹ O'Neill, 'The Visible State', M.A. thesis, Monash University, 1991, cited in Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 8.

white man', also took orders from Lonsdale at this site and both men also briefly resided here. Although based at the Dandenong police paddock from 1842, the Native Police continued to regularly camp and drill at the Richmond police paddock into the 1850s. In 1839 buildings were erected in the south-west corner of the reserve to accommodate the mounted police and the mounted police horses.

The Victorian police force was created in 1853, with the Melbourne force modeled on that of the London Metropolitan Police. The Anew police barracks was built in the north-east corner of the Government Paddock, at the south-west corner of Hoddle Street and Wellington Street. A police prison was built at the police barracks in 1854, which comprised '10 separate cells built of iron on stone foundations and roofed with iron' and was designed 'for police members who offend'. A police hospital erected at the police reserve was not only the first police hospital in Victoria, but is claimed to be the first in the world. The Mounted Police Barracks and depot continued to operate on this site in the 1880s, but part of this site was excised and re-reserved for the Yarra Park State School in the 1870s.

In the 1850s there were rudimentary police barracks at the far western end of Bourke Street, not far from the original site of government administration (established in 1837). A large new barracks was erected here in 1888. The Russell Street police complex was built in the 1860s, and extended over the years, before a larger barracks, comprising stables and hospital, was erected in St Kilda Road. A new radiocontrol tower was built in Russell Street in 1940-43, the headquarters of D24, which became the chief police communication centre for the city.

During World War I the police hospital on St Kilda Road was taken over as a soldiers' hospital. The Increased dissatisfaction with working conditions led to a major strike by Melbourne police in October 1923, which resulted in a frightening week of violence, looting and general chaos. A Royal Commission followed, along with much needed reforms. In 1924 the police stables on St Kilda Road were found to be much better served than the men'. A new police depot was built in St Kilda Road between 1912 and 1929, replacing the former Immigrants' Home.

CONTEXT

⁷² Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 12.

⁷³ Victorian Government Gazette, 1854, p. 1943. See Plan 3 of John Patrick, Yarra Park Conservation Analysis, which shows the 'Police Barracks and gaol reserve' in the north-east corner of Yarra Park.

⁷⁴ Gary Presland, pers. com., 22 January 2010, cited in Helen Doyle, 'Yarra Park', submission to the Victorian Heritage Council, February 2010.

⁷⁵ Robert P. Whitworth, *Official Handbook and Guide to Melbourne*, Melbourne, 1880, p. 219.

⁷⁶ Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 24.

⁷⁷ Doyle, 2000, p. 24.

⁷⁸ Robert Haldane, *The People's Force*, 1986, pp. 174–75, cited in Doyle, 2000, p. 25.

⁷⁹ Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 25.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Former Police Headquarters, Russell Street (1940-43) [VHR]

Yarra Park [VHR]

'The Tan', King's Domain

Old Bourke St West Police Barracks and Cell Block (1888) [VHR]

Former Victoria Police Depot, St Kilda Road [VHR]
Carlton Police Station, Drummond Street (1878) [VHR]

4.8 Defending the city

There was a military presence of British soldiers in Melbourne from the first years of settlement and up until 1870. Increased numbers of soldiers were stationed in Melbourne after the discovery of gold, especially following the Eureka uprising in 1854. Victoria Barracks was built in 1856 to accommodate British soldiers stationed in Victoria. 80

War in the Crimea in the 1850s prompted defence measures to be taken. Melbourne was considered vulnerable to a sea-based attack by the Russians and cannon were installed at key coastal sites, but not in the city itself. Volunteer militia corps and rifle clubs were established in Melbourne and training was carried out at local rifle ranges. One of the first voluntary brigades, formed in Melbourne from 1854 onwards, was the East Melbourne Artillery. Others included the Victorian Corps of Engineers, which was based at an orderly room in Lygon Street, Carlton. When Britain withdrew her forces from the colony in 1870, Victoria was responsible for its own defence. 81 In 1884, a paid military force was established in Victoria. The volunteer system also continued, with a Volunteer Hall operating in Carlton in the 1870s. 82 The Drill Hall in A'Beckett Street was associated with the volunteer corps and later with the medical corps.

Wartime necessitated the use of several public parks sites and buildings for military purposes. During World War I the police hospital on St Kilda Road was taken over as a soldiers' hospital. 83 The Melbourne Cricket Ground was used as a sanatorium during the postwar Spanish Flu Epidemic of 1919; Royal Park was used after the war as a hospital. Royal Park was also used during World War II to accommodate an army camp, which remained in place for several years following the end of the war. Fawkner Park was also used during World War II as a base for army women. 84 State schools were also required to assist the war effort by providing classrooms for use by the army. The United States Army occupied the oval at

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^{80 &#}x27;Victoria Barracks' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, pp. 743-44.

⁸¹ Tout-Smith, 2009, p. 26.

⁸² Whitworth, Bailliere's Gazetteer, 1879, p. 106.

⁸³ Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 24.

⁸⁴ Boyle, A Guide to Melbourne's Parks and Gardens, 1991, pp. 19, 22.

University High School in Parkville from 1942-47.85 In innercity schools, windows were blackened and children learnt to heed the air-raid alarms as part of their school day.86 At least one apartment block incorporated an air-raid shelter in 1943.87 In 1942 the Japanese made a reconnaissance flight over Melbourne.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Royal Exhibition Building, Carlton (1879-80) [VHR, WHL]

Victoria Barracks, St Kilda Road [VHR]

Melbourne Cricket Ground, Yarra Park [VHR]

Fawkner Park, South Yarra (1860s)

Royal Park (Urban Camp - remnant of Camp Pell)

Anzac House (1938) [VHR]

Drill Hall, Powlett Street, East Melbourne (1864) [VHR]

Drill Hall, A'Beckett Street (1938) [VHR]

Former Naval and Military Club, Alfred Place, Melbourne

Royal Melbourne Regiment Drill Hall, Victoria Street (1937) [VHR]

Further reading

The theme of government administration is covered at a municipal level in David Dunstan, *Governing the Metropolis* (1984) and by Andrew May in *Melbourne Street Life* (1995). The period during which Melbourne served as the Australian federal capital is the subject of Kristin Otto's *Capital* (2010). The history of policing in Melbourne is covered by Robert Haldane, *The People's Force* (1986).

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⁸⁵ Heritage Victoria, 'University High School', citation at: http://vhd.heritage.vic.gov.au/vhd/heritagevic#detail_places;5900

⁸⁶ Helen Doyle, 'Establishing Schools and Places of Higher Education: A Cultural Sites Network Study', 2000.

⁸⁷ This was at a block at Garden Terrace, East Melbourne.

CHAPTER 5: BUILDING A COMMERCIAL CITY

'This is an age of marvels, and of all the marvellous facts of the nineteenth century, the rapid growth of the colony of Victoria is not the least marvellous. The metropolis is a fair index of her extraordinary development.'

William Archer, 1857.88

'In commerce, Melbourne ranks as the first port in the British colonial possessions.'

> Robert P. Whitworth, Bailliere's Victorian Gazetteer and Road Guide, 1879.

5.1 pastoral industry

Establishi Melbourne was founded by pastoral capitalists from Van Diemen's Land, where grazing land was becoming scarce and land grants were no longer available. John Batman and other members of the Port Phillip Association envisaged Melbourne as the base for a vast new pastoral territory. They imagined that this new country would support a thriving pastoral settlement, with a small village to provide basic services. Batman imagined that the Aborigines and European farmers would live side by side in happy co-existence. In reality, the large numbers of aspiring pastoralists, merchants and others who quickly streamed into the Port Philip District put an end to Batman's idyllic pastoral dream.

> The lavish praise that surveyor Major Mitchell bestowed on the country he called 'Australia Felix', after his expedition through western Victoria in 1836, drew hundreds of hopefuls to Melbourne in search of a pastoral arcadia. Once the land was opened up for squatting, Melbourne developed as a service town for pastoralists, supplying agencies for servants and labourers, as well as provisions and accommodation.

> Melbourne became a siphon for the pastoral wealth that squatters in the outlying districts were slowly amassing. Wealthy pastoralists stayed at the exclusive Melbourne Club in Collins Street, while their workers favoured the many hotels, such as Mac's Hotel in Franklin Street. Some pastoralists also kept a city villa or townhouse. Banks, such as the ES&A (patronised by Scots pastoralists), grew wealthy from pastoral profits. Stock and station agents, insurance companies and building societies also commanded considerable prestige in Melbourne's financial centre. Socially and politically, pastoral interests remained prominent in Melbourne life well into the early 20th century. The Victorian Parliament in the 1850s was heavily weighted towards country interests, with many MPs the owners of large pastoral properties.

⁸⁸ Quoted in William Kelly, Life in Victoria, 1859, p. 38.

The ports carried large quantities of primary produce for shipment to Britain, principally fine wool but also frozen meat (after a local refrigeration process was patented in 1860). Large warehouses were built to serve shipping interests, several of which survive off Flinders Lane at its western end. The legacy of pastoralism is evident in subtle ways in the fabric of the city — for example in the city's coat of arms.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Newmarket abattoirs and saleyards - remnant infrastructure Melbourne Club, Collins Street (1858) [VHR]

Meat Market, North Melbourne [VHR]

Former ES&A (ANZ) Bank (1883) [VHR]

Customs House (now Immigration Museum) [VHR]

Younghusband woolstores, Kensington

Goldsborough Mort Building (1862) [VHR]

Lynch's Bridge - remnant buildings

5.2 Melbourne as a trading port

In the first years of settlement boats and ships were moored on the Yarra between Queen Street and William Street. This became known as Queen's Wharf. Bluestone warehouses were erected close by as well as a customs house (1841) and market square (1847). BI In the 1840s Captain George Ward Cole built a private wharf between King and Spencer Streets. Little survives of these early wharves. Other ports were established further afield at Williamstown and Sandridge (Port Melbourne). Shipping news was relayed at Flagstaff Hill, as a rise on the western side of the township that commanded a fine view of the bay. Although sited some distance from the open sea, Melbourne was connected to major shipping routes, and hence to world markets, via the short access route provided by the Yarra.

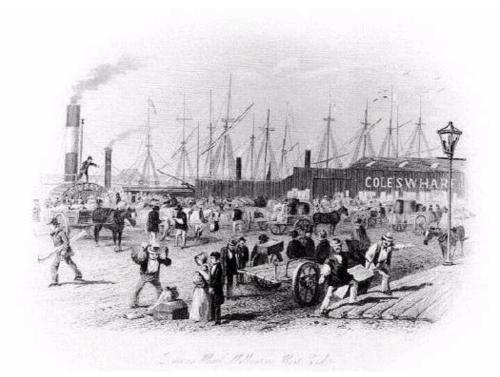
By the 1880s, Melbourne had grown from being a small settlement serving pastoral interests to a major international port. Coode Canal, which was formed in 1886, altered the course of the Yarra to provide a shorter and more direct passage for shipping and so improve the harbour. This work involved the removal of the bend in the river known as Fishermen's Bend. Dry docks were built on the reclaimed site of the drained West Melbourne Swamp. With the completion of Victoria Dock in 1892 Melbourne continued to develop as a busy international port.

⁸⁹ Melbourne's Golden Mile (brochure), 2001.

⁹⁰ Jill Barnard, *Jetties and Piers: A background history of maritime infrastructure in Victoria*, CD-ROM, Heritage Victoria, 2008, p. 15.

⁹¹ Gary Presland, *Aboriginal Melbourne: The lost land of the Kulin people*, 2001 (first published 1984), p. 19.

⁹² 'Down by the Docks', in Davison and McConville (eds), A Heritage Handbook, 1991, p. 108.



S.T. Gill, Queen's Wharf on the Yarra, published in 1857 (source: SLV Accession No. 30328102131660/33)

Accommodation for sailors and seamen was provided at various lodging houses and hotels and also at the Sailors' and Seamen's Home, Flinders Street. Buildings close to Flinders Street and Flinders Lane also accommodated shipping agents.

The Yarra and the docks west of Swanston Street were in essence the 'lifeline' of the city, in providing port facilities and in defining the city's siting. Yet until recently the city of Melbourne turned its back both on the river south of Flinders Street, and also on the docks.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Remnant vestiges of the early port facilities, Yarra bank The turning basin, Yarra River

Customs House (1859) [VHR]

Zanders No. 3 Warehouse, King Street (1854-1887) [VHR] Goldsborough Mort building, William Street (1862) [VHR] Holyman House, cnr Market and Flinders Streets Mission to Seamen, Flinders Street (1916) [VHR] Former York Butter Factory (1852) [VHR] Adelaide Steamship Company, Queen Street

5.3 a large, economy

Following the establishment of savings banks in England, Developing their popularity spread to Australian colonies. Designed primarily to assist ordinary working people to practice city-based thrift and save money, the humble savings bank was central to Banks were initially locally-based, serving the pastoral industry, but the discovery of gold dramatically transformed the economic functions of the city. By the late 1850s Melbourne had become a thriving commercial centre. A large and imposing Treasury Building was erected in 1858, to a design by the masterful young architect J.J. Clark. A large number of commercial banks were also established, which by the 1870s and 1880s had become grand and ornate edifices lining Collins Street. The corner of Collins and Queen Street became the city's, and indeed the nation's, 'financial heart'. Here each corner building competed with each other in terms of architectural style and mastery. Adjacent to the elegant Gothic Revival ES&A Bank in Collins Street was the Melbourne Stock Exchange, designed with a vaulted ceiling like a cathedral. 96 The surrounding buildings provided offices for the city's bankers, financiers and stock brokers.

As well as managing locally generated income, the banks provided significant overseas capital, principally from Britain, to finance public projects and private investment. But the boom of the 1880s saw over-borrowing and overspending on building projects. Economic depression in the early 1890s saw many banks and land companies close their doors as British capital was rapidly withdrawn. The city recovered to some extent in the early twentieth century, and Melbourne underwent further development in its new role as the nation's capital. The Great Depression followed in the 1930s, which marked another period of decline. Nevertheless, during the long boom of the postwar period that followed, the bulk of Australia's leading public companies had their headquarters in Melbourne. 97 Melbourne remained the financial centre of Australia, a role it maintained until the late 20th century.

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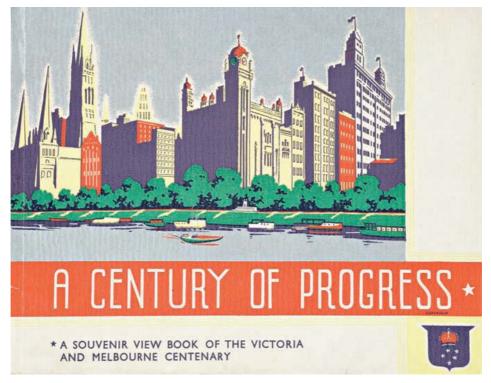
⁹³ The London Savings Bank, for example, was established in 1818.

⁹⁴ Michael Cannon (ed.), *Historical Records of Victoria, volume 7: Public finance of Port Phillip 1836–1840*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1998, p. 250.

⁹⁵ Trevor Craddock and Maurice Cavanough, 125 Years: The story of the State Savings Bank of Victoria, The Bank, Melbourne, 1967, p. 3.

⁹⁶ Melbourne's Golden Mile (brochure), 2001, p. 11; see also Davison, Rise and Fall, 1978.

⁹⁷ McLoughlin, 1991, p. 38; during the postwar period, a total of 27 out of 45 leading Australian companies were based in Melbourne.



The cover of a publication by Ambrose Pratt, 1934, depicting the stylised modern city of the 1930s [source: SLV]

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Commercial Banking Chamber, Collins Street [VHR] Former ES&A (ANZ) Bank, 380 Collins Street (1883) [VHR] Former Stock Exchange building, Collins Street (1889) [VHR] Australia and New Zealand Bank, Collins Street [VHR] Bank of New Zealand (1893) [VHR] Australian Club, William Street (1880s) [VHR]

5.4 a retail centre

As an important port city Melbourne developed early as a Developing centre of trade. Several markets were established, where provisions could also be purchased more cheaply, including the Eastern Market (1847, demolished 1960); Western Market; the hay and corn market (on the site of St Paul's Cathedral); the cattle and pig market in Parkville; and the Melbourne Fishmarket in Flinders Street (demolished 1960s). 98

> The wealth and economic stimulus generated by gold discovery in the 1850s opened up new markets in Melbourne for a range of goods and commodities. New stores opened and shopping arcades were built, which were the precursor to the modern suburban shopping malls. These provided a range of specialty stores as well as photographers' studios and fashionable tearooms. The first of these, Royal Arcade, was built in

⁹⁸ Tout-Smith, 2009, p. 18; Brown-May, Melbourne Street Life, 1995, p. 68.

1869-70 between Little Collins and Bourke Streets. 99 Later, it was ornamented with the imposing mythical figures of Gog and Magog. Other early arcades were Victoria Arcade, completed in 1876, and Eastern Arcade. 100

The department store Buckley and Nunn opened in 1854, establishing Bourke Street as the preferred retail strip. Collins Street, by contrast, had a small number of specialty stores. Russian immigrant Sidney Myer bought a block in Bourke Street in 1911, where he established his successful eponymous emporium. In the 1920s Myer revolutionised shopping in Melbourne with the introduction of 'sale' items displayed on the ground floor of the store. 101 These 'sales' drew large crowds. Edments, located in Bourke Street opposite Myer's, opened in the 1890s, and provided an extensive mail-order service for country customers. 102 For much of the 20th century the most fashionable store was Georges, with its novel walkthrough glazed shopfront. 103 G.J. Coles, which moved to Bourke Street in 1924, served the cheaper end of the market, with its popular slogan, 'nothing over 2/6'. Coles had expanded by 1955 to operate three stores in the city; its Bourke Street cafeteria was for many a popular part of the Melbourne shopping experience. 104

The growth of retail stores in the central city, as well as their counterparts in the suburbs, saw the decline of the city's various markets. Both Eastern Market and the Melbourne Fishmarket were demolished in the 1960s. Referring to the former Eastern Market in National Trust's city guidebook in 1970, John Rogan declared that 'a market of this nature has no place in the middle of a modern city and prior to its removal it had become a complete anachronism'. 105

In the 1980s and 1990s, several long-established Melbourne stores also closed their doors, including Coles Variety Store. The genteel Buckley and Nunn's was taken over by more glitzy Sydney-based department store, David Jones. The Japanese department store Daimaru opened in Melbourne during the heady period of Japanese investment in Australia in the late 1980s, but closed in 2001. More recent retail developments in the city include the development of South Wharf and the rejuvenation of small boutiques in Little Collins Street and Flinders Lane.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Myer Emporium, Bourke Street (1933) [VHR]

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⁹⁹ Whitworth, Official Guide to Melbourne, 1880, p. 73.

¹⁰⁰ Whitworth, Official Guide to Melbourne, 1880, p. 73.

¹⁰¹ Kristin Otto, *Capital: Melbourne when it was the capital city of Australia 1901–27*, Text Publishing, Melbourne, 2009, pp. 134–35

¹⁰² Neilma Sidney, 'Edments, Alfred (1853–1909)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 8, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1981, pp. 412–13.

¹⁰³ See Keith Dunstan, *The Store on the Hill*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1979.

^{104 [}http://localhero.biz/article/permatitle/history_of_melbourne_city,_victoria/]

¹⁰⁵ Rogan, *Melbourne*, 1970, p. 66.

¹⁰⁶ O'Hanlon, Melbourne Remade, 2010, pp. 27–29.

Edments building, Bourke Street (extant signage)

Royal Arcade (1869) [VHR]

Block Arcade (1892) [VHR]

Wall of former Northern Market (1888) [VHR]

Queen Victoria Market (1873) [VHR]



Swanston Street, looking south, 1872. (source: SLV Accession No. H92.353/8)

5.5 Building a manufacturin g industry

By the 1840s, Melbourne boasted ironmongers, mills of all kinds, soap-making establishments, tanneries and breweries. The Yarra and Maribyrnong provided both water for power and a means of disposing of waste products.

The land that factories were built on tended to be low-lying and undesirable for residential use; factories were most concentrated in West Melbourne, North Melbourne and Kensington. The higher ground of East Melbourne, by contrast, was almost free of industry, with the notable exception of the Victoria Brewery, an expansive red-brick castellated structure. Another important industrial area was on the south bank of the Yarra, where metal workshops and ship repair yards were located. 107

As Melbourne developed through the 19th century, so did her manufacturing industry. Flinders Lane became an important area for clothing manufacturers, while Chinese cabinet makers were concentrated at the east end of town. Food-processing plants were established in North and West Melbourne. Factories tended to be small and specialised. Large factories, built in the later 19th century and early 20th

¹⁰⁷ Chris McConville, Aird's Guide to Melbourne, 1989, p. 23.

century tended to be built outside the City of Melbourne, where land was more easily obtainable.

After being the centre of manufacturing in Australia in the 1920s, Melbourne's importance in this regard began to decline. In the postwar period many city factories and warehouses were left empty or converted for other uses. The industrial area of Southbank has been virtually obliterated by the new developments of the 1990s.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Former Victoria Brewery, East Melbourne (1882) [VHR] Langdon Building (former clothing factory), King Street [VHR] Former Phoenix Clothing Factory (1854) [VHR] Coop's Shot Tower, Knox Place (1889-90) [VHR] Former Burge Bros Factory, Kensington (1945) [VHR] Warehouses, Oliver Lane (1907) [VHR]

Robur Tea Factory, Southbank (1887-88) [VHR]

5.6

John Pascoe Fawkner produced the city's first newspaper, the Publishing Melbourne Advertiser, in 1837, preferring to painstakingly newspapers handwrite the first editions rather than wait for a printing press to arrive. Another early Melbourne newspaper, the Port periodical Phillip Patriot, was established in 1840.

> The fiercely democratic Age newspaper was founded in 1854 to rival the more conservative newspaper, the Argus, which had commenced in 1846. The Australasian commenced in 1851, published from the office of the Argus. Melbourne Punch, which offered witty commentary on the social and political issues of the day, appeared in 1855.108

Melbourne had a high comparative rate of newspaper publication in the latter part of the 19th century; in the 1880s it was the leading city in a country that Richard Twopeny described as 'essentially the country of newspapers'. 109 A multitude of weeklies and other periodicals were also published in Melbourne, including the Leader, the Weekly Times and Table Talk. This busy publishing industry was partly due to new printing technology, but with newspapers serving as the chief means of disseminating political opinion, the large number of dailies also reflected the importance that Melburnians placed on the democratic process.

A new Herald & Weekly Times building was erected in Flinders Street between 1921 and 1928. During much of the 20th century there were newsboys on every city corner. The popular tabloid the Sun News-Pictorial and the Herald appeared in several

¹⁰⁸ See various entries in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, various pages.

¹⁰⁹ Quote from Elizabeth Morrison, 'Newspapers' in Graeme Davison et al', Oxford Companion to Australian History, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1998, p. 468.

issues per day, but in the 1980s were merged to form the *Herald-Sun*. The *Argus* declined in importance until ceasing publication in 1957, and the printing operations of the *Age* were relocated out of the central city in the 1990s.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Former Argus building, cnr La Trobe and Elizabeth Sts (1926) Former Herald & Weekly Times Building (1921-28) [VHR] Fawkner's Printing Press, Museum Victoria

Further reading

Tony Dingle's general economic history of Victoria, Settling (1984) is pertinent to Melbourne. The economic progress of nineteenth-century Melbourne is traced in Graeme Davison, The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne (1978) and Geoffrey Serle, The Rush to Be Rich (1971), while an account of the 1890s depression is given in Michael Cannon, The Land Boomers (1973).



CHAPTER 6: CREATING A FUNCTIONING CITY

'I know from experience something of the chronic domestic dirt that prevails among the lower orders in the manufacturing towns of England but nothing that I ever witnessed ... equalled in repulsiveness what I found in Melbourne'.

An English doctor visiting Melbourne, c.1880s 110

6.1 Water supply

Ensuring a reliable fresh supply of water is an integral part of Melbourne's history. As David Dunstan has pointed out, 'Water was the reason for the city being sited where it was in the first place.' 111 The place known as the Falls (near present-day Queens Bridge) marked the furthest spot downstream where fresh water could be obtained. Before the completion of the ambitious Yan Yean water supply scheme, Melbourne's residents made do with water pumped and carted from the Yarra bank. Surveyor Robert Hoddle had planned and built a dam at the Falls in 1838 but this was ineffective and was ultimately destroyed by flood. 112 In 1849, the ex-convict engineer James Blackburn and others formed the Melbourne Water Company with the support of the Melbourne Corporation. 113

The construction of the Yan Yean water supply began in 1853. But with Melbourne's population growing rapidly on account of the goldrush immigration and the Yan Yean scheme still incomplete, the authorities were concerned that the existing water supply would prove inadequate. As a precautionary measure, a large water tank, designed by James Blackburn, was erected on Eastern Hill in 1853. People still drew water from the Yarra and many relied on their own private wells. Outside of the central city, the South Yarra Waterworks Company was established in 1855, which operated a pump from the Yarra on Forrest Hill, adjacent to the site of Melbourne Boys' High School. 114

When the Yan Yean water supply was finally completed and operational in 1857, a ceremony was held in the Carlton Gardens, where a tap liberally sprayed those in attendance. Two years later, the Melbourne Corporation celebrated its new water supply with the erection of the ornamental 'Victoria

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¹¹⁰ Cited in Milton James Lewis, *The People's Health: Public health in Australia 1788–1950*. Westport, CT; Praeger, London, 2003, p. 56.

David Dunstan, Governing the Metropolis, 1991, p. 26.

¹¹² Michael Cannon (ed.), *Historic Records of Victoria*, vol 3: The Early Development of Melbourne (1984), pp. 229–233. See also Seegar Collection VPRS 8609, Box 13, Item 7 'Water Supply Chronology Summary'.

¹¹³ Dianne Edwards, *Yan Yean: A history*, Yan Yean School Council, Yan Yean, 1978, p. 20. ¹¹⁴ John Butler Cooper, *The History of Prahran*, 1912, p. 95; see also H. Miller (chairman), *Report from the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the South Yarra Water Works Company's Incorporation Bill*, Herald Job Printing Office, Melbourne, 1855.

Fountain'. By 1861, the only area in the immediate vicinity of the city centre that was not yet connected to the new supply was Prahran, probably because that municipality had established its own waterworks in the mid 1850s. The availability of a fresh water supply also encouraged the provision of public drinking fountains, which in the 19th century were typically ornamental structures.

From its commencement until the 1880s the Yan Yean system was fraught with problems, including low pressure and intermittent supply, pipes contaminated with lead and contamination of the supply itself. Improvements were made through the 1870s and 1880s, notably with the extension of the Yan Yean catchment further into the Plenty Ranges, which provided a more plentiful and purer supply. There were other means and uses of water supplies in Melbourne in the 1880s. A reservoir at Dights Falls (outside the study area) provided water to power hydraulic lifts for the multi-storey buildings in the city centre. Water from Yan Yean powered an air ventilation system at Parliament House. 116 For a time, the Botanic Gardens, Government House and the King's Domain were also watered from the supply at Dights Falls. William Guilfoyle saw the need to build his own reservoir (known colloquially as the 'volcano') at a high point in the gardens, which then provided water for these sites. 117

A second, and ultimately more important, forested catchment area for Melbourne's water supply was reserved in the Watts River area, near Healesville, in the 1870s. In 1891, a weir was built at Watts River (renamed 'Maroondah'), which fed water through an aqueduct to connect with the Yan Yean supply at Preston, and a reservoir was built at Maroondah in 1927. Further catchments in forested mountain country east of Melbourne were subsequently set aside, and a network of new reservoirs were completed by the MMBW through the 20th century, made necessary by Melbourne's prodigious suburban growth.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Site of former Yan Yean pump house (1857), Carlton Gardens Water statue, Fitzroy Gardens

Guilfoyle's Volcano (reservoir), Royal Botanic Gardens
Former Eastern Hill Water Tank (1853), now located outside
the study area at Werribee Sewage Farm (originally situated
at 'Tank Reserve', the site of the Eye and Ear Hospital)
[VHR]



¹¹⁵ Seegar Collection, Box 15, file HG-33. This comprised a pump at Forrest Hill, close to the current Melbourne Boys' High School. While this scheme's operational centre lies outside the study area, it is possible that water from this scheme was piped within the southern edge of the current municipality of the City of Melbourne.

Whitworth, Bailliere's Gazetteer, 1879, p. 313.

¹¹⁷ Whitworth, *Official Guide to Melbourne*, 1880, p. 84. Guilfoyle's volcano has recently been restored and made operational.

Drinking Fountain outside North Melbourne Town Hall (1877)

6.2 Sewage

Along with water supply, the most significant improvement to public health in Melbourne was the construction of a sewerage system. From the 1850s onwards, the rate of infection and death from communicable water and excreta-related diseases was considerably higher in Melbourne compared to other cities of the world. For much of the latter part of the 19th century the rate of infant mortality in the fast-growing city of Melbourne was higher than that of London. The city had not anticipated such rapid growth, and this growth had occurred without adequate consideration of, or planning for, sanitary improvements. Diseases were rife, including those caused by contaminated water and exposure to human excreta, such as typhoid and diphtheria. Epidemics frequently struck. By the 1870s, Melbourne faced a sanitary crisis.

Rudimentary drainage schemes were provided in the central city area from the 1850s, but these proved far from adequate. All manner of noxious waste from homes, factories and stables washed into the open drains of the city streets and created a mire of filth. In parts of the city thick channels of offensively smelling green sludge filled the gutters. Sanitation was limited to backyard cesspits and larger dumping grounds for nightsoil, which were situated inappropriately close to human habitation. So great was the problem in the mid 1880s that the city famed as Marvellous Melbourne earned the less savoury title of 'Smelbourne', coined by the Sydney Bulletin.

A plan to properly sewer the city had been put forward as early as the 1850s, but never came to fruition. High rates of disease and mortality in the late 1880s, especially of children, combined with a new understanding of bacteriology and the need for hygiene, finally forced the authorities into action. A Royal Commission into the Sanitary Condition of Melbourne was held in 1888, and the British sewerage expert James Mansergh also prepared an independent report. Both documents stressed the urgent need for an underground sewerage system for Melbourne. The newly constituted Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works carried out this work in the 1890s and Melbourne was ceremonially connected in 1898. By 1910, almost the entire Melbourne area had been connected. 119

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¹¹⁸ Janet McCalman, 'Diseases and epidemics', eMelbourne.

¹¹⁹ Dingle and Rasmussen, *Vital Connections*, 1991, pp. 102–03.

No. 10.1

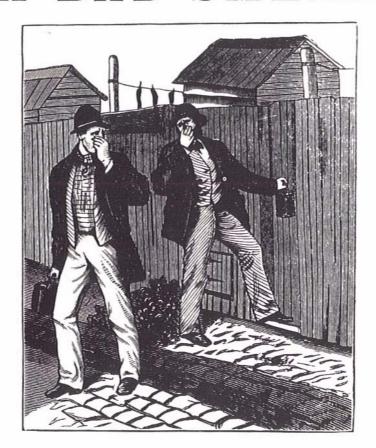
[August, 1880.

Australian Yealth Society.

OFFICE: 14 COLLINS STREET WEST.

Secretary:-J. G. Burrows.

A BAD SMELL.



"What a bad smell!" said Carey to his fellow-workman, as they came up the right-of-way on their road home after the day's work was done.

A brochure produced by the Australian Health Society, 1880 (source: Brown-May, Melbourne Street Life, 1995)





Drainage scheme in Melbourne, 1883 (source: SLV Accession No. A/S30/07/83/136)

6.3 Providing essential services

The young city strove to equip itself with all manner of modern conveniences. As the city grew rapidly through the 19th century, essential services that provided convenience and safety were established. The Melbourne gasworks were commenced in 1853, which provided gas to fuel the city street lamps. There were originally three separate gas companies operating but these had merged by the 1870s to create the Melbourne Gas Company. In the 1880s electric street lights were introduced.

The first fire brigade, known as the Fire Prevention Society, was established in the city in 1845. Before the connection with Yan Yean water, fire-fighting relied on pumping sufficient water from the Yarra; in 1854 a large water tank was erected at Eastern Hill to help with emergency supplies. Part of the Yan Yean system involved the installation of fire plugs in the footpaths of the city. The large central fire station, with its dramatic Italianate tower of polychromatic brickwork, was built at Eastern Hill in 1893 to accommodate the newly formed Metropolitan Fire Brigade. Local fire stations were also erected in the late 19th and early 20th century, including the North Melbourne Fire Station.

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¹²⁰ Tout-Smith, *Melbourne: A city of stories*, 2008, p. 29; Andrew Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life*, 1995, pp. 112–119.

¹²¹ Whitworth, Bailliere's Victorian Gazetteer and Road Guide, 1879, p. 312.

¹²² Andrew Brown-May, 'Street lighting' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 689.



A flood in Elizabeth Street, 1972 (source: Gary Presland, The Place for a Village, 2009)

Some places and objects of significance

Eastern Hill Fire Station (1893) [VHR]
North Melbourne Fire Station (1893)
Former No. 3 Carlton Fire Station (1928) [VHR]

Former Power Station, Spencer Street

6.4 Disposing of the dead

In 19th-century Melbourne human remains were almost always interred in public cemeteries. Some early churchyard cemeteries existed in Victoria, but these were rare. Burial was preferred over cremation, with the exception of Hindu funerals. Anglicans relaxed the prohibition on cremation in the early 20th century but for Catholics it remained forbidden. Melbourne's first burial ground was a site of around eight acres on Burial Hill (later named Flagstaff Hill) in 1838; the first burial had allegedly taken place the year prior. Richard Howitt noted in 1845 that 'the spot is neat, orderly, and contains some graceful monuments'. 124

A larger area was soon required and a new site for a cemetery was set aside in West Melbourne on the site of the current Victoria Market; this was first used in 1837. The principal Christian denominations — Church of England, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist — were designated specific areas within the cemetery, while Aborigines and Chinese were assigned land at the margins. 125

¹²³ Argus, 29 March 1923, p. 13. Marjorie Morgan claims that the first burial in fact took place in 1836; see 'The Old Melbourne Cemetery', http://home.vicnet.net.au/~pioneers/pppg5z.htm ¹²⁴ Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix*, 1845, p. 119.

¹²⁵ Jeff Sparrow and Jill Sparrow, *Radical Melbourne: A secret history*, Vulgar Press, Melbourne, 2004, pp. 21–26.

It was not long before this second cemetery was deemed too small and considered to be sited too close to human habitation. A much larger site was selected, 'beautifully situated' north of the city in Carlton. 126 A plan was prepared by Albert Purchas in 1852 and the site laid out with extensive landscaping and serpentine paths. Mueller provided a large number of trees.

The Old Melbourne Cemetery in West Melbourne continued to be used sporadically until the 1860s. The northern end of the site — an area designated for the burial of Jews, Quakers and Aborigines — was resumed by Melbourne City Council in 1877 for the purpose of developing a new city market. This was on the condition 'that Council would remove the human remains from the site with due decorum to the Melbourne General Cemetery'. 127 The remaining (southern) section of the cemetery was resumed by the City Council in 1917 and the process of exhuming remains began in 1920, despite bitter opposition from Isaac Selby and other members of the Pioneers' League. Not all graves have been exhumed, but in 1990, when works were carried out near F Shed at the Queen Victoria Market, additional Aboriginal graves were uncovered. A monument and plaque have been erected here to commemorate all those buried in the cemetery. 128

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Site of old Melbourne Cemetery (now Queen Victoria Market) Flagstaff Hill Pioneers' Memorial (1870s) Melbourne General Cemetery (1852) [VHR]

toilets

6.5 Public Public urinals for men were dotted in various locations around the city, the first having been installed in 1859. 129 The construction of the city's new sewerage system in the 1890s enabled underground toilets to be constructed. The first of these opened in Russell Street in 1902, with a separate compartment for women; this was the same year that women won the right to vote in the Federal parliament. Prior to that women had been served only by toilet facilities located in various public buildings around the city.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Public toilets, Russell Street (1902) [VHR]

Cast iron urinals (3), Queensberry Street, Carlton (1905, 1909) [VHR]



¹²⁶ Quoted in Whitworth, *Bailliere's Gazetteer*, 1879.

¹²⁷ Lewis, Melbourne: The city's history and development, 1994, p. 66.

¹²⁸ Sparrow and Sparrow, Radical Melbourne, Vulgar Press, Carlton North, 2004 reprint (first

published 2001), p. 20. ¹²⁹ Whitworth, *Official Guide to Melbourne*, 1880; Andrew Brown-May 'Public toilets', in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, pp. 577-78.

Underground toilets, Faraday Street, Carlton (1939) [VHR]

6.6 Streetmaking, drainage and river works

From the 1840s the work of forming and draining roads rested with the Melbourne City Council. The Council formed and drained the 'filthy lanes' in the city in c.1848. The Council built wide, open drains, which carried all manner of filth and were a liability to public health. The city's roads and lanes were originally unsealed, making dust a problem. By the 1870s many of the streets were macadamised.

Apart from an inefficient drainage of refuse, there was the ongoing problem of flooding, which regularly caused the city streets to be impassable, especially at the low point around Elizabeth Street. The south side of the Yarra was also low and prone to flooding. There were severe floods in 1863, c.1891, and 1934. The Yarra Improvement Works of 1897-1901 helped to remedy this problem. This scheme redirected the Yarra and channelled the Elizabeth Street Creek (or Townend Creek) into the Yarra River.

The realignment of the Yarra was largely practical, in terms of making better 'use' of the public land that was periodically inundated. It was also perceived as a more attractive and appropriate landscape treatment for a busy city centre than a meandering stream.

6.7 Transport

Most of the first European settlers in Melbourne arrived by sea, establishing routes from Van Diemen's Land, and later from Sydney and Adelaide, and directly from Britain. The Yarra River allowed sea-going vessels close proximity to the settlement. The first wharf in Melbourne is claimed to be the work of Fawkner's party in 1836, who fashioned a rough wharf from erecting lengths of timber on the riverbed. Several years later, in 1838, Hoddle planned a pier and railway from Port Melbourne to the Yarra Settlement.

Reliable sea transportation opened up new markets. As well as human cargo, ships brought all manner of goods from 'home', including building materials, preserved foods, water pipes and heavy machinery. By the early 1850s the more efficient American-built clippers had reduced the travel time between Liverpool and Melbourne to around 10-12 weeks. Until the 1970s most immigrants to Melbourne had arrived by ship.

Ships were first moored in the lower Yarra and at Williamstown. Later, Station Pier, Port Melbourne (outside the study area), became the main receiving pier for sea-going vessels. Goods shipping developed into a large-scale operation though the latter part of the 19th century as Melbourne grew rapidly. From 1890 the area now known as Docklands became a busy centre of shipping activity.

¹³⁰ Thomas McCombie, *The History of the Colony of Victoria*, 1858, p. 206.

¹³¹ Barnard, Jetties and Piers, 2008, p. 11.

¹³² Barnard, *Jetties and Piers* 2008, p. 13.

¹³³ See Keith Trace, 'Shipping' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 657.

Melbourne's first roads connected the city with the major outlying settlements, and ultimately with the more distant towns. The north and south sides of the river were first connected with a punt in 1838. The first long-awaited bridge over the Yarra was completed in 1850 (and later replaced in 1888). The Richmond Road, which stretched east along the Yarra, was for many years in a poor state of repair and subject to flooding. North of the city, the main routes were Sydney Road and Mount Alexander Road, named after their respective destinations (the latter heading to the Castlemaine diggings). Geelong Road and Ballarat Road headed west out of the city. The first coach service to the diggings began in 1854, operated by Cobb & Co. 134

Within the first twenty years of the town's settlement, Melbourne had embraced the latest form of transport — the steam locomotive. In 1854 the city's first railway was built between Flinders Street and Sandridge (Port Melbourne). With a large volume of shipping traffic arriving at the port, this route was one of the busiest and most in need of a regular rail service. Other new rail lines soon followed, snaking out in all directions from the city, linking the metropolis and its fast-growing suburbia. Country areas, including Geelong and Ballarat, were among the first to be connected to the city by rail, and a large central station at Spencer Street was built in the 1860s to service these operations. The railway to the sprawling eastern suburbs bisected the large swathe of parkland, known as Yarra Park, in the 1870s. A second rail line heading east from the city followed the northern boundary of Yarra Park, and was served by the Jolimont Railway Station (c.1890s). Other lines stretched north and west from the city. An iron rail bridge was built over Flinders Street in 1890, and a new Flinders Street Station building was erected in 1910-11.

The earliest trams in Melbourne were horse-drawn trams, which operated in the 1860s and 1870s; these were replaced in 1885 by the cable tram system. Melbourne's tramways extended across the central city and carried passengers to outlying suburbs, including Richmond, Northcote and Kew. In the 1880s Melbourne had one of the largest cable tram networks in the world. Electric trams commenced operations in 1906, but were not fully integrated for several years under the management of the Melbourne Tramways Board. Cable trams continued to operate until 1940.

Traffic congestion and the dangers of speed became increasing concerns through the early 20th century as motor cars and buses and electric trams slowly replaced horse-drawn vehicles. As Melbourne's population grew, there was greater competition for parking spaces. The first multi-storey car park was built in Russell Street in 1938. As a way of both

¹³⁴ Deborah Tout-Smith, Melbourne: A city of stories, 2009, p. 31.

Brian Carroll, 'Cable trams', p. 106, and David Dunstan, 'Trams', in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 106 and p. 728 respectively.

discouraging city traffic and raising revenue, the City Council introduced the first parking meters in 1955.

New bridges showcased new engineering techniques. MacRobertson's Bridge across the Yarra, for example, completed in 1934, was the first to use steel trusses.

The city's road network was altered to adapt to changed road use and the growing population. By the 1960s, Kings Way and Elizabeth Street, which was widened, were important arterial roads. In the 1950s and 1960s a number of ambitious plans were proposed to remodel the roads system of the CBD, including a raised 'city loop' encircling the city (which was never built). The city rail network was extended in c.1980 with the completion of the underground City Loop and new rolling stock.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Cabman's Shelter, Yarra Park (1898) [VHR]

MacRobertson's Bridge (1934) [VHR]

North Melbourne Railway Station

Flinders Street Station (1910-11) [VHR]

Jolimont railway station and plantation (c.1890s)

Former North Melbourne Cable Tram Car Shed, North Melbourne [VHR]

Remnant cable tram tracks, Abbotsford St, North Melbourne [VHI]

Tram shelter (c.1920s), East Melbourne

W-Class tram fleet, Melbourne

Former Melbourne Omnibus Company Stables, North Melbourne [VHR]

Railway Bridge over Flinders Street, c.1890

Queen's Warehouse, Collins Street, Docklands (1889-90) [VHR]

Goods Shed, Docklands

Remnant wall along Flinders Lane

Mission to Seamen (1916) [VHR]

Control tower (c.1940s), Docklands

Former Victoria Car Park, Russell Street (1938) [VHR]

Former Port of Melbourne Authority Building, Market Street (1929-31) [VHR]

Further reading

For an account of the Melbourne's water supply and sewerage developments, see Tony Dingle and Carolyn Rasmussen, Vital Connections: Melbourne and its Board of Works, 1891-1991 (1991). For cemeteries, see Don Chambers' history of the Melbourne General Cemetery (2003). Andrew Brown-May's Melbourne Street Life (1995) provides discussion of works within the city council's



jurisdiction, such as public toilets and drainage. For transport in Melbourne, see Susan Priestley, *Making Their Mark* (1984).

CONTEXT 57

CHAPTER 7: APPRECIATING AND ADAPTING THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

'The most delightful circumstance regarding Melbourne is its present position, standing as it does open on every side: your ingress and egress unobstructed by any kind of fences ... All the country so smooth, tree-studded, and park-like: with a deal of its old primaeval freedom and gracefulness about it.'

> Richard Howitt, Impressions of Australia Felix, 1845, p. 118.

7.1 g the natural landscape

Appreciatin To John Batman and other early pastoralists, the settlement on the Yarra promised to be the base for a vast pastoral $\operatorname{arcadia.}^{136}$ A romantic sensibility, which prevailed during the mid-19th century, and which was often associated with pastoral endeavours, found much to be admired in the new country — in its natural vegetation, its landforms, and its abundant fresh water. Others found the place hostile and unfamiliar. Arriving in Melbourne in the 1840s, some new settlers were struck by its forlorn appearance. All seemed unmade and unfinished. One early visitor to Melbourne was disappointed with what he found: 'the town marked out, and not yet built — the temporary huts — the naked landscape without vegetation or water'. 137

> Yet for others, the encroachment of town buildings did not completely destroy the natural beauty of the place. Flagstaff Hill was a popular spot to visit with its natural tree cover. In the 1850s, one writer celebrated Melbourne's 'natural beauties that may be found on all sides, even within a few minutes' walk of the city'. 138 Batman's Hill, or Pleasant Hill, was described as a 'romantic she-oak hill' and was a favourite destination of pleasure seekers. 139 Surveyor Robert Hoddle had condemned a proposal to establish an abattoir on this site. He declared that the site provided 'the most ornamental and delightful promenade for this end of the city and the absurdity of ornamenting it with a public slaughter house is too ridiculous'. 140 Yet despite strong opposition, this once popular site was lost in the 1860s when it was levelled for railway purposes.

> The early town surveyors and government administrators showed considerable foresight in reserving large areas of parkland



¹³⁶ From Davison, *Melbourne on Foot*, 1980, chapter 1.

¹³⁷ Egon Kunz, Blood and Gold: Hungarians in Australia, Melbourne, 1969, p. 61, quoted in Don Charlwood, The Long Farewell, 1993, p. 218.

¹³⁸ Journal of Australasia, vol. II, January to June 1857, p. 26.

¹³⁹ John Stevens, 'Batman's Hill Could Rise Again', Age, 2 May 1992. The description is from journalist 'Garryowen' (Edmund Finn), in reference to the late 1830s.

¹⁴⁰ Cited in Stevens, 'Batman's Hill', Age, 2 May 1992

in Melbourne. There were utilitarian reasons for the retention of open spaces and the promotion of public parkland. In the 1830s, in Britain and elsewhere, public parks were championed as beneficial to the health of the people. Superintendent C.J. La Trobe was a strong advocate of this view, which was a factor in the reservation by the early 1850s of large areas of parkland close to the central township, including the sites of Yarra Park, Royal Park, and Princes Park. 141

While the natural environment of these large reserves was at first favoured, their degraded state after several years led to their redevelopment as designed landscapes. A landscape design for Yarra Park, for example, was first prepared in 1868. These large public reserves had often been grazed with stock, as was the case at Yarra Park and Royal Park in the 1850s and Princes Park in the 1860s, or appropriated for other purposes, such as night-soil dumping. Once landscaped, Melbourne's parks were co-opted for various sporting and recreational purposes, which threatened any surviving indigenous landscape features and compromised existing landscape designs and layouts. Some small areas of indigenous vegetation have survived in Melbourne's parks and gardens, while other areas such as parts of Royal Park have undergone landscape restoration.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Birrarung Marr (2002)

Yarra Park - remnant indigenous vegetation

Royal Park - remnant indigenous vegetation

'Separation Tree' and other remnant River Red Gums (Eucalyptus camaldulensis), Royal Botanic Gardens

7.2 Cultivati ng the 'Garden City' aesthetic Enlightened views about town planning that prevailed by the 1840s meant that reservations for parks, gardens and public open spaces were incorporated in the planning of early Melbourne. By the 1840s, in London and other European cities, parkland and public gardens had become highly favoured for their aesthetic and health-giving properties. 143

While officially designated parks and gardens were absent in Hoddle's 1837 plan of Melbourne, the large expanse of 'unoccupied' land on the outskirts of the settlement provided ample space for public recreation. Batman's Hill at the west end of town, with its abundant bird life and pleasant green sward, was a favourite place to picnic and promenade. In the early 1840s a site was set aside here for botanic gardens. The Melbourne City Council appealed to La Trobe in 1844 about

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¹⁴¹ Sanderson, 'The Alienation of Melbourne's Parks', cited in Doyle, 'Yarra Park', submission to the Heritage Council, February 2010.

¹⁴² See Doyle, 'Yarra Park', submission to the Heritage Council, February 2010.

¹⁴³ The British architect J.C. Loudon, for example, was a chief promoter of this view.

the need for designated public parks, writing: 'It is of vital importance to the health of the inhabitants that there should be parks within a distance of the town'. 144 By 1850, several large government reserves had been designated for public purposes to the east and north of the city, including those reserves that would later become Yarra Park, Royal Park, and Princes Park. These were later developed into parks and gardens.

The first public gardens to be laid out and planted in Melbourne included the present-day Botanic Gardens, established in 1846, the Carlton Gardens and the Fitzroy Gardens. The latter two were laid out by the early garden designer Edward La Trobe Bateman in the 1850s. Bateman had also prepared early plans for the grounds of Melbourne University, Carlton Gardens, Yarra Park, and the La Trobes' picturesque private garden at Jolimont. 145

The appointment of German botanist Ferdinand Mueller to the directorship of the Botanic Gardens in 1852 marked the beginning of the site's development as a world-renowned pubic garden. Mueller laid out the gardens with orderly arrangements of plant specimens, according to type and geographical region. He established a zoo, and held fairs and musical events at the gardens. He also undertook extensive botanising all over Victoria, and provided plant stock to many Melbourne institutions in the 1860s and 1870s.

Utilitarian sites were also treated as designed landscapes. A garden layout for Melbourne's first zoo, situated opposite the Botanic Gardens on the Yarra River and occupying a site that embraced a small lagoon and which was 'well stocked with fine old forest trees', was prepared by the leading architect, engineer and surveyor, Alfred Purchas, in 1858. 146 (Purchas had also prepared the plan for the new Melbourne General Cemetery at Carlton in 1852.)

Melbourne's ring of parklands remained relatively undeveloped in the 1860s. The director of parks and gardens, Clement Hodgkinson, was important in improving these sites. With the appointment of the talented landscape designer William Guilfoyle in the 1870s, the Botanic Gardens was redeveloped in the picturesque style that it retains today. Flagstaff Hill was not laid out as public gardens until 1880. 147

Street tree planting and plantations in public reserves had been advocated from the 1850s. Mueller had planted trees in a public reserve in Flinders Street facing the Yarra River in

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¹⁴⁴ Cited in Georgina Whitehead, 'Melbourne's Public Gardens: A family tree', in Davison and May (eds), *Melbourne Centre Stage*, special issue of VHJ, 1992, p. 101.

¹⁴⁵ See Anne Neale, 'The Garden Designs of Edward La Trobe Bateman (1816–97)', *Journal of the Garden History Society*, 33, (2) 2006, pp. 225–255. See also Helen Botham *La Trobe's Jolimont: A walk around my garden*, C.J. La Trobe Society and Australian Garden History Society, Melbourne, 2006.

Victorian Agricultural and Horticultural Gazette, vol. I, no. XII, 21 February 1858, p. 146.
 Boyle, A Guide to Melbourne's Parks and Gardens, 1991, p. 4.

the $1850 \, \mathrm{s.}^{148}$ The first elm (Ulmus~sp.) was planted in Collins Street in 1875. Lines of elms and plane trees were favoured over native species for city streets, and were used to form grand avenues, such as those along St Kilda Road and Royal Parade. 149

Many of the city's public gardens employed curators or caretakers, while others were managed by the Victorian Government. Around the 1920s, the City of Melbourne took over the control of many of Melbourne's parks and gardens. Council employees were responsible for sites within the municipality as well as street trees. 150

The City Council made efforts to further beautify Melbourne in the 1900s. With the rise of the City Beautiful movement, Melbourne's gardens were recognised as an asset. The impending arrival of the American Fleet in 1910 prompted steps to improve the appearance of the city's streets and gardens. The Alexandra Gardens, formerly a waste land, was developed at this time.

The symbolism of particular species throughout the city reflect the mood of the period. St Kilda Road was planted with Plane trees (*Platanus* x *acerifolia*) in the early 1900s, creating the grand tree-lined boulevard. Strong plantings of Palm trees in the King's Domain and Alexandra Gardens — mostly Canary Island Date Palms (*Phoenix canariensis*) — helped to formalise these areas, which were important spaces for public events. Palm fronds had long been used to symbolise victory, but they also, fittingly, resembled the plumes of Edwardian pageantry. Nearby, Anzac Avenue that leads up to the Shrine was planted with slender Funeral Cypresses (*Cupressus funebri*), probably in the 1930s, which represented both a kind of living *memento mori* and provided a link to the European fields of war.

In the 1930s, Melbourne was heavily promoted in tourist literature as the 'Garden City'. The Curator of City Parks for the City Council during this period, J.T. Smith, was a tireless and innovative manager of the city's green spaces.

The integrity of some of Melbourne's historic gardens have been jeopardised in recent years with the encroachment of sporting facilities, car parks and other infrastructure. An ongoing drought in recent years has also put pressure on the management of plant stock and water resources. Massed floral displays, popular for much of the 20th century, are now giving way in some public gardens to more sustainable planting patterns. The Royal Botanic Gardens opened the Ian Potter Children's Garden in c.2000, which attracts large numbers of visitors.

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¹⁴⁸ See Whitworth, Official Guide to Melbourne, 1880.

¹⁴⁹ Andrew Brown-May, 'Street trees' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 690–91.

¹⁵⁰ See Rex Swanson, *Melbourne's Historic Public Gardens: A management and conservation guide*. City of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1984.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

London Plane ($Platanus \times acerifolia$), Melbourne Club, Collins Street

Avenues of Plane trees: St Kilda Road and Collins Street

Avenues of Elms (Ulmus sp.), Victoria Parade and Royal Parade

Royal Botanic Gardens (1846) [VHR]

Carlton Gardens (proclaimed 1851) [VHR]

Fitzroy Gardens [VHR]

King's Domain (1870s)

Flagstaff Gardens

Further reading

Studies of Melbourne parks and gardens include Georgina Whitehead, Civilising the City (1997) and Rex Swanston, Melbourne's Historic Public Gardens (1984).



CHAPTER 8: LIVING IN THE CITY

'here, tolerably well proportioned edifices ... there, mean looking weatherboard cottages [which] violate the rule of harmony ... most modern houses are two storeys in height and built of brick, [but these] are small and low.'

J.B. Clutterbuck, Port Phillip in 1849, 1850. 151

8.1 Settling as immigran ts The gold rush triggered spectacular growth in Melbourne's population over the four decades from the 1850s. The population grew fourfold from 1851 to 1861. The government-built Immigrants' Depot at the western end of town provided immigrants with shelter until premises and employment could be secured. After gold was discovered in 1851 the overflow of new arrivals was accommodated in a crowded makeshift camp on the south side of the river (along St Kilda Road), which was euphemistically known as 'Canvas Town'. This was eventually closed in the 1860s when the camp was condemned as a den of criminal behaviour for unsavoury types.

On arrival, immigrants could register at a number of employment agencies and servants bureaux in the city for positions as domestic servants and labourers. A large number of boarding houses and lodging houses operated, especially in Carlton, including the Wesleyan Immigrant's Home, which opened in 1852. For single women, however, prevailing standards of female 'modesty' imposed more strict regulations on how and where they could respectably live in the city. 155

A large influx of immigrants largely from southern Europe arrived in Melbourne in the postwar period. This group was assisted by the Immigration Office in Carlton Gardens. Later, ethnic community centres were developed.

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¹⁵¹ Quoted in Miles Lewis, *Melbourne: The city's history and development*, 1994, p. 37. interpolation is Lewis's.

¹⁵² Serle, The Golden Age.

Judith Buckrich, Melbourne's Grand Boulevard, 1996.

¹⁵⁴ http://www.unimelb.edu.au/infoserv/lee/htm/timeline.htm

¹⁵⁵ This is discussed in Seamus O'Hanlon, *Together Apart: Boarding house*, *hostel and flat life in pre-war Melbourne*. Australian Scholarly Publishing. Kew, 2002.



Charles Nettleton photograph of Collins Street, 1868 (source: SLV)

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Site of the former Immigration Depot, near Spencer Street Collection of the Chinese Museum, Melbourne
Nun Pon Soon Society Building (1860-61) [VHR]

8.2 Housing the population The majority of early houses in Melbourne were rudimentary timber-framed cottages, mostly clad with weatherboards. There was a scattering of more solid brick and stone residences. Roofs were clad in iron or timber shingles. Some of the more solid structures demonstrated a simple Georgian elegance common to houses in Van Diemen's Land, where many of the first settlers had come. Miles Lewis has pointed out that the early building techniques were 'overwhelmingly British'. 156

The majority of the population occupied small, single-storey detached houses that were cramped and badly ventilated. A typical house block might also have a well, a cesspit and a poultry pen. Before 1857 water was carted from the river or collected in makeshift tanks. There was no proper sewerage or drainage, which made the low-lying parts of the city particularly unsanitary. Toilet facilities were earth closets which were manually emptied by a pan system; prior to that there were cesspits in backyards. Under the prevailing 'miasma' theory of disease, fresh air was desired to combat the stagnant germ-laden air of low-lying, crowded areas. But a healthy living environment was out of reach for many. In the city of Melbourne there were a number of low-lying areas, such as West Melbourne and Flemington, where poor grade

¹⁵⁶ Miles Lewis, Victoria Primitive, Greenhouse, Melbourne, 1977, p. 1.

housing and poor sanitation contributed to high rates of disease and child mortality. Yet amidst the stench and the filth of the city streets, and the routine failings of the water supply, many lavished praise on Melbourne's plumbing arrangements. In the 1880s Julian Thomas ('The Vagabond') noted that 'There is hardly the smallest cottage without its bathroom'. 157

While many of Melbourne's poor were accommodated within the city proper, wealthier citizens established more salubrious places of residence away from the city centre on the high side of the river in Kew, Hawthorn, Toorak or South Yarra, or by the bay at Brighton or St Kilda. Within the City of Melbourne there were pockets of better quality housing in East Melbourne, in St Kilda Road, and in parts of South Carlton. The disparity between the villas of East Melbourne and the simple workers' cottages of West Melbourne reflected on a small scale the broader tendency in Melbourne's suburbs of what has been termed 'the poor west vs affluent east syndrome'. 158 Outside of the central city grid, in the surrounding suburbs of Carlton, West Melbourne, North Melbourne and East Melbourne, there was a greater concentration of residential building and more early housing has survived here than in the central city.

Accommodation was also provided for single men and women, and others in non-traditional living arrangements. Gordon House in Little Bourke Street was a notable early attempt at subsidised housing. Built in 1883, this innovative development was designed to provide accommodation for lowincome families. 159 Some large city residences were divided up into apartments in the 1880s, but it wasn't until the early 20th century that self-contained flats became popular. They provided a cheaper and more desirable housing option for many, and were popular with single men and 'bohemian' types. Some of the first purpose-built flats in Melbourne were Whitehall in Bank Place, the Melbourne Mansions in Collins Street (1906) and Clivedon Mansions, East Melbourne. Other blocks were built in St Kilda Road and East Melbourne. There was a greater development of flats during the interwar period, with many built in Art Deco style, particularly in East Melbourne (e.g. Garden Avenue), South Yarra, and St Kilda Road. These blocks reflect broader changes in the ways in which people lived and worked. In the 1960s, numerous 'six-pack' blocks were erected in South Yarra, East Melbourne, North Melbourne and Carlton. 160

In the early 20th century single women found respectable accommodation in church-run lodging houses, such as the imposing St Anne's Hostel for Girls (Catholic) in Rathdowne

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¹⁵⁷ Quoted in Dingle and Rasmussen, Vital Connections, 1991, p. 29.

¹⁵⁸ J. Brian McLoughlin, Shaping Melbourne's Future?, 1991, p. 39.

¹⁵⁹ Barbara Russell, 'Gordon House', in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 311.

¹⁶⁰ See O'Hanlon, *Together Apart*, 2002; O'Hanlon, 'Flats', in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 271.

Street, Carlton, and the Princess Mary Club (Wesleyan) in Lonsdale Street. 161

There were large-scale slum clearances of the sub-standard housing in inner Melbourne from the late 1930s. This affected some parts of the municipal area, including Carlton and North Melbourne. The Housing Commission of Victoria developed 'modern' new housing estates in these socially disadvantaged residential areas, including the Hotham Estate in North Melbourne and the Holland Estate in Kensington, both built in the early 1960s. 162



Princess Mary Club, Lonsdale Street, built in 1926 (source: http://www.walkingmelbourne.com/forum/)

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Hotham Estate (public housing), North Melbourne (1960s) Newburn Flats, Queens Road (1939) [VHR] Princess Mary Club, Lonsdale Street (1926)

3 Kindergartens

8.3 Educating the people

The City of Melbourne was a leader in developing quality kindergartens and child care in the early 20th century. The Free Kindergarten Union of Victoria commenced a training course for kindergarten teachers in 1917. Many of the first free kindergartens were established in the municipality by

CONTEXT

¹⁶¹ See O'Hanlon, Together Apart, 2002.

¹⁶² Renate Howe (ed.), New Houses for Old: Fifty years of public housing in Victoria, 1938–1988, Ministry of Housing and Construction, Melbourne, 1988, p. 145–47. See also Frances O'Neill and Sheryl Yelland, 'Not a Place Forever: The history of the Hotham estate', report prepared by Frances O'Neill and Sheryl Yelland on the Hotham Estate, North Melbourne, 1993.

philanthropic women, including one in Carlton. Model kindergartens were also established at Carlton and at North Melbourne. 163

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Lady Huntingfield Free Kindergarten, North Melbourne

Primary education

The first school at Port Phillip was set up in 1837 for Aboriginal children at Langhorne's Anglican mission in South Yarra, near the site of the Botanic Gardens. This was short-lived.

Private schools, many denominational, operated from the 1840s, including Catholic and Anglican schools; a Jewish school opened in 1852. The poorer children in Melbourne could not afford to be educated privately and there were few government-operated schools. The first government schools were National Schools, a system established in NSW in 1848 and extended to Victoria. As with other forms of endeavour in the infant colony of Victoria, Melbourne became the headquarters of the National and Denominational Schools Board. This Board erected a grand Model Training School in Spring Street, Melbourne, in 1854. 167

The National and Denominational Schools Board was replaced by the Common Schools Board in 1862. Common Schools also included provisions for industrial and reformatory schools. In Melbourne a school opened on St Kilda Road, near Princes Bridge (c.1865), and later at Royal Park (1877-80). 168

Under the new Education Act of 1872, new 'state schools' were created, many simply continuing on in the earlier buildings of the Common Schools. A design competition run by the government architect's office resulted in a set of favoured designs for new schools. In the city, these were predominantly built of brick and had a Gothic Revival influence. Within the City of Melbourne, new state schools were built at Yarra Park in 1872; King Street, West Melbourne (No. 1689) in 1876; Faraday Street, Carlton; and Queensberry Street, Carlton. The administration of the state school system was carried out initially from the Model School building, but later transferred to new offices adjacent to the Treasury Gardens. 169

Through the visionary 'New Education' model, which was championed by the Director of Education, Frank Tate in the

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¹⁶³ FKA Children's Services website: http://www.fka.com.au/; Jill Barnard, pers. com., November 2010.

¹⁶⁴ Newnham, *Melbourne: The biography of a city*, 1956, p. 141.

¹⁶⁵ Blake, Vision and Realisation, 1973, p. 59.

¹⁶⁶ Burchell, Victorian Schools, 1980, p. 221.

¹⁶⁷ Newnham, 1956, p. 141.

¹⁶⁸ Shurlee Swain, 'Every Large Centre of Population Is Entitled to its Industrial School', *Victorian Historical Journal*, June 1987, p. 20.

¹⁶⁹ Doyle, 'Establishing Schools and Places of Higher Education, 2000, p. 12.

early 1900s, state schools became more progressive and innovative teaching centres. The curriculum became richer and more varied, with school gardens, woodwork, local studies, and infants' rooms introduced. In addition, teacher training classrooms were set up at several inner-city schools, including Faraday Street, Carlton; Yarra Park; and Errol Street, North Melbourne.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Kensington Primary School No. 2374 (1880-81)

Errol Street Primary School No. 1402, North Melbourne (1874; 1857) Site of industrial school, Royal Park (1877)

Queensberry Street Primary School No. 2365, Carlton (1881); Sloyd room (1901)

Faraday Street Primary School No. 112, Carlton (1877) [VHR]

Secondary education

The first secondary schools in Melbourne were private establishments for both boys and girls, established from the 1840s. Many of the more successful schools were those affiliated with the various churches, including Scotch College (1853) and Presbyterian Ladies' College (1872), both established by the Presbyterian Church; St Patrick's College, established by the Jesuit order in 1854 and adjacent to the cathedral of the same name, and Christian Brothers' College (1868); 172 Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, established in 1858; and Wesley College, established by the Methodists in 1865. While Melbourne Grammar School and Wesley College were allocated sites at some distance from the city along St Kilda Road, many of the leading church-run schools were originally clustered together in the genteel residential suburb of East Melbourne. St Patrick's College occupied the block currently occupied by the Catholic Diocesan Offices. Scotch College was located in Lansdowne Street before moving to a large river front site in Hawthorn in 1915. Presbyterian Ladies' College occupied the site of Dallas Brookes Hall before relocating to outer-suburban Burwood in the 1950s. Both the Christian Brothers' College and Catholic Ladies' College were also originally located in East Melbourne before moving to suburban locations.

East Melbourne has since lost its strong connection with private church-based education, with most of the original school buildings removed. Some buildings remain, however, including the former Christian Brothers' College in Victoria Parade, and the bell tower of St Patrick's College. Melbourne Grammar School and Wesley College, both laid out on more expansive sites, remain on their original locations on the

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¹⁷⁰ Doyle, 'Establishing Schools and Places of Higher Education', 2000, pp. 21–23.

¹⁷¹ Doyle, 'Establishing Schools', 2000, p. 86.

¹⁷² This was known as 'Parade College' on account of its location on Victoria Parade; the school relocated to outer suburban Bundoora in the 1960s.

eastern side of St Kilda Road, with many original buildings, altered but still intact.

The first government secondary school was the Melbourne Continuation School, which opened at the site of the first Model School in 1905. A new Education Bill in 1910 provided for the creation of many new 'high schools' in Victoria. But by 1915 only four of these government high schools served the wider Melbourne metropolitan area. University High School, established in Carlton in 1910 as a teaching institution, was the only high school in the central city. 173

The large number of well-attended private schools in the city area, predominantly in East Melbourne, perhaps dissuaded the government from establishing a central high school. A boys' high school was opened at South Yarra (outside the study area) in 1927, and the MacRobertson Girls' High School opened in Melbourne in 1934. There were additional secondary schools at Princes Hill, North Carlton (outside the study area), and University High School, Parkville, which re-opened in 1929. The West Melbourne boys' technical school was established in La Trobe Street in 1912.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

MacRobertson Girls' High School (1934) [VHR]

University High School, Parkville (1929) [VHR]

Royal College of Surgeons (site of former Model School) [VHR]

Former Christian Brothers' College, Victoria Parade (1868)

Old Scotch Oval, Yarra Park (c.1870s)

Melbourne Grammar School (1858) [VHR]

Wesley College (1865) [NT]

Merton Hall, South Yarra

Tertiary education

Further education became available in Melbourne with the opening of the University of Melbourne in Parkville in 1854. The first residential colleges at the university catered (initially) for male students, with each college affiliated with one of the major Protestant denominations: Trinity (Anglican), Ormond (Presbyterian), and Queen's (Methodist). Newman College for Catholic students was commenced in 1915 to a design by American architect Walter Burley Griffin, with assistance from local architect A.A. Fritsch. The teaching facilities of the university, and of RMIT (now RMIT University) expanded steadily through the twentieth century.

Teacher training was provided first at the Melbourne Model School and at the Melbourne Training College in Parkville. The first college of Domestic Economy opened in a government

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¹⁷³ Doyle, 2000, pp. 26, 86.

building at 450 Lonsdale Street in $1906.^{174}$ Later, other auxiliary institutions were established, including the Sir William Angliss Food Trades School, established on the site of the West Melbourne Technical School in $1940.^{175}$

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Melbourne Working Men's College (1887; later RMIT)

University of Melbourne (1854) [VHR]

Emily McPherson College of Domestic Economy (1927) [VHR]

Melbourne Model School for teacher training (1854); Royal Australian College of Surgeons site

Melbourne Training College, Parkville (1888-89) [VHR]

Trinity College, Parkville (1871) [VHR]

Queen's College, Parkville (1883-87) [VHR]

Newman College and Chapel (1915-18) [VHR]

William Angliss Food Trades School (1940) [VHR]

Further reading

For immigration, see Richard Broome, Arriving (1984), chapters 2 and 3, 7 and 9. A comprehensive history of each individual Victorian state school is given in Les Blake's three-volume Vision and Realisation (1973). For Melbourne's private schools and tertiary institutions there are a large number of individual commissioned histories of individual schools.

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¹⁷⁴ Doyle, 'Establishing Schools and Places of Higher Education', 2000, p. 78.

¹⁷⁵ Peter Rushbrook, 'William Angliss College' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 772.

CHAPTER 9: WORKING IN THE CITY

'In spite of constant shipments from England, servants are always at a premium ... For some inexplicable reason they turn up their noses at the high wages and comparatively light work offered, and prefer to undertake the veriest drudgery in factories for a miserable pittance.'

R.E.N. Twopeny, Town Life in Australia, 1883.

9.1 A working class

Although officially not a convict settlement, there was nevertheless a large convict population at Port Phillip, which possibly numbered close to 6000 men (or about one-quarter of the adult population) in the late 1840s. These men were mainly involved in road-making and bridge construction, and were accommodated in military-style barracks or in small huts by the roadside. With the gold rush of the 1850s, labour became scarce in Melbourne and those available for labouring work demanded high wages. In the 1840s and 50s, skilled workers and craftspeople began to form themselves into unions, based on the workers' guilds of Britain and elsewhere. These unions became powerful political groups that were successful in obtaining industrial reforms. When a national body, the Australian Trades Hall Council, was formed in 1927, it was based in Melbourne.

As the city grew through the 19th century, the kinds of work people did varied enormously. Working conditions continued to be favourable, with relatively high wages paid. Large numbers of men were employed by government, either in salaried positions or as contract or casual labour. Other large employers of men (and some women) were the Victorian Railways, the MMBW, the Metropolitan Tramways Board, and the General Post Office. While wages were high, conditions were generally poor. There were no guaranteed sickness entitlements or pensions for work-related injury or compensation for a work-related death. A large number of friendly societies were established in 19th-century Melbourne, which served as collective fund-gathering agencies to provide money to members in need, for such things as funeral expenses for widows. By the mid-20th century, the larger friendly societies such as Manchester Unity and IOOF had become large employers in their own right.

During the Great Depression in 1933 unemployed men took on work as 'susso' workers. They were employed on various public

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¹⁷⁶ A.G.L. Shaw, 'Convicts' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 171.

¹⁷⁷ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 1963, p. 4; Lynn and Armstrong, pp. 16–17, taken from Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 8.

Andrew Reeves and Simon Booth, 'Trade Unions', in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, pp. 726–27.

works, such as the redevelopment of the King's Domain and the construction of Alexandra Avenue. 179

9.2 Women's work

Women were restricted in terms of the paid work that was available to them. Single women found employment as domestic servants and nursemaids in private homes, although these positions had a high turnover — this situation was disparaged by employers as 'the servant problem'. Women also worked as school teachers and nurses, and as 'shop girls', waitresses and publicans. Large numbers of women found employment as machinists in the clothing and foot-ware factories that emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Women also made a living through prostitution. In the 1880s the city's brothels were concentrated in Little Bourke, Lonsdale and Little Lonsdale Streets, with the most notorious being Madame Brussels. Another group of brothels was located north of La Trobe Street, between Swanston and Elizabeth Streets. 180

Growing numbers of women gained employment in the city offices during the 20th century as stenographers, typists and telephone operators, and this grew markedly during the period of World War II. It was a requirement, however, that women resign from their jobs in the public service and most private firms once they were married. Since the 1970s and 1980s the career opportunities for professional women in the city slowly improved.

9.3 Working in the postwar city

During the postwar 'long boom' of 1945-1970, Melbourne's economy grew steadily. The city consolidated its role as the financial capital of Australia, and associated industries (banking, stock-broking) and the workforce grew apace. The city's working population occupied the growing number of new city offices. Melbourne's legal firms grew in line with the city's population and strong economy, and was most heavily concentrated around William Street and the Supreme Court buildings. Those working in the medical field were mostly based either at the East end of Collins Street and East Melbourne, where a large number of private consultants, hospitals and small clinics were located, or in the Carlton / Parkville area where several large public hospitals were established.

The number of factories operating in central Melbourne had declined by the middle of the 20th century. Flinders Lane remained an important wholesale area for fashion and textiles into the second part of the 20th century, but clothing manufacturing had declined. The north-west area of the city, for example along Elizabeth Street and in Dudley Street,

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¹⁷⁹ Boyle, 1991.

Davison et al. (eds), The Outcasts of Melbourne, 1985, p. 77.

remained areas of light industrial and mechanical workshops. There was small-scale manufacturing north and west of Lonsdale Street. Increasingly, the large tertiary institutions, including RMIT and the University of Melbourne, have employed large numbers of people. These institutions have both consolidated large areas of land within the city, incorporating several existing and new buildings.



A Melbourne boot factory, c.1911 (private collection)

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Former Victoria Brewery, East Melbourne (1882) [VHR]
Langdon Building (former clothing factory), King Street [VHR]
Former Phoenix Clothing Factory (1854) [VHR]
Trades Hall, Lygon Street (1873) [VHR]
Collection of trade union banners, Museum Victoria

Further reading

For an account of employment in Melbourne, see the general history of Victoria by Michael Cannon, *Life in the Cities* (1976).

CHAPTER 10: SHAPING CULTURAL LIFE

'The attics and back rooms of Little Collins Street, Collins Street, and western Bourke Street are rented by young artists of every sort who use the places as studios, love-nests, pieds-à-terre away from mum and dad, or merely as settings for booze-ups.'

Hal Porter, The Paper Chase, 1966. 181

10.1
Arts and creative life in the city

Melbourne's colonial society sought to reproduce the cultural life that they were familiar with at home. In the 1850s they built grand theatres and an opera house. European-born artists and photographers transferred their talents to the colonial city and established successful studios. The work of colonial artists, such as Liardet and S.T. Gill, provided an historical record of the development of the city.

The National Gallery of Victoria and its attached Gallery School was based at the Public Library and National Gallery and Museum building from 1861. The National Gallery School was located on La Trobe Street, near the corner of Russell Street. Many well known Melbourne artists trained and taught here in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including Frederick McCubbin, Max Meldrum and Clarice Beckett. The premises of the influential Victorian Artists' Society was acquired in 1892, and remains in use in Albert Street, East Melbourne.

The Impressionists group of painters who formed the 'Heidelberg School' grew out of a close-knit Melbourne circle that included Frederick McCubbin, Tom Roberts, Charles Conder and Arthur Streeton. Conder occupied a studio in the Melbourne Chambers and, later, Gordon Chambers in the city. 182 The first significant exhibition by this group, the so-called '9 x 5' Exhibition, opened at Buxton's Galleries in Swanston Street in 1889. 183 While famous for their plein air style of romantic nationalistic landscapes depicting the bushland east of Melbourne, a number of their works were also set in the central city, including Tom Roberts' Bourke Street (c.1885-86) and Arthur Streeton's The National Game (1889), set in Yarra Park. Tom Roberts epic work, The Opening of the First Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia (1903), depicting the interior of the Exhibition Building, is a significant work with great historical significance to Melbourne.

In the 1930s the commercial poster art of Percy Trompf was used to promote Melbourne as a modern world-class city. Others produced stylised views of the city and its environs.

CONTEXT

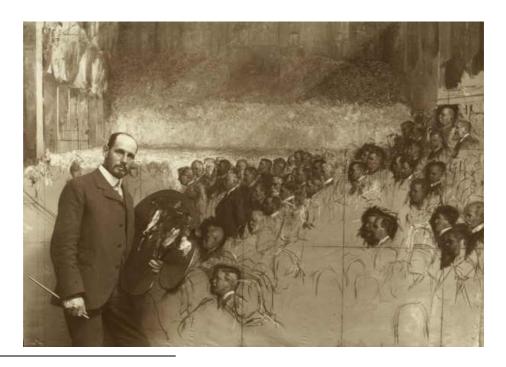
¹⁸¹ Quote taken from Lewis, *Melbourne: The city's history and development*, 1994, p. 109. Porter is referring to Melbourne in 1937.

¹⁸² The Australian City Reader: Unit B, Deakin University, p. 84.

¹⁸³ Ann Galbally 'Art Galleries', in Brown-May and Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, 2005, p. 36.

One of the most enduring and celebrated images of 20th-century Melbourne is John Brack's Collins Street, 5pm, painted in the 1950s. But by the early 20th century, modern styles had become more diverse and interpretative, and instead were generally less geographically specific and less narrative focused. Examples include trams painted by different artists and the emerging area of graffiti art.

With its large influx of immigrants, and a vast array of local newspapers and periodicals, 19th-century Melbourne was a city that inspired and promoted literature. The city provided the setting for a number of locally written novels, plays and poetry. Crime fiction has long been a popular genre for Melbourne's writers; a notable early crime novel was Fergus Hume's Mystery of a Hansom Cab (1886). Melbourne also attracted well-known writers from Britain and American, most famously Anthony Trollope and Mark Twain. Journalists such as 'Garryowen' (Edmund Finn) and the 'Vagabond' (John Stanley James) produced lengthy descriptive accounts of the contemporary city, which have become important historical documents. Booksellers and publishers thrived, including the popular and long-running Coles Book Arcade in Burke Street, which was a vast emporium established in the 1860s. Many places in Melbourne have encouraged a strong literary output: for example, Marcus Clarke's Yorick Club, a literary society he established in the 1880s, and the Public Library, which sustained the early writing careers of Marcus Clarke and much later, of Helen Garner, who wrote much of Monkey Grip (1977) there, her novel set in 1970s inner-city Melbourne. 184 Other well known writers who drew heavily on Melbourne included George Sala, Norman Lindsay, Martin Boyd and C.J. Dennis, as do recent authors including Shane Moloney.



¹⁸⁴ Peter Pierce (ed.), The Oxford Literary Guide to Australia, 1987, p. 350.

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Tom Roberts shown with his painting, The Opening of the First Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia (1903) (source: SLV Accession No. H12977)

The bohemian character and ethnic diversity of Carlton has served as an important backdrop to literary Melbourne — both as the setting for a number of works and the preferred place of residence for many of Melbourne's writers, poets and playwrights. The suburb provided the setting, for example, for Ray Lawler's famous play, Summer of the Seventeenth Doll (1957)¹⁸⁵ and for Jack Hibberd's play, Memories of a Carlton Bohemian (1977). The Jewish community of Carlton in the 1920s and 1930s is the subject of works by Pinkus Goldhar and later of Judah Waten. Experimental theatre groups established La Mama in Faraday Street in 1967 and the Pram Factory in Drummond Street in 1970, where the first play performed was Marvellous Melbourne. 187

Musical entertainment was well catered for in early Melbourne with several theatres and an opera house established by the 1850s. Theatres includes the Princess Theatre (formerly the Royal Amphitheatre) and the Tivoli (from 1895). The Melbourne Town Hall (1867), which houses a 32-feet high grand organ (installed 1929), was also frequently used for concerts, including Melba's home-homing concert of 1921.

Melbourne enjoyed something of a cultural renaissance with the completion of the Victorian Arts Centre on St Kilda Road in the 1980s. This complex, adjacent to the National Gallery, houses a lavish State Theatre and Concert Hall. It marked the relocation of Melbourne's musical performance from its previous concentration at the eastern end of town (in Bourke Street and Spring Street). This period also saw the beginning of the annual Spoleto Festival, which later became the Melbourne International Festival of the Arts. Popular music has long been a regular part of Melbourne's social scene, including live bands in hotels, jazz clubs, and cabaret venues.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

State Library of Victoria (1854) [VHR]

Princess Theatre (1886) [VHR]

Regent Theatre (1929) [VHR]

Forum Theatre (former State Theatre) (1928) [VHR]

Tivoli Arcade (c. late1960s); site of former Tivoli Theatre Melbourne Town Hall (1867) [VHR]

CONTEXT

¹⁸⁵ Pierce, 1987, p. 350.

¹⁸⁶ Pierce, 1987, p. 349.

Pierce, 1987, p. 350; Pram Factory website: http://www.pramfactory.com/family.html
 See records of the Tivoli Theatre (formerly the New Opera House) 1895–1956, MS 11527, SLV.

Myer Music Bowl (1958) [VHR]

Victorian Arts Centre, including National Gallery of Victoria (c.1960s) and Concert Hall (c. 1980s)

Victorian Artists' Society, Albert Street [1892) [VHR]

La Mama Theatre, Faraday Street, Carlton [VHR]

Pram Factory, Drummond Street, Carlton

AC/DC Lane (formerly Corporation Lane), Melbourne

City of Melbourne Art and Heritage Collection (held City of Melbourne)

10.2
Belonging
to a
religious
denominatio
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Melbourne's churches have played an influential role in society since the beginnings of settlement. They have strongly shaped the city's social fabric as well as providing rich architectural interest in the urban landscape. The principal Christian churches established were Anglican (Episcopalian), Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist.

Early church meetings in Melbourne took place in make-do premises before purpose-built churches appeared. The Batman family attended services in Melbourne in a 'small, low-roofed wooden church' in the late 1830s. 189 Church buildings grew more elaborate through the 19th and early 20th century as means allowed and as denominational building policies permitted. Many suburban churches, such as Christ Church, South Yarra, were as large and elaborate as those in the central city.

Melbourne's development as an important New World city meant that there was considerable religious tolerance for many different denominations, faiths and sects, both traditional and conservative, including fire-and-brimstone Christian evangelicals, Quakers, Jews, and the humanist reformers who followed Charles Strong's Australian Church. 190

The Anglicans built St James Old Cathedral, Melbourne's first notable church, in the 1830s. This was later relocated to West Melbourne (1914). They subsequently built St Paul's Cathedral in Swanston Street and St Peter's Church, Eastern Hill, the latter serving the residents of Eastern Hill and East Melbourne.

Catholics worshipped in a makeshift chapel before St Francis' Church was erected at the corner at Elizabeth and Lonsdale Streets. St Francis' was rebuilt in the 1840s. A cathedral was planned from the 1850s. This underwent various early forms before the Gothic Revival architect William Wardell, a follower of the celebrated English architect Augustus Pugin, drew up plans for a large and elaborate cathedral that would

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¹⁸⁹ Richard Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix*, 1845, p. 270.

¹⁹⁰ Quaker Meeting House, Russell Street (in the late 1840s) [see Maie Casey, *Early Melbourne Architecture*]

tower above all on Eastern Hill. St Patrick's Cathedral stood adjacent to St Patrick's College, built in 1854 and demolished by the Catholic Church amidst much controversy in 1971. The site was redeveloped to accommodate a new Diocesan centre. Other Catholic churches in Melbourne included St Augustine's at the city's western end, Sacred Heart Church in Rathdowne Street, Carlton, and St Mary's, West Melbourne. On the site of St Mary's Star of the Sea, West Melbourne, there was a girls' school, a boys' school and a presbytery. In North Melbourne, Catholic education was provided at St Joseph's Christian Brothers' College and St Michael's school in Boundary Road.

The Wesleyan Methodists erected an elaborate bluestone church in Lonsdale Street in the late 1850s. This was notable for its masterful employment of the Gothic Revival — a style that had been previously disparaged by many Protestant denominations, and particularly by the followers of John Wesley.

The first synagogue was established in Bourke Street in 1847. A new synagogue in East Melbourne (Mickva Yisrael), erected in 1877, was built as a replica of this first place of worship. 191

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Collins Street Independent Church

Collins Street Baptist Church (1845; 1861-62) [VHI]

Christ Church, Swanston Street

Collection of the Catholic Diocesan Historical Commission.

Trinity Lutheran Church and Manse, East Melbourne (1853) [VHR]

St Francis' Catholic Church (1842) [VHR]

St Paul's Cathedral (1880) {VHR]

St Patrick's Cathedral, East Melbourne [VHR]

St Michaels' Uniting Church (1866) [VHR]

Scots Presbyterian Church, Collins Street [VHR]

Synagogue, Albert Street, East Melbourne (1877) [VHR]

Wesley Church, Lonsdale Church [VHR]

Christ Church, Swanston Street

Christ Church, South Yarra (1856) [VHR]

Former Salvation Army Training Garrison, East Melbourne (1900) [VHR]

10.3 Belonging to an ethnic or cultural group

¹⁹¹ Citation, VHR.

From the beginning of settlement, colonial society in Melbourne comprised many diverse cultural groups. The first lieutenant-governor, C.J. La Trobe, and his French-speaking wife Sophie were Swiss Hugenots. In 1836, the year the Port Phillip District was proclaimed, many nationalities and religious groups were represented amongst the new settlers. Thousands of people from many different cultural backgrounds arrived with the gold rush in the 1850s, including large numbers of Chinese from the southern province of Guangdong, many of whom were only temporary visitors.

Whilst many gold rush immigrants came in search of a fortune, the desire for religious tolerance was also a motivating factor. The influences of free thought, democracy and liberalism helped to mould a relatively tolerant society, but racial discrimination remained a chief cause of disadvantage and social divisions. The Chinese in Melbourne struggled against racist jibes and more overt discrimination. The largest cultural gulf was almost certainly between the white settlers and the traditional custodians of the land, the Wurundjeri and Boon wurrung. Aboriginal people in Melbourne continued to be the victims of ongoing social, cultural, political and economic prejudice.

Melbourne evolved as a cosmopolitan city and home to many cultural and religious groups. The predominant nationality was British, but within this group were those who preferred to align themselves with Scotland or Wales. Whilst Ireland was also politically annexed to Britain throughout the 1800s and up until the 1920s, many Irish, especially Irish Catholics, preferred to disassociate themselves from the mantle of British colonial imperialism and showed an overt demonstration of Irish nationalism in Melbourne as they did elsewhere in the New World.

Cultural and religious groups often found greater opportunities for self-expression in the colonies, and likewise, in the new country, felt the need to assert their now somewhat dislodged Old World identities. The Irish and the Scots were adept at doing this as the city's physical fabric will testify: for example in the manner of buildings erected, in the naming of places, and in monuments, churches and other cultural institutions established. Melbourne's earliest public hall, erected in Bourke Street in 1845, was St Patrick's Hall, the centre of the non-denominational but fiercely Irish nationalist St Patrick's Society. The first parliament of the Colony of Victoria occupied this building from 1851-56. The northern Irish, predominantly Protestant, were a major influence in the design of the University of Melbourne, built in the 1850s. Much about the layout of Melbourne itself has a semblance of Belfast, whence a large number of settlers had come. Later, the new law courts in

William Street, completed in the 1870s by architects Smith and Johnson, were modelled after Four Courts, Dublin. 192

The Scots are represented in subtle ways across the city in terms of their significant architectural influence and in the various educational, cultural and financial institutions that mimicked buildings at home. A more overt expression of Scottish cultural nationalism can also be detected — for example the statue of Robbie Burns, erected in St Kilda Road in 1904 by the local Caledonian Association; this statue was later relocated to the Treasury Gardens. The Welsh, who arrived in large numbers during the gold rush, were visible for their part in establishing Wesleyan Methodist churches and other institutions in Melbourne from the 1850s; a notable example is the Welsh Church (1871) in Latrobe Street, which continues to hold services in the Welsh language. Long-term use of the German language has been the mainstay of the Trinity Lutheran Church in East Melbourne, established in 1853.

By the 1920s, Chinese, Jews, Italians, Greeks and Germans had settled in Melbourne in significant numbers and formed themselves into close-knit communities with a strong ethnic identity. Typically these groups favoured poorer, low rental neighbourhoods, hence the congregation of the Chinese at the eastern end of Little Bourke Street. A large Jewish community was established in Carlton. Over time, these ethnic communities prospered, with many Jewish businesses, such as Smorgon meats, achieving prominence, and the Chinese becoming successful merchants and furniture-makers. Anti-Chinese sentiment in the early 20th century fuelled the passage of new federal legislation that restricted the activities of the Chinese in Australia, and which led to a decline in Melbourne's Chinatown. In the postwar period there has been a resurgence in this area of Melbourne.

The mass immigration of Europeans during the postwar period led Melbourne to become one of the most multi-cultural cities in the world. Italians and Greeks settled in large numbers within the municipality, where they occupied run-down Victorian workers' cottages, and rejuvenated them, often in a Mediterranean style, and established cafes and other places of business. Italians congregated in Carlton, where they transformed Lygon Street into Melbourne's Little Italy, while the Greek businesses and eateries were concentrated in Lonsdale Street within the central city. Melbourne's Greek community became the third largest centre of Greek population in the world.

¹⁹² For more on the Irish influence in Melbourne, see McConville, 'The Irish Townscape of Melbourne', in Bull et al. (eds), *Irish–Australian Studies*, 1990, pp. 92–102.

¹⁹³ Wendy Jacobs, *Walking Melbourne*, National Trust of Australia (Vic.), Melbourne, 1991, p. 53.

^{194 &#}x27;Chinatown Action Plan', Melbourne City Council, December 1985, p. 10.

^{195 &#}x27;Chinatown Action Plan', Melbourne City Council, December 1985, p. 11.

The various ethnic communities both adapted existing structures for their own purposes or built anew. The Chinese, for example, built a number of buildings in Melbourne's Chinatown, including the Chinese meeting house (Num Pon Soon building) in Little Bourke Street in 1860-61. Buildings superfluous to the needs of one group were often adapted by another. The former Church of the Sacred Heart in Rathdowne Street, for example, has been converted for use by the Lebanese community.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Welsh Church, Latrobe Street (1871) [VHR]

Celtic Club, Queen Street (1883)

Ormond College, Parkville (1879) [VHR]

Chinese Christian Church, Little Bourke Street, Melbourne

Collection of the Chinese Museum, Melbourne

Nun Pon Soon Society Building (1860-61) [VHR]

Chinese Mission Church, Little Bourke Street (1872) [VHR]

Chinese shop, 212-220 Little Bourke Street (1883)

Trinity Lutheran Church, Parliament Place (1853)

Greek Club, Lonsdale Street

Greek precinct, Lonsdale Street

Lygon Street precinct, Carlton

Borsari's Corner, Lygon Street

Pellegrini's, Bourke Street (1950s)

Further reading

The theme of cultural life in Melbourne is covered in many generalist publications. For the nineteenth century, see J.M. Grant and G. Serle (eds), The Melbourne Scene (1957), Michael Cannon, Melbourne After the Gold Rush (1993), and Graeme Davison, The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne (1978). Many of the religious denominations and ethnic minority groups in Melbourne have their own histories. Melbourne's church buildings are covered in Miles Lewis (ed.), Victorian Churches (1991).



CHAPTER 11: CARING FOR THE SICK AND DESTITUTE

'It is the children, the little children that are being borne so thickly to the grave ... In what city [except Melbourne] could such havoc of the very young and the wholly helpless take place without exciting a universal cry of agony ...?'

Illustrated Sydney News, [n.d. c.1880s] 196

11.1 Improving public health

For a city that prided itself on its rapid progress, social reforms and civilised society, 19th-century Melbourne had a scandalously high rate of infant mortality, child disease and maternal death; the incidences of vagrancy and destitution were also high. Infectious diseases like consumption, typhoid (there was particular concern for typhoid which in the 1880s had a higher incidence in Melbourne than in London), diphtheria, pertussis and others proved fatal to many, especially children. The unhygienic state of the city streets was a major contributor to this state of affairs. The latter half of the 19th century, and the early 20th century, saw steady improvements in the city's standards of public health.

In addition to the commencement of a sewerage system in the 1890s (discussed in Section 6.2), there were a number of public health reforms, many of which had been achieved following a public campaign (from the 1870s) by the Melbourne-based Australian Health Society. 197 Cesspools had been done away with and the drainage of the city streets improved. Maternal and infant health also improved with cleaner milk supplies and the newly established infant welfare movement, which led to the building of local infant health centres across the city from the 1910s.

The Spanish Flu pandemic in 1919 was the first significant public health crisis in Melbourne since the frequent epidemics of the 19th century. Several state schools and the Exhibition Buildings were converted for use as temporary public hospitals.

Social reform crusaders, led by Oswald Barnett, were active in the 1930s in eradicating Melbourne's slums. The first efforts at slum clearance in Melbourne had taken place in 1884, but had limited success and application. The program undertaken by Barnett in the 1930s was comprehensive and meticulously documented. His work touched on areas of the City of Melbourne, including Carlton. Improved housing was built in place of the demolished sub-standard housing.

11.2 Providing welfare services

The demands of a large centre of population included provisions for social welfare. Initially these services were

¹⁹⁶ Cited in Michael Cannon, Life in the Cities, 1976, p. 129.

¹⁹⁷ David Dunstan, 'Rules of Simple Cleanliness', VHJ, 2003, p. 70.

offered by private or church-run charities. One of the city's first hospitals, the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum, opened in 1848 to cater for the poor. Babies' homes, orphanages and women's refuges were also established in the inner city where people's means of livelihood (especially for single women) were limited.

With the large influx of immigrants to Melbourne in the 1850s, many inevitably met with financial hardship. Single women were particularly vulnerable. The Immigrants' Aid Society was established in 1853 to cater for new arrivals.

The hardships of the 1890s depression highlighted the need for improved welfare provisions. There was soon a high rate of unemployment in Melbourne and as a result families suffered, especially children, who were often being left in the care of others or placed in institutional care. Working men were forced to queue for work on government projects.

The Wesley Central Mission was established in 1893, in direct response to this crisis. Other organisations, mostly church welfare groups, did their best to alleviate hardship. Welfare organisations included the Salvation Army, which established new headquarters in Victoria Parade in 1900.

In the twentieth century significant contributions to social welfare in Melbourne were also made by private benefactors. Notable among these were successful businessmen, such as the retailers Alfred Edments¹⁹⁸ and Sidney Myer. Myer famously provided Christmas dinner for Melbourne's poor and homeless at the Exhibition Building each year.

Following the large-scale immigration of Europeans to Melbourne in the postwar period, there were new demands for assistance. Various communities established their own welfare programs. The German-Australian Welfare Association, for example, was established in the 1950s at the Lutheran Church in East Melbourne. The Italian welfare organisation, Co.As.It. was formed in Carlton in 1967. Aboriginal people living in Melbourne benefited from the welfare programs of the Victorian Aborigines Advancement League, based outside the study area in Thornbury.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Former Salvation Army Training Garrison, East Melbourne [VHR] Salvation Army chapel [VHR]

Old Men's Shelter, East Melbourne (1938) [VHR]

Queen Elizabeth Maternal and Child Health Centre (1861) [VHR] - began as a women's refuge

11.3 Caring for the sick

¹⁹⁸ For Edments, see Neilma Sidney, 'Edments, Alfred (1853–1909)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 8, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1981, pp. 412–13.

Fawkner built a hospital in Bourke Street in 1840, but the first free hospital in Melbourne opened in 1848. 199 There were a number of private hospitals, including lying-in (or maternity) hospitals, such as the Jessie McPherson Hospital in William Street.

The largest public hospitals in the colony were located in the city of Melbourne, and these served a wider population than just than within the municipality. The major public hospitals were the Melbourne Benevolent Hospital (c.1869), the Women's Hospital (1856), the Melbourne Homeopathic Hospital (1876; later renamed Prince Henry's Hospital), and the Melbourne Hospital for Sick Children (1870).

The main centre of medical research in Melbourne was sited near to and aligned with the University. The Royal Melbourne Hospital and the Hospital for Sick Children operated as teaching institutions for the University medical students. The Children's Hospital moved from Carlton to a new site in Parkville in 1963; that same year the Dental Hospital also moved to Parkville. More recently, the Royal Women's Hospital has been rebuilt on a site adjacent to the Royal Melbourne Hospital.

The top end of Collins Street and East Melbourne became a centre for medical practice, with a number of consulting rooms and hospitals, including the Royal Women's Hospital (1856), Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospital (1863), the Mercy Hospital (1935), the Freemasons Hospital (1937), and more recently the Peter McCallum Cancer Institute (1994). Over the municipal boundary of Victoria Parade was the public Catholic-run hospital of St Vincent de Paul, established in 1893.

The first training for nurses was provided at the Women's Hospital, Carlton, in 1862. Later, nurses were also trained at other city hospitals, and were accommodated in various nurses' homes and lodging houses, including the Princess Mary Club.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Queen Victoria Hospital (remnant building) (1896) [VHR]

Former Mercy Hospital, Grey Street, East Melbourne (1935) [VHR]

Former Royal Women's Hospital, Grattan Street, Carlton

Royal Children's Hospital, Parkville (1963)

Royal Melbourne Hospital, Parkville (1940)

Former physician's premises, 59 Collins Street (c.1853)

Site of Howitt's Corner, Collins Street (1840)

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¹⁹⁹ Rogan, 1970, p. 56.

²⁰⁰ 'East Melbourne' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, pp. 220–21. Note that the Royal Women's Hospital was founded in East Melbourne in 1856 but was relocated to Carlton in 1858.

Princess Mary Club, Lonsdale Street (1926)

11.4 Caring for mothers and babies

The care of infants and their mothers in the nineteenth century was rudimentary and without structured government support. The wealthy could afford nursing assistance, while the poor made do with the assistance of family and neighbours. Unmarried mothers, who faced social ostracism and other hardships, were accommodated at the Carlton Women's Refuge in Carlton; this was a Protestant charitable institution established in 1861 as a reformatory for wayward girls. The Melbourne Orphan Asylum was established by 1845. Other orphanages included the Presbyterian Babies' Homes and the Berry Street Infant Asylum and Babies' Home, both in East Melbourne. From 1907, Berry Street provided training for all mothercraft nurses in Victoria.

There were several lying-in hospitals for women in the 19th century. As well as the Women's Hospital, established in the 1850s, there were private hospitals and hospitals run by religious sisters. Midwives operated independently of the hospitals.

The early 20th century saw the beginnings of the infant welfare movement, the primary concern of which was the health and well-being of mothers and infants. The work of the infant welfare movement led to a decline in infant disease and mortality. Infant Welfare Centres were established at various locations through the wider metropolis of Melbourne, including several locations in the central city.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Former Mercy Hospital, Grey Street, East Melbourne (1935)

Former Royal Women's Hospital, Grattan Street, Carlton (1950s?)

Child welfare centre, Bellair Street, Kensington

Berry Street Babies' Home, East Melbourne (1881)

Former Carlton Women's Refuge; survives as the Queen Elizabeth Maternal and Child Health Centre [VHR]

Former Carlton Creche (1919) [VHR]

Further reading

The theme of public health in Melbourne is covered in David Dunstan, 'Rules of Simple Cleanliness', in VHJ, 2003, and 'The Sanitary Defence' in VHJ, 1992. Janet McCalman provides an excellent history of the Women's Hospital and women's health in Sex and Suffering (1998). The other major hospitals are the subject of individual histories. Welfare services in Melbourne are best examined through individual histories of the various services.

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²⁰¹ Whitworth, Bailliere's Gazetteer, 1879, p. 106. See citation, VHR.

CHAPTER 12: EXPRESSING SOCIAL AND POLITICAL OPINION

12.1
Introducin
g social
and
political
reforms

The possibilities of a new, fast-growing, urban society were manifold, not least as a stage for gaining social, political and economic reforms. The radical politics of social and political reform was transported to Melbourne from Britain, California and from Europe, where the uprisings of 1848 were fresh in the minds of many. The radical element was particularly strong in Melbourne, where it helped to shape mainstream government policies.

Established as a 'free' society, with no entrenched or official class system, colonial Melbourne was the stage for several significant political reforms. The gold rush, which brought a huge population increase and new economic demands, was the catalyst that brought many issues of social, political and economic reform into public debate, and led to various reforms in Victoria in the 1850s, including changes to mining license regulations, the introduction of the secret ballot, universal male suffrage, the eight-hours day, and the land selection acts. The generation of gold rush immigrants played an ongoing role in championing the ideals of democracy and egalitarianism.

When the new Victorian Parliament opened in 1857 every resident male in the colony, with the exception of Aborigines (and non-resident Chinese), had the right to vote, regardless of property qualifications. The previous year had seen the introduction of the 'secret ballot', a Victorian innovation that was fundamental to a democratic society. In Britain, by contrast, universal male suffrage was not achieved until 1918; and the secret ballot was not introduced until 1872.

Significant industrial reforms were also achieved in Melbourne. In 1856, during construction of the new university law school in Parkville, stonemasons downed tools and marched into the city, demanding an Eight-Hours Day. This was awarded and has since been celebrated each year on Labor Day. A later case was the Harvester Judgement, which awarded male workers an equitable 'basic wage'. This was delivered by Judge H.B. Higgins in 1907 in the Commonwealth Court of Arbitration and Conciliation, which was then based in Melbourne.

There were also reforms made to the prison system in Melbourne. In the 1860s the Head of Prisons, Claude Farie, introduced a greater degree of humane treatment in prisons. He was instrumental in the creation of the Neglected and Criminal Children's Act in 1864, which created the Industrial and Reform Schools. One such school opened at Royal Park in 1875, which later became the receiving depot for wards of the state. Farie also brought about the withdrawal of the insane

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from prisons and the creation of lunatic asylums, as well as separation within the prisons for the criminally insane. 202

Children also gained some benefits from social reforms. Where previously education had been the preserve of the wealthy, the new Education Act of 1872 made elementary schooling free and compulsory. The Factory Act of 1873 protected vulnerable children from exploitative working conditions.²⁰³

The various democratic reforms achieved in Melbourne, however, did not directly advantage women, who generally worked for lower wages, who struggled for acceptance at university, and who faced discrimination in professional life. Women in Victoria had to wait until 1908 before they were permitted to vote in state elections, despite the fact that they had been granted federal voting rights in 1902. 204

²⁰² Lynn and Armstrong, p. 73, Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', 2000, p. 18.

²⁰³ Fabian (ed.), Mr Punch Down Under.

²⁰⁴ Suzane Fabian (ed.), *Mr Punch Down Under*, Greenhouse Publications Pty Ltd, Richmond, 1982, p. 113.

12.2 Staging protests

Melbourne has frequently been the stage for conflict between radical and conservative political views, between workers and employers, and up until the 1930s, between Catholics and Protestants. These battles were played out in the parliament and the courts, but also on the streets and other public places, where various aggrieved sections of the community vocalised their cause in public protests and demonstrations.²⁰⁵

From the 1890s, the south bank of the Yarra was the venue for Sunday-afternoon public speeches. The Victorian Socialist Party, the trade unions and the Labor Party held regular public meetings there. It was also the venue for anticonscription speeches in Melbourne during the heated conscription campaigns of 1916 and 1917. 206

The Melbourne Town Hall was itself embroiled in the fierce sectarian battles of the 1920s. The Melbourne City Council was strongly Protestant. In 1896 it had elected to ban a visiting foreign politician from speaking on Irish Home Rule. The MCC also tried to ban the St Patrick's Day parade of 1922. 207

Melbourne's waterfront has been a frequent site of industrial unrest, notably with the Maritime Strike of 1890. Industrial disputes continued to define Melbourne political life into the late 20th century, for example by the BLF in the 1980s, by tramways employees during the 1989 tram strike, and by the Maritime Union in 1999.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, battles for social and political reform took to the streets with the moratorium marches against conscription in the Vietnam War, and the marches for 'women's lib'.

Aborigines in Melbourne have fought a long and difficult campaign for rights and recognition. Leading campaigners have been William Barak, who as a boy in 1835 had witnessed the Batman Treaty, and who made numerous delegations to government up until his death in 1903. Other leading campaigners for Aboriginal rights and citizenship were William Cooper and Sir Douglas Nicholls, who addressed public meetings at Speaker's Corner on the Yarra bank.

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²⁰⁵ See Sparrow and Sparrow, *Radical Melbourne*, 2004.

²⁰⁶ Andrew Brown-May, 'Yarra Bank and Yarra Bankers' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, pp. 785–76. See also Sparrow and Sparrow, *Radical Melbourne*, 2004.

²⁰⁷ Graeme Tucker, 'The Melbourne Town Hall', in *Melbourne Centre Stage: The Corporation of Melbourne 1842–1992*, special issue of *VHJ*, issue 240, October 1992, pp. 43, 45.



United Women's Movement protesting against the gas strike, Parliament House, 1947 (source: SLV Accession No. H2005.2)

12.3 Upholding conservati ve values Conservative values have held sway over many aspects of Melbourne's social and political life. Melburnians prided themselves on their respectability and civilised pursuits. The vast majority of immigrants had paid their own passage. Some arrived with substantial capital to establish themselves in style, and sought to emulate respectable society at 'home'. The fortunes made through pastoral activities, gold mining, property speculation and mercantile pursuits created a comfortable middle class. It was in their interests to maintain and build on these privileges. This was the foundation of a powerful conservative class in Melbourne.

In the 1840s, respectable Melburnians sought to keep their society free from the 'convict stain'. Yet while strongly opposing transportation in Melbourne in the late 1840s, many Melburnians preferred to deny or ignore the fact that over 1700 Pentonvillains (convicts from Van Diemen's Land granted a conditional pardon) had been brought over from Van Diemen's Land as indentured labour. 208 Most of these men earned their ticket-of-leave, but nonetheless their presence in Melbourne ensured it was not strictly a convict-free settlement as many were wont to believe. Many also opposed Britain sending convict hulks to Melbourne carrying prisoners from the Pentonville Prison. Fierce opposition to convict transportation culminated with La Trobe preventing the British transport ship Randolph from landing convicts at Melbourne in 1849, an event which ultimately put an end to this practice in south-eastern Australia. 209

The city's bastion of conservatism was the Melbourne Club, which excluded women, Catholics or Jews as members. The club

²⁰⁸ A.G.L. Shaw, 'Convicts' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, p. 171.

²⁰⁹ Lynn and Armstrong, pp. 25, 36; from Doyle, 'Dispensing Justice', p. 8.

had close links to the wealthy rural elite, which in the 1920s still exerted a powerful influence on city politics.

Conservatism in Melbourne was often, but not always, associated with wealth and social privilege. An entrenched conservative element in Melbourne had strong links to the Protestant churches and to wowserism, which promoted abstinence from intoxicating drink and upheld the sanctity of the Sabbath by opposing Sunday trading.

The consumption of hard liquor generally went hand-in-hand with gambling and with Melbourne's seamy night life. A weakness for drink was considered by many in the Victorian era as a human failing; self-improvement and moral fortitude were the values to strive for. Hotels were abundant in Melbourne; in working-class areas, such as Carlton, there was virtually one on every corner. To counter this temptation the anti-drinking brigade supported the erection of grand temples to temperance, known as Coffee Palaces. The largest and grandest of these was the Federal Coffee Palace, erected in 1889 on the corner of King and Collins Streets. The Grand Hotel (later the Windsor Hotel) was converted to a coffee palace in 1886. 210 Drinking fountains were also installed in many inner suburbs to encourage people to drink pure water. The Melbourne branch of the influential Woman's Christian Temperance Union, formed in 1887, was an untiring lobby group behind these reforms. A respect for the Sabbath was also strictly observed in Melbourne, when the city streets were quiet and virtually empty except for the morning churchgoers. There was no liquor licence granted for Sundays. 211

12.4 Celebrati ng the larrikin spirit Melbourne has long been a city of contrast. Alongside its churches, free-thinkers and deep-seated Victorian respectability, it has also long been a city of gamblers, drinkers and larrikins. The very motivation to immigrate to an unknown life in the distant colonies was itself a gamble, and success often relied on luck as much as it did on talent and hard work. Much of Melbourne's wealth in the nineteenth century derived from the game of speculation — itself a gamble of sorts — on the price of land and on the chance of finding gold. Betting and gambling were also carried on in private clubs, hotels, public parks, and elsewhere.

The term 'larrikin', which originated in Melbourne's workingclass inner suburbs in the 1870s, referred to young men who gathered on street corners and displayed loutish behaviour. The larrikin figure was initially abhorred by polite Melbourne society, but later became a subject of affection through the writings of C.J. Dennis and others.

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²¹⁰ Tout-Smith, 2009, p. 48.

²¹¹ McConville, *Airds Guide to Melbourne*, p. 33 For Sabbatarianism, see Serle, *The Rush to Be Rich*, pp. 156–57.



Drinking fountain outside the North Melbourne Town Hall (source: SLV Accession No. H98.250/1401)

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Melbourne Club, Collins Street (1858) [VHR]

Trades Hall, Lygon Street (1873) [VHR]

Parliament House (begun 1856) [VHR]

Eight-Hours' Day monument (1903) [VHR]

Speaker's Corner, Batman Avenue, Yarra Bank (two sites) [VHR]

Riley Collection, State Library of Victoria

Collection of trade union banners, Museum Victoria

Women's Suffrage Petition (1891), PROV [VHR]

Monument to Pastor Doug Nicholls and Lady Gladys Nicholls, Parliament Gardens (2006)

Former Grand Hotel (now Windsor Hotel) [VHR]

Little Lonsdale Street precinct

Woman's Christian Temperance Union drinking fountain, Victoria Square, Elizabeth Street [VHR]

Further reading

Mapping the sites of radical politics in Melbourne is the subject of Jeff Sparrow and Jill Sparrow, Radical Melbourne: A secret history (2001).



CHAPTER 13: ENJOYING THE CITY

'If you are a man of leisure you will find more 'society' in Melbourne, more balls and parties, a larger measure of intellectual life — ie more books and men of education and intellect, more and better theatrical and musical performances, more racing and cricket, football and athletic clubs, a larger leisured class than in Sydney.'

R.E.N. Twopeny, Town Life in Australia, 1883.

13.1 Public recreati

In the 1820s the eminent British landscape designer J.C. Loudon was among the first to campaign for the provision of 'recreation grounds' within Britain's overcrowded industrialised cities, and in 1835, the year before Port Phillip was officially established, the first report on public space and recreation was tabled in the British Parliament. By the time Melbourne was being laid out in 1837, the provision of parkland was considered integral to good town planning.

Both Surveyor Robert Hoddle and the colony's Superintendent, later first Lieutenant-Governor, C.J. La Trobe, were instrumental in the early establishment of Melbourne's public parks and gardens. In his 1837 plan for Melbourne, Robert Hoddle designated many reserves and park squares. The ornamental public squares in Carlton, East Melbourne and South Melbourne that were planned by Hoddle — for example, Powlett, Darling, Curtain, and Muirson reserves — echoed the style of London's grand residential squares, while much larger tracts of land were set aside for government purposes, including Yarra Park, Princes Park, Royal Park and Fawkner Park. 213

In addition to parks and gardens, there were other provisions for recreation. The river was used for boating and swimming. The City Baths at the corner of Swanston and Victoria Streets, 'consisting of swimming, hot, tepid, and cold baths' opened in 1860; these were rebuilt in 1903. Hosie's baths, near the Royal Arcade in Bourke Street, was 'a magnificently furnished place' and included Turkish Baths. There were also public bathing facilities in the suburbs, for example the North Melbourne baths, which opened in 1910. 215

The parks of central Melbourne have developed into major sporting facilities. There was a strong concentration of sporting facilities at Yarra Park by the end of the 19th century, including provision for football, cricket, bowls,

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²¹² Helen Doyle, 'Organising Recreation: A cultural sites study', report prepared for the Department of Natural Resources, Melbourne, 1999.

²¹³ Doyle, 'Organising Recreation', 1999.

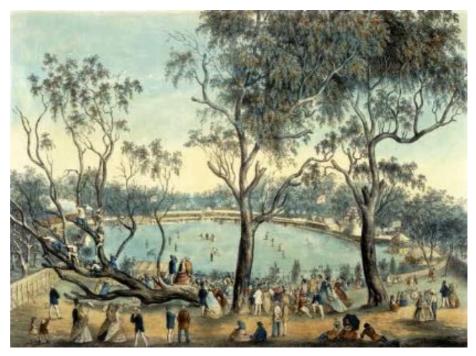
²¹⁴ Pickersgill, *Tourists Guide*, 1885, p. 51; see also Whitworth, *Official Guide to Melbourne*, 1880

²¹⁵ 'Baths and bathing' in Brown-May and Swain, 2005, pp. 62–63.

tennis, and bike-riding. The staging of the Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956 saw new sporting complexes erected in the vicinity of Yarra Park, including the Olympic Swimming Centre and Olympic Park. Outside of the city centre other public recreation reserves were also developed as sporting complexes, including Fawkner Park and Royal Park. Local teams also competed at the Arden Street Oval, North Melbourne, and at Princes Park in Carlton.

Over the last 30 years, extensive changes and additions have been made to Melbourne's sporting facilities, bringing a greater concentration of high-level competition across many different sporting codes. Notably, this period saw the construction of the Sports and Entertainment Centre (1985); the Tennis Centre (1988) in what was initially named Flinders Park (later renamed Melbourne Park); the Telstra Dome at Docklands (now renamed Etihad Stadium); Hisense Arena (2000); and the aggrandisement of the MCG.

Melbournians are renowned as enthusiastic spectators and barrackers at many sports. Since the 19th century huge crowds attended the weekly football matches of the then Victorian Football League. Today's AFL Grand Final, held at the MCG, and, likewise, the Melbourne Cup held in November at Flemington Racecourse have become international events.



The Melbourne Cricket Ground, fringed with gum trees, 1864 (source: SLV Accession No. H15455)

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Flemington Racecourse [VHR]

Yarra Park [VHR]

Collection of the Melbourne Cricket Club Museum

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Olympic Swimming Stadium (1954-56) [VHR]
Fawkner Park, Prahran
Royal Park, Parkville
Princes Park, Carlton

13.2 Promotin g tourism

Melbourne was developed as both a site for tourists and a departure point for sight-seeing trips outside the city. Tourist guides were published from the 1860s giving details of the available means of transport from Melbourne and the best access routes. A popular day-trip was to take a train from the city for a picnic beside the impressive new Yan Yean reservoir. In the 1880s private operators in Melbourne advertised 'up country tours'. Melbourne, at the same time, had become a popular place to visit. The great attraction was the International Exhibition of 1888, which drew thousands of visitors to the city, including those from other colonies and further afield, and the publication of guide books to the city's attractions.

The Victorian Railways eagerly promoted tourism by rail, publishing a regular guide-book. The Victorian Government Tourist Office opened in Collins Street in 1906, which operated in tandem with the Victorian Railways and which provided a one-stop service for travel from Melbourne. The railways provided extra carriages on holidays for trips to popular destinations, including St Kilda, Mornington Peninsula, and Healesville. The city's role in tourism declined with the increased popularity and ownership of the motor car. But this development saw the establishment of the Royal Automobile Club of Victoria in 1918, which provided services to motoring tourists.

Melbourne was promoted as a tourist destination in the 1920s and 1930s with the aid of appealing advertisements, including the commercial art posters of Percy Trompf. The staging of the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne gave the city a major boost as an international tourist destination and won for Melbourne the reputation as the 'friendly city'. Motor inns were opened around this time, including the Parkroyal in Parkville and the Carlton Crest on Queens Road. Popular hotels were the Hilton and the Southern Cross.

In the latter part of the 20th century Melbourne pushed itself more aggressively as a tourist destination through the mutual promotion of popular sporting events (such as the Melbourne Cup, the Australian Open, the AFL Grand Final and the Grand Prix), as well as a staggering number of 'festivals' (e.g. food and wine, fashion, Moomba) and other cultural events. From the 1980s large hotel groups such as the Sheraton and the Hyatt have provided an alternative to the staid old style of the Windsor. The Crown Entertainment

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²¹⁶ The Victorian Government Tourist Bureau operated until 1958.

²¹⁷ See O'Hanlon, 'Events city' in Melbourne Remade, 2010, pp. 79–92.

Complex on Southbank has given Melbourne a glitzy new look and draws large numbers of tourists. Alternative high end tourist accommodation in provided in a number of new boutique hotels, such as the Lindrum.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Former Friendly Societies' Park [southern end of Yarra Park] Carlton Gardens [VHR]

Former Victorian Government Tourist Bureau, Collins Street Flinders Street Station (1910-11) [VHR]

Former RACV clubrooms, Queen Street (1960s)

Royal Exhibition Building and Carlton Gardens, Carlton [VHR] Olympic Swimming Stadium (1954-56) [VHR]

13.3 Staging

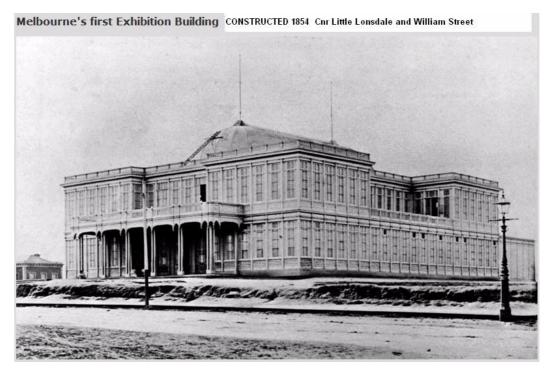
The first inter-colonial exhibition was held in Melbourne in 1854 in a purpose-built Exhibition Hall in William Street. The Inter-colonial exhibition of 1866-67 was held in the exhibition Public Library building. These celebrated colonial and imperial progress and promoted local industry and innovation. The first international exhibition was held in 1880 in the purpose-built and extravagant Exhibition Building in Carlton. This was one of a series of international exhibitions held all over the world. The long-running International Exhibition of 1888, held during the height of boom-time Melbourne, was a public spectacle presented on a lavish scale.

> From the late 19th century, the Royal Exhibition Buildings has staged various one-off exhibitions, such as the National Baby Show of 1889, the Women's Work Exhibition of 1906, the All Australia Exhibition of 1913, and the State Schools Jubilee Exhibition of 1922, and has held several annual events, such as the motor show and the home show.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Royal Exhibition Buildings, Carlton (1880) [VHR, WHL]

C NTEXT



Melbourne's first Exhibition Building on the comer of Little Lonsdale and William Street, 1854

13.4 Processi ons and street events The street itself served as the stage for a range of public events, which included public protests and demonstrations of imperial loyalty. Lavish decorations were installed for special events such as royal visits, and these included the erection of ceremonial archways, fountains, banners and bunting. On the occasion of the visit of the Duke of York to Melbourne in 1901 to mark the occasion of Federation, the Commonwealth Fountain, featuring 100 water jets, was built at Eastern Hill at a cost of over £2000. 218 Moments of civic pride such as turning on the Yan Yean water supply (1857) and the opening of Federal Parliament in Melbourne in 1901 were celebrated with a grand street procession, usually representing various social groups and organisations, such as trade unions.

13.5
Building
a city
of
fashion
and
style

Melbourne's prosperity through the 19th century encouraged the pursuit of high fashion amongst the wealthy elite. Pattern books were scoured for the latest designs from Europe and hurriedly made up locally. Members of fashionable society paraded in the latest styles as they 'did the Block' in Collins Street, or attended race-meetings or the theatre. Highlights of the social calendar were the lavish balls held at Government House and the Melbourne Town Hall. The seamstresses and milliners who produced these garments laboured in small clothing factories or sweatshops throughout the city, with a concentration of clothing factories in Flinders Lane. The wealthy also employed their own private dressmakers. In the early 20th century, technological

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²¹⁸ See file in Seegar Collection, VPRS 8609, unit 12, box 13.

advances made clothing manufacture cheaper and more efficient.

Retail clothing stores were established in Bourke Street, with more exclusive boutiques in Collins Street. The large number of leading fashion designers based in Melbourne have established the city as the centre of fashion in Australia.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Former clothing factories in Flinders Street

CONTEXT 97

13.6 Eating and drinking Alcohol was a mainstay of a frontier colonial town, with the ubiquitous hotel on every corner. One of Melbourne's first permanent buildings was Fawkner's hotel established in 1836 on the corner of William Street and Flinders Lane. During the early period of settlement, many people resorted to alcoholic beverages rather than drink the city's unpalatable and contaminated water. Social problems associated with drunkenness in late 19th-century Melbourne made alcohol a chief cause for steps towards social reform, in the establishment of the powerful temperance movement and local abstinence societies. The 'early closing' of hotels at 6pm, an effort to curb drunkenness by restrictive legislation, caused other anti-social behaviour, and was overturned in 1966.

Melbourne's more salubrious hotels, for example the Windsor, the Menzies (demolished 1969), and the Savoy Plaza, were places of fine dining and fashionable society in the 1950s and 60s. With the abandonment of six o'clock closing, Melbourne was able to edge away its wowser image and develop a new level of sophistication, New hotels such as the Southern Cross, built on the site of the former Eastern Market, attracted a fashionable crowd.

Fine dining had been the preserve of the wealthy in 19th-century Melbourne. Restaurants were few and gentlemen enjoyed good meals at their gentlemen's clubs. Others generally made do with the 'plain fare' served up at the city hotels. 219

The mix of different cultural traditions in Melbourne contributed to varied culinary offerings from around the middle of the 19th century. One observer described Bourke Street as 'packed with foreign cafes'. 220 Gunster's Vienna Café on 'the Block', for example, was popular in the 1870s. 221 Rinaldi's Italian wine bar opened in 1901 (in a building that later became the Latin). 222 In the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s there were a number of Italian restaurants in Melbourne, and this would increase greatly by the 1950s. Pellegrini's opened in Bourke Street in 1954, complete with Gaggia espresso machine. 223

In Carlton, north of the city, the large community of Jewish immigrants established many speciality food stores by the 1920s. With the huge influx of Italian migrants in the immediate postwar years, Carlton was further transformed with many new cafes and restaurants. Meanwhile, the large congregation of Chinese in Little Bourke Street gave Melbourne's Chinatown a wide choice of eating places.

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²¹⁹ R.E.N. Twopeny, 'A Walk round Melbourne', 1883, reproduced in *The Australian City: Unit A Marvellous Melbourne*, Deakin University, revised edition 1986, p. 117.

Hugh McCrae, My Father and My Father's Friends, cited in Jill Roe, Marvellous Melbourne: The emergence of an Australian city, Hicks Smith & Sons, Sydney, 1974, p. 106.

²²¹ Beverley Kingston, *Basket, Bag and Trolley*, 1994, p. 31.

²²² Michael Harden, Melbourne, The making of an eating and drinking capital, 2009, p. 39.

²²³ Harden, 2009, p. 42.

In more recent years the range of international cuisines available in Melbourne's restaurants has been extended dramatically. The number of restaurants and cafes has grown enormously, aided by the development of Southbank and Docklands. Melbourne's laneways and rooftops have been turned over to small bars and cafes, rejuvenating the city centre and forging a new era in eating and drinking in Melbourne.



Restaurant in Swanston Street, 1940s (source: SLV Accession No. H94.150/66)

Some examples of places and objects

Windsor Hotel (1883) [VHR]

Hopetoun Tearooms, Block Arcade (1892)

Pellegrini's, Bourke Street (1950s) [VHR]

Lygon Street precinct

Young and Jacksons Hotel (1870s) [VHR]

Jimmy Watson's Wine Bar, Lygon Street (1935)

Former Il Bistro (Cellar Bar), Bourke Street

Further reading

This theme is best explored by following the individual sub-themes. Recreation in Melbourne has no single-volume work but can be explored further, for example, in Susan Priestley, *Making Their Mark* (1984). Tourism is broadly traced by Peter Spearritt and Jim Davidson, *Holiday Business* (2000). Melbourne's processions and street events are discussed in Andrew Brown-May, *Melbourne Street*



Life (1995), while exhibitions are examined in David Dunstan, Victorian Icon (1996). A history of food in Melbourne is provided in Michael Harden, Melbourne: The making of an eating and drinking capital (2009). Cultural life in Melbourne is also covered in Michael Cannon, Melbourne After the Gold Rush (1993).



CHAPTER 14: ADVANCING SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

14.1 Keeping weather records

One of the first areas of scientific endeavour in Melbourne was keeping weather records. In April 1840, under the authority of the New South Wales Governor, Richard Bourke, the Colonial Astronomer James Dunlop instructed convicts to make observations of the weather in Melbourne. 224 Once Victoria had gained independence as a colony, meteorology continued to be an important field of government-backed research in Melbourne. Rainfall records were kept from 1855, probably recorded at Flagstaff Hill. 225 Following several years of unofficial record-keeping, the first government astronomer Georg von Neumayer, was appointed in 1858. Neumayer established a weather station at Flagstaff Hill in 1858. In 1863 the function of keeping weather records was transferred to the new Observatory in the Domain, under the direction of the eminent scientist Robert Ellery. Here, weather patterns were studied and regular measurements taken.

While under the direction of Ellery's successor, Pietro Baracchi, the Melbourne Observatory also provided weather forecasts, but in 1905 the Meteorological Act deemed this should be a Commonwealth function. While Melbourne lost its function as a centre for weather forecasting, it subsequently became the headquarters of the new Bureau of Meteorology, established in Carlton in 1908.

14.2 Observin g the heavens

In 1863, the Melbourne Observatory (or, the Astronomical and Magnetical Observatories) was established in the Domain, on the south side of the Botanic Gardens. The Government Astronomer Robert Ellery was transferred here from an earlier observatory in Williamstown. Ellery commissioned and installed a large telescope at the Observatory in 1868, made by Thomas Grubb in Dublin. Despite some operational problems, this was known as the Great Melbourne Telescope and was the second largest in the world. So influential was Ellery in establishing Melbourne as a centre of scientific study that he was lauded as 'one of the originators of every scientific movement in Australia during half a century'.

C NTEXT

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²²⁴ David Day, *The Weather Makers: 100 years of the Bureau of Meteorology*, Melbourne University Publishing, 2007, p. 4.

²²⁵ Bureau of Meteorology. Rainfall measurements:

 $ftp://ftp.bom.gov.au/anon2/home/ncc/metadata/lists_by_element/alpha/alphaAUS_139.txt \\ http://www.bom.gov.au/jsp/ncc/cdio/weatherData$

²²⁶ S.C.B. Gascoigne, 'Ellery, Robert Lewis John (1827–1908)', *Australian Dictionary of* Biography, vol. 4, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1972, pp. 135–37.

²²⁷ S.C.B. Gascoigne, 'Ellery, Robert Lewis John (1827–1908)', *Australian Dictionary of*

Biography, vol. 4, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1972, pp. 135–37.



The Observatory at Melbourne Domain, n.d. [source: SLV]

14.3 botanical research

Melbourne was also at the forefront of botanical exploration Pioneering and research in the 1850s with the appointment of German scientist Ferdinand Mueller to the position of government botanist in 1853. Mueller developed the Melbourne Botanic Gardens, on a site first reserved in 1846, as a showpiece of botanical categorisation, with specimens arranged according to countries of origin and regions of the world. Mueller exchanged seeds and plant specimens with hundreds of collectors and institutions from all over the world and built up a voluminous correspondence. He was particularly interested in the cultivation and propagation of plants with a commercial use. The legacy of his research and botanical collections became the foundation of the National Herbarium in the Domain. He is also remembered by the mature specimens that grace the Botanic Gardens and other sites around the city.

14.4 Developing zoological gardens

The first zoo in Melbourne was founded by the Zoological Society of Victoria in 1857, with the dual purposes of promoting scientific study and enabling the public to observe 'the habits of the animal creation in properly arranged zoological gardens'. 228 Ferdinand Mueller assumed the management of this first zoo on a site in what is now the southern end of Yarra Park (opposite the Botanic Gardens). In 1861 the zoo was re-established at a larger site on higher ground at Royal Park. At the same time the Zoological Society was renamed the Acclimatisation Society, but reverted to its

²²⁸ Zoological Society of Victoria, Minutes, 6 October 1857, cited in Catherine de Courcy, *The* Zoo Story, 1995, p. 15.

former name after a brief period. 229 Originally a large open parkland, the zoo was developed in its current form with the appointment of Albert le Soeuf as Director in 1870. 230 The Melbourne Zoological Gardens continued to serve the dual purposes of scientific understanding and public recreation. Much of the site was laid out as a garden, with some indigenous vegetation retained.

C NTEXT

²²⁹ de Courcy, *The Zoo Story*, 1995, pp. 15–17; Aitken and Looker (eds), *Oxford Companion to* Australian Gardens, 2002, pp. 659, 661.

230 History of the Melbourne Zoo: http://www.zoo.org.au/Melbourne/History of the Zoo

14.5 Establishi ns

The rear section of the Public Library building was devoted to the Industrial and Technological Museum, which opened in 1870. Many of the items exhibited here had been acquired by the trustees from the 1866 Intercolonial Exhibition and formed the foundation of the collection. 231 An Ethnological Museum occupied the south side of the ground floor of the ${\tt scientific}$ Public Library. 232 A Natural History and Geological Museum was institutio established at Melbourne University in 1858. 233



The Main Hall, National Museum, Melbourne (private collection)

Melbourne's scientific community established the Philosophical Society of Victoria in 1854. Renamed the Royal Society in 1857, it was modelled after a similar body in Britain, with the aim of advancing science in the colony. In 1860 the Society's exploration committee (which included Neumayer among its members) sponsored the ill-fated expedition of Burke and Wills to the Gulf of Carpentaria.

Following Federation, scientific research was considered to be in the national interest. The country's peak scientific research body, the Commonwealth Scientific Institute of Research (CSIR), had its origins in a Victorian villa residence in East Melbourne in 1926. It had been established ten years earlier as the Advisory Council of Science and Industry. It was concerned with research that aided Australia's industries, including agriculture.

Since the 1880s, with its proximity to the university, Parkville had developed as a centre for scientific research. The Commonwealth Serum Laboratories operated from a site in Parkville from 1918. Here, penicillin was produced for

²³¹ Tout-Smith, 2009, p. 31.

²³² Whitworth, Official Guide to Melbourne, 1880, pp. 159, 163; Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria, 1899:

http://www.archive.org/stream/proceedingsofroy12roya/proceedingsofroy12roya djvu.txt ²³³ See Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1996.

civilian use in the 1940s, making Australia the first country to do so. A number of hospitals as well as the University of Melbourne established medical research facilities in Parkville, notably the Walter and Eliza Hall Institute, established as Australia's first medical research centre in 1915. More recently the area has been identified as the City of Melbourne's 'Knowledge Precinct'.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Melbourne Observatory, King's Domain [VHR]

Flagstaff Hill (site of Melbourne's first weather station)

Royal Society of Victoria building (1859) [VHR]

Melbourne Zoological Gardens (1857) [VHR]

Collection of the National Herbarium, Royal Botanic Gardens

Great Melbourne Telescope (1868), Museum Victoria (currently being restored)

Former CSIR headquarters, 314 Albert Street, East Melbourne (façade intact)

Walter and Eliza Hall Institute, Parkville (1915)

Geological Museum, Treasury Reserve (1909), demolished 1964

Further reading

Several publications deal with the history of scientific institutions, such as de Courcy, *The Zoo Story* (1995), and David Day, *The Weather Makers* (2007). A comprehensive examination of Mueller has been carried out through the Mueller Project.

CHAPTER 15: PRESERVING AND CELEBRATING THE CITY'S HISTORY

Any but the most sluggish imagination must be fired by the picture suggested by the secretary of the Old Pioneers
Memorial Fund of the whole area which includes the Botanic
Gardens and the Domain turned into a vast pleasure park ...
Within that or in a similar area, could be gathered all the exciting story and romance of the growth of Melbourne, from a village of huts on the tea tree banks of the Yarra, to a great and beautiful city.

Isaac Selby's proposal for Melbourne's Centenary in 1935. 234

Remembering the past

With its foundation coinciding with a period of rising nationalist sentiment, Melbourne has demonstrated, from its early beginnings, a keen sense of its own history. A regatta held in August 1838, for example, marked the anniversary of the arrival of Fawkner's party in Melbourne only three years earlier. As early as the 1840s and 1850s, historians began producing published records of Melbourne's short history. Commemoration and celebration of the progress of the city reinforced and accredited the colonial ethos of expansion and economic success.

Romantic nationalists like Isaac Selby strove to raise awareness of Batman and other Melbourne pioneers and held commemorative events on the anniversary of the treaty in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.

There has been some ambiguity in Melbourne's public commemoration of its own settlement history with the Sydney-based stories of Captain Cook and Arthur Philip being embraced as our own. In the early 20th century, Melbourne celebrated Foundation Day (26 January) rather than a day associated with Melbourne's own settler beginnings. In 1934 the businessman Russell Grimwade presented a centennial 'gift to Melbourne' of 'Captain Cook's Cottage', relocating the building from a seaside town in England to the Fitzroy Gardens. This suggests a desire to incorporate Melbourne as an integral part of the larger, more important national story.

The celebration of Melbourne's growth from colonial settlement to thriving metropolis had perhaps its greatest

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²³⁴ 'Australia Felix: The happy land for a hundred years and more', pp. 119–21, in Selby Papers, RHSV, Box 96, MS 686.

²³⁵ A.G.L. Shaw, *The Port Phillip District*, 1996, p. 83.

²³⁶ See, for example, the nineteenth-century works of George Arden, James Bonwick, Thomas McCombie, and William Westgarth.

²³⁷ This story is told in Chris Healy, From the Ruins of Colonialism, 1997.

public display in the centenary celebrations of 1934-35. While this was a state-wide celebration, many of the celebrations centred on Melbourne and its founding story. A highlight was the spectacular fireworks display on the Yarra River, and a giant lit-up figure of John Batman as the heroic pioneer, standing on the river bank with gun in hand. A number of significant new developments marked the centenary, including the MacRobertson Girls' High School, the MacRobertson's Bridge over the Yarra, and the Pioneer Women's Garden.



Percy Tromf, 'This will be the place for a village', publicity poster issued for the Centenary Celebrations, 1934-35. (source: SLV)

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Social History Collection, Museum Victoria
Batman's Treaty document (1835), SLV Manuscript Collection
Furniture of John Pascoe Fawkner, Museum Victoria
Separation Tree, Royal Botanic Gardens (plaque dated 1851)

15.2 Raising monuments

Intrinsic to its role as a capital city, Melbourne has been well endowed with public monuments and memorials. The city's heyday for the erection of monuments — from the late 19th to the early 20th century — coincided with the late Victorian and Edwardian periods that celebrated Empire and civic duty. The monuments from this period tend to be concentrated in a few particular locations: in the government administration precinct of the Treasury and Eastern Hill; along St Kilda Road and in the Domain and surrounding parkland; and in other well frequented public spaces, such as the forecourt of the State Library.

Many of Melbourne's monuments are associated with the history of Victoria rather than that of Melbourne per se. Some

monuments also serve a national purpose. Although erected within the bounds of the city, these have a meaning that extends far beyond Melbourne. Striking among these is the Shrine of Remembrance, which is both a powerful defining feature in the city's layout, but also, in its symbolism and memorialisation, speaks to all Victorians and to those further afield.

Statues and monuments are typically associated with male endeavour, heroism, and civic achievement. An early Melbourne monument was that erected in memory of the ill-fated explorers John O'Hara Burke and John Wills. Cast in bronze by Charles Summers in the late 1860s, this stood prominently at the intersection of Russell and Collins Streets, but was relocated to Swanston Street in the mid 1880s to accommodate the new cable tramway.

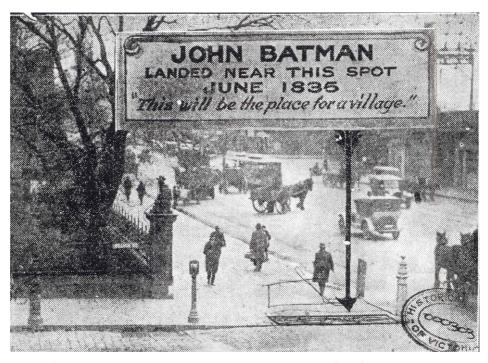
Statues and monuments mostly represented men of the establishment or governing class who were typically British and Protestant. Statues rarely represented a minority cultural, ethnic or religious group, although the statue of Robbie Burns in the Treasury Gardens, funded by the local Caledonian Society, was an exception. In the 1870s, the proposed location in the central city of a statue of the 'Irish liberator' Daniel O'Connell, erected to mark the anniversary of O'Connell's birth, failed to win widespread public support outside Catholic ranks. Due to anti-Catholic sentiment, the statue was relocated from a commanding position in Swanston Street to a quiet corner of St Patrick's Cathedral grounds. Women were also excluded from the pantheon of heroes. To remedy this, the women's branch of the Victorian Centenary Committee raised subscriptions towards a monument dedicated to the Pioneer Women of Victoria. This took the form of a memorial garden, which was laid out in the Alexander Gardens in 1935. The only early monument to an individual Melbourne woman is that of philanthropist Lady Janet Clarke, erected in the Domain after her death in 1899.

There were also monuments that celebrated the progress of the city. When the Yan Yean water supply first came on line in 1857, this was marked with the erection of a commemorative fountain as well as the water statue in the Fitzroy Gardens. Other sites celebrated Melbourne's social, political and economic achievements. The Eight-Hours Day monument, for example, became the site of an annual public ceremony and procession following its erection in 1903.

Like the founding stories themselves, the monuments and historic sites associated with the city's rival 'founders' Batman and Fawkner, remain the subject of controversy and ambiguity. Various monuments and memorials to Batman have come and gone, apparently as mutable as the legend itself. While the legacy of the more pragmatic and longer-living John Pascoe Fawkner has probably been stronger, the romantic figure of John Batman has been more widely commemorated.

Batman has been celebrated at a number of sites in the city centre. An obelisk was erected to his memory in the Old

Melbourne Cemetery (now the site of Queen Victoria Market) in 1882 at the spot purporting to be his grave. This memorial was moved from the Old Cemetery in 1922, after the cemetery was closed, and re-erected on the corner of Batman Avenue and Swan Street. The following year, 1923, a replica of the original memorial obelisk was re-erected, ironically, at Fawkner Cemetery after Batman's remains had been exhumed and reburied. In 1923 the Royal Historical Society set a brass plaque into the footpath outside Customs House in Flinders Street, declaring that 'Batman landed somewhere close to this spot'. Following controversy over the siting for this claim in the early 2000s, the plaque was removed. The replica memorial of 1923 has since been relocated to the original cemetery site in the Queen Victoria Market carpark.



The site of the John Batman plaque laid in the footpath in Flinders Street in 1923 (source: newsclipping, Royal Historical Society of Victoria)

The frequent relocating of public monuments and memorials, such as those commemorating John Batman, Burke and Wills and Daniel O'Connell, suggests that Melburnians have some difficulty in fixing a permanent site of commemoration of their heroes. Whilst some monuments have been moved for practical reasons, the original locations of other monuments, like the O'Connell statue and the Batman plaque in Flinders Street, became the subject of criticism and controversy. Whereas the sites of Fawkner's various colonial enterprises have been long since built over, a replica of his aptly named

²³⁸ An account of the two Batman memorial stones is given in Attwood with Doyle, *Possession*, 2009, chapter 6.

vessel, the *Enterprize*, forms part of the annual Foundation Day (or Melbourne Day) celebrations on 30 August. The site of Fawkner's first dwelling on the corner of Market Street and Collins Street was marked with a plaque in the 1920s.

There has been a revival in monuments and memorials in Melbourne over the last two decades or so. 239 More recent monuments and memorials have been reflective, and even irreverent, rather than blatantly heroic, and have often been concerned with representing those from disadvantaged or minority groups. Recent works include the row of premiers in Treasury precinct, and the *Great Petition* (celebrating the Women's Suffrage Petition of 1891) installed in East Melbourne in 2008. Recognition of the experience of Aborigines in Melbourne, and their fight for justice, is represented through the King's Domain Resting Place (1985), the Birrarung Wilam art installation, and the statue of Sir Doug and Lady Gladys Nicholls in Parliament Gardens (2007).

In recent times there has been a greater inclination for spontaneous public expressions of grief and remorse, and the making of temporary memorials in Melbourne's public spaces in honour of the dead and the maltreated. Here, again, Melbourne assumes a state and sometimes national role in providing suitable public space to serve as a memorial. This was evident, for example, in the 'sea of hands' constructed in the Domain for the Stolen Generations in c.2000, and after the Bali bombings in 2002, when the steps of Parliament House were completely obscured by a sea of floral tributes.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Flagstaff Hill Pioneers' Monument (1870s)

Eight-Hours Day monument (1903)

Pioneer Women's Garden (1935)

Adam Lindsay Gordon statue, Parliament Place

George Higinbotham statue, Treasury

Redmond Barry statue, State Library of Victoria forecourt

E.G. Fitzgibbon statue

'Weary' Dunlop statue, St Kilda Road

Kings Domain Resting Place, Linlithgow Drive (1985)

Monument to Pastor Doug Nicholls and Lady Gladys Nicholls, Parliament Gardens (2007)

15.3 Rememberin g the Aboriginal past The Wurundjeri and Boon wurrung, who were rapidly displaced and dispossessed of their land by settlers, received little public acknowledgement and were rarely commemorated. A rare exception was Derrimut, a Boon wurrung headman who was

²³⁹ See discussion in Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonard's, 2000.

honoured in death with a headstone in the Melbourne General Cemetery in 1864. Meanwhile, the remains of many other Aborigines of Melbourne lay in unmarked graves in the Old Melbourne Cemetery. The new metropolis, in its official capacity, largely avoided the acknowledgement of its Aboriginal history, except in a tokenistic fashion. La Trobe was something of a lone voice when he proposed the preservation of carved trees or canoe trees in the city. Occasionally, skeletal remains or a stone tool was unearthed in Melbourne and reported on as an item of curiosity in the local newspaper, but in the main the memory of Aboriginal life in the city was virtually obliterated. Yet while much of its physical evidence had been lost, destroyed or built over, the cultural life of the Wurundjeri continued, against difficult odds, into the 20th century.

In the late 19th century, there was interest in Aboriginal 'places' because of a popular romantic fascination with the 'disappearing' culture of Melbourne's Aboriginal people. Sites of Indigenous history became places of interest to those who liked to imagine the pre-settlement landscape. One visitor to Yarra Park in the 1880s was the Argus journalist Howard Willoughby, who noted that the remnant River Red Gums evoked the recent 'ancient' past. He noted a recent scar on a 'green tree' and pondered the site of 'their old camp':

In the Yarra Park an inscription on a green tree calls attention to the fact that a bark canoe has been taken from the trunk. The canoe shape being evident in the stripped portion, and the marks of the stone hatchett being still visible on the stem. The blacks would find their way to the river impeded now by a treble-track railway that runs close to their old camp ... 240

Most remembering of the Aborigines, however, was brief, superficial, and patronising. With the exception of Derrimut's headstone in the Melbourne Cemetery, there were no monuments cast nor any official recognition made to the first occupants of Melbourne. The popular view of the Aborigines was as a 'disappearing race' — as one journalist quipped, 'like an aboriginal [sic.] in Collins Street, a stranger in his own land'. 241 Contrary to the concern expressed for the disappearing landmarks of white settlement, the loss of Aboriginal heritage rarely prompted calls for commemoration and remembrance.

In recent times there have been efforts made at public recognition of the Aboriginal history of Melbourne through reinterpretation of the city's public landscape and in the restoration of Indigenous place names. The towering figure of Bunjil the eagle was erected on Wurundjeri Way as part of the Docklands development in the late 1990s. Birrarung Marr

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²⁴⁰ Howard Willoughby, *Australian Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil*, Religious Tract Society, London, 1886, p. 54.

²⁴¹ Quote taken from Nathan F. Spielvogel, *A Gum Sucker at Home*, George Robertson & Company, Melbourne, 1914, p. 123.

(2002) also goes some way in recognising the pre-settlement Aboriginal history of Melbourne, both in its naming and its landscape treatment.

Some examples of places and objects of significance

Yarra Park (remnant indigenous vegetation)

Headstone of Derrimut (Boon wurrung headman), Melbourne General Cemetery (1864)

Site of Aboriginal burials (pre-1922), Queen Victoria Market

15.4 of the past

Amidst the enthusiastic recording of Melbourne's progress and Preserving expansion in the 19th century many dismissed the colonial the fabric past as unworthy of preservation. Modest attempts were made to preserve the sites associated with early settlement. In the late 1840s, C.J. La Trobe proposed that Batman's cottage be retained and the surrounding land at the western end of town be resumed by the government, but this attracted little support. 242 Old landmarks like Batman's Hill were removed to make way for new.

> Growing concern for the 'disappearance' of the city's historic fabric came from isolated pockets, often from disgruntled and sentimental 'old pioneers'. This concern coalesced in the early 1900s with the formation of the Historical Society of Victoria, which saw a way to preserve the records of the past but could do little about the loss of old buildings and the desecration of landmarks. Members like Charles Long and A.W. Greig sought to raise public awareness about the historical connections of buildings and landmarks in Melbourne that were in danger of being lost or forgotten. The work of the Historical Society of Victoria paralleled the work of Isaac Selby, who was so indignant at the closure of the city's first public cemetery that he formed the Old Melbourne Cemetery Preservation League in the early 1920s in an effort to protect this historic landmark and its early tombstones.

> After a lull in building activity in the city during the war years, Melbourne was poised for dramatic redevelopment by the early 1960s. The demolition of a number of historic buildings in the 1950s led to the formation of the National Trust in 1956. Battles for other threatened buildings were fought and bitterly lost, including that of St Patrick's College, East Melbourne, and several in Collins Street. The Builders Labourers Federation worked in tandem with the National Trust in the 1970s, imposing 'green bans' on buildings they refused to demolish, for example in the case of the Regent Theatre. 243

²⁴² John Stevens, 'Batman's Hill Could Rise Again', Age, 2 May 1992.

²⁴³ See Davison, 'The Battle for Collins Street', in Davison and McConville (eds), A Heritage Handbook, 1991, pp. 115–32.



The demolition of St Patrick's College, East Melbourne, in 1971 helped to pave the way for controls for historic buildings (source: SLV)

This state of affairs pushed for reforms to the planning scheme. The Register of Historic Buildings was established in 1974. This was granted statutory power under the local Planning Scheme of the City of Melbourne. The Heritage Act was passed in 1981 which established the Historic Buildings Council.

Examples of places and objects

Lonsdale's Cottage (disassembled, in storage) (c.1839)

St Patrick's College bell tower, East Melbourne (1854)

La Trobe's Cottage, King's Domain [VHR]

Rialto building, Collins Street (1890-91) [VHR]

City of Melbourne Art and Heritage Collection - civic and

ceremonial objects (held City of Melbourne)

Further reading

The themes of memorialisation and preservation are covered in a broad sense by Tom Griffiths in Hunters and Collectors: The antiquarian imagination in Australia (1996), by Chris Healy, From the Ruins of Colonialism (1997), and Graeme Davison, The Use and Abuse of Australian History (2002). The development of the heritage movement is traced in Graeme Davison and Chris McConville (eds), A Heritage Handbook (1991) and by Davison's Use and Abuse of Australian History (2002).

CONCLUSION

This History of the City of Melbourne's Urban Environment reveals many, often hidden facets of the Victorian State capital's past. The transformation from 'the place for a village' in 1835 to 'world's most liveable city' occurred over a comparatively short space of time. From the acknowledgement of traditional owners at public functions and events, to the regeneration of once forgotten laneways that now enjoy an international flavour and reputation, Melbourne's urban environment continues to evolve. Each generation puts its own mark on the city, but by recording and valuing what has gone before, we provide the opportunity for future Melburnians to make changes that are respectful of the city's heritage.

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Heritage Victoria, Victorian Heritage Database:

http://vhd.heritage.vic.gov.au/vhd/heritagevic

i-Heritage: City of Melbourne Online Database of Heritage

Places (includes nearly 7000 sites):

http://www.melbourne.vic.gov.au/BuildingandPlanning/Planning/

heritageplanning/Pages/iHeritage.aspx

National Trust of Australia (Vic.), Register:

http://www.nattrust.com.au/trust_register__1

4. Websites

Chinese Heritage of Australian Federation

Project:http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/index.htm

Chinese Museum (Melbourne):

http://www.chinesemuseum.com.au/history.html

Bureau of Meteorology rainfall measurements:

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/alpha/alphaAUS_139.txt

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Engineering Heritage Victoria:

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urne,_victoria/

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Royal Women's Hospital (Melbourne):
http://www.thewomens.org.au/ourhistory

Walking Melbourne: www.walkingmelbourne.com



APPENDIX 1: THEMES - COMPARING VICTORIA & THE CITY OF MELBOURNE

This table summarises the themes used for the City of Melbourne Thematic History against *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* published by the Heritage Council of Victoria in 2010.

Historical themes for City of Melbourne	Relevant themes from VFHT
1. Aboriginal country	2.1 Living as Victoria's first inhabitants
[this covers: Aboriginal occupation]	1.4 Creation stories and defining country
2. Promoting settlement	2.2 Exploring and mapping
	2.4 Arriving in a new land
[this covers: beginnings, inter-racial conflict;	2.5 Migrating and making a home
Hoddle, La Trobe, pastoral	2.7 Promoting settlement
industry]	2.8 Flighting for identity
	4.3 Grazing and raising livestock
3. Shaping the urban landscape	4.7 Transforming the land and waterways
	6.2 Creating Melbourne
[this covers: architecture, planning, parks and gardens, the 'Garden City', street trees, public spaces, City Square]	9.3 Achieving distinction in the arts
4. Governing, administering and policing the city	6.1 Establishing Melbourne Town, PPD
	6.2 Creating Melbourne
[this covers: Melbourne City	6.3 Shaping the suburbs
Council; Melbourne as a state and federal capital city, other local	7.1 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy
<pre>municipalities, MMBW, the courts system, police, defence]</pre>	7.3 Maintaining law and order
	7.4 Defending Victoria and

Historical themes for City of Melbourne	Relevant themes from VFHT
	Australia
5. Building a commercial city	4.3 Grazing and raising livestock
	3.2 Travelling by water
[this covers: pastoral industry, trading port, merchants, banking,	5.2 Developing a manufacturing capacity
manufacturing, exhibitions,	5.3 Marketing and retailing
retail development]	5.4 Exhibiting Victoria's innovation and products
	5.5 Banking and finance
6. Creating a functioning city	3.1 Establishing pathways
	3.2 Travelling by water
[this covers: water supply, sewerage, port, transport,	3.3 Linking Victorians by rail
public services, public utilities, hospitals]	3.4 Linking Victorians by road in the twentieth century
	3.5 Travelling by tram
	8.3 Providing health and welfare services
	4.6 Exploiting other mineral, forest and water resources
	4.7 Transforming the land and waterways
7. Appreciating and adapting the natural environment	4.7 Transforming the land and waterways
[this covers: appreciating the natural environment, Garden City movement]	1.6 Appreciating and protecting Victoria's natural wonders
	6.2 Creating Melbourne
8. Living in the city	6.7 Making homes for Victorians
	6.8 Living on the fringes
[this covers: settling, education]	8.2 Educating people

Historical themes for City of Melbourne	Relevant themes from VFHT
9. Working in the city	5.8 Working
[this covers: working life]	
10. Shaping cultural life	8.1 Maintaining spiritual life
[this covers: arts and	8.4 Forming community organisations
culture, ethnicity, community groups, religion, cemeteries]	8.5 Preserving traditions and commemorating
	8.6 Marking the phases of life
	9.2 Nurturing a vibrant arts scene
	9.3 Achieving distinction in the arts
	9.4 Creating popular culture
	2.6 Maintaining distinctive cultures
11. Caring for the sick and destitute	
[this covers: infant and maternal care, public health, hospitals and welfare]	8.3 Providing health and welfare services
12. Promoting social and political opinion	7.1 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy
[this covers: Parliament, Eight-Hour Day monument, Federation, Yarra Bank speeches, etc]	7.2 Struggling for political rights
13. Enjoying the city	5.6 Entertaining and socialising
[this govern: thestman	5.7 Catering for tourists
<pre>[this covers: theatres, hotels and cafes, Bohemian Melbourne, recreation,</pre>	9.1 Participating in sports and recreation

Historical themes for City of Melbourne	Relevant themes from VFHT
<pre>entertainment, festivals, tourism, etc]</pre>	
14. Advancing scientific knowledge	9.5 Advancing knowledge
[this covers: Observatory, origins of BOM, Mueller at the RBG, Royal Society (B&W)]	
15. Preserving and celebrating the city's history	7.5 Protecting Victoria's heritage
[this covers: civic monuments, centenary 1934-35, heritage movement, commemorations, etc]	8.5 Preserving traditions and commemorating

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