SETTLING THE LAND

FIGURE 9 - LAND SALES
1854-1880

500   0   500   1000   1500 METRES

▬▬ City of Stonnington boundary
1   Crown land allotment

Lots Sold 1854-1880

HERITAGE

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

Pastoralism

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

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

Land speculation

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

Crown land sales

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

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

- » Malvern Hill Hotel

- » Houses and buildings associated with early Crown Allotment estates such as *Avoca* (8 Gordon Grove, South Yarra), *Brynmawr* (now part of Sacre Coeur Catholic Girls School, 172 Burke Road, Glen Iris), and *Viewbank*, 9 Viewbank Road, Glen Iris

- » Houses associated with early Crown allotment subdivisions include a group in and around Avoca and Caroline streets, South Yarra, including *Richmond House* (56 Avoca Street), 64 Avoca Street, *Caroline House* (74 Caroline Street), 75 and 76 Caroline Street, as well as the houses at 18 Douglas Street, Toorak, and 5 George Street, Prahran

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

Settling the land

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Speculation *and land boomers*

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

» *Armadale* (now part of King David School)

» *Valentines* (now part of Caulfield Grammar School)

» *Illawarra* (now on a much reduced allotment in Illawarra Court).

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Government assistance

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

Migrating to seek opportunity

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

» St Demetrius Greek Orthodox Church, High Street, Prahran

» St Catherine's Greek Orthodox Church, Malvern East

» Prahran Migrant Resource Centre – originally housed at the former Salvation Army Citadel, and now at the Grattan Gardens Community Centre.

Archaeological places

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

» The car park behind Chapel Street, to the south of shops facing Commercial Road

» The Housing Commission estates in Malvern Road

» The vacant land on the east side of Chapel Street to the north of the Como Centre, and the semi-industrial land on the west side of Chapel Street, north of Toorak Road.

4 TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATIONS

INTRODUCTION

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

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

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)
Developing local, regional and national economies – Moving goods and people; Building settlements, towns and cities – Supplying urban services.

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

HISTORY

4.1 Water crossings and travels – punts and ferries

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 Bridges

4.2.1 Church Street bridge

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

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

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

xxxiv Twickenham Ferry terminal *(near present day MacRobertson Bridge), c.1880.*
[La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria. Accession number: H28232] [SLHC Reg. No. 9026]

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

4.2.2 Hoddle bridge

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

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

4.2.3 MacRobertson bridge

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

4.2.4 Bridging Gardiners Creek

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

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

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

4.3 Roads

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Transport & communications

4.3.2 Changing modes of transport – from horses to motor vehicles

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

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

xl Horse and carriage at Avoca.
[SLHC Reg. No. 2051_10]

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.3 Twentieth century improvements and the rise of motorised transport

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

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

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

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

xlii (left) Premises of A. W. Hinton in Izett Street, c.1910.
[SLHC Reg. No. 2244]

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

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

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

4.4 Railways

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

4.4.1 Early private railways

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

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

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

4.4.2 Developing state railway systems in the late nineteenth century

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

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

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

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

4.4.3 Twentieth century improvements

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5 Tramways

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

4.5.1 Cable trams

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

xlvi Cable Tram No. 17 (Carlton to Prahran) in Chapel Street c.1915.
[SLHC Reg. No. 7068]

xlvii First electric tram to leave Malvern depot in 1910.
[SLHC Reg. No. 1104]

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

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

4.5.2 Prahran-Malvern Tramways Trust

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

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

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

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

xlviii 1913 promotional leaflet for the Tramway Terminus Estate in Malvern East. [SLHC Reg. No. 64]
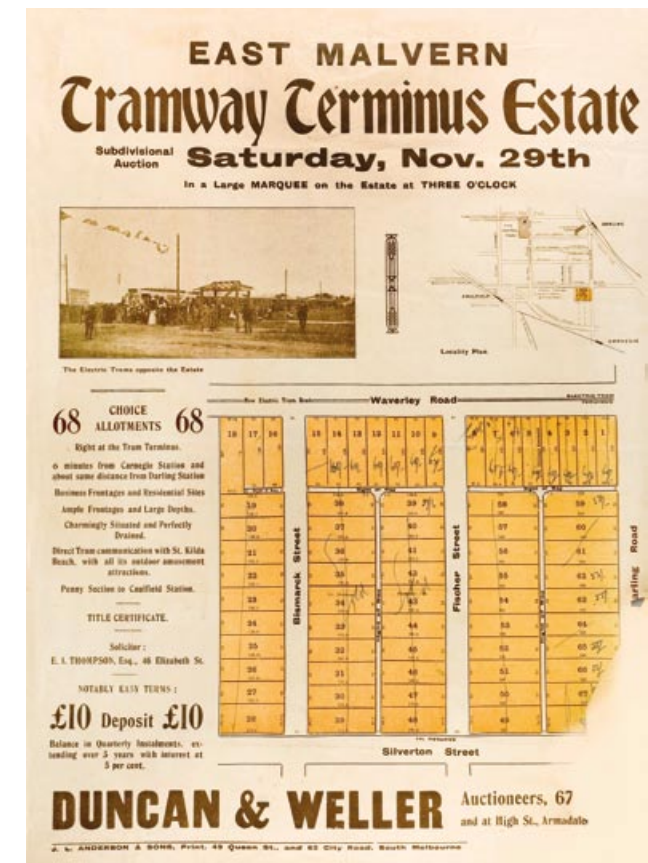
xlix (right) Laying tram tracks in Dandenong Road, Armadale c.1911. [SLHC Reg. No. 1616]

Transport & communications

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

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

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

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

PROV, Tramways Collection, neg H399
© State of Victoria. reproduced with the permission of the Keeper of Public Records, Public Record Office Victoria, Australia. [SLHC Reg. No. 5067]

U1

Update 1
Inserted new sections 4.5.3, 4.6,
4.6.1, 4.6.2, plus additional words

HERITAGE

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

River transport and crossings, punts and ferries

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

Roads and bridges

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

- Examples of stables are found at *Stonnington* and *Toorak House*. The stables formerly associated with *Avoca* have been converted to a private house, which is situated in Caroline Street, South Yarra. There are also some small stables in residential areas in Malvern

- A. W. Hinton and Sons workshops in Izett Street

- William Calder's house, *Kia Ora*, 25 Denbigh Road, Armadale

- Bluestone kerb and channelling is still extant in many streets throughout the study area, and is a key component of the historic character of these areas

- Examples of inter-war concrete streets can be found in Lewes Drive (which includes a central island at the head of the court containing an original cast-iron lamp-post) and in the Coolgardie Precinct, and the Moorakyne/Stonington Precinct

- Montalto Avenue is an example of an inter-war subdivision, which was designed to reduce through traffic

- Early twentieth century boulevards and parkways – Dandenong Road, Alexandra Avenue

- Church Street Bridge, Hoddle Bridge, and the MacRobertson Bridge

- Monash Freeway viaduct as it crosses Glenferrie Road Bridge, which illustrates the development of road transport over a 50-year period

- St Kilda Junction and Dandenong Road extension (Queens Way) between the Junction and Chapel Street, both outside the study area, but emblematic of the physical changes made as a result of the increase in the car traffic in the post-war period and now a highly visible entry point and physical boundary to the study area.

Transport & communications

Railways

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

» Windsor Railway Siding Park (part of the route of the abandoned St Kilda loop line)

» Armadale, Hawksburn, South Yarra, Malvern, and Windsor railway stations

» Remains of Waverley Road Station in the Malvern Urban Forest (site of part of the Outer Circle Line).

Tramways

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

» Former cable house corner Chapel Street and Toorak Road (part of the former Capitol Bakery building)

» Ornamental tram poles along Dandenong Road

» Tram shelter on railway bridge, Malvern Road, Armadale

» Bridges on High Street, Malvern Road and Glenferrie Road constructed to provide grade separation between electric trams and railways.

U1 Update 1
Additional words inserted

5 | GOVERNING & ADMINISTERING AUSTRALIA

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Aboriginal Affairs Victoria (AAV)
Government administration of resources for Aboriginal people.

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)
Governing; Developing institutions of self-government and democracy; Administering Australia; Defending Australia; Establishing regional and local identity.

HISTORY

5.1 Government administration of resources for Aboriginal people

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 Governing Australia

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

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

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

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

5.3 Creating a centre of Australia's political life

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

5.3.1 Politicians and their places of residence

State Government

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

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

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

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

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

Federal Government

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

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

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

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

5.3.2 Forming political associations

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

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

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

5.4 Developing local government authorities

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

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

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

5.4.1 The municipality of Prahran

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

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

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

Iv (left) Malvern Shire Hall c.1900. [SLHC Reg. No. 5010]

5.4.2 The municipality of Malvern

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

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

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

5.4.3 City of Stonnington

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

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

lvi Prahran Town Hall c.1861 showing the old court house at the corner of *Greville Street.* [SLHC Reg. No. 7397]
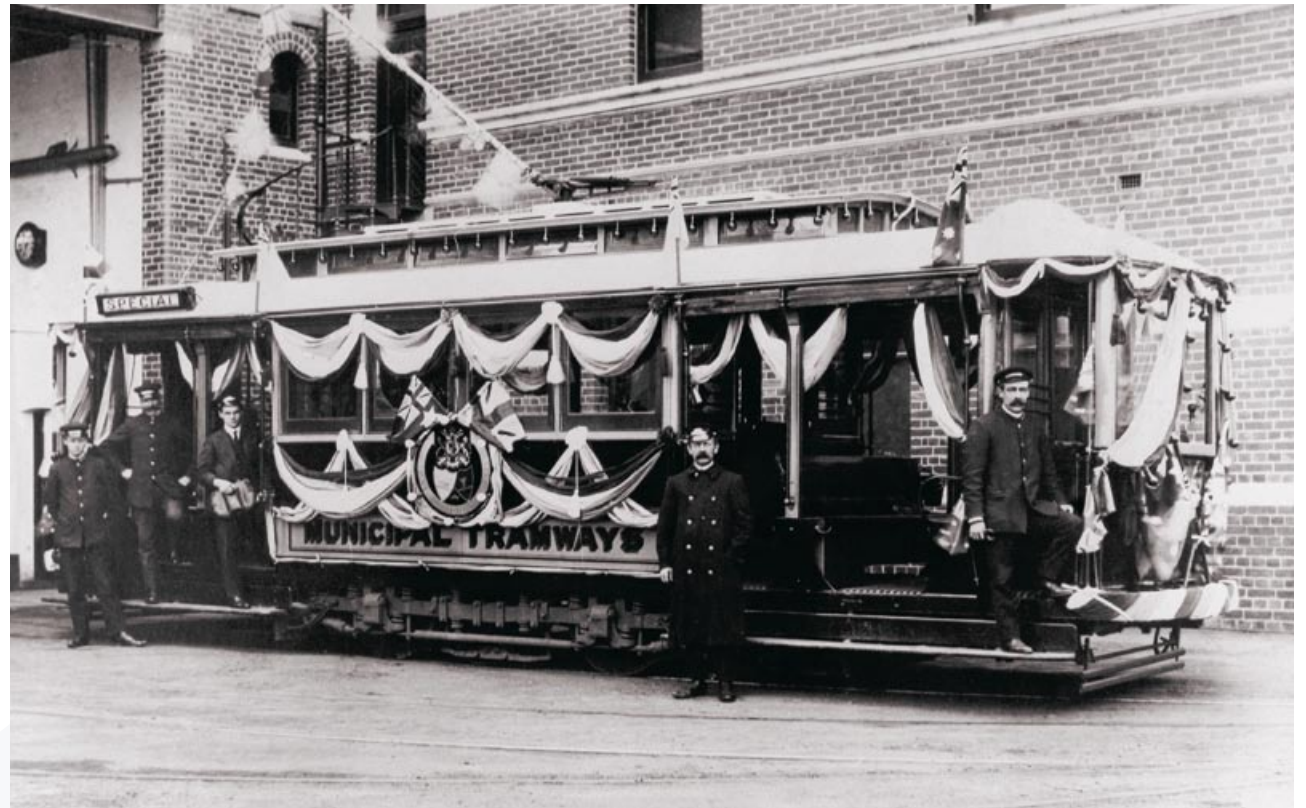
lvii Electric tram decorated to celebrate the proclamation of the City of Malvern in 1911.

PROV, Tramways Collection, neg H386 © State of Victoria. Reproduced with the permission of the Keeper of Public Records, Public Record Office Victoria, Australia. [SLHC Reg. No. 5068]

5.5 Defending Australia

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

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

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

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

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

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

U1 Update 1
Inserted new section 5.5.4

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

Governing & administering Australia

HERITAGE

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

Governing Australia

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

A place of political pre-eminence

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

Developing local government authorities

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

Defending Australia

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

U1 Update 1
Additional words added

U1 Update 1
Edit//nserted additional words

CONCRETE HOUSE PROJECT
HOUSING   COMMISSION   VICTORIA
HOLMESGLEN-FACTORY

THIS IS THE
3000TH
CONCRETE HOUSE

CONCRETE HOUSE PROJECT
HOUSING COMMISSION VICTORIA.
YEARLY PRODUCTION

CONCRETE HOUSES 1000.	HOUSE ROOFING TILE SETS 1000
CHIMNEYS 1000.	HOUSE PLUMBING SETS 800.
STUMPS 75,000	TIMBER COMPONENTS 750.

CALTEX

DEVELOPING LOCAL, REGIONAL & NATIONAL ECONOMIES

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)
Developing local, regional and national economies; Working.

HISTORY

6.1 Working the land

6.1.1 Farming and market gardens

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

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

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

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

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

Bower has noted that by 1887 there were only 15 market gardens in the Shire of Malvern, mainly in the west. However some market gardens, orchards and dairy farms continued in the eastern part of the shire well into the twentieth century before they were displaced by suburban development. One example is *Nirvana*, a property in Waverley Road, Malvern East, that was purchased at the Crown land sales in 1857 by Peter Tulloch, who developed a market garden, which survived until the land was subdivided c.1913.
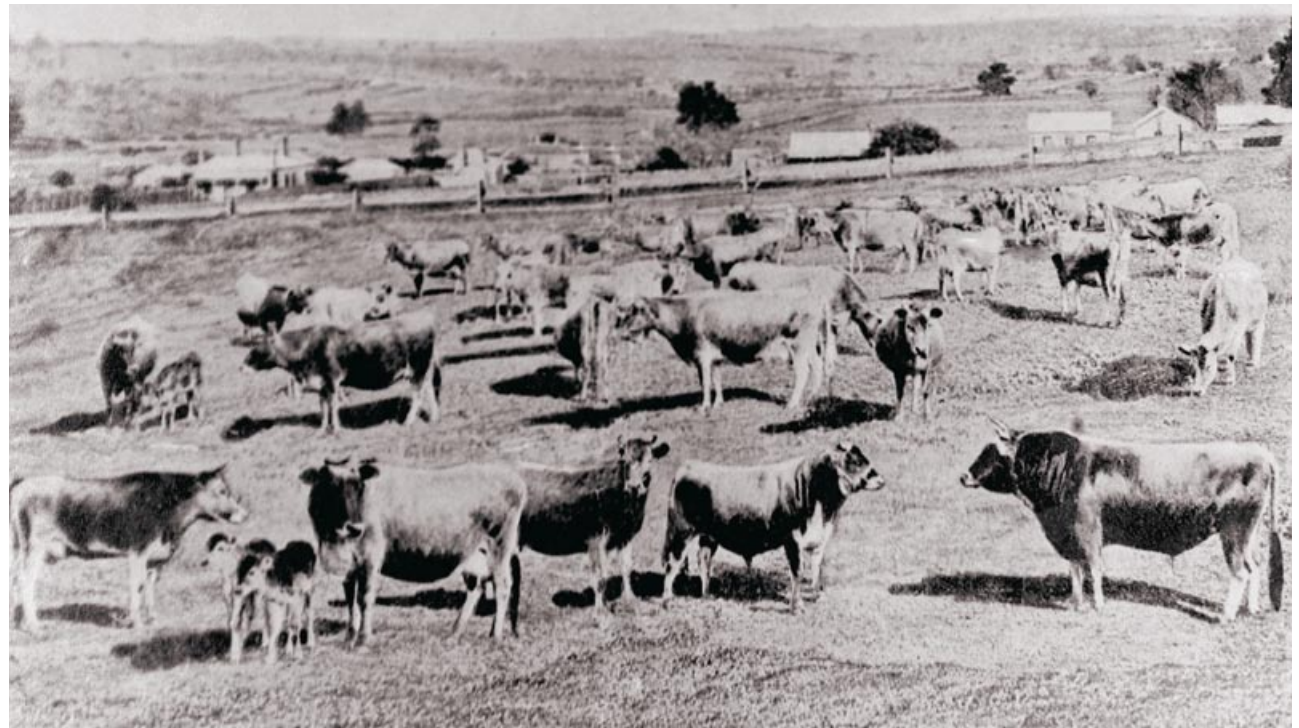
lix Woodmason dairy herd at Malvern.
[SLHC Reg. No. 1248]

Developing local, regional & national economies

Ix *Nursery of Messrs Taylor & Sangster, c.1906.*
[SLHC Reg. No.2406.2]
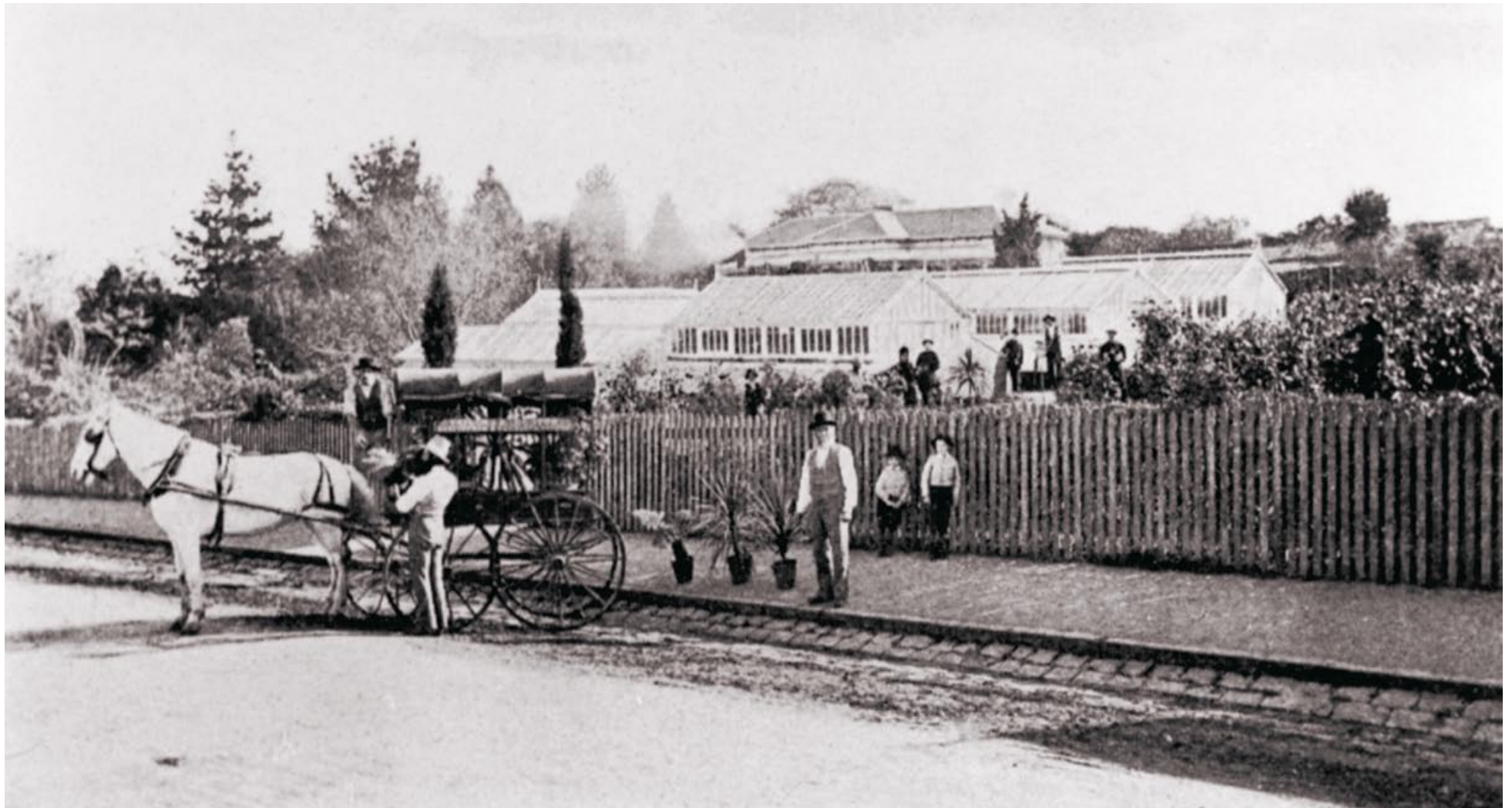
6.1.2 Nurseries

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

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

U1 Update 1
Inserted new section 6.1.3

6.2 Creating a manufacturing industry for Victoria

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

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

6.2.1 Brick and tile manufacturing

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

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

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

Developing local, regional & national economies

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

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

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

6.2.2 Food processing

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

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

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

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

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

Developing local, regional & national economies

lxiv The 3000th house leaves the HCV Holmesglen factory on 10 May 1951.
[SLHC Reg. No. 2151]

6.2.3 Clothing

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

6.2.4 Other manufactured goods

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

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

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

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

6.3 Constructing capital city economies

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

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

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

Developing local, regional & national economies

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

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

lxvii A view of Waiora today.
[Context 2005]

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

lxviii Cranlana, c.1910.
[SLHC Reg. No. 12071]

lxix The entrance gates in 2004.
[SLHC Reg. No. 12073]

Developing local, regional & national economies

HERITAGE

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

Working the land

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

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

» *Como*, 16 Como Avenue, South Yarra

» *Avoca*, 8 Gordon Grove, South Yarra

» The early house at 30 Macfarlan Street, South Yarra, which was associated with a nurseryman

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

Creating a manufacturing industry for Victoria

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

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

» Although the factory buildings associated with brick-making have all disappeared, workers' houses are still extant at 73–75 Elizabeth Street, and 1–3 Cawkwell Street, Malvern

» Factories include the former IXL Jam factory (Chapel Street, South Yarra), former Capitol Bakeries (Cnr. Chapel Street and Toorak Road, South Yarra), a former milliner factory (Grattan Street, Prahran), and the former Housing Commission of Victoria factory at Holmesglen (now Holmesglen College of TAFE)

» Holt's Building, Chapel Street, Prahran

» Thomson's workshop, 835 High Street, Malvern

» Malvern Star shop (former), 185 Glenferrie Road, Malvern.

Creating capital city economies

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

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

» *Whernside*, 2A Whernside Avenue, Toorak

» *Waiora*, 321–327 Glenferrie Road, Malvern

» *Cranlana*, 62 Clendon Road, Toorak

» *Glenbervie*, 11 Glenbervie Road, Toorak.

7 | RETAILING & HOSPITALITY

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)
Developing local, regional and national economies; Marketing and retailing.

HISTORY

7.1 Serving local communities

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

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

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

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

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

Retailing & hospitality

7.2 Creating specialised shopping centres

Toorak Village

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

High Street Armadale

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

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

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

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

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

Prahran Market

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

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

Retailing & hospitality

7.3 Creating Melbourne's leading shopping centres

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

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

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

A 'Shopper's Paradise' – Chapel Street

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Retailing & hospitality

Glenferrie Road

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

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

lxxiv *Glenferrie Road c.1915 looking south.*
[SLHC Reg. No. 679]

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

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

Chadstone

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

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

Retailing & hospitality

7.4 Providing hospitality and entertainment

7.4.1 Early hotels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Retailing & hospitality

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7.4.2 Developing a modern hospitality industry

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

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

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

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

lxxvii *These images show the development of the South Yarra Club Hotel from the 1860s (top right), South Yarra Club Hotel (below) (date unknown) to the present day (bottom right).*
[SLHC Reg. No. 12305 and 7430] [Context 2005]

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

Retailing & hospitality

HERITAGE

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

Retailing

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

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

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

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

Serving local communities

- Shops at 338–360 Punt Road, South Yarra – a small Victorian era centre

- Hawksburn Station shops, Oban Street – a small centre associated with a railway station

- Central Park shopping centre and Waverley Road, Malvern East, are examples of inter-war centres around a tram terminus.

Creating specialised shopping centres

- Toorak Village

- High Street, Armadale

- Prahran Market.

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

Creating Melbourne's leading shopping centres

» Chapel Street between Dandenong Road and Toorak Road. The centre includes early one and two-storey shops south of High Street, the 'emporia' district between High Street and Commercial Road, and the Victorian and Edwardian speciality shops between Commercial and Toorak roads

» Glenferrie Road (between High Street and Dandenong Road), which is a very intact Victorian and Edwardian shopping centre

» Chadstone Shopping Centre.

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

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

Retailing & hospitality

Providing hospitality and entertainment

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

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

» Racecourse Hotel, cnr. Waverley Road and Dandenong Road, Malvern East

» Former South Yarra Club Hotel, cnr. Toorak Road and Punt Road, South Yarra

» Former Wattle Tree Hotel, 196 Wattletree Road, Malvern

» Malvern Hill Hotel, cnr. Malvern Road and Glenferrie Road, Toorak

» Former Duke of Edinburgh Hotel (later Maxim's Restaurant), Toorak Road, South Yarra

» Exchange Hotel, Commercial Road, South Yarra.

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BUILDING SUBURBS

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

This chapter incorporates the following themes:

Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC)
Building settlements, towns and cities; Planning urban settlements; Developing Australia's cultural life.

HISTORY

8.1 Creating Australia's most prestigious suburbs

8.1.1 Self-made men and landed gentry

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Building suburbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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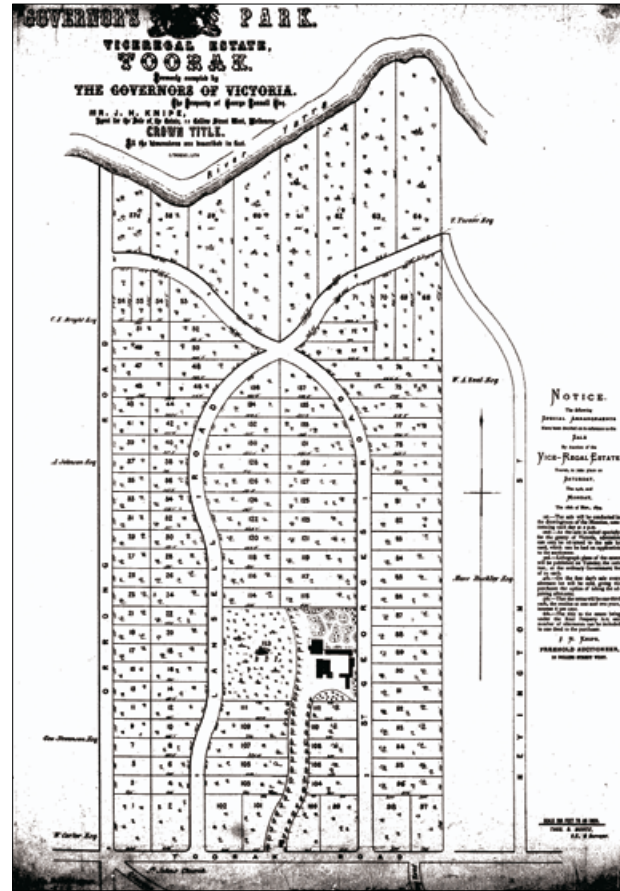

lxxxii *Glyndebourne the old (above with Brenda Gurner in the foreground) in 1903 and the new (below) in 1919.* [SLHC Reg. No. 1603 and 1607]
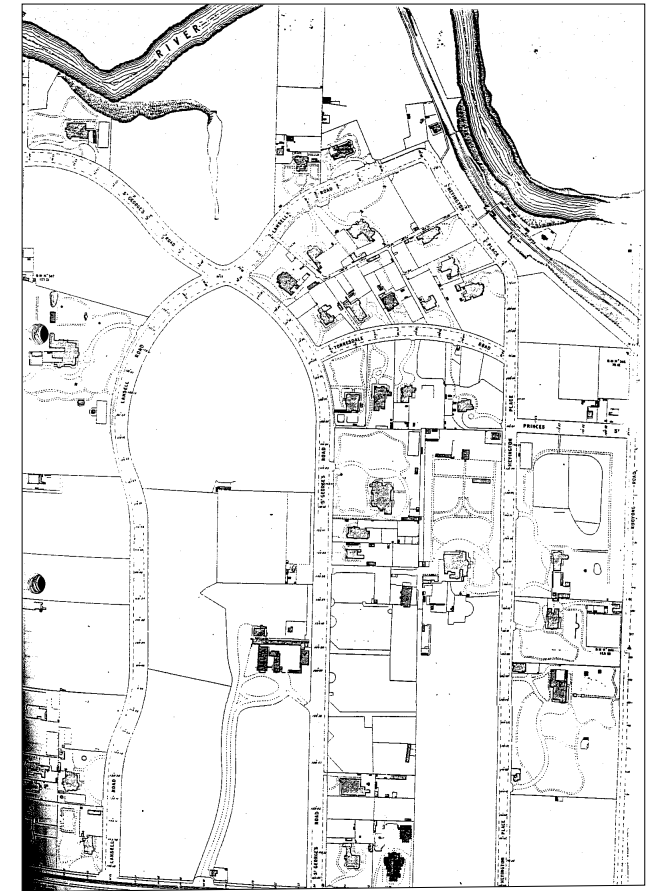
Building suburbs

lxxxiii *These plans show the sequence of subdivision of the land originally occupied by Toorak House from 1855 to 1895.*
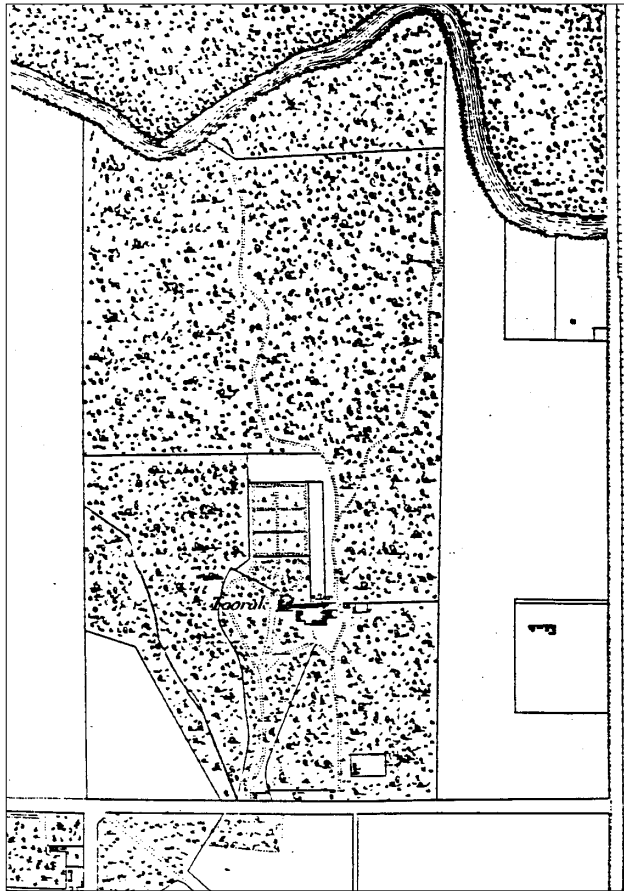
1855 Kearney Plan.
[As reproduced in Context 1991]

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

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

8.2 Middle-class suburbs and the suburban ideal

The subdivision of large estates was repeated in other parts of the study area from the nineteenth century. At Hawksburn, for example, Martha Cassell, who was widowed in 1853, sold off most of her estate from the 1850–70s, beginning with land at the south-west corner of Toorak Road and Williams Road. Here, the new owners, mostly middle-class businessmen or people from pastoral families, built large houses on relatively small acreages – *Vinterfield, Coolullah, Quamby*. Mrs Cassell eventually sold all her estate, apart from the house and large garden, taking advantage of the new Oakleigh railway and nearby Hawksburn Station, opened in 1879 (Malone, 2000:36–41). Hawksburn Road shows the resulting pattern of settlement, with the larger two-storey middle-class villas on the higher land near the Hawksburn Station, and near Toorak Road, and smaller single-fronted workers' houses in the lower section in between. Similar middle-class enclaves can be found throughout the former City of Prahran, however, it was in the neighbouring City of Malvern that the development of the 'suburban ideal' was to find its fullest expression.
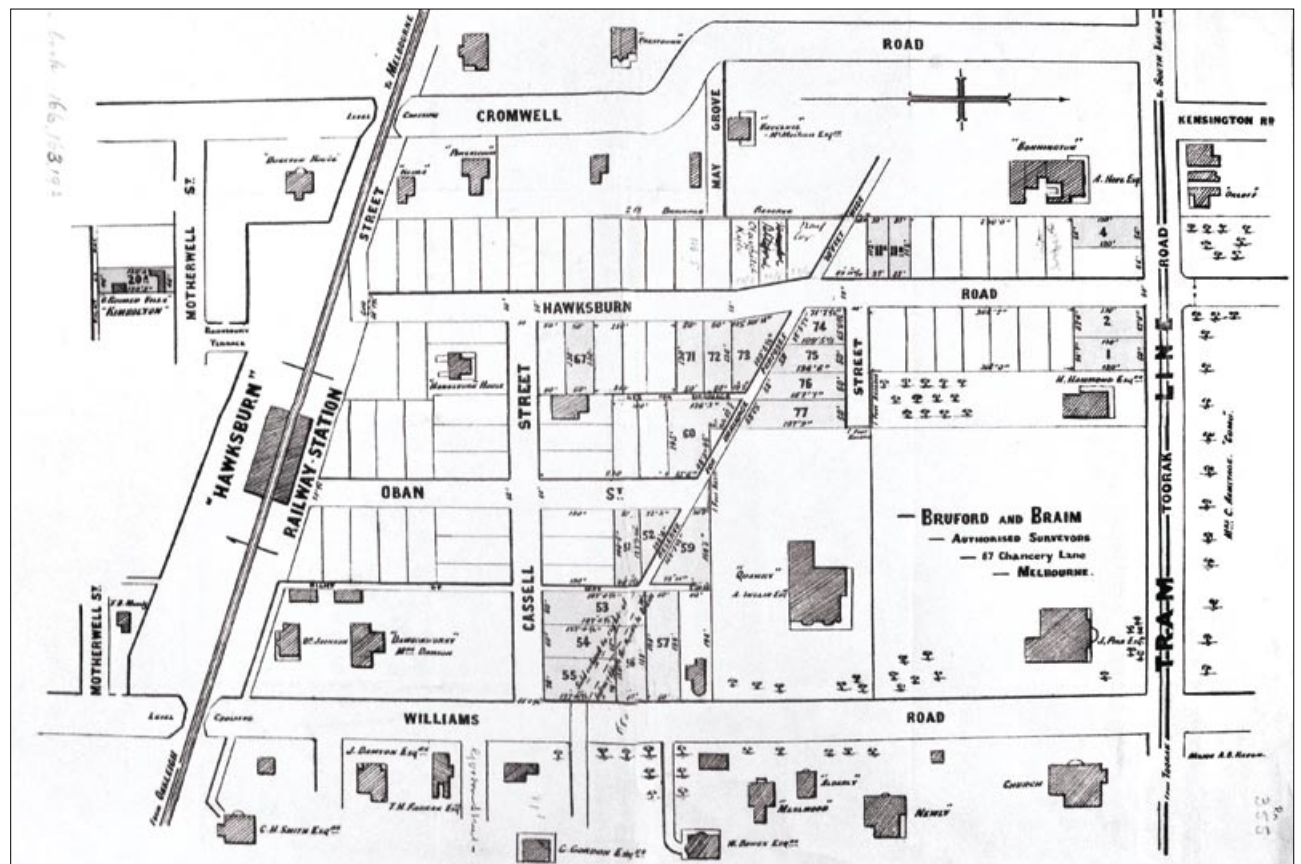
lxxxiv (above) Subdivision of the Hawksburn Estate, c.1900 and (left) Hawksburn House. [SLHC Reg. Nos. 355 and 2443.2]

Building suburbs

U1

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

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

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

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

U1 Update 1
Additional words inserted

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

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

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