



Southbank Heritage Review

Prepared for the City of Melbourne

23 June 2017, updated November 2020

4 Thematic history

4.1 Introduction

This section provides a historical narrative of the study area based on the relevant historic themes as set out in City of Melbourne's Thematic Environmental History.

The study area comprises diverse neighbourhoods which are parts of formerly larger areas that have been truncated by both the freeway and shifting municipal boundaries resulting from various council amalgamations and expansions (Figure 1 & Figure 2).

4.1.1 Former boundaries

The current City of Melbourne boundary was established in 1994 when local government amalgamations occurred throughout Victoria. Previously the area south of the river had been part of the municipalities of South Melbourne and Port Melbourne, with the lands along the riverbank under the planning and administrative control of the Melbourne Harbour Trust and later the Port of Melbourne Authority.

Emerald Hill Borough was proclaimed on 26 May 1855, became a town on 1 March 1872, and was renamed and proclaimed the City of South Melbourne on 21 September 1883. Sandridge Borough was proclaimed on 13 July 1860, renamed Port Melbourne on 25 January 1884, became a town on 20 January 1893, and was proclaimed the City of Port Melbourne on 14 May 1919.⁷

On 18 November 1993, a small portion around Southbank and the Victorian Arts Centre was transferred from the City of South Melbourne to the City of Melbourne.

The cities of Port Melbourne, South Melbourne and St Kilda were amalgamated on 22 June 1994 to form the City of Port Phillip.

4.1.2 Thematic framework

The historical themes that form the background to the current heritage study derive from the City of Melbourne Thematic Environmental History.⁸ The following table shows how City of Melbourne themes relate to both the Australian Historic Themes and the Victorian Framework of Historic Themes (VFHT).⁹

⁷ *Victorian Municipal Directory*. Brunswick: Arnall & Jackson. 1992.

⁸ *Thematic History: a History of the City of Melbourne's Urban Environment* (Context Pty Ltd, for City of Melbourne, 2012);

⁹ *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* (Heritage Council and Heritage Victoria).

Table 4 Thematic framework - Melbourne and Victorian themes

| City of Melbourne theme | Subtheme | Victorian Framework of Historic Themes | Theme content within study area |
|--|--|--|---|
| 1. Aboriginal Country | 1.0 Aboriginal Country | 1.4 Creation stories and defining Country 2.1 Living as Victoria's first inhabitants | Riverbank camping and fishing at The Falls, Sandridge track |
| 2. Promoting settlement | 2.1 Founding stories | 2.2 Exploring and mapping | Surveyors camp, laying out the Sandridge and Short roads |
| | 2.2 Defending traditional country | 2.8 Fighting for identity 4.3 Grazing and raising livestock | Fawkner and Derrimut settling on the south bank |
| | 2.3 Promoting immigration | 2.4 Arriving in a new land 2.5 Migrating and making a home | Aboriginal contact on south bank, Fawkner's homestead, immigration depot |
| 3. Shaping the urban landscape | 3.1 From town to city | 6.2 Creating Melbourne 6.3 Shaping the suburbs | Architecture, planning, parks and gardens, street trees, public spaces |
| | 3.2 Expressing an architectural style | 6.2 Creating Melbourne 6.3 Shaping the suburbs 9.3 Achieving distinction in the arts | Industrial-utilitarian design, Richardson Romanesque in City Road, arts precinct |
| | 3.3 Naming places | 6.2 Creating Melbourne | City South to South Melbourne to Southbank |
| | 3.4 Defining public space | 4.7 Transforming the land and waterways | Wastelands and wetlands, St Kilda Road boulevard, Queens Bridge Square, Southgate |
| 4. Governing, administering and policing the city | 4.1 Governing the Colony and State of Victoria | 7.1 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy | South Melbourne, Port Melbourne, Harbour Trust MMBW, Commonwealth lands and institutions, Victoria Barracks, GPO, Department of Defence |
| | 4.2 Administering the City of Melbourne | 6.1 Establishing Melbourne Town 6.2 Creating Melbourne 6.3 Shaping the suburbs | Annexations south of the river, council amalgamations |
| | 4.3 Melbourne's role as federal capital | 7.1 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy | Police and army headquarters |
| | 4.5 Administering Aboriginal affairs | 7.1 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy | Emerald Hill gathering place, The Falls, fringe camps and removal to Coranderrk |

| City of Melbourne theme | Subtheme | Victorian Framework of Historic Themes | Theme content within study area |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|
| | 4.6 Administering justice | 7.3 Maintaining law and order 7.1 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy | Police Depot and stables |
| | 4.7 Policing the city | 7.3 Maintaining law and order | Police Depot |
| | 4.8 Defending the city | 7.4 Defending Victoria and Australia | Victoria Barracks |
| 5. Building a commercial city | 5.1 Establishing a pastoral industry | 4.3 Grazing and raising livestock | Pastoral industry, trading port livestock shipment, merchants, banking, manufacturing, exhibitions, retail development |
| | 5.2 Melbourne as a trading port | 5.3 Marketing and retailing 3.2 Travelling by water | South Wharf, graving docks, bond stores, ferries |
| | 5.3 Developing a large, city-based economy | 5.3 Marketing and retailing 5.2 Developing a manufacturing capacity 5.4 Exhibiting Victoria's innovation and products | Manufacture and warehousing, , merchants, banking, manufacturing, exhibitions, retail development |
| | 5.4 Developing a retail centre | 5.3 Marketing and retailing | Southbank motor showrooms |
| | 5.5 Building a manufacturing industry | 5.2 Developing a manufacturing capacity 5.4 Exhibiting Victoria's innovation and products | Chemicals, furs, cars, telephones, building products |
| | 5.6 Publishing newspapers and periodicals | 3.7 Establishing and maintaining communications 5.4 Exhibiting Victoria's innovation and products | GPO workshops, Herald Sun television studio, WWII communications research and development, radio factory |
| 6. Creating a functioning city | 6.1 Water supply | 6.2 Creating Melbourne | Fresh water at The Falls |
| | 6.2 Sewerage | 6.2 Creating Melbourne 8.3 Providing health and welfare services | Manure pits, North Yarra main |
| | 6.3 Providing essential services | 8.3 Providing health and welfare services | Prince Henry's Hospital, electricity substations |
| | 6.4 Disposing of the dead | 8.6 Marking the phases of life | No specific places identified |
| | 6.5 Public toilets | 6.2 Creating Melbourne 8.3 Providing health and welfare services | No specific places identified |

| City of Melbourne theme | Subtheme | Victorian Framework of Historic Themes | Theme content within study area |
|---|---|--|---|
| | 6.6 Street making, drainage and river works | 3.1 Establishing pathways 3.2 Travelling by water 4.6 Exploiting other mineral, forest and water resources 4.7 Transforming the land and waterways | Water supply, sewerage, port, transport, public services, public utilities, laying out St Kilda and Sandridge roads, river widening |
| | 6.7 Transport | 3.1 Establishing pathways 3.2 Travelling by water 3.3 Linking Victorians by rail 3.4 Linking Victorians by road in the 20 th century 3.5 Travelling by tram | Track to the beach, river wharves and graving docks, Hobson’s Bay Railway, cable trams, building road electrification, bluestone lanes, bridges |
| 7. Appreciating and adapting the natural environment | 7.1 Appreciating the natural landscape | 1.6 Appreciating and protecting Victoria’s natural wonders | Garden City movement, field naturalists and bird observers, West Gate Park |
| | 7.2 Cultivating the ‘Garden City’ aesthetic | 6.2 Creating Melbourne 4.7 Transforming the land and waterways | Draining/filling swamps, blasting rocks, dredging river, Coode Canal |
| 8. Living in the city | 8.1 Settling as immigrants | 6.7 Making homes for Victorians 6.8 Living on the fringes | Canvas Town tent city, immigrants, migrant hostels |
| | 8.2 Housing the population | 6.7 Making homes for Victorians 6.8 Living on the fringes | No specific places identified |
| | 8.3 Educating the people | 8.2 Educating people | City Road Primary School, Lucy Serco dressmaking school, National Gallery Art School, Victorian College of the Arts |
| 9. Working in the city | 9.1 A working class | 5.8 Working | Working life |
| | 9.2 Women’s work | 5.8 Working | Commonwealth Clothing Factory, war industries, Lucy Serco dressmaking |
| | 9.3 Working in the post-war city | 5.8 Working | Warehouses and factories, wharfies |
| 10. Shaping cultural life | 10.1 Arts and creative life in the city | 9.3 Achieving distinction in the arts 9.4 Creating popular culture 2.6 Maintaining distinctive cultures 8.6 Marking the phases of life | Arts precinct, National Gallery, ballet, concert hall, theatres |

| City of Melbourne theme | Subtheme | Victorian Framework of Historic Themes | Theme content within study area |
|--|---|---|--|
| | 10.2 Belonging to a religious denomination | 8.1 Maintaining spiritual life 8.4 Forming community organisations | Old/new St John’s Lutheran Church, |
| | 10.3 Belonging to an ethnic or cultural group | 8.5 Preserving traditions and commemorating | Arts and culture, ethnicity, community groups, religion, cemeteries, migrant communities |
| 11. Caring for the sick and destitute | 11.1 Improving public health | 8.3 Providing health and welfare services | Public health, slum clearance, filling swamps, Prince Henry’s Hospital |
| | 11.2 Providing welfare services | 8.3 Providing health and welfare services | New Gordon House, Hannover House |
| | 11.3 Caring for the sick | 8.3 Providing health and welfare services | Hospitals and welfare, Prince Henry’s Hospital, Army Repatriation Clinic |
| | 11.4 Caring for mothers and babies | 8.3 Providing health and welfare services | No specific places identified |
| 12. Expressing social and political opinion | 12.1 Introducing social and political reforms | 7.1 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy 7.2 Struggling for political rights | Parliament, Eight Hour Day monument, federation, union strikes and agitation, slum clearance |
| | 12.2 Staging protests | 7.2 Struggling for political rights | Wharf strikes, communist agitation |
| | 12.3 Upholding conservative values | 7.1 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy 7.2 Struggling for political rights | No specific places identified |
| | 12.4 Celebrating the larrikin spirit | 7.2 Struggling for political rights | No specific places identified |
| 13. Enjoying the city | 13.1 Public recreation | 5.6 Entertaining and socialising 9.1 Participating in sports and recreation | Theatres, hotels, cafes, bohemian Melbourne, recreation, entertainment, festivals, tourism, Wirth’s Circus, Glaciarium |
| | 13.2 Promoting tourism | 5.7 Catering for tourists | Queens Bridge Hotel, Melbourne Arts Centre |
| | 13.3 Staging exhibitions | 5.6 Entertaining and socialising 5.7 Catering for tourists 9.1 Participating in sports and recreation | National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne Exhibition and Conference Centre |

| City of Melbourne theme | Subtheme | Victorian Framework of Historic Themes | Theme content within study area |
|--|---|---|---|
| | 13.4 Procession sand street events | 5.6 Entertaining and socialising 5.7 Catering for tourists 9.1 Participating in sports and recreation | St Kilda Road arch |
| | 13.5 Building a city of fashion and style | 5.6 Entertaining and socialising 5.7 Catering for tourists | Kosky Bros., furriers, Maurice Artaud & Sons |
| | 13.6 Eating and drinking | 5.6 Entertaining and socialising 5.7 Catering for tourists | Hotels, Southgate development, Crown promenade |
| 14. Advancing scientific knowledge | 14.1 Keeping weather records | 9.5 Advancing knowledge | No specific places identified |
| | 14.2 Observing the heavens | 9.5 Advancing knowledge | No specific places identified |
| | 14.3 Pioneering botanical research | 9.5 Advancing knowledge | No specific places identified |
| | 14.4 Developing zoological gardens | 9.5 Advancing knowledge | No specific places identified |
| | 14.5 Establishing scientific institutions | 9.5 Advancing knowledge | No specific places identified |
| 15. Preserving and celebrating the city's history | 15.1 Remembering the past | 7.5 Protecting Victoria's heritage 8.5 Preserving traditions and commemorating | Local historical societies and publishing histories, Arts Centre collection, Victoria Barracks Museum |
| | 15.2 Raising monuments | 7.5 Protecting Victoria's heritage 8.5 Preserving traditions and commemorating | Factory honour boards |
| | 15.3 Remembering the Aboriginal past | 7.5 Protecting Victoria's heritage | Commemorating Birrurung, shared histories |
| | 15.4 Preserving the fabric of the past | 7.5 Protecting Victoria's heritage 8.5 Preserving traditions and commemorating | Civic monuments, centenary 1934-1935, heritage movement, commemorations |

4.1.3 Main themes relevant to the study area

Some themes are more prominent or important in the study area due to their particular historical development. Impacts of various phases of redevelopment have resulted in different levels of preservation of buildings and fabric that demonstrate these themes. The following table identifies each theme and its relative importance, as well as surviving evidence that remains in the study area to express the themes. The darker the shading, the greater the importance.

Table 5 Relevance of themes in the study area

| City of Melbourne theme | Fabric representing the theme | Relevance in Southbank |
|--|--|---|
| 1. Aboriginal country | Underwater remnants of rock bar at The Falls, potential for buried land surfaces and archaeological deposits | The south bank of the Yarra River, and swamps were important resources and gathering places. |
| 2. Promoting settlement | No physical evidence | An aspect of the area's early history including Fawkner's huts and survey camp, and the immigrant depot, but these were subsumed by later events. |
| 3. Shaping the urban landscape | Victorian, Edwardian and Inter-War factories and warehouses in Southbank | Distinctive architectural and land use developed in the area, many examples of which survive, making this a particularly important theme. |
| 4. Governing, administering and policing the city | Victoria Barracks, Police Depot | This is an important theme in respect to specific heritage places on St Kilda Road, demonstrating both the proximity of governmental control to the city and the character of that control in the built fabric. |
| 5. Building a commercial city | Numerous factories and warehouses throughout study area | Southbank was predominantly an area of trade, commerce and manufacturing, making this theme of high importance. |
| 6. Creating a functioning city | Streets and lanes, electricity substations | Public utilities were critical elements for the area but were much like any other part of the city, so this theme is of only moderate importance. |
| 7. Appreciating and adapting the natural environment | Yarra River | Much of the area's history has been about eliminating the natural environment, so while the natural environment was adapted to some extent, this theme is of low importance. |
| 8. Living in the city | No residential places remain | While a few pockets of residential places were extant in the 19 th century, these were replaced by commercial activity by the early 20 th century making this theme not well-represented in the study area. |

| City of Melbourne theme | Fabric representing the theme | Relevance in Southbank |
|--|---|---|
| 9. Working in the city | Numerous factories and industrial sites | Southbank has been primarily a place of work and commerce, making this theme of very high importance. |
| 10. Shaping cultural life | Arts precinct | The Southbank arts precinct has long been an important part of Melbourne's cultural activity. |
| 11. Caring for the sick and destitute | No physical evidence | The immigrant depot, police surgeon and Prince Henry's Hospital were important parts of the area and represent this theme, but of which little evidence remains. |
| 12. Expressing social and political opinion | South Wharf timber yards, | The timber workers' strike, Docklands Wars were only some examples of the significant industrial action in the area, demonstrating that this is an important theme in the area's history. |
| 13. Enjoying the city | Arts recent, Southgate, Crown Casino | The Southbank arts precinct has long been an important part of Melbourne's cultural activity. |
| 14. Advancing scientific knowledge | No physical evidence | Research within a number of the factories. |
| 15. Preserving and celebrating the city's history | National Gallery of Victoria, Performing Arts Collection, Southbank Library | While there is recent activity in this area, the theme has not been prominent in the history of the study area. |

4.2 Summary timeline

The following timeline identifies representative events in the history of Southbank.

Table 6 Timeline of events in Southbank

| Time | Event | Theme |
|---------------------------|---|-------|
| 40,000-60,000 years ago | Aborigines arrive in Australia, rapidly spreading around the coast and across the continent. Oldest evidence of occupation near Melbourne at Dry Creek near Keilor. | 1.1 |
| 10,000-5,000 years ago | Rising sea levels flood Port Phillip Bay, Yarra Delta formed, Aboriginal economic patterns stabilised around lower Yarra. | 1.1 |
| 1700s | Yalukit willam, one of the five clans of the Boon wurrung (known as the coastal tribe), and members of the Kulin Nation occupy the area around the bay, camping on freshwater swamps near Emerald Hill. | 1.1 |
| 1802 (November) | Charles Grimes and John Fleming survey the Port Phillip coastline and row up the 'Freshwater River' (Yarra) and 'Saltwater River' (Maribyrnong). | 2.1 |
| 1803 | William Buckley escapes from Sullivan's Bay (Sorrento) penal settlement, passes by the Yarra and lives with Wathaurung people near Geelong for 30 years. | 2.1 |
| 1824 (15 and 20 December) | Hamilton Hume and William Hovell pass about 20km west of the Yarra mouth on their voyage to Westernport, miscalculating their direction and reaching Corio Bay. | 2.1 |
| 1835 (30 August) | George Evans lands on the Yarra bank near the Custom's House site on behalf of John Pascoe Fawkner and plants crops. | 2.1 |
| 1835 (8 June) | John Batman of the Port Phillip Association crosses Yarra and later records, "This will be the place for a village". | 2.1 |
| 1835 | John Batman travels around the western shore of Port Phillip Bay to explore the area. | 2.1 |
| 1836 (February) | John Batman returns and Fawkner moves to the south side of Yarra, the first white resident of South Melbourne. | 2.1 |
| 1836 | Surveyor William Darke prepares maps of the shoreline of Port Phillip Bay, names the Port Melbourne area "Sandridge". | 2.1 |
| 1837 | Governor Bourke arrives, proclaims the town and the first land sales | 3.1 |
| 1839 | Wilbraham Liardet settles on Sandridge Beach and establishes a jetty, a hotel and a mail service. The location becomes referred to as "Liardet's Beach". | 2.1 |
| 1840s | The beach is now referred to as Sandridge and becomes a main arrival point for ships, with its jetty and track along what will become Sandridge Road, then later City Road and Bay Street. | 3.3 |
| 1850-1854 | Crown land surveys and sales at Sandridge and Emerald Hill. | 3.1 |
| 1853 | Canvas Town, Immigrants' Aid Society and an immigration depot open in St Kilda Road. | 2.3 |
| 1854 | The Hobsons Bay railway line opens, connecting Sandridge to Flinders Street in | 6.7 |

| Time | Event | Theme |
|----------------------|---|-------|
| | Melbourne via the first Sandridge rail bridge. | |
| 1855 (26 May) | Emerald Hill is declared a municipality. | 4.2 |
| 1856 | Victoria Barracks open in St Kilda Road. | 4.8 |
| 1860 | The first of several proposals for a direct shipping channel between the bay and Melbourne. | 6.7 |
| 1860 | Sandridge is severed and made an independent borough. | 4.2 |
| 1863 | Emerald Hill is proclaimed to be a borough. | 4.2 |
| 1870 | Felton Grimwade commences manufacturing at their chemical works. | 5.3 |
| 1872 | Emerald Hill is proclaimed to be a town. | 4.2 |
| 1877 | The Melbourne Harbour Trust is formed. | 6.7 |
| 1880 | Serious flooding in and South Melbourne. | 6.6 |
| 1883 | Emerald Hill is proclaimed to be a city, and its name is changed to South Melbourne. | 4.2 |
| 1884 | Sandridge changes its name to Port Melbourne. | 4.2 |
| 1886 | The Coode Canal is constructed. | 6.7 |
| 1892 | The Victoria Dock (now Victoria Harbour) was completed. | 6.7 |
| 1893 | Port Melbourne is proclaimed to be a town. | 4.2 |
| 1899 | The South Melbourne abattoir rebuilt and enlarged. | 5.3 |
| 1905-1911 | Enamelled steel street signs are installed. | 3.3 |
| 1910s | Extensive street tree-planting is undertaken by municipal councils. Trees include oriental plane, poplar, elm, oak, pine, sugar gum, currajong and pittosporum. | 7.1 |
| 1919 | Port Melbourne is proclaimed to be a city. | 4.2 |
| 1920s | The Yarra River is widened and the south wharves are reconstructed. | 6.6 |
| 1922 | The new Princess Pier is completed. | 6.7 |
| 1930s | Early industries, including soap production, chemical works, a rubber factory and blanket mills, prosper in the area. | 5.5 |
| 1967 | The National Gallery of Victoria is constructed. | 10.1 |
| 1977-1978 | The Port Melbourne and St Kilda lines are converted into light rail lines. | 6.7 |
| 1982 | The Melbourne Arts Centre and Concert Hall are constructed. | 10.1 |
| 1990 | St John's Lutheran Church Southgate is rebuilt. | 10.2 |
| 1990s | Southgate's development has become mixed-use, both commercial and residential. | 13.6 |
| 1994 | Port Melbourne and South Melbourne become part of City of Port Phillip. | 4.2 |

4.3 Environmental factors affecting land use

Themes: 3.1 Shaping the urban landscape, 7.1 Appreciating the natural landscape

The nature of the landscape south of the Yarra River has had an important effect on the area's development and history. The Southbank area comprises a number of landforms. The tidal estuary was formed 5,000-10,000 years ago following rising sea levels and the flooding of Port Phillip Bay, along with the formation of wetlands and sand ridges. The natural landscape of the region was then modified by Aboriginal fire management. European settlement transformed the area yet again, first into a wasteland of sandpits and noxious trades, and later into an industrial heartland. Recent decades have seen the area form a new chapter in Melbourne's growth and evolution.

Part of the Southbank area lies on the soft, grey Coode Island Silt deposited by the Yarra, overlaid with sand ridges from old beach dunes and separated by intervening swamps. The wooded Emerald Hill, formed out of the Older Volcanics, was the first upstream high ground. This was a rich environment for a diverse plant life and animals, which in turn supported Aboriginal people living in the area for thousands of years. The base of the hill reaches down near City Road and Montague Street, where there was once a large swamp. Another swamp separated Emerald Hill from St Kilda Road.

The basement rocks of the area were made of folded and faulted Ordovician and Silurian marine sediments, overlaid by Tertiary sands and gravels from Older Volcanics. Between one and five million years ago volcanic eruptions buried most older sediments west of modern-day Melbourne under basalt lava flows. However, the erosive force of the Maribyrnong River gradually cut through the basalt to expose the older sediments. The older volcanic lava flows stopped by the Pliocene Red Bluff sands outcrop north of the Yarra estuary at Kensington and North Melbourne. Batman's Hill, near Spencer Street, appears to be the southern edge of this exposure.¹⁰

The slumping of the Port Phillip Basin resulted in the formation of the bay and the drowning of the river mouth, which was subsequently filled by estuarine and fluvial sedimentation, including Coode Island Silt. These recent and Pleistocene sediments now form the estuaries and flood plains of the Yarra River, including flats and swamps along the south bank opposite the future site of Melbourne. Soils on these floodplains included silt deposited by floodwaters, and swamp deposits of fine sand and silty clay overlain in places with wind-blown sand.¹¹

The shallow sand deposits were exploited extensively for building, road-making and more from the mid-19th century into the 1960s. The deep Coode Island Silt deposits challenged foundation engineers, leading to several innovative structures such as the Tea House, built on a massive raft of red gum timber, or the deeply-bored piles of the Kings Way Bridge.¹² The Coode Island Silt continues to influence the form of development in the area. The cost of foundation piling means that medium-rise buildings are rarely financially viable.

¹⁰ Geological Survey of Victoria, Melbourne, Sheet SJ, 55-1.

¹¹ N.J. Rosengren, Sites of Geological and Geomorphological Significance in the Western Region of Melbourne, Conservation Forests and Lands, Victoria, 1986.

¹² Kings Way Bridge classification report, National Trust Bridges Database, Reg. No. 4042.



Figure 3 Geological survey plans from 1959 showing sedimentary units and sand quarries

City Road began as the Sandridge Road, following the higher ground at the foot of Emerald Hill and the dry ridge between the Port Melbourne Lagoon and the swamps and sand ridges to the west. Williamstown Road also followed the higher ridges where possible, but required considerable more filling. In Southbank, a large swamp extended south of City Road and east of Kings Way, down to Albert Road. It wrapped around the hill to the east where Victoria Barracks stands today. The swamp delayed development of the area until well into the 20th century.



Figure 4 Cox Plan 1864, showing the section of South Melbourne

4.4 Aboriginal history

Theme: 1.x Aboriginal country

The first inhabitants of the Yarra riverbanks, and the Yarra River estuary would have moved into the area around 5,000-10,000 years ago, when the water level in Port Phillip Bay would have become stable and regular floods had deposited sufficient sediment to form dry land. The area would have been an important resource-rich environment for Aboriginal people. Earlier periods of lower sea levels, when much of Port Phillip Bay was a dry plain, caused erosion of the Yarra and Maribyrnong river valleys and making land surfaces lower. With the rising sea levels and flooding of the bay the accumulation of sediment covered any earlier landscape, and therefore any older Aboriginal campsites.

Aboriginal occupation of the lower Yarra is presumed to have been relatively intensive and an important part of their overall natural and cultural resources. This is based on speculation and extrapolation rather than solid archaeological, ethnographic or historical evidence, however William Thomas, Assistant Aboriginal Protector, noted in 1840 that:

*By what I can learn, long ere the settlement was formed the spot where Melbourne now stands and the flats on which we are now camped [on the south bank of the Yarra] was the regular rendezvous for the tribes known as Warorangs, Boonurongs, Barrabools, Nilunguons, Gouldburns twice a year or as often as circumstances and emergencies required to settle their grievances, revenge deaths*¹³

Similarly, when Fawkner came across a group of Aborigines near Batman's Swamp he noted:

*...the Blacks at first alarmed, the women in particular. When I drove towards them they threw themselves into strange but pleasing positions and bellowed loudly.*¹⁴

At the time of European settlement, Aboriginal people in the central Victoria had a social, political, economic and cultural structure and organisation based on familial links and totemic associations, or *moiety*s. A number of language groups (*Taung wurrung*, *Wadda wurrung*, *Dja wurrung*, *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung*) formed a loose coalition known as the Kulin Nation.

Aboriginal people from the *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* language groups shared territory around Port Phillip Bay and across the site of the future Melbourne. Particular clans claimed the land between the mouth of the Yarra River and Melbourne.

Billibillary (1799-1846) was Ngurungaeta (or leader) of a group known as 'Billibillary's mob' who belonged to the Wurundjeri willam clan (meaning 'white gum dwellers') of the *Woi wurrung*. He was one of the signatories to Batman's treaty, and custodian of the Mount William stone axe quarry.

Derrimut (or Derrremart) (1808/14-1864) was the Arweet (also leader) of the Yalukit willam clan (meaning 'river dwellers') of the *Bun wurrung* who, despite having his wife kidnapped by sealers, stayed at the Port Phillip settlement and protected Fawkner's hut from rumoured attack in 1835.

Benbow (or Eurernowel) (1800[?]-1852), who was referred to by the white men as 'King Benbow', lived in a hut on Batman's land with his wife 'Kitty'. He recovered Batman's drowned son's body from the river and, with Derrimut, helped in the search for the murderers of the overseer, Franks, and his

¹³ Thomas in Presland, G. 1985. *Aboriginal Melbourne: the Lost Land of the Kulin People*. McPhee Gribble, Ringwood, p.35.

¹⁴ Billot, C.P., 1985, *The life and times of John Pascoe Fawkner*, Melbourne: Hyland House, p.14.

shepherd. He is also recorded hunting at Williamstown in Fawkner's diary in 1836. Derrimut died in 1864 and his memorial stone is located in the Melbourne General Cemetery.¹⁵

Both Aboriginal groups comprised several extended families who took advantage of the seasonal abundance of the, swamps and river and the wooded Emerald Hill. They managed the landscape with fire and travelled to other parts to rest the land and allow it to regenerate. The Chief Protector the Aborigines, George Augustus Robinson, first listed them in his 1840 journal. In 1900, the early ethnographers Howitt and Fison referred to a difference between the Aboriginal groups at St Kilda and Sandridge.¹⁶ Their suggestion was that the group at Sandridge had *bunjil* (eagle) as their moiety, while the St Kilda group had *waa* (crow) as their moiety.¹⁷

The preferred camping places of the *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* clans were along the south bank of the Yarra River, opposite the settlement of Melbourne. The salt and fresh water met here at The Falls, and a rock bar on the Yarra near the foot of Queen Street held back the tidal inflow, and so maintained fresh water above The Falls. The location provided the most reliable drinking water in the area and a convenient and safe place to cross the river.¹⁸ It was probably the place that John Helder Wedge was shown by two natives who called it *Yarrow* (swiftly flowing), but they were probably referring to The Falls rather than the river itself.¹⁹ The Government reserve for Aborigines was run by George Langhorne and was established in 1837 on an 895-acre site south of the Yarra River to the east of Anderson Street near the present-day Royal Botanic Gardens. The Government paddocks were established here, between Princes Bridge and Punt Road.

Aborigines took advantage of the rock bar to trap fish and cross the river. When Charles Grimes explored Port Phillip in 1803, and Batman and Fawkner took up residence in the area in 1835, this was the obvious place for a settlement as it avoided the flood-prone flats and sand ridges.

The river, however, was winding, shallow and full of snags, so larger ships anchored in the bay and passengers walked across the flats to Melbourne, following well-worn Aboriginal paths. These paths became the basis for later roads, such as City Road, transporting goods from the Port Melbourne piers to the city. Australia's first train, the Hobson's Bay Railway, ran parallel to these paths from 1854.

South Melbourne was first known as Emerald Hill, after the hill on which the town hall stands, described as a green island surrounded by swamps. This was a traditional social and ceremonial meeting place for a number of Aboriginal tribes. A great gathering had been witnessed in this place in 1840 by a number of the early European settlers. Corroborees were also recorded and painted by Wilbraham Liardet at Emerald Hill. In 1840 Richard Howitt described fifty men dancing there, assisted by the musical accompaniment of women, in a performance which would 'haunt the soul for years afterwards'.²⁰

Woi wurrung and *Bun wurrung* people camped in the area stretching from The Falls to approximately two kilometres southeast along the river. To the west, the swamps and saltwater may have been less attractive for camping, but plentiful game and plants here meant it that was a rich source for food. A

¹⁵ Presland, *Land of the Kulin*, 1985.

¹⁶ Clark 1990, p.368.

¹⁷ Nicolson and du Cros, 1999, p.7.

¹⁸ Ian D. Clark, Toby Heydon, 1998, 25-7 A Bend In The Yarra: A History of the Merri Creek Protectorate Station.

¹⁹ Eidelson, Meyer 1997, *The Melbourne Dreaming*. A Guide to the Aboriginal Places of Melbourne (Reprint 2000 ed.). Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press. p.14-17.

²⁰ Howitt, 1904, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*.

particularly favoured location for camping was on the hill overlooking 'Tromgin', a swamp south of the Yarra River. Robinson and Thomas, an assistant protector, reportedly spent much time from the late-1830s to mid-1840s attempting to 'break up' Aboriginal camps along the Yarra River close to the settlement.²¹



Figure 5 Melbourne from The Falls, 1837, showing an Aboriginal camp on the south bank of the Yarra River (National Library Australia)

²¹ Clark & Heydon, 1998, p.34-5, 40, 49.



Figure 6 Melbourne from The Falls by Robert Russell, 1837 (National Library Australia)

4.5 Discovery and survey

Theme: 2.1 Founding stories

Knowledge of the existence of Port Phillip Bay came to navigators and settlers in New South Wales only 14 years after settlement had begun in Australia. On 5 January 1802, Lieutenant John Murray, aboard the *Lady Nelson*, observed what was 'apparently a fine harbour of large extent' through the heads, which guarded the entrance to Port Phillip Bay. Two months later, on a second visit, he entered the bay and took possession of the area in the name of King George III. Seven weeks after this Captain Mathew Flinders, aboard the *Investigator*, sailed into the bay and reported an 'extensive harbour' surrounded by country which had 'a pleasing, and in many places a fertile appearance'.²²

Based on the reports from Murray and Flinders, Governor King despatched his surveyor-general, Charles Grimes, with instructions to explore the shores of the bay. On 2 February 1803, Grimes and his party rowed a small boat up the course of the Yarra River to its tidal limit. James Fleming, a member of his party, later described this place as 'the most eligible place for a settlement that I have seen'.²³ Grimes also mapped the river and coastline, describing his visit thus:

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

²² R.D. Boys, *First Years at Port Phillip, 1834-1842*, Melbourne, 1959.

²³ Fleming Journal.

entrance to the sea. Soon afterwards came to a large river; went up it about a mile, when we turned back and waited for the boat to take us aboard. The ground is a swamp on one side...Saw many swans, pelicans and ducks.²⁴

The accounts of the area either did not inspire confidence among the Sydney adventurers or else the time was not ripe for further expansion of settlement, as nothing more was heard about Port Phillip for two decades. In 1824, Hume and Hovell passed west of Port Phillip Bay, initially believing they had reached Westernport. Another decade was to pass before an attempt at permanent settlement was made. John Batman traversed the basalt plains north and west of the bay in 1835, before settling on his chosen site on what was to become known as Batman's Hill.

Government survey of Melbourne was carried out under Robert Hoddle's supervision in 1837. He laid out the streets around the existing huts to the east of Batman's farm on the north side of the Yarra River to take advantage of the high ground and avoid the swamps altogether. This geographic influence would continue to determine future land use in the Southbank area. As land around Melbourne was surveyed and sold, the higher and more fertile areas were given preference and the swamps and riverbanks were reserved for future public purposes.

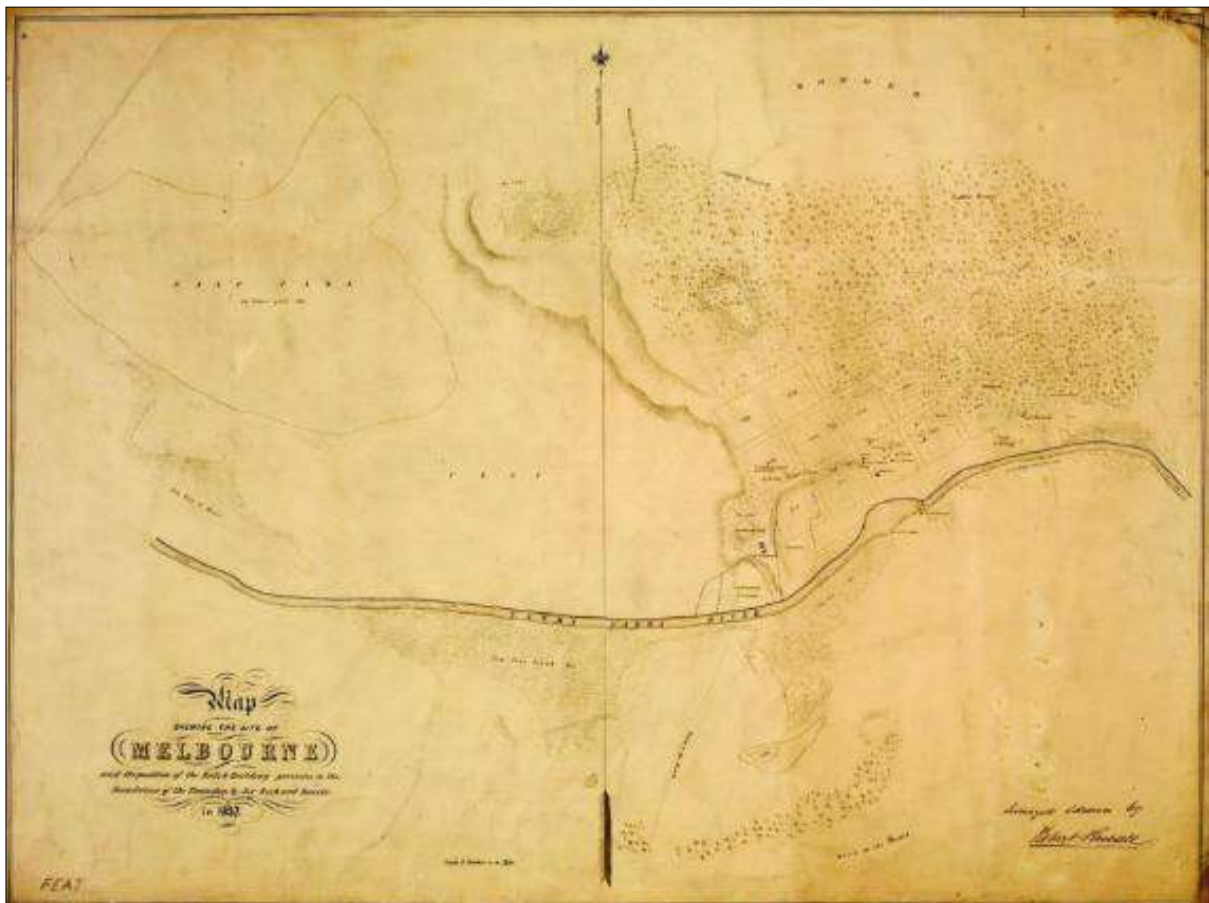


Figure 7 Map showing the site of Melbourne, Russell, 1837 (8168-P1-312-SYDNEY-M20)

The prominent rise of Emerald Hill attracted initial settlement because of the views it offered, as well as and the land being permanently dry when much of the surrounding area was swamp or flood-

²⁴ Logbook of Charles Grimes, 2.2.1803. Quoted in N. U'ren and N. Turnbull: A History of Port Melbourne, O.U.P. 1983, p.6, in Allom Lovell and Associates, 'Port Melbourne Conservation Study Review', Vol.1, pp.13-14, and Ward A. Port Phillip, Heritage Review, Vol.1, 2011, Version 15, p.26.

prone.²⁵ Edmund Finn, who wrote under the name 'Garryowen', is credited with naming Emerald Hill when he described the area in an October 1845 advertisement for a temperance society picnic as an '...eminence . . . green as the freshest shamrock . . . encircled by shining lagoons, the sparkling sea, and growths of scrub and ti-tree'.²⁶

The first surveys in were conducted in Emerald Hill from 1852 to 1854, during the time that Robert Hoddle and later Andrew Clarke headed the survey office. The layout of the Emerald Hill survey was based on a grid bounded by Eastern Road, Park Street, Montague Street and the Sandridge Road. The South Melbourne grid was aligned with the original orientation of the CBD grid, with the line of Spencer Street continuing down as Clarendon Street. In 1854, the grid was extended to include Three Chain Road (Albert Road) and Nelson Road.²⁷

The diagonal track to the beach along what would become Sandridge Road (and later City Road and Bay Street) pre-existed the grid survey, and so was retained. Like Williamstown Road, which came a bit later, Sandridge Road was also the shortest distance between two important points. The Sandridge Survey also used a grid, but aligned itself parallel with the beachfront to avoid awkward triangular lots.

However, development west of Sandridge Road was constrained by swamps and, from 1854, the railway. An 1855 Department of Crown Lands confirmed the reservation of the land west of the railway, and so prohibited development of this area. Behind the Victoria Barracks, another large Crown land reserve was retained from sale for many decades, evidently to provide for future government facilities but also because of its flood-prone nature.

St Kilda Road began its life as a bush track to the fishing villages and later became the 'fashionable villages for the wealthy' at St Kilda and Brighton beaches. St Kilda Road, however, overcame the disadvantages of its early neglect and, from the 1860s, was laid out and planted with avenues of trees to form a grand boulevard.

At the same time, wide landscaped reserves were provided along the Port Melbourne and St Kilda railway lines. A much later plan included a 'permanent reserve for stormwater channel and other public purposes'²⁸ on the alignment of an earlier proposal for a ship canal. However, neither scheme was ever acted upon.

4.6 Early settlement

Themes: 2.7 Promoting settlement, 8.1 Settling as immigrants

The Port Phillip Association, which was formed in Tasmania with John Batman as their agent, undertook a reconnaissance expedition across Bass Strait to the Port Phillip District in May/June 1835, followed by a permanent camp from late-June on the Yarra. Batman laid claim to Aboriginal lands north and west of the Yarra on behalf of the Association and erected his own house on Batman's Hill, near the later site of the Spencer Street rail yards. The area south of the Yarra was not part of the Port Phillip Association's claim.

²⁵ Ward, 2011, p.12.

²⁶ Susan Priestly, 'Emerald Hill', eMelbourne Encyclopedia. Accessed online, from <http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM00519b.htm>.

²⁷ Streets of South Melbourne. Accessed online, from <http://streetsofsouthmelbourne.wordpress.com/introduction>.

²⁸ Port Melbourne, Parish of South Melbourne, County of Bourke, Department of Lands & Survey, Melbourne, T. S. Butson, 13 February 1914.

John Pascoe Faulkner arrived soon after Batman's men in August 1835, but made a more substantial landfall on the north bank of the Yarra River. Batman arrived and set up his own premises to this same site in November 1835. However, in November, Fawkner was persuaded to move to the opposite bank in deference to Batman's prior claim, and so become the first permanent non-aboriginal settler of South Melbourne. This pattern of settlement, focussing on the higher ground north of the river and upstream along the river, was to continue for many years.

Melbourne's first white settlement, in the vicinity of Batman's Hill, can be located today only from documents. No physical evidence of the first period of settlement is likely to be found because of the extensive excavations and reclamation that has occurred with river improvements, railway construction and the erection of city buildings. However, the topographic features of the site, such as the high ground adjacent to the river and swamp, can be identified by the informed observer. Russell's 1837 map of Melbourne shows three long narrow buildings at the top of a ridge that led down to the river with a paddock or garden and cultivated ground.²⁹

A view from Emerald Hill in 1855 shows that there was very little settlement on the south bank of the Yarra, with only a couple of dwellings on the higher ground and some boats tied up on the undeveloped river bank. The Hobsons Bay Railway and Sandridge Road show that activity was focussed on travelling through the areas swamps to get to the bay port (see Figure 8).

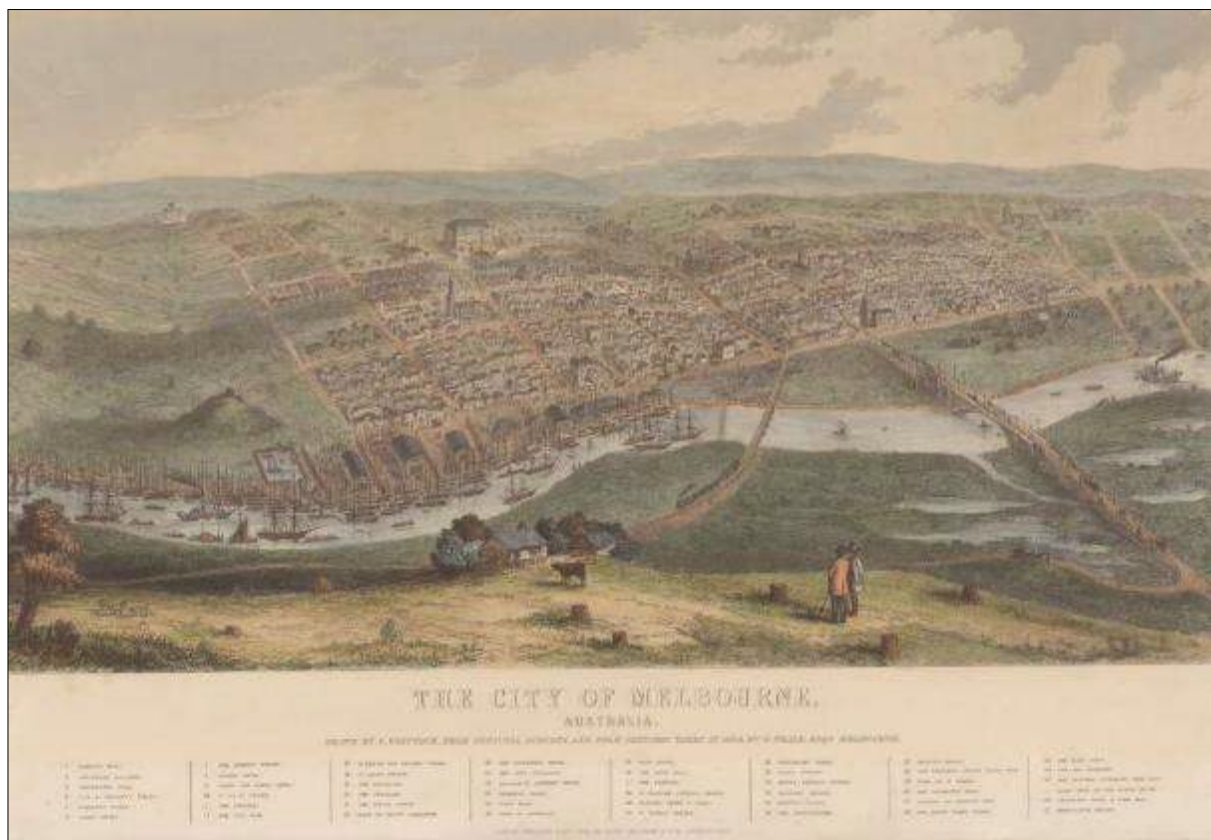


Figure 8 View from Emerald Hill, 1855, Whittock (National Library)

²⁹ Robert Russel, Map Showing the Site of Melbourne, 1837.

4.7 Formation of towns and local government

Themes: 4.1 Governing the Colony and State of Victoria, 4.2 Administering the city of Melbourne

Melbourne's initial settlement occurred at a slow pace – a few dozen huts and some more substantial buildings on the hill opposite the falls, some more huts along the beach at Sandridge – but the bulk of the settlers fanned out to the pastoral hinterlands to raise sheep and cattle. However, this dramatically changed with the discovery of gold in 1851 at Ballarat and Bendigo. Thousands came to Port Phillip, disembarking on the beach at Sandridge and walking across the flats to Melbourne. In 1852, 94,664 people arrived in the colony by sea and within months of the announcement of the discovery of gold, a tent city had sprung up on the south side of the Yarra between Emerald Hill and St Kilda Road. The area was known as 'Canvas Town' and was laid out in streets with shops, residences and hotels, all under canvas (see Figure 9).

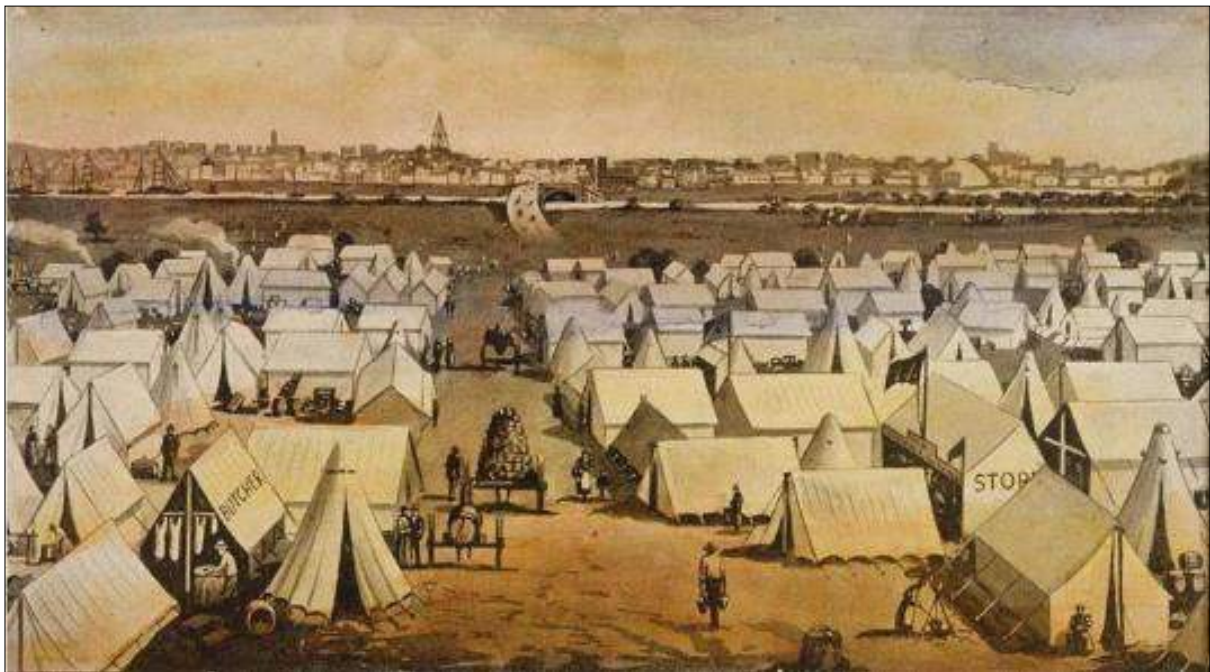


Figure 9 Canvas Town and Princes Bridge, De Gruchy & Leigh, lithographers, c.1855 (State Library of Victoria H25127)

Creation of the Melbourne Corporation in 1842 initially provided local representation and services throughout the colony. However, as suburbs grew and Victoria became a separate colony from New South Wales, suspicion of the power of Melbourne councillors among the colonial government saw the subsequent fragmentation of local democracy into many small councils.

The first land sales were held in 1852 at Emerald Hill. In 1854, Canvas Town was dispersed and many of the inhabitants moved up to Emerald Hill. On 14 December 1854, a residents' meeting was called to lobby for independence from Melbourne. On 26 May 1855, Emerald Hill became the first suburb outside of Geelong to be declared a municipal district, taking the motto '*Ordine Primum*', meaning 'first in the field'. When the council met for the first time on 4 July 1855, James Service, later to become Premier of Victoria, was elected chairman. Despite rapid development, the area was still separated from the main settlement by swamps and flood-prone flats (see Figure 10).



Figure 10 Melbourne and its suburbs, compiled by James Kearney, draughtsman, engraved by David Tulloch and James D. Brown. Melbourne, Andrew Clarke, Surveyor General, 1855

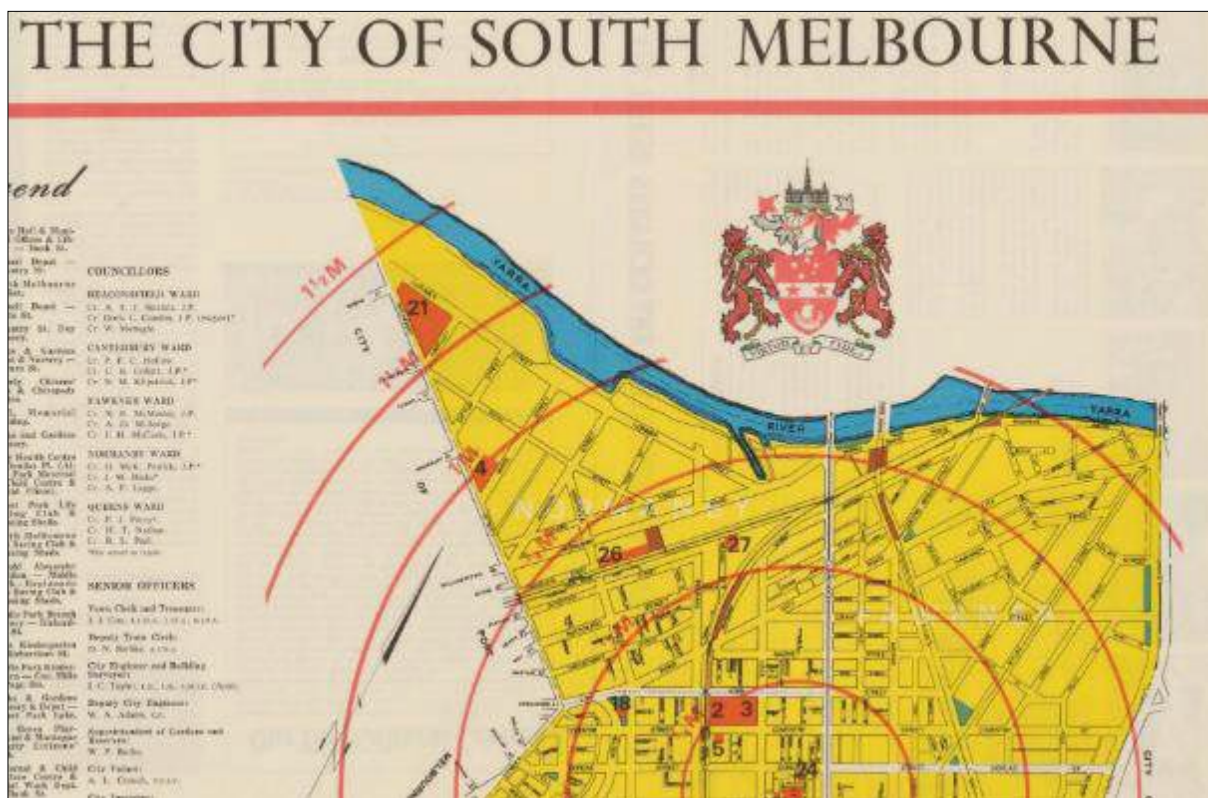


Figure 11 The City of South Melbourne council map, 1970 (State Library Victoria)

Emerald Hill was proclaimed a borough in 1863, a town in 1872, and city in 1883 when its name was also changed to South Melbourne. Sandridge was severed from Emerald Hill and made an independent borough in 1860. It was renamed Port Melbourne in 1884, becoming a town in 1893 and a city in 1919.³⁰

In 1994, under the Kennett State Government, a review of municipal government led to the amalgamation of most councils, with the former cities of South Melbourne, Port Melbourne and St

³⁰ Barrett, Bernard, *The Civic Frontier: The Origin of Local Communities and Local Government in Victoria*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1979.

Kilda combining to form the City of Port Phillip (apart from the strip of land north of the West Gate Freeway, which became part of the City of Melbourne).

4.8 Wasteland, wetland and wildlife

Theme: 7.1 Appreciating the natural landscape

A large part of Southbank were originally low-lying swamps and sand ridges and its proximity to Melbourne and wasteland status saw these outlying areas used as convenient dumping grounds.

The original vegetation south of the river was described in early survey plans as being dominated by tea-tree scrub, salt marsh, swamp and sandy waste with a small stand of trees, possibly swamp paperbark, which was destroyed when the canal cut was excavated. The swamps harboured a variety of species of plant, animal and insect life. A new species of mosquito, *Culex labeculosus*, and a scale insect, *Pulvinaria salicornae*, were described in the early-19th century, along with some more common scale insects. Of native plants, black wattle, *Acacia mearnsii*, and coast wattle, *Acacia longifolia*, climbing lignum, *Muelenbeckia adpressa*, New Holland Daisy, *Vittadinia australis*, sea blight, *Myoporum viscosum*, smooth sea-heath, *Frankenia pauciflora*, and angular, rounded and small pigface, *Mesembryanthemum australe*, *M. aequilaterale* and *M. tegens*, were found by Tovey in 1908 and 1909, along with a vast array of exotic plants probably introduced from ship ballast which had been dumped on the river banks.³¹ The ballast dumps also introduced many exotic species of rock into the area, and it was noted as a good site for obtaining geological specimens which, ‘. . . would constitute handsome educational cabinet specimens of types of rock difficult to procure otherwise except at some expense. . .’.³² These included some examples of gneiss banded with crystalized red garnets, granite porphyries, schist, limestone crowded with fossils, varied sandstones and quartzite.

4.9 Industrial development

Theme: 5.5 Building a manufacturing industry

The proximity to the Yarra initially attracted activities and industries that were shunned from the commercial and residential parts of Melbourne. Low-lying areas on the south bank of the Yarra saw the development of brickworks, ships chandlers, dry docks and repairers, stevedores and Melbourne's first iron foundries and engineering works. Related industries gradually spread westward. Further downstream, boiling down works, fellmongeries, abattoirs and other noxious trades crowded along the riverbank and discharged their wastes into the river.

Access to the river for both freshwater (above The Falls) and navigation for shipping (below The Falls) was critical to the early industries, particularly those relying on the shipping trade, such as Millers Rope Works near the Queensbridge hotel and ship builders, and the large water users, such as Ramsden's Paper Mill, just downstream from Princes Bridge, which commenced manufacture in a substantial masonry industrial complex in 1868.³³

³¹ J.R. Tovey, 'Some notes on Coode Island and its Flora' *Victorian Naturalist*, No.XXVIII, July 1911, p.57-61.

³² "Excursion to Coode Island", *Victorian Naturalist*, No.XXIX, May 1912, p.5-6.

³³ 'Mr. Ramsden's Paper-Mill'. *The Argus*, Melbourne, Victoria, 29 April 1868, p.5. Accessed online 20 February 2017, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5814826>.



Figure 12 View west along Yarra bank, showing Ramsden's Paper Mill, c.1885-1920 (State Library of Victoria)

A royal commission was held in 1872 to consider the best use of low-lying lands near Melbourne on both banks of the Yarra for public and commercial purposes.³⁴ In the later 1870s this resulted in moves to clean up the river and move most of the worst noxious industries away from the city, generally to Footscray and Yarraville. As a result, most of this area was cleared of industry.³⁵

A pipe factory, asphalt plant and timber yard with drying sheds were located in Brady Street, in the 1890s.

Ballarat Brewing Company, run by Coghlan & Tulloch's, had three premises in Ballarat. In order to better establish themselves in the Melbourne market, they erected a modest building in Cecil Street, South Melbourne (now partly beneath the West Gate Freeway) in about 1910 for storage or distribution of bottled beer. Like many of the regional breweries, the company was subject to merger and takeover. In 1953, it acquired the Volum Brewery in Geelong and, five years later, was itself taken over by Carlton & United Breweries, although public pressure at the time ensured that the 'Ballarat

³⁴ Low Lands Commission Melbourne, Parliamentary paper, Victorian Parliament, No. 62. John Ferres, Government Printer, *The Argus*, 22 Feb 1873, p. 6. Accessed online 20 February 2017, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5848716>.

³⁵ Cannon, M. *Old Melbourne Town before the Gold Rush*, 1991.

Bertie' logo was retained on the new beer bottles produced by CUB. After the takeover, the company's former building in Cecil Street was used by CUB for storage until at least the mid-1970s.³⁶

Two Southbank engineering firms, Austral Otis and Johns & Waygood, pioneered the development of the passenger and goods lift in Melbourne, initially using hydraulic power from the Yan Yean water supply. In doing this, they contributed to the engineering which permitted the construction of multi-storey office buildings. Austral Otis established their head offices and engineering works at the corner of Kavanagh and Hanna streets in 1887, while Johns & Waygood were located at Cecil Street in 1909, where they erected extensive workshops and a new plant for the manufacture of structural steel.³⁷ Austral Otis were also responsible for the first escalator installed in the Manchester Unity building in 1932. Johns & Waygood erected further works on the corner of Gladstone and Kerr streets for the manufacture of mortar bomb cases in 1938 and 1939 as a part of the war effort.³⁸



Figure 13 Austral Otis factory in 1980s (National Trust)

³⁶ City of Port Phillip Heritage Review, citation No.2315.

³⁷ Pratt, A., *The National Handbook of Australia's Industries*, The Specialty Press Pty Ltd., 1934, p.257-58.

³⁸ National Trust citation, Johns & Waygood, October 1989.



Figure 14 Beginnings of Johns & Waygood works Flinders Lane 1876 (State Library of Victoria)

Queens Bridge Street was originally called Moray Street North and, along with City Road, provided the main access into South and Port Melbourne from the city when the only bridges available for foot and wheel traffic were the Princes and Falls bridges. As a result, the roads became important commercial thoroughfares with numerous warehouses and factories. Robur Tea had two separate warehouse buildings, one on Clarendon Street and the other on Queens Bridge Street.

Another beverage was next door at the Castlemaine Brewery, where its two two-storey bottling stores and central five-storey brew tower were constructed in 1888 at 115-133 Queens Bridge Street.

In the 1890s, a slump in industrial activity delayed development in the area, but it had revived by the turn of the century. City Road gained a number of warehouses including Crown Chemical and Anderson's printing works and wholesale furriers Kosky Brothers. Next to Kosky, Maurice Artaud built a three-storey brick warehouse and factory in 1911 for his import and hat manufacturing trade. Unfortunately, there were multiple instances of fires breaking out, causing damage to many of these buildings in two separate instances which then required extensive rebuilding. The presence of a firetrap in the proximity of a varnish factory was also cited as the reason for rebuilding the Queens Bridge Hotel.

Much of City Road was devoted to supplying the building industry during Melbourne's boom periods. J Wright & Son's Carron Timber Yards were located on the corner of Sturt Street and City Road near Princes Bridge, with timber yards covering several blocks. James Wright was also responsible for erecting many buildings around Melbourne as well as in the Southbank area, and so had a very substantial physical impact on the character and streetscapes of Melbourne.

Wright's rival was John Sharp & Sons, who was based a little further down City Road in 1912, but had operated on the site from at least the 1890s.

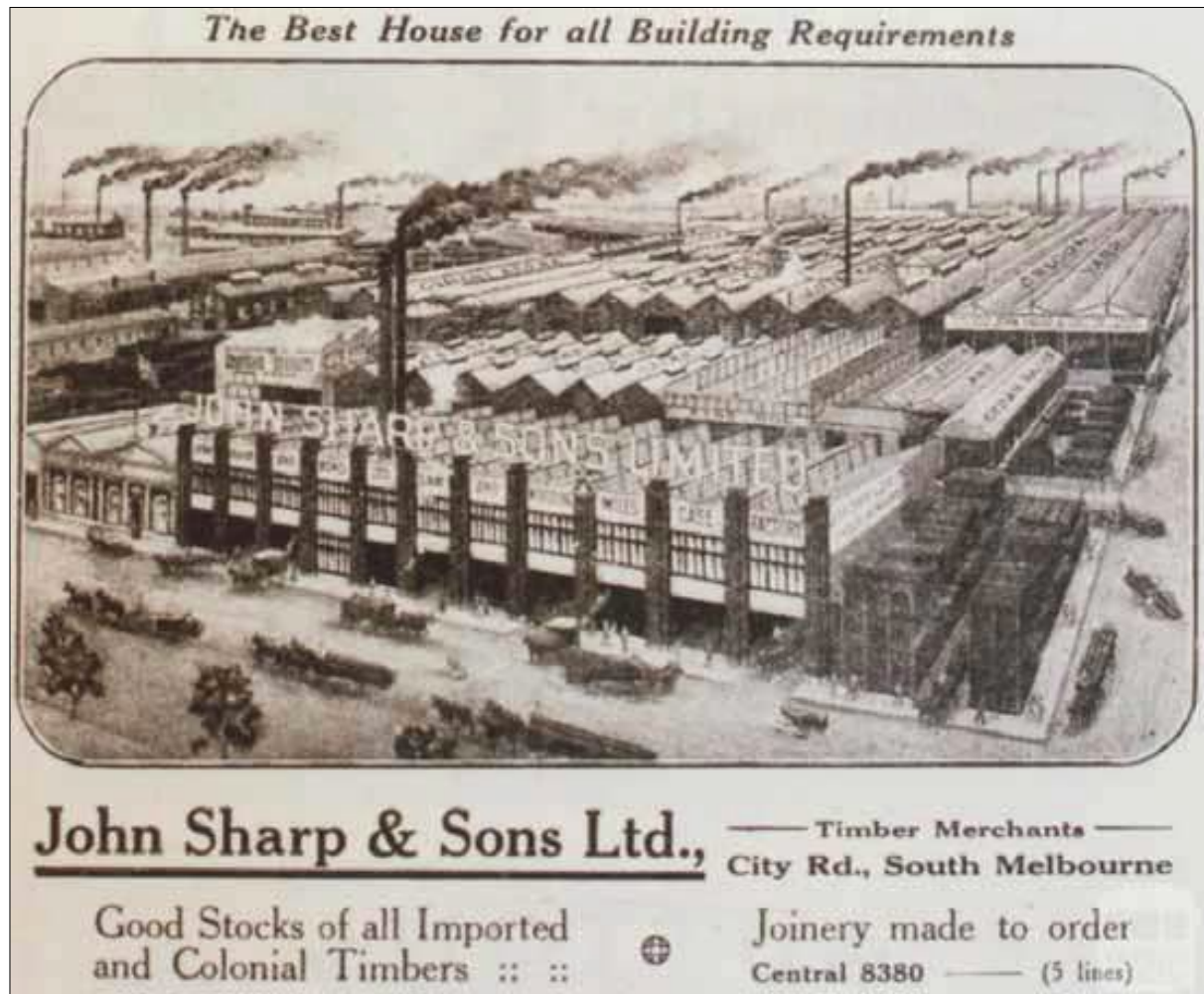


Figure 15 John Sharp & Sons timber merchants, City Road (Victorian Places website)

John Danks & Son also operated from City Road supplying plumbing fixtures from their brass foundry for improved bathrooms, kitchens and laundries being installed in Melbourne houses. They expanded rapidly and in 1900 moved from their City Road site to the corner of Hanna Street and Bank Street in South Melbourne.³⁹

The development of refrigeration at the end of the 19th century facilitated a number of new industrial enterprises. Among them was Sennitt's Ice Cream, started by John Paul Sennitt who had previously been an engineer for the Victorian Cold Accumulator Co. Pty Ltd in La Trobe Street. In 1894, the business was transferred to 'a centrally-situated, prominent and commodious premises' on the south bank, between Princes and Queens bridges.⁴⁰

³⁹ Priestley, S., *South Melbourne A History*, Melbourne University Press, 1995, p.258.

⁴⁰ Andrew J. Ray, 'Sennitt, John Paul (1851-1922)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. Accessed online 20 February 2017, from <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sennitt-john-paul-13190/text23879>.

4.10 Port development

Themes: 5.2 Melbourne as a trading port, 6.6 Street-making, drainage and river works

As Melbourne was founded by sea and, for much of its history, has depended on shipping for its prosperity and livelihood, port and harbour facilities have been paramount. The first options for loading and discharging larger ships were either to haul them upriver by rope to the 'pool' at the bottom of Market Street, or to anchor them off Sandridge and alight, then walking the 2¼ miles into town. The Yarra River was narrow, shallow, winding and littered with snags, meaning that it could take days to get ships up to the settlement. While the beach landing at Sandridge was only about two miles (3.2 kilometres) away, by water it was more than six kilometres of 'warping' to the open water of the bay – using the capstan to haul the ship by ropes tied to trees along the bank.

Improvements to wharves and jetties have been continuous. At the start, major development took place at the natural 'pool', a wide, deep section of the river situated at the bottom of Market Street near the customs house on Flinders Street. This became known as 'Queens Wharf', while new wharves built across the river became known as 'South Wharf'. Both were gradually extended downstream. By the 1860s there was continuous wharfage along both sides of the Yarra, from Queens Bridge (then called Falls Bridge) to near Spencer Street and, by the 1880s and 1890s, continuing further to the gasworks on the north bank with the construction of the 'Australia Wharf'.⁴¹

Melbourne City Council initially controlled the waterfront, but the ongoing need for improvements resulted in the formation of the Melbourne Harbour Trust in 1877. One of its first acts was to commission John Coode, an eminent British harbour engineer, to prepare a plan for improvements to Melbourne's port and navigable rivers in 1878. His plan included widening and straightening the river entrance, excavating the Victoria Dock on the swamps immediately west of the city and cutting a new canal to remove the long, difficult passage, from Humbug Reach to near Yarraville.

As part of the Coode Scheme a turning basin (or 'swinging basin', to turn ships around) was proposed on the south bank of the river just above the gasworks, to enable river ships to be swung around while also providing additional wharf space. An upper swinging basin had previously been created at The Pool by dredging and widening the river, and another swinging basin had been formed at the mouth of Victoria Dock, again, by widening the river.

⁴¹ Buckrich, Judith Raphael, *The Long and Perilous Journey: A History of the Port of Melbourne*, Melbourne Books, Melbourne, 2002; Hoare, Benjamin, Jubilee, *A History of the Melbourne Harbour Trust: Compiled from the Original Records of the Trust and From the Victorian Hansard*, Peacock Brothers, Melbourne, 1927.

The south bank of the Yarra was always bustling with maritime activity and seamen's lore. The pubs and Seamen's Mission provided for the needs of the men, while several slipways and graving docks along the riverbank served the needs of the ships. The docks were used primarily for repairs and maintenance, although some small vessels were also constructed along here. When Hughes & Sinnott's Dock excavated a dock in 1868 they began a long-running dispute between the users of the river and the Harbour Trust, which had resumed various leases for river-widening from the 1870s. This culminated in a battle between the dock owners and the Harbour Trust.⁴²

Wright & Orr Co. built a new dry dock in 1878 which was further extended in 1907. It measured 420 feet in length (128 metres). It was abandoned after World War II as it had become inadequate for the larger modern ships of the time. Duke Dock was next to it downstream, built first in 1875, extended in 1880 and then rebuilt from 1901 to 1904, becoming the largest dry dock in Victoria after an extension in 1935 added 527 feet (160 metres) to its length. The tight site produced a remarkable image of bowsprits of large ships hanging over Normanby Road. The dock had a brief period of intense activity during World War II, but declined after the war ended, ultimately closing in 1975 and handed over to the National Trust. In 1978, the Trust opened its partly-restored museum ship, Polly Woodside, to the public, fittingly at rest in the Duke and Orr Dock.



Figure 16 Wright's dock with Duke & Orr dock behind, 1948 (State Library of Victoria, H2008.39)

⁴² Ruhen, Olaf, *Port of Melbourne, 1835-1976*, Cassell Australia, Sydney, 1976.



Figure 17 Opening of the Polly Woodside Melbourne Maritime Museum by the Right Honourable Dick Hamer, Premier of Victoria

In the early 1900s, further improvements were carried out to the wharves along the upper parts of the navigable section of the Yarra River, including widening the swinging basin downstream of Johnston Street which had, by this time, become known as the Interstate Swinging Basin due to shipping using the river wharves. Improvements were necessary because the former Turning Basin at The Pool below Queens Bridge and the river wharves would both be cut off from shipping by the construction of Spencer Street Bridge.

The new Swinging Basin involved excavation of the low swampland on the south side of the river, and creation of a large timber-piled extension to the existing south wharf. In the 1920s and 1930s, further widening of the river was carried out downstream of the swinging basin while even more new wharves constructed. As a result, the existing industries, storage yards and other port-related activities were pushed further south, leaving the Southbank area for more intensive industries and warehousing.

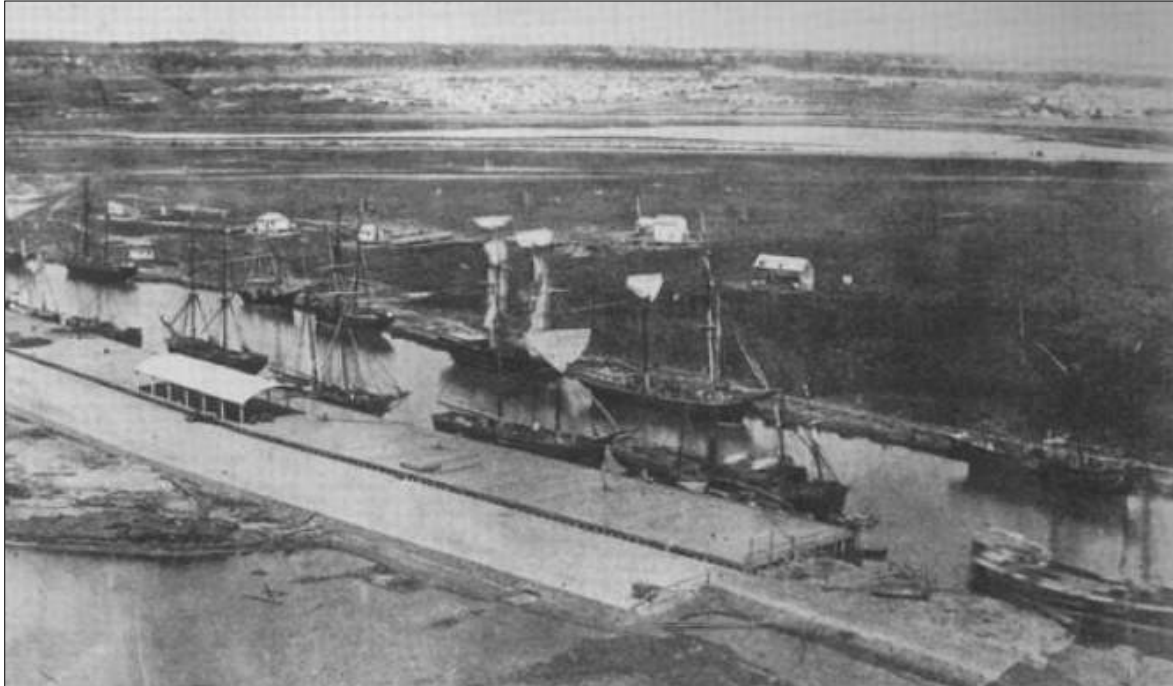


Figure 18 View across the Australia Wharf showing scattered huts on the south bank, Lewis, 1994:21, cited in Duncan



Figure 19 The Yarra River and Port of Melbourne show their widening operations downstream of the swinging basin between 1930 and 1948⁴³

⁴³ State Library of Victoria, H91.160/524. Accessed online, from <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/airspyglass/0/0/0/im/ai000525.jpg>



Figure 20 Spencer Street Bridge c.1928 shortly after its completion, showing the densely-developed industrial area, State Library of Victoria H2001.308/3064

South Wharf was gradually extended along the river, both as dredging widened the channel and as construction of Lorimer Street improved river access. By 1899, South Wharf was constructed down to the commencement of the Coode Canal, at a point opposite the Victoria Dock entrance.⁴⁴

4.11 Bridges, roads and rail

Themes: 6.6 Street-making, drainage and river works, 6.7 Transport

Liardet's Hotel and the jetty at Sandridge were the starting points of the first track across the sandy flats from the beach to the city of Melbourne. It remained a sandy track for the first decade or so, with little impetus for funding available to undertake improvements. However, in 1853, construction of the road to Sandridge was undertaken by the Central Roads Board, which used extensive sections of 'timber viaduct' (probably a corduroy road where logs are laid side by side and chained together) to cross swampland.⁴⁵ City Road was formally proclaimed as a main road in 1854,⁴⁶ while a toll bar was in place for much of the 1850s to raise revenue for route improvement and maintenance. At the time, the road was considered to be one of the best in the colony.⁴⁷

Patrick Hanna operated a ferry service between King Street, Melbourne, and the south bank around 1862, and Hanna Street, later to become part of Kings Way, was named after him.

Travellers relied on punts or wading across The Falls prior to the privately-financed Balbirnie's Bridge was built by the Melbourne Bridge Company over the Yarra River in 1845. A new, more permanent bridge with a dramatic single masonry arch was designed by Lennox, built in 1850, and opened in time for the separation of the colony of Victoria from New South Wales.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works & McGowan, G. R. 'Map of Melbourne & Suburbs'. Melbourne Board of Works, Melbourne, 1942.

⁴⁵ VGG, 26, 4 May 1853, p.622.

⁴⁶ VGG 82, Tuesday, September 05th 1854 p.1988

⁴⁷ THE SANDRIDGE ROAD. (1859, June 25). The Argus (Melbourne, Vic.: 1848 - 1957), p. 5. Retrieved May 14, 2013, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5683372>

⁴⁸ Gary Vines, *Historic Metal Road Bridges in Victoria*, VicRoads and National Trust.

St Kilda Road gradually developed into Melbourne's grand boulevard, with works to form and drain the carriageways undertaken in the 1850s and avenues of decorative trees planted in the 1860s. The Victoria Barracks and the Church of England Grammar School commenced construction in 1856, and subsequent development and government land releases were controlled by requiring buildings of public and civic importance.



Figure 21 'Sandridge Road as it will be', 1860, R. Shepherd⁴⁹

In 1839, only a few years after the first European settlement of Melbourne, consideration was already being given to the construction of a railway to link the main centre of habitation with the bay, where shipping arrived. Difficulties navigating the shallow and tortuous lower Yarra saw many ships anchor in Port Phillip Bay and then transfer their cargo – supplies and immigrants – by lighters, small, shallow draft boats, up the river or across the swamps of Sandridge. In the 1839 Government Survey, Robert Hoddle made provision for a railway linking Melbourne and Hobsons Bay. Nothing came of this due to a lack of both capital and motivation, but on 7 September 1851 a public meeting called for a railway linking Melbourne to Sandridge (Port Melbourne). The Government approved the establishment of the Melbourne and Hobsons Bay Railway Company on 20 January 1853, soon followed by the Geelong and Melbourne Railway Company and the Melbourne, Mount Alexander and Murray River Railway Company.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Lithographed Thomas Ham, Ladd & Carr printers, State Library Victoria collection H92.194/2 <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/153976>

⁵⁰ National Trust of Australia (Victoria) Classification Report FN B4794 St Kilda Railway Road Over Rail Bridges

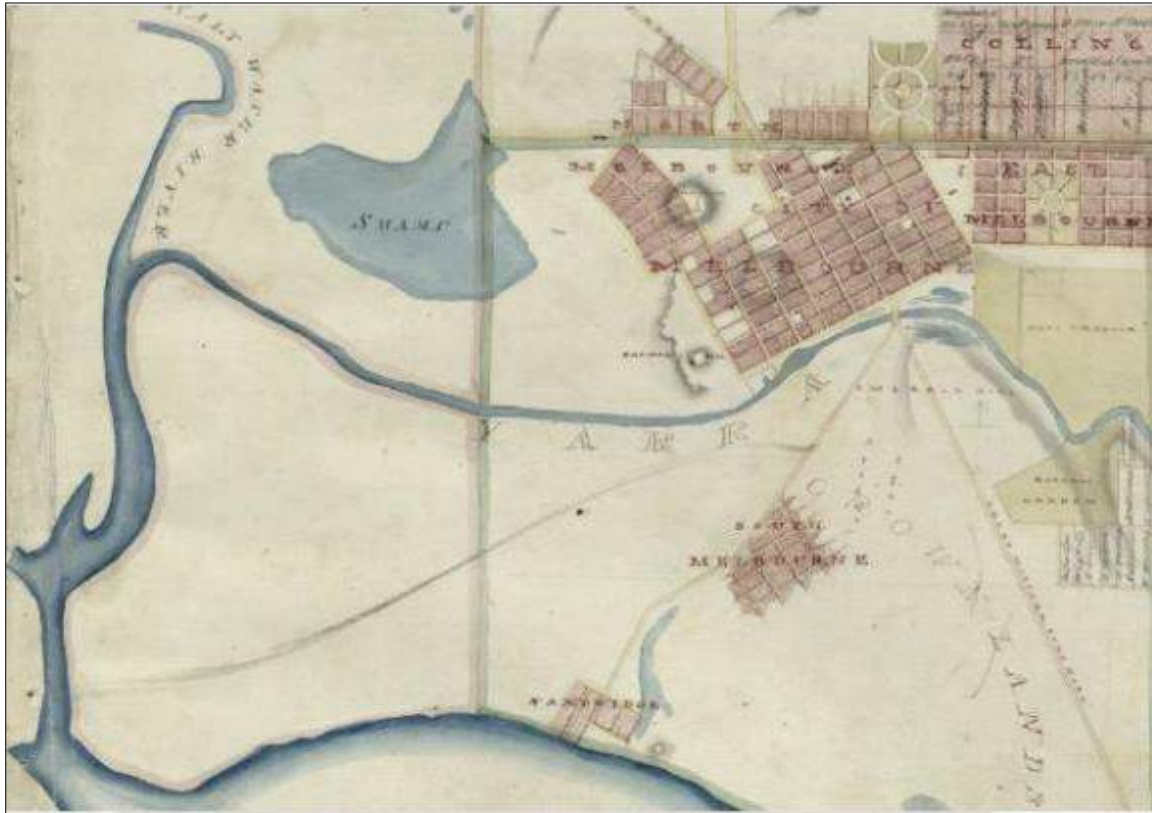


Figure 22 Plan of Melbourne c.1852 showing St Kilda, Sandridge and Short Road (State Library of Victoria).

Construction of the first rail line, from near Flinders Street to a wharf on Hobsons Bay, was rapid. On 12 September 1854 the Melbourne and Hobsons Bay Railway was opened using a locally-constructed locomotive. This was possibly the first locomotive-hauled train in the Southern Hemisphere. The line ran for about 2¼ miles (3.6 kilometres) between the Sandridge Pier and Flinders Street. The only major structure on the line was a sharply-skewed timber trestle bridge crossing the Yarra River. When railway was sufficiently successful over the next twelve months, the company, having returned an 8% dividend to its shareholders, decided to construct a new branch to St Kilda.

The Victorian Government Railway Department was established on 1 April 1856 as part of the Board of Land and Works. George Christian Darbyshire was appointed as Engineer in Chief. Soon after his appointment, the Government took over the struggling Murray River Railway Company. However, the Hobson's Bay railway line was still privately operated. Over the next few years, the Melbourne & Hobsons Bay Railway Company upgraded both its lines, which included the duplication of tracks and the opening of new stations. On the St Kilda branch, stations were opened at Emerald Hill (now South Melbourne) in September 1858, and at Butts (now Albert Park) in November 1860.⁵¹ The line was further extended to Brighton by the St Kilda and Brighton Railway Co. in 1859, joining the St Kilda line by a loop from St Kilda to Windsor, and extended even further to Brighton Beach by 1861. However, a more direct route from Windsor to the city was built 11 months later and the loop line was dismantled in 1867. In 1878 the private railway company operating the line was taken over by the Victorian Railways. William Elsdon, a civil engineer, was appointed Chief Engineer of the Melbourne &

⁵¹ City of Port Phillip Heritage Review, Railway cutting and road bridges, Heritage Alliance.

Hobsons Bay Railway during the construction phase from 1854-1878, and then made Chief Engineer of the Victorian Railways until 1882.⁵²

In 1854, a telegraph line from Melbourne to Sandridge was constructed along Sandridge Road and the railway line. This was the first telegraph line in Australia and provided shipping intelligence and synchronised signalling to set ships' chronometers via a time ball at Williamstown, with the observatory near the Royal Botanic Gardens.⁵³

The route through Southbank via Normanby road and Williamstown Road was known as the Short Road as its use considerably shortened the journey from the city to Williamstown in combination with a ferry at Greenwich, near the end of North Road Williamstown. The alternative route ran around the north of Batman's Swamp, crossing the Maribyrnong at Footscray via Dynon Road to Whitehall Street and Douglas Parade. Short Road ran from Queens Bridge (previously the Falls Bridge) along Queens Bridge Road (formerly Moray Street North), City Road and Williamstown Road to the ferry, crossing the river near the old Newport Power Station and onto Williamstown via Douglas Parade.

As the 20th century began, industrial development spread down City Road from the Southbank area resulting in substantial road works with stone pitching the main service roads in 1907, home to most of South Melbourne's pitched roads in 1924.⁵⁴

The configuration of streets in the Southbank area was heavily influenced by the needs of industry, with roads backing far enough down to wharves to allow loading from dockside sheds, or set further back from the river to accommodate slipways and graving docks. Land allotment also catered to industry needs, with large blocks for the vast timber yards and factories. One particularly unusual shape, however, is the long, narrow allotment created parallel with Queens Bridge Street to accommodate Millers Ropewalk. This is still discernable as part of Freshwater Place and various property boundaries behind modern buildings today.

⁵² Minutes of the Melbourne & Hobsons Bay Railway Co., Public Records Office cited in National Trust of Australia (Victoria) Classification Report FN B4794 St Kilda Railway Road Over Rail Bridges

⁵³ VGG 99, Tuesday, October 31st 1854 p. 2419

⁵⁴ Priestly, p.250.



Figure 23 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works plan of Southbank area showing the Millers Ropewalk set behind blocks off Queens Bridge Street

From 1905 to 1911, enamelled steel street signs were installed in much of the suburban areas and some main routes, while tree planting was carried out extensively along the main roadways with oriental planes, poplars, elms, oaks, pines, sugar gums, kurrajongs and pittosporum sourced from the Mount Macedon Government nursery.⁵⁵

Tar macadam, wood-lined channels, asphalt, some timber block paving on tramways and fully-pitched laneways were all used to improve drainage, reduce rutting and limit dust nuisance. The Southbank lanes were created as part of subdivisions during the Victorian era as service access routes to the rear of properties. Crown parcels sold at auction from the 1850s were generally larger blocks that ran from street to street. The laneways were created by private owners subdividing Crown allotments as a means of maximising lot yield. Although the Central Business District laneways were intended as service lanes due to a prohibition of crossovers into main streets, in some cases the inner suburban laneways, including in the Southbank area, also became the main access

⁵⁵ Priestly, p.251.

route to some residential properties. Often these access points became associated with the city's gold rush and 1890s Depression-era slums.⁵⁶

Councils were responsible for constructing and maintaining roads and streets. Bluestone pitchers were cut into standard sizes, usually within the quarries in the northern and western suburbs of Melbourne, and either delivered to site or, in the case of excess supplies, stored in council depots around the municipality. Construction of stone paving, kerbs and channels for streets and lanes began in the 1850s and appears to have been a continuing practice up until the 1930s. The use of concrete for kerb and channel construction began around 1912 in some areas, however it appears that bluestone was used for kerbs and channels many years later than it was in other parts of the municipality. The Annual Report from the South Melbourne City Surveyor to the Public Works Committee for 1912 to 1913 noted that 1,325 lineal feet of bluestone kerbing and 1,770 lineal feet of concrete kerbing had been used in road construction and maintenance during that year. In comparison, the Annual Report for South Melbourne for 1927 to 1928 noted that 318 lineal feet of bluestone and 1,609 lineal feet of concrete kerbing had been used in road construction.⁵⁷

Spencer Street Bridge was constructed in 1929 in part to improve access to the south wharves and the South Melbourne industrial area. The bridge was an innovative design, employing cantilevered and suspended spans and strong enough to carry the tramlines that were then extended down Clarendon Street. Construction was funded jointly by the cities of South Melbourne, Port Melbourne and Melbourne along with Victorian Railways, the Harbour Trust and Tramway Board, and built by the Victorian Railways Construction Branch.⁵⁸

By the 1950s private car traffic had expanded greatly, and congestion had become a significant problem in Melbourne. Following the 1929 Melbourne Strategy Plan and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme in 1954, a major traffic route to the city was considered necessary along Hannah and Roy Street in South Melbourne, along with three new river crossings in the city area. Following preliminary enquiries, King Street was given first priority among these crossings. The project was seen as part of the road strategy for Melbourne, developed by the MMBW as the metropolitan planning authority at the time. Once completed, the bridge would become the responsibility of the MMBW. However, expertise in bridge construction lay more with the Country Roads Board, and was made the responsible authority for supervising construction under the 1957 King Street Bridge Act. The bridge employed new materials and construction techniques involving welded, deck-girder, suspended-span construction with spans up to 160 feet (49 m) long. However, a partial collapse in July 1962 led to a royal commission that identified the builder's unfamiliarity with welding low-alloy steel as the reason for cracked welds.⁵⁹

The next river crossings had to wait until the erection of the Johnston Street (now Charles Grimes) Bridge in 1990. In recent years, substantial public use of Southbank has led to the construction of five separate footbridges across the river: the Southbank Bridge (Evan Walker Bridge), the conversion of the Sandridge rail bridge for foot traffic, the Seafarers Bridge, the Spencer Street Bridge footbridge and the conversion of the Web Dock railway bridge to the pedestrian Webb Bridge.

⁵⁶ Bate, Weston and Melbourne and State Library of Victoria, 1994. *Essential but unplanned: the story of Melbourne's lanes*. City of Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

⁵⁷ City of Port Phillip, 'Heritage kerbs, channels & laneways history, significance & guidelines', no date. Accessed online, from http://www.portphillip.vic.gov.au/Heritage_Kerbs_Channels_and_Laneways.pdf.

⁵⁸ National Trust Classification Report, B6799 Spencer Street Bridge.

⁵⁹ Darwin, D., George H., Matheison, J., and Wilson C., 1960, 'King Street Bridge Project', *Journal of the Institution of Engineers Australia*, 32:167-182, September.

4.12 Utility services

Theme: 6.3 Providing essential services

Electricity supply from the SEC came to the area in 1925, both providing some respite from the dangers of dark streets in slum areas and facilitating further industrial development. Previously, the A. U. Alcock Electric Light and Motive Power Company had supplied power into South Melbourne from its Melbourne power station in Coors Lane.⁶⁰ As part of the power network, a number of specially designed electricity substations were erected, with the larger examples located close to established industry. South Melbourne and Port Melbourne were connected to the Yallourn power supply in 1926 when the new Substation G was erected in South Melbourne and an interconnector line constructed across the Yarra to the Yarraville Terminal. The transmission towers had to provide clearance for shipping on the river, much of which still included masted sailing ships and so required two steel towers 250 feet (76 metres) high.⁶¹

Smaller installations were erected in South Melbourne on Fawkner, Hancock, Sturt and Moray streets to serve the diverse industries in Southbank and South Melbourne. In the 1970s a much larger substation was built in Dodds Street as part of network modernisation.⁶²

The South Melbourne cable tramway was opened by the Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Company on 17 June 1890, followed three days later by the Port Melbourne line which ran along City Road and Bay Street. The tramway engine house for both lines was located on City Road. With the formation of the Melbourne & Metropolitan Tramways Board in 1919, a new electric tram route was established via Albert Park and, in 1937, the South Melbourne cable line was converted to electric traction while the Port Melbourne line was closed down and the engine house sold off.⁶³

4.13 Humpies and slums

Theme: 8.2 – Housing the population

The 1880s were a period of rapid growth in Emerald Hill, with a population of 25,000 in 1880 rising to 43,000 by the end of the decade. Many of the municipal councillors were prominent real estate developers and financiers, including Matthias Larkin, James Page, J. R. Buxton and W. Thistlethwaite, or were land speculators such as William Buckhurst. As a result, subdivision and street construction, although rudimentary, went ahead rapidly.⁶⁴

Floods exacerbated the problems, with one description of the 1880 flood noting:

Pedestrians could proceed along the footpath in Flinders Street to a point a short distance beyond William Street where the flood barred all further progress. The houses from this point to the corner of Spencer Street were flooded on the ground floors and

⁶⁰ Gary Vines, July 2007, 'Cross Street Electrical Substation Footscray: Report for City of Maribyrnong', Biosis Research Pty Ltd, p.12. Retrieved 12 September 2012.

⁶¹ Electric Supply, 2 June 1926, *The Argus*, p.26. Accessed on 17 February 2017, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article3785833>

⁶² M. Pierce, 'Early Electricity Supply in Melbourne', *Australian Journal Of Multi-Disciplinary Engineering* Vol.8, Iss.1, 2010.

⁶³ Ward, 2011, p.20.

⁶⁴ Ward, 2011, p.35.

cellars. The water could be seen stretching from a short distance below the Falls Bridge to Sandridge Bend on the one hand, and from Emerald Hill to Footscray on the other.⁶⁵



Figure 24 Floods along the Port Melbourne line⁶⁶



Figure 25 The Argus, 6 March 1919, p.8

⁶⁵ 'The Floods in Victoria', 18 September 1880, *South Australian Register*, p.6. Accessed online 4 June 2013, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article43149401>.

⁶⁶ 'The Sandridge Train - Keeping the line clear'. A scene in North Sandridge. *Illustrated Australian News*. 25, 9, 188. Accessed online, from <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/208269>.

By 1931, the second major economic depression occurred, bringing with it its associated poverty and deterioration in living standards. Some efforts were made by Council to address the slum conditions. In 1930, the mayor of South Melbourne, Councillor H. A. Layfield, officially declared open a new children's playground in Thistlethwaite Street and personally introduced many children to the new swings and slides.⁶⁷ The consequences for Southbank appeared to be that the remaining residential properties were eventually demolished or replaced with commercial activities.⁶⁸

The efforts of charitable organisations can also be recognised in the construction of the New Gordon House in Lorimer Street in 1976. New Gordon House was built by the Hanover Centre, which had established some of the first specialist homeless services in Melbourne. It was a partial replacement for the Gordon Rooming House in the city. It was in an out-of-the-way place, considered to be blighted, and *The Age* referred to it as 'an icon of ugliness'.⁶⁹ However, Kevin Borland's award-winning design was seen at the time as a progressive innovation, providing separate rooms for all residents. The building was demolished in 1992 to make way for the new Exhibition Centre.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Mayor As Play Leader. *The Argus*, 13 May 1930, p.5.

⁶⁸ Port Phillip Heritage Review, Gladstone Street Public Houses.

⁶⁹ *The Age*, 27 June 1992, p.138.

⁷⁰ Kevin Borland: Architecture from the Heart, Huan Chen Borland, Conrad Hamann, RMIT Publishing, 2006.



Figure 26 New Gordon House

4.14 Working conditions and the rise of the labour movement

Themes: 9. Working in the city, 9.1 A working class

The rapid expansion of industry in Southbank in the 19th century led to a substantial local workforce, and with it, occasional industrial conflict. This context gave rise to both social reformers and political intrigue. Among the prominent South Melbourne workers' advocates and unionists were the future Prime Minister John Curtin, trade union leader James Francis Roulston, solicitor and politician William (Bill) Slater, and trade unionist, labour journalist and politician Donald James Cameron. All were closely connected to South Melbourne, either having been educated in the local schools, such as

Cameron was, or becoming prominent in union activity in the industrial sector.⁷¹ For example, Curtin worked as an estimates clerk at the Titan Manufacturing Company in South Melbourne from 1903 to 1911, during which time he made his first connections to the union movement.⁷²

Some of this union activity stemmed from factory working conditions in the 19th century. For example, despite the 1873 Victorian legislation limiting working hours to eight for women and children, enforcement was slack. In 1883, inspectors at James Miller's South Melbourne ropeworks found 10-year-olds working 60 hours a week.⁷³ The Southbank area was one of the most industrialised parts of Melbourne by the late-19th century, but despite being on the doorstep of the city, apart from the entertainment strip along St Kilda Road, it remained a mysterious place of smoke and noise, rarely visited by the Melbourne establishment and city administrators. It was also mostly under the jurisdiction of the South Melbourne council, which was more concerned with its residents further south at Emerald Hill, so they, too, tended to forget the area. As a result, Southbank was both a seedbed of manufacturing and a hotbed of industrial dispute.⁷⁴

Rolling strikes by members of the Storemen and Packers' Union, with the support of the Carters and Drivers' Union in 1916, crippled the warehousing and supply of goods, particularly in the West and South Melbourne Bond stores. At the same time, Austral Otis was shut down by a strike organised by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.⁷⁵

The most militant of unions however, were those on the wharves and shipyards. The maritime strike of 1890 was part of a general strike across Australia that lasted two months, eventually broken when police and military forces were brought in to smash the resistance.⁷⁶

During the 'dockland war' of the early 1970s the port was subject to several incidents, including the burning of the Federated Ship Painters and Dockers Union office, and the murder of Arthur 'The Ferret' Nelson, a union official whose car was pulled from the river at South Wharf.⁷⁷ Again, in the 1990s, conflict flared up in opposition to plans to replace union wharfies with overseas trained imports.⁷⁸

4.15 Education, community services and health

Theme: 8.3 – Educating the people, 11.1 – Improving public health

Because Southbank was primarily an area for working rather than residing, it had few facilities for the local population, which were generally concentrated in the better-established areas at Emerald Hill, Sandridge or in the new Garden City estate. However, St Kilda Road hosted a number of health and

⁷¹ Graham Dunkley, 'Cameron, Donald James (Don) (1878–1962)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. Accessed online 20 February 2017, from <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cameron-donald-james-don-5474/text9303>.

⁷² From Poor Boy to Prime Minister. Accessed online, from <http://john.curtin.edu.au/manofpeace/boypm.html>.

⁷³ 'Winning the Eight Hour Day – Teacher Resources', *An education program for Middle Years*. Accessed online, from <http://museumvictoria.com.au/pages/2330/winning-8-hour-day-teacher-notes.pdf>.

⁷⁴ Lewis, Miles, *An industrial seed-bed*, Department of Planning, Melbourne, 1983.

⁷⁵ 'Industrial Unrest', *The Argus*, 11 February 1916, Accessed online 20 Feb 2017, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2107230>.

⁷⁶ Maritime Union of Australia, 1890 Maritime Strike. Accessed online, from http://www.mua.org.au/1890_maritime_strike#sthash.QV6jpbEG.dpuf.

⁷⁷ 'Arson' in dockland war', *The Canberra Times*, 25 January 1972. Accessed online 17 September 2016, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article101754069>.

⁷⁸ Wendy Lowenstein and Tom Hills, *Under the Hook: Melbourne Waterside Workers Remember: 1900-1998*.

community facilities over the generations. The Homeopathic Hospital was established on St Kilda Road in 1876 in an effort to provide more affordable medical services. By 1934 it had expanded to become Prince Henry's Hospital, when substantial modern buildings were erected.

The City Road Primary School was erected in 1884 at a time when a number of new state-run schools were replacing church schools. In 1930, it was converted into the J. H. Boyd Domestic College, possibly reflecting the diminishing number of families living in the Southbank area at that time. It later became a campus of the Western Melbourne Institute of TAFE (now Victoria University), before turning into the Southbank Library and community centre today.

As the area hosted many new arrivals from the days of the Canvas Town in the early 1850s, services were periodically provided to assist immigrants. The Immigrants' Home was opened on St Kilda Road in 1853, 'for the amelioration of the fearful distress amongst the newly arrived population'. The Immigrants Aid Society was the charitable organisation responsible, and during the boom of the 1880s they extended the facility with new buildings, completed in 1887. Later, it served as a night shelter for the homeless and vulnerable.⁷⁹

The Immigrants Aid Society also opened a reformatory school for boys and girls in the military reserve on St Kilda Road in 1860. This institution mainly housed orphans, but the location was criticised as being unhealthy due its proximity to the Military Swamp. Boys were put to work at the Royal Botanic Gardens while many of the girls entered domestic service at an early age.

An Immigrants Depot was erected in 1841 near Kings Domain to provide shelter for new arrivals, and during the gold rush a vast Canvas Town or tent camp grew around this area.⁸⁰ The sometimes dire circumstances that new arrivals could find themselves in, particularly the women and children, prompted the formation of an Immigrants Aid Society by concerned residents and the church. The society based its immigrants home in the buildings used by the Victorian Government to accommodate newly-arrived immigrants near Princes Bridge on St Kilda Road.⁸¹

The Yarra Bank also became a refuge for the homeless in the 20th century, although this was probably unconnected to these early phases of emergency accommodation. The area between the river and Yarra Bank Road in front of the factories provided refuge for homeless people taking advantage of the relatively large areas of vacant land close to the city.

A number of other benevolent institutions were established in the area, including the Protestant Orphanage, the St Vincent de Paul Boys' Home and Girls' Home, a Magdalen Asylum for 'Fallen' Women and a branch of the Salvation Army Corps in Coventry Street.

In 1925 the YMCA Hostel was relocated from a warehouse in Flinders Street to new, purpose-built premises on City Road close to St Kilda Road, and continued the provision of overnight accommodation to those in need. It was demolished in the 1980s, evidently due to subsidence of the foundations brought on during construction of the Concert Hall.

⁷⁹ Shurlee Swain, 'Immigrants Home', in Andrew Brown-May and Shurlee Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005.

⁸⁰ Buckrich, & Birkenbeil, 1996, *Melbourne's Grand Boulevard: The Story of St Kilda Road*, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

⁸¹ Shurlee Swain, 'Immigrants Home', in Andrew Brown-May and Shurlee Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005.



Figure 27 YMCA, City Road, 1974 (Lindsay Bridge, Flickr)

4.16 Military, industry and aviation

Themes: 4.8 Defending the city, 4.7 Policing the city, 5.5 Building a manufacturing industry

Barracks

Following their involvement in putting down the 1854 Eureka Stockade rebellion, the British Imperial Garrison troops, including the 12th and 40th Regiment of Foot, were provided with impressive new accommodation on Melbourne's doorstep. Named after the British queen, the Victoria Barracks housed the Colony of Victoria's colonial forces from the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, until 1958, when the Department of Defence moved to the new Russell Offices in Canberra.

The military reserve occupied the high ground on the edge of St Kilda Road. It was surrounded by swampy lowlands extending to the west, originally extending as far west as Moray Street. The reserve was reduced to the area east of Hanna Street (now Kings Way) in 1862. A pathway was constructed through the swamp west of the Barracks to alleviate congestion caused by local travel through the reservation. By 1876 some of the military reserve land on St Kilda Road was transferred to other purposes, and in 1881 the land west of Wells Street was subdivided and gradually sold off.

The earliest building of G-Block was built between 1856 and 1858 by soldiers of the 40th Regiment, supervised by a royal engineer officer. Other buildings were built by civil contractors between 1856 and 1872. A large extension (A-Block New Wing) was added in 1917 for the Department of Defence headquarters. This was built in a similar style to the others, but the construction method and interior were completely modern for their time. The Art Deco M-Block was added in 1939 with a floor that was the first continuous concrete pour in Australia. The Repatriation clinic on the corner of Coventry Street was also built in 1936/1937 to the design of noted Melbourne-based architect George Hallandal of the Commonwealth Department of Works, to assist with medical evaluations of returned soldiers.

The former Repatriation Commission Outpatients Clinic, which opened in 1937 in St Kilda Road, is one of a large number of military buildings developed by the Commonwealth Works Department in Victoria as part of strategic preparation for World War II. It was designed for the Commonwealth Repatriation Commission by Hallandal, acting under H. J. Mackennal, Director of the Commonwealth Public Works Department of the Interior, and built by Blease McPherson and the Company of Queen Street.

The clinic was part of a million-pound repatriation program undertaken by the Commonwealth Government across Australia and widely reported on during its planning stages and upon completion. It was one of large number of military buildings developed by the Commonwealth Works Department in Victoria as part of strategic preparation for World War Two. The clinic replaced an earlier galvanised structure at the south-eastern corner of the site. Lieutenant Colonel White, Acting Minister for Repatriation, announced the proposal to build an outpatients' clinic for returned soldiers in 1936 for a cost of £10,000. The building was purpose-built for outpatients to reduce congestion in the facilities available at the time at the Caulfield Repatriation Hospital (*The Argus*, 1936). The design met some controversy, with well-known artist Sir Arthur Streeton condemning the contrast of the brown brickwork with the existing bluestone structures of Victoria Barracks. Streeton wanted the clinic built in bluestone to match the Barracks and Melbourne Grammar so that it would be a fitting addition to the great boulevard that was St Kilda Road. Mackennal replied that the brick was chosen to make the building 'unpretentious', and that the cost of building in bluestone would have been four times the final contract price of £16,000.⁸²

Servicemen may have had a close affinity with the trip down St Kilda Road, either to the Barracks or at least once a year to the War Memorial, but for some it was a difficult trip. Those who had lost an arm or a leg in duty were provided with artificial limbs by a specially-built factory and fitting centre behind the Victoria Barracks on Sturt Street.

The first proposal for a Government-run factory producing artificial limbs for returned soldiers came from a Mr. J. Smith of Ringwood in 1915. In the later years of I the needs of returning servicemen were met by the Caulfield Military Hospital, which employed 24 men, all but four having lost a limb themselves, in the manufacture of artificial limbs. An American expert, Mr. C. A. Aunger, was brought to Australia by the Commonwealth to assist in establishing a factory. The manufacture of limbs began at Caulfield in November 1917 and was transferred to a new factory in Sturt Street behind the Victoria Barracks in March 1918, initially under the control of the Defence Department. In December 1920, control was transferred to the Repatriation Department. In total, five Commonwealth artificial limb factories were established in Australia by 1919, employing 40 men, most of whom were also amputees.

Major Charles Morley was appointed assistant manager of the factory in 1918, and by August 1919 the South Melbourne factory was turning out 80 limbs per month. There were, however, complaints about the distance that men had to walk on crutches from the tram for fittings and repairs. Meanwhile, the Melbourne factory also had to serve Tasmanians who had to make the long journey to Melbourne to be fitted. The tramline was eventually extended down Sturt Street and a shelter constructed near the factory at the request of the Returned Servicemen's Amputees Association.

Police

The Victoria Police Department was established in 1853, bringing several mounted units together under the banner of the Mounted Branch. Horse and rider numbers reached a peak in the early

⁸² *The Argus*, 1937.

1900s with 211 Mounted Stations throughout the state. However, the introduction of the motorcar gradually replaced the horses. The central Melbourne police stables were originally located on the banks of the Yarra near Olympic Park, as well as in St Kilda Road. Construction of the Police Depot commenced just prior to World War I to improve and centralise headquarters for police training and mounted police operations in Victoria. The full facilities included stables, riding school and drill hall (1912-1913), police hospital and dispensers residence (1914), police stores and workshop (1916-1920), police barracks (1925) and rough riders residence (1929). The new buildings were necessary because the Federal Government had decided that the Victoria Barracks would be the headquarters of the newly-formed Commonwealth Department of Defence in 1906. The Victoria Police had occupied a significant proportion of the Barracks since 1881, but they now had to find new accommodation. The buildings were designed by Public Works Chief Architect E. Evan Smith and constructed by Shillabeer & Sons. The Police Depot was later repurposed for the Victorian College of the Arts.⁸³

4.17 Auto Industry

Themes: 5.2 Developing a manufacturing capacity, 5.8 Working

Melbourne's automobile industry had its origins in the area around the hay and horse markets at the top of Elizabeth Street, where the carriage builders and blacksmiths were the obvious businesses for adopting the new form of travel. A secondary centre however, was focussed around City Road and Sturt Street, where convenience to the city and the docks – for the inevitable importation of early vehicles – could benefit business. Early motoring firms began as either importers of complete vehicles or assemblers of locally-made bodies on imported chassis and mechanical components. Among the more prominent firms were Melford's, Lanes Motors and Kellow Falkiner. Morley Ford occupied the prime riverbank position near Queens Bridge Square for decades, while GP Motors were a relatively early establishment in City Road, and prospered, erecting a new workshop in 1938.

Melford's had their main service centre on Sturt Street, while Lane's were a little further south on Dorcas Street. Meanwhile, a more substantial business was growing in the former Sharps & Sons timber business in City Road: General Motors (Australia). A number of parts suppliers were also located in Southbank, such as the Harry Norris-designed Brooklands Accessories. Many of these premises followed the most up-to-date architectural styles with Art Deco, Streamline Moderne, and International Style elements reflecting the forward-looking ideals of the motoring fraternity.

⁸³ Victorian Building Services Agency and Victorian Department of Infrastructure, Former Police Barracks, St Kilda Road, 'Melbourne conservation plan for the Victorian College of the Arts', 1997.

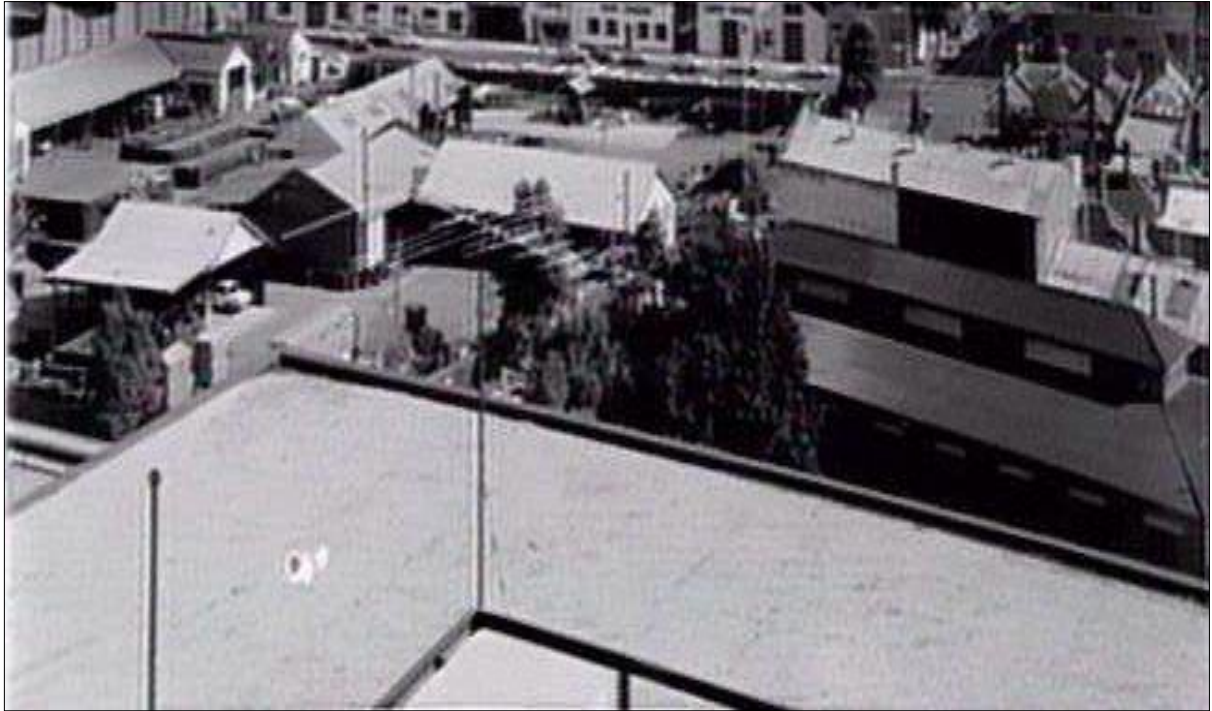


Figure 28 Looking over Dorcas Street and Lanes Motors to the small factories and warehouses of South Melbourne (State Library of Victoria)



Figure 29 Lanes Motors, Dorcas Street



Figure 30 Brooklands Auto Accessories, Sturt Street, 1982 (Graeme Butler)

The streamlined motor garage featuring tall vertical elements was once something of a signature building for Southbank, with Cheney, Morley, Coffey, Melford's and Lane's Motors all featuring prominent towers. Only Lane's survives today, however.

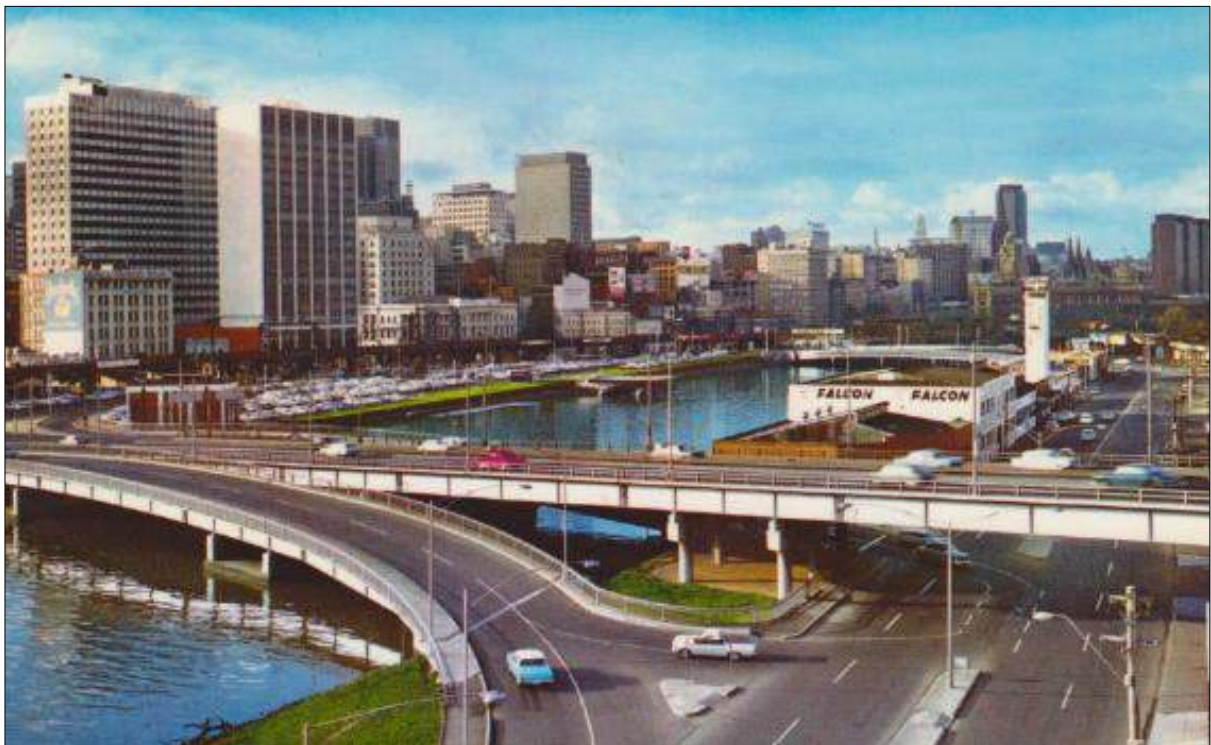


Figure 31 Yarra Bank Road and Kings Way with Coffey Motors, c.1970

General Motors established their assembly and distribution centre in City Road in 1926. The Adelaide coach-building firm of James Alexander Holden started as a saddlery business as early as 1854, expanded into coach-building. His sons developed motor-body building, eventually erecting a large factory at Woodville. The firm evolved over the years, first moving into the automotive field in 1908 repairing car upholstery and later expanding to full-scale production of vehicle body shells. Throughout the 1920s Holden supplied trams for Melbourne, but the company was more prominent as a motor-body builder and an assembler of various automobile models, particularly using imported General Motors chassis. In 1931, Holden merged with GM to become General Motors-Holden's Limited (GMH) and in 1936 the firm opened a new headquarters and assembly plant in Salmon Street, Port Melbourne.⁸⁴

4.18 Post-war industry

Themes: 5.5 Building a manufacturing industry, 4.8 Defending the city

The post-war period was characterised by the diversification of industry. The Melbourne office of Stewarts & Lloyds was on the corner of City Road and Power Street. The prominent corner building featured a circular glazed tower which was only demolished in about 2002.



Figure 32 Stewarts & Lloyds head office, City Road (Museum Victoria)

⁸⁴ Davis, Tony, Kennedy, Ewan, Kennedy, Alistair (1998). *The Holden Heritage: Eighth Edition*. Blakehurst, New South Wales: Marque Publishing. ISBN 0-947079-57-2.

Fred Walker got his start in the food business in 1899, and by 1908 he was well-established as an importer and exporter. Around 1910 he began canning food for export and in 1918 commenced the manufacture of the beef extract product Bonox. His company's major innovation, however, was Vegemite, developed in 1923. In 1926 he erected a large new factory in Riverside Avenue South Melbourne, having formed the separate company of Kraft Walker Cheese Company Pty Ltd after being granted an exclusive license by the Kraft Cheese Co. (Inc.) of Chicago, United States, to use their patented method for the manufacture of processed cheese.⁸⁵

Fred Walker died in 1935, but the Kraft Walker Cheese Company Pty Ltd was subsequently amalgamated with Fred Walker & Co. and the American Kraft Company acquired a controlling interest. In the 1950s the factory was moved to Fishermans Bend and Allen's Sweets took over the South Melbourne buildings.⁸⁶



Figure 33 Kraft Factory Southbank (State Library of Victoria)

As general office development spread from the Melbourne CBD down St Kilda Road in the 1950s, the area immediately opposite Princes Bridge became a desirable location, convenient for modern headquarters. The Alfred Nicholas Company, maker of Aspro, had a substantial building here in the late-1950s. Australian Paper Mills also erected a new steel and glass office building near their paper mills while, next door, Vacuum Oil erected its up-to-date glass and concrete tower by architects

⁸⁵ Farrer, Keith Thomas Henry, 'C. P. Callister – A Pioneer of Australian Food Technology', *Food Technology in Australia*, vol.25, 1973, p.52-65.

⁸⁶ K. T. H. Farrer, 'Walker, Fred (1884–1935)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. Published first in hardcopy 1990. Accessed online 22 August 2016, from <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/walker-fred-8953/text15747>.

Bates, Smart and McCutcheon in 1959/1960. Vacuum Oil's building featured a four-metre-high aluminium statue of the company logo, 'Pegasus' by Raymond Boulwood Ewers.



Figure 34 Ewers' Pegasus station and Vacuum Oil building (State Library of Victoria, H91.244/403)

4.19 Post-war migration

Theme: 6.7 Making homes for Victorians

From the 1940s, government policy saw a new phase of mass migration occur, partly due to the problem of 'displaced persons' post-war, but also as immigration policies were made to encourage economic growth. Over 30,000 new Australians came every year between 1947 and 1961, with a large proportion of them from Britain, but also significant numbers from Greece and Italy.

A growing working class and radical political climate was developing, creating a number of unions and other associations. The Melbourne Wharf Labourers Union was formed in the 1880s and was active in the 1886-1887 maritime strike, a formative event in the Australian union movement.⁸⁷

Some more conservative factions in the community formed the Temperance Hall, while the Licencing Reduction Board was responsible for closing 18 hotels in the district in the early 20th century. Despite the working class nature of Southbank, the residential population was small as the few streets of houses were consumed by expanding industry in the early 20th century.

4.20 Arts and culture

Theme: 10.1 Arts and creative life in the city

South of the river was a wilder place with less oversight or regulation, where bohemian and risqué pursuits could be conducted out of the glare of the establishment across the river.

⁸⁷ Lowenstein & Hills, *Under the Hook*, 1982, p.7.

From the 1870s, travelling circuses pitched their big tops on the roadside near the site now occupied by the Arts Centre. Cooper and Bailey's Great American International Circus was possibly the first one, in 1877. In 1893 Fuller's Great Circus and Menagerie erected its first building on the site and, in 1901, the Fitzgerald Brothers' Circus built a more substantial timber building to house their entertainers. Wirth's Circus took over the entire site in 1907 and built the 'Olympia' building, which was the only permanent circus venue in Australia until the 1950s. An amusement park known as 'Princes Court' was developed on the land adjacent to the circus in 1904/1905. Popular attractions included a toboggan ride, a waterslide, restaurants, bars and a Japanese teahouse.

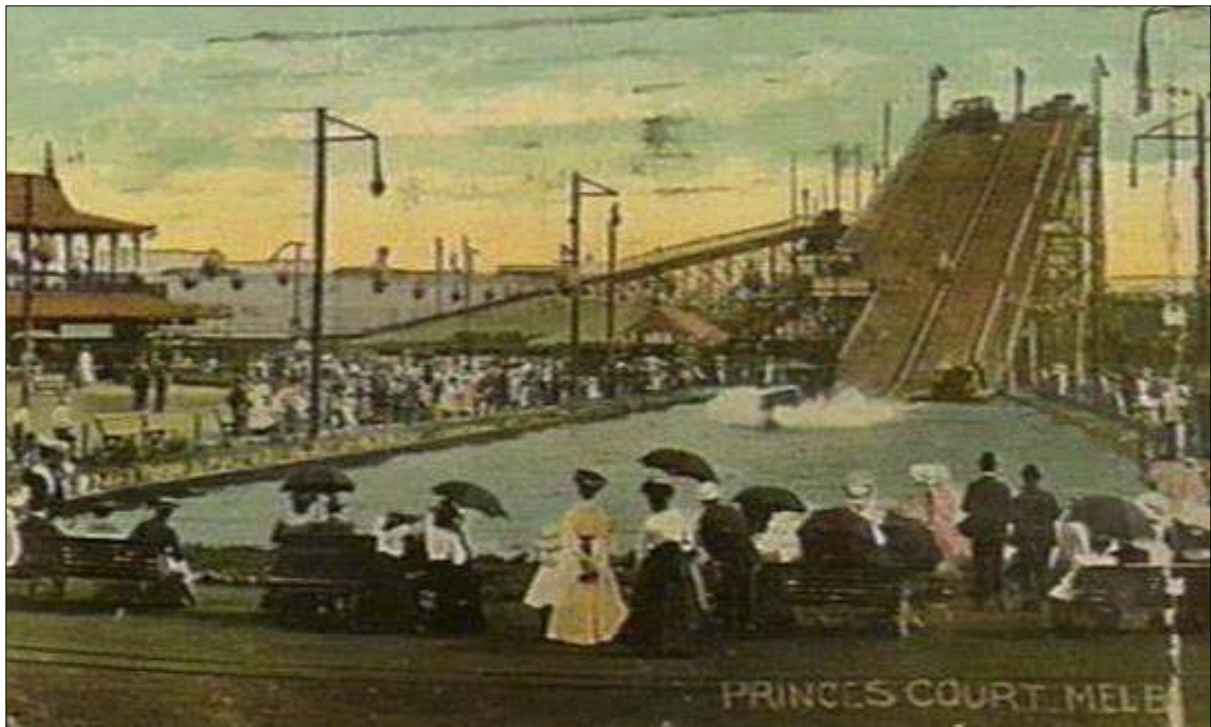


Figure 35 Princes Court, c.1908, printed postcard (State Library of Victoria H40394/6)



Figure 36 Looking towards Southbank in the 1890s, showing St Kilda Road, the Green Mill, Wirth's Park and industry (<http://icelegendsaustralia.com/FAI.html>)

Popular attractions included a water chute, open-air skating, helter-skelter and other amusements. Other entertainment facilities included the Green Mill dance hall and club and the Glaciarium ice-skating rink, which opened on City Road in the early 1900s.

Other attractions included the ice skating rink, known as the 'Glaciarium', which opened in 1906, and the Green Mill Dance Hall with its reproduction of a Dutch windmill, built in 1926. Wirths' Circus survived the Depression as well as both World Wars. The building was converted into a cinema during the First World War and some of the buildings were used to nurse veterans, while the dance hall was popular with returned servicemen. But in 1953 Wirths' Olympia was destroyed by fire. The Green Mill also suffered from numerous fires and would later become the Forty Club, and then the Trocadero Ballroom. The buildings were replaced, first by a car park and then later with the Arts Centre. The annual Moomba Parade, which commenced in 1954, followed a route along St Kilda Road.



Figure 37 The Glaciarium in the 1950s (State Library of Victoria <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/50184>)

The State Government of Victoria had been looking for a site for a large cultural complex to house a gallery, theatres and a concert hall from the 1940s. The National Gallery was in cramped space, sharing with the museum and library in Swanston Street, and there were few adequate concert

venues apart from the Melbourne Town Hall. The Wirth Brothers' circus site was ideal, and a popular choice for the new cultural institutions.

In 1955, Victorian Premier Henry Bolte announced that a new Victorian Arts Centre would be built on the site, and appointed noted local architect Roy Grounds, who split from his firm of Grounds, Romberg and Boyd to take the commission on alone. The National Gallery was under construction from 1959-1968; the concert hall opened in 1982 and the theatres building followed soon after, in 1984.

The design of all three buildings had to be modified to cope with the uneven ground and the presence of deep Coode Island Silt, which required more substantial 25-metre-deep foundations, dewatering and cathodic protection to prevent the metal from corrosion in the waterlogged ground. The spire on the theatres building was replaced in 1996 due to corrosion. The concert hall was renamed Hamer Hall in 2004 to honour former premier and leading arts supporter Sir Rupert Hamer.⁸⁸



Figure 38 Former courtyard in the National Gallery of Victoria (State Library of Victoria)

The Victorian Ballet were temporarily housed in the YMCA building on City Road, which was linked by a concrete footbridge to the Arts Centre. When the YMCA was demolished, a purpose-built Victorian Ballet Centre was erected. Other facilities were also eventually added to what was planned to be an

⁸⁸ 'Between Beauty And Power: Henry Moore's Draped Seated Woman As An Emblem of the National Gallery Of Victoria's Modernity', p.1959-1968, Christopher Marshall, *Art Journal*, 46, NGV, 2006.

arts and entertainment precinct, such as the Melbourne Recital Centre, Melbourne Theatre Company (2009) and the ABC centre in 1994, in which the Iwaki Auditorium can be found.

The Playbox Theatre Company moved to Southbank following a fire and subsequent demolition of their Exhibition Street building. The former Castlemaine Brewing Company malthouse was converted to provide two theatre spaces in 1990,, later taking on the name the Malthouse Theatre. The Australian Centre for Contemporary Art gallery, designed by Wood Marsh Architects, was erected next door in 2002 on land that had been cleared previously for the construction of the Domain and Burnley City Link Tunnels.

4.21 Civic improvement and social history

Themes: 13.1 – Public recreation, 3.4 – Defining public space

The Princes Bridge entrance to Melbourne was marked by another prominent but relatively small public space for over 90 years – the Snowden Gardens, which were vested in the City of Melbourne in 1913. In the 1890s the area near Princes Bridge was a quarry hole and military purposes reserve, but it was subsequently landscaped as parkland and turned into the Snowden Gardens. This was later the site of the three lily-pad-like dishes of the Southgate Fountain designed by Robin Boyd, but these were moved to storage when the Arts Centre Concert Hall was constructed.



Figure 39 Melbourne from St Kilda Road, showing Snowden Gardens, Princes Bridge and St Kilda Road, 1903 (State Library of Victoria)



Figure 40 Aerial view of the Southbank area, Melbourne, near Princes Bridge before the construction of Hamer Hall (Strizic, M., 1960)

The loss of the Snowdon Gardens was, to some extent, compensated for by the new open space around the new gallery and Arts Centre, including the National Gallery of Victoria's sculpture garden and the Richard Pratt Garden at the Arts Centre, which today still features its own fountain, 'Nautilus', in honour of Roy Grounds. Similarly, the moat around the National Gallery of Victoria contributes open space of a sort to the streetscape.

4.22 Redevelopment

Theme: 5.3 - Developing a large, city-based economy, 6.7 - Making homes for Victorians

The current transformation of the Southbank area goes back to development of the first post-war office buildings spreading back from St Kilda Road. Australian Paper Mills (APM) and Mobil Oil both had a long-standing presence in the area, so when it came time to expand, it seemed obvious to erect new glass and steel office buildings near their Southbank industrial sites, rather than in the CBD. Bates Smart & McCutcheon designed the high-rise office buildings for both firms between 1959 and 1961.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Goad, Philip & Bates Smart (Firm) (2004), *Bates Smart: 150 years of Australian Architecture*. Thames and Hudson Australia, Fishermans Bend, Vic.



Figure 41 Mobil Oil and APM buildings, South Melbourne, with the Southgate fountain in Snowden Gardens in the foreground (Mark Strizic, 1972, State Library of Victoria H2011.55/1869)

While in the late-1960s, development focus was on the creation of the Arts Precinct on St Kilda Road, the focus of change expanded to the Southbank Area in the early-1980s. One story puts Minister for Planning Evan Walker and Minister for the Arts Race Mathews at a function at the top of the new Rialto Tower. Looking out the window, Minister Walker pointed down to Southbank below. ‘That is sufficient legacy for us,’ he said, ‘if we are remembered for nothing else and begin to get that right.’⁹⁰ Walker brought a proposal to Cabinet to redevelop Southbank. ‘We had to buy out a whole host of derelict industrial, commercial and warehouse buildings on Southbank which were on long Crown leases,’ he recalled.⁹¹

One of the earliest residential developments in the Southbank area was Coventry Gardens, constructed in 1993 by Central Equity as medium-rise housing on the site of the Commonwealth Clothing Factory. It was soon followed by Central Equity’s Southside Gardens at 100 Southbank Boulevard and Southbank Gardens at 120 Dodds St. One of the largest buildings built in the Southbank area was IBM House at the south end of Sturt Street. This was a 13-storey concrete and glass office block built in 1970, which was heavily altered for conversion into apartments in 1996.

⁹⁰ Arts Victoria’s 40th Anniversary. Accessed online, from <http://40yearsof.arts.vic.gov.au/pages/eighties/milestone39/>.

⁹¹ ‘‘Visionary’’ former minister Evan Walker dies at 79’, James Campbell, *Herald Sun*, 17 February 2015.

Along with redevelopment of the buildings in Southbank, there were also substantial changes made to the street patterns. Comparing Melway maps today against those of the 1960s shows that the original Riverside Avenue and Yarra Bank Road, which ran beside the river between St Kilda Road and Clarendon Street, have disappeared and been replaced by the Southgate and Crown promenades, while Lorimer Street has been diverted around the new Exhibition Centre.

A number of streets have also changed names. Maffra Street and Nolan Street are now both part of Southbank Boulevard, Brown Street and Aikman Street became the two ends of the new Southgate Avenue, and Byrne Street is Riverside Quay. Other streets, such as Kirby Grove and Bright Street, have disappeared completely.