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CITY OF KINGSTON THEMATIC ENVORNMENTAL HISTORY REFRESH

DECEMBER 2022

ARCHITECTS + CONSERVATION CONSULTANTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COUNTRY

We acknowledge the *Bunurong* people of the *Kulin Nation* as the Traditional Owners and Custodians and pay our respects to their Elders past, present, and emerging We support the 'Uluru Statement from the Heart' to achieve justice, recognition, and respect for all First Nation people.

◄ Cover Image:
Chelsea Courthouse, looking south west.
(Souce: RBA, November 2022)

REPORT REGISTER

The following report register documents the development and issue of the Thematic Environmental History Refresh for the City of Kingston as prepared by RBA Architects + Conservation Consultants in line with its quality management system.

PROJECT NO.	VERSION	ISSUED TO	DATE ISSUED
2021.15	1	City of Kingston	14 December 2022

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND AND APPROACH

The City of Kingston commissioned RBA Architects + Conservation Consultants to 'audit' the Council's existing Thematic Environmental History (TEH), which had been issued in draft form by Living Histories in 2000. RBA's high-level review acknowledged the document's strengths while identifying some thematic and content 'gaps' and the opportunity for an overall renewal – a position echoed during community consultation undertaken as part of the scoping stage.

The preparation of this 'refreshed' TEH has been guided by *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes*, a key document developed jointly in 2010 by the Heritage Council of Victoria and the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Council. In particular, the chapters herein have been guided by the ten principal themes and various sub-themes set out in *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes*. Collectively, its thematic parameters have enabled the establishment of a useful, wide-ranging framework within which to outline the historical development of the various localities that comprise the City of Kingston. The numbering system set out in *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* for its major themes has also been adopted for this 'refreshed' document. However, subheadings have been adjusted in part to reflect local requirements.

This 'refreshed' TEH is built off the robust foundations laid by Living Histories. Much of their content and analysis has been included in this document as reworked and augmented text or, in some parts, verbatim. In the cases where we have quoted directly, the Living Histories text has been italicised.

For the reader, it is essential to realise that any TEH is not intended as a narrative or 'comprehensive' history of a municipality. Instead, it should be viewed as providing a broad insight into the myriad of patterns that underlie the historical evolution of a specified area. A key benefit of such an approach and organisation is its breadth of coverage and capacity to provide a context in which existing heritage places can be better comprehended and for new sites of cultural value that reflect the history and character of the Study Area recognised.

2.0 STUDY AREA

The City of Kingston, straddling Melbourne's middle and outer southern suburban rings, forms the Study Area. It is home to over 159,000 residents (2021). The municipality was established in 1994 by the amalgamation of several earlier municipal areas. These localities – introduced over the Country of the *Bunurong* people – had evolved from the early 19th century into a range of townships, dormitory suburbs, bayside destinations, and agricultural tracts

After World War II, the Study Area underwent a progressive shift as suburban growth connected many previously distinct centres. Broader metropolitan planning also came to bear on the municipality with the establishment of industrial zones, expanded infrastructure, and the retention of green belts. Over the late 20th century, macro and local dynamics shaped diverse land uses and economic activities while providing the framework for varied cultural expressions and identities that continue to underlie a noteworthy community life within the Study Area.

3.0 MUNICIPAL STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The following Municipal Statement of Significance has been prepared for the City of Kingston in an effort to encapsulate some of the key aspects of its distinctiveness, which have come to light during the preparation of the 'refreshed' TEH:

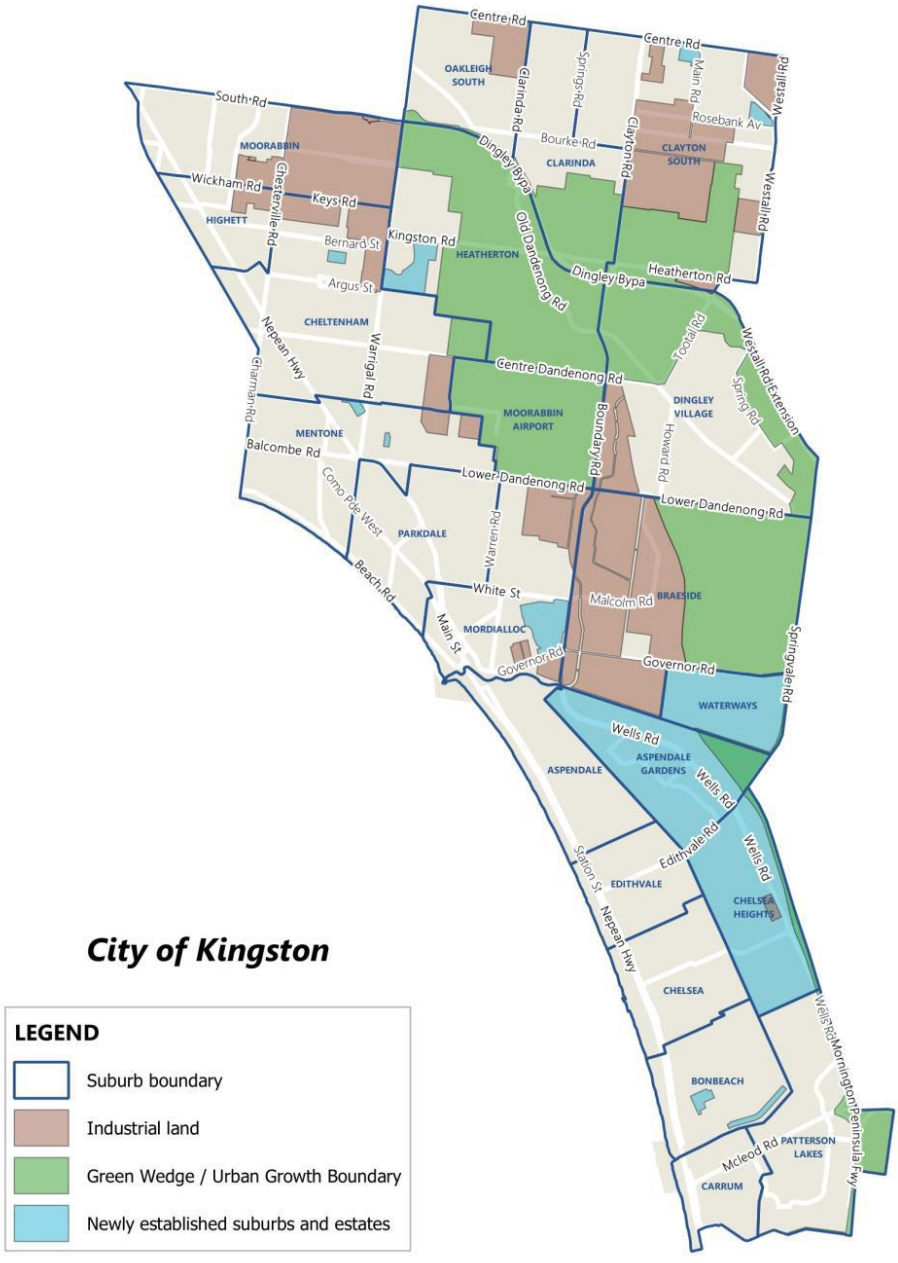
> The City of Kingston is a metropolitan municipality on the north-eastern shores of Port Phillip Bay. Cheltenham is the largest suburb and the administrative centre for the LGA, with other principal townships including Mordialloc, Mentone, Parkdale, Aspendale, Chelsea, Moorabbin, Carrum, and Highett.
>
> The Traditional Owners and Custodians of the Study Area are the Bunurong peoples of the Kulin Nation. Their deep history and enduring connection to their culture and Country are highly significant aspects of the Study Area's story.
>
> The land comprising the City of Kingston area consists of distinct bioregions, mainly the coastal foreshore, wetlands, and inland plains and woodland. These environmental topographies have shaped how people inhabited, interacted, and responded to the landscape, leading to extensive grazing, farming, and manufacturing activities across the Study Area.
>
> Over the mid to late 19th century, the beachside towns in the City of Kingston, such as Chelsea, Aspendale, and Carrum, grew in popularity as tourist or holiday destinations, which shaped local development. The City of

Kingston was substantially impacted by the 'land boom' sales in the 1870s and 1880s, which led to widespread market gardening and farming in the area, which emerged as the main economic activity into the 20th century. Much later, the postwar economic and population boom resulted in more extensive suburban and manufacturing development, with land first used for market gardening redeveloped for housing estates or factories.

The dynamic social, creative, and cultural community maintained in the City of Kingston, which is reflected in the high number of churches, schools, healthcare facilities, and recreational centres established in the area, many of which are early examples, is also noteworthy.

4.0 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The valuable assistance and patience of several figures and groups are gratefully acknowledged, including City of Kingston strategic planning officers, David Tutchener of the Bunurong Land Council Aboriginal Corporation, and the former Council historian, Dr Graham Whitehead. The dedication and enthusiasm of the various historical societies and other individuals in researching and preparing local place histories are also acknowledged.



Study Area.
(Source: courtesy of the City of Kingston)

ABORIGINAL KINGSTON

Europeans did not happen upon an unoccupied place when their interactions with *Nairm* (Port Phillip Bay) commenced. The land and waters were known intimately – named, managed, and imbued with knowledge, law, and lore by the First Nation people of the *Kulin* confederacy.

This chapter provides a brief history of the *Bunurong* people, a group within the *Kulin* confederacy, whose Country encompassed what is now known as the City of Kingston. It is not meant to be comprehensive but charts an Aboriginal presence across time and place; an ongoing reality that has not always been at the forefront in the understanding of the contemporary cultural landscape.

It also encourages the reader to view the municipality from a different perspective, as 'Country'. To Aboriginal people, Country – a holistic and multilayered concept – is animate and inviolable, encapsulating the ground, waterways, seas and sky along with intricate cultural, religious, and land management practices, which, in many cases, developed over millennia. Anthropologist Deborah Bird Rose defines Country as 'nourishing terrain', encouraging its interpretation as a 'living entity'.[1] Only Traditional Owners can speak for Country or give others the authority to do so.

The proud descendants of the Bunurong people are represented by the Bunurong Land Council Aboriginal Corporation, who have been consulted in the preparation of this chapter.[2]

Indigenous Australians are advised that this section includes names and images of deceased Aboriginal people and includes some quoted source material that utilises derogatory terms that should be interpreted within their historical context.

1.1 FIRST PEOPLE

Archaeological evidence points to the presence of Aboriginal people in the Greater Melbourne region at least as early as 35,000 BP (Before Present). The length of this connection, which took in epochs of dramatic environmental transformation, is challenging to imagine but equates with around 1,6000 generations.[3] Some Indigenous Australians consider their ancestors have been here since time immemorial.

Ethno-historical understandings of the Bunurong people and the *Kulin* more generally must be understood as incomplete, glimpsed from the fragmentary comments of European observers and filtered through the prism of a 19th-century colonial mindset. These interpretations may also reflect a society that had already been decimated by introduced microbes. Smallpox is believed to have struck the Port Phillip Bay region twice, around 1790 and 1830, possibly halving the Aboriginal population on each occasion.[4]

Archaeological investigations and, increasingly, Indigenous knowledge continue to reveal a complex and rich pre-colonial society. At European invasion, what is now the Melbourne metropolitan area was occupied by two Aboriginal dialect groups that spoke *Bunurong* and *Woiwurrung*.[5] Both were part of what some linguists have labelled the *Kulin* language, after their shared word for 'man/person' (*kuli/guli*). The eastern members of the confederacy (Greater Melbourne) are referred to sometimes as 'East Kulin'.[6]

The broader *Kulin* confederacy was made up of four interconnected *-urrung* dialect groups, each with their own primary estate. Their collective Country extended around Port Phillip and Western Port and into central Victoria. These groups interfaced frequently and shared various commonalities, such as speech, Dreaming beliefs and figures, law/lore and customs, exogamous marriage practices, and a moiety system that classed people as either *Bunjil*/wedge tail eagle or *Waa*/crow. The *Kulin* also interacted with other Aboriginal language groups, including the *Gunai/Kurnai* people of Gippsland, towards whom the *Bunurong* held a longstanding mutual animosity.[7]

Six clans spoke *Bunurong*. In 1839, their population was estimated at around 500.[8] Bunurong Country incorporated the Study Area but extended much further afield, stretching from Wilson's Promontory in the east to Werribee River in the west, including a belt of land at the top of Port Phillip Bay, the Mornington Peninsula, French and Phillips Island, and Wilsons Promontory. The littoral focus of much of this area led to the *Bunurong* becoming referred to by Europeans as the 'Coast tribe', 'Port Phillip tribe', or 'Westernport tribe'.[9]

Aboriginal territorial boundaries were not rigidly defined. Reciprocal rights to Country were often in operation at intersections between *Bunurong* and *Woiwurrung* boundaries. It has been suggested that Brighton and Mordialloc are an example of such a shared zone.[10] Many of the *Bunurong*, like other Victorian First Nation people, would also have had marriage and familial connections and obligations across Victoria to other estates, creating complicated webs of connections. Aboriginal people were not restricted to their relatively small estates.

The Study Area is believed to have formed part of the estate of two of six *Bunurong*-speaking clans: the *Ngaruk-willam* and *Mayune-balug*. Each clan was loosely governed by a group of senior men, with leaders referred to as *Ngarweet*, and comprised 'bands' or 'mobs' of one or two nuclear families, often with fluctuating membership. The estate of the *Ngaruk-willam*, which may translate to 'stone dwellers', encompassed the coastal zone from present-day Brighton south to near Dandenong, including Cheltenham, Mentone, Mordialloc and Moorabbin, Heatherton, Clayton South, and Dingley Village.[11] That of the *Mayune balug*/*Mayonebulluk* revolved around Carrum Swamp. Their name may be eponymous with the locality.[12]

The *Bunurong* people moved around their Country via defined pathways (often lightly fired) on a seasonal basis to take advantage of available food and resources and navigate environmental events (droughts, floods, bush fires). In the drier summer months, coastal locations and the lightly forested plains such as at *Moorabbin* (likely the *Bunurong* place name for the area) proved attractive. The rainier winter seasons drew bands to higher ground. Carrum Swamp was the principal focus in spring.[13] Movement was also governed by multifaceted rules and obligations, like undertaking propagation rituals.

The *Bunurong* were deeply familiar with their geography; for instance, impressing parched early colonists with their ability to source permanent water from underground aquifers/soaks in the Cheltenham-Beaumaris area during the dry months.[14] In recent years, several scholars, as well as Aboriginal people themselves, have emphasised the purposeful actions undertaken by Traditional Owners in 'shaping' and effectively managing Country. In particular, the strategic employment of cool burns that over time encouraged grasslands and open woodlands on the plains, which were preferred by kangaroos and stimulated the growth of edible native plants.[15]

Watercolour of 'Carrum Carrum Swamp' by James W. Curtis, circa 1872, with a pair of silhouetted figures – possibly Aboriginal – gathered around a campfire on the opposite bank.
(Source: National Art Gallery of Australia, accession no. 2008.699, used with permission)

The effective exploitation of natural resources by the *Bunurong* people required a 'tremendous spatial and narrative memory', sophisticated lithics (stone) and fibre tools (baskets, water holders, bags, etc.), a mastery of hunting equipment (spears, nets, traps) and digging sticks, and an encyclopaedic knowledge of species, habitats, and processing methods.[16]

Finely sewn, labour-intensive possum skin cloaks – scored with the 'iconography of Country' – and essential in winter, were prominent within the material culture of the *Kulin*.[17]

Along with kangaroo, possums, wombats, small marsupials, birds and lizards – hunted mainly by the men – a pillar of the *Bunurong* diet was abundant riparian resources and some 300 edible plants, roots and fungi, the collection

of which was chiefly the domain of women. The *murnong* (*Microseris lanceolata*), a tuber known as Yam Daisy or Native Dandelion that grew profusely along waterways in the Study Area, was of particular importance as it was available year-round and could be eaten raw, roasted, or baked in an earth oven.[18]

Within the City of Kingston, the inland heath and open woodlands, coastal foreshore, *Moody Yallock* (meaning 'near little sea' and the antecedent for Mordialloc), and Carrum Swamp – seasonally teeming with eels and birdlife – were resource-rich locations that were focal points of the *Bunurong*. Evidence of their presence remains in the contemporary landscape, including middens, rock wells, artefact scatters, and marked or scarred trees. Such sites can be important and/or sacred to the Indigenous community and are often protected as Registered Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Places.

An impression of the dynamics of *Bunurong* engagement with their Country is reflected in the 1854 European observations of a typical mobile encampment:

> It seems that while travelling the people were busy but the day was not: all are employed; the children in getting gum, knocking down birds etc.; the women in digging up roots, killing bandicoots, getting grubs etc.; the men in hunting kangaroos, etc., scaling trees for opossums etc. They mostly are at the encampment about an hour before sundown – the women first, who get fire and water, etc. … In warm weather, while on tramp, they seldom make a miam [bark hut] – they use merely a few boughs to keep off the wind, in wet weather a few sheets of bark made a comfortable house. In one half hour I have seen a neat village begun and finished.[19]

Sketch of a *Bunurong* encampment, unspecified location, date unknown.
(Source: William Thomas, 1832-75, SLV)

On occasion, large-scale gatherings of the *Bunurong* and other Aboriginal people took place, generally at more consistent water sources, particularly along the banks of the *Birrarung* (Yarra River). At these assemblies' activities like ceremonies, celebrations, conflict resolution, initiations, and trading were conducted. It is highly likely that the mouth of Mordialloc Creek and the edges of Carrum Swamp may have hosted sizable meetings or more permanent camps.

In 1827, William H. Hovell – attached to an expedition exploring Western Port – stumbled upon a convergence of *Bunurong* bands on a stretch of beach between Carrum and Aspendale in the Study Area, perhaps a traditional gathering or show of numbers/greeting party against his unauthorised intrusion on Country:

> Before leaving the beach a very large tribe of Natives joined us, I counted more than 100 Men Women and Children … I gave most of the men & boys a fishing hook each, and left them, they tried every inducement to get me to remain with my party among them all night, as they were to have a Corroboree this evening, but I did not consider it safe, I do not think they would injure us, but I thought it was very likely if they could get us a change they would take away our clothes, The women in point of regularity of features, are the best I have seen in the Colony, they are more of them young and healthy. & each had a child, both men & women had

good coverings made from the skins of the Kangaroo, they had several fine Kangaroo dogs [dingos] by which they get their principal support.[20]

1.2 MORDIALLOC ABORIGINAL RESERVE

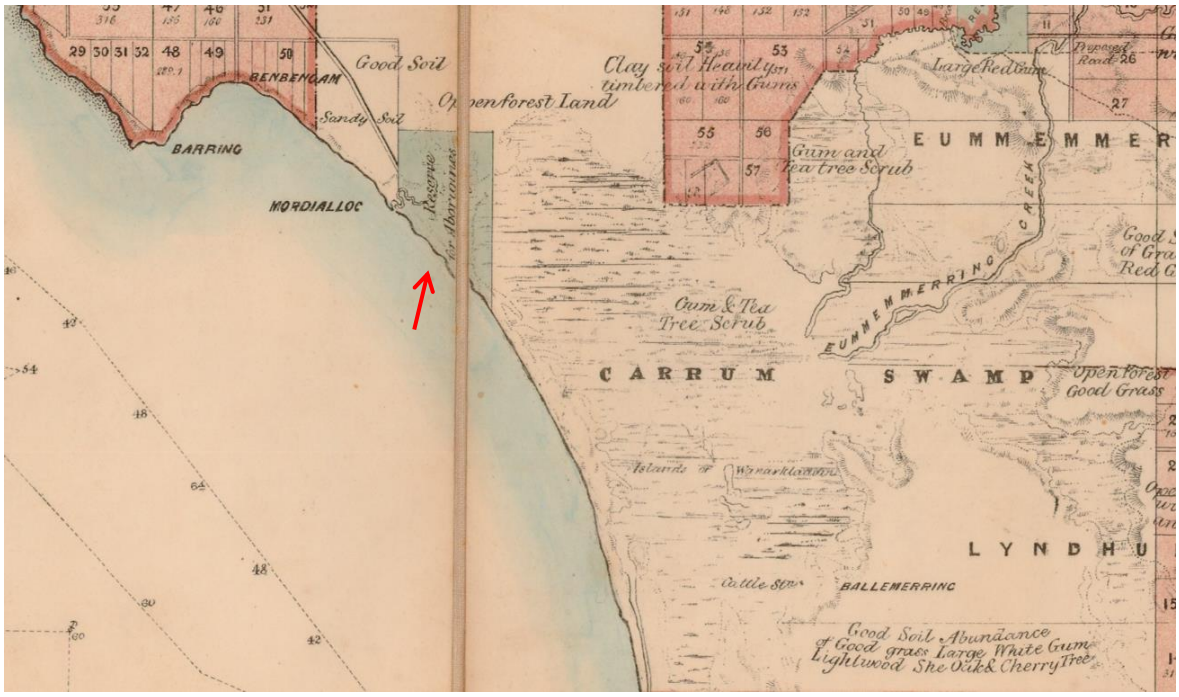
The history of the impact of colonisation on the *Kulin* peoples – starting in the late 1790s with the repeated, often violent, forays of unruly European sealers from the Bass Strait along the southern coast of Australia – is not that of undisputed British hegemony or an overmatched Indigenous society.[21] Confronted with unfathomable change, disease and the breakdown of traditional society, Aboriginal people resisted, regrouped, and adapted; navigating the colonial economy, ill-treatment and a radically different conceptualisation of land use and tenure to maintain a relationship to Country and culture. This aspect of the colonial Indigenous experience is powerfully conveyed in the Study Area by the history of the Mordialloc Aboriginal Reserve.

The specifics of interactions between the *Bunurong* and other Aboriginal people with early waves of settlers in the Study Area has not been studied in-depth. Encounters were likely to be various, ranging from mutual assistance, conciliation and ad hoc employment on pastoral runs and farms to confusion, menace, and violence. The rapidity by which the ancestral lands of the East Kulin people were usurped and occupied by squatters from the mid-1830s was undoubtedly traumatic.[22]

Cattle and sheep trampled the native grasslands, eradicated the *murrnong* and fouled water sources. At the same time, fences and stations disrupted access to Country and areas of exclusion expanded. These factors instigated a traditional food crisis that was compounded by a pervasive sorrow, pauperism and array of other issues.[23]

Following the disbanding of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate (1839-49), the Wesleyan teacher William Thomas (1793-1867) was retained as the 'Protector/Guardian of Aborigines' of Indigenous people for the entire Colony of Victoria. Thomas ultimately convinced then superintendent La Trobe, who was eager to rid Melbourne's streets of Aboriginal people, that new reserves were a necessary concession.[24]

After witnessing the failure of previous reserves under the Protectorate, Thomas consulted in person with the *Bunurong* to source a new location. Yet despite a strongly voiced Indigenous preference for a location at Merricks Station near the southern tip of the Mornington Peninsula, around *Coolart* (built 1895), the mouth of Mordialloc Creek, at *Moody Yallock,* had to be accepted.[25] In June 1852, Thomas secured a considerable triangular block of land at Mordialloc (initially 832 acres), extending either side of the waterway, as a camping and hunting reserve for the *Bunurong*.[26]



The Mordialloc Aboriginal Reserve, shown on this early map shaded green (red arrow), was a spatial focal point for the *Bunurong* people in Melbourne, both pre- and post-contact.
(Source: Thomas Ham, *Map of the settled district of Melbourne*, 1853, SLV)

This 'reservation' – a gentleman's agreement between Thomas and La Trobe, never formally gazetted – was not staffed by Europeans or permanently occupied by the *Bunurong*.[27] Rather, it acted as a delivery location for rations (flour, sugar, tea, tobacco) and annual blanket supply with a local settler appointed to oversee distribution. The main campsite was on the south side of the creek at today's Attenborough Park.[28]

Nevertheless, the Mordialloc Reserve formed a highly significant colonial-era site in mid-to-late 19th-century Aboriginal Melbourne. It was a place where the remaining *Bunurong* and other Aboriginal people could set up an encampment, often for weeks at a time, without being 'moved on' and were able to live a partly traditional life, sourcing bush tucker from the coast, creek and nearby Carrum Swamp, while also working on occasion as shepherds or harvesters, selling eels, and performing boomerang throwing feats for European locals and visitors.[29]

For over two decades, the Mordialloc Aboriginal Reserve constituted one of only a handful of relatively safe sites for the *Bunurong* south of the *Birrarung* (Yarra River). Their attachment and sense of ownership to the reserved land was repeatedly communicated. The reserve also incorporated a traditional burial ground, north of the creek, possibly in the vicinity of the Allan McLean Hall on Albert Street that had been established around 1839 by the *Bunurong*.[30]

The hunter and naturalist, Horace W. Wheelwright (d. 1865), penned a description of the *Bunurong* camp in the late 1850s:

> When I camped at Mordialloc, I lived on very neighbourly terms with the "Bomerang" tribe, for they generally had their "miamies' close to my hut … Like most other savages, they strictly imitate the white man in all his vices; and this tribe is fast paying the penalty; for since I knew it first, more than two-thirds have been swept away by disease and intemperance, and in a few years it will exist only in name …
>
> the few that are left still retain much of that free independent spirit, and wild roving disposition … For although they can get their rations all the year round at the head station, they never care to live long in one place; but, following up the habits of their early life, make periodical excursions into the bush at different seasons, when the different game is in. Thus swans' eggs, kangaroo, ducks, pigeons, eels, and crayfish all furnish them with food and occupation at certain seasons; and it was but rarely that many of these were on the reserve at one time … The Black's opinion of the white man is pithy and laconic: "Big one fool, white fellow, all same working bullock."[31]

Other scant, sometimes cryptic, recorded references to Aboriginal people elsewhere in the Study Area also divulge their sustained presence across the district in the late 19th century. The descendent of an early resident in the Oakleigh area recalled her grandmother's stories of members of the 'Mordialloc tribe' carrying firewood she had gathered at Bald Hill in Clarinda for the reward of tobacco.[32] A customary marriage site 'under a bridge that used to be on the track between Cheltenham and Mentone' was noted.[33] While William H. Brunton, a long-tenured market gardener, told of corroborees performances conducted near the Royal Oak Hotel at Cheltenham and instances of entreating money from visitors alighting from carriages.[34] From Indigenous perspectives, the act of 'begging' was likely seen as a reciprocal exchange for allowing Europeans access to Country.

Brunton also painted a colourful portrait of *Derrimut* (*Derremart*/*Terrimoot*, d. 1864), a *Ngarweet* of the Yalukit-weelam clan and regular camper at the Mordialloc Aboriginal Reserve:

> I remember seeing a crowd of them sitting at Mordialloc after having journeyed through St. Kilda, when Dedimut [*Derrimut*], who was the chief, was dressed in ordinary clothes with a bell-topper hat decorated with gaily colored ribbons and beads, which seemed to raise his estimation of himself, as they seemed very fond of bright colours. (They were also very fond of boiled potatoes whenever they could get them). Dedimut could be seen often hawking large quantities of eels.[35]

By the late 1850s, efforts were underway to dislodge the *Bunurong* from the Mordialloc Reserve. As early as 1858, Thomas had fronted the 'Select Committee Upon Protection to the Aborigines' and rejected arguments made by European and Chinese fisherman that the reserve was little used:

> There were, he [*Thomas*] wrote, over ten Bunurongs left and the area was frequently visited by the Yarra tribes. He had preached to between fifty and sixty Aboriginals on the reserve in October, 1857. He concluded that soon the blacks would be extinct; 'till then I trust not a perch will be wrested from them'.[36]

In 1861, the 'reserve' was incorporated into the Mordialloc Farmers' Common, which covered the northern half of the Carrum Swamp. Derrimut confronted Thomas at the reserve in November 1862, demanding to know why he 'let white man take away Mordialloc where black fellows always sit down'.[37] A year earlier, the preventable death

from exposure of 'Betsy', a married 25-year-old Aboriginal woman, after a stillbirth on the 'flats' near the main camp nearby drew some public criticism of the reserve and the lack of available Western medical care.[38]

The establishment, in 1863, by the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines, of Coranderrk Station at Healesville for the East Kulin people led to some of the *Bunurong* relocating with only a handful continuing to camp at *Moody Yallock*. Encroachment on the 'reserve' lands then accelerated.

The Board's 1864 report noted that the availability of eels in Mordialloc Creek had plummeted, seemingly due to commercial fishing, threatening a key food resource. Some action was initially taken, bringing the creek under the *Fisheries Act*, but its implementation was quickly relaxed.[39] From 1866, sections of the reserve along the beach were subdivided and developed, effectively revoking the unofficial reserve status of the area, which had begun to fade in the public memory.

Peter [*Ta-ar-deet*] & Eliza [*Too-Lumm*], Westernport Tribe' photographed at Queenscliff, 1870s. Both Peter and Eliza camped at Mordialloc Reserve. (Source: Fred Kruger, SLV)

Yet some of the *Bunurong* remained at *Moody Yallock*. Four Aboriginal people were named as occupants of the reserve in the early 1870s, exasperating the Board's representative with their disinclination to be controlled:

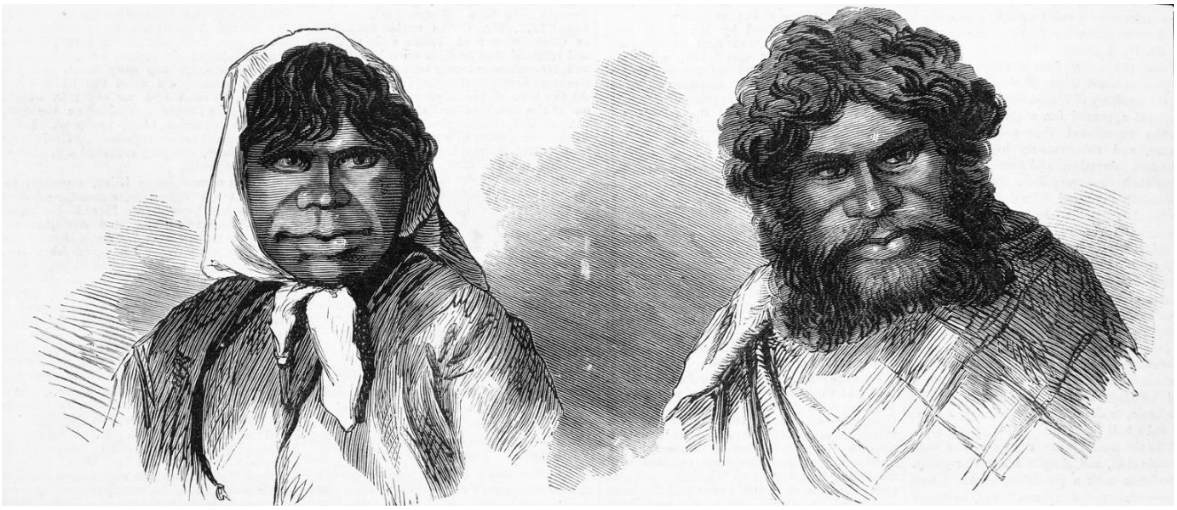
> The number of Aborigines at Mordialloc under my charge, and who receive aid from me, is four—Jimmy and Nancy, Peter and Eliza. Eliza was married to the king of the Mordialloc tribe; he is dead, and she is married again.
>
> As to the condition and conduct of these Aborigines, I can only say that they are neither interesting nor industrious. I have repeatedly tried to persuade them to make baskets—which they could if they liked—but in

> vain. I have offered to teach them to work, but with avail, as work they detest. Jimmy does nothing, Peter hunts, and, I believe, converts the proceeds of anything that he may chance to catch or kill into drink. I have repeatedly cautioned them against the latter, but they are cautious and too sly to ever to drink when I am near … Their greatest happiness is perfect liberty to roam free and unconstrained.[40]

Jimmy (possibly *Yam-mer-book*) and Nancy Dunbar died within a few days of each other in 1877. The metropolitan press – engrossed with the prevailing 'vanishing race' theory of the time – widely and inaccurately reported Jimmy's death as the 'Last of the Mordialloc Tribe'. He was described as a former member of the Native Police, 'remarkably sagacious, dry and amusing', an impressive mimic, and 'perfect master of the boomerang'. While done flippantly, coverage also captured his authentic, enduring sense of proprietorship of Country:

> To the last Jimmy considered himself the supreme lord and master of Mordialloc. He was in the habit of offering large areas of the district for small exchanges of rum or tobacco—and recently he tried very hard to negotiate the sale of fifty acres to a certain speculative well-known medico of Fitzroy.[41]

Prior to her death, Nancy was reputed to have worshipped at St Matthew's Anglican Church in Cheltenham.[42] The skull of Jimmy Dunbar was acquired, almost certainly without his consent, for craniology study by the University of Melbourne soon after this death.[43]



'Jimmy Dunbar and his Lubra [Nancy Dunbar]—The Last of the Mordialloc Tribe'.
(Source: Illustrated Australian News, 14 May 1877, SLV)

It is difficult to detect an Aboriginal presence in the Study Area after the death of Jimmy and Nancy Dunbar. The municipality does not appear to have not contained concentrations of Indigenous families in the manner of Fitzroy, Footscray, and Northcote over the 20th century.

As was typical in Melbourne, indentured Aboriginal female servants were likely to have been employed in the area into the interwar years, although specific examples are not known.[44] The phasing out of missions and stations in the 1920s meant that Aboriginal people were dispersed and were present across most of Victoria, often finding ways to maintain ties to their Country.

Under the assimilation policies of the Aborigines Welfare Board (1957-1968), it is possible that Aboriginal children, removed from their families and communities, may also have been placed as state wards within foster families in Kingston.[45]

Oral history and fine-grain research into individual Indigenous lives has the potential to fill in some of these gaps.

Engraving of Jimmy Dunbar and dogs at the well-forested Mordialloc Aboriginal Reserve.
(Source: *Australasian Sketcher*, 12 May 1877, p24 at SLV)

END NOTES

1 Deborah Bird Rose, *Australian Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness*, Australian Heritage Commission, 1996, p1

2 The boundaries defining Melbourne's traditional owners were drawn up by the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Council and came into effect in July 2021.

3 Gary Presland, *Aboriginal Melbourne: The Lost Land of the Kulin People*, McPhee Gribble, 1994, p1

4 Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Victorians: A History Since 1800*, Allen & Unwin, 2005, pp7,9

5 Sometimes spelt *Boonwurrung* to avoid mispronunciation of the term's first vowels. (See Ian D. Clark and Laura M. Kostanski, *An Indigenous History of Stonnington: A Report to the City of Stonnington*, University of Ballarat, 30 June 2016, p16)

6 Ian D. Clark, *Aboriginal Languages and Clans: An Historical Atlas of Western and Central Victoria*, 1800-1900, Monash Publications in Geography, no. 37, 1990, p364

7 Gary Presland, *First People: The Eastern Kulin of Melbourne*, Port Phillip & Central Victoria, Museum Victoria Publishing, 2010, pp15-16

8 Presland, *First People: The Eastern Kulin of Melbourne*, Port Phillip & Central Victoria, p365-66

9 Clark, *Aboriginal Languages and Clans: An Historical Atlas of Western and Central Victoria*, 1800-1900, p365

10 Presland, *First People: The Eastern Kulin of Melbourne, Port Phillip & Central Victoria*, p24

11 Clark, *Aboriginal Languages and Clans: An Historical Atlas of Western and Central Victoria, 1800-1900*, pp365-67

12 Clark, Aboriginal Languages and Clans: An Historical Atlas of Western and Central Victoria, 1800-1900, pp365-67

13 Presland, *First People: The Eastern Kulin of Melbourne, Port Phillip & Central Victoria*, pp56-61

14 Leo Gamble, *Mentone Through the Years, Mordialloc and District Historical Society*, 2003/2019, p4

15 Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, Allen & Unwin, 2011, passim; and Bruce Pascoe, *Dark emu: black seeds: agriculture or accident?*, 2014, passim

16 Peter Sutton and Keryn Walshe, *Farmers Or Hunter-Gathers? The Dark Emu Debate*, Melbourne University Press, 2021, p9

17 Joe Hinchliffe, 'The timeless and living art of possum skin cloaks', Museums Victoria, 10 July 2019, available online – quoting Kimberley Moulton

18 Presland, *First People: The Eastern Kulin of Melbourne, Port Phillip & Central Victoria*, passim

19 William Thomas, 'Brief account of the Aborigines of Australia Felix', circa 1854, p399 in Thomas F. Bride, ed., *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, 1899, p301 via Internet Archive
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THE ENVIRONMENT

The historical evolution of the Study Area has been significantly shaped by its natural environment and people's interactions with it. Over the past 200 years, the distinct bioregions of the coastal foreshore, wetlands, and inland plains and woodland encompassed within the City of Kingston have undergone a dramatic transformation through land clearance, drainage, sand mining, and development activity. In many cases, the inherent advantages of this environment have supported the municipality's growth to become an expansive suburban community and major employment centre. However, the ecological costs of such development have been high. It now requires an imaginative leap to reconstruct the many pre-existing landscapes of the Study Area, as is the case for much of metropolitan Melbourne.

Yet despite such reshaping, the City of Kingston's sense of place and cultural landscape remains defined by its beaches, waterways, wetlands, bushland reserves, parks, and widely admired 'green wedge'. Understanding how the interaction between humans and nature within the Study Area has influenced its post-contact evolution is essential for unpacking its development patterns.

This chapter provides an overview of the Study Area's geomorphology—the physical features that characterise the landscape. Such thematic coverage was not fully examined in the previous TEH.

Despite the renewed focus here, an extendeddeep-time history of the area that became the City of Kingston is worth further research. Exploring the unique First Nation perspective of the natural world, both spiritually and in terms of management practice, would diversify and enrich contemporary understandings of the Study Area's past landscapes. Likewise, recognising the role played by individuals, community groups, and government organisations, including the municipal authorities, in protecting and rehabilitating the local environment—a loose movement that has progressively gained pace since the early 20th century—would also be valuable, as such forces look to continue to be a dynamic aspect of the contemporary City of Kingston.

2.1 GEOMORPHOLOGY

The ancient geological substratum that underlies the City of Kingston, influencing its landform and biosphere, was formed in the Silurian and Devonian periods, 344-441 MYA (million years ago).

Sandbelt

Overlaying this Siluro-Devonian bedrock is a much younger layer of Tertiary and Quaternary (2-65 MYA) sedimentary rock. This geomorphic formation is known as the Brighton Group/Coastal Plain but is sometimes referred to as the 'Sandringham Sands', 'Moorabbin Plain', or perhaps most popularly, the 'Sandbelt'. It is formed predominantly of light grey and yellow sand, silt, clay, gravel, and ironstone (a reddish-brown/ferruginous sandstone), which were deposited by a retreating sea in the Pliocene (5.3-2.6 MYA).[1] The resulting soil profile, while not loamy (rich), proved uncomplicated to work, porous, and responded well to fertilisation—all key factors that sustained market gardening activities from the mid-19th century across the region.[2]

The Sandbelt encompasses a vast sweep of southern and south-eastern metropolitan Melbourne, including approximately half of the suburbs that now comprise the City of Kingston: Moorabbin, Clarinda, Clayton South, Cheltenham, Heatherton, Mentone, Parkdale, and Mordialloc.[3] It terminated at the Carrum Swamp.

The topographical surface of the Sandbelt, effectively the Study Area north and northwest (to Oakleigh and Springvale) of Mordialloc Creek, was one of gently undulating plains dissected by low sandy ridges and broad, shallow valleys. This landscape was cloaked in open forests of gum, she-oaks, and nativecherrywith native Kangaroo and Weeping grasses and a rich herbaceous understorey. The settlers described such environs as 'low woody scrub'.[4] Enlivening this stretch of country was its spring-time booms of flowers and shrubs, including a plethora of orchids.[5]

There were also sections of low-lying, often water-logged sandy heathland, particularly in and around Cheltenham, that was dotted with silver-leaf string bark, messmate, and common peppermint trees.[6] River Red Gums, some of which survive today, flanked the wide and deep Mordialloc Creek, the only natural waterway in the Study Area that flows directly into Port Phillip Bay, which was fed by a network of ephemeral streams (now channelised) and the overflow of Carrum Swamp.[7]

The long arch of the bay—a distinctive natural component of the Study Area—was formed from varied erosional and depositional processes that created a series of beach dunes and ridges, which hindered drainage in parts, creating small and large backswamps.[8] This area was fringed with coastal dune scrub, including tea-trees, she oaks, banksia, and wattle.[9] This curved foreshore, from Mordialloc to Frankston, was unofficially referred to as 'Long Beach' in the early 19th century.

Vegeation at Aspendale, near Carrum, circa 1900.
(Source: AJ Campbell, Lady in Field Picking Wild Flowers, Aspendales, MV Item BA 669)

2.2 CARRUM SWAMP

The Carrum Swamp—likely *Karrum Karrum* to the *Boonwurrung*—comprises the other major geographic component of the Study Area, covering the contemporary suburbs of Bangholme, Braeside, Carrum Downs, Chelsea Heights, and Keysborough. Parts of Aspendale, Patterson Lakes, and Seaford (outside the Study Area) also formed part of the former swamp.

The Carrum Sunklands is a low-lying triangular depression that developed after a period of glaciation 25 to 35 MYA, during which Port Phillip Bay formed. The retreating shoreline left high sand dunes stranded a little inland, behind which a freshwater wetland emerged. It was bordered by the Beaumaris monocline (north), Selwyn Fault (south), and Melbourne Warp (north-west) and fed by the Dandenong and Eumemmerring creeks.

This enormous; predominantly flat, marshy tract stretched from Mordialloc Creek in the north to the mouth of Kananook Creek in the south, a distance of about 15 kilometres, covering an area of about 30km^2, although this extent could increase dramatically during periods of peak rainfall or springtides (from the creeks). Ironically, the whole wetland complex, large as it seemed, was sometimes called the 'Little Swamp' to distinguish it from a much larger example, Koo-Wee-Rup Swamp, at the head of Western Port Bay.

Carrum Swamp emptied only slowly into the bay, meaning that much of its extent consisted of ephemeral wetlands and shallow, stagnant pools. It was a mosaic of peaty morass (boggy ground), permanent water, and higher ferny, sandy land. The three largest of these hillocks, located in the suburb of Chelsea Heights today, were known as *Wannarkladdin*, which was likely a *Boonwurrung* place name.

Richard Howitt,passing the swamp on foot in the early 1840s, described a:

> valley …knee-deep in water, almost the whole length of it, in the wet season; yet, during the summer there is no other water than what saturates the deep boggy soil of the tea-tree–at intervals–covered valley. Yet through the whole dry season these pools are level-full, the water perpetually draining into them.[10]

The swamp consisted of loose peaty soil over sand, which along with the accumulated organic matter, was 'exceptionally fertile soil' covered in thick reeds and sedges.[11] Its landscape was described in early surveys as sparsely wooded with interspersed and stunted tea trees, red gums, banksia, and casuarina, although more dense sections appear to have been apparent as well. William Henry Bruton, an early market gardener in Cheltenham, held strong memories of Carrum Swamp in the mid-1850s prior to its intensive modification:

> When I first visited Carrum … the foreshore was a growth of honeysuckle ferns and wild currants, and when these trees were flowering, a large number of birds were seen. Magpies and crows preferred the other side of the swamp. The call of the Kookaburra was heard everywhere, and amongst the trees were wattle birds, leatherheads, woodpeckers, thrushes, kingfishers, robins and many different kinds of parrots, and as we camped near the swamp, we heard plovers chattering and chanting the whole night through. As we cannot go through the swamp we go around a large clump of swamp ti-tree, when—oh! wild turkeys—they know the human beings, and are up and off quickly…
>
> Here the gum trees lay prone where they have lain for hundreds of years, and others in the full glory of life send their spreading limbs and luxuriant foliage out, displaying their pride of life.
>
> Here also are the possums in plenty, disporting themselves amongst the branches.[12]

Edithvale and Seaford Wetlands (outside the Study Area) are the last remnants of the Carrum Swamp, which was extensively modified from the late 1870s.

Despite its prominence, there appear to be few visual representations of Carrum Swamp.

Image over ► *Geological map from Melbourne to Western Port*, showing Study Area and surrounding districts. (Source: Surveyor General Office, 1854, SLV)

Alluvium
Blown Sand
Thin capping and Outliers of Tertiary on Older Rocks
Tertiary Sandstone with Limestone (Pleistocene)
Sands, Sandstone, Clay, Gravel, and Limestone full of Fossils (Shells, Corals, Wood, &c.) } Tertiary
Sandstones, Conglomerates, Breccias, and Shales with Fossil Wood, Leaves of Plants and thin seams of Coal } Carboniferous
Palaeozoic Sandstones, Shales, Clay, Slates, &c. often covered with a thin capping of Tertiary Sand } dotted Yellow
Tertiary and Modern Volcanic Rocks, Lava, Greenstone, Basalt, Amygdaloid and Old Igneous Rocks,
Granite.
Essendon
Heidelberg
KOONUNG KOONUNG CREEK
Collingwood
BOROONDARA
Hawthorne
Richmond
Footscray
RIVER
YARRA
Melbourne
Sandridge
HOBSONS BAY
Williamstown
Gellibrand
St Kilda
PRAHRAN
Horizontal stratified fossiliferous beds of red ferruginous mottled & chocolate colored Sand and Sandstone commonly very soft and friable, often containing nodules and concretions of hard metallic looking Ironstone and thick beds of very hard ferruginous Quartz Grit or Fine Conglomerate "Durable Building Stone."
Brighton
MOORABBIN
Thickness exposed on the Brighton Cliffs 50 80
Regularly bedded hard, white, Sandstone, used for building with thin soft, chaky beds
DANDENONG CREEK
BARRING
MORDIALLOC
CARUM SWAMP
Sand Hills
Sandy Country
Undulating sandy country covered with heath and scrub Tertiary Sandstone
Coarse gritty friable white Sandstone
TANGENONG CREEK
Bed of hard cherty rock with fossil plants: silicate of alumina
NARINGALLING CREEK
BALLAR CREEK
KACKERABOITE CREEK
GUNYOUNG CREEK
NAUMANGUR CREEK
MOOROODUC
Quarry White Sandstone and Clay Slate
Baxters Cattle Station
Mt ELIZA
Quarry in white Palaeozoic Quartzose Sandstone
King's Cattle Stn
Beds of stiff blue clay with calcareous bands and concretions, full of fossils and crystalized Sulphate of Lime. Fossil wood in ferruginous Sandstone Conglomerate. At sea level hard fine grained Basalt, resting on & apparently upheaved by it.
Dyke
CHECHINGURK CREEK
Balcombe's Station
Mt MARTHA
BROKIL CREEK
Line of Section
Place from which the geological formation Probably palaeozoic sandstone and slate
This boundary uncertain: no rock seen in place
ARTHUR'S SEAT
Burrell's Station
BALD HILL
Very little rock to be seen can be ascertained
Bunn's Station
SANDY POINT
WHITE CLIFFS
friable sand rock with bands and patches of white earthy Limestone
Tucks Stn
WEST HEAD
Barkers Station
CAPE SCHANCK
Cliffs of hard dark Basalt with bands of mud Crystals of Carbonate of Lime Quartz giving the rock a marbled and porphyritic appearance
POINT GRANT
WESTERN PASSAGE
INNER WESTERN PASSAGE
WESTERN PORT
EASTERN PASSAGE
FRENCH ISLAND
Trap range densely timbered: partially covered with Tertiary Sandstone
Undulating Sands Country covered with heath and scrub
Tertiary Sandstones & Sands same as Brighton Cliffs
TORTOISE HEAD
Hard dark blue Basalt
SETTLEMENT POINT
PHILLIP ISLAND
CHURCHILL ISLAND
MUD ISLANDS
RIVER BASS
Tertiary Sandstone coarse gritty very feldspathic & friable, angular granitic detritus
Probable Line of Fault
Carboniferous Sandstone with some thin beds of Coal: much fossil wood
Steep rocky cliffs of hard dark blue concretionary Basalt, the cavities filled with Steatite, Carbonate of Lime
High cliffs of coarse grained Granite Pink felspar
R. Meikle.

2.2 DRAINING CARRUM SWAMP

Historically, wetlands have often been perceived as unproductive, unhealthy, and unsightly places in Western culture. Carrum Swamp was no exception. From an early date, its value was perceived by many solely in its agricultural potential, which could only be achieved by drainage. By the late 1880s, most of the once vast waterscape had been converted into dry land to be exploited for market gardening, farmsteads, grazing, and later suburban development, although flooding remained a pervasive issue.

Carrum Swamp initially proved attractive to squatters because of its abundance of fresh water and 'extensive plains of rich black loam covered in rib grass, one of the most nourishing grasses in Australia.'[13] However, other constraints, particularly that much of its watery landscape was periodically inundated or too marshy for grazing, hampered its exploitation for cattle or sheep, especially in its northern half.

In line with British land use traditions, a Farmers' Common was established for the northern half of Carrum Swamp in February 1861, under the *Nicholson Land Act 1860*.[14] It allowed landowners within 8 kilometres of the common the benefit of grazing cattle (sheep were not permitted) in the fen. Such access was crucial, especially in drought periods. This designation included the Aboriginal Reserve at the mouth of Mordialloc Creek on the northern edge of the swamp. The Farmers' Common was twice extended and occupied the majority of marsh by 1866.

Several ambitious drainage and reclamation schemes, including a push to open up the area for sugar beet cultivation, were aired over the mid-19th century.[15] Popular and government opinion was in lockstep. The value of the Carrum Swamp lay in its agricultural prospects; as the *Argus* put it in 1869, 'in its undrained state it would be perfectly useless'.[16] A survey of the swamp had been carried out in 1868 in preparation for its sale, extinguishing the common. However, the resources required for drainage were realised as beyond those of the state government or an individual, and the land was made available for selection under the *Land Act 1869*.

Strict improvement conditions prevailed for selectors of allotments on Carrum Swamp, but the lack of drainage works hampered agricultural development. Only the sandy hillocks and southern plains were able to be cultivated, fenced, and a residence built. The remainder of the swamp proved too wet. A typical selector experience was that of Norman McSwain, who set out the issues succinctly in writing to the Secretary of Lands in 1876:

> Through the whole year three fourths of the land is under water and during the past winter there was not one acre dry in the whole of it… the land is not returning anything. I had five head of cattle and two horses on it but when the first flood came down last winter I found the cows over the knees in water where they had been for two days without any food and it was with no small difficulty I got them off so that it is very hard for a poor man to spend money on such land. When the proposed drainage is finished it will alter the case'.[17]

Early Drainage Work

Despite early government interest in draining the swamp … the Minister for Lands announced [in 1871] that the scheme was too expensive. It fell to local selectors to propose levying themselves to finance the scheme that had originally been proposed by the government. This was the construction of drains linking the Dandenong Creek to the Mordialloc Creek and the Eumemmerring with the Kananook to run water to the sea and a main drain running north to south from Mordialloc to (now) Carrum, which would also empty into the creeks.[18] This work was begun by the Dandenong Roads Board (the predecessor of the Dandenong Shire Council) in 1873. Although it provided some relief from flooding, it was still inadequate. Local selectors testified to a Select Committee of Enquiry in 1876 that lower land was still being flooded.

The Patterson Cut

Two years after this, the Minister of Public Works, Hon. J.B. Patterson, inspected the state of the swamp drainage area and recommended that a direct drain should be cut through the sand dunes to the sea from the Eumemmerring River. The government provided the Dandenong Shire Council with the funds for this drain, known as Patterson's Cut (now Patterson River), which drains into the sea at Carrum.[19] The 'cut' was finished by August 1879, as was a new bridge, spanning it on the Nepean Highway (then called the Point Nepean Road). Soon after, however, flood waters washed the bridge abutments away and scoured the sides of the 'cut', so that the new bridge had to be extended by thirty feet on each side.

The Carrum Irrigation Trust

In 1881-1882 a channel was constructed to join the Dandenong Creek to the main drain. (The strip of land for this purpose had been reserved in 1876). But the drainage works were still fairly ineffective. As the Government had passed an Irrigation and Water Supply Act in 1886, local landowners petitioned to have the Carrum Swamp District constituted an Irrigation and Water Supply District in 1889.

Although the legislation was really aimed at providing financial help to districts needing to institute irrigation works, its attraction for Carrum landowners was that it offered the possibility of funding for future drainage works, which could also be used as an irrigation system during drier periods.

The Carrum Irrigation Trust was duly gazetted on December 2, 1889. Although it was advanced £27,000 by the government, it was also empowered to collect rates from the property owners within the 'Irrigation' area. The Trust set out to enlarge the Dandenong Creek … and the Eumemmerring Creek channels and to create smaller internal drains and irrigation channels. Weirs were constructed on each of the creeks to hold water during dry periods but release it through sluices during floods. This work was effective through relatively dry years, but wetter years brought heavy siltation in the lower channels, causing flooding again. After floods in 1904, when the Irrigation Trust defaulted on its payment to the government, the work was transferred to the State River and Water Supply Commission.

Patterson River, Carrum, 1950s.
(Source: SLV)

20th-century Measures

Severe floods in 1923 and 1924 meant that further work had to be undertaken. The Commission once again widened the Eumemmerring and Dandenong drains, constructed a main outfall from Pillars Bridge to the Patterson Outlet and a contour drain in the east near Cranbourne. Much of this work was carried out by sustenance workers [in the early 1930s] using Unemployed Relief Funds. Some of this work was still in progress when another flood occurred in November-December 1934. As a result of this flood, 100 houses in Mordialloc, 700 in Chelsea, 40 in rural areas and 120 in the Dandenong Township were damaged.

Yet another flood occurred in 1952, just as large areas of Chelsea and Mordialloc were being developed as residential estates. Even at times when there was no flooding, streets in these new subdivisions were quagmires.[20] *Following this the Swamp Dain was enlarged again and pumping units were installed. In addition new tidal gates were installed at both ends of the Swamp Drain and at the Mordialloc end of the Mordialloc Drain. Subsequently the water level in the swamp drain could be maintained at a much lower level than previously.*

In 1966 control of the swamp drainage area was handed over to the Dandenong Valley Authority. Almost twenty years after that, a pumping station was installed on the Eel Race Drain, to pump water back from Patterson River to the Kananook Creek, which Frankston residents claimed had been denied a proper water flow since the Patterson Cut had been made in the 1870s. In a sense, this pumping station is yet another stage in a process that has lasted over 120 years to tame and control the Carrum Swamp…

Yet another adaption of the former swampland occurred in the 1970s when a series of canals were constructed with the Patterson River at the Patterson Lakes residential development.

1939 aerial photograph of Carrum with Patterson Cut near centre image. By this stage much of the natural swamp had been drained and developed, largely for agricutural uses.
(Source: Military Project Photography, Run 6, Frame 1456 Geoscience Australia)

2.3 NATURAL DISASTERS

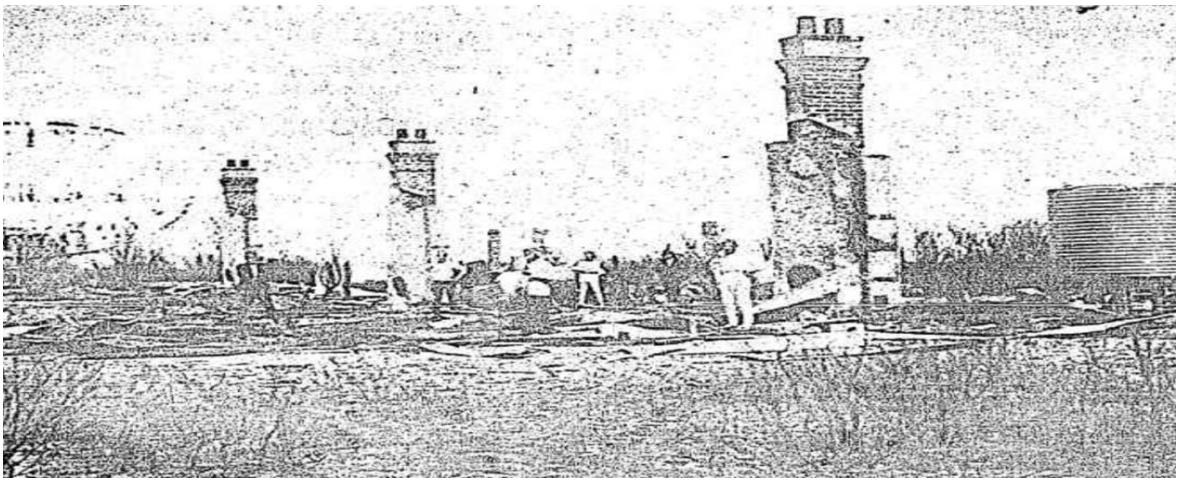
Flooding and severe storms have routinely buffeted the Study Area. Major and minor inundations associated with Carrum Swamp and Mordialloc or Dandenong creeks overflowing remained a serious issue, particularly in the southern half of the City of Kingston, into the late 20th century, with serious floods occurring across the 1920s and 1930s and in 1952. The key flooding events have been covered chronologically in a series of articles on the Kingston Local History website.

Flooded streets at Aspendale, 1934. (Source: *The Sun*, Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

Bush fires also challenged the lives of local residents. In December 1913, a brief but 'sensational fire' swept rapidly through the bayside camps and tea-tree scrub between Aspendale and Carrum, even threatening the central part of Chelsea. The region's fire force had to be turned out and male and female volunteers mobilised before the fire was checked after about four hours. The *Age* reported that the 'aftermath was pitiable':

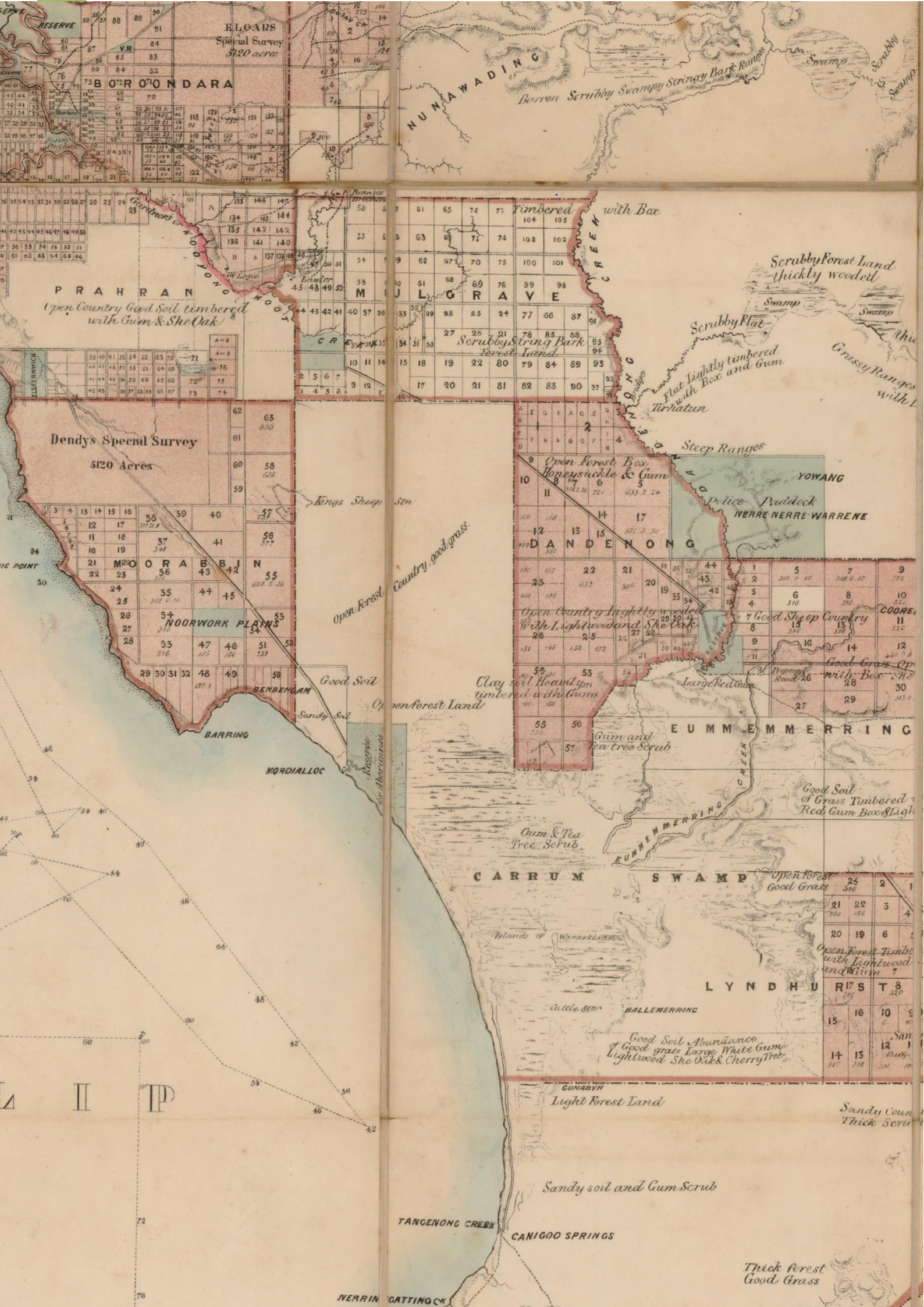
> There was an area of a mile and a half in length and about 900 feet in width, blackened and desolated. Nothing but grimy chimneys and an occasional wall, except for the several places that escaped, was left of about 150 habitations… The firefighters were exhausted, and many of the woman, some of whom had toiled heroically among the flames, collapsed under the strain…
>
> Something like 60 permanent and substantial houses of the seaside type, and about 100 small bungalows, many of which were small and not costly, were destroyed… Excluding the campers and week enders about 200 people have lost their homes. The monetary value of the destroyed property would probably be £25,000 to £30,000.[21]

Another fire event occurred in January 1944 during a severe Victorian fire season, when a bushfire in the scrub at Beaumaris jumped containment. It led to other spot fires, causing extensive property damage over two days, including in the Study Area, where parts of Mentone, Heatherton, and Braeside were burnt out.[22]



Remains of new villas' in the wake of the December 1913 fire. Street is identified as Carnarvon Avenue, which appears to have since been renamed.(Source: Punch, 1 January 1914, p17)

Image over ► Extract from the *Map of the Settled District of Melbourne*, 1853. (Source: Thomas Ham,, SLV)


ELGARS
Special Survey
5120 acres
BORONDARA
RESERVE
NUNAWADING
Barren Scrubby Swampy Stringy Bark Ranges
Swamp
Scrubby Swamp
PRAHRAN
Open Country Good Soil timbered with Gum & She Oak
Timbered with Box
Scrubby Forest Land thickly wooded
Swamp
Swamp
Scrubby Flat
Scrubby Stringy Bark Forest Land
Flat lightly timbered with Box and Gum
Tirhatun
Grassy Ranges
Steep Ranges
Open Forest Box Honeysuckle & Gum
YOWANG
Police Paddock
NERRE-NERRE-WARRENE
DANDENONG
Dendys Special Survey
5120 Acres
Kings Sheep Stn
Country good grass.
Open Forest
MORNINGTON
Open Country lightly wooded With Lightwood and She Oak
Good Sheep Country
Good Grass Open with Box She
Clay soil Heavily timbered with Gums
Large Red Gum
Open forest Land
Good Soil
Sandy Soil
BARRING
MORDIALLOC
Reserve for Aborigines
Gum and Tea tree Scrub
EUMMEMMERRING
EUMMEMMERRING CREEK
Good Soil of Grass Timbered Red Gum Box & Ligh
Gum & Tea Tree Scrub
CARRUM SWAMP
Open Forest Good Grass
Islands of Wrarkkanne
LYNDHURST
Cattle Stn
BALLEMERRING
Good Soil Abundance of Good grass Large White Gum Lightwood She Oak & Cherry Tree
GUNABYN
Light Forest Land
Sandy Country Thick Scrub
Sandy soil and Gum Scrub
TANGENONG CREEK
CANIGOO SPRINGS
Thick Forest Good Grass
NERRIN NERRIN CATTING CK

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22 Leo Gamble, 'The Beaumaris Bushfires of 1944', *Kingston Local History*, article reference 319, 27 June 2018, available online

ESTABLISHING SETTLEMENT

3.1 SQUATTERS

Permanent European settlement did not occur until after John Batman, a well-known collaborator in Tasmania's 'Black War' against the First Nations population, sailed from Van Diemen's Land, arriving at the furthest navigable point of the Yarra River in 1835. Within a few years, overlanders from New South Wales were driving an increasing number of cattle and sheep southward to the village settlement at Melbourne, encouraged by explorer Major Thomas Mitchell's reports.

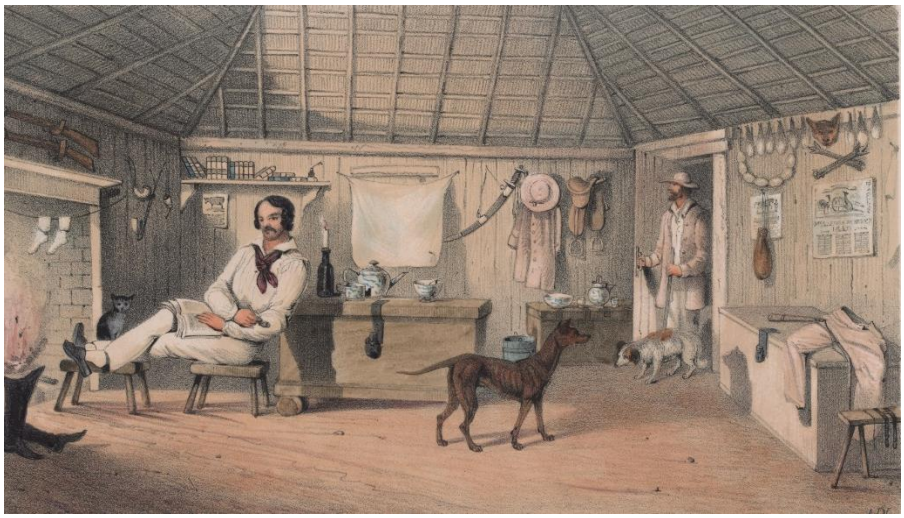
By 1841, squatters had claimed vast tracts of land for pastoral settlement and grazing in what was known as the Port Phillip District from First Nation peoples. Legally, these first permanent settlers were unauthorised trespassers on Crown Land, but the Sydney-based authorities decided that acting against the squatters would have been futile, and an annual license system was established instead (£10 per year initially). In 1847, an Order-in-Council created further complex licensing and leasing rules and allowed squatters to purchase up to 640 acres (259 ha) of their runs. This act, known as the 'pre-emptive right', was taken up by many of the squatters and usually entailed acquiring the most productive parts of their holdings and the homestead.

The land in the Study Area was overwhelmingly taken up as pastoral runs. The well-known 5,120 acres (approx. 2,071 ha) 'Special Survey' taken up in 1841 by Henry Dendy (one of three he conducted) was located to the north in what is now the Brighton area.[1]

Between 1842 and 1852, Alexander Macdonald operated a cattle run named *Mordiallock No. 2* in the Study Area, located to the east of the nascent Mordialloc township. Early squatters in the Study Area tended to invest the bulk of their capital in sheep, but cattle were also common in the Study Area. James Fraser also chose cattle for his run named *Moody Yallock,* which he took up in 1840 from Mr Newton, believing that the damp swampland would cause foot-root in sheep and incur a greater cost from shepherds.

On the *Windeit* run, which John O'Shannassy established in 1842, cattle were also chosen to roam the nearly 40,000 acres of land, which was located between Cheltenham and the Mordialloc Creek.[2] O'Shannassy surrendered his license in 1846, allowing the King brothers, John and Richard, to take up part of O'Shannassy's pastoral run, which was bounded by South, Warrigal, Centre Dandenong, and Chesterville roads, with one of the brothers establishing a settlement of small farm holders near East Bentleigh.[3] On the opposite side of the Nepean Highway, James Moysey had obtained the pre-emptive right for a large section of land located at the foreshore end of Charman Road, which he developed for smaller-scale farms. Similar runs were also established near Chelsea, such as the *Garem Gum* and *Cardinia Creek* runs.[4]

Whether squatters chose to run sheep or cattle, all were affected by the prolonged drought in the late 1830s, which was followed by a colonial economic contraction. During the 1840s, many pastoral stations changed hands across the east coast of Australia, including in the Study Area. For example, George and Mary Keys, Irish migrants who arrived in Victoria in the early 1840s on the bounty system (assisted migrants), had by 1845 leased land at *Moodie Yallock,* which they had obtained a Crown grant for seven years later.



Drawing depicting the interior of a typical squatter's homestead, circa 1847. (Source: Alexander Lang, 'The squatter's first home', SLV)

The discovery of gold in Central Victoria in 1851 meant that many of the early settlers left for the diggings, leaving behind a shortage of labour. Yet, the gold rush impacted colonial pastoralism in other ways as Victoria's population boomed during the gold rush, leading to an exponential demand for meat and produce that restored the fortunes of many established and new squatters.

3.2 SURVEYS

Initially, surveying in early Australia was mainly concerned with settlement, acting to keep accounts of the moving frontier, which was often shifting through land grants and sales. Later in the early 19th century, surveying became a means of land expedition and exploration. John Murray and Matthew Flinders surveyed the Victorian coast in 1802 on separate journeys, detailing the Nepean coastal area. Following these expeditions, Governor King sent Surveyor Charles Grimes to explore Port Philip Bay. Late in January 1803, Grimes and his party had found the Kananook Creek, spending the next two days walking to the Carrum Swamp. It is believed that the area traversed by the party was Long Beach.[5] With the sweeping waves of migration following the gold rushes during the 1850s and the creation of the Victorian colony, surveying returned to its original function of facilitating settlement.

Once the colony of Victoria was proclaimed in 1851, efforts quickly turned towards raising revenue and providing settlement for the waves of migrants entering the region. A significant issue faced by the new colony was the tensions and disagreements between the squatters, who viewed their leases as permanent, and more recent migrants with a strong desire to acquire small holdings. Over the 1850s, agitation against the 'squattocracy' rose, leading to campaigns for land reform. In response, the colonial government established the Nicholson Land Act of 1860, which, while open to manipulation by squatter interests and land speculators, opened up the extensive system of runs for freehold purchase. The breakup of the runs underlaid the formation of urban and agricultural development across the second half of the 19th-century Study Area.

Drawn map of *Long Beach* pastoral run, shaded in blue, which was surveyed in the mid-1860s.
(Source: Long Beach Run, VPRS 8168/P0002, Run 319, PROV)

On the beach side of Schnapper Point Road (Nepean Highway), the *Long Beach* pastoral run, which included 4,320 acres spanning Aspendale, Chelsea, Edithvale, Bonbeach, and Carrum, had originally been part of the squatting run leased by Joseph Stewart in 1843.[6] The licence for the run was later transferred to James McMahon, who obtained a pre-emptive right for the land, building his 'Half Way House'. The *Long Beach* run was surveyed in 1865 and subdivided into smaller lots, which were sold to market gardeners or for commercial ventures, mainly those to service travellers and locals in the district.

At Mordialloc, the lease for Macdonald's pastoral run, the *Mordiallock No. 2*, was withdrawn by the government, upon which it was surveyed, subdivided into smaller portions, and auctioned. Macdonald was able to purchase 453 acres (183 ha) of his original run, occupying the area between Lower Dandenong Road and Governor Road.[7]

Other squatters, like the Tuck and Charman families, encamped along the bay's foreshore, were also able to secure important sections of their runs in the face of government-initiated surveys. Other squatters were forced off their leases.[8] For more on later surveys, see chapter 4.

3.3 LAND SPECULATION

Surveying promoted land speculation, where large tracts of land were purchased and subdivided into smaller allotments and sold onward for profit. While such activity occurred from the mid-19th century, it increased markedly during the 1880s 'Land Boom'. Like elsewhere on Melbourne's suburban fringe, this phenomenon was driven by an inflow of British capital, an enlarging population, widespread prosperity, and a sweeping desire to occupy a freestanding, single-family house. Speculators increasingly acquired land alongside the expanding rail and tram lines, establishing suburban estates and luring potential buyers to auctions with free rail passes and chicken lunches.[9] Through such sales campaigns, more intensive township and suburban developed occurred in the Study Area.

The well-known English speculator Josiah Holloway amassed a considerable tract of land in the Parish of Moorabbin in the 1850s through both auction and private sale, which he quickly subdivided into small allotments for sale. Holloway's subdivisions provided the basis of several key urban centres in the Study Area.

Holloway had subdivided the Beaumaris Estate into 200 allotments in the 1850s, which sold quickly just outside the Study Area. Soon after, he offered 'Moorabbin Town' for sale, advertising 573 allotments located between Reserve and Bluff roads. However, sales were sluggish. Holloway also acquired a section of the run formerly owned by the King brothers, which he subdivided into two-acre lots and conveniently named 'Two-Acre Village', later renamed Cheltenham.[10]

Early 1900s, Cheltenham – John Morey, a market gardener, and his children outside his house.
(Source: Moorabbin Historical Society)

By the end of 1865, the first land sales were underway at Chelsea, with the Long Beach Allotments between Mordialloc and Frankston auctioned at an upset price of £1 10s per acre, allotments measuring between 16 and 28 acres.[11]

In Mentone, areas of land were acquired by the National Land Company Limited in the early 1880s, which were transferred by Percy Dobson, a dubious land speculator. Matthew Davies, along with his brother Joseph Bartlett Davies, handled the land sales for the National Land Company, with Joseph also the principal of the Freehold Investment and Banking Company, another land bank.[12] This land was subdivided and given the name 'Mentone', with settlers increasingly moving into the area, which had only been sparsely settled in the previous decades.[13]

The depression of the early 1890s stalled land speculations for a time, which would continue anew in the next century. Land speculation and surveys had broken up the large runs, providing the way for more intensive settlement in the area during the 20th century, as discussed further in chapter 4.

3.4 PROMOTING SETTLEMENT

From the mid-19th century, alongside urban development, land in the Study Area was also progressively taken up by selectors interested in agricultural pursuits, particularly market gardening. One commentator remarked in the early 1860s:

> I camped for two seasons at Mordialloc, on the beach, about fifteen miles south of Melbourne, then the best fishing-station in this part of the country. In my time there was not a better shooting-ground anywhere near Melbourne … but the game became scare, and all the land brought up, so that you could not walk a mile without a three-rail fence staring you in the face.[14]

By the end of the 1850s, public and government interests came to concentrate on the issues of selection and closer settlement. Over the 1860s, a series of influential Land Acts were introduced that sought a difficult compromise between squatter interests and the 'landless', chiefly those wishing to purchase small farming allotments. Under these arrangements, selectors were offered land in defined agricultural areas, paying for half of the allotment at £1 per acre and rent on the remaining, usually for seven years. At the end of these seven years, selectors could pay the remaining balance and obtain the title to the land.

In the Study Area, the Carrum Swamp proved the major focus for selectors. This wetland was opened for selection in the early 1870s:

> a number of licenses were issued from the Department of Public Lands, to gentlemen who purpose occupying portions of the Carrum Swamp, and we understand that immediate steps will be taken by them collectively to thoroughly drain their portions of the swamp land, embracing some 2200 acres, and some thousands of acres belonging to people.[15]

Refer to chapter 2 for an outline of the selector-driven drainage efforts in Carrum Swamp, which led to the creation of Patterson Cut in 1879. Taking up a selection came with conditions to live on and improve the land, which proved challenging for those on the Carrum Swamp, where the land was permanently for some and periodically for others too wet and demanding to work.

Farmers at Carrum, 1903. (Source: Roland Bishop, SLV)

Around 50 to 60 selectors chose the available allotments in Carrum Swamp, with about one-third attempting agricultural development. Few of them succeeded, and those who did were generally unhappy with their returns.

Mark Young, a business owner in Bourke Street, Melbourne, sold this store to finance his selection of land at what is now Edithvale (then part of Carrum Swamp), where he acquired 176 acres (73 ha) in 1871. While Young hoped to build a house for his family on the land, his plans were soon dashed by recurrent inundations. By 1876, Young had still not fulfilled the selection clause to reside on the holding, instead dwelling at Frankston, where he worked as a licensed victualler. As Young argued to the Selection Committee appointed to report on the Carrum Swamp, the land was too wet, with no sufficient dry ground on which he could build a homestead. Other selectors voiced similar complaints, such as Edgar Pettit, who selected 182 acres just north of Mark Young to grow willows.[16]

Selectors on the Carrum pressed the Minister for Crown Lands to allow them exemptions from the residency clause and that the self-imposed drainage tax be accepted as an 'improvement'. With little adequate dry ground, most selectors did not reside on their land. Selectors on the Carrum pressed the Minister for Crown Lands to allow them exemptions from the residency clause and that the self-imposed drainage tax is accepted as an 'improvement'.[17]

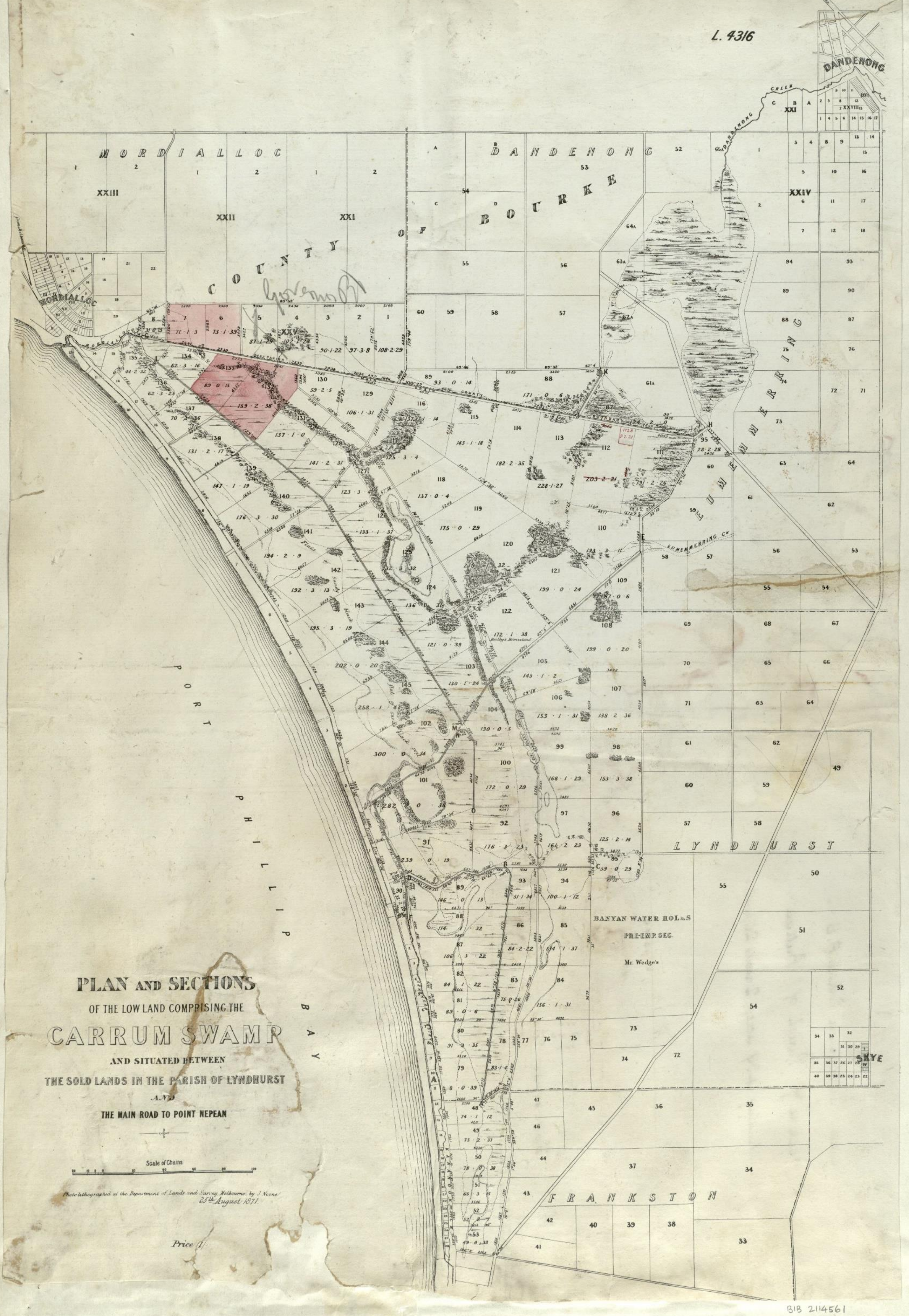
Some of the more successful selectors in the Study Area built small dwellings and shops on their land, which were offered for lease. Such a trend was pronounced at what became Chelsea.[18]

Mid-1890s photograph depicting bushland at Mordialloc.
(Source: A. J. Campbell, 'Near Mordialloc', Museums Victoria)

From 1898, a series of *Closer Settlement Acts* were introduced, seeking to utilise fringer suburban and rural land more intensively. In the Study Area, 460 acres (186 ha) of the southern part of what is now Braeside was purchased by the government under the *Small Improved Holdings Act 1906* and divided into 10 to 12-acre allotments. The quality of the land was poor and many of its occupants were forced to abandon their modest farms ultimately. Some selectors did remain, managing to establish market gardens and poultry farms.[19]

In Mordialloc, the land purchased by Macdonald in 1855 was acquired by the government in 1906 through the *Closer Settlement Act*. It was subdivided into 38 allotments, which ranged in size from 10 to 12 acres, and was to be sold to willing applicants. The number of interested persons far exceeded the available lots, and so the land was distributed by ballot with the expectation that those who were successful would reside on the land by 1908 and develop it agriculturally. Despite such enthusiasm, the small size of the allotments and the lack of government support for amenities equated with a low success rate.[20]

In 1915, a women's cooperative farm was also established at Mordialloc as part of the Closer Settlement scheme. As a contemporary newspaper article noted, the 11-acre (4.4 ha) farm was created as a means to 'help unemployed women who are desirous of helping themselves in entering into rural industries'.[21] The land at Mordialloc chosen was deemed suitable for growing lucerne, raising seedlings, and bulb growing, but the promoters also hoped to be able to take up poultry, bee farming, and sericulture (silk worm farming).[22] With insufficient government support, the cooperative failed, ending in 1917.



PLAN AND SECTIONS

OF THE LOW LAND COMPRISING THE

CARRUM SWAMP

AND SITUATED BETWEEN

THE SOLD LANDS IN THE PARISH OF LYNDHURST

AND

THE MAIN ROAD TO POINT NEPEAN

Photolithographed at the Department of Lands and Survey Melbourne, by J. Noone
25th August 1871.

Price 1/-

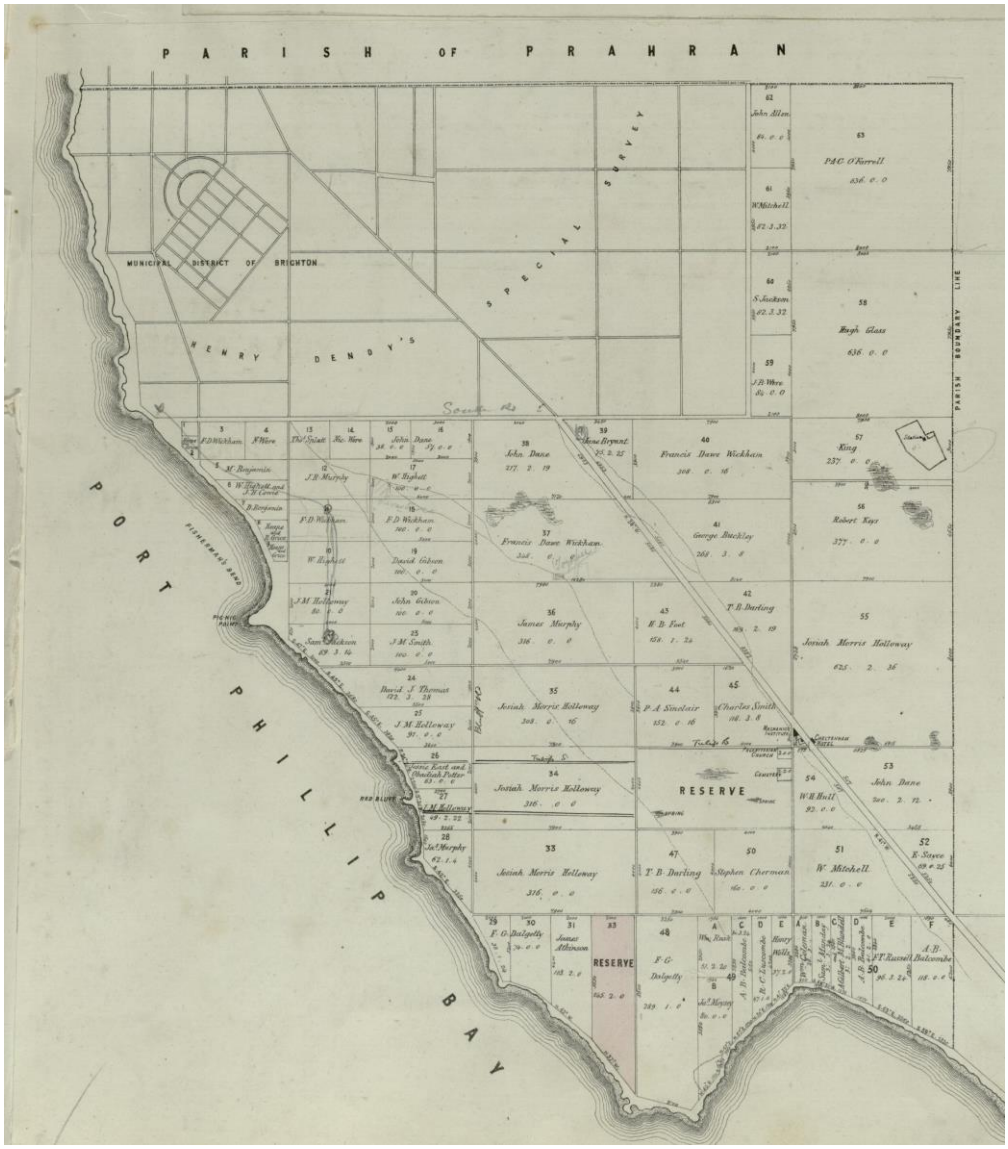
◄ Image over – 'Plan and sections of the low land comprising the Carrum Swamp and situated between the sold lands in the Parish of Lyndhurst', 1871. (Source: Department of Lands and Survey, SLV)

Soldier Settlement

During the First World War, the government promised to find work and homes for its nearly a quarter of a million returned servicemen. The Soldier Settlement Scheme, which aimed to settle soldiers on suitable land as farmers, was established in response. To meet this purpose, the Victorian government eventually acquired 2.5 million acres (1,011,714 ha) for the scheme by 1930, although the extent of land purchased for this purpose in the Study Area was small.

In Mordialloc, only six returned soldiers were assigned leases, though many from the wider public raised doubts as to the quality of the land. Finding the land unusable, three of the soldiers contacted the Dandenong Shire Council, whose representative visited the settlement with a member of the Dandenong Shire Repatriation Committee and members of the Closer Settlement Board. It was recommended that the quantity of land given to the soldiers be doubled; however, the Dandenong councillor recognised that the core issue lay in the poor quality of the land.[23]

By the end of 1918, the Soldier Settlement Scheme at Mordialloc has deemed a failure, a not uncommon circumstance. As noted in an article in the *Argus* from 1918, the Minister of Lands at the time 'quite agreed that a grave mistake had been made in placing soldiers upon pocket-handkerchief allotments at Mordialloc and elsewhere'.[24] Gradually, the soldiers settled at Mordialloc sold their land for industrial development.[25]



Parish Plan of Moorabbin, 1864.
(Source: SLV)

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23 'Repatriation. Mordialloc market gardens', *Argus,* 12 September 1918, p6
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25 Whitehead, 'Closer settlement at Mordialloc'

CONNECTING KINGSTON

4.1 PATHWAYS AND ROADS

The major roads through the City of Kingston reflect some of the earliest routes established by settlers into the area, with the weaving pathways a reminder of the travel limitations posed by the natural impediment of Carrum Swamp. From rudimentary tracks to major highways, routes into and through Study Area have continued to evolve as bridges were built over creeks and levied tolls were used to improve local roads.

Roads

Connecting the north and south of the municipality to Melbourne, the inns and stores placed along the Nepean Road, one of the earliest roads established in the area, provided an important locus for the development of small communities and towns in the area. The location of inns established along the road to refresh weary travellers and their horses later became the centres of townships, such as Cheltenham, Moorabbin, and Mordialloc.

The Nepean Road was known variously by early settlers as Arthurs Seat Road, the Cape Schank Road, the Point Nepean Road, and the Schapper Point (Mornington) Road, only officially gaining the title of the Nepean Highway in 1947.[1] The Nepean Road appears on drawn maps as early as 1841 and follows a similar route to the current highway from Brighton through Cheltenham to Mordialloc, where the pathway begins to run parallel with the coast.

The close parallel between the foreshore and the road was the result of the travel limitations caused by the Carrum Swamp. Following the rise in car ownership from the postwar period, the increasing number of motorists led to issues of traffic congestion, requiring upgrades to some of the major roads in the City of Kingston.

Between the 1950s and the 1970s, the Nepean Highway was progressively upgraded, widening the road in 1974 to four lanes in each direction.[2] To accommodate the highway, some stretches of buildings were removed while intersections and streetscapes were altered at many points, such as at the corner of South Road and the Nepean Highway.

Point Nepean Road, Chelsea, 1950s.
(Source: SLV, H32491/5069)

A network of key arterial roads crosses the Study Area, many of which have been present since the 19th century. Sections of the Moorabbin Road, later incorporated into Warrigal Road, were used by early settlers to reach Moorabbin, which at the time was a vast rural area that stretched towards Heatherton.[3]

Warrigal (a Darug word for dingo) Road was declared a Main Road in 1937-8 by the Country Roads Board (VicRoads) and was later widened in 1958 to four lanes. The road was declared a State Highway in December 1990 and was extended north three years later. Centre and Lower Dandenong roads appear in maps as early as 1913.[4]

The Mordialloc Freeway was built to connect the Dingley Bypass to the Mornington Peninsular Freeway. Sections of the Mordialloc Freeway underwent major upgrades, which were completed in 2021.

Another early road established in the City of Kingston was the Old Dandenong Road. Reputedly, this route was roughly marked out as a track in 1837 by Bourke, an overseer in the employ of squatter Alfred Langhorne, when he tied a small tree to the back of his dray as he made his way from Dandenong back to Melbourne for supplies. The Old Dandenong Road was at times referred to as 'No Good Damper Road', a reference to an inn of that name established on the road by 1840.[5] By the 1850s, a more direct route to Dandenong was surveyed (now the Princes Highway).

In the early 20th century, roads across the City of Kingston area were asphalted, such as Charman Road in 1901, Bay Road in 1906, and Parkers Road in 1915. [6]

In the early 2020s, level-crossing works were undertaken at Carrum.[7]

Tolls and Rates

Formed in 1862, the Moorabbin Roads Board (which covered Moorabbin, Mordialloc, and Sandringham) levied tolls over parts of the Nepean Road. The Moorabbin Roads Board was created following the establishment of the Central Roads Board by an Act of the Victorian Legislative Council in 1853, from which various Road Boards were established throughout Victoria and acted as forerunners of municipal councils.

These Road Boards were responsible for levying tolls or rates, which were used to improve major roads in their districts. Initially, the section of road between Mordialloc and Frankston was under the jurisdiction of the Mount Eliza Roads Board; however, by 1863, the Main Roads Board gained responsibility for constructing the road between Mordialloc and Frankston. In 1942, the upkeep of the Nepean Road was conferred to the Country Roads Board, which began duplicating the highway in the 1960s.

Point Nepean Road undergoing repair in 1914.
(Source: VPRS 17684/P0003/199, PROV)

Bridges

Bridges began to be constructed in the area in the early 1850s, improving access within the Study Area.

Along the Nepean Road, the pathway intersects with the Mordialloc Creek, which early travellers were required to cross by cart or horse at low tide. To remedy the situation, the Victorian Government called for tenders from contractors to construct timber bridges over the Mordialloc and 'Cannonuke' Creeks along the Nepean Road. It

appears that the construction of the bridges moved slowly, with work still being completed a year later.[8] The timber bridge over the Mordialloc Creek was replaced by a concrete bridge in 1919, which was later widened in 2009.[9]

Concrete Mordialloc Bridge, 1920s.
(Source: Mordialloc and District Historical Society)

The creation of the Patterson River in 1879 required the construction of another bridge along the Nepean Road. However, after only 16 months, the original bridge was badly damaged after heavy rainfall led to extensive flooding, the rushing water sweeping the bridge away. The replacement timber bridge was not built until 1882 and lasted twelve years before the bridge collapsed, a result of poor maintenance.[10]

More controversy followed in the 20th century as the bridge required further repairs. In the late 1920s, a concrete bridge was established over the Patterson River at a substantial cost that required the municipal council to spread the repayment of the outlay over a 31-year period.[11] Further upgrades on the bridge began in 2016, which included strengthening the substructure underneath, resealing the road, and routine repairs, costing an estimated $750,000.[12]

Point Nepean Road, Bridge over Patterson River. The image shows the bridge after widening in 1937, which was undertaken by the Country Roads Board. (Source: PROV, VPRS 17684)

Plateways

As an area with an extensive market gardening layer, local agitation for improved links to metropolitan markets over the late 19th century was vocal. By the 1890s, the early dirty roads were viewed as a hindrance to agricultural development, being almost impassable in some sections and in bad weather. A series of, at the time, innovative steel plateways were installed as a response over the early 1900s in the district, as elsewhere in the metropolis. These plateways were designed to carry ponderous carts over long distances, reducing the damage sustained by travelling over rough roads and improving speed and were utilised into the late 1930s. The small section of the plateway along Centre Dandenong Road in Moorabbin (VHR H0928, HO4) is the only remaining stretch in Melbourne.[13]

(Above) A horse drawn tram from the Beaumaris Tram Company between Sandringham and Beaumaris circa 1910, with tramway tracks underneath.
(Source: Sandringham and District Historical Society)

(Left) Remnant steel tramway along Centre Dandenong Road, 1970s. (Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

Motorised Transport (Taxis and Buses)

From the 1900s, taxi services begin to operate in the Study Area. Newspaper evidence suggests that a private taxi business was operating from Beach Road, Sandringham, and most likely also serviced the majority of the district, though it is unclear when it began to do so.[14]

During the Second World War, the stationing of American Navy servicemen in the area led to increased business for local taxis as they ferried these servicemen to and from hotels.[15]

While motorised buses were first established in the early 20th century, such services did not grow exponentially until the interwar period.[16]

Some of the earliest bus routes established in the City of Kingston began in 1908 with the Brighton-Moorabbin bus service. Beginning from St. Kilda Street and passing through Normanby Street, the service travelled along Nepean Road and ended at Moorabbin railway station.[17] Locals from Beaumaris, Sandringham, and Mentone did petition the Premier to establish a motor bus service between Sandringham and Mentone in 1905; however, the Premier was against the idea, mainly as the horse tram was still in operation. As the Premier posed in his response:

> if he ran the buses against [the horse tram] there would be an outcry of Socialism at once.[18]

As complaints against the slow and outdated horse-drawn trams grew in the 1900s and 1910s, motorised bus services increased in the Study Area, particularly in the 1920s. Bus routes were established or extended to Mentone and Parkdale. Often, enterprising individuals, usually ex-servicemen skilled in mechanics, utilised privately owned buses to transport passengers. Beginning in the 1930s, the bus company Ventura began operating bus services to Cheltenham and Mentone, later expanding in the 1940s to Aspendale and Mordialloc.[19]

Despite increased government regulations over the bus industry, the Ventura Company grew over the coming decades, becoming the largest bus service in Victoria and continues to function in certain areas of the City of Kingston. Other bus services also operated in the area, including Grenda's Bus Services (purchased by Ventura in 2012), Sandringham Bus Co, Southland Bus Services, and Blue & Silver Bus Lines.[20]

Under the Jeffery Kennett government (1992-9), State-run bus routes were privatised, with contracts for these services leased to bus companies. In 2012, the newly formed Public Transport Victoria gained oversight of these contracts, including those operating in the City of Kingston, and continues to lease State-run routes in this municipality to private bus companies.

One of the first motor taxis used in Moorabbin, which was operated by the Lord family of Northcote.
(Source: *Moorabbin: A centenary history 1862-1962*, John & Esta Handfield, 1962, xi)

Children with bus, circa 1901.
(Source: Museums Victoria Collections, MM 70568)

Ventura's restored bus visits Mentone for a celebration, 2012. (Source: Kingston Collection)

4.2 WATER TRAVEL

With settlements located along the shoreline of Port Phillip Bay, the history of water transportation for the City of Kingston travel mainly focuses on fishing and tourism. Though early accounts of water transportation centres on

local fishermen travelling by ferry to the Study Area for leisurely excursions had become common by the late 19th century as the area grew in popularity as a seaside leisure/recreational destination.

Piers and Jetties

Though a bayside locality, Mordialloc experienced several delays before a jetty or pier was constructed. The responsibility of building piers or jetties in colonial Victoria rested with the government, who advertised a contract for the construction of a jetty at Mordialloc in 1869, which is the first recorded notice for a jetty in Mordialloc. In the early 1880s, the jetty was believed to be extended in order to unload material for use in the construction of the railway line to Frankston. A pier at Mordialloc remains and is part of the *Mordialloc Creek and Foreshore Precinct* (HO108).

The seaside resort of Mentone, which was developed in the 1880s, boasted a pier from 1891.[21] A description for Mentone dated to 1901 notes a 'new pier' in the seaside resort area, and may be referring to the pier seen below.[22] In 1959, the pier was condemned for demolition, but was destroyed by a storm before it could begin. The last relics of the pier were removed in 1963.

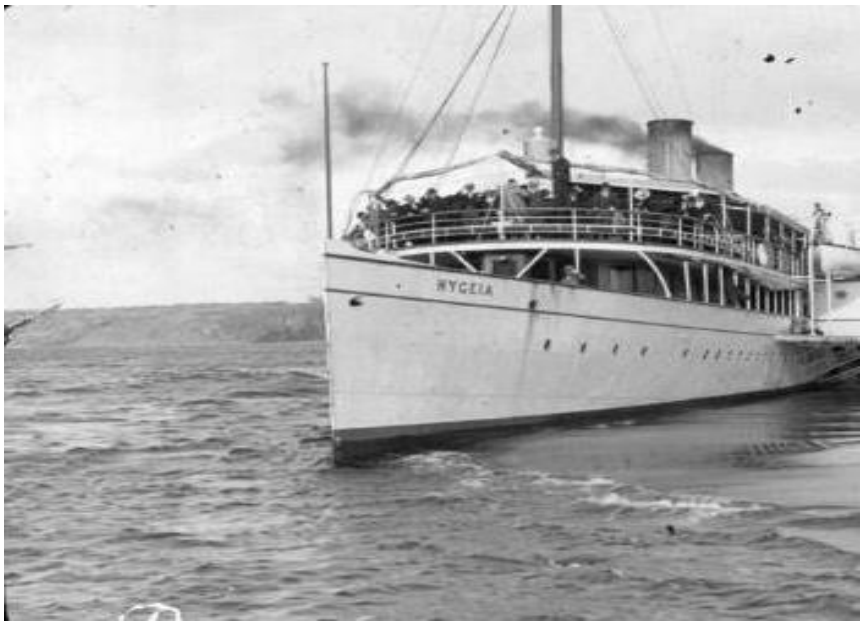
View of Mentone Pier, interwar or postwar period.
(Source: SLV, H32492/7837)

The Chelsea Pier, which endures, was built in the late 1920s along with a storm water drain for the Carrum Swamp.

Chelsea Pier.
(Source: RBA, November 2022)

Steamers

During the late 19th century, bay steamers were a popular mode of transport from the Mornington Peninsula to Melbourne, particularly for tourists and excursionists. By 1880, two bay steamers, *Williams* and *Queenscliff*, regularly docked at the Mordialloc pier during the summer months.[23] The steamer, the *Ozone*, also began to ferry passengers in the 1880s, mostly tourists, between Melbourne and Queenscliff or Melbourne and Mornington. The steamers the *Hygeia*, launched in 1890, and the *Weeroona* in 1910, followed the same route, docking at Mordialloc pier.[24] The popularity of steamers declined over the early 20th century, ending completely by the postwar period, with the *Ozone* decommissioned in 1918. The *Weeroona,* acquired by the US Navy in 1942, was broken up nearly ten years later.



Steamer Hygeia, ferrying passengers, circa 1900.
(Source: Museums Victoria Collection)

4.3 RAILWAYS

On the tail of Victoria's Gold Rush, the colony invested in a series of public and private rail networks, with the first rail lines connecting inner Melbourne to southern suburbs and cities such as Geelong and Williamstown. Beginning as private ventures, the high cost of building and maintaining railways meant that they soon came under the control of the government, which purchased failing rail companies and often half-finished railways. By the 1880s, all railway lines were overseen by the Victorian Railways department. Rail lines triggered and allowed for intensive development in the Study Area. [25] May of the original stations have now been lost, some of which is due to level crossing removal works, including those at Chelsea and Cheltenham; there are also plans for crossing removals and a new station at Apsendale, as well as rails works at Mordialloc and Highett.

Stations

While a railway line from Melbourne to North Brighton was established in 1859, it was not until the line was extended from Caufield to Mordialloc in 1881 that stations were constructed in the City of Kingston. The extension to Mordialloc involved establishing timber stations at Moorabbin, Highett, Cheltenham, Mentone, and Mordialloc in the same year. The line was further extended to Frankston a year later.

Most often, railway stations in the Study area were established according to demand, such as Aspendale station, which opened in 1891, the same year as Aspendale Racecourse. In 1907, Chelsea station (HO31) was also opened, initially operating as a flag station, which required passengers to wave down the train before boarding.

Similar to Aspendale station, the station at Chelsea was established following communal pressure, mainly from local subdividers, who had encouraged nearby farmers to contribute to the cost of the station. Later, in 1919, Edithvale station was opened, with another station, this time at Bonbeach, established in 1926. Mentone station (HO106, H2346) was originally constructed with temporary buildings, which were replaced in 1900.[26] Parkdale station, which was originally known as Parkers Road, was opened in 1920 with the nearby estate development.

Mentone Railway Station and Gardens (HO106).
(Source: RBA, November 2022)

Some of the stations in the Study Area were designed with 'station gardens', a section of adjacent or adjoining land intended for a garden space. Mentone Station was designed with a station garden, with plantings introduced when a new station was erected in 1914; the gardens remain a principal feature of the station (HO106).[27]

Timber stations were first constructed before later being replaced with masonry structures. Many of the original station houses have been demolished and rebuilt in the postwar period, such as at Mordialloc station (HO91), which was rebuilt in the 1950s.[28]

Mentone Station with garden, 1928.
(Source: Kingston Collection)

Rebuilt late 19th-century steam engines are located at Mordialloc station, where a reinforced concrete tower, built by James Younger in 1910, also survives. The two wrought iron tanks have, however, been removed.[29]

Mordialloc Railway Water Tower (HO92). Built circa 1910.
Used for replenishing steam trains. (Source: RBA, November 2022)

Establishment and Extensions

To meet the demands of a growing population and developing technologies, railway lines in the Study Area were often extended, providing access to a greater number of towns. In 1882, the railways were further extended to Frankston, though Carrum was the only station opened along this line. The Brighton railway line was also extended from Brighton Beach to Sandringham in 1887, with another extension of this line proposed in the early 1890s to extend the track to Cheltenham, which never occurred.[30] In 1888, the railway line to Frankston was duplicated and later converted to an electric track in 1922.

Cheltenham Railway station, likely 1920s.
(Source: City of Moorabbin Historical Society)

In the postwar period, railway lines in the City of Kingston underwent alteration as the rising use of motor cars required the installation of level crossings. A level crossing at Moorabbin on the Nepean Highway was removed when the line was moved underground in 1958-9.[31]

Mordialloc Railway Station (HO91).
(Source: RBA November 2022)

Impact of the Railway

The arrival of the railway encouraged commercial and residential development, though not all areas with stations initially experienced such growth. At Mordialloc, the *South Bourke and Mornington Journal* attributed the sudden increase in businesses and residences to the recently opened station, proclaiming

> The opening of the railway to Mordialloc has caused houses to spring up like mushrooms. Ground which a couple of years ago was dreary waste, is now transformed into streets and fenced-in allotments, many of which are built upon, and some very presentable business places seen in the main street.[32]

From Chelsea to Carrum, the combination of the railway line and the rising popularity of seaside holidays in Victoria bolstered the area's residential population. Though many passengers of the railways were initially tourists, by the 1920s, an increasing number of commuters were residents who commuted to work via the train.[33] Similar growth occurred in Parkdale, where a station was opened in 1920, with the area experiencing an increase in land subdivision and sales of residential blocks soon afterwards.[34]

Alongside this residential development, railways supported commercial growth, particularly in the immediate areas around stations. The opening of the station in Cheltenham caused a shift in the local industry when the commercial centre of the area moved from Nepean Road to Charman Road.[35]

The railway also supported local agricultural businesses as local produce was transported to metropolitan markets. Fishermen at Mordialloc, who originally transported their catch by wagon to Melbourne, instead took advantage of the train once the line had been extended. Farmers located on the Carrum Swamp relied on the trains to transport large amounts of produce from Carrum, and then later Chelsea, station. John Henry McCarthy, who worked at the Chelsea station in the summer of 1908, recalled in his memoir how at Carrum station, 'tons of potatoes could be seen stacked on the platform waiting despatch and much other farm produce was received.'[36]

Between 1890 and 1953, several sidings were opened for various industries in the City of Kingston, including a siding for the Australian Glass Manufacturers, which was located near Breeze Street, Carrum.

Carrum station was opened in 1886 and originally operated as a 'flag' station. Image taken circa 1908.
(Source: SLV, H95.94/2)

4.4 TRAMS

From horse powered to electric, the tram system in the City of Kingston has developed substantially from its modest beginnings. Yet, the varying population sizes, local opposition, and wavering council interests meant tram lines were formed relatively late in the Study Area, initially operating as a horse-drawn tram service provided by the Beaumaris Tram Company between 1889 and 1915, carrying passengers to the station at Cheltenham.[37]

In 1919, an electric tram service was introduced between Sandringham to Black Rock, differing only slightly from the route followed by the horse drawn tram.[38] Due to a lack of passengers and the demanding costs of the tram service, the line was closed in 1931.

Horse-drawn tram operated by Beaumaris Tram Company.
(Source: SLV, H25054)

Several different tramway proposals were suggested to connect the electric tram line to Cheltenham in the 1910s and 1920s, but no such extension eventuated.[39] While supported by local interest groups and institutions, such as the Benevolent Homes, few council members saw the benefits of such extensions, resulting in their late development.

A temporary tramway was installed to transport building materials between Cheltenham station to the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum (now the Kingston centre), which was under construction from 1909 to 1911 though the tramway was in operation for only a year and removed in 1910. The tram tracks ran from Cheltenham station, along Park Road, to Centre Dandenong Road.

4.5 MOORABBIN AIRPORT

Moorabbin is inextricably linked with aviation, a result of the decision made by the Commonwealth Civil Aviation Department to earmark the area for the development of an airport in 1946. An airport was established in 1949, and when it was built, the location of the site chosen was between Heatherton, Cheltenham, and Mentone. Previously, the site of the airport had been used for market gardening.

While the airport was claimed at the time to be 'Australia's busiest', the main role of the airport was to act as a base for small commercial freight aircraft and to train pilots. In 1989, the airport was renamed Moorabbin (Harry Hawker) Airport in honour of the pioneer aviator Harry Hawker, born in Moorabbin. Since 1965, the airport has also housed the Moorabbin Air Museum.

Aerial view of Moorabbin Airport, 1970s.
(Source: Museums Victoria Collections, MM 137097)

4.6 POSTAL SERVICE

As towns and localities grew across the City of Kingston area, the population relied upon the local postal service, which first operated as small private ventures from stores or back rooms before coming under the government domain.

Mentone opened its first post office in 1884 and was described by the *Argus* newspaper as being 'in connexion [sic] with a store close to the station' and may be referring to Kelly's store (see below).[40]

Carrum's first post office initially operated from Carrum Station, which was opened in 1886.[41]

In 1857, Cheltenham established a small post office, which was overseen by John Hitchen, who also operated a shoe shop.[42] However, after just three months, the post office was transferred to Robert Trail (or Traill), a manager of a general store.[43] Robert's wife, Mrs Janet Trail, overtook the management of the post office, before it was passed onwards to her daughter, Margaret Trail, in 1868. A mail list from 1862 reveals that mail was transferred between St Kilda station and Cheltenham, passing by coach through East Brighton, Elsternwick, and South Brighton. Another mail service also operated between Tootgarook and Cheltenham by way of Dromana, Frankston, and Schnapper Point.

Kelly family posing outside their general store and post office in Mentone, which was located opposite the Mentone Railway station on Como Parade West, in 1889. (Source: Museums Collections Victoria)

Most of these original post offices were expanded or rebuilt during the late 19th and 20th centuries as they came under federal government ownership and as new technologies, such as the telegraph exchange, were incorporated into postal services. Cheltenham post office moved from private ownership to a new premise on Point Nepean Road in 1891, coming under the care of the Postmaster General's Department.[44] The post office at Mentone underwent a similar transfer in 1890.[45] Another post office was built at Mordialloc in 1916.[46] Much later in the century, a new postal office was constructed in Cheltenham in 1973.

The Postmaster General's Department was renamed 'Australia Post' in 1975, with post offices soon replaced by licensed agencies which also offer a range of other retail services. Post offices in the City of Kingston have also followed this pattern.

Mordialloc Post Office, circa 1917-1930. (Source: SLV, H89.105/163)

4.7 TELECOMMUNICATIONS NETWORK AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Community Radio

A local community radio station, Southern FM, began broadcasting in the early 1980s and originally covered areas such as Mordialloc, Chelsea, and Brighton. The station has moved often over the years and has, at different times, occupied premises in Moorabbin and Mentone. Currently, Southern FM is located in Brighton.

Telegraphs and Telephones

Melbourne first established a telegraph service in 1854, which rapidly expanded across Victoria and connected it to the rest of Australia's colonies. Despite its early introduction, such services were not extended into the City of Kingston until late in the 19th century. Initially, telegraph lines and offices were set up at railway stations. A telegraph office was opened at Cheltenham railway station in 1885.[47] Mordialloc had access to their own telegraph line in 1876 with an office available to the public.[48]

Telephone services were introduced in Victoria in the late 1880s, first in Melbourne and then later in suburban areas. Across Victoria, post offices tended to gain responsibility for providing telephone services, which were initially utilised by the commercial and public sectors. In 1899, a manual telephone exchange opened in Cheltenham, with 24 subscribers signing in the first year. Such subscribers tended to own hotels and stores or provided medical services, such as Miss Watt, who was a nurse located in Inglesidel.[49] Residents at Mordialloc residents first used the Cheltenham telephone services before gaining their own exchange in 1911, which was accessed through the local post office.[50]

4.8 LOCAL COMMUNICATIONS

With its beginnings in the 1840s, a substantial newspaper culture emerged across the Port Phillip District connecting Victorians with local, colonial, and international news, though newspaper offices in the Study Area were slow to form. In Victoria, in general, newspaper firms tended not to develop until after a locality was furnished with a post office, revealing the importance of open communication networks for the creation and maintenance of localised newspapers; the relatively late development of post offices is certain parts of the City of Kingston, such as Mentone, may account for the delay.[51]

While residents in the City of Kingston area could access Melbourne-based newspapers such as *Argus* and *Age*, there also formed small newspaper offices providing local news over the 20th century.

Established in 1900, the newspaper *Moorabbin News* circulated throughout Cheltenham, Mentone, Mordialloc, and Moorabbin, featuring news that ranged from housing to criminal investigations before ending publication in 1975. Operating from Charman Road, Cheltenham, the *Seaside News* serviced the Aspendale, Carrum, and Chelsea area during the early 20th century. The *Chadstone Progress* also served most of Moorabbin to the east of the Nepean Highway between 1960 and 1983.[52]

Moorabbin News Office, which was located on Charman Road, Cheltenham, circa 1910. It was common for newspapers to also operate as printers to supplement the income made from newspapers. (Source: Victoria Collections, identifier 00553)

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AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL KINGSTON

From an early date, the Study Area emerged as an agricultural and farming region, supplying the immediate communities and beyond with fresh produce - an aspect of that district that boomed in the wake of the Gold Rush. The combination of the favourable soil and easy distance from Melbourne meant that agricultural and farming industries proved profitable, persisting in the area well into the 20th century, though not without difficulty. Reaping the rewards of the urban niche markets required evasive farming methods, meaning that the establishment and on-going management of market gardens, orchards, dairy farms and other speciality ventures were all highly labour-intensive. Though strong historical relationships and links have persisted, little fabric remains of this agricultural past.

The proximity of the municipality to Melbourne and the nearby farmland soon led to the development of manufacturing industries late in the 19th century as well. During the postwar period, tracts of former agricultural land underwent intensive industrial redevelopment in response to favourable zoning conditions and the advent of long-haul trucking, which opened up 'greenfield' sites away from the rail lines.

5.1 AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

From the late 1840s, the Port Phillip District had begun to move away from subsistence farming, turning instead towards the cultivation of market crops and specialised farming as more families began to move into the sandbelt localities.

As the land in the Study Area was subdivided for market gardening over the mid to late 19th century, an increasing number of small, free-hold farms were established, which were further aided by the arrival of the railway lines in 1881. By the turn of the 20th century, Moorabbin and its surrounding districts had become well-known for its market gardens, particularly to the west of the study. In 1906, the *Australasian* remarked on how Moorabbin was:

> famed far and wide for its picturesque market-gardens', that 'to take the train to Cheltenham, about 13 miles distant, … you will be landed in the midst of undulating loamy country, dotted here and there with pretty little homesteads surrounded by orchards and crops, that denote industry and prosperity, and which are a credit to their owners'.[1]

While the area underwent a surge in market gardening from late in the 19th century, pioneers of farming in the City of Kingston were present much earlier, such as the Bruton family. Born at his father's property in Cheltenham in 1854, William Bruton later settled nearby with his wife Elizabeth Teagle, taking up nine acres on Point Nepean Road, Cheltenham as a market gardener.[2] William and Elizabeth had ten children together, many of whom remained in the area and later established farms of their own.

William Bruton portrait.
(Source: Kingston Local History)

Decedents of William Bruton, who remained and continued to farm in the area, picnicking at Mordialloc, 1940s. (Source: Kingston Local History)

The Le Page family, pioneer market gardeners in the area, had purchased land from Holloway's 'Two Acre Village' in Cheltenham. Arriving in Melbourne from Guernsey, Nicholas and his wife later relocated to Cheltenham to take up market gardening, where his ten children assisted in farm work and later married into well-known local families.[3] On viewing Nicholas' market garden in 1884, the *Leader* remarked that 'his garden is in excellent order, and planted with as well managed and thriving a lot of trees as can anywhere be seen'.[4] Some of his children, such as Francis Le Page, would purchase nearby properties and became market gardeners themselves.

Another notable family of market gardeners was the Stayners also provides insight into the life of local farmers. George Stayner, who arrived in the Port Phillip district just before the Gold Rush began, took up land on the Highett Road in 1854. On just over ten acres, George kept three gardens and an orchard, on which he grew cucumbers, melons, tomatoes, and celery. In 1884, George's vegetable garden won first prize in the local Brighton Garden Competition, with an article published in the *Leader* detailing his gardens. As the article noted:

> the work of the three gardens is done by Mr Stayner and three men, with two horses and a pony. We also observed the little children at work before school hours gathering fallen fruit, while Mrs Stayner and her maid manage the domestic department, so that industry reins supreme throughout the establishment.[5]

Moorabbin Market Gardens, Federation period.
(Source: 'Through the Moorabbin Market Gardens', *Australasian*, 25 August 1906, p30)

To be profitable, market gardeners located in the northern part of the municipality often relied upon planting perishable, high-value produce and intensive production methods, leading to often back-breaking work that relied upon extended families for assistance. Farmers were mobile, flexible, and commercially minded, drawing upon a range of resources and networks to maintain their farms.

By 1900, market gardening technology was becoming increasingly more sophisticated as tools were introduced to assist with seed planting, ploughing, and crop cutting. For a time, farmers relied upon horse drawn lorries, sturdier and longer compared to carts, and tram plateways (HO4) to transport their produce to Melbourne. In the interwar years, the advent of pneumatic tyres motor trucks and improved roads eased these trips to market. Tractors were later introduced in the 1930s, further assisting with farm work.[6]

Despite the difficulty of the work, market gardening emerged as an important primary industry in the region, one that began to decline in the interwar years. From the 1920s, the rising value of land and increased taxes led many market gardeners to undertake subdivisions, which resulted in a sharp rise in the price of vegetables. Until the Second World War, Melbourne's vegetables were supplied mainly by market gardens, supplemented by backyard domestic food production.[7]

The Second World War required a large expansion in the production of vegetables which saw the outer suburban market garden replaced by large-scale capital-intensive vegetable farms located further from the city, a move made possible by advances in transportation and improved roads.[8] This shift, coupled with the rapid suburban growth of the City of Kingston and increased educational opportunities for the children of farmers, resulted in the marked decline of market gardening in the region. From the postwar period, the remaining market gardens were subdivided.

Early machinery used at Carrum, 1903.
(Source: Roland Bishop, SLV)

A modern tractor used at Cheltenham, 1959.
(Source: L. Richards, Museums Victoria, MM 130365)

To the south of municipality, in places such as the Carrum Swamp, the rich soil of the area meant that agricultural production persisted into the 1970s and 1980s, when it was displaced by the Patterson Lakes development when the fertility of the soil declined.

Farming in the City of Kingston has continued into the 21st century. In Dingley, around the junction of Boundary and Kingston roads, small-scale farming has remained.

Market gardens at Moorabbin, 1961, with the suburban encroachment visible at the top.
(Source: Wolfgang Sievers, SLV, produced with permission)

Diversity In Market Gardening

Alongside the British families moving into and establishing market gardens in the municipality were a number of other European and non-European settlers. In the 19th century Irish, Chinese, and German farmers did engage in intensive farming around Melbourne. Often lacking capital, intensive market farming offered a good opportunity to accumulate capital, an attractive prospect for migrants. Many of these settlers and migrants came from countries with a strong small-farming culture, which was transplanted in the suburban fringes of Melbourne, including in the City of Kingston.

Amongst the most notable market gardeners was the Chinese community. Many Chinese immigrants travelled to the Victorian colony during the Gold Rush following the lure of gold and civil unrest in Southern China. With gold mining on the wane in the 1860s and 1870s, many from the Chinese community turned instead towards market gardening.[9] By 1905, 44 per cent of market gardeners in Victoria were Chinese.[10]

The Chinese were especially active as share farmers in market gardening along the Merri Creek, Darebin Creek and in the sandbelt around Moorabbin and Oakleigh. Using traditional hand tools and labour-intensive methods, which included crop rotation and double cropping, Chinese market gardeners often proved quite successful and were, at times, acknowledged for being exceptional market gardeners. Despite this success, many faced discrimination, particularly as ideas spread that Chinese market gardeners used nightsoil to fertilise their crops, raising fears of the spread of disease and sickness amongst the wider population.[11] Nightsoil was at times used as fertiliser by market gardeners, both Chinese and British, though it was not a prevalent practice.

A Chinese Garden in Victoria, circa 1874.
(Source: J. Armytage, SLV)

5.2 DAIRY AND POULTRY FARMING

As transportation to the Study Area improved from the 1890s, some farmers turned instead towards farming other high-value yet perishable goods, such as eggs and dairy. While poultry and dairy farming were popular, most families on small-hold properties engaged in mixed farming, where they raised dairy cows and fowl alongside gardening, all of which were sold at markets. As such, poultry and dairying were often small ventures operated alongside other forms of agriculture; however, larger-scale farms dedicated to producing eggs and milk did form in the City of Kingston.

Poultry

Poultry became a profitable business in the Study Area, mainly due to the high demand for eggs. Poultry farms, like those cultivated by Thomas Dight and G. Willey, were formed at Dingley in the late 1920s, though they were also farming crops. By 1914, poultry farms were spread across the City of Kingston, stretching from Ormond through to Cheltenham and Mentone, down to Mordialloc. The Mickelburough family established the largest and longest-operating poultry farm in the municipality.

In Cheltenham, John Charles and Ada Mickelburough established a large poultry farm in 1914 when the couple moved to the area with their five children. Born in Melbourne in 1876, John had first developed a poultry farm in Gippsland, called 'All Varieties Poultry Farm', before relocating both his family and his business to Cheltenham, where the weather was nicer and the location closer to Melbourne markets.

John purchased a 20-acre property in Herald Street, moving his Gippsland business by train to the new site, which included a flock of 2,000 fowl.[12] Once settled in Cheltenham, John, with the assistance of two other men, set about forming a poultry breeders association, which was the beginning of the National Utility Poultry Breeders' Association. After John's sudden death in 1937, his business was carried on by two of his sons, George Charles and Norman Arnold. The Mickelburough's Egg Farm has continued into the 21st century, and is located on Old Dandenong Road, Heatherton.

John Mickelburough's villa in Herald Street, Cheltenham, circa 1915. Fate unclear.
(Source: Kingston Local History)

Poultry farming continued as a leading primary industry into the mid-20th century; however, by the postwar years, the profits made from poultry were slim. Ron Coughlan, who purchased 'Willowbend' poultry farm in Dingley in 1955, noted how the industry lacked controls, leading to the over production of eggs in the area.[13] It was not until controls were introduced late in the 20th century that it became more regulated and profitable, by which time most farmers in the area had sold their land for subdivision.

Dairying

Since the early settlement by white colonialists in the Port Phillip district, most small homesteads kept a house cow for the domestic production of milk, cream, butter, and cheese. The hand churning required to produce such products was slow, which limited output, though once separators had become available this production could be multiplied more easily.[14] Production was further eased by the introduction of mechanical separators late in the 19th century. Across the City of Kingston, dairying developed as a considerable industry, with several dairy farms

created in the area. In the late 1890s, Hugh Rigby ran a dairy farm at Carrum, located on the north side of McLeod Road. At Wells Road, the Robertson brothers also managed a dairy farm. Due to the cost, farmers would enter local co-operatives to purchase mechanical separators and establish creameries.[15]

In Cheltenham, a meeting was held at the local Mechanics Institute Hall to discuss the establishment of a creamery, supported by shareholders, for nearby farmers. In 1895, the creamery was built on G T Allnut's land, located on Centre Dandenong Road.[16] A year later in a shareholder meeting, the creamery was reported to as treating 825 gallons of milk daily and producing half a ton of butter weekly. By 1899, the production at the creamery began to decline; with vegetables rising in price, farmers were dedicating less land to dairying, leading to a reduction in available milk. The creamery was closed in 1905.

The establishment of the railway and improvements in refrigeration enabled dairying to turn over a better profit, which was likely why dairying on a large scale appeared in the City of Kingston area over the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

William Ball established the Cheltenham Dairy in 1936, which he operated until 1942. Born in Cornwell, William had made several attempts to farm in the City of Kingston region before opening his dairy farm.

William Ball with the horses used to deliver milk from his Cheltenham Dairy, 1942
(Source: Kingston Local History)

As the suburban sprawl moved into the City of Kingston from the early 20th century, dairy farmers began to feel the pinch. In 1932, a deputation of three hundred dairymen approached the Moorabbin Council to protest against its by-laws prohibiting cattle from grazing in unenclosed areas. As these farmers argued, it was becoming increasingly difficult to turn a profit from their businesses, which necessitated the renting of unfenced paddocks to graze cows. Their pleas were rejected and the by-law remained in place.

The decline of dairy and poultry farming in the Study Area replicated the overall decline of agriculture in the area, as the postwar suburban expansion and moving toward large-scale farming replaced the small-hold farm.

5.3 FLOWER CULTIVATION

Alongside the development of crop and animal farming, flower cultivation emerged as an agricultural industry in the City of Kingston. Farmers such as Robert Parker had expanded their land holdings west of Westall Road, developing a pioneer business in cultivating native heaths and boronias for the Victoria market. To the north of Parker, the Saunders and Thornhill families raised jonquils, heath, and chrysanthemums. Late in the 19th century, Thomas Johnson, a well-known rose horticulturist from Cambridgeshire, had established his nursery business in Mentone, raising prize-wining roses.[17]

Loading Parker's flowers for market, 1922.
(Source: May Keeley, *A Journey into Yesterday: A History of Clayton*, Brownhall Printing, 1980, p65)

In the postwar period, Frank and Isabel Baguley cultivated flowers in Heatherton, becoming celebrated chrysanthemum and carnation growers. The Baguleys often hired migrant workers, forming friendships with their employees. The wholesale nursery established by the couple could produce a staggering 12 million plants a year and was well known within the Victorian plant growing industry. The nursery established by the couple at the corner of Heatherton, Clayton, and Deals roads continued as F. & I. Baguley Flowers and Plant Growers into the 21st century.

5.4 FISHING

While the exact date is uncertain, European fishermen were present at Mordialloc from an early period. By 1852, it was recorded that there were three fishing parties camped at Mordialloc as well as one fisherman known as 'Wiseman', who was widely considered the oldest and best fisherman in the bay. At the end of the decade more fishermen had moved into the area.

Horace Wheelwright, a fisherman and naturalist residing at Mordialloc in the 1850s, recorded that by the end of the decade between 40 and 50 boats could be located in the schnapper at one time. Most of the fish caught were transported to Melbourne for sale at markets, first by cart and then later by railway once the line to Mordialloc was completed in 1881, leading to the establishment of wholesale fish businesses.

One of the larger wholesale fish businesses in the region was established by the Wren brothers, who also dealt with fish supplies from several sites located on the Mornington Peninsula. The business was sold to J Hill and W Hanneysee, and was later purchased by Croskell, Ritchie & Co.[18] The Wren brothers had created their base for the business at Mordialloc in the mid-1850s, building a stable and men's shed near the Mordialloc Creek in 1865, though the company soon moved to Frankston, and then to Melbourne.

To aid in their fishing operations, the Mordialloc Pier was erected as a jetty in 1870, some time after which a fisherman's shed was constructed on the shore end of the jetty. By 1875, locals were petitioning for the jetty to be lengthened. Over its long history, the Mordialloc Pier has often been damaged by the waves, which have washed parts of the structure away and led to numerous repairs.[19]

As the number of fishermen at Mordialloc grew from the mid-19th century, the supply of fish seemed to have diminished. One correspondent writing to the *Melbourne Punch* in 1872 noted that only a few fishermen were present at Mordialloc and that 'their net profits [were] not large'.[20] John Watkins and George Boddy were likely amongst the fishermen present at the time of the article. John, whose fishing shack appears on a 1866 map of the Carrum Swamp, was likely the same John Watkins recorded as a fisherman at Mordialloc in 1892, noting that he

had been fishing in the area for over 20 years. George testified to a *Parliamentary Select Committee* in 1892 as having been fishing at Mordialloc for 30 years.

Mordialloc Pier, 1914.
(Source: State Library of South Australia, B 28518/63)

By the early 1890s, when a *Parliamentary Select Committee* was called to examine the fishing industry in Victoria, the report by the committee noted that there were about 30 to 40 men who were working as fishermen in around 15 boats at Mordialloc. Between 150 and 200 baskets of fish per week were caught at Mordialloc for Melbourne markets, transported via train, however the report seems to indicate that fishing in the Mordialloc area was on the decline. The number of fish at Mordialloc had decreased, with snapper stocks much depleted and most fish caught in the winter months. As some fishermen had testified, people were leaving the Mordialloc area, a result of both the decline in fish numbers and because of the financial disadvantages placed upon them by the method of selling their catch.

The Creek at Mordialloc, with the pier visible to right, 1940s.
(Source: Rose Stereograph, SLV)

Despite the hardships and varying successes, fishing continued in the area. In the 1990s, a number of commercial fishermen were operating from Mordialloc, including a fleet of scallop boats.

While commercial fishing varied in the City of Kingston, it has remained a favourite spot for recreational fishing since the 19th century, where it has continued into the 21st century.[21]

Chinese Fishermen

Alongside European fishermen, there emerged a small fish-salting operation run by Chinese migrants in the 1850s. With a large number of Chinese miners present in the Central Victorian Goldfields, a market emerged for salted fish. At Mordialloc, over one hundred people were employed in salting and drying locally-caught fish on large pieces of canvas spread on the ground. It is uncertain how long this salting industry remained at Mordialloc, but the introduction of firmer fishing regulations in the following decades, which included banning the use of nets with a smaller mesh size, most likely contributed towards the closure of the operations.[22]

5.5 MANUFACTURING

Before the First World War, most residents in the Study Area retained close links with the land, either farming, processing produce, or providing services to farmers. Any secondary or manufacturing industries in the area existed primarily to process local products. However, with the onset of the Great War, manufacturing industries began to form, which later boomed in the postwar period.

One of the first manufacturing businesses established in the municipality was by the Gartside Brothers, who processed and canned local farm produce. Their cannery, which was constructed at Dingley in 1916, produced a variety of canned vegetables, including tinned carrots, parsnips, beetroot, turnips, and cabbages. The canning business was sold in 1966, and the land was subdivided for housing.

By the mid-1920s, manufacturing had grown in financial value, particularly as consumer demand had increased and manufacturers were offered high levels of tariff protection. With this associated growth, more manufacturing industries began to emerge in the City of Kingston, such as Gilbey's Distillery on the Nepean Highway.

First started by Henry Gold and brothers Walter and Alfred Gilbey in London in the 1850s, a branch of the company was later opened in Moorabbin in 1937, to the disdain of local temperance groups. The establishment of the distillery required the area to be rezoned by the Moorabbin Shire Council, who were keen to attract manufacturing industries to the region.[23] Late in 1937, the distillery was opened with an official ceremony in which over one thousand people attended. The distillery was expanded in 1960 with a new £250,000 facility constructed adjoining the existing building.[24] A highly mechanised factory, Gilbey's had a staff of 60 people who produce 250,000 cases of spirits a year, most of which was gin.[25] The landmark buildings were taken over by Reg Hunt Rhodes Motor Company in 1985, before being demolished in 2000 and replaced with a shopping complex.[26]

Despite the increase in factories, the growth of the manufacturing industry was limited as there were neither machines nor the skills available to manufacture technically complicated electrical or automotive goods. The expansion of the manufacturing sector was also halted by the 1930s depression.

It was at the onset of the Second World War that the manufacturing industry in Victoria, and the Study Area, in particular, underwent a more substantial growth so that by 1954 Melbourne was one of the most industrialised cities in Australia – half of the workforce was employed in manufacturing with 60 per cent of jobs located in the central city and inner suburbs.[27]

To meet this rise in industry, the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works under the Metropolitan Planning Scheme had introduced zoning in 1954, outlining designated industrial zones as a means to shorten travel times for workers. This zoning, coupled with a steadily increasing migrant population to draw upon as workers, resulted in further growth in manufacturing. In the later postwar period, factories began to move from Melbourne to larger green field sites, like those at Moorabbin and Cheltenham, as improved transportation had allowed the factories to be relocated to the outskirts.

From the 1950s and 60s, the number of new industries established in the City of Kingston area rose substantially. The greatest area of industrial growth occurred at Moorabbin, followed by Mordialloc and Chelsea. In 1964, 563 factories were recorded in Moorabbin, compared to 133 at Mordialloc and 38 in Chelsea. Most of the land that the factories were built upon was formerly used for primary production.

Gilbey's Distillery, 1963, Point Nepean Road, Moorabbin.
(Source: Wolfgang Seivers, SLV, produced with permission)

In Moorabbin, manufacturing was concentrated around Chesterville, South, and Keys roads, where large international companies such as Coco Cola, Schweppes, and Singer had established factories, some of which were designed by modernist architects. In 1959, a Coca Cola bottling plant (HO84) had been built at Levanswell and Friars roads, which served a large part of the metropolitan demand.[28] Wren Road in Moorabbin (HO122) also emerged as a significant area for factories.

Coca Cola, Bottling Factory Exterior, Moorabbin, 1960 (Source: Museums Victoria, MM 137532)

Coca Cola, Production Line at Factory, Moorabbin, 1960 (Source: Museums Victoria, MM 137529)

In Cheltenham, motor parts and accessories manufacturer Joseph Lucas had established a large factory on the Nepean Highway at the intersection of Bay Road. Nearby, Ken Lukey had also set up his first purpose-built muffler

factory on the corner of Nepean Highway and Centre Dandenong Road. Similarly, Simca, a French automobile company, established a branch factory in Moorabbin, where it assembled certain models for sale in Australia.

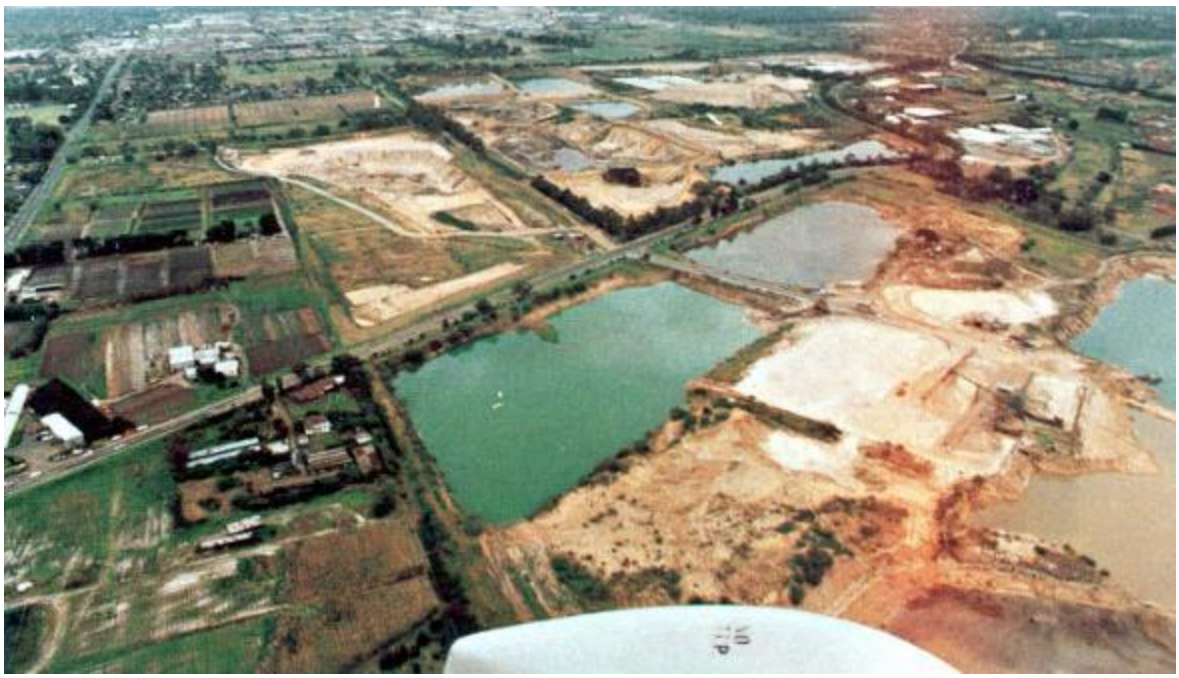
Simca, Factory Exterior and Grounds, Moorabbin, 1958. (Source: Museums Victoria, MM 139359)

Simca, Motor Cars in a Factory, Moorabbin, 1958. (Source: Museums Victoria, MM 139378)

By the 1980s, manufacturing had expanded in the City of Kingston, taking up much of the surrounding area along Clayton and Boundary roads, with a number of industrial parks created. By this time, employment in the manufacturing industry began to decrease as the rising mobility of capital, and the shift from labour-intensive production moved towards high-technology information industries. The continued globalisation of industries and markets, as well as deregulation, has further accelerated the decline of heavy industries. Despite this, the City of Kingston has maintained a diverse range of industries into the 21st century, with manufacturing continuing to be the largest employer in the area.[29]

5.6 SAND MINNING

Over the late 19th century, sand mining for both coarse and finegrain sand emerged as a primary industry in the area between Chelsea and Frankston. The Australian Glass Makers worked such a sand mining pit at Bonbeach, which continued to operate into the 1940s. In Chelsea, the sand pits used for mining appear to have closed by the 1950s.



Sands quarries, Moorabbin, early 2000s. (Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

The Heatherton-Dingley region developed as a major Victorian supplier of construction sand (used primarily in concrete) between the 1970s and 1990s. Apparently, the idea to mine sand at Dingley first formed in the 1930s, when it was mooted, with small, family-operated pits opened over the following 20 years.[30] In the early 1970s, the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works rezoned an extensive area of land covering the Spingvale, Dingley, and Heatherton area, which became a 'special extractive zone' and allowed for large-scale sand mining to occur. Previously, the land was used for orcharding.

As the land was opened up for mining, numerous large sandpits were established, with the area becoming a major contributor of building sand in the southeast and eastern Melbourne markets. Large swaths of land between Westall Road, Warrigal Road, Centre Dandenong Road, and Centre Road were utilised for sand mining. However, by the mid-1990s, the sand pits were deemed to be largely depleted.[31]

The effect of the sand mining industry remains evident on the landscape. Melbourne Parks and Waterways (now Parks Victoria) promised early in the 1990s to infill these areas with parks and reserves.[32]

5.7 BOAT BUILDING

As Mordialloc developed into a popular fishing and recreational destination, it attracted boat-building industries into the area. An early boat builder in the region was William Kretchmar, who was residing in Mordialloc in 1892, repairing and building boats.[33]

Over the early to mid-20th century, Pompei emerged as a famous name associated with boat building at Mordialloc. The Pompei family arrived from Sicily in the 1920s, with Salvatore Pompei, a professional fisherman, settling his family at Mordialloc. Later, his son, Jack, became a trained boat builder, opening his boat-building business in the 1930s near the Mordialloc Creek. Jack Pompei's name became well-known for boat building, with his shed surviving until 2019 when it was demolished.[34]

Jack Pompei, standing on a sand bar at the mouth of the Mordialloc Creek, 1976.
(Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

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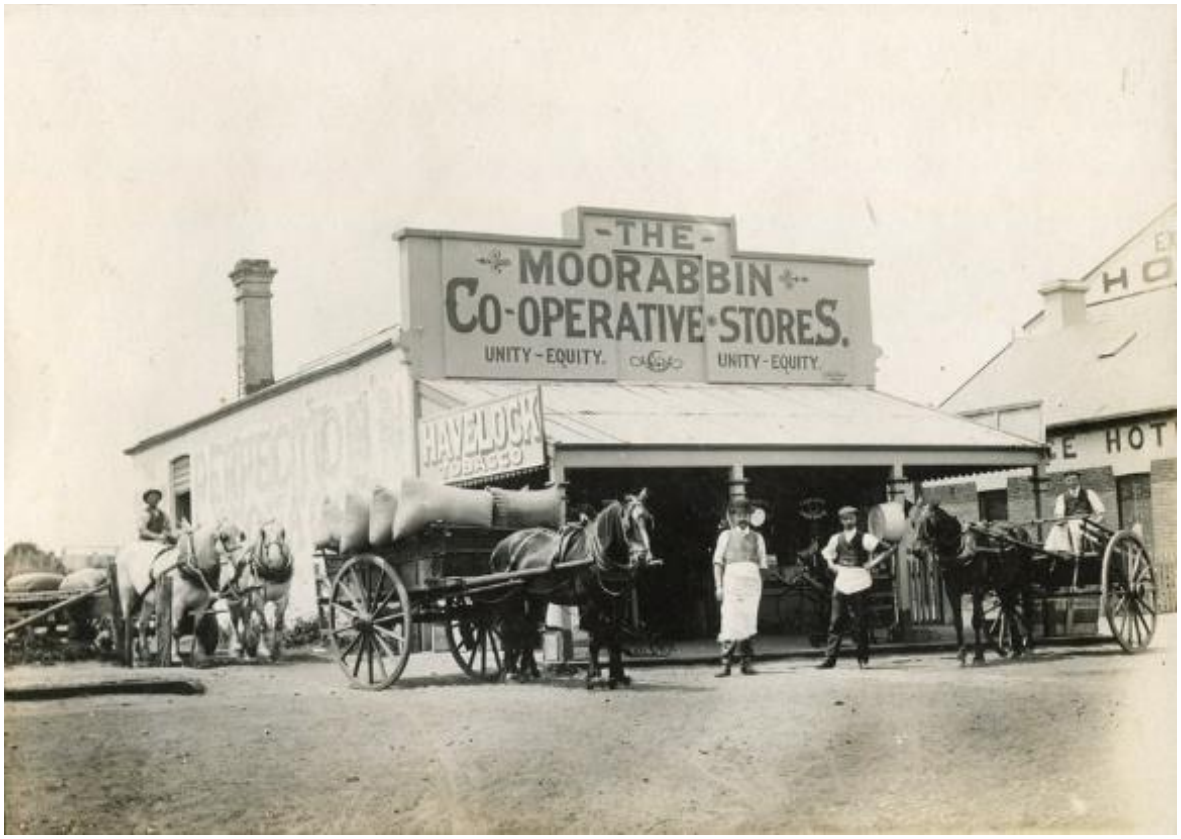
COMMERCIAL KINGSTON

6.1 RETAIL

From its makeshift beginnings, the retail life of the City of Kingston area has grown, moving from private backrooms to multi-storeyed complexes. The sale of goods was initially conducted in general stores or in private houses, particularly in those located on the main roads into the locality. As travel increased along these transportation routes, inns were soon established, typically followed in turn by bakers, blacksmiths, and bootmakers to service travellers; these budding retail sites often later formed as the centre of settlements. Commercial zones underwent expansion in the 1910s, followed by a period of replacement in the interwar years. In the postwar period, supermarkets and multi-levelled shopping centres emerged, substantially altering how people shopped and ushering in a renewal of the built fabric.



Moorabbin Co-Operation Stores, 1906, located on Nepean Road, Cheltenham, which sold locally produced goods. (Source: City of Moorabbin Historical Society, Victoria Collections, identifier 00503)

Early Retail

From the late 19th century, localised shopping areas emerged in the Study Area as the expanding rail network coincided with a rise in seaside tourism and mass consumption. As land sales increased in the municipality at the turn of the century, entrepreneurs saw a valuable economic opportunity to purchase and construct rows of retail outlets, with those located near railway stations being particularly sought after.[1]

These concentrated pockets of retail development often attracted an array of businesses, such as grocers, milliners, bootmakers, and bakeries, becoming central local hubs. Most often, the retail buildings erected consisted of two storeys and provided accommodation for proprietors or lessees and their families.

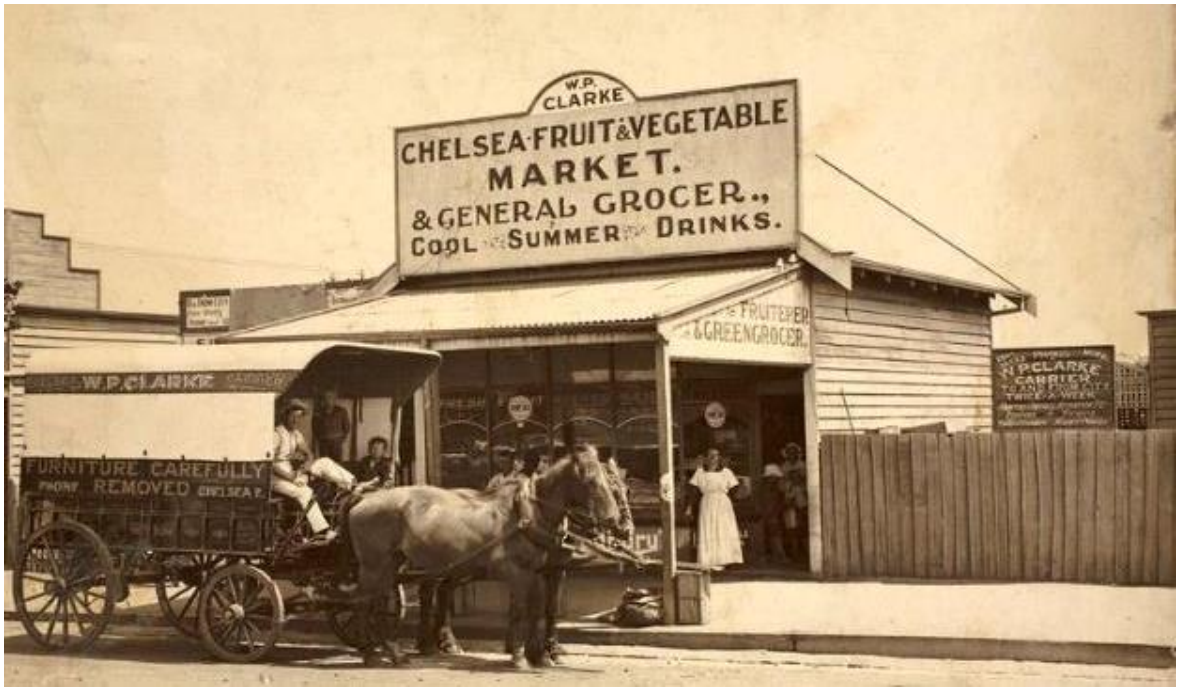
In the early interwar phase, more businesses had developed in the municipality, leading to a growth in local retail. Through the later decades of the interwar period, these businesses would undergo renewal as new shops were built.

In Cheltenham during the 1890s, a localised shopping area was established on Charman Road; by 1900, there were at least 17 shops built on Charman Road.[2] A large shopping district also formed in Parkdale after the

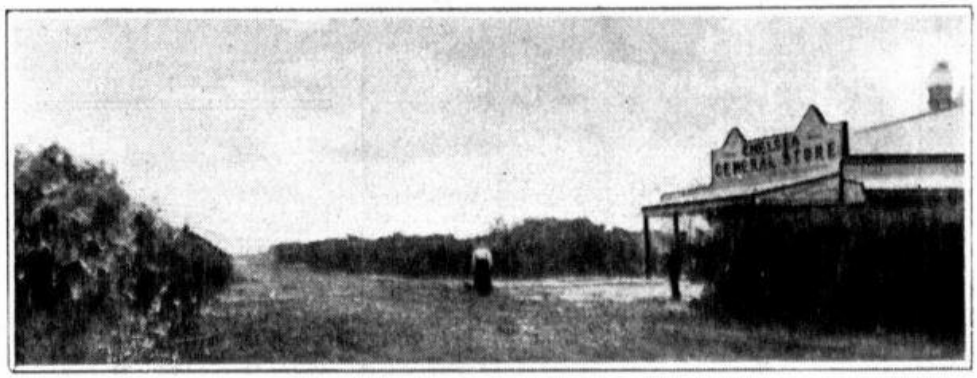
Parkdale Railway Station was built, emerging along Como Parade West (HO124) in the early 1920s. Most of the remaining fabric of this heritage precinct dates to the interwar period, often being two-storey structures, with some postwar buildings present. By 1941, 38 shops were located along Como Parade, Parkdale, including grocers, confectioners, drapers, butchers, hairdressers, newsagents, and other similar retailers.[3]

Shops along Charman Road, Cheltenham, 1915
(Source: SLV, H90.140/37)

A similar shopping strip developed on Main Street (now Nepean Highway), Mordialloc, which has its roots in the late 19th century and contains a varied building stock that includes late Victorian, Federation, interwar, and postwar structures.[4] Similar retailing developed in Mentone, along Como Parade.



Staff and family outside of W Clarke's grocery store and removal business, Chelsea, circa 1920.
(Source: Museums Victoria collections, MM110211)



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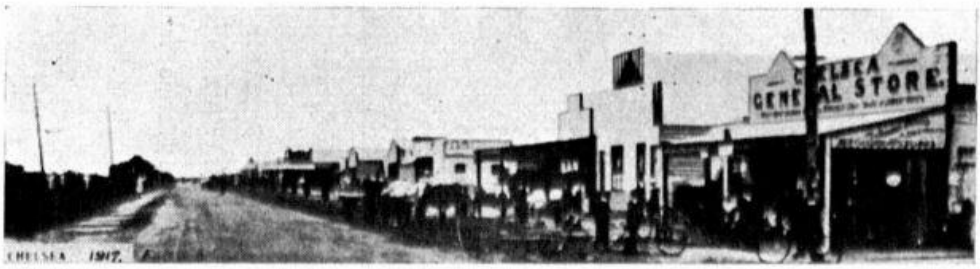

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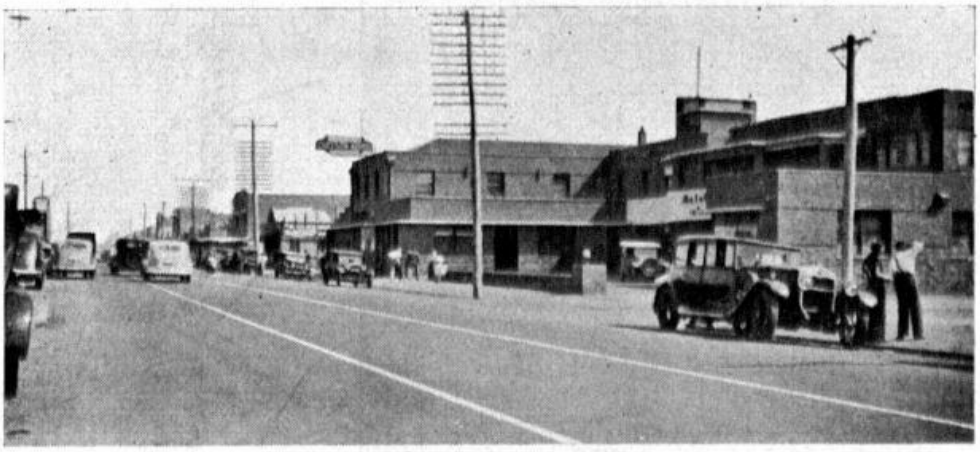


1939

Shopping development along Point Nepean Road, Chelsea, over the early to mid-20th century
(Source: *City of Chelsea: The City of Beautiful Beaches*, 1939)

Retail initially expanded following World War Two and began to offer off-street parking, before decreasing as large retail centres and shopping malls arose in the mid to late 20th century. Planners were determined for the Melbourne CBD retailing to maintain its dominance, placing planning controls to limit trading outside existing retail centres. These controls helped maintain functioning inner and middle-ring traditional strip shopping centres – it was not until the late 1980s that dispersed retailing began to proliferate in earnest outside existing centres.

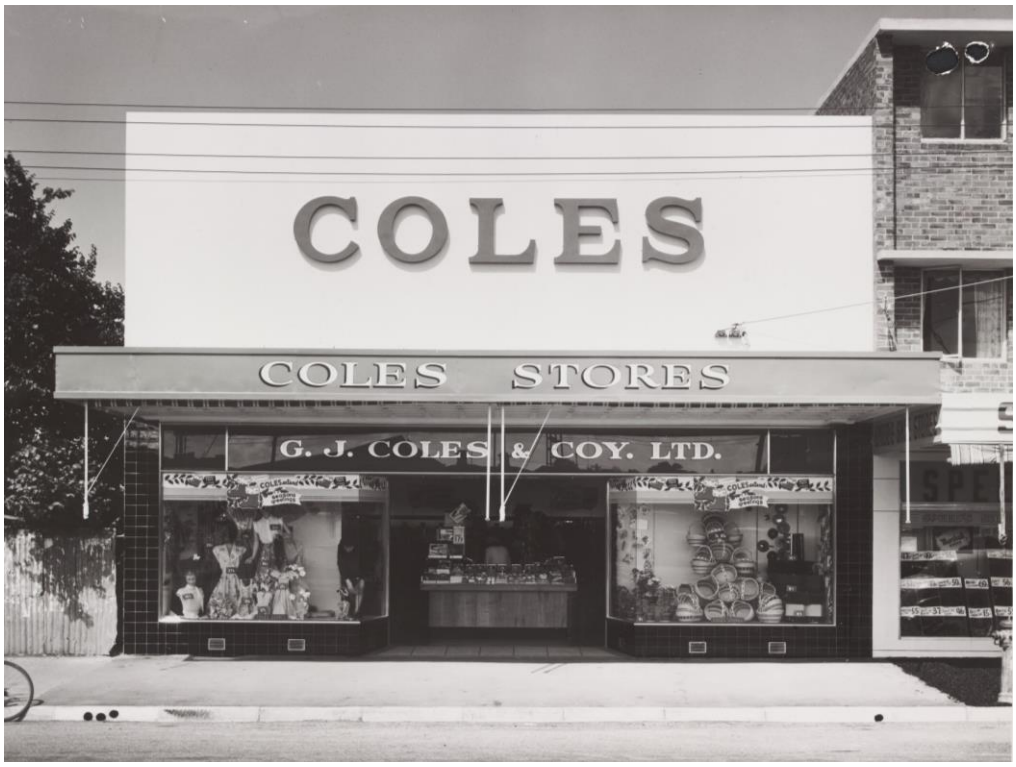
Como Parade, Mentone, 1950s
(Source: SLV, H32492/6308)

The Postwar 'Drive-In'

After the Second World War, retailing in the City of Kingston began to shift, as it did across Australia. Little change in the type of retail occurred during the interwar years as the 1930s depression and later wartime austerity limited retail infrastructure. However, in the postwar boom, American 'drive-in' shopping centres and supermarkets emerged across Australia as a means to meet the demands of an expanding suburban population, the widespread adoption of the automobile, and to capture the spending potential of the consumer.[5] These shopping centres emerged as important hubs by acting as distribution points for retail, as social centres for communities, and as sites of mass consumption, leading to renewal in commercial zones.[6]

In the 1950s, supermarkets began to appear in traditional commercial zones across the City of Kingston, like those at Chelsea, Mentone, and Mordialloc. The initial opening of supermarkets in suburban Victoria was met with great enthusiasm as excited housewives queued for hours to be amongst the first shoppers, leaving their small children in specially fitted playgrounds at the entry to wander the aisles.[7] These supermarkets offered shoppers limited self-service (a noticeable change from the grocer), with creative advertisements and eye-level shelving resulting in greater sales.[8] By the mid-1960s, a Safeway had opened in East Mentone, providing self-service to interested shoppers.[9]

Over the coming years, these supermarkets expanded, moving towards the 'drive-in' style first popularised in America by providing parking. Supermarkets increasingly supplied a wider range of goods and products such as milk, fresh fruits, and meats, drawing further patronage away from shopping strips and small retailers. Today, supermarkets dot the streets and suburbs of the City of Kingston, becoming the main supplier of groceries, foodstuffs, and other necessities.



Coles Store, Mentone, 1953 (Source: SLV)

Alongside the formation of supermarkets, shopping centres were established in the City of Kingston, a relatively new retail structure introduced in Australia. Large shopping centres, centrally located and with adequate parking facilities available, rose in popularity as a result of city planning and the growth in car ownership. In 1954, the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works identified five district centres in their planning scheme, of which Moorabbin was one, and compared the existing traditional retail areas unfavourably with American car-based malls, urging systematic redevelopment to provide 'adequate and up-to-date shopping facilities'.[10] The planning scheme had prepared the way for the introduction of the extensive mall-based retailing and bulky goods stores that would proliferate.

Southland Shopping Centre, 1969.
(Source: Wolfgang Sievers, SLV, produced with permisson)

After the success of Chadstone, the first regional 'drive-in' shopping centre, Myer Emporium director Kenneth Myer opened a number of similar shopping centres throughout suburban Melbourne, which included Southland in 1968. Marketed as a complete shopping city meeting every need, Southland incorporated an array of shops and businesses, which later included the professional services of doctors, dentists, and solicitors, while emphasising community and promotional activities. With Myer Emporium Ltd entering into a joint partnership with Westfield Property Trust in 1983, a series of extensions followed in 1985 and 1986, which nearly doubled the size of the shopping centre. Further works were undertaken in the 1990s, costing nearly $200 million, extending the centre over the Nepean Highway to the old Cheltenham Market, which had been acquired as part of the development.[11]

6.2 HOSPITALITY

Hotels

For those seeking alternative lodgings to the summer camps, hotels could provide luxury accommodation within easy reach of the beach, yet such places also emerged as important social hubs, contributing to the vibrant social life and history of the City of Kingston.

In the early decades, tourists visiting the City of Kingston area were provided with few options regarding hotel accommodation, an aspect that shifted across the 19th century; in Mordialloc, travellers seeking lodgings in the 1860s were provided with only two choices, either the Mordialloc or Bridge hotels, though by the early 20th century, an array of boarding houses and rental accommodation, as well as refreshment rooms, had become available.

Cheltenham Hotel, 1910-25. Built at the mid-19th century, it endured as feature of the community, holding smoke nights and a variety of social events. At one time, the hotel was owned by Charles Keighran, a colourful local character known for his pranks and shrewd business sense. (Source: SLV)

The Mentone Hotel (HO77), completed in 1889, was designed by Charles Figgis, a local architect who had designed many of Mentone's buildings during the Land Boom of the 1880s.[12] In the early years, the Mentone Hotel was in fierce competition with the nearby Coffee Palace; however, the popularity of the hotel soon outstripped that of the palace, its spacious premises used for a variety of gatherings, including a District Court meeting.[13] A late newspaper article described the Mentone Hotel, noting that it was:

> an ideal place for holidaying. It ranks as the leading house in that locality Mr F M Scudds, who for so many years has had the pleasure of entertaining no small number of visitor from this district, is still the host. From its balconies a beautiful view of the bay is obtained. It is right on the beach, and is a delightful holiday resort.[14]

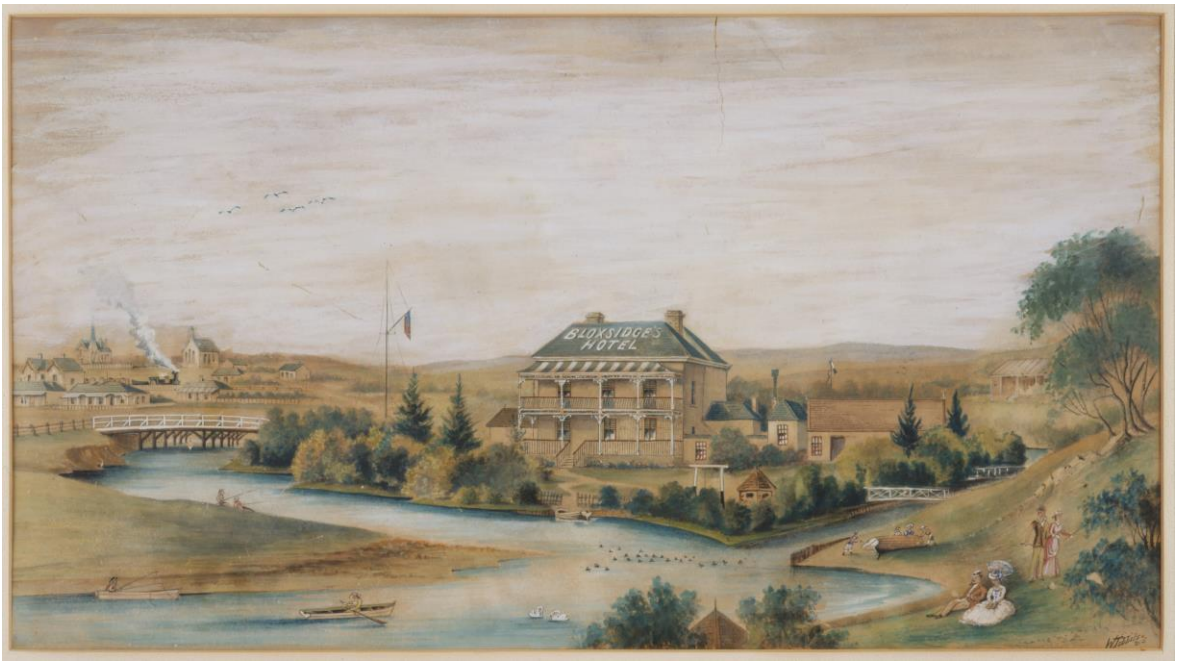
In 1901, Frank Scudds, a prominent local figure, became licensee of the Mentone Hotel.[15] It was sold in 1920 and again in 1924 to a businessman name Schifferle, who refurbished the building and created a grand entrance off Beach Road. The hotel continued to grow in popularity during the 1920s, with the hotel booked out in the summer months as tourists travelled from the inner suburbs to Mentone for a beach vacation. In the decades following the Second World War, the Mentone Hotel remained in steady business, though by the 1970s, the hotel became run-down, leading to renovations in 1974, which included the construction of a bistro area as well as updating the verandah and bar.[16]

The rising number of car-ownership during this period also impacted the hotel as tourists sought holidays further afield, while clubs such as RSLs began to draw in larger crowds, luring away would-be hotel patrons.[17] In 2014, the Mentone Hotel was closed and sold for development; restorations are currently underway to reopen the Mentone Hotel as a pub with apartments.[18]

Within the City of Kingston, specific hotels became well-known not only for the services provided but also for the significant persons connected with such businesses and enduring in popular myth as eccentric individuals, such as Richard Bloxsidge.

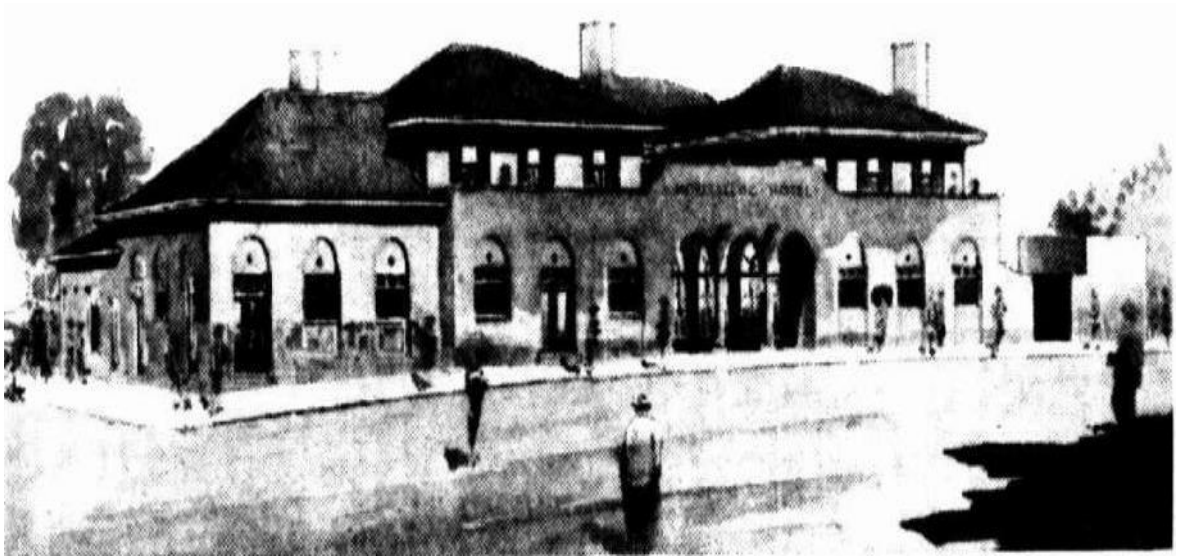
Born in England, Richard Bloxsidge and his wife, Elizabeth, arrived in the Victorian colony in 1853, first entering into commercial business as a horse dealer before taking up the licence for the Mordialloc Hotel, located on the Point Nepean Road, in 1868.[19] A keen sportsman, Bloxsidge was well-known for the pack of beagle hounds he kept at the hotel and used during winter hunting expeditions, acquiring himself the nickname 'the Squire of Mordialloc'.

While under his ownership, Bloxsidge expanded the hotel premises and acted as a coach manager to supply tickets for coaches travelling between Melbourne and Schnapper Point. Bloxsidge acquired and moved in 1878 to the Bridge Hotel (HO13), which was originally built by William Coleman and is located on the Nepean Highway, where Bloxsidge hosted leading politicians and citizens once the railway came through Mordialloc in 1881.[20] The Bridge Hotel continues to operate as a hotel, though the building has been altered.



William Tibbits, Bloxsidge's Hotel, Mordialloc, 1885.
(Source: SLV)

The Mordialloc Hotel was remodelled in the late 1920s to incorporate Spanish Mission style elements and was designed by the architects Messrs Morsby and Coates.[21] The hotel remains in use today as the Mordialloc Sporting Club (HO88).



Mordialloc Hotel, as envisioned for its late 1920s remodelling.
(Source: 'Bayside hotel to be remodelled', *Herald*, 10 July 1929, p13)

Following a lengthy public debate that spanned two decades, the Chelsea Hotel (HO27) opened in 1937, the first of its kind established in the area.[22] Built with 30 bedrooms, this interwar hotel was completed at the cost of £35,000 and was described for a time as being the 'most modern hotel in Australia'.[23] The Chelsea Hotel, now renamed the Longbeach Hotel, continues to operate as a restaurant and bar.

Tudor Inn (HO39), Cheltenham.
(Source: RBA, November 2022)

Coffee Palaces

As tourism grew in the City of Kingston, the town of Mentone gained its own coffee palace. Introduced into Melbourne in the 1880s, coffee palaces were an American concept that provided the same services as a hotel without the presence of alcohol.[24] Often ornate and grand buildings, coffee palaces soon spread from Melbourne into suburban and country areas, though they tended not to be as large as those in the city.

In Mentone, the Royal Coffee Palace opened in 1887, a large thirty-room guest house built in the Italianate style that aimed to provide high-class accommodation on an alcohol-free premise.[25] The palace accommodated many significant persons who had travelled to Mentone for their seaside holiday; the Governor of Victoria, Lord Loch, enjoyed a luncheon at the coffee palace in 1888.[26] Initially, the palace prospered, becoming the centre for meetings, social functions, and lodgings. However, a licensed liquor hotel soon opened in Mentone, which received the bulk of tourists.

The economic depression of the early 1890s led the palace into financial difficulties.[27] Around 1900, the palace became the Como House before it was sold to the Brigidine Sisters in 1904, who established a college for girls, known as Kilbreda College (HO65), which continues to receive students.[28]

The Mordialloc Coffee Palace was built in 1887 by William Valentine Bayley.[29] A large and spacious palace, the building was known in later years as the 'Grand Hotel' and was officially renamed the Oceanic House in the 1930s.[30] The hotel was demolished in 1985.

Kilbreda College (HO65), Mentone.(Source: RBA, November 2022)

Cafés and Restaurants

Cafes and restaurants have been part of Melbourne's built landscape since at least the 1850s, a feature that later spread to the suburbs. Initially, hotels were the major providers of meals throughout the 19th century, but, by the end of the century, European-inspired restaurants were rising in popularity and style. This developing café culture stretched into the outer fringes of Melbourne and its suburbs, influencing hospitality in the City of Kingston.

Across the City of Kingston, a variety of cafes and restaurants emerged over the early 20th century, such as the Beach Café and the Commonwealth Wine Café in Chelsea,[31] or Petersen's Café in Mentone.[32] Despite the pervasive presence of cafes in the municipality, operating these businesses could prove difficult. At Carrum, the Mai Mai Wine Café in the 1920s became embroiled in a public court case for damages after the former owner had misrepresented the business as 'a good local trade' and as being conducted according to the Licensing Act; it later became known that the former owner had 'mostly done business after hours, especially on Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights'.[33] Cafés that served alcohol could further supplement their businesses by providing drinks after licensed hours, but in doing so went against the Licensing Act and the law. In Mordialloc, the Pier House Café offered patrons accommodation, dinners, and light luncheons,[34] however, the Pasadena Café proved a more popular alternative.

Pasadena Café, with marooned campers sheltering after heavy rainfall in the late 1940s.
(Source: *Age*, 28 December 1948, p1)

Built in 1931 by R P Ford, the Pasadena Café became a popular destination in Mordialloc, offering patrons not only food and drinks but also music and dancing. The Pasadena Café, now known as the *Former Pasadena Dance Hall* (HO97), is located on the corner Beach Road and Centreway, Mordialloc. After passing through a series of owners, the café was acquired by H Hewison in 1941, who continued to host dancing at the venue, which had become a fashionable reception for weddings.[35] Today, the building houses The Bay Mordi restaurant, which continues to host weddings, dances, and live music.

Former Pasadena Dance Hall (now the Bay Mordi) (HO97).
(Source: RBA, November 2022)

6.3 BANKING AND FINANCE

Banks

As retail solidified in the Study Area, branches of the main banks were soon opened, providing ready finance to locals. In Victoria, the gold rushes of the 1850s led to rapid growth in Melbourne's banking and financial scene, and while described as being innovative for the time, tended to follow the British system of banking.[36] As a result, banks built their businesses by opening more branches and extending out to the suburbs, including into the City of Kingston where such branches arrived by the late 19th century. Banking branches were a readily identifiable typology, being architecturally designed buildings, some of which remain in the built fabric.

The State Bank of Victoria, the State Savings Bank of Victoria after 1912, was formed in 1842 and controlled by the Port Philip government (Victorian government) before it was privatised in 1990 when it was sold to the Commonwealth Bank. In 1885, reference was made in the newspapers of the decision for a savings bank to be formed at Mordialloc, noting that it 'will be a very useful convenience to the residents'.[37] Despite this, no mention is made of this State Savings Bank until the 1910s, when it was built.[38] Banking was provided by the local post office, which may have serviced the locality until a separate bank branch was erected.[39] A branch of the English, Scottish & Australian Bank, which formed in the early 1850s in the Australian colonies, had also opened at Mordialloc by 1911.[40]

The English, Scottish & Australian Bank also opened branches in other localities in the City of Kingston, which was more commonly known as the ES&A. Branches of ES&A were established in Cheltenham in 1885, as well as a National Bank by the same year.[41] The National Bank, or the National Bank of Australasia, was established in 1858 and was based in Melbourne. The ES&A developed a banking branch at Chelsea by 1923[42] and at Como Parada, Mentone, by 1929, building a bold one-storey structure with classical decorative elements (HO116). The building operated as an ES&A Branch for over 45 years and is now the Rokk Ebony Hairdressers. ES&A operated in Australia until the early 1970s when it was incorporated into ANZ. An unconventional modernist ES&A Bank Bank was built in 1958 at 288 Como Parade, West Parkdale, designed by Stuart McIntosh (chief architect of the bank) and remains.

In Mentone, the Savings Bank operated from the post office from at least 1904 and was located in Como Parade.[43] The Mentone branch of the State Savings Bank was opened in 1926, with a two-storey free-classical designed building constructed at 44 Florence Street (HO63). The bank occupied the building until the 1970s, when it was

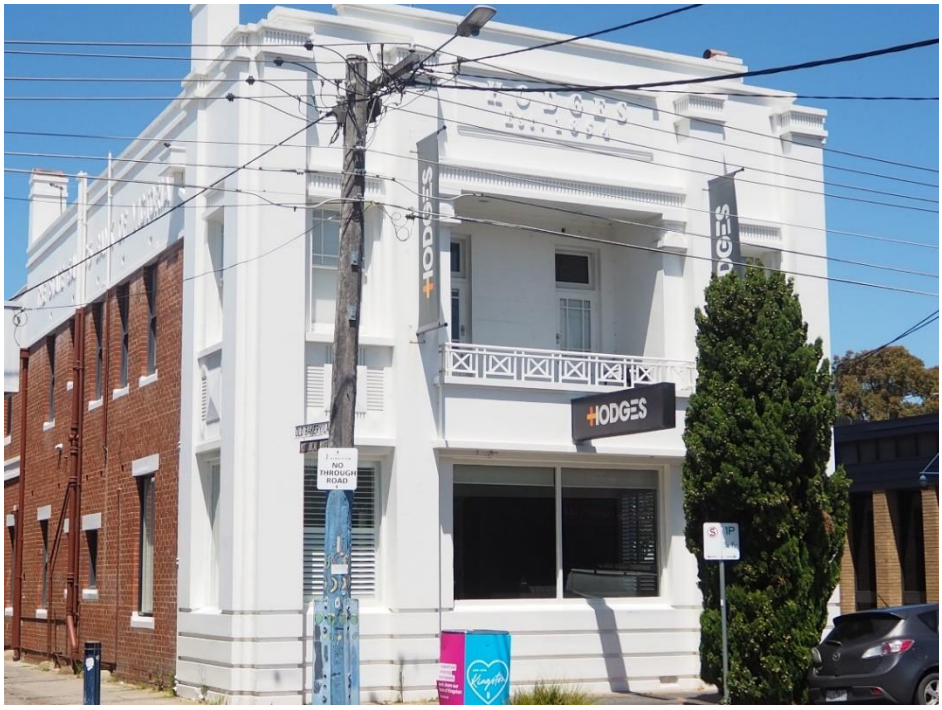
purchased by the City of Mordialloc for use as a citizens' advice bureau. Council remained until 1995, when it was sold to Hodges Estate Agents, who currently occupy the structure.

English, Scottish & Australian Bank (ES&A), 1957, located on Charman Road, Cheltenham, by Chancellor & Patrick. Likely demolished. (Source: SLV)

Postwar ANZ Bank, Charman Rooadd, Cheltenham, Winston Hall & Associate. Likely lost.
(Source: Willie, SLV)

Stuart Mctonsh's notable ES&A Bank Branch on Como Parade – accompanying caption: 'Banks seem to have confessed to a considerable change in tactics over the past decade. Their former reliance upon dignity & secruity to attract clients has modified towards frankness & uniqueness'. (Source: *Cross Section*, University of Melbourne, issue 69, 1 July 1958, p4)

A branch of the Savings Bank was also operating in Carrum from 1922 and was located at 'Seacombe House'. Open for two days of the week, the bank at Carrum was met with relief by locals, who noted 'at last, after a good deal of exertion shown by several energetic gentlemen of the town, we are to have a bank'.[44]



Former State Savings Bank (now Hodges) (HO63).
(Source: RBA November 2022)

Friendly Societies

Friendly societies operated as fraternal organisations that provided Victorians with insurance against economic consequences following sickness, unemployment, or death, offering financial and social assistance to members and their families. Most often, members would be sworn into the fraternity and required to provide a set subscription into a communal fund, which was drawn upon to support members when required. Friendly societies first developed in the industrial areas of Britain as a means to provide security in an increasingly uncertain workforce, with similar societies present in Victoria since its earliest years of European colonisation.

Across the colonies, a range of different friendly societies developed, such as the Druids and the Australian Natives Association. These societies often relied upon impressive initiation ceremonies, ornate regalia, and secret signs to not only bind members to the society but to monitor their public behaviour.[45] In Victoria, friendly societies amassed substantial communal funds, which after 1876 was regulated by the government. Friendly societies persisted in popularity into the 21st century, evolving to become large financial institutions that offered investment bonds, health insurance, home loans, and superannuation.[46] Various branches of different friendly societies formed in the City of Kingston, presenting locals with a range of options.

Local friendly societies provided insurance to many residents, making these societies important financial organisations. In 1895, the *Mornington Standard* noted that the friendly societies present across the Brighton, Mordialloc, and Cheltenham areas enjoyed a membership of several hundred, who occasionally gathered together for a friendly society gala.[47] Some of the friendly societies operating in the municipality included branches of the Sons of Temperance, a temperance society founded in New York in 1842, which formed in Cheltenham (by 1891) and Chelsea (by 1914).[48] The Australian Natives Association also opened a division in Cheltenham by 1898; a division was also opened in Chelsea by at least 1946, though it was likely formed much earlier.[49] By the late 1890s, a branch of the Ancient Order of Druids was established in Mordialloc and the Protestant Alliance created a division in Cheltenham.[50]

While providing financial assistance, friendly societies in the City of Kingston area also acted to deliver affordable medical care to members. In 1918, at the insistence and action of the various friendly societies in the municipality, the Moorabbin District Friendly Societies' Dispensary was opened at Cheltenham, on land that adjoined the Cheltenham Railway Station.[51] The dispensary operated on a non-profit principal, providing members of the various friendly societies quality medicines at affordable prices. Another dispensary was built on Charman Road in 1954 and was later extended before being rebuilt in 1966. The dispensary was demolished in 2019.

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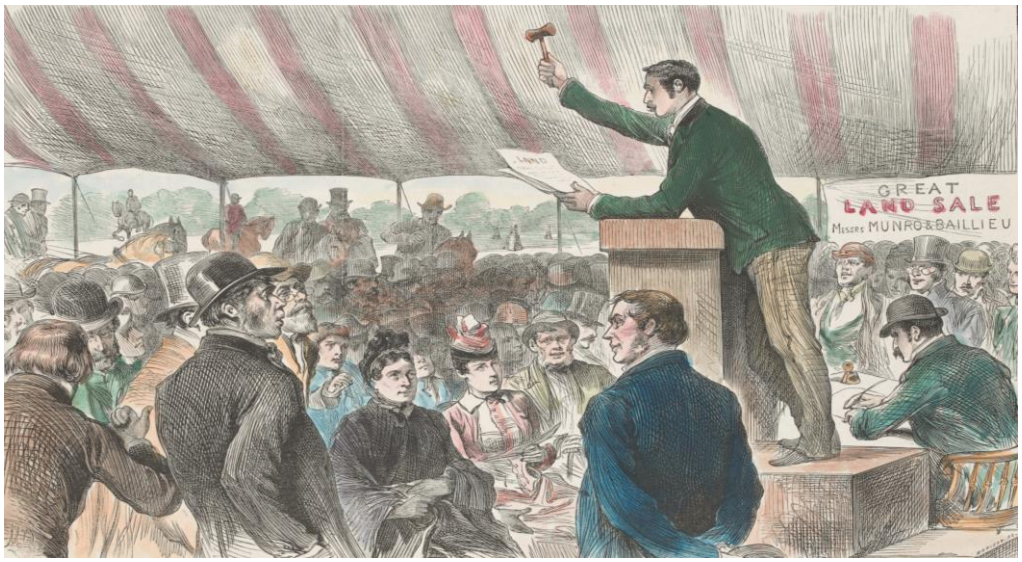
SHAPING KINGSTON: FROM VILLAGES TO SUBURBS

Following the direction of Melbourne's chief surveyor Robert Hoddle, Henry Foot began to survey the South Bourke District in the early 1850s. Foot, who, like many of the colony's early surveyors, was trained in naval or military techniques, adopted a grid pattern when subdividing Crown Land for white settlement, an approach which remains evident.

Commencing in 1852, a series of land auctions followed Foot's survey in the Study Area, with newcomers flocking to the district to take up land predominantly for agricultural development. These first land sales formed as the beginning of urban centres.



The excitement of a late 19th-century land auction.
(Source: Morrison, 'Great Land Sale at Melbourne', 1889, SLV)

Across the next century and a half, villages and settlements in the Study Area grew into towns and suburbs, yet such progress varied. The fluctuating cycles of rapid economic growth and severe decline that occurred over the 19th century, with booms in the 1850s and 1880s followed by crashes in the 1860s and 1890s, shaped the development of settlements as expansion stagnated during the depression years.

Also driving residential growth in the Study Area was the Victorian-era conception of the suburb (*rus in urbe*), which continued as a robust driver of development well into the postwar period. It drew on multiple currents, including the Garden City tradition, class consciousness, sanitary science (which castigated both the real and imagined ill-health and social stigma of the city) and an emphasis on domestic privacy. High wages, cheap/available freehold land and stable central governments were also essential factors in the desire for Australians to own a freestanding house with a front garden and rear yard. Despite contemporary intellectual critiques, the suburban tradition was immensely popular and is one of Australia's most recognisable cultural landscape types – one shaped by and for ordinary people[1]

Later, in the mid-20th century, Melbourne began to sprawl far from the city centre into low-density, detached, single-use 'dormitory' suburbs, particularly extending to the east and southeast of Melbourne's pre-WWII suburban development. This suburban expansion had far-reaching impacts on the Study Area as arriving migrants diversified the municipality, and increasing demands for utilities moved such services from the hands of contractors or private investors to the government.

7.1 VILLAGE AND TOWNSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Following the onset of the Gold Rush, primary production and residential development increased as the colony's population rose quickly, with the land around Melbourne's outskirts and much further afield soon occupied.[2]

Initially, colonialists established pastoral runs throughout before the land was later subdivided for dispersed settlement in the 1850s. From this time, Moorabbin grew as a market garden and farming area, with schools, denominational churches, hotels, and a rail station built over the rest of the century.[3] As Melbourne's outer regions

developed, informal routes were etched into the landscape to connect these settlements to the city, including those that formed across the Study Area.

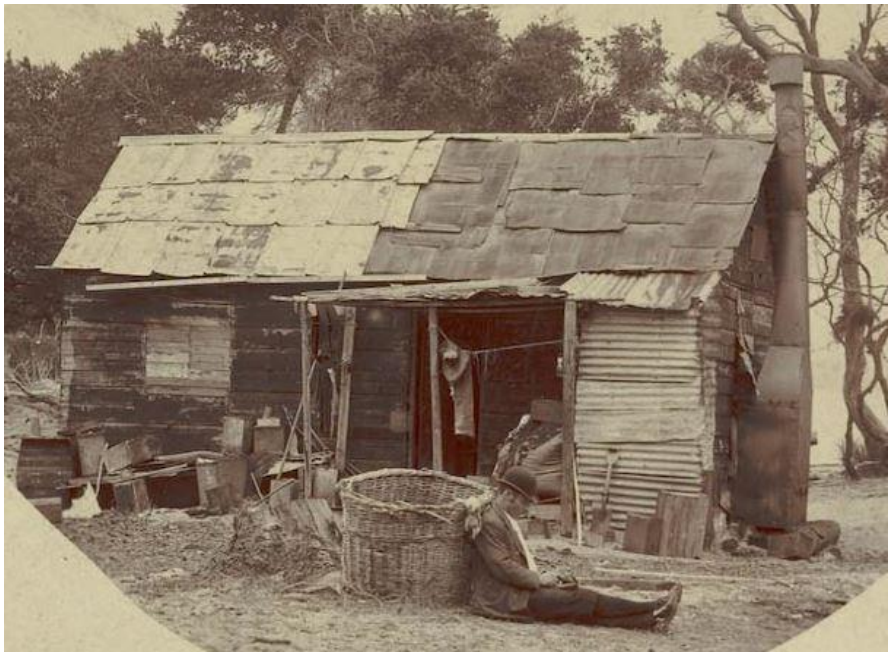
1852 Parish Plan for Moorabbin.
(Source: Denys Special Survey, H. B. Foot, 1852, VPRS 8168, P0002, PROV)

The Schnapper Point Road (now the Nepean Highway) linked Melbourne to Mornington and Western Port, providing travellers and settlers with greater access to the southeast coast. Along this route, small hamlets soon emerged, which developed into settlements. Early land sales at Mordialloc appear from 1855 in contemporary newspapers, which describe the lots as being 'chiefly agricultural lands' with the largest lot measuring 455 acres and the smallest 15 acres.[4] Interest in the land was, however, limited, as 26 lots were withdrawn from the auction following the lack of a bid.[5] Private subdivisions followed as entrepreneurial land speculators such as Josiah Morris Holloway purchase large sections of land which were subdivided into villages and market gardening allotments.[6]

Image over ► Parish Plan with Aspendale, Edithvale, Chelsea, Bonbeach, and Carrum, 1959.
(Source: VPRS 16171, P0001/6, PROV)


MORDIALLOC
DANDENONG
FRANKSTON
SEE SHEET 1

Mentone, a rural and sparsely settled area of agricultural farming until the 1880s,[7] had by the turn of the century gained a rail station, a post office, a bank office, schools, a gas works, a telephone and telegraph station, and several stores, with a population of around 600.[8] Mentone had experienced a small building boom in the late 1880s as various estates formed with villas and shops, and were usually named after Italian towns and cities such as the 'Naples Estate' developed by C. J. Hearle.[9] The use of well-known Italian names for estates and streets supported the image of Mentone as the 'Riviera of the South', a major selling point for the area.



Early dwellings – the McLean family cottage, Mentone, circa 1905. Demolished.
(Source: Museums Victoria)

Northway family outside their home in Moorabbin, circa 1900.
(Source: Museums Victoria Collection, MM 5693)

At Mordialloc, the first development to occur was the Mordialloc Hotel (accommodation was often a lynchpin for development), after which more buildings began to appear, such as a general store and a post office.[10] By the beginning of the 20th century, Mordialloc had developed into a township, with a rail station, banking offices, telephone bureau, Mechanics' Institute, and a state school. A number of stores and tradesmen were established in the area, which included the Carrum Swamp at the time.[11] Mordialloc, which at the time encompassed an area of 32 square miles, supported a population of 7,576 over 1,700 dwellings, indicating some substantial development had occurred.[12]

Similarly, Cheltenham had also emerged as a postal town by the end of the century with comparable local development to Mordialloc, including several convalescent homes, though the population was slightly smaller at 1,500 and incorporated both Beaumaris and Heatherton.[13] The land between Beaumaris and Charman Road was initially known as Kiley's paddock, though it was unfenced. The greater part of this portion was purchased by Stephen Tuck, who did fence and improve the land.[14] When the railway line was established and land speculation in the area intensified, Tuck parted with the western end of this land, which was located between the railway and Charman Road. Once transferred, streets were formed and lots pegged out, however the economic collapse of the 1890s halted any sales and the land remained largely as a wilderness into the next century.[15] From the late 19th century, Cheltenham as a village expanded, though slowly, as a sports ground, police station, courthouse, and post office were established.[16]

A number of small beachside hamlets also formed over the 19th century, which would, in the next century, develop into suburbs. Towns such as Aspendale, built around the racecourse and pleasure grounds, mainly attracted visitors rather than residents, while the delay in establishing a rail station at Chelsea also delaying further growth. At Carrum development was severely hindered by the late making of Patterson Cut, before which the land was uninhabitable. Around the 1860s, the open land at Carrum had functioned as a Common ground, overseen by the Moorabbin Roads Board, where cattle could be grazed for a small fee.[17] Other towns, such as Edithvale, were initially considered part of other localities, with their growth a reflection of the pace of development experienced in the next century.

7.2 SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT

As villages and towns formed across the City of Kingston, it provided nuclei for greater suburban growth during the first half of the 20th century. Once the economy had recovered late in the 1890s, the growth of urban expansion rose and remained steady until the First World War. Post-Victorian Melbourne had adopted the model of detached suburban houses on relatively large lots, which required more land to build and could be found further afield in Melbourne's outer regions. During these years, important changes occurred in the pattern of urban growth as people moved east and south along the shore, which was made possible by improvements in rail and tram systems. However, the contemporary reliance on rail in the City of Kingston meant that suburban growth initially followed the Frankston line.

Over the early 20th century, suburban development initially occurred along the railway line at Aspendale, Edithvale, Chelsea, Carrum, and Bonbeach where subdivisional estates selling cheap blocks of land emerged. In Edithvale, the Hyde Park estate was subdivided around 1911; the estate was most likely bounded by Edithvale Road to the south, Clydebank and Kinross avenues to the west and east, and by Lochiel Avenue to the north. Later, in 1913, the Waterloo estate was established, which was advertised as being suitable for gardening, poultry-raising, or for residential, a varied appeal that buyers did not seem to agree with as few allotments were sold.

11 allotments were advertised for sale at the Station estate at Aspendale early in 1910. Later in the 1910s, subdivisions in Aspendale generated a substantial amount of interest; when 90 allotments were auction in 1916 as part of the Aspendale estate, which was located on Edithvale Road, the lots sold quickly amongst the gathered crowd of 600 present.[18]

In Chelsea, the Henley estate (previously the Foy estate and subdivided in the early 1910s) was advertised as an attractive beachside location, urging people to 'buy now, and get the full use for the Christmas holidays'.[19] As this land was developed, new suburbs were formed. The grazing land located near Chelsea and formerly surrounded by the Carrum Swamp was subdivided in 1912 and given the name Chelsea Heights, though the population numbered only 230 at the time.[20] The Barbeta estate, also located in Chelsea, was subdivided late in the 1900s, with 42 allotments advertised for sold early in 1910.[21]

Despite the increasing number of private subdivisions in the area, little to no regulatory controls were placed on developers, who divided the land as they saw fit. A 1915 Royal Commission into housing reveals the consequence of this lack of oversight in the Study Area, noting that the bayside area had pockets of overcrowding that lacked proper sanitation and had narrow streets. The worst areas were around Wyuna and Ozone avenues and Taylor Street in Aspendale, as well as Wellwood Road to Wimbourne Avenue in Chelsea. Though little evidence survives of this phase of local suburban development, the narrow streets and lanes remain a testament to this poor planning. Little formal oversight remained into the interwar period, with the development of the suburbs reflecting the individual aims of developers rather than a planned vision of local councils.

Further suburban growth occurred in the municipality following the First World War as patterns of living changed and as young couples sought greater buying opportunities beyond metropolitan Melbourne. Land to Melbourne's perimeter was more plentiful and also cheaper which, combined with the recent growth in transportation, had made it a more attractive location for young married couples looking to buy into the housing market. Mentone, stagnant since the 19th century, began to develop again with the aid of developers such as A. E. Lydford, who subdivided both residential and shopping areas. The Harkin Avenue subdivision was created around this time in Mentone, with new houses also constructed along Mentone Parade, and Rogers and La Trobe streets. During this interwar period, flats and apartments began to appear in the municipality as changing lifestyles made them a more attractive option to small families and widowed or single women, groups that rose in number following the Great War. *Glen Court* (HO75) at 74 Beach Road, Mentone, is an exemplifier of this type of development.

GREAT CLEARING SUBDIVISIONAL SALE BY PUBLIC AUCTION
Of the 33 Unsold Allotments in the Glorious

TOWNSHIP ESTATE, CARRUM BY THE SEA

NEXT SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3 At 3 O'Clock, on the Land, In a Seated Marquee,
Almost Opposite Carrum Railway Station,
WITH FRONTAGES TO STATION ROAD, KALIMNA AND VALETTA STREETS,
Within Two Minutes' Walk of the Glorious Bathing Beach.

Aeroplane View of Estate, Showing Proximity to Station, Township and Beach

—EXCEPTIONALLY EASY TERMS—

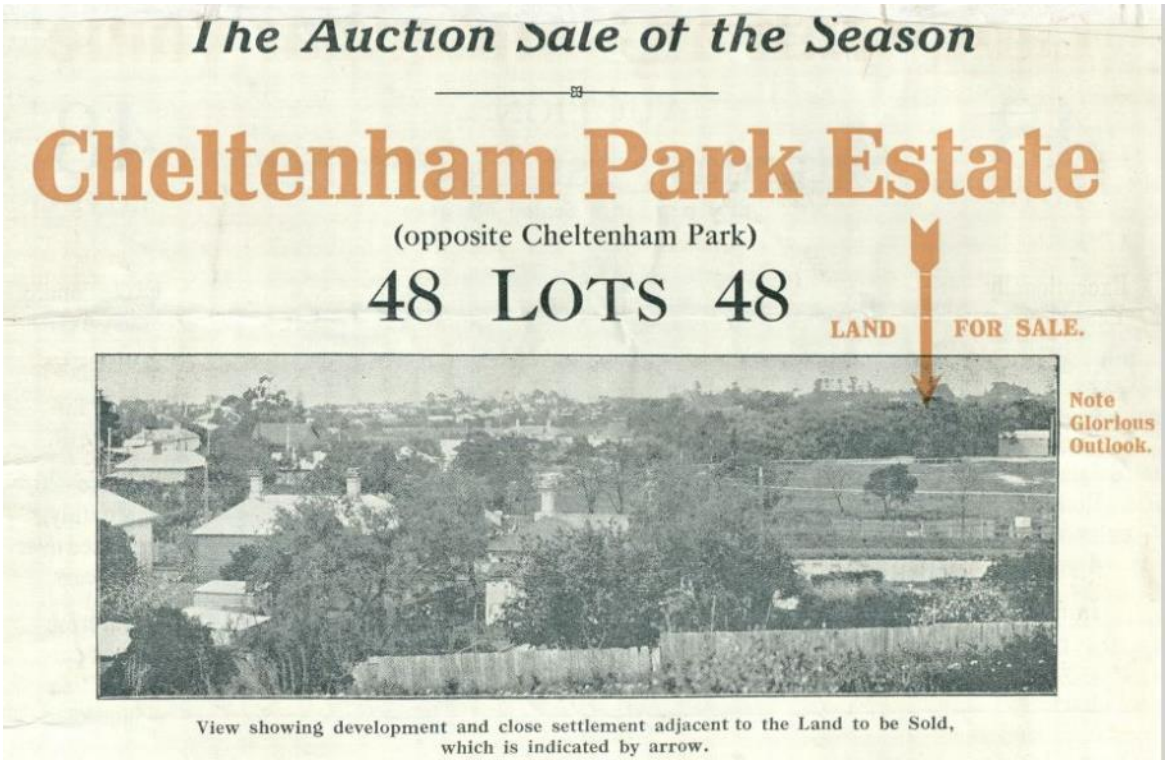
£5 PER LOT DEPOSIT £1 PER MONTH PER LOT INTEREST, £6 Per Cent. Per Annum, BALANCE 3 Years.
ELECTRIC LIGHT, WATER MAINS, ELECTRIC TRAINS, AND TELEPHONES.
TITLE CERTIFICATE. Solicitors: Darvall and Horsfall, 243 Collins Street, Melbourne.

PLANS and FURTHER PARTICULARS NOW AVAILABLE from AUCTIONEERS in conjunction—
Sydney T. Haynes & Co., 60 QUEEN ST., MELBOURNE;
Knight & Harwood, 315 COLLINS ST., MELBOURNE.
Local Agents:
ROBERTSON & STEVENS, Carrum;
W. M'GARRY, Chelsea.

The Township Estate in Carrum advertised for sale, early 1920s.
(Source: 'Advertising', Herald, 31 January 1923, p5)

During the interwar period, Parkdale underwent substantial suburban development after the opening of the Parkdale Station, rising from only 16 persons accommodated in four houses at the start of the century to over 300 dwellings in the early 1930s.[22] The opening of the railway station had heightened interest in the area, particularly for developers, with estate agents Small and Edwards establishing an office at the intersection of Parkers Road and Como Parade West. Land around the station and near the beach was subdivided first, before extending further outwards with estates such as the Beach Hill estate, 80 lots located between Third and Eight streets, created in the 1920s by Coghill and Houghton.[23] While the developers of the Beach Hill estate did adopt a rigid

grid pattern, an improvement on the ad hoc subdivision of earlier estates, narrow streets persisted, some of which were closed at the mid-20th century when cars became a more pervasive means of transportation. Sales of the allotments in the Beach Hill estate sold poorly, with empty blocks of land persisting into the 1950s.



Cheltenham Park Estate, as advertised in the 1920s.
(Source: SLV)

By the beginning of the Second World War, most of the land along the Nepean Highway had been subdivided and developed, particularly at Mentone, Parkdale, Mordialloc, Cheltenham, Aspendale, Edithvale, Chelsea, and Carrum. In the postwar period, these areas would undergo rapid development, spreading eastwards into the hinterlands and leading to a suburban boom unlike any witnessed before in the municipality.

7.3 POSTWAR EXPANSION

Following the end of the Second World War, Melbourne experienced a dramatic building surge. Melbourne had entered the war with a housing shortage, one which was further exuberated by wartime scarcities, rent controls, and the refusal of banks to finance the construction of new homes. This pent-up demand, coupled with the growing need of new migrants for housing during and following the war, led to a boom in suburban development.

In order to cope with this housing shortage, Federal and state governments introduced regulations regarding the size of houses, which were restricted to 12 and a half squares until 1948, then to 14 squares for another four years. These restrictions, coupled with the Uniform Buildings Regulations adopted in 1945, affected the appearance and standard of housing in the municipality, often leading to streets built in the same or a similar design, as is evident at Golfview Road, Heatherton. The City of Kingston also experienced a surge in flat and apartment construction, particularly in Moorabbin, Mordialloc, and Chelsea.

Initially, the Board of Works were given the responsibility of planning Melbourne and its outer fringes after the war ended, which were handed over to local councils in Moorabbin, Mentone, and Chelsea in 1955. This allowed councils to maintain a greater power over development and to prepare planning schemes, regulate land use, and enforce developers to provide amenities such as drainage. The oversight gained was particularly important in tackling the 'heartbreak streets' that had emerged in the municipality.

A group of women pose on the front porch of a newly built house in Moorabbin, July 1958.
(Source: Museums Victoria, MM 126642)

Towns across the municipality underwent substantial suburban development in the immediate postwar years, with Moorabbin, Chelsea, and Mordialloc, in particular, undergoing marked growth. Between 1947 and 1954, the population of Moorabbin grew by 35,500 with some 10,000 houses built.[24]

This rapid expansion led to significant changes in the built form of Moorabbin, which not only included substantial residential housing but also resulted in the development of communal and social amenities, including a new town hall and a football team with a home ground. Clarinda underwent a similar boom in the 1950s when the small village, which centred around market gardening since its formation in the 1880s, began to expand as residential housing was established.[25]

The small farming community at Dingley Village, which emerged from Thomas Attenborough's Dingley Grange purchased in 1856, expanded rapidly in the postwar decades following urbanisation, with a shopping centre, school, kindergarten, and reserve established.[26]

1950-1960 aerial photograph of Moorabbin with residential housing moving deeper into the surrounding agricultural land present in the foreground. (Source: Museums Victoria, MM 137038)

By the mid-1950s, the housing shortage in the municipality had begun to abate, at which time the building industry had started to rationalise with large companies emerging. The appearance of houses had started to shift as builders, seeking to lower their costs, dropped ceiling heights. At around this time, brick veneer also began to dominate. This move impacted the appearance of houses, as well as streetscapes, particularly in places such as Mordialloc. Despite an easing of the housing shortage, development remained high in the City of Kingston, with over 7,000 homes constructed in Moorabbin over the 1950s, when some of the first high-density apartments were built.[27]

In the 1960s, the land in the east of the municipality, which was further away from major transportation links, started to be developed. The rise in car ownership had allowed for subdivision to occur beyond transportation corridors. This initial growth into the rural margins began in Moorabbin and at Cheltenham; similar development also occurred at South Clayton, though to a lesser degree, and was focused in particular on Warrigal and Centre Dandenong roads.

A group of children play in the front yard of a house in Moorabbin in 1958, with a newly constructed weatherboard dwelling in the rear. (Source: Museums Victoria Collections, MM 125741)

As residents came to rely less on public transportation, development began to follow major roads instead, such as William Chadwick's estate. In 1960, Chadwick subdivided 45 home sites (as well as seven shop sites), with the estate likely bounded by Centre Dandenong Road to the north and Jacks Avenue to the south, as well as by Cuthberts and Forest Park roads to the east and west. Soon afterwards, another estate was subdivided to the north of Chadwick's. Developers in Dingley had followed Chadwick's example, which resulted in the town expanding west along the main road and the golf course, and later, in the 1970s, down Howard Road to between Centre and Lower Dandenong roads. During this time, Hooker-Rex Corporation had subdivided a 200-acre estate in Dingley, with 1,100 blocks created.

With increasingly less land available for subdivision, developers from the 1960s were forced to turn to the uninviting marshy areas east of Mordialloc Secondary Drain, resulting in the expansion south of Chelsea Heights.

Over the 1960s and 1970s, a similar expansion occurred in Chelsea as new housing estates and developments emerged to the north and south. To the northeast, Chelbara Village was opened in 1976 by the Minister for Local Government. Beginning as the initiative of local builder Bill Bardoel, the estate was reputed at the time to be the 'first and largest' cluster village built in the state, with a total of 400 homes surrounded by landscaped parks advertised for sale. Chelbara Village was designed to include a small shopping complex and a communal hall, which was located in Baxter Avenue (renamed Niemann Community Hall after the City of Chelsea's Town Planner).

Further south of Chelsea, the Gladesville Company developed 800 acres of swampy land near the Patterson River, planning a series of residential areas around man-made lakes. With construction commencing in the 1960s, it was not until the mid-1970s that the first residents moved into this new estate. Later, the Gladesville Company built clusters of housing and apartments in the area. In the early 21st century, the estate included a range of built forms, such as terraces, retirement villages, and substantial housing, some of which have been constructed along the canals and waterways.

Throughout the postwar period and into the late 20th century, the City of Kingston was transformed as significant development turned this semi-rural area into an urban haven. In the wake of this suburban growth, market gardens and swampy land had been reclaimed for neat and landscaped lots as rising car ownership freed homeowners to look beyond rail and tram corridors. The City of Kingston, once comprised of small and isolated villages at Melbourne's south-eastern edge, had become a substantial and dense urban region by the late 20th century, a shift that altered not only the built landscape but also how residents lived, worked, and interacted.

'Heartbreak' Streets

In the first two decades after the Second World War, many of the market gardens and dairy farms throughout the municipality were subdivided for housing. This suburban expansion into what was previously farming land was largely unplanned which resulted in housing areas without sewerage, inadequate drainage, unmade roads, and little to no reticulated water. These streets, desolate in appearance, were termed 'heartbreak streets' by the media who argued that they were so deplorable in nature that they inspired 'heartbreak' in onlookers.

'Heartbreak Street' in Moorabbin, 1955. (Source: Kingston Historical Society)

Unmade road in South Oakleigh, 1949. (Source: News Limited)

While terrible in appearance, the greatest threat posed by the heartbreak streets was related to health. The presence of young couples and families in these heartbreak streets was of particular concern, as the lack of water during the hot summer months and the bogged unmade roads in winter posed serious health and safety risks to children. In the mid-1950s, bills were introduced in the Legislative Assembly to prevent heartbreak streets by amending the Local Government Act, which Sir Thomas Maltby, the Public Works Minister at the time, noted would 'have the effect of limiting wildcat subdivisions promoted for gain and not in the public's interest'.[28]

7.4 LATE 20TH CENTURY CONSOLIDATION

By the late 20th century, suburban development across the City of Kingston had slowed compared to the postwar years; however, urban expansion continued into select areas or pockets of the agricultural margins of the municipality. t Aspendale, the land immediately east of the town was built up in the 1980s, the largely rural land given over to residential and commercial development that increased markedly over the 1990s.[29] As a result, Aspendale Gardens was formed with a primary school, a local shopping centre, a retirement village, and a community centre.

As open land became increasingly unavailable across the Study Area, attention was turned towards redevelopment and renewal between the railway and the coast, with townhouses emerging as an important building typology. Moorabbin continued to expand at its margins while redevelopment initiatives were also undertaken, particularly around providing more attractive shopping amenities.[30] Chelsea underwent a similar redevelopment, with town planning resolving long-standing issues of street flooding, as well as building a city hall

and library.[31] At this stage, councils had also begun to emphasise the need to expand roads and ease traffic conditions as the higher density living coupled with high rates of car ownership soon led to congested motorways.

1964 aerial photograph of Aspendale, with rural land later developed as Aspendale Gardens in background. (Source: Jim Payens, Museums Victoria, MM 134811)

This consolidation has continued into the 21st century, with substantial redevelopment and renewal parcels in Highett, Clayton South, Heatherton, Bonbeach, Patterson Lakes, and Aspendale as more apartments have been constructed.[32] Alongside this redevelopment, centre-based expansion opportunities are expected adjacent to the Frankston railway line, in places such as Moorabbin, Cheltenham, Mordialloc, Mentone, and Highett.[33]

Kath and Kim

Consolidation of the urban landscape occurs not only through redevelopment and the built form but also by the social and cultural practices that people engage with and share. This social and cultural experience of the suburban landscape in the City of Kingston was most notably parodied in the widely popular tv show 'Kath and Kim'.

'Kath and Kim' was a popular Australian sitcom that aired between 2002 and 2007. Created by Gina Riley and Jane Turner, the show also featured the two as the main characters, Kath Day-Knight and Kim, middle-class women living in the affluent urban havens of Melbourne's outer regions. As scholar Melinda Smith argued of the show, the sitcom supported Australian nationalism by binding audiences together in a shared history and experience of contemporary urban living.[34]

The show was primarily filmed in Patterson Lakes, Cheltenham, and Moorabbin, with the contemporary suburban experience displayed and unpacked that of the highly urbanised City of Kingston. Through the show and its characters, the work contributed towards a fraught contemporary conversation regarding the place and meaning of

suburbia in Australia, about what it means to live an urban experience defined by ease of access and privilege yet devoid of deeper personal connection to land and space.

7.5 MIGRATION AND A MULTIFACETED SOCIETY

While migration to the City of Kingston has historically been predominately white and British, various other national, ethnic, and cultural groups have arrived and settled, no matter how briefly, in the City of Kingston. Over the centuries, this migration has shaped the social, economic, and built landscape of the area, contributing in significant ways to the villages and townships that formed, as well as later suburban development.

Photograph of Mary Louey Gung and her children, Aspendale Beach, circa 1949.
(Source: Museum Victoria, MM 136701)

One of the most notable and earliest migration groups to settle in the Study Area were Chinese migrants. Chinese migrants maintained a considerable presence in the municipality, dating back to the 1850s. Substantial numbers of Chinese fishermen were present at Mordialloc in the Gold Rush days, with the community frequently noted as producing considerable quantities of 'smig', small fish dried in the sun, which were sold to Chinese miners on the goldfields.[35]

This activity was later curtailed by the government who banned the use of nets with a smaller mesh size, which placed limitations on the size of fish caught.[36] Later in the century, a considerable number of Chinese migrants began market gardening in the area, contributing significantly towards the agricultural economies of the region. From its beginning in the mid-1850s, the migration of overseas-born Chinese to the Study Area has continued into the 21st century, an important and long-standing aspect of the municipality's migration pattern and diversity.

In the postwar period, the Study Area underwent a substantial population boom, much of which was a flow-through effect of the great waves of migrants resettling in Victoria following the end of the Second World War. These migrants, all of whom required housing, amenities, and facilities, fed the significant suburban development that occurred across the municipality in the postwar period. These strands of migration varied in their ethnic, cultural, and national ties, leading to the emergence of a more diverse and multifaceted society.

Over the 1950s and 1960s, a number of Greek and Italian migrants, and to a lesser degree Pakistani and Indian migrants, settled in and around Moorabbin, with the local council offering a range of services to assist new arrivals, including guidance counselling, legal services, English lessons, and an interpreter.[37] There also formed sizable migrant communities from the Baltics and North, Central, and Eastern Europe.[38] A greater number of British and Irish migrants had settled in Moorabbin in the postwar years, continuing the Anglo-Saxon predominance of the area. Despite this, the incoming overseas migration brought a vibrancy and wealth of social,

cultural, and ethnic capital that has shaped the built landscape of the area as traditional restaurants, shops, and communal centres emerged.

In the early 21st century, migration in the City of Kingston has tended to focus on internal migration, of persons moving into the area from other locations in Australia. Overseas migration has continued, though to a lesser extent. In the 2010s, the largest non-English speaking migrant group in the municipality were Indian, followed by the Chinese community; the largest overseas group to settle in the area, however, were from the United Kingdom.[39]

7.6 UTILITIES

Across the 19th century, the utilities provided to residents located outside of metropolitan Melbourne were considerably different to those enjoyed by city dwellers. These utilities were often created much later in the outer regions and were limited in both scope and choice. Over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, electricity and gas were seen as the legitimate domain of government institutions, such as the State Electricity Commission and the Gas and Fuel Corporation, to be provided and overseen by governments and local councils. The introduction of such amenities was a welcome addition for locals as gas, electricity, and sewage systems were installed in the Study Area.

Gas

Gas lighting first appeared in the stores of Melbourne's most entrepreneurial shopkeepers at the end of the 1840s and was soon followed by the formation of the City of Melbourne Gas and Coke Co in 1850, though the Gold Rush substantially delayed the construction of a gas plant. Great demands for gas lighting soon resulted in new mains being installed to supply Melbourne's inner suburbs.

Spurred by the success of gas works in Melbourne, enterprising financiers sought to invest in the development of similar companies in Victoria's outer regions and towns, leading to the formation of the Mentone, Cheltenham, and Mordialloc Gas Works Company.

Forming in 1886, the shareholding Mentone, Cheltenham, and Mordialloc Gas Works Company opened the new works, which was situated in Mentone, just three years later in 1889. A contemporary newspaper article from the *Caulfield and Elsternwick Leader* records the large scale of the new gas works, which cost in total £19,300.[40] The works could supply 40,000 cubic feet of gas, even with only part of the works then carried out, and the mains for the gas company measured nearly 12 miles.[41]

At an opening ceremony held for the new gas works at the Royal Coffee Palace in Mentone, the contractor and engineer Mr Hutchison noted that the construction of the works had been to 'the highest class and not equalled anywhere'.[42] The installation of a new gas works also sustained the image of Mentone as being progressive, a boost for land speculators interested in maintaining the image of Mentone as being the 'Riviera of the South'. In 1899, the officers of the company approached the Shire of Moorabbin with the intention of selling the works, which, after some negotiation, was purchased by the council for £2,900.[43]

The Mentone gas works, located on Brindisi Street, 1928. (Source: Mordialloc and District Historical Society)

In 1918, the council began to explore the possibility of selling the gas works at Mentone. he local gas committee had recommended the sale of the works as the works were becoming increasingly unprofitable, a result of the strong possibility of the installation of electric lighting in the district, the low sale price of gas, and the difficulty that arose having the works supervised by a committee of unpaid men.[44]

Once Mentone had become part of the Borough of Mentone and Mordialloc in 1920, the gas works were given over to the new borough, though not without some disagreement. By the 1930s, the Mentone gas works were in fierce competition with electricity, yet gas remained the preferred option for heating and cooking. In 1954, the gas works ceased operation, with residents instead supplied gas from the Highett gas works.[45]

Over in Highett, the Central Brighton and Moorabbin Gas Company, which built its first gas work in 1877, commissioned a new station in 1939. By the end of the Second World War, plans were being made to expand the Highett facility, which took nearly five years to complete. The expansion cost nearly £270,000 and doubled the output of the works to 4 million cubic feet a day.[46]

In 1950, the Central Brighton and Moorabbin Gas Company, along with the Metropolitan Gas Company, amalgamated with the State Government to form the Gas and Fuel Corporation of Victoria. The Highett gas works ceased production in 1969, with a portion of the site sold to finance the conversion to natural gas in metropolitan Melbourne. Part of the area occupied by the gas works was converted into the Sir William Fry Reserve.

While two large gas works existed in the City of Kingston, Aspendale, Carrum, and Chelsea did not gain a supply of gas until after 1930. Residents at Carrum were, however, the first householders in Victoria to receive a natural gas supply in 1969. The supply of gas to residents was privatised in the mid-1990s.

1950s aerial photograph of the Highett gas works.
(Source: Charles Daniel Pratt, SLV)

While two large gas works existed in the City of Kingston, Aspendale, Carrum, and Chelsea did not gain a supply of gas until after 1930. Residents at Carrum were, however, the first householders in Victoria to receive a natural gas supply in 1969. The supply of gas to residents was privatised in the mid-1990s.

Electricity

Across Melbourne, gas provided the first form of reticulated lighting in a colony that initially relied on candles, kerosene, and oil lamps. While gas proved a considerable innovation when introduced in the 1850s, it was not long before its place of primacy was threatened by electricity. By 1888, electric lighting was being introduced in

Melbourne, which had begun to replace its gas lamps with electric ones.[47] Despite this early introduction, electricity did not arrive in the outer regions of Melbourne until much later, with plants not established until the early 20th century.

Large institutions developed in the City of Kingston could install electrical lighting. When the Benevolent Asylum was built in Cheltenham, the construction of which began in 1909, the complex was installed with electricity for lighting, which cost £1,340.[48]

Aspendale, Chelsea, and Carrum Electrical Supply Company were established in 1915, providing electricity to Aspendale, Carrum, and Chelsea.[49] Mains were first installed along Point Nepean Road before later extending to residences.[50] The power plant was constructed in Swanpool Avenue, the land of which was donated by William Black, a shareholder of the electrical company. After 1919, the State Electricity Commission started to assume responsibility over most municipal electric companies and plants, acquiring the Carrum Electrical Company in 1944.

The supply of electricity returned to private companies and contractors in the mid-1990s.

Water and Sewerage System

The effective disposal of bodily waste was an issue that often plagued early Melbourne as periods of rapid population and building growth overwhelmed contemporary disposal systems, which relied on poorly built cesspits and nightsoil men. While public-health experts were calling for a waterborne sewerage system, the fragmentation of councils had made it difficult for an agreement to be reached on how this system would be built or financed. By 1891, with the threat of typhoid to public health increasing, an agreement had been reached and the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works was established to provide a sewer system and oversee water supplies. In the City of Kingston, sewerage and water systems did not arrive until much later in the 20th century.

Initially, towns and villages across the City of Kingston relied, like Melbourne, on cesspits and nightsoil men to remove waste under cover of darkness. The work of the nightsoil men was often contracted out by councils, with the waste collected and distributed for use on the market gardens or disposed of at nightsoil depots. These towns also lacked a water system; in the early 1900s, not all of the houses in Parkdale were laid with water, as one resident noted.[51] Over the 1910s, various nightsoil depots were established in the region before the Board of Works gained responsibility for the removal and disposal of sewerage in 1919.

Homemade 'Night Pan' toilet, Parkdale, 1950, with the rear trapdoor for the nightsoil men to remove the pan visible. (Source: Museums Victoria, MM 110951)

Over the 1920s, land burial was viewed as the most practical and safe means to dispose of waste, and as a result, in 1922, the Board of Works was granted the power to acquire land for depots or to levy rates to cover collection costs. Between 1925 and 1926, five depots were opened in the City of Kingston area, most of which were operated by contractors. Despite the opening of these depots, it soon became apparent that a more comprehensive sewerage removal system would be required.

In an effort to replace nightsoil collections, a stud farm was purchased at Braeside to act as a sewerage farm and establish an extended sewerage system.[52] This decision would prove a controversial one as nearby farmers feared that their land may be contaminated as a result and residents raised concerns over the potential it may have to pollute the beaches. Such anxieties, however, proved unnecessary. The plan for the sewerage farm was halted by the 1930s depression and was instead leased to Harry Telford. Later in the 1930s, another sewerage scheme was established at Braeside, which provided for parts of Mentone, Mordialloc, Cheltenham, and Parkdale.[53]

Sections of these townships however, remained without sewerage. When a typhoid outbreak occurred in Cheltenham in 1943, a newspaper reporter remarked on the lack of sewerage provided, stating that 'in an unsewered area … it was impossible to take all precautions' to prevent the spread of the disease.[54] Following this outbreak, petitions were soon raised demanding that sewerage be provided to all of Cheltenham, though the lack of available labour (a result of the Second World War) was stated as a reason against immediately starting works.[55]

The Board of Works were also reluctant to carry out work unless guarantees were provided that houses would be connected to the mains, citing that large parts of Cheltenham were already laid with mains yet houses remained unconnected.[56] This last issue suggests a disconnect between the Board of Works, homeowners, and builders, revealing that even if mains were laid dwellings could remain without adequate sewerage unless they were able to secure a line connecting their homes to a main.

TYPHOID DANGER AT CHELTENHAM

"Could Strike Again," Doctor Warns

Typhoid might strike again at Cheltenham State School unless sanitary conditions were improved, Dr. Bernard Hudson has warned the Mayor of Moorabbin, Cr. L. R. Coates.

A newspaper article warming of the possibility of multiple typhoid outbreaks at Cheltenham if sanitation not improved. (Source: 'Typhoid danger at Cheltenham could strike again', *Herald*, 3 August 1950, p7)

In 1964, work began on a new and considerably larger south-eastern sewerage system, which commenced operations in 1973. The completion of the works finally connected Dingley and Chelsea Heights to sewerage; the works were later expanded to serve nearly 60,000 people across the Mentone, Parkdale, Mordialloc, and Cheltenham areas.

Waste Management

Since the colony's formation in the early 1850s, waste and garbage collection emerged as a major issue, particularly as settlers were left to dispose of their own rubbish. Most tended to bury their garbage in cesspits, feed it to pigs, or dump it in public parks.[57] By the 1880s, a more formalised system of management developed, with residents provided with iron boxes to store their rubbish. These boxes were often left in backyards for scavengers to empty each week.

Waste removal in the Study Area was contracted out to individuals and companies, as was common in Victoria. These contractors collected garbage from the homes of residents, which was taken away to be disposed of elsewhere. Across the broader region, garage depots were established to service local councils and residents, though Moorabbin, in the early 20th century, also received waste from Melbourne and other distant suburbs for disposal.[58] The contractor employed to collect and dispose of the rubbish could have an arduous task ahead; in 1911, it was noted by the Mentone Progress Association that the garbage cart collecting in the west riding took eight hours to travel to Cheltenham Park, where the waste was buried, and then make its way back.[59]

Garbage men dispose of rubbish in Moorabbin, early 1970s.
(Source: Standard Newspapers Ltd, *City of Moorabbin 1975*, November 1975, SLV)

The operations of contracts could be a source of concern. In 1918, residents in Mordialloc often complained of the insufficient garbage system then in place, noting the inconvenience of collectors who arrived at 2 am or not at all and that the tin bins were often thrown back in the garden carelessly, causing damage.[60] The waste system was usually barraged when disease outbreaks occurred; when typhoid cases broke out in Mordialloc in 1923 due to contaminated milk, newspapers also observed the complaints being made 'of the garbage tins which are often left exposed and upset by dogs'.[61] This state of the bins was at the time in direct opposition to shire by-laws, most notably by-law 46, which required all garbage to be stored in fly-proof, covered metal bins and placed close to or outside the gate on the appointed day of collection.[62]

Since the late 20th century, waste management has shifted focus towards reducing and recycling rubbish. A food waste service was introduced in the City of Kingston in mid-2020, which diverts organic waste away from landfill.[63]

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ADMINISTRATING

8.1 LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The passing of the *Melbourne Municipal Corporation Act 1842* set in train a gradual move across the metropolis and its outer suburban areas towards the establishment of local governments. Not all were in favour, particularly large property owners, concerned about increased taxation.

Moves toward municipal government were comparatively slow to emerge in the Study Area.

[1] The composition and boundaries of the local government bodies that emerged were also subject to enlargement and excision. When set up, local governments typically performed a narrow range of tasks, with a principal focus on road-making and maintenance and garbage disposal, as well as facilitating land subdivision and suburbanisation. Since the 1970s, the activities of councils have broadened into leisure activities and varied community services, including social welfare. The evolution of municipal government in the Study Area reflects this wider trend.

The Moorabbin Road District was proclaimed in May 1862, which was the first step towards municipal governance and is discussed more in the chapter Connecting. It incorporated portions of the parishes of Moorabbin and Mordialloc, encompassing an essentially rural territory that stretched from the margins of Brighton (its own borough) southeast along either side of the Nepean Road/Highway to Mordialloc Creek, including areas now beyond the Study Area (Hampton, Sandringham, Beaumaris). The Moorabbin Road District became the Shire of Moorabbin in January 1871, administrating a 'sprawling district from the Bentleigh area in the north to points south of Mordialloc, and from the bayside town of Sandringham in the west to the open country around Heatherton in the east.'[2] Its proclamation as the City of Moorabbin occurred in October 1934, mainly on the back of suburban development in Bentleigh and Cheltenham.[3]

The Dandenong Road District (est. 1857), later Shire of Dandenong (1873), also incorporated the southern coastal strip of the Study Area (from Mordialloc Creek to Carrum, including Aspendale, Edithvale, Chelsea).

During the early 20th century, marked population growth and rising agitation from areas within the Moorabbin Shire and Dandenong Shire that felt overlooked led to the formation of new local municipal bodies in the Study Area. The most pertinent are:

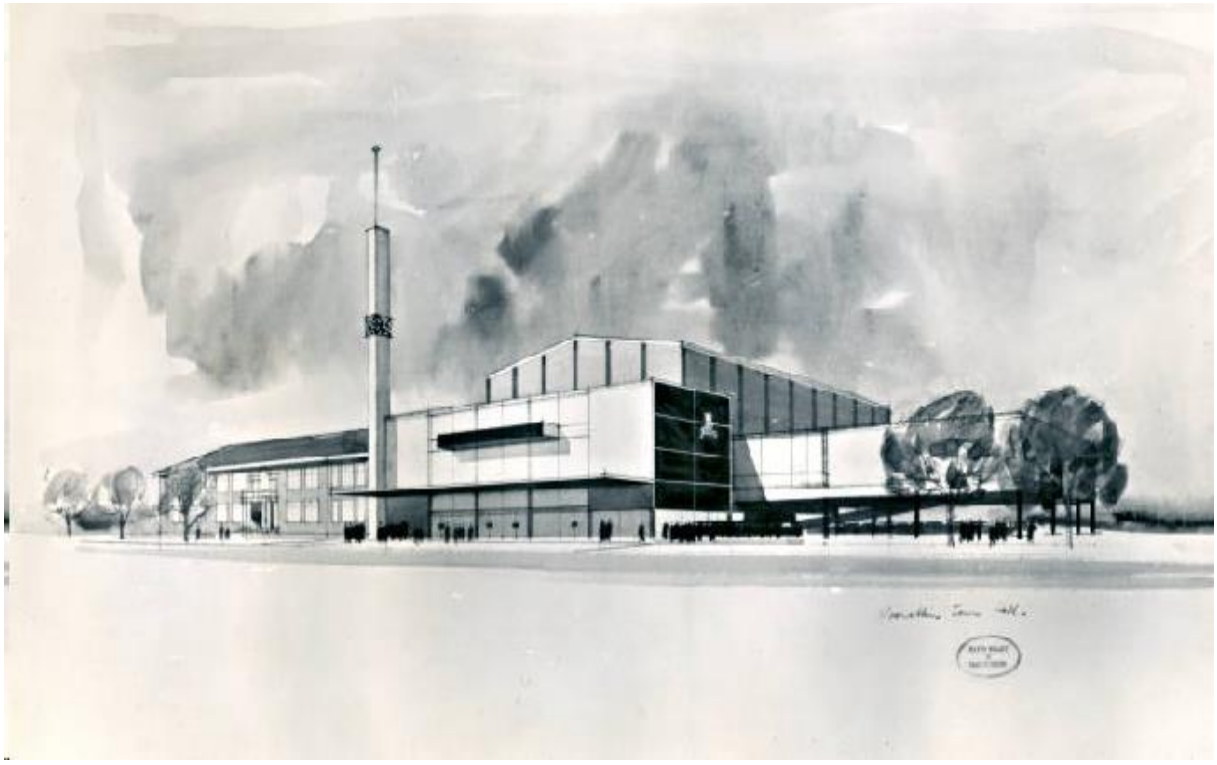
- the secession of the Borough of Mentone and Mordialloc in 1920 from the Moorabbin Shire, proclaimed the City of Mordialloc in 1926, and
- breakaway of the Borough of Carrum in 1920 from the Shire of Dandenong, rechristened as the City of Chelsea in 1929.

Over time, these elected bodies evolved distinct civic and parochial identities that often revolved around their Town Halls, the centre of municipal administration and social, community, philanthropic and political life for citizens.

The part of the Study Area south of Mordialloc Creek lay outside the formal metropolitan boundaries into the postwar period. This status allowed the City of Chelsea to take advantage of a range of progressive country organisations, such as the Victorian Bush Nursing Association and the Country Fire Authority, despite ostensibly being a suburb of Melbourne. These circumstances allowed for the more rapid development of civic facilities and public services in the area over the late interwar period than in the Moorabbin and Mordialloc areas, including the district's first baby health care centre and the establishment of the Chelsea Bush Nursing Hospital (1941) at Edithvale (now an aged care facility on Station Street between Northcliffe Road and Bayside Avenue).

As part of the Victorian State Government's dramatic, at times contentious, municipal restructuring scheme, all or parts of the former Cities of Moorabbin, Mordialloc, Chelsea, Springvale, and Oakleigh were united to form the City of Kingston in December 1994.

The legacy of governing and municipal activity in the City of Kingston is extensive but is exemplified by the presence of several former and current town halls, libraries, community services and buildings, council depot (Braeside), and street plantings.



Render of the Kingston City Hall (HO80), built in 1963 to the design of notable commercial architects Bates Smart & McCutcheonin a regionalised interpretation of the Dudok/Dutch modernism, at the southeast corner of the Nepean Highway and South Road intersection. It abuts the earlier Georgian-style Moorabbin Town Hall (not Arts Centre, HO79), constructed in 1929. (Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

8.2 MAINTAINING ORDER

Drawing from English law and legal customs, numerous courthouses developed throughout Victoria over the second half of the 19th century, becoming prominent manifestations of law and order at the community level. Generally, when surveyors laid out a new town, land was set aside for a police station, a lock-up, and a courthouse, and were usually constructed in that order.[4]

Court Houses

In mining towns, where the population often fluctuated, portable court houses were provided. In pastoral or agricultural districts, townships that had grown to a certain size and had developed a sence of permanency usually pressed for a court to be established, which would be held in large public or commercial buildings already present in the town.[5] Once a court was formed, however, locals often lobbied for a courthouse to be built.[6] The construction of a court house would increase the prestige and importance of the town while also providing a new public building at no extra expense to residents.

The government department responsible for the construction of court houses was the Public Works Department (PWD), which was not only the largest and most influential department in Victoria in the early 19th century, but also had the greatest budget.

In the City of Kingston, courts and court houses were established to service large parts of the study area, meaning few court houses were established. However, those that were constructed remain and endure as an important part of the heritage fabric.

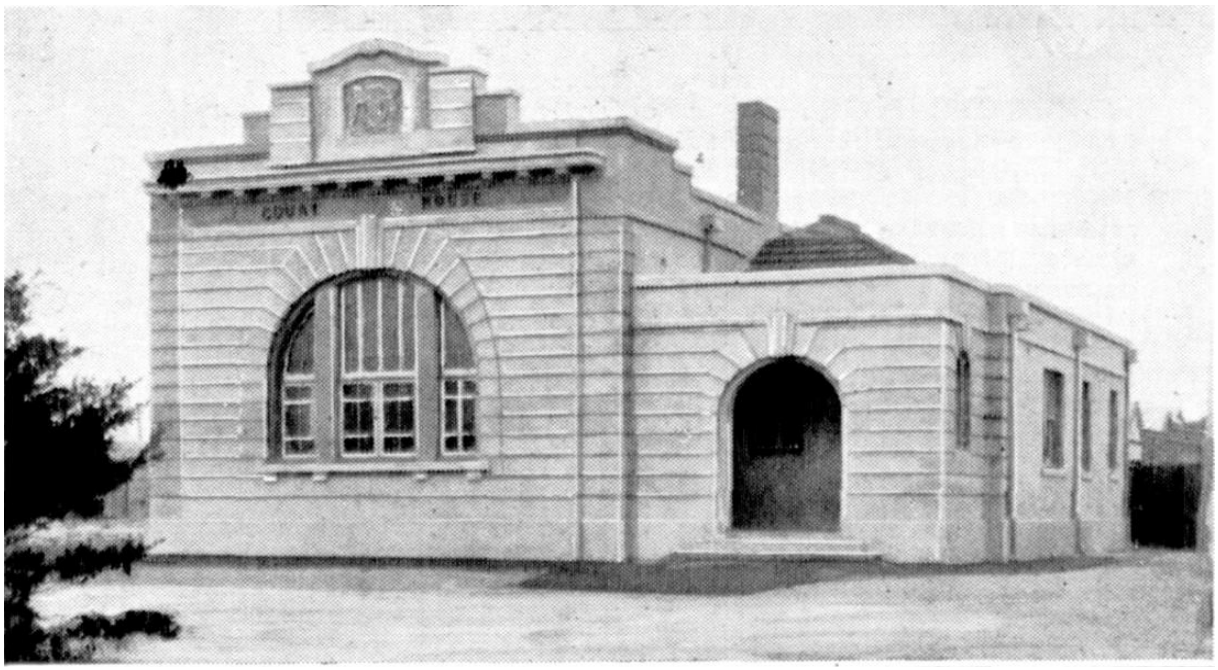
A court had been present in Cheltenham by at least the 1860s, with a courthouse erected on the Nepean Highway at Cheltenham (HO40) in 1885. Tenders for the Cheltenham courthouse appeared in 1885, with the tender award to Jas. Mossroe and accepted for £897.[7] Originally a gabled building with cement-rendered brick, the courthouse was substantially altered in the 1950s with a cream brich addition to the front.[8] The building remained in use until the 1983.

(Above) Courthouse (HO40), Cheltenham.
(Source: RBA, November 2022).

(Left) Close up image of Cheltenham Court House, early 20th century
(Source: VPRS 10516, P0001, PROV).

Initially, there was no court nor courthouse at Mordialloc, with residents reliant on the courts established at Chelsea and Cheltenham. This lack of a court, described by contemporaries in 1926 as a 'source of expense and annoyance to Mordialloc litigants', was remedied in the same year when a court of petty sessions was established.[9] The court served the Mordialloc, Parkdale, and Aspendale districts, and most likely Mentone as well. The court first heard cases at the Masonic Hall before moving to leased premises, though it is unclear where.[10] The modernist Mordialloc Court House (now Allan McLean Hall in Albert Street) was constructed in 1965.

In Chelsea, legal cases were initially heard in Mason's Picture Theatre (built 1923, HO32) before a classicising courthouse was constructed in 1928 on The Strand (VHR H0804). The new courthouse broke with architectural conventions for the typology at the time and was one of the first built in this style, of which Chelsea is often considered the outstanding example.[11] It remained in use until 1985 and is now occupied by the Chelsea Activity Centre.



Chelsea Court House, late 1930s.
(Source: *City of Chelsea: the city of beautiful beaches*, City of Chelsea, 1938, p31)

Chelsea Court House (HO1), Chelsea.
(Source: RBA, November 2022)

Policing

Police have played a critical role in Victoria's history. As one of the earliest offices of government in the colony, the police provided an essential aid to administration. Their functions were not restricted to catching thieves and keeping the peace in the streets. They collected statistics, carried out the census, administrated elections, licensed pubs, and looked after lost children.

The authority to appoint constables was first vested in the Governor of New South Wales and placed the police under the subordination of magistrates. However, by 1853, the police force was centralised with the passing of the Police Regulation Act, which was modelled on the London Metropolitan Police Act. Under the Act, the role of Chief Commissioner of Police was created, who was responsible for all policemen in Victoria, combining various localised forces into one. Similar to courthouses, police stations were constructed by the Public Works Department.

The location of police stations followed population trends, with demographics determining the placement and size of police stations. This meant that towns within the City of Kingston often did not gain a police station until late in the 19th century or early in the 20th century. Police surveillance could be intermittent or seasonal, with policemen stationed just for the summer months or placed on duty for only a few days in the week. At Chelsea, Aspendale, and Carrum, no permanent policemen were appointed until after 1912.[12]

At Cheltenham, a timber police station was built in 1869 in the location of the current police station at 1224 Nepean Highway, Cheltenham.[13] The station was most likely rebuilt late in the 19th century or the early 20th century, as indicated by the image below. Family notices placed in the newspaper further suggest that the policeman lived at the station with his family.[14] The station was rebuilt around the mid-20th century.

A police station was constructed at Mentone in the 1890s, in which decade it began to appear in contemporary newspapers.[15] It appears that until the police station was constructed, there was no regular police surveillance. An article from 1888 noted the request made by locals to:

> the Chief Commissioner of Police for Mentone to be made a police station. They referred to the very largely increasing population which in their opinion made it every way desirable for the peace and security of the inhabitants that a policeman should be stationed there.[16]

Cheltenham Police Station, early 20th century.
(Source: VPRS, 10516, P0001, PROV)

By the mid-1930s, police stations had been constructed at Carrum, Aspendale, Chelsea, Moorabbin, and Mordialloc.[17] Built of timber, these early stations often acted as a residence for the police office. While a number of police stations were constructed, not all acted as a reflection of suburb growth; some stations formed as a means to keep social order amongst tourists who packed the beaches over summer, leading to intermittent surveillance. A newspaper article from 1913 notes the frustration of local residents in Chelsea who made it well known the 'undesirability of removing from the place during the winter the constable who has been stationed there during the summer'.[18]

Rear of Carrum Police Station, early 20th century
(Source: VPRS 10514, P0001, PROV)

In the south part of the Study Area, the police presence remained intermittent in the late interwar period; when Constable C. Nolan was taken to the hospital in 1923, his station in Carrum remained unmanned for over a month, then restricted to weekend coverage by a replacement.[19]

Chelsea Police Station, early 20th century.
(Source: VPRS 10516, P0001, PROV)

Over the mid to late 20th century, new police stations have been built in the study area, some of which were built on the site of the previous station, like the Mordialloc and Cheltenham police stations. As such, little built fabric remains of early police stations.

Fire Brigades

Fire Services within the Study Area began as localised volunteer forces before formalising in the early-to-the mid-20th century. An essential protective service, the initial reliance on neighbours and friends to assist in a fire emergence attests to the communal mindedness of locals.

For instance, a voluntary fire brigade operated in Cheltenham, responding to any calls of fire, from the late 19th century. In 1911, the Metropolitan Fire Brigade was established with a hall built along the highway at the cost of £350.[20] The fire station was later extended in 1919. Initially, the station hired two full-time firemen and several others who were part-time. The fire brigade was reorganised in 1960, which included demolishing the station for an Ambulance port.

Similar to Cheltenham, Mentone initially maintained a volunteer 'fire service', which consisted mainly of locals responding to the rallying cries of a neighbour to extinguish fires. By 1905, however, locals had moved to form a more formal fire service. Steps were first taken to establish a fire service under the Country Fire Board before it was decided to petition the Metropolitan Fire Board to extend their services to Mentone, with auxiliary 'sheds' for Cheltenham and Mordialloc, which was accepted.[21] In 1907, the Mentone Fire Station, located on the corner of Brindisi Street and Mentone Parade, was officially opened and serviced the community until 1956, whereupon a new building was constructed near the junction of Nepean Highway and Warrigal Road.[22]

Local volunteer fire brigades were also formed at Aspendale, Carrum, and Chelsea in 1912, with equipment purchased through their own fund-raising activities and local donations. All were stationed along the Nepean Highway and located close to railway stations. The three brigades later registered with the Country Fire Brigades Board, which became the Country Fire Authority (CFA) in 1944.

Over the early to mid-20th century, residents at Moorabbin had been lobbying the Metropolitan Fire Brigades Board for a fire station to be established at Moorabbin, noting in 1928 that the only 'fire protection afforded the township was that of the brigades in neighbouring municipalities, and that when a fire occurred the building was practically destroyed before a brigade could arrive'.[23] The former Fire Station (HO81) located on South Road was built in 1958 to service the local area and were later converted into flats.

The remaining fabric relating to fire stations dates predominately from the mid to late 20th century, with those operating at Edithvale from the postwar period and the Patterson Lakes Fire Station also a late 20th century construction.

8.3 WARTIME KINGSTON

For most Australians, World War One and Two were experienced not on the battlefields but rather at the home front. The wars left no part of life untouched, affecting many Australians' familial, social, cultural, economic, and personal lives. Like the rest of Victoria, towns and cities within the City of Kingston played their part in aiding the war effort and, in some cases, even maintained special operations.

The outbreak of the Great War in 1914 soon saw the Australian Government commit their support for Britain and its Allies. One of the significant needs of the Australian Army at the time was for men to enlist. Initially, entry requirements for enlistment were strict; however, as the war dragged on and the casualties mounted, the conditions were relaxed and increasing pressure was placed on men to enlist. A range of strategies were employed to encourage men to enlist, such as stirring speeches and defamatory rhetoric concerning ‘shirkers’.

A crowd gathered outside the Mentone skating ring for a recruitment meeting, 1917.
(Source: Mordialloc and District Historical Society)

Similar to the rest of Australia, residents in the City of Kingston enlisted as soldiers and nurses and were sent off to war, yet locals were not unanimous in their opinion concerning Australia’s involvement. Despite this, strong emotional connections to the war were cultivated, argued, and expressed by residents. Many expressed strong anti-German feelings.[24] Views from residents in the City of Kingston area regarding the war, shirkers, and anti-Germen sentiment were recorded in newspapers, with discussion even emerging regarding the boycotting of businesses that had young, able-bodied men who refused to enlist.[25]

A series of meetings were held across the district to discuss the issue of conscription, including one small but enthusiastic meeting at the Shire Hall in Moorabbin. When compulsory conscription for military training was introduced, it raised resentment amongst certain sections of the community, mainly for the disruption such service entailed in farming life. Exemptions from training could be obtained; to gain an exception required a hearing before a magistrate and a representative of the Defence Department, which occurred at Dandenong and Cheltenham Police Courts.[26] After two failed conscription referendums in 1916 and 1917, enlistment levels were low and recruitment meetings occurred across various towns to entice men to join, including in Moorabbin, Cheltenham, and Mordialloc.[27] Few men from these towns, however, enlisted as a result.

With memories of the 'Great War' still lingering in the minds of many, the Second World War was greeted by Australians with much less enthusiasm than the first. The loss of loved ones from the First World War and the economic hardships faced in the 1930s shaped reactions to the announcement of war. Initially, civil life in Melbourne and its surroundings continued with little government interference, but the bombing of Pearl Harbour in

December 1941 soon led to major changes on the home front. After the bombing, the dimmed lighting of the brownout was enforced, air-raid drills became commonplace, rationing was introduced, and buildings were requisitioned for government use.[28]

Members of the Mordialloc Volunteer Air Observer Corps Emergency Landing Team unloading flares for laying out a flare path on a forced landing ground. (Source: Australian War Memorial)

Air raid drills were conducted across the Study Area, with district Air Raid Precautions branches (A.R.P) formed to oversee and organise the drills. Across Australia, each municipality was expected to prepare their own precautions against air raids, leading to the formation of A.R.P groups.[29] An A.R.P formed for the Mordialloc area, which, despite having three stirrup pumps and various blankets and stretchers, felt they were inadequately supplied. Many A.R.P groups across Melbourne were insufficiently supplied due to a scarcity of equipment.[30]

The deep concern over the lack of equipment and the perceived need for more also highlights the seriousness and pervasive fear of locals regarding the threat of Japanese bombings. Despite Mordialloc's short supplies, newspaper articles assured readers that 'the organisation and skill of the A.R.P squads were heartening as they carried out mock demolition and ladder rescues'.[31] In one exercise conducted by the A.R.P in Mordialloc, 275 staged 'incidents' of mock incendiary, gas, and high explosive bombs were held at once.[32] The A.R.P disbanded in 1946 following the close of the war.

Besides the A.R.P, a range of branch organisations were created in the City of Kingston in response to the war, such as the Australian Comforts Fund (in Moorabbin, Heatherton, Highett, and Bentleigh-Ormond-McKinnon), the Victory Club (Cheltenham), Red Cross (West Bentleigh, Ormond), the Volunteer Air Observer Corps, and the Victory Younger Set.

Significantly, the war effort also stimulated industrial growth in the Moorabbin area.

After the bombing of Darwin, various towns in the City of Kingston area dug trenches and air raid shelters as a safety precaution. Behind the Cheltenham State Primary School, locals gathered to dig slit trenches for the children. The sandy nature of the soil required the trenches to be boarded with timber, which came from Eric Kilburn's Timber Yard (location unknown).[33] Some residents in the Cheltenham area also dug air raid shelters at

their home.[34] Trenches were also dug behind the Parkdale Primary School.[35] Little remains as evidence of these wartime trenches.

At the close of the war, the Council set up a Repatriation Committee to assist returning servicemen and women to settle into civilian life, as well as to ensure that they received the rights and entitlements afforded to returned war persons.[36]

Covert Missions

In 1942, a wartime wireless receiving station was established on the north corner of Chesterville and Keys roads, opposite the junction with Wickham Road.

Earlier in the year, a total of six acres of land comprising part of the property of Arthur McKittrick, Peter Briggs, and William and Roy Sullivan were requisitioned by the Australian Government on behalf of the Director of Naval Works.[37]

In the 'backblocks' of Moorabbin, amongst unassuming makeshift buildings and market gardens, the wireless station handled some of the war's most sensitive secrets and operations, significantly shaping the course of the conflict in the Pacific by tracking Japanese advances.[38] Thirty-five US Navy servicemen operated the wireless station, becoming an unexpected presence in the area. Dispatch riders could be seen regularly puttering along Chesterville Road, delivering messages that were considered too important to re-transmit by telephone or radio. The wireless radio was closed in 1944 and the equipment relocated, with no trace of the operation left behind.

8.4 PUBLIC HOUSING

As the newly federated state of Victoria emerged from the 1890s depression, contemporaries increasingly turned their attention toward the issue of 'slum housing', a problem that had plagued Melbourne and its suburbs from the 1850s.

Overcrowded and poorly drained, 'slum' areas were often sensationalised as housing mothers of ill-repute or flea-ridden children, connecting such working-class works with vice and poverty and ignoring tight knit-community forced by necessity into living in dilapidated buildings. The poor living conditions that tended to characterise slum areas were also often linked to health and sanitation, a growing concern from the 20th century as ideas of building healthier cities permeated. A series of campaigns organised by churches and progressive movements in the first few decades of the 20th century brought increased attention to the issue of slum housing, aiming to improve housing conditions and abolish slums.[39]

Responding to rising public concern, the Argyle UAP government established the Housing Investigation and Slum Abolition Board in July 1936, which was given a year to report its findings. Based on the recommendations of this board, the government formed the Housing Commission of Victoria to investigate the impact of slum housing conditions and to begin a construction program.[40] The operations of the Housing Commission were delayed by the beginning of World War Two in 1939 as resources were reallocated towards the war effort.

Following the end of the Second World War, the issue regarding suitable housing increased as the influx of postwar migrants and a scarcity of available materials and labour lead to a shortage of housing. Supported by the Australian Federal Government, the Housing Commission of Victoria rapidly became a provider of low-cost housing (usually single-storey stand-alone residences), building thousands of houses in Melbourne's outer suburbs and in many country areas. The Housing Commission soon began to build flats, first as modest 'walk up' flats then later as high-rise blocks once the housing shortage became less acute in the 1950s. The establishment of the Ministry of Housing in 1972 effectively took over the role of the Housing Commission, which was abolished in 1984.

From the mid-20th century, the Housing Commission of Victoria built a substantial number of houses in the City of Kingston area, though shifting municipal boundaries has since moved this housing outside municipal borders. Initially, the Housing Commission established 151 commissioned houses in Highett in the 1940s; local council soon faced complaints regarding the poor drainage of these streets and the 'inferior type of timber homes' built.[41] Later, housing and flats, either as general housing or for elderly residents, were built in Carrum, Beach Road in Mordialloc, Fowler Street in Chelsea, in Parkdale, and on Balcombe Road in Mentone.[42] The Housing Commission provided a substantial number of houses in Moorabbin, with over 1,000 public homes built in the area in the 1950s and 1960s, a mix of flats, units, and detached dwellings.[43] This housing was a mixture of concrete and brick or brick veneer, with few in timber.

Another southeastern portion of the Patterson Lakes subdivision was utilised for public housing in the 1970s, as was part of McDonald Street in Mordialloc, and Aspen Park in Chelsea.[44]

Housing Commission Flats on the corner of Bluff and Wickham Roads (which is no longer considered part of the City of Kingston), Moorabbin 1960. (Source: National Library of Australia, reproduced with permission)

Image over ►
Municipal boundaries in 1956, showing the extent of the City of Moorabbin, City of Mordialloc, City of Chelsea, and the City of Springvale in 1956. (Source: F.S. Hilcke, *Melbourne and suburbs*, Department of Crown Lands and Survey, SLV)

MELBOURNE AND SUBURBS
PORT PHILLIP BAY
ALTONA BAY
WERRIBEE
DANDENONG RANGES AREA
10 CHAINS SERIES
NOTE: The above sheets are available at the Department of Crown Lands & Survey.
BRIGHTON
MOORABBIN
(CITY)
MORDIALLOC
SANDRINGHAM
SPRINGVALE AND NOBLE PARK
(SHIRE)
COUNTY OF MORNINGTON
LYNDHURST
CHELSEA
PORT PHILLIP BAY
MELBOURNE
NEWPORT
WERRIBEE
GEELONG HARBOR
GEELONG
NORTH GEELONG
PORTARLINGTON
DRYSDALE
QUEENSCLIFF
SORRENTO
DROMANA
MORNINGTON
FRANKSTON
DANDENONG
HASTINGS
FLINDERS
TORQUAY
FRENCH ISLAND
PHILLIP ISLAND
WESTERN PORT
BASS STRAIT
Little River
Langwarrin
Baxter
Somerville
Bittern
Red Hill
Carrum
Oakleigh
REFERENCE
SCALE 40 CHAINS TO 1 INCH.

END NOTES

1 Melbourne Town Council was constituted in 1842. Suburban municipalities in East Collingwood, Prahran, Richmond, and St Kilda followed in 1855. Other early councils included Brunswick (1857), Fitzroy (1858), Hotham/later North Melbourne (1859), and Sandridge/later Port Melbourne (1860).
2 Leo Gamble, 'The Battle for Local Government: The Severance of Mordialloc from Moorabbin in 1920', *Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library*, 27 June 2018, available online
3 See: *Moorabbin (Road District 1862-71; Shire 1871-1934; City 1934-1994)*, PROV, Research Data Australia, available online
4 Michael Challinger, *Historic Courthouses of Victoria*, Palisade Press, 2001, p17
5 Challinger, *Historic Courthouses*, p18
6 Challinger, *Historic Courthouses*, p18
7 'Public tenders', Argus, 1 May 1885, p7
8 Challinger, *Historic Courthouses*, p60
9 'Suburban activities', *Argus*, 4 April 1926, p10; and 'In the suburbs', *Age,* 6 August 1926, p6
10 'New Mordialloc Police Court', *Age*, 19 August 1926, p9; and 'In the suburbs', *Age,* 6 August 1926, p6
11 Challinger, *Historic Courthouses*, p59
12 'Dandenong Shire Council', *South Bourke and Mornington Journal*, 12 September 1912, p4
13 'Government contracts', Age, 20 September 1895, p3
14 'Family notices', *Age*, 26 September 1893, p1
15 Examples of contemporary articles include 'Defective drainage at Moorabbin', *Age*, 9 July 1897, p7; 'Moorabbin Shire Council', *Brighton Southern Cross*, 11 September 1897, p3; and 'News of the week', *Brighton Southern Cros*s, 10 July 1897, p2
16 'Moorabbin Shire Council', *Oakleigh Leader*, 22 September 1888, p7
17 Victorian Police Gazette, August 1935
18 'Police Protection at Chelsea', *Age*, 21 April 1913, p11
19 'Carrum', *Frankston and Somerville Standard*, 21 December 1923, p4
20 Nance Blackman, 'An Outline of the History of Cheltenham and Heatherton from the 1840's to 1973', 1973, unpublished paper accessed from Kingston History Blog, 27 June 2018, article no. 21, available online
21 Graham Whitehead, 'Foundation of the Mentone Fire Brigade', Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library, 27 June 2018, article no. 412, available online
22 Whitehead, 'Foundation of the Mentone Fire Brigade'
23 'Railway Commissioners at Dandenong', *Age*, 15 December 1928, p21; and 'Fire station at Moorabbin', *Age,* 18 July 1912, p7
24 Whitehead, 'Recruitment and Conscription in World War One', Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library, 27 June 2018
25 Whitehead, 'Recruitment and Conscription in World War One'
26 Whitehead, 'Recruitment and Conscription in World War One'
27 Whitehead, 'Recruitment and Conscription in World War One'
28 Kate Darian-Smith, On the Home Front: Melbourne in Wartime 1939-1945, Melbourne University Publishing, 2009, p13
29 For the A.R.P branch in Mordialloc, the City of Mordialloc was divided into six sections with each section overseen by a senior warden. Each of these wardens have in turn further divided their sections into smaller areas with wardens in each of these smaller areas. It was the duty of these wardens to inform householders in their area of A.R.P matters. 'A.R.P at Mordialloc', Age, 24 October 1940, p8
30 Darian-Smith, *On the Home Front*, p26
31 'Signals for Air Raids Nearing Uniformity', Herald, 23 December 1941, p3
32 *Moorabbin: A Centenary History 1862-1962*, John & Esta Handfield Pty. Ltd., 1962, p78
33 Eric Longmuir, 'A Cheltenham Primary School Student's Memory of World War Two', *Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library*, 12 March 2017, article no. 643, available online
34 Eric Longmuir, 'A Cheltenham Primary School Student's Memory of World War Two'
35 Whitehead, 'School Inspectors in Kingston', Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library, 27 June 2018, article no. 36, available online
36 *Moorabbin: A Centenary History 1862-1962*, p79
37 John Cribbin, 'The Secrets of Chesterville Road', *Kingston Collections*, City of Kingston Library, 27 June 2018, article no. 195, available online
38 John Cribbin, 'The Secrets of Chesterville Road'
39 Tony Chalkley, *An ethnography of housing: public housing work in Victoria*, Ph.D thesis, RMIT, 2012, p26

40 Chalkley, *An ethnography of housing*, p28

41 'Housing at Highett Deplorable State of Roads', *Age*, 9 October 1946, p8; 'Timber Homes in Main Streets Highett Citizen's Protest', *Age*, 10 July 1947, p16; *Tenth and Eleventh Annual Reports of the Housing Commission of Victoria*, 1951, p7

42 *Twenty- Eighth Annual Report of the Housing Commission Victoria*, 1966, p10 and p29; *Twenty- Ninth Annual Report of the Housing Commission Victoria*, 1967, p23 and p24; *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Housing Commission Victoria*, 1971, p21 and p22 via NLA

Twenty- Eighth Annual Report of the Housing Commission Victoria, 1966, p10 and p29; *Twenty- Ninth Annual Report of the Housing Commission Victoria*, 1967, p23 and p24; *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Housing Commission Victoria*, 1970, p27 and p28 via NLA

44 Gillian Hibbins, *A History of the City of Springvale: Constellations of Communities*, Lothian Publishing Company, 1984, p180; *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Housing Commission Victoria*, 1976-1977, p16, p.35, and p37 via Victorian Government Library Service

COMMUNITY LIFE

9.1 WORSHIPPING

As the City of Kingston has grown over the last 150 years, so has the religious life of the area developed to support a diverse multifaith community. The earliest churches reflected the mainly Christian composition of the region as Church of England, Methodist, Catholic, and Presbyterian communities formed. Initially, religious groups tended to conduct services in private homes, public halls, schools, or even at racecourses, utilising more unconventional buildings as temporary places of worship before organising the resources to construct dedicated churches.

In Cheltenham, the first place of worship to form was a Church of England (now Anglican) church established in 1854 along Weatherall Road. Following its construction, the Cheltenham parish was created in 1865 by excising a section of the parish of St Andrews Brighton, with a church built two years later, St Matthews Church of England (HO41), which was to service the rural and scattered community stretching between Brighton South (Moorabbin) to Mordialloc.[1] Two weatherboard halls were also built at the site, providing a social space for members to meet and gather. Alongside the formation of the Church of England community, the Church of Christ adherents (an autonomous Christian congregation) had gathered as a flock in Cheltenham by 1860, erecting a meeting place soon after, which was replaced with a more substantial church in Chesterville Road in the 1870s.

St Mathew's Church in 1917. The church was located on Nepean Road, with vestry additions to the building added in 1932. The church was incorporated into the new parish centre and opened in 1966.
(Source: 'Jubilee Souvenir 1867-1917', 1917, SLV)

At Moorabbin, the Methodists initially gathered in a tent for worship before erecting a church on Wickham Road in 1859, which was built by a member of the congregation, Mr Laver, a stonemason. Alongside this brick building, a timber church was constructed in 1909, both of which remain on the corner of Kingston and Old Dandenong roads. While the Methodists appear to have enjoyed a large community, it seems attendance at church may have flagged in the 1910s as the Methodists of Moorabbin held a 'Go To Church' campaign. As part of the campaign, attendees drove to the houses of people who had not attended the congregation for years and brought them to church, where kindergarten children awaited with flowers at the door. The campaign proved a success, raising the attendance at Sunday service across the district from 748 to 7,714.[2]

Uniting Church (HO83), Moorabbin.
(Source: RBA November 2022)

An Anglican Church (HO3) was built at Moorabbin in 1873 from the funds of a single benefactor, Miss Mary Attenborough, and still stands at the junction of Centre and Old Dandenong roads. The land on which this church is situated was donated by Mary's brother, Thomas Attenborough. The Attenboroughs immigrated to Australia from Northamptonshire and named the 170 acres purchased on Centre Dandenong Road 'Dingley Grange' after their home in England, leading to the name Dingley Church.[3]

As the railway line was extended across the municipality, the development that followed in seaside places such as Mordialloc and Mentone also led to a need for new churches. In Mordialloc, the Wesleyans separated from the Church of England, with whom they had been sharing a church, to build their own place of worship in Barkley Street in 1883. Across the road from the Wesleyans, the Presbyterian community erected St Andrews (HO89) in 1889. In Mentone, the Catholic community erected their first wooden church in 1885 on land donated by the National Land Company and was opened for services in the same year to 'meet, to some extent, the requirements of the widely-scattered congregation'.[4] This Catholic church was replaced with a brick structure in 1906, by which year there was also a convent and a presbytery.[5] At the time of its completion, the brick church was described as a 'beautiful and spacious church in the Roman style of architecture at a cost of £1500'.[6] The current St Patrick's Church, located on the corner of Childers and Rogers streets, was built in the 1950s.

The Anglican Church (Christ Church HO3), Dingley, 1960.
(Source: SLV)

Between Aspendale and Carrum, many of the first churches were erected in the early years of the 20th century as the railway line brought an increasing number of tourists and residents. However, initial services were conducted in a shared space; in the 1910s in Chelsea, the Catholics, Methodists, Church of England, and the Spiritualists all conducted their services in Hoadley's Hall, on the Main Road, with ample time left between each community's service to ensure no overlapping occurred.[7] In 1912, Anglican services began in Carrum, and a year later, at Edithvale in St Columba's (HO47). Carrum Swamp Methodists commenced services in 1896 in a disused racecourse building, before constructing a church four years later; the original church was replaced in 1968. Other Methodist churches followed at Edithvale in 1913 and at Chelsea in 1915, around which time the Congregationalists also constructed their first church at Chelsea.

St Andrews Presbyterian Church, (HO89) Mordialloc.
(Source: RBA November 2022)

Catholic worship at Chelsea began in the first decade of the 20th century, as a Roman Catholic community held its first Mass in 1912, with nearly 200 worshippers attending the service held in the local hall[8]; St Joseph's Church was built two years later. St Joseph's was replaced with a brick structure in 1938 (HO35) at the expected cost of ten thousand pounds.[9]

Roman Catholic Church (HO35) in Chelsea, circa 1938.
(Source: SLV, H32492/3876)

While vital for group religious life, churches often had broad community appeal. For much of the 20th century, churches also functioned to hold social and cultural events, organising dances, balls, picnics, and other social occasions to raise funds to meet the construction costs of local churches.[10] In Chelsea, a 'brilliant' coronation ball was held in 1937 to aid St Joseph's parish, with over four hundred people attending the Fox Theatre to witness a debutant ceremony that was described by the *Advocate* as 'magnificent'.[11] Churches and the religious groups they supported provided a means to meet, engage, and strengthen communal ties as adherents gathered together not just for prayer, but for fun and social events.

St Joseph's Roman Catholic Church (HO35), Chelsea.
(Source: RBA November 2022)

From the postwar period, congregations and communities began to build new churches, most often of brick, to replace earlier edifices. Alongside such construction, an increasing number of new parishes were formed within the City of Kingston as suburban subdivisions and development filled the spaces once left open by the scattered communities. Postwar immigration also brought new faiths and belief systems to the area, as Lutheran and Greek Orthodox congregations were established. Such growth has continued to the present day as Buddhist, Islamic, and Hindu communities have formed, as well as a variety of other faiths, building communal centres and places of worship to contribute toward a vibrant, multifaith community.

In 2006, the Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Christians formed a congregation for members across Melbourne, initially meeting in the residence of Chev. Thomas Abraham.[12] The church was relocated to Drummond Street, Oakleigh, before acquiring land on Centre Dandenong Road, Heatherton in 2010. The foundation stone for the church was laid early in 2011, with the structure completed in the following year. A new church was built in the same location in 2016.

The Chùa Bảo Minh Buddhist Temple was established in 2010 under the testimony of the Most Venerable Monk Thuong Hanh Ha Niem to provide the budding Buddhist community with a place to study, chant, and worship.[13] Located on Kingston Road, Clarinda, the temple was officially recognised as a place of worship by the City of Kingston council in mid- 2015.

Chùa Bảo Minh Buddhist Temple, Clarinda, 2010s.
(Source: Phat Giao Uc Chau)

The Westall Mosque was founded in 1998 after the Indonesian Muslim Community of Victoria purchased a three-bedroom house at 130 Rosebank Avenue, Clayton South, following an extensive fund-raising campaign.[14] In the following year, the property was renovated, which was completed in mid-2000. The mosque maintains a program of family-friendly events.

The Aumsai Sansthan Temple was established in 2010 by a group of Shirdi Sai devotees with the intention of replicating similar services to the Shirdi Temple in India. The temple is located in Mechanics Lane, Mordialloc.

9.2 EDUCATION

The Victorian colony had inherited its educational system from New South Wales and initially operated under a dual system whereby the Denominational School Board oversaw church-based schools and the National School Board managed government-funded secular schools. The Board of Education was established in 1862, leading to the dissolving of the Denominational Schools Board and a system of Common and rural schools introduced.

A pivotal act was introduced in the late 19th century that altered schooling in the colony, one that continues to shape education in the City of Kingston. In Victoria, state education was centralised under the provisions of the *Education Act of 1872*, which was based upon ideas of 'free, secular, and compulsory' education. Under this act, children over the age of six were required to attend school until the age of twelve or thirteen years. While considered progressive and ground-breaking at the time of its introduction, not all parents were happy with the arrangement, seeking instead to enrol their children in the evolving system of schools, which were most often created along religious denominational divides. In the City of Kingston, a range of different schools appeared, providing parents with a wealth of schooling options.

Common and State Schools

Across the Study Area, Common and State Schools emerged from the 1860s. In Mordialloc, a public school was first set up in 1868 with an initial enrolment of thirty-six pupils. The school was formed in response to the enthusiastic lobbying of selection settlers such as Hugh Brown, James McMahon, and Albert MacDonald, who were granted funds from the Board of Education to build a Common School in Barkly Street. However, the school was beset with issues, most of which reflected the area's rural and as-yet undeveloped nature. While parents struggled to find the weekly fee that ranged between 6d to 1s, the teacher hired was unable to find any local board or residence and resigned in despair after twelve months.[15] The arrival of the railway in 1881 prompted the development of the school as new residents settled in the area, expanding the attendance to one hundred pupils. A larger, brick building was constructed in 1884 to meet these growing demands, part of which was incorporated into the existing school structure.

The new Mordialloc State School (HO90) was opened with a lavish ceremony in which several government members were in attendance for the presentation of addresses, where one presenter 'impressed upon the children the fact that they possessed educational facilities which their fathers never had in the old country. He trusted that they would appreciate the privilege'[16]; a banquet followed at the Bloxsidge's hotel.[17] Student numbers continued to rise over the coming decades and into the 20th century, leading to the construction of a second-floor addition to the brick building after World War One. The rapid development of the area following the Second World War required the school to expand further, with more land acquired upon which prefabricated classrooms and timber buildings were erected on the site.

Mordialloc State School no. 846, photographed in the 1870s.
(Source: VPRS 14517/P0001/22, PROV)

Similar to Mordialloc, a Common School was established in Heatherton (HO55) in 1868. Known as the Kingston Common School, classes were initially held in a cottage before a timber structure was built. The number of pupils attending the school was small, with only twenty-two children noted on the roll in 1870.[18] The school remained in operation until December 1999.[19]

In Chelsea, Primary School education commenced in 1912 at Hoadley's Hall. Within a year, enrolments had increased from 65 to 135 pupils, with the rapidly rising numbers resulting in a lack of accommodation and a mounting wait list.[20] A small portion of these students were considered 'summer students', the children of holidaymakers who would be present at the school only for the summer months before leaving. Regardless, complaints over the inadequate accommodation continued as observers noted 'that the building was insanitary in the extreme, and that no provision has been made for the children to wash'.[21]

The Chelsea primary school (HO36) soon relocated to Argyle Avenue, where by 1915, the Education Department had completed the first section of the present building, with four more rooms added by 1922; another four rooms were added five years later. Braeside (first called Mordialloc North) officially opened a State School in 1915 following the vocal protest of parents who complained about the long distance children were required to travel to the school at Mordialloc; the roads in the area often flooded, meaning children had to wade knee deep across roads to reach school.[22] The Braeside school remained open until 1976, when it was closed and the buildings relocated. Primary schools were also opened at Parkdale (later Parkdale Primary School) and Dingley (Dingley Primary School) in 1924.

In the immediate years following the Second World War, a rapidly growing population and postwar scarcities resulted in a shortage of available schooling in the City of Kingston. In response, schools were hastily established, with classes frequently held in church halls or prefabricated portable classrooms. This postwar increase led to the establishment of schools across the municipality, with schools opened at Cheltenham North in 1957, at Bonbeach in 1958, Moorabbin Heights in 1960, and Cheltenham Heights in 1965.[23]

Moorabbin West State School, circa mid/late 20th century.
(Source: VPRS 10516/P0001, PROV)

High Schools

Compared to primary schools, secondary education was slower to develop in the City of Kingston, as it was generally across Victoria. State secondary education did not begin until after the *Education Act 1910*, which provided for higher educational schools. After the passing of the act, one of the first to formally request a secondary school from the education department was the Borough of Mentone, Mordialloc, and Carrum, who applied for a school in 1922. Two years later, the Mordialloc Chelsea High School (HO14) began operating from the Mordialloc Mechanics Institute, with a new building completed for the school on Station Street in 1928. The

high school was established thanks to the combined efforts of two boroughs, who both identified the need for a secondary school and worked together to establish a facility that could cater to the needs of a range of students.[24]

Cheltenham State School No 84 Woodworking Class, c1910
(Source: City of Moorabbin Historical Society)

While secondary education became more widely available in the early 20th century, retention rates remained low until the middle of the century. In 1950, the retention rate for high school students was one in eleven students entering high school in Victoria remained until their final year, which rose substantially in the next decade to one in four students. This rise led to the establishment of various high schools across the municipality; Cheltenham High School opened in 1959, with Parkdale High School following in 1964. By the decade's end, six hundred students were attending Parkdale High School, while one thousand were enrolled in the Cheltenham school.

Following the rise in high school attendance, a girls' only high school was established in Mentone in 1955, later named the Mentone Girls' High School, and initially held classes across a range of sites, including the Mentone Town Hall, the Church of England Sunday School hall, the Cheltenham Mechanics Institute, and Baptist Sunday School hall.[25] Within six months of opening, classes were moved to the new school building constructed on the corner of Balcombe and Charmans roads, which a market gardener originally occupied.

Private

Alongside the growth in the school sector, private or non-government educational options also flourished as disgruntled parents sought alternative options for their children, turning instead to private denominational schools. From 1874, financial aid to church schools ended, though such institutions were allowed to continue independently.

Most denominational schools chose to be absorbed into the State education system, except the Catholic church. The Catholic church was suspicious of the Protestant material used within state schools and preferred establishing and maintaining their own schools, some of which were opened in the City of Kingston. In Mentone, St Patrick's Primary School was the first to open in 1904, with twenty-four pupils. Eleven Catholic primary schools were eventually established across the municipality, with many formed following the baby boom and rapid urbanisation of the postwar years.

St Patrick's Catholic School (HO62), Mentone.
(Source: RBA November 2022)

In contrast to the broad establishment of private primary schools across the municipality, private high schools tended to develop in a relatively small area. This more restricted development of private high schools was most likely the result of socio-economic and transportation factors; areas that maintained a high socio-economic status and better public transportation systems seemed more likely to establish and maintain private high schools.

A private high school was opened in Mentone in 1896 by Thomas McCristal, who had purchased the estate of the bankrupt 'landboomer' J. B. Davies. The closer proximity of Mentone to Melbourne, coupled with its easier accessibility by rail, made it a popular area for schools to form. McCristal's school closed and was transferred to the De La Salle Brothers, who established St Bede's after acquiring the site in 1938.[26] The Brothers quickly altered the site to fit the purpose of their school, as one newspaper noted, 'carrying out necessary additions and alterations. There is no more ideal site in Victoria for a boarding college'.[27] Under the careful guidance of architect Bart Moriarty, new classrooms, a chapel, two handball courts, and a tennis court were created, while part of the ground was levelled for an oval.[28] Simpson's School, later known as the Mentone Girls' School, operated from 1899, while the Brigidine nuns established Kilbreda Convent College in the former Coffee Palace (HO65) in 1904. Following the First World War, Mentone Grammar opened in 1920 at 'Frogmore' (HO72), on Venice Street.

St Bede's College, Mentone, interwar period (building possibly demolished)
(Source: SLV, H32492/7839)

Tertiary

Tertiary education was the last type of education to be established in the City of Kingston, which did not emerge in the area until the mid-20th century despite the early introduction of government provision. With the introduction of the *Education Act 1910*, provisions could be made available for technical schools, which were schools that provided vocational training, though few towns and cities seemed to have taken up such offers; in 1945, only 32 technical schools were recorded in Victoria. This number, however, jumped considerably to 87 by 1965. This increase was a response to the growth of the industry during the postwar years and the developing need to offer technical training to service this booming sector.

A similar need was felt in the City of Kingston, with a technical school opened at Moorabbin in 1954 and Aspendale in 1959. The Aspendale Technical school first held classes at the Frankston Technical School before moving to their own premises, a move which was hastened by a fire at the Frankston school.[29] Female students began to enrol at Aspendale Technical School in 1978, after it became co-educational. The female students followed the same curriculum as males; however, they were also expected tp undertake classes in needlecraft and cooking.[30] Later, classes in bookkeeping, secretarial practice, art, general studies, and applied science became available. By the late 20th century, technical schools had began to evolve into TAFEs or became primary schools, depending on the community's needs, as the technical school at Apsendale did.

9.3 HEALTH AND WELFARE

The model of health and welfare services known today has its roots in the convict era of Victoria when governments were required to provide medical care and assistance to convicts and military personnel but not to free settlers, who established their own hospitals as a result. While a plethora of small private clinics were formed over the 19th century, several public hospitals and institutions also developed, initially funded through philanthropy and public appeals before gaining more substantial government funding during the 20th century. Whether public or private, such institutions tended to be located in bigger cities, like Bendigo and Ballarat, or in central or middle-rung metropolitan Melbourne, leaving smaller, more rural towns and outer-rung suburbs in the early 20th century to develop alternative medical and welfare solutions.

Hospitals

The greater the distance between settlements and metropolitan Melbourne, the more difficult it was to obtain adequate medical care, a difficulty felt most acutely before the construction of good roads and public transportation, with nursing initiatives utilised in the City of Kingston to overcome these issues. One such initiative was the Bush Nursing Service and Bush Nursing hospitals.

The invention of Lady Dudley, the wife of the governor-general, the service was designed to provide adequate welfare and medical care to those living in the bush, with nurses, as one newspaper described it:

> not only go[ing] to their assistance in time of sickness or accident, but is ever ready to help them to make the best of their primitive household equipment.[31]

Located just outside the metropolitan boundary established by the *Hospitals and Charities Act 1922,* Chelsea was able to join the Victorian branch of the Bush Nursing Association and gained a ten-bed hospital in July 1941, which was extended two years later to provide capacity for seventeen beds. The hospital was enlarged further in the 1950s, which included the construction of a maternity wing. A new theatre block was added in 1974, inviting a surgeon, gynaecologist, and general practitioner to join the management committee as larger and more modern hospitals were established in nearby areas.

While hospitals were present in the City of Kingston in the early 20th century, such as *Eblana* (HO114) at Mentone, which operated between 1922 and 1941, most areas had to wait until the mid-century. The introduction of regulations in 1929 regarding hospitals and funding meant that communities could raise funds themselves for a hospital, providing the impetus for the Mordialloc and Cheltenham communities to commence lobbying for a hospital. Their efforts were, however, impacted by the 1930s Depression and later by the Second World War. Eventually, the Mordialloc and Cheltenham communities joined forces to establish a ten-bed community hospital in Parkdale, which opened in June 1953.

By 1995, the capacity had increased to sixty-eight beds and was providing acute medical, surgical, and obstetric care. The hospital closed in 1996, becoming instead part of the Southern Health Care Network and remains in use as the main location of the Central Bayside Community Health Services. Many of the hospital's earlier

responsibilities were later absorbed by the Monash Medical Centre, which opened in 1987 and is located on Centre Road.

Mordialloc Cheltenham Community Hospital, Parkdale, 1965-68. (Source: Melbourne University Archives, reference 2018.0115.01562)

Mordialloc Cheltenham Community Hospital, Parkdale, 1965-68. (Source: Melbourne University Archives, reference 2018.0115.01563)

Sanatoria

From its white settlement, infectious diseases were significant drivers of the higher mortality rates, with tuberculosis emerging as a particular concern over the late 19th to early 20th century. The rise in tuberculosis occurred as a result of patients migrated to Australia in an effort to cure their conditions, inadvertently infecting Aboriginal communities and the unexposed Australian-born colonists.[32] With tuberculosis deaths on the rise, sanatoriums were built as a means to separate sufferers from the general populace and where they could be provided with fresh air, good food, and bed rest, all of which were believed to be vital for recovery. The perceived requirement for fresh air meant that sanatoriums were often built as pavilion-like structures with open verandahs to enable patients to spend as much time as possible outdoors.

Heatherton Sanatorium, 1984.
(Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

In 1913, the Victorian Government opened the Heatherton Sanatorium, a one-hundred-bed sanatorium to cater for incipient or early cases of tuberculosis, part of which was located on the reserves occupied by the Benevolent Asylum at Heatherton.[33] Medical advances over the mid-20th century, which included the introduction of antibiotic drugs, resulted in a declining death rate from tuberculosis. In 1981, the Health Department of Victoria held a review of the Heatherton Sanatorium, deciding that due to the significantly lower death rates that the treatment of tuberculosis was to be given over to the hospitals and the sanatorium was closed.

General Practitioners

While a general and specialist medicinal history in Australia has deep roots in First Nation continuity and knowledge, the practice of General Practitioners as most recognisable today first began in the convict era, when ship doctors and convicted practitioners made their way and settled in the colonies.

Such practitioners, however, had no formal oversight in Victoria until after the Gold Rushes when the influx of migrants, which included doctors, required registration and management to ensure a standard level of practice was met.[34] While medical schools were established in the colony over the second half of the 19th century, general practice remained the primary source of teaching and learning until formal specialist qualifications were introduced over the 20th century.

As towns and settlements in the City of Kingston developed, the number of General Practitioners in the early to mid-20th century appears to have remained relatively low. In his article on Dr Keith Stephenson, Eric Longuir recalled that there were only two General Practitioners for the Cheltenham, Highett, Beaumaris, and Heatherton districts over the early to mid 20th century. While holding an important medical role within the community, Dr Stephenson also became an integrated and integral member of society, revealing the valuable role maintained by General Practitioners in the Study Area. In the postwar period, the number of doctors in the municipality began to increase substantially, with 75 doctors recorded for the region in 1965.[35]

Psychiatric Facilities

With the closing of the Heatherton Sanatorium for tuberculosis patients in the early 1980s, the facility was converted into a psychiatric facility for the elderly, catering to patients who suffered from such conditions as Alzheimer's Disease and dementia. In 1987, the Heatherton Sanatorium, by this time renamed the Heatherton Hospital, began to accommodate psychiatric patients from the Willsmere Hospital (Kew Lunatic Asylum), which closed the following year.[36] Gradually, the grounds and the buildings began to show signs of a lack of maintenance, the once manicure lawns becoming overgrown and neglected.[37] In 1993, the Liberal Government reviewed the hospital system, and as a consequence, moved patients to other locations; five years later, Heatherton Hospital was closed.

Maternal/Infant Welfare

In the years following the First World War, state governments and councils began to undertake tentative steps towards providing greater, more involved personal services, which included intervention within the maternal and infant welfare sector through baby health centres.

Beginning in the early decades of the 20th century, baby health centres formed through voluntary efforts as female reformers, who were doubtful of the success of previous infant welfare schemes and were strengthened by public concern for the loss of life during World War One, began to hold classes for mothers in Richmond in 1917.[38] A year later, reformers were able to secure council funding for a baby health centre, with similar centres soon established across other industrial suburbs, including in the City of Kingston.

Parkdale Baby Health Centre (HO102), originally the Mordialloc Baby Health Centre, 1976.
(Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

The first baby health centre established in the City of Kingston was located at Soldier's Hill Memorial Hall in Chelsea, opening its doors to new mothers in January 1926. The baby health centre was to service the Carrum Borough, which included Carrum, Bonbeach, Chelsea, Edith Vale, and Aspendale. With such a large area to administer to, the new centre was kept busy, as one newspaper report noted, 'besides the usual consulting hours, during the first month the sister in charge (Nurse Sones) has paid 78 visits'.[39] Three years later, a building was constructed for the centre alongside the municipal offices, which was replaced in the 1970s.[40]

Parkdale Baby Health Centre (originally Mordialloc Baby Health Centre) (HO102), Parkdale.
(Source: RBA, November 2022

A baby health centre was also established in the former Shire Offices in Moorabbin, opening its doors to the public in 1929. Other centres followed, reflecting the demographic boom of the suburbs, with the Parkdale Baby Health Centre (originally the Mordialloc Baby Health Centre- HO102), located on the corner of Como Parade West and Herbert streets, which was opened by 1930.[41] The Parkdale centre was further extended in 1948 to include a rear playground, a waiting room, bathroom facilities, a consulting room, and a porch.[42] A baby health centre was also opened at Cheltenham in 1940, operating from the Scout Hall[43]; a new centre was constructed on Addison Road, Cheltenham, in 1948.[44] A similar surge in baby health centres occurred after the Second World War when a baby boom led to the establishment of centres at Aspendale and Carrum in 1955.

Charitable Institutions

Over the 19th and 20th centuries, a number of charitable institutions emerged in the City of Kingston to provide care and accommodation to the disadvantaged and the downtrodden. Such institutions tended to operate along denominational lines and were often first established in the inner suburbs of Melbourne before relocating to larger sites in more rural or outlying regions, with Cheltenham proving a particularly attractive location.

The Order known as the Community of the Holy Name was founded in 1884 to assist with the Church of England Mission to the Streets and Lanes, initially operating from a converted baker's shop in Little Lonsdale Street. Born in Norfolk, England in 1859, Sister Emma Silcock was the first deaconess of the community.[45] The Sisters of this community worked amongst the poor and demoralised women of the inner city, mainly factory girls or those who were convicted of crimes, with such girls often placed under the care of the Sisters.

The work of the Sisters grew steadily until the accommodation proved inadequate, and as a result, the Sisters petitioned the Church of England community for financial assistance, with the Mission Council deciding to acquire eight acres of land at Cheltenham in the late 1880s.[46] Once acquired, an accommodation block was built in 1891, which was enlarged a few years later to include a laundry and chapel. As was common amongst such institutions, the laundry was built to provide work to the girls housed at the institution whilst also supplying an income for the home, which took in outside laundry.

Known as the House of Mercy, this institution was the first of several similar homes opened by the Community of the Holy Name (HO9). In the 1930s, the community purchased additional land next to the House of Mercy to build a Community House and chapel for sisters who were retiring from active work; the house and chapel were designed by Louis Williams and completed in 1935, soon becoming the administrative centre of the community. In 1946, the House of Mercy was converted into a Retreat House and continues as such today, welcoming guests of any denomination to the Community House and gardens located in Cavanagh Street, Cheltenham.

Retreat House with the chapel (HO9), circa 1965. (Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

The Methodist Children's Home, formed in 1888, was originally located in Livingstone House in Carlton, but within a year of opening a search commenced for a larger plot of land away from the city. The larger premises were to provide the children with a space to play. By 1891, the trustees of the children's home had acquired land at Cheltenham, where they built a two-storey double-fronted brick building facing the Nepean Highway. Over the next thirty years, the home gained more land, building several more cottages and a farm for boys on the site now occupied by the Southland shopping centre. In 1952, the children's home was moved to Burwood and renamed Orana Peace Memorial Homes; the Cheltenham site was acquired by the St John of God Brothers, who established a home for special needs boys. In 1966, the land was sold to the Myer corporation, which developed a shopping centre on the site (now Westfield).

Aged Care

The provision of early aged care in the City of Kingston was intertwined with institutions formed in Melbourne for the same purpose.

The Melbourne Benevolent Asylum was opened in 1851 and established by a group of philanthropic citizens to provide relief to the aged, infirm, disabled, or destitute in Melbourne. While the benevolent asylum was enlarged following the Gold Rush and then later the 1890s Depression, the asylum was relocated from Melbourne to a 150-acre site in Heatherton early in the 20th century. The foundation stone for the Benevolent Asylum at Heatherton was laid in 1909, with the first residents from the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum transferred to Heatherton two years later. The first patients to be moved to the new Cheltenham site were the female hospital patients. As one newspaper report described, 'they were conveyed in furniture vans and ambulance vehicles. Although the change was for the better, so far as the character of the buildings [wa]s concerned and also the healthfulness of the surroundings, some of the old folks were sad at leaving a place which had been their home for so many years, and tears were shed as the last was seen of the old building'.[47]

Similar to the Sanatorium, the fresh country air at Heatherton was believed to be restorative and as such ample space was allowed around the asylum for gardens, which were central to contemporary ideas of health and recovery.[48] In 1949, the name of the Benevolent Asylum was changed to the Melbourne Home and Hospital for the Aged, by which time the facility was claimed to be the largest hospital in Victoria with over 738 beds.[49]

Laying of the foundation stone for Benevolent Asylum at Heatherton, 1909.
(Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

With the introduction of a more effective social welfare system and the aged pension, the number of indigent elderly people in Victoria declined by the mid-20th century, prompting the institution to develop as a specialist hospital for the treatment of chronic diseases and conditions associated with aging. From the 1960s to the 1980s, new hospital facilities were built, either adding to or replacing many of the original buildings, including a new Geriatric or day centre with one hundred beds in 1962. By the 1980s, the main administrative building was one of

the few remnants of the 1911 complex still located on the site, which is now a noted cultural heritage precinct (HO53- Kingston Centre).

Melbourne Benevolent Asylum, now the Kingston Centre, with Heatherton Sanatorium in upper right of image, 1987. (Source: Leader Collection City of Kingston)

9.4 FRATERNITIES AND ORGANISATIONS

As the City of Kingston grew over the late 19th and early 20th centuries, significant fraternities and organisations emerged across the area as residents sought to connect with, and form, meaningful communal groups. While some of these organisations drew upon major international events such as the World Wars, most were based on contemporary ideals of self-improvement and communal development, reflecting broader social ideas of a progressive Australia. Often formed elsewhere and transplanted into the City of Kingston, such organisations and associations played an important role in fostering social cohesion as they provided a structured means to regularly partake in wider community life, contributing to the communal, social, and civic life of the City of Kingston.

RSL (Returned Servicemen League)

Formed in April 1915, the Returned Servicemen's Association of Victoria was founded by naval men who had participated in the capture of German New Guinea in September 1914 and was the first organisation of returned servicemen to develop during the mid-1910s when similar groups were established in other Australian capital cities.[50] These various state bodies met in Melbourne in June 1916 and established the Returned Soldiers' and Sailors' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA), which became known as the RSL. The governance and structure of this league have remained fundamentally unchanged since its formation, which comprises of state/territory branches with localised sub-branches while being governed by federal congresses and annual state conferences.[51]

In the City of Kingston, a range of RSL sub-branches formed in the 1940s, most likely as servicemen and women returned from the Second World War, including at Mordialloc, Mentone, and Cheltenham.[52] From 1940, the RSL has expanded to include the Air Force, as well as men and women who served in the Second World War and those who served in later conflicts such as Korea and Vietnam. Those who served in later conflicts did not always find ready acceptance in the association as generational tensions and the prestige assigned to the Anzac legend could impose barriers. Despite such difficulties, the branches and sub-branches of the RSL continue as a

keystone of local life. While supporting returned service personnel, such associations came to hold a wider social and communal role as balls, fashion parades, and sporting matches were held to raise funds for charity.[53]

Debutants at Mordialloc RSL Anzac eve ball, 1946
(Source: *Standard*, 9 May 1946, p8)

The Mentone sub-branch of the RSL seems to have formed in the 1940s before a headquarters was established some years later.[54] The Mentone RSL continues to occupy the *Riviera,* a heritage building with an imposing tower (HO76) located along Palermo Street. Originally built by Charles Potts in the mid-1880s, *Riviera* passed through a succession of owners before being purchased by the RSL in 1952, who have sympathetically preserved the structure while adding modern facilities to the rear.[55]

Riviera (HO76), Mentone (Source: RBA, November 2022)

Freemasonry

While the association existed much earlier, the Freemasons were formalised in London in 1717 under a single international controlling body, or as it is termed by the association, a Grand Lodge, before spreading throughout the world.[56] As an organisation, Freemasonry promotes personal development amongst its members through elements of ethics, morality, philosophy, and community service. In 1840, the first Freemasons lodge was established in Melbourne, then the Port Phillip District, which rapidly expanded after the Gold Rush; when all the lodges in Victoria were brought under one jurisdiction in 1889, it gained leadership over 140 lodges and 6500 members.[57] Over its long history in Victoria, Freemasonry has often been viewed as a useful means to increase social and communal prestige, as a stepping stone to joining public service or other larger organisations.

Former Mordialloc Masonic Lodge (HO93), Mordialloc.
(Source: RBA, November 2022)

In the City of Kingston, members of the Freemasons likely had an early presence, though lodges and temples were established much later. Freemason lodges and temples were founded at Chelsea, Mordialloc, Springvale, Carrum, and Moorabbin. From at least the early 1890s, there had been a lodge at Moorabbin, which initially met at the Mentone Hotel.[58] Prior to 1919, Freemasons who were living at Mordialloc were required to travel to nearby lodges for meetings as the town lacked its own temple.[59] Following a series of meetings, a lodge was created at Mordialloc, consisting initially of twenty-four brethren, with the first meeting occurring in March 1920. These early meetings were held at the Mechanics' Hall in Albert Street, Mordialloc, before a dedicated two-storey brick Masonic Temple was constructed on Albert Street in 1925. The ground level of the temple was often made available for public events, with members of the Freemasons' lodges at Chelsea, Carrum, and Edithvale first meeting at the Mordialloc Temple before moving to a new temple at Chelsea in the 1950s. The former Mordialloc Masonic Temple (HO93) remains.

The Masonic Temple in Chelsea, circa 1950s. (Source: SLV, H32492/9256)

Good Neighbour Councils

As an influx of migrants and refugees settled in Australia following the Second World War, the Good Neighbour Council was established in 1949 as a commonwealth-funded and nationwide movement that aimed to welcome new arrivals.[60] The Good Neighbour Council acted as a co-ordinating body that oversaw local branches comprised of delegates from existing voluntary groups, such as the Country Women's Association and the Returned Servicemen's League, which assisted new migrants and refugees by encouraging citizenship and integration. The Good Neighbour Council, as well as the local action they managed, were based on the assimilationist attitudes of the 1950s and 1960, when immigrants were expected to fully integrate into Australian society.[61]

In the City of Kingston, Good Neighbour Councils emerged relatively late in the movement, not forming until the mid to late 1960s. By this time, Good Neighbour Councils had reorganised metropolitan towns into 'zones' so that rather than a branch overseeing activities, each area was classified as a zone and overseen by a 'zone leader'. The zone leader would receive the names of new arrivals in their area, after which the leader would call the nearest 'contact worker' of the Good Neighbour Council, which was a member of the organisation, to make initial contact with the new arrivals. Contact workers and zone leaders operated out of their own homes or visited the homes of newly arrived migrants, meaning no associated places emerged for this group. In the annual reports of the Good Neighbour Council, the City of Kingston formed as four 'zones' late in the 1960s, with Moorabbin, Moorabbin North, Mordialloc, and Chelsea; a country branch of the Good Neighbour Council developed in Springvale by 1968.[62]

As Australia moved towards a more multicultural mindset in the 1970s, the popularity of the Good Neighbour Council declined; following the recommendations of the Galbally report, the councils were abolished in 1978.[63]

Scouting

The City of Kingston was amongst one of the first districts in Victoria to establish scout groups, becoming pioneers in an emerging movement in the early 20th century. The long history of scouts in Australia has its beginnings in England as Robert Baden-Powell founded the scouting movement in Britain with his work 'Scouting for Boys' later serialised in 1908 in Australia, sparking the scout movement. The Chelsea District Scout Association was amongst the first of such early troops to form when a group was created in 1908. Another scout group was formed in Cheltenham at a similar date and were known as the Cheltenham Scout Troop (later First Cheltenham), which was initiated by Everest Le Page.[64] The First Mordialloc troop began at the end of 1914, after a similar scout movement for girls, the girl guides, was formed in 1910, with the Scout Hall for the First Mordialloc Scout Group (HO86) on Main Street, Mordialloc remaining. The scout movement continues as an important communal organisation in the municipality, encouraging youth leadership and resilience.

Scout Hall, 1st Mordialloc Scout Group (HO86), Mordialloc.
(Source: RBA, November 2022)

Progress Associations

From the 19th century, suburban residents have gathered into organised volunteer groups who have advocated for town improvements in services and lobbied councils on local issues, becoming what was later termed Progress Associations.[65] Such groups grew over the early 20th century when there was an acceleration in suburban expansion in Victoria. Different associations, however, took up different local issues, with some groups focusing on building communal centres and others on lobbying against councils. While often advocating for local improvement, these associations also fostered communal pride. Historian Paul Ashton notes that Progress Associations were vehicles of local patriotism driven by ideologies of progression and a desire for recognition.[66] Progress Associations emerged across the City of Kingston, often acting as drivers of local change and fostering communal pride as residents petitioned for much-needed changes.

The Mentone South Progress Association was formed in July 1916, with a number of ideas for local improvements ambitiously aired at the first meeting. The association proved popular as the group reached over 70 members by October of the same year.[67] One of the first major successful projects of the association was to advocate for the building of a new rail station along the Mordialloc line named Parkdale, which opened in 1919 with festivities and speeches organised by the Progress Association.[68] Afterwards, the association changed its name to the Parkdale Progress Association in recognition of the new suburb forming in the area as a result of the railway station. The association remained active until the 1930s, during which decade it ceased, though it later remerged in the 1940s as the Mordialloc Citizens League thanks to the efforts of Eddie Trait, the editor of the *Standard News*.[69]

Parkdale railway station, built in 1919 through the efforts of the Mentone South Progress Association, 1919. (Source: SLV, H90.140/53)

The Highett-Moorabbin Progress Association was formed in the early to mid-1910s, holding monthly meetings at the Moorabbin Primary School.[70] While the association advocated for better local facilities,[71] the early formation of the association also saw the group become involved in fundraising events for soldiers and servicemen during the First World War.[72] Progress Associations were also formed at Cheltenham, Carrum, Aspendale, and Mordialloc, all of which tended to hold their early meetings at the local Mechanic's Institute, though at Aspendale the meetings were held in the Racecourse Hall.[73] The Progress Associations that formed throughout the City of Kingston advocated for improvements ranging from extending tram lines and carnival organisation to the erection of light posts and the rising price of bread.[74] The wide-ranging issues overseen and supported by these associations led to substantial enhancements in these communities, as well as the establishment of new suburbs like at Parkdale, becoming significant forces of local change that are still enjoyed by many today.

‘Carrum Cowboys’

The name ‘Carrum Cowboys’ was first assigned by either the police or the newspapers in the 1950s to a group of teens who would regularly ride and race their horses in the Carrum area. The designation of the name is likely also related to the wooden corral that was set up around this time in Canberra Street, where informal rodeos with steers and bulls were held.[75] The group gained some notoriety in the 1950s and 1960s for their antics, which were a great source of frustration for local residents, with details of their activities and transgressions recounted in local newspapers.[76] Fines and court action against the Carrum Cowboys followed, with little perceivable effect, with the group enduring in popular memory for locals.

Rotary Clubs

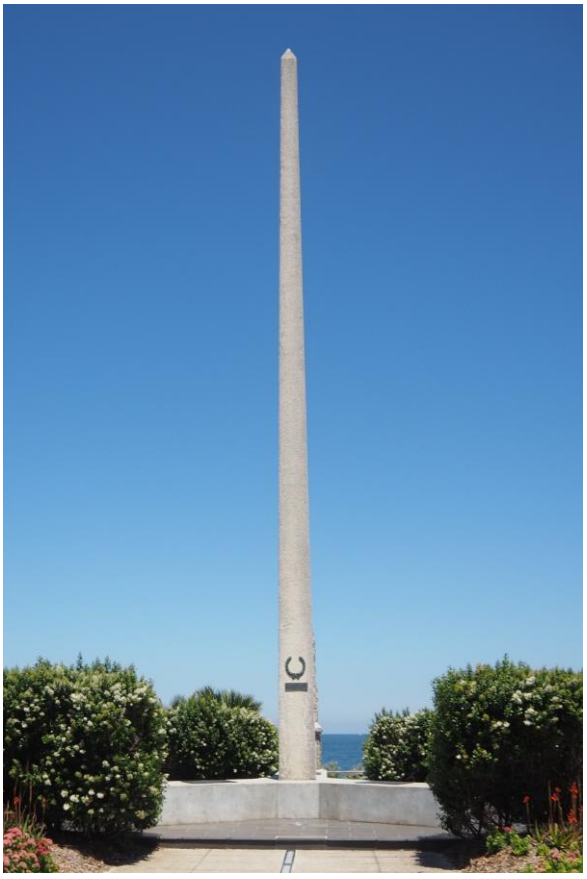
Rotary clubs began in the United States of America, the dream and idea of Paul Harris, a Chicago attorney who hoped to start a club for professionals of diverse backgrounds.[77] From such beginnings, the organisation has grown worldwide in scale to become the Rotary International, a secular international organisation focused on humanitarian service. The first Rotary club in Australia was charted in Melbourne in 1921,[78] with more clubs soon established across the country, though it arrived much later in the City of Kingston.

The Chelsea Rotary Club was charted in October 1954 and has since grown to over thirty members.[79] Another Rotary Club was formed in Cheltenham.[80] The Rotary clubs focus on providing services and fundraising initiatives for local and international communities.

9.5 WAR COMMEMORATION

Within Australian communities, monuments and memorials have often served to commemorate those who have served overseas in wars, acting as an enduring means to remember and honour their services. Australia is notable for its high rate of war memorials, as is the City of Kingston, where until the Second World War, each community or town maintained their monuments for the fallen.

Soldier’s Memorial (HO19), Carrum.
(Source: RBA November 2022)



Parkdale War Memorials (HO103), Parkdale.
(Source: RBA November 2022)

In the City of Kingston, a range of different war memorials can be found, a result of the changing ideas surrounding monuments, public spaces, and the role of memory in communal life. As was popular then, the Mentone Progress Association erected a memorial drinking fountain (HO68) on the Mentone Reserve, later renamed the Keith Styles Reserve, in 1910.

Many country communities planted Avenues of Honour after World War One, often long rows of trees with the names of soldiers attached to a plaque. On the Nepean Highway at Moorabbin, an Avenue of Honour, consisting of 199 trees (nine of which did not contain name plaques), was planted in the early 1920s, stretching from Moorabbin to Cheltenham.[81] The Moorabbin Avenue has been removed as subsequent road works have occurred on the Nepean Highway.

Statues and obelisks also remained popular memorials around this time, with the statue of an infantryman standing at ease located at 'The Beauty Spot' (HO19), unveiled in 1922 in Carrum,[82] and the obelisk erected in 1923 on Beach Road, Parkdale (HO103).[83] The marble infantryman memorial at the Beauty Spot was further inscribed after the Second World War to include the names of locals service persons killed in that conflict.[84]

The First World War memorial at Mordialloc was unveiled in 1919 and stands along the Nepean Highway, with another obelisk, cannon, and a flagpole (now replaced with a granite cross).[85]

Following the Second World War, memorials shifted towards community facilities, such as halls or kindergartens, yet statues and obelisks remained popular in the City of Kingston. On the Heatherton Recreation Reserve, the granite obelisk (HO57) commemorating those who served in the Second World War is reminiscent of memorials dedicated to the first war rather than the second; the monument perhaps stands as a testament to how the small, close-knit community wished to honour their own in a way that was most meaningful to them. More in line with the changing fashion, an RSL Village was established in Centre Dandenong Road, Cheltenham, to provide accommodation for retired veterans, which was dedicated to those who served in the Second World War.

Heatherton Memorial Reserve, located in Ross Street, with war memorials dedicated to conflicts from the Boer War to the Vietnam War. (Source: Heritage Council Victoria, VHD)

For a lengthy period, five war memorials were located together near the Cheltenham RSL (formerly the Protestant Hall). Beginning with a column, a gas lamp, and a drinking fountain to honour the local men who served in the Boer War, monuments were also later erected for those who fought in the First and Second World Wars. While the gas lamp and drinking fountain remain, the other monuments were moved to Cheltenham Park when the Nepean

Highway was widened and were moved again late in the 20th century to the rear of the Cheltenham RSL on Centre Dandenong Road (HO43).

Obelisks continued to remain the popular format for war memorials in the City of Kingston until late in the 20th century, with Parkdale erecting another striking obelisk to commemorate the fallen of the first war on the foreshore, standing near a similar obelisk constructed for the same purpose.

Along Beach Road, there are also memorials commemorating the service and sacrifice of veterans who served in the Korean and Vietnam conflicts.

(Above) War Memorials Gates (HO69), Keith Styles Reserve, Mentone. (Source: RBA November 2022)

(Left) Progress Association Drinking Fountain (HO68), Keith Styles Reserve, Mentone. (Source: RBA November 2022)

9.6 CEMETERIES

As towns and settlements formed in the Study Area, it became both a practical and important objective for communities to establish cemeteries, to provide a place of burial and farewell. In Victoria, cemeteries developed at a time when there was a growing interest in these places across much of the Western World and were increasingly modelled on botanical gardens with curved pathways, chapels, and imposing evergreen plantings.[86] This interest was reflected in the passing of the *Act for the Establishment and Management of Cemeteries in the Colony of Victoria* in 1854, which gave the government power to appoint and abolish cemetery trustees, who were required to manage and improve cemeteries.

The first burial ground established in the City of Kingston area was at Beaumaris, located on the corner of Bickford Court and Balcombe Road, opening in 1855. Primarily used by Methodists, the one-and-a-half-acre cemetery was closed in 1865.[87]

Around this year, land was set aside along Charman Road for the Cheltenham cemetery (now the Cheltenham Pioneer cemetery), which was first known as the 'Moorabbin and Mordialloc General Cemetery'. With the use of a 40-pound grant from the government and public subscriptions, the trustees of the cemetery cleared four acres of ti-tree, laid the main road, and erected a timber gate and fence.[88]

While the cemetery was opened in 1864, burials did not commence until the following year.[89] Described in a 1896 newspaper article as having sandy soil and with several handsome monuments, the writer noted that the Cheltenham cemetery was 'unlike other graveyards in two particulars that appeal to the eye and the pocket viz: its beautiful situation and its small fees'.[90]

The cemetery was extended in 1905,[91] with a new Cheltenham cemetery and memorial park, located on Wangara Road, established in 1933.[92]

O'Mara Family Grave, Old Cheltenham Cemetery, 1905.
(Source: Sandringham Historical Society, P0410)

Cheltenham Pioneer Cemetery, 2008.
(Source: Sandringham and District Historical Society

9.7 TRADITIONS/EVENTS

The traditions and events held by a place and people are closely entwined with its history, a link well-remembered in the City of Kingston. Across the municipality, a diverse range of events and festivals were held, acting as moments of celebration and amusement that also provided valuable communal support through fundraising. While such events are no longer held, they once held wide appeal, drawing crowds of thousands to the locality to partake in games, sports, and processions.

Youth week

Youth Week emerged as a long-standing and significant communal event and tradition among the many celebrations held across the City of Kingston. The idea for Youth Week was first conceived by Joyce Davis, a delegate at the time to the Chelsea Council from the Chelsea Women's Amateur Athletic Club, who proposed the week-long celebration of youth that would provide an opportunity to promote clubs, raise money for equipment, and promote leadership.[93]

The first Youth Week in Chelsea was celebrated in April 1959, which included a grand parade, a jive night, Irish dancing, and a range of other sporting events. The official program also included open nights, which allowed parents and other interested persons to visit various clubs and observe its members in action. Over the coming years, Youth Week was further expanded and enriched as new activities and events were introduced, becoming a significant communal effort that drew heavily upon the untiring work of Joyce and the local council.[94]

Youth Week parade Chelsea, 1963.
(Source: Leader, Collection City of Kingston)

Youth Week remained popular into the 1990s, when the absorption of the City of Chelsea into the newly formed City of Kingston in 1995 foretold the demise of the event, which continued for a few years afterwards before it ceased.[95]

Mordialloc Carnival

A well-loved event in the City of Kingston was the Mordialloc Carnival, an annual tradition that had its beginnings in the early 20th century. Carnivals in Victoria trace their roots to Britain, where annual fairs were a mainstay of country towns; the continued practice of such fairs in Victoria provided a means to affirm communal cohesion and confirm the British Anglo-Saxon origin and connections of these developing towns. Above all, such events provided opportunities for fun and diversion as a range of games, sports, and amusements were provided.

In Mordialloc, the annual carnival began in 1908 as a means to raise money for various local clubs and groups, and was originally held in June before being moved in 1912 to the warmer month of January.[96] Beginning with a procession meandering from Beach Road to Main Street before heading to the sports ground, these early carnivals offered an array of amusements and competitions, including races, tug of war battles, picnics, Irish jigs, and fancy-dress contests.[97] At the time, several similar carnivals were held each year, many of which ended with the onset of World War One when the men and resources needed for such events were redirected to the war effort. The Mordialloc Carnival did not resume as normal until the mid-1920s as a lack of resources and an influenza epidemic followed the end of World War One, delaying its resplendent return.[98]

By 1923, efforts were underway to reintroduce the carnival as a means to raise money for a bandstand, with a procession and amusements, such as a merry-go-round, organised for the event. The carnival proved a huge success, with similar carnivals held in the following years, growing in popularity over the late 1920s as a range of new attractions were introduced, before falling slightly during the Depression years; by this time the Mordialloc Carnival had become a well-known and well-loved event, which saw the carnival rise again in popularity during the 1930s.[99]

This popularity remained strong during the Second World War when the money raised from the carnival was given to the war effort and the children of soldiers were invited as special guests of the organising committee.[100] At the mid-20th century, the Mordialloc Carnival acted as part of the town's attractiveness for holiday visitors, before the rise in car ownership and television meant potential tourists were seeking leisure further afield, with the carnival coming to an end in 1968. A similar festival continues, the annual Mordialloc Festival, which is held in the same location.

A crowd lined up to watch a footrace at Mordialloc Carnival.
(Source: Mordialloc & District Historical Society)

Westall UFO Sighting

Every year, thousands of reports are made regarding UFO sightings in Australia, yet none so far have come to rival the Westall Flying Saucer incident when hundreds of students, teachers, and bystanders witnessed an unidentifiable flying object hover over and land in a nearby reserve. This incredible incident occurred at the beginning of April 1966, just before the end of the school term, when two physical education classes were underway on the oval of the Westall Primary School.[101] In the middle of the class, students began to notice a large object flying low overhead, described as being a metallic or silvery/white object shaped like an upside-down bowl and with two similar UFOs flying at some distance, which caused panic amongst the students.[102]

Word of the UFOs quickly spread amongst the school and to the nearby secondary college, causing hundreds of students and teachers to run out onto the oval to observe what was going on. By this time, the UFO had reportedly ascended and flown to the nearby reserve, known as The Grange, with some students jumping the school fence to take off after it in hot pursuit. The UFO had landed for a few minutes in The Grange, before ascending again and departing at incredible speed, leaving a perfect circle of flattened grass.[103]

With the students eventually rounded up and returned to school, an assembly was called where the headmaster, in no uncertain terms, denied that UFOs existed and claimed that the children had not seen anything of any importance. Several students recalled the presence of mysterious and previously unseen persons at the assembly, and again later when called to the headmaster's office to report what they had witnessed, with rumours portraying such persons to be government officials.[104] Despite such efforts, rumours of the UFO spread as students later led their parents and interested neighbours down to The Grange to see the strange flatten circle of grass. At the time, the event caused a media sensation, making front page news of the *Dandenong Journal* for two weeks.

More recently, in 2011, the witnesses of the 1966 Westall UFO gathered at Westall Primary School to remember and recount the event, with around 50 people in attendance, yet there are still no clear answers on what exactly was spotted in the sky all those years ago.[105]

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LEISURE AND CULTURE

10.1 COASTAL TOURISM

From the mid-to-late 19th century, the Study Area flourished as a coastal tourist destination. Tourists flocked to the foreshore each year in ever-increasing numbers, attracted by the beaches and emerging sporting facilities. This rising popularity led to the creation of camps, hotels, and coffee palaces as locals sought to accommodate and profit from tourism, though not all approved of such activities.

Seaside Camps

Each summer, tourists from Melbourne flocked to the seaside, mainly to Carrum, Chelsea, and Aspendale, where camping provided a cheap and easy means to secure a seaside holiday.

Whether an extended family or a group of young companions, the summer camps provided a relaxing break, with one newspaper describing how the:

> sun-tanned occupants clothe themselves in bathing costumes and lounge about in the glorious sunshine in the day, while the nights are filled with harmony of ukulele, guitars, and a medley of song.[1]

These seaside camps grew exponentially from the 1890s when camping was in vogue. The campers also proved lucrative for locals, who purchased large tents, pitched them in their yards, and charged weekly rents. These informal camps were sometimes viewed with suspicion.[2]

Men and women at seaside camps at Carrum, Chelsea, and Aspendale, 1913.
(Source: 'Summer Camps and Camping at Carrum, Chelsea, and Aspendale', *Australasian*, 27 December 1913, p60)

From the 1910s, summer camps were gazetted in newspapers as places that fostered unrestrained intermixing between the sexes or as potentially harmful to health. Dubbed the 'kingdom of Bohemia by the sea', sensational accounts of camp life noted the permitted familiarity that arose between men and women, warning parents and watchful guardians to remain vigilant against such intermingling.[3]

While camping was encouraged for its health benefits, large camping grounds were perceived as being a health issue as they were noted as being overcrowded and closely confined. Newspapers and concerned individuals called upon the local police and municipal councils to exert greater control over the camping grounds, though little intervention could be made when campers settled on privately rented grounds;[4] however, such camps seemed to have diminished considerably from 1924, when strict regulations were introduced to Chelsea in an effort to end seaside encampments.[5]

10.2 BEACH CULTURE

As a seaside area known for its beautiful beach environs, the Study Area developed a notable beach culture that centred on the sun, sand and surf.

Lifesaving clubs were established across the City of Kingston area, serving a vital role in the local beach communities and providing a social and recreational outlet that frequently prevented tragedies. Forming in the 1920s, the Mentone Lifesaving Club held races, annual meetings, and classes while also acting to campaign for better safety measures on the beach or facilitating the rescue of swimmers.[6] A new clubhouse fronting the beach was constructed for the Mentone club in 1928.[7] Similar clubs were established at Carrum, Aspendale, Parkdale, Mordialloc, and Chelsea between the mid-1910s and the late 1920s.[8] Except for the Parkdale club, these Surf Life Saving clubs have continued to operate into the present, forming as a meaningful cultural and sporting institution; the Parkdale club disbanded in the mid-1970s due to a lack of interest.[9]

Surf lifesaving competition held in 1956. Lifesaving clubs from Mentone, Carrum, Aspendale, and Chelsea participated. (Source: Museums Victoria, MM 126735)

An important element of local beach culture centred on sea bathing. While sea bathing had long occurred in provide amenities, the bathing facilities at Mordialloc, Mentone, and Sandringham came under the responsibility of the Shire of Moorabbin in 1893.[10] The council quickly established a set of rules and guidelines to keep order: no dogs allowed within the vicinity of the baths, no smoking unless in a permitted area, opening hours were between first daylight until sunset, and men and women were to bath at separate times.[11] However, these bathing facilities soon encountered issues as they fell into a state of disrepair, leading to tragic accidents; caught in a strong current, Lucy Evelyn Wawn was dragged into the bay through a hole in the enclosure, drowning as a result.[12]

By 1925, the Mordialloc baths had seriously deteriorated, at which point the local council decided to repair the baths, though the Mordialloc Progress Association strongly objected, believing the facilities to be 'useless'.[13] The Mordialloc baths were nearly destroyed after a devastating storm batter the area in 1934; after failing to obtain a government grant for its repair, the council decided to demolish the facilities.[14]

In Mentone, the bathing facilities suffered a similar fate, undergoing extensive damage following the same storm, yet were left in such a condition until it was leased in 1953 to C Farrow, the owner of the Mentone Beach Store opposite the baths, who regularly cleaned the facilities for bathers.[15] Nine years later, the council sought the demolition of the Mentone Baths, but were beaten to it by nature; a heavy downpour followed by a fire destroyed the baths, with the charred remains soon removed.[16]

Mentone with the sea baths to the right of the image, 1929
(Source: State Library of Victoria, H91.160/1672)

Mentone Sea Baths, 1926
(Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

10.3 ENTERTAINMENT

As tourism grew in the Study Area, recreational businesses emerged that sought to entertain tourists and locals seeking a diversion away from the beaches. To meet such needs, a series of cinemas, theatres, skating rinks, and drive-ins developed across the locality, offering not only entertainment but also places of respite and gathering.

Cinemas

Since the first screenings in the 1890s, movies have endured as a popular pastime in Victoria. Cinemas soon followed, first appearing in Victoria in 1907 before becoming permanent features of the suburbs.

New Mentone Theatre.
(Source; Mordialloc & District Historical Society, Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

Located on the corner of Balcombe and Point Nepean roads, the New Mentone Theatre opened in May 1928 with a grand opening night. Before the arrival of the cinema, movies were shown at the skating rink in Brindisi Street.[17]

Speakers and attendees at the opening night of the new cinema praised the building, which could host over 800 persons.[18] The new theatre quickly rose in local popularity, particularly once the cinema opened for six days a week, becoming a social hub.[19] The Mentone theatre flourished for over thirty years; however, the rising number of TVs at home in the 1950s led to a decline in cinema attendees.[20] Despite undergoing new paintings and decorations in 1955, the Mentone Theatre closed by 1960. The building was demolished a few years later.

A cinema was soon also established in Chelsea and Mordialloc. In Chelsea, Ethel Mason opened the Chelsea Theatre, at times referred to as the Fox Theatre (HO3), in 1923.[21] Initially, the proposed site of the Mordialloc Picture Theatre was on Beach Reserve, part of which was to be excised for a picture pavilion, before the plan was abandoned by the applicants. In Mordialloc, it is unclear when the theatre was built; Paramount Theatre, Mordialloc, was in operation by 1921, when newspaper articles began to mention 'picture night' at the theatre.[22] The theatre was owned by Fowler & Carr proprietors, who owned a number of suburban and country cinemas.[23]

Former *Mason's Picture Theatre* (HO32), Chelsea.
(Source: RBA, November 2022)

The introduction of television in the mid-1950s led to a dramatic decline in audience numbers, with incredibly few new cinemas built in the following decades. Despite this decline, Village established a multiplex cinema at Southland Shopping centre, which opened in 1999 and endures as the main cinema in the area.[24]

Theatres and Mechanics' Institute

As it was elsewhere, the Study Area was home to a range of institutions and places that acted in a similar capacity to theatres, though they were not always named as such. In the early 20th century, cinemas (more commonly referred to as 'theatres' at the time) also staged bands and concerts, acting in part as modern theatres.[25] Public halls also acted in a similar manner, as did the Highett Hall. Opened in 1926, the Highett Hall hosted a range of social events, including dances, balls, and live music; by 1945, the hall was being used as a picture theatre.[26] Another popular institution was the Mechanics' Institutes.

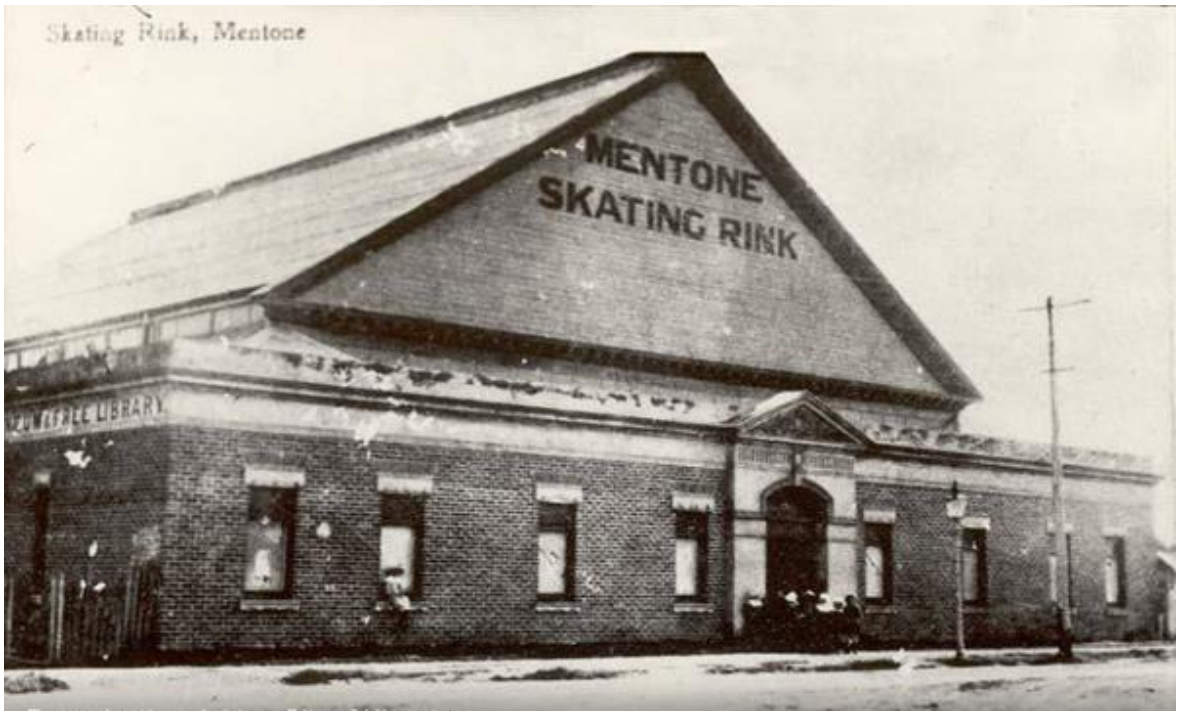
Through the 19th century, Mechanics' Institutions formed across towns in the Study Area, which were often found at the centre of communal and social life. A British invention dating to the early 1820s, Mechanics' Institutes were designed to provide afterwork entertainment that would 'improve' the everyday workman, an idea that quickly spread to the Australian colonies and found support through public donations.[27] One of the earliest Mechanics' Institutes to be built in the municipality was at Cheltenham, which was opened by 1865, as well as one at

Mordialloc by the late 1870s; in Moorabbin and Carrum such institutes were not established until the early 20th century.[28] Often housing a free library as well as spacious rooms, Mechanics' institutes across the municipality hosted public lectures, plays, comedic entertainment, musical artists, and dances, offering residents a variety of 'agreeable' diversion similar to theatres.

Cheltenham Mechanics' Institute and Temperance Hall, circa 1910.
(Source: Percy Fairlam, Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

Skating Rinks

An early form of recreation and entertainment, skating rinks in the Study Area also hosted a range of activities and groups, increasing the local significance of such places.



Mentone Skating Rink, 1920s.
(Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

Opened in the 1880s on Brindisi Street, the Mentone Skating Rink formed part of a reserve of recreational land and facilities, becoming a hub of social activity in the late 19th and early 20th century. The rink provided space for dances, picnic party accommodation, and large gatherings, as well as acting as a silent film cinema.[29] For a time, the stating rink hosted a range of events for notable persons and institutions, such as the Mayoress of Mordialloc and the Mentone Grammar School.[30] Initially, the rink operated on lease contracts, with private owners charging rent for the rink.[31]

These private companies experienced financial difficulties during the 1890s depression and were unable to maintain the skating rink. By 1904, increasing pressure was being placed on the Moorabbin Shire to obtain the reserve and its facilities, buying the reserve and its buildings in 1905 for £2,000.[32] The rink continued to show films and hold various events such as dances, gatherings, and even council meetings, however, the rapid growth of the area during the interwar period meant the rink soon became inadequate.[33] As a result, the rink underwent extensive remodelling in the early 1930s for use by the local municipal council, with one newspaper reporting in 1933 how:

> rapid progress has been made in the work of transforming the old skating rink in Mentone into one of the most complete suites of municipal offices and town hall in the metropolitan area.[34]

Further additions and demolitions occurred over the next 60 years, significantly altering the building from its original form.

Another skating rink was located on the corner of Balcombe Road and the Nepean Highway but was replaced by the Mentone Theatre in 1928.

Oakleigh Skyline Drive-in

In the 1950s, Skyline drive-in movie theatres were established across Melbourne suburbs as a result of the soaring rates of car ownership in the country. Such open-air theatres were an American enterprise dating back to the 1910s and quickly rose in popularity when they were first introduced in Burwood in 1954. Newspaper articles such as those in the *Argus* remarked that these theatres maintained:

> an easy atmosphere of informality. Those who like to smoke can smoke. Young people who want to hold hands can hold hands.[35]

As the paper suggests, such places may have grown in popularity due to the ability to maintain privacy, a feature lacking in the usual theatres.

Skyline drive-in theatre in Oakleigh, mid-1950s.
(Source: Skyline Theatre, Old Dandenong Road, Heatherton, SLV, H2017.69/1, produced with permission)

A Skyline drive-in theatre was opened in Oakleigh south, off Warrigal Road near Yarra Yarra Golf Club, in 1955. The Oakleigh drive-in was designed to replicate similar American-style skyline cinemas and covered 20 acres and could accommodate 700 cars; a children's playground and snack bar amenities were also said to be built.[36] The Skyline drive-in theatre remained in operation until 1990. No remains are present.

Tenpin Bowling

In the early 1960s, there emerged a new sporting and leisure activity in Australia: tenpin bowling. Based on the America-style, the first centres opened were manually operated before soon becoming fully automatic. Tenpin bowling quickly became a popular pastime, but after this initial boom, patronage declined, and many centres were closed or repurposed.[37] At Moorabbin, a bowling centre from the sport's initial heyday has survived.

Designed by Theodore Berman, the Moorabbin Ten Pin Bowls (HO119) was opened on 17 November 1862.[38] The Moorabbin Bowls centre was the largest built in Victoria during the sport's boom period in the 1960s with 28 lanes in operation. Constructed in what has been called the 'Featurist style', the building is considered the most resolved and successfully designed of Berman's bowling centres. The Moorabbin Bowling centre remains in operation.

Peter Scullin Reserve

Named after councilman Peter Scullin, the Peter Scullin Reserve is located on Beach Road, opposite the Mordialloc Pier, and has for many decades served as a hugely popular community space.[39] The reserve has served as the home of Mordialloc's annual Mordi Fest, a large summer carnival. The playground, famously shaped like a pirate ship, was closed at the end of 2021 as a result of corrosion and will be refurbished.

10.4 LOCAL CREATIVITY

As a seaside locality boasting beautiful views of the coast, the Study Area has sparked the creativity of artists across the centuries, leading to a significant art culture in the locality, one that has endured to the present day.

Artists' Camps and Sketching Grounds – 'Bohemian' Aspendale and Chelsea

Australia has a long bohemian tradition, which dates back to the 1860s, producing poets, painters, novelists, and a range of other creatives famous for both their work and their eccentric lifestyles.[40] In the City of Kingston, the beachside emerged as inspiring places for well-known and emerging artists, contributing towards this bohemian culture as artists established sketching grounds and camps, yet bohemianism could often be used to decry the deplorable behaviour of weekend visitors.

Tom Roberts, *Slumbering sea, Mentone*, 1887, oil on canvas. (Source: National Gallery of Victoria)

Within the the Study Area, certain towns had gained the reputation as being 'bohemian' places, such as Aspendale and Chelsea, which were branded as bohemian heavens. As the *Labor Call* noted in 1929, Aspendale:

> appears to be the Bohemian's delight at present; but what a fine watering place it would make with that stretch of beach.[41]

Offering cheap seaside accommodation, beach camps in the Study Area were popular amongst artists, who drew on the seascape to inspire and further develop their art practice. One of the most well-known artist camps formed around Tom Roberts and Frederick McCubbin, who painted the Mentone and Beaumaris area between 1887 and 1888.[42] Later joined by Arthur Streeton, Louis Abraham, and Charles Conder, the artists worked to further develop a new school of painting (instigated in Victoria by Robert upon his return from overseas) based on *plein air* practice, leading to the Heidelberg School.[43] The artists captured a number of famous beach scenes at Mentone and in nearby areas, depicting the serene enjoyment of the beach by tourists.

Charles Conder, Rickett's point, 1890, oil on canvas.
(Source: National Gallery of Victoria)

At the beginning of the 20th century, Chelsea gained an unsavoury reputation, with bohemian used as a phrase to denote the perceived immorality and vice that occurred in the area, especially in the camps. Such perceptions often flared following noted court cases; when Leslie North, a weekend tourist staying in a camp, was imprisoned in 1924 for assaulting a young teenage girl, the presiding judge used the opportunity to decry the weekend camp as 'a sink of immorality'.[44] Enraged by such accusations, the Chelsea Progress Association quickly held a meeting in response, deploring the 'adverse and unjust criticism directed at Chelsea'.[45] Following the introduction of strict camping regulations in the same year, summer camps and the bohemian lifestyle on the beach diminished over the coming years.

Art Galleries

The collection and establishment of art galleries are an important part of encouraging and supporting local visual arts, which has been actively contributed towards by the municipal authorities.

The City of Kingston maintains a significant art culture through its Kingston Arts program, which includes housing and displaying artworks at the Kingston Arts Centre (formerly the Moorabbin Arts Centre), which opened in 1993.[46]

While promoting new and emerging artists, the Kingston Arts program and Kingston Art Centre features the Civic Arts Collection. Deriving from the former municipalities of Mordialloc, Chelsea, and Moorabbin, the Civic Art Collection features approximately 100 works of art that date as far back as 1865, which are exhibited throughout the municipality in council buildings.[47]

Kingston Arts Centre (HO79), Moorabbin.
(Source: RBA, November 2022)

Art Societies, Clubs, Performing Groups

As a municipality known for its creative output, local artists and performers gathered in organised groups to discuss or perform their art, further contributing to the creative culture of the municipality.

Beginning in 1953, a group of keen local artists gathered to share their interest in art; however, a division between those who leaned towards abstraction and those who engaged more with realism soon emerged. This split led to the formation of two local art groups: the Beaumaris Art Group and the Mentone Mordialloc Art Group. The Beaumaris Art Group formed soon after the split, holding art shows and exhibitions.[48] Through fund-raising, the Beaumaris Art Group were able to build a group hub for the society, which was opened in 1965 by Eric Westbrook, the National Gallery Director.[49]

Initially meeting in private homes, the realist artists began to gather at an old timber Sunday School at St. Augustine's Church, located in Como Parade, Mentone, forming as the Mentone Mordialloc Art Group in 1956.[50] A non-profit communal group, the artists aimed to establish a society where like-minded persons could gather, discuss, and teach art. The Mentone Mordialloc Art Group soon moved to rooms at the Mentone Grammar School, before again moving in 1975 to the 'Hay and Grain Studio', an old agricultural building in Granary Land that was converted by members; the studio was condemned in 2009, leaving the group without a base until 2016, when a purpose-built studio was included in the new Mentone Activity Hub, with the Mentone Mordialloc Art Group moving in a year later.[51]

In 1962, nearly fifty interested drama enthusiasts gathered at the Brighton High School for the inaugural meeting of the City of Moorabbin Theatre Group.[52] The newly formed theatre group aimed to present several major productions each year while also meeting monthly for discussions on theatre and play readings. The theatre group performed more than a dozen plays, ranging from 'fruit melodrama' and comedy to thrillers and psychological drama.[53] Alongside such plays, the theatre group also entered in several drama competitions, including one entry to the Victorian Drama League Festival in 1964 that was presented by an all-female team.[54] While initially popular,

over the coming decades the number of active members to the theatre group declined, as did audience sizes, leading to the eventual end of the City of Moorabbin Theatre Group.

During the mid-20th century, similar theatre groups were established in Mordialloc and Mentone, known respectively as the Mordialloc Theatre Group and the Mentone Theatre Group, who performed a variety of plays.[55]

Members of the City of Moorabbin Theatre Group rehearsing a new production. (Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

Preparing the set for 'Dover Road', City of Moorabbin Theatre Group. (Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

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Museums

With a rich and varied history, museums have opened across the City of Kingston to recount the municipality's fascinating past, preserving and presenting an array of historical and heritage material to the public.

Opened in 1965, Moorabbin Air Museum was formed to preserve Australia's aviation heritage, the expressed aim of the Australian Aircraft Restoration Group who founded the museum.[60] The Australian Aircraft Restoration Group were established in 1962 with the intention of saving aircraft that had been left to decay in abandoned airfields before handing them over to another organisation to restore and display.[61] However, the group soon found themselves with a sizeable collection of aircraft and no permanent location nor available funds to store them adequately; to meet both demands, the group decided to open a museum, leasing land from the Moorabbin Airport for this purpose.[62] In 1989 a hangar was erected on the site to house the aircrafts, which was extended three years later, with a library, workshop, and store also constructed in the intervening years.

Located in the old court rooms in Chelsea, the Court House Museum holds a significant collection of local history, which is managed and overseen by the Chelsea & District Historical Society, who formed in 1963.[63] Originally built in 1928, the court house was designed in the neo-classical style by Edwin Evan Smith, the chief architect at the Public Works Department.[64]

Moorabbin Air Museum, circa 1968.
(Source: Kingston Collections, City of Kingston Library)

Music-making

Besides the artists and actors to emerge within the Study Area's creative landscape, there were also musicians and choristers who performed for both locals and tourists.

During the 19th century, locals acted to create town or shire brass bands. Originally, a brass band was established in Mordialloc, which had languished after a while due to a lack of public support, eventually disbanding.[65] Later, in 1891, residents from the Mordialloc and Mentone area united their forces to establish the Moorabbin Brass Band.[66] A popular shire band, the Moorabbin Brass Band played at a number of concerts and events, usually for charity, until at least 1910, around which date they seem to have disbanded; later, in 1913, an article appeared in the *Brighton Cross* noting the local interest in reforming the brass band.[67] Moorabbin Junior (or Boy) Band was later established in 1935.[68]

Choirs have long been a feature of Melbourne's musicscape, often forming along church, institutional, or communal lines, a musical tradition that continued in the City of Kingston. While it is unclear when the first choirs formed in the municipality, the long-standing presence of churches and religious communities with a choral tradition (such as the Church of England and Methodists) suggests that choir singing likely began relatively early. In the City of Kingston, choirs formed specifically to perform choral pieces, usually known as philharmonic or choral societies, developed much later.

Philharmonic societies, which were groups comprised of both a choir and musical accompaniment, first appeared in Melbourne in 1853, before emerging across towns and cities in Victoria.[69] Newspaper articles indicated that a philharmonic society covering a significant extent of the Study Area had formed by 1904 (known as the Moorabbin Philharmonic Society), with different branches covering individual localities; these may have been the same Choral Societies established in the municipality during the 1890s, who may have simply changed their name.[70] The Mentone branch held weekly Monday evening meetings where members practised and performed, usually to a piano accompaniment.[71] A similar branch was formed in Mordialloc, though member numbers had fallen considerably by 1905, resulting in the disbanding of the branch.[72] Another philharmonic society was again re-established in Mordialloc in the mid-1940s.[73]

The City of Kingston's rich musical heritage is also, in part, defined by the migrant communities who arrived in the mid to late 20th century. Following the Second World War, significant numbers of migrants arrived in Australia from Europe, some of which first settled in Melbourne's inner neighbourhoods before relocating to the outer suburbs, such as to Oakleigh, Clarinda, and Clayton South. Initially, Italian and Greek migrants settled in the municipality in the post-war period, with the Greek community building a Greek Orthodox church and hall in South Clayton.[74]

Later, in the 1970s, increasing numbers of Vietnamese migrants and refugees began to settle in the area. Such communities brought with them a rich tradition of folk music and traditions, which were often continued and perpetuated as such groups formed social associations and built places of worship.

10.5 SPORTS

Australia is often described as a sporting nation, as a country where sports is intricately linked to national identity as well as to social and cultural ideas, much of which could be said for local communities.[75] Written in 1965, *A Guide to the Projects in the City of Moorabbin* remarked that the area:

> is well known for its active sportsmen and sportswomen, with almost every kind of winter and summer field sport being played as well as carrying a strong band of supporters.[76]

Sports in Australia developed at a time when social and cultural understandings of sports were undergoing significant shifts, particularly during 1870s when middle-class ideology in Victoria increasingly regarded sport as a leisured experience to be enjoyed by mass spectators.[77] Sports in the City of Kingston area reflected this history with clubs and sporting events becoming not only incredibly popular, but also acting as important social and cultural cores for supporters.

Horse Racing

Horse racing has maintained a significant cultural and sporting role in Melbourne since the 1830s, which resulted in the creation of numerous racecourses across the metropolis. For leisure seekers interested in racing, the City of Kingston area boasted three racecourses in the late nineteenth century; Mentone, Epson, and Aspendale Park.[78] Each contributed towards the support of a lively racing scene that endured well into the 20th century.

A line up of early Oldsmobiles at a rally at Aspendale Racecourse, 1905. The grandstand can be seen in the background. (Source: Algernon Darge, SLV)

The Aspendale Park Racecourse was opened in April 1891 with seemingly little fanfare, yet it became a favourite summer destination for many. James Robert Crooke, a successful horse trainer, established the racecourse on land previously owned by his father, Elijah, and was named after one of James' finest horses.[79] The racecourse

was ideally located to the east of the railway station and surrounded by gardens. An article from the *Age* described the racecourse as:

> The track, which consists of plentifully sown with buffalo and other grasses, will certainly please owners, as the going is all that could be desired, and in completing the various buildings and improvements the proprietor has carefully studied the comfort of visitors. The grandstand will seat about 500 and is surrounded by a spacious and well laid out enclosure. The hill includes a long slope thickly covered with a rich carpet of buffalo grass, and in all directions may be seen rustic seats and cosy nooks amidst the thick growth of ti-tree, the latter having been so cut and trimmed as to provide pleasant retreats for those who wish to combine the pleasures of a seaside picnic with the excitement of a race meeting. The course is beautifully situated, being backed by the open sea and commanding a splendid view of the distant ranges of Dandenong.[80]

While considered a country track, the racecourse maintained a considerable event schedule that extended beyond racing. Soon after opening, Aspendale Park Racecourse began to host a range of social activities, such as picnics and rallies, attracting a large assortment of food vendors and visitors.[81] At one event, Crooke staged a kangaroo hunt at the racecourse, with persons dressed as 'new chums' on the goldfields, bushrangers, and troopers.[82] The racecourse held its last meeting in July 1931, although motor car racing at the track continued into the late 1940s.[83]

In Mordialloc, the Epsom Racecourse was opened in 1889 by James Smith Jenkins, a land speculator who had amassed a considerable fortune in the Land Boom of the 1880s before becoming insolvent in the 1890s.[84] Jenkins had expended over £32,000 on the racecourse, which boasted a grandstand that could accommodate 3,000 spectators as well as a Governors' room, a dining hall, bars, retiring rooms, and cloak rooms.[85] The racecourse was designed by Philip E Treeby.[86] Considered one of the best private racecourses, the track became the focal point of the racing community in Mordialloc, one that endured well into the 20th century. The original grandstand was updated in 1936, however, two years later, the main stand was destroyed by fire.[87] From about this time, the racecourse was used for training only, significantly impacting the local community and subsidiary industries that relied on the racecourse; the Epsom Racecourse closed in 1997.[88]

Picnic at Aspendale Park Racecourse, circa 1920.
(Source: Museums Victoria Collection, MM 5458)

Situated over 156 acres, the Mentone Racecourse opened in 1888 and was operated by a public company, the Mentone Racing Company Limited, which formed in the same year.[89] Similar to Aspendale, the racecourse at

Mentone also hosted picnics and festival days.[90] In the early 20th century, the number of race meetings held yearly in Victoria were dramatically reduced, which had a significant impact on the more remote racecourses, such as at Mentone. While race meetings were reduced, Mentone endured as an important training ground with an extra training track built in 1911.[91] The racecourse maintained a significant reputation as an excellent training ground, in part due to the close proximity to the beach where horses could exercise in salt water, a natural therapy that strengthens leg muscles.[92]

Some locals were, however, unhappy to share the beach, with several complaints made to the local council requesting that horse bathing be restricted to specific hours.[93] In response, a notice board was placed notifying owners that horses shall not swim after 10 am, a rule that one local noted was:

> farcical as the horses are in the water and on the beach any hour of the day.[94]

The Mentone Racecourse held its last race meeting in July 1942, though it continued as a training track until 1972.

Women race in the Single Ladies' Race held on the track at Mentone Racecourse as part of the annual picnic for the Master Builders' Association of Melbourne. (Source: 'Master builders' association of Melbourne', *Punch*, 28 March 1907, p15)

Golf

Introduced into Melbourne in the mid-19th century, golf proved a popular sport as an increasing variety and number of golf courses developed, including in the City of Kingston. The sandy soil found in the region, particularly in the bayside areas, proved suitable for golf courses, though courses tended not to be established until after World War One, when golf increased in popularity to become less of an elite sport.

In Mordialloc, a golf link was formally opened in 1913 with a nine-hole course, built by Rowley Banks, conveniently located near the train station.[95] George Rogers, a school teacher who moved to the area in 1912, is credited with the establishment of a golf course at Mordialloc.[96] At the time of their opening, the Mordialloc Golf Club boasted 80 members on their roll, holding golfing events for both men and women. The popularity of the sport in the area increased quickly, requiring further additions to be made to the pavilion and expanding the number of holes from 9 to eighteen.[97] So popular did the sport become it was even stated to contribute towards marital disharmony; when Iris Hamilton sought an order against her husband, William Hamilton, for leaving her without support, she noted that William:

> was a member of the Mordialloc Golf Club... He was golf mad. He had never been home for a Sunday dinner for three years.[98]

The Mordialloc Golf Club formed as a company in 1925, changing its name to 'Woodlands' in recognition of its parkland setting, which was claimed as a sanctuary for native game in the same year.[99] Woodlands continues today as one of Australia's leading golf courses, with notable members such as Margaret Masters and Stephen Allan representing the club at local, state, and national competitions.[100]

Woodlands Golf Club, Mordialloc (HO120), with the clubhouse, built in 1920 and grounds.
(Source: Peter Wille, circa 1950-1971, SLV, H91.244/497, produced with permission)

During the 1920s, the Victoria Golf Club held sporting competitions in Cheltenham, establishing a new clubhouse and link in the locality in 1927, though the club first purchased the land five years earlier.[101] The clubhouse was described as:

> a bungalow clubhouse … somewhat in the style favored [sic] by so many American golf clubs. It is a fine building in picturesque surroundings.[102]

While the golf course now sits just outside the municipal boundaries of the Study Area, the club maintained a significant social role for its members through the mid-20th century, holding a variety of dances, meetings, and gatherings.[103] Today, the Victoria Golf Club preserves a sense of prestige, both locally and internationally.

The Victoria Golf Club's new clubhouse, built at Cheltenham, 1927.
(Source: *Herald*, 13 April 1027, p17)

In Clayton South, the Spring Valley Golf Club was opened in 1948 by members of the Forest Hills Golf Club. The course was designed by well-known golf architect Vernon Morcom and was described as: 'an ideal site, comprising 135 acres of undulating sand country.'[104]

A popular club, the course and clubhouse have supported a vibrant community of members in the past, who have contributed towards maintaining and developing the course since its opening.[105]

AFL

Dating back to the mid-19th century, AFL in colonial Victoria evolved from the football matches played in private schools in England, with Thomas Wentworth Wills, a renowned cricketer, establishing a set of rules for the new game in 1859.[106] Over the coming decades, the sport grew in popularity as clubs formed around suburbs, hotels, workplaces, and schools, providing a sense of belonging and community in a society comprised mainly of immigrants.[107] In the City of Kingston area, the first informal football matches were likely played relatively early, with more formal teams established late in the 19th century.

The Mentone Football Team formed in 1889, playing one-off games and drawing members from Mordialloc, Mentone, Cheltenham, Highett, and South Brighton.[108] The club seems to have disbanded toward the end of the 1890s as players from Mentone, Cheltenham, and Mordialloc teams amalgamated into one club, however, the Mentone Football Club remerged in 1904 and enjoyed varied success.[109]

Members of the Mentone Football Team, 1908.
(Source: Mordialloc and District Historical Society)

Moorabbin Football Stadium, 1965.
(Source: W Sievers, NLA, produced with permission)

The Moorabbin Football Club, nicknamed the Kangaroos, first entered the Federal Football League in 1909, later entering the Victorian Football Association in 1951.[110] The team were highly successful, winning a significant number of premierships. Despite their success, the Moorabbin club were removed from their home ground in Linton Street, Moorabbin, in 1964 so that it could be made available for the St Kilda Club, then a Victorian Football League team.[111] Hoping to gain entry into the Victorian Football League, the Moorabbin supported the decision though it proved disastrous. The Victorian Football Association Board of Management viewed the move as a prejudicial act and suspended the Moorabbin club, which disbanded the following year.[112]

RSEA Park, formerly known as Moorabbin Oval, has been the home ground for the St. Kilda Football Club since 1965, with a short hiatus between 2011 and 2018.

Moorabbin Bowls

Often played at festivals and fairs in colonial Victoria, bowls became a popular pastime, one that endured into the 20th century and beyond. Originating in ancient Egypt, bowls experienced a revival in Britain from the mid-19th century, as well as in British colonies such as Victoria, where growing suburban towns and holiday destinations established bowling clubs and greens.

The Moorabbin Bowling Club was established after a meeting at the Mentone Hotel in 1902, with bowling tournaments held on Saturdays.[113] The green was formerly opened in October 1903 with 250 guests invited to play bowls and partake in refreshments.[114] An article from the *Brighton Southern Cross* described the Moorabbin Bowling Club, noting:

> The club's green [was] situated at Mentone, close to the station, and a majority of the 60 members are practising assiduously to get the strength of the new green, with a view to securing a pennant for Moorabbin.[115]

In 1910, the Moorabbin Bowling Club changed their name to the Mentone Bowling Club to avoid confusion. By this date, two other bowling clubs had formed in the Moorabbin Shire, at Sandringham and Cheltenham.[116] As the Mentone Bowling Club, the group continued to hold regular tournaments and fundraising events, including a mixed tournament for the 'Food for Britain' Appeal in 1946 and a yearly match for the City of Mordialloc auxiliary for the blind.[117] The Mentone Bowling Club is currently located on the corner of Balcombe Road and Swanston Street in Mentone.[118]

Others

Besides the more well-known sports of football and bowls, a range of other recreational activities were played in the Study Area, with locals also forming cycling and cricket clubs.

In Cheltenham, a cycling club formed in 1903 following a bicycle road race comprised of local competitors.[119] A successful competition drawing a large crowd, subsequent races were held in the following years, firmly establishing the Cheltenham Bicycle Club as a local sporting institution.[120] The popularity of cycling began to wane at the end of the Second World War, however dedicated enthusiasts remained as members of the Mordialloc Professional Cycling Club and the Bayside Bicycle Club.[121]

Cheltenham Cycling Club, 1918.
(Source: City of Moorabbin HS 00508, Victorian Places)

A sport of English origin, cricket was arguably the most popular summer sport in the City of Kingston, enjoying one of the strongest band of loyal followers.[122] Cheltenham had established one of the earliest clubs in the area, with members first coming together as an organised club in the early 1870s; however, despite their apparent enthusiasm, the team could be left with vacant match dates, being unable to secure an opposing team to play against.[123] By the 1890s, cricket clubs had formed in Mentone and Mordialloc.[124] The Moorabbin and District Cricket Association was established in 1930 (later changing to the City of Moorabbin Cricket Association) as the Depression began, leading to some difficulty in securing the required £20 by the committee.[125]

Speedway

The Aspendale Racecourse was at times used by the Royal Automobile Club of Victoria for car rallies, with James Robert Crooke, the owner, constructing a motorway on the course late in 1905, becoming the world's first purpose-built car track.[126] Later, in 1923, Crooke built a banked speedway.[127] The opening of the speedway was highly

anticipated, producing an exciting racing season that included a significant number of events such as races and carnivals.[128]

RACV Club racing vintage cars at Aspendale Racecourse, circa 1915.
(Source: Kingston Collection)

The speedway has at times ceased activity, closing to the public and race enthusiasts, such as during World War Two when petrol was rationed.[129] During this closure, the grandstands and buildings at the Aspendale Speedway were removed and the ground given over to dwellings; the speedway was to stay, but the removal of the buildings made it impracticable to hold carnivals, with no further racing events were held after this decision.[130]

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