

Growing Around the Yarra

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Growing around the Yarra (Birrarung)

A history of Melbourne's parks and reserves on the Middle Yarra River, Victoria, Australia

MA Garden and Landscape History

Institute of Historical Research
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Dissertation

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This dissertation is a study of the lands of the Wurundjeri people and I acknowledge them as the Aboriginal Traditional Custodians of Birrarung and the land along its banks, and pay my respects to their Elders, past, present and emerging.



Figure 1: State Library of Victoria, Exhibit 1055, Reinhold Hofmann *MELBOURNE 1836* Painting : oil on linen mounted on masonite ; 53.5 x 167.4 cm, 1886

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Introduction

This dissertation investigates the transformations of public and private green space along Melbourne's major waterway the Yarra River, which is called *Birrarung*, meaning 'river of mists', in the Woiwurrung language of its Traditional Custodians, the Wurundjeri people. More specifically, this study gives focus to the history of parks and reserves of the Middle Yarra River; the section of river that has drawn a significant eastern residential population, through to the present rural-residential divide at Warrandyte. This end-point town of Warrandyte unofficially marks the residential-rural divide before the state's winegrowing region the Yarra Valley, and the source of the river, the Yarra Ranges. The study area is demarcated in red in Figure 2, and the residential to rural divide is especially evident when viewed in context with the 2019 satellite image of Greater Melbourne map (Figure 3), which displays the grey contrast of urban housing and industry merging with the green outer reaches of rural land and state parks of Warrandyte and beyond.



Study area

Melbourne city centre

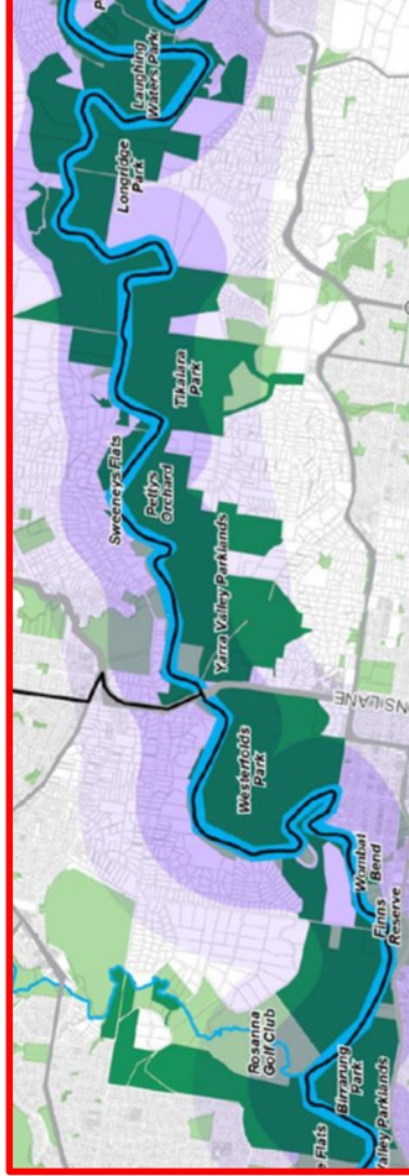


Figure 2. Greater Melbourne Yarra River in 2019, Study area shown in the red rectangle - Google Earth V 9.2.76.4 Digitalglobe 28km 37°4'30"S 145°10'15"E 104m <https://earth.app.goo.gl/DjKe6m> [accessed 19th January 2019]

Figure 3. Study Area 2019, Middle Yarra River map Rosanna Golf Course to Pound Bend, Warrandyte - 'Middle Yarra Corridor Recommendations Report 2016' (The State of Victoria Department of Environment, Land, Water & Planning, 2016), p. 9

This study maps the changing ownership and land use of the Middle Yarra River since the village of Melbourne was declared by John Batman in 1835 and explores how the growing population has effected change. Now the capital city of the state of Victoria in Australia, it investigates the impact of Melbourne's growing population on riparian land division, subdivision, management, toponymy, reclamation and conservation. Yarra River land has been categorised as Crown, public, Commonwealth and private; with ratios fluctuating over time. These changes of legal ownership and land use are explored through maps, surveys, patterns of legislation, town planning and policy. It examines the catalysts for reclaiming private land for public use and nature conservation, how effective such strategies have been and the key influencing factors for riparian land use and management.

'Every time you see a sward of municipal green take a moment to wonder where the creek is, or the billabong, or the waterhole, or the river's edges (now, with cut and fill, a golf course, freeway, tennis court, carpark, scout hall, playing field...).'¹ This study explores this provocation made by historian Kristen Otto in her work *Yarra: a diverting history*, and the evolution of the land along the Yarra River, which has changed repeatedly and dramatically during 230 years since British colonisation in Australia.

Settlement in the Port Phillip District of New South Wales and what became the Colony of Victoria in 1851 expanded significantly from 1835 through an increase in the number of free settlers entering the state. This early settlement included a period of rapid division of riparian land for agricultural purposes, where a lack of irrigation and infrastructure meant the riverbanks were prime stations for rearing sheep and cattle. Settlers soon also moved to the interior in search of

¹ Kristen Otto, *Yarra: a diverting history* (The Text Publishing Company, 2009), p. 90.

agricultural land for sheep grazing, such that most land was fully occupied in the Colony of Victoria from the early 1850s.² Then, a tripling of Victoria's population in just three years - from 80,000 in 1851 to 237,000 by 1854 - and more than doubling again to 540,000 by 1861, summarily motivated by gold prospecting and mining.³ Leaping forward to 2011, Melbourne had a recorded population of just under 4 million. During this time, attitudes and trends underlying the complexities of town planning have covered a considerable spectrum: undermining, co-existing with, or preferencing the preservation or rehabilitation of natural green space in relation to population, agriculture, industry, residential and transport infrastructure. This dissertation also examines planning strategies for riparian green space during the 20th and 21st centuries, how impactful they have been and what might have been done differently, with a view to better understanding future potential, as Melbourne's population is on course to double to 8 million by 2051.⁴

Historiography

Charles La Trobe, Superintendent of the Port Phillip District from 1839 and the first Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Victoria from 1851, ensured reserves for public gardens and parks were a feature of early Melbourne, and oversaw the establishment of the city's Royal Botanic Gardens. La Trobe left Europe for Australia around the time of significant European and British public parks movements in the early 19th century. Britain's medical arena and government were seeking to remedy the deteriorating mental and physical health of working and middle classes, attributed to

² Edwyna Harris, *Lobbying for legislation: an examination of water rights transition in colonial Victoria, Australia 1840-1886* (Department of Economics discussion papers, no 12/06, 2006) p. 5.

³ Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) <https://www.sbs.com.au/gold/story.php?storyid=49> [accessed 27th January 2019].

⁴ Victoria State Government, *Victoria in Future 2016, Population and household projections to 2051* (The Department for Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2016), p. 1.

the rapid industrialisation of its towns. This led to the first free public parks, such as Birkenhead Park in Merseyside in 1847, at a time when Melbourne's early planning by Surveyor General Robert Hoddle from 1837, followed in 1853 by surveyor Andrew Young, was factoring public parks and gardens at the outset - a clear slate on which to apply some of the latest learning and ideas from Europe. These were not private squares for wealthy metropolitan households, with keys for access, as in England's big cities, but large open spaces in the centre of Melbourne, including today's Alexandra, Royal Botanic, Flagstaff, Fitzroy, Treasury and Carlton Gardens. While Melbourne's landscape was not on a course similar to England's industrial revolution, there was great ambition for the new city and no doubt Victorian-era discourse on town planning will have echoed in its southern hemisphere namesake where there was a 'grafting of Old World land-use experience to the newer political, economic and social imperatives'.⁵ And, as seen following the French Revolution, thousands of acres of royal gardens and hunting grounds were transformed from private to public green space in Paris, now central to the city's way of life, and its two great landscape parks, Bois de Boulognes and Bois de Vincennes, were ceded to the city as public parks by Napoleon III during the mid-19th century. An ideology around open public spaces for social cohesion and a civilising effect in the Colony of Victoria is another line of thought in relation to early parks planning, as Robert Pedder explains, 'a picture is painted of a class based society where social conflict can be avoided by appropriate state interventions in capitalist urbanisation, such as the provision of urban open space'.⁶

⁵ Raymond Wright, *The Bureaucrat's Domain: Space and the Public interest in Victoria* (Oxford University Press Australia, 1989), p. 5.

⁶ Robert Pedder, 'Lungs for the City: Urban Open Space Provision in Melbourne'. Master of Arts (Leisure Studies) thesis, (Department of Leisure Studies, School of Community Services and Policy Studies, Phillip Institute of Technology, 1991), p. 85.

The broader social and political context for Melbourne parks may also be paralleled with cities of a similar colonial age, for example, Chicago in Illinois USA, and its approach to town planning, public open space and conservation from early formation to the 21st century. It appears Melbourne town planners took inspiration from Chicago Cook County Forest Preserve, founded in 1914 to preserve 68,000 acres of forest, prairie, wetland, streams, and lakes within the densely populated urban metropolitan area of north-eastern Illinois.⁷ An early brochure for this scheme was found among the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works committee notes in the 1920s⁸ during the concept phase for a series of significant new metropolitan parks for Melbourne as proposed in the Plan for Development, 1929.

From the 1950s, motorcar use became widespread in the Melbourne metropolitan area, and remains the preferred mode of transport. The demand for new road networks, along with an emphasis on house ownership, meant the balance between urban infrastructure with the quality of life afforded by green spaces, was brought into sharp focus. Emphasis on health and recreation during the Victorian era of public parks evolved to include nature conservation ideologies during the second half of the 20th century, through growing awareness of the relationship between local and global climates with urbanisation and deforestation, witnessing the proliferated impacts of introduced species, with an increased scientific literacy about the panoply of associated risks to flora and fauna. In response to modernism in mid-century Australia, Richard Aitken explains 'the outrage that many architects felt towards haphazard suburbia and environmental exploitation was permeating the community'⁹, and where, in the case of the Yarra River in the 21st century, as Otto

⁷ *Forest Preserves of Cook County*, <https://fpdcc.com/about/mission-history/> [accessed 4th June 2019].

⁸ PROV, VPRS 8609/P0015/3, Melbourne Board of Works, Meeting Minutes 18.09.1923 - 19.05.1931, 1921-1938.

⁹ Richard Aitken, *Cultivating Modernism* (The Menguynah Press, 2013), p. 183.

describes, 'ironically, the English-garden-style European rivers we attempted to recreate for so many years were now having their own 'billabongs' or cut-off meanders recreated...because it's better waterway management'.¹⁰

The Yarra River is explored in a range of published and unpublished sources. Studies include water conservation; pollution and sewage management; the effects of rapid urbanisation on levels of disease; climate change and wildlife fluctuation. Geoff Lacey's work on the natural history of the Yarra examines its pre-European vegetation, Aboriginal land management and causes of change to the River's flora and fauna since the 1830s.¹¹ While this dissertation focuses on the evolution of town and conservation planning and its impact on riparian land use, rather than charting natural history, it does intersect with Lacey's research into some catalysts and instigators of change. However, this dissertation deliberately picks up geographically where Lacey's study area leaves off: the Middle Yarra upstream from Banyule to Warrandyte, whereas Lacey investigates from the Yarra Bend, inner Melbourne, to Banyule.

Raymond Wright's important account of land policy and repercussions does not focus on the Middle Yarra River but provides valuable and detailed information on patterns and trends across the state, arising from Imperial acts of parliament and policy-making within the colonies from 1836-1884.¹² Some of this is analysed at a more microscopic level in this study, in the context of the Yarra and Melbourne's waterways. Kristen Otto's account of the river discusses the waterway from its natural pre-colonial state, through western settlement, agricultural development, industrialisation,

¹⁰ Otto, *Yarra: a diverting history*, p. 93.

¹¹ Geoff Lacey, *Still Glides the Stream: the natural history of the Yarra from Heidelberg to Yarra Bend* (Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2004).

¹² Raymond Wright, *The Bureaucrat's Domain: Space and the Public interest in Victoria* (Oxford University Press Australia, 1989).

population growth, motoring and transport.¹³ Where Otto has explored canalisation, embanking, sewage, drainage, damming and diverting of the Yarra's waterways, this dissertation will look at the way the land on either side of the river banks has changed, as a response to and instigator of river management. It will also investigate Melburnians' cultural relationship with the use of the land over time.

Recommendations and conclusions from theses and dissertations centring on Melbourne town planning, the Yarra and waterways have also been considered in the scope of this dissertation.

Robyn Joy Clinch explores the use of heritage studies over 40 years from the 1970s to inform the decision-making of urban planners.¹⁴ A technically focused piece of urban planning history, the case studies are pan-Victoria and relate primarily to heritage buildings, rather than green spaces.

However, part of her conclusion that 'urban planners in Victoria need to be aware and understand the context of this work in order to make informed decisions for the development or removal of heritage places to ensure that the places we keep are for the best outcomes', is a provocation that certainly relates to parts of this dissertation. In contrast, Gary Presland's PhD thesis, 'The Natural History of Melbourne – a reconstruction', is an intensively researched environmental historian's account of Melbourne's landscapes, climate, streams and wetlands, pre-European flora and fauna, some of which has provided useful bedrock from which to develop a picture of Melbourne in its pre-1835 state. Presland concludes that 'with a detailed knowledge of these

¹³ Otto, *Yarra: a diverting history*.

¹⁴ Robin Joy Clinch, 'The Places We Keep: the heritage studies of Victoria and outcomes for Urban Planners', PhD thesis, Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning (University of Melbourne, 2012), p. 286.

reconstructed environments, we are well prepared to cross the divide into the realm of past human action'.¹⁵

This investigation of public and private green space along the Middle Yarra section of Melbourne's main waterway, explores its changing ownership and land use since colonisation and how a growing population and requisite town planning have impacted the study area through to the present day. The Middle Yarra has been chosen as it has not been investigated in detail in relation to land transformation and planning.

The research questions to be addressed are:

- How has the land of the Middle Yarra transformed since colonisation?
- What impact has a growing population had in its transformation?
- How effective has town planning been in relation to the land?

Methodology

This dissertation adopts a case study approach, providing analysis of three major town planning phases of the 20th century, and an exploration of conservation strategies and reports of the 21st century. It looks at the 19th century transformation from Aboriginal land management to colonisation and the resulting legislation that was responsible for the way in which land was used.

Primary sources analysed in this study include; 19th century parish plans, diaries, maps and surveys; 20th century parks brochures and strategic reports held at the State Library of Victoria; a significant archive of the Middle Yarra Advisory Committee of the 1970s held at the Public Records Office of Victoria, documenting the creation of the Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park; short films from

¹⁵ Gary Presland, 'The natural history of Melbourne – a reconstruction', PhD thesis, Department of History and Philosophy of Science (University of Melbourne, 2005), p. 227.

town planning and parklands archives at the Australian Centre for the Moving Image (ACMI); government town plans and legislative land acts; government and independent conservation reports and recommendations relating to the Yarra River; and site visits to each of the parks and reserves in the study area, taking in interpretation signage, landscape features and present day topography.

Study Area

The Middle Yarra has been chosen as the key study area for this dissertation as Melbourne's population is expected to double within the next 35 years. The focus is the green spaces east along the Yarra River, as this is the area that saw early and continued significant growth in settlements of agricultural, manufacturing and residential development in Greater Melbourne. 'The Yarra River is not big by world standards. But this sepia-coloured river has had a big impact on shaping Melbourne - the city that grew up on its banks', says Melbourne Water, the Victorian government's statutory water management authority.¹⁶ Insight into how this area of riparian land has transformed over time to accommodate the city's first 4 million people may suggest patterns around future growth; its demarcations of residential and rural, private and public land use and how the rural divide has evolved to become geographically more and more distant from the city centre. The study area begins from the Plenty River confluence and Birrarung Park, taking in today's eastern residential suburbs, reserves, parks and golf clubs across three municipalities - two on the north bank (Banyule City Council and Nillumbik Shire Council) and one on the south (Manningham City Council) - before concluding at Pound Bend Reserve in Warrandyte (Figure 4).

¹⁶ Melbourne Water, <https://www.melbournewater.com.au/community-and-education/about-our-water/history-and-heritage/history-our-rivers-and-creeks/history> [accessed 16th July 2018].

North bank	Present day municipality	South bank	Present day municipality
Rosanna Golf Course	Banyule City Council	Birrarung Park	Manningham City Council
Yarra Valley Parklands	Banyule City Council	Finns Reserve & Wombat Bend	Manningham City Council
Montpelier Reserve	Banyule City Council	Westerfolds Park	Manningham City Council
Fitzsimons Lane Reserve	Nillumbik Shire Council	Candlebark Park	Manningham City Council
Lenister Farm	Nillumbik Shire Council	Pettys Orchards	Manningham City Council
Griffith Park	Nillumbik Shire Council	Longridge Park	Manningham City Council
Sweeneys Flats	Nillumbik Shire Council	Pound Bend Reserve, Warrandyte	Manningham City Council

Figure 4. Study Area, Middle Yarra Parks and reserves

Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is divided into five chapters:

Chapter One discusses the topography of the Middle Yarra; its Silurian geology, soil types, indigenous and introduced planting - providing a picture of the river parks' natural and artificial features to the present day.

Chapter Two presents mapping and analysis of land use and place names. Before the 1830s the Middle Yarra floodplain formed 'part of the custodial lands of the Wurundjeri-Willam clan of the Wurundjeri aboriginal tribe who played an important role in the area's ecosystem development by managing vegetation with the use of fire and as predators of much of the vertebrate fauna'.¹⁷

Squatters began to occupy the land during the first half the 19th century, while land reform from 1862–82 was generally known as the 'selection era', where successive legislative enactments

¹⁷ State Library of Victoria, SF 333.78309945 'Study of Three Billabongs Yarra Valley Parklands, June 1996, Report no. 8' (Melbourne Parks and Waterways, 1996), p. 2.

permitted smaller settlers to claim acreages, creating intense conflict with squatters already occupying land.¹⁸ Successions of land ownership and management are explored through the lens of place names, investigating where and why sections of the study area have retained or lost 'titles' over time.

Chapter Three provides three case studies associated with developing parklands along the Yarra River, overlapping with the study area. In 1929 the 'General Plan for Development' authored by the Melbourne Metropolitan Town Planning Commission recommended a series of Metropolitan Parks generally following the valleys of the rivers and creeks. In 1954 the 'Master Plan for Melbourne' also recommended a series of parks along waterways. And a proposal in 1962 by five organisations including the National Trust of Victoria, in turn requested a Yarra Valley National Park to the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW), stating that 'Melbourne would have been a more pleasant place in which to live if the far-sighted recommendations of the Commission (in 1929) had been carried out'.¹⁹ By 1976, the MMBW began to consult on its strategy for a Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park; an ambitious programme of land reclamation and river corridor parkland conservation for public recreation and wildlife. These proposals and strategies are analysed in Chapter Three, including those parts delivered and their levels of effectiveness.

Chapter Four explores present day parks use along the Middle Yarra River and 21st century authorities and conservation strategies, including intensions for future.

Chapter Five provides a discussion of findings and conclusions, with recommendations for further research.

¹⁸ Harris, *Lobbying for legislation*, p. 5.

¹⁹ State Library of Victoria, LTP 333.72099451 R29N 'Request to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works', p. 18.

Chapter One Topography of the Middle Yarra

The Wurundjeri-Willam clan take their name from the Woiwurrung language word *wurun* meaning manna gum (*Eucalyptus viminalis*) and *djeri*, the grub found in or near the tree.²⁰ This ancient epithet, derived from the flora of the Yarra, is apposite. The manna gum, after the numerically dominant river red gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*), is present along the riverbanks where the Wurundjeri would live during the warmer months.

Melbourne sits on bedrock formed during the Silurian period 400 million years ago. It is mainly sandstone and mudstone, and usually covered by low fertility soils such as loam overlying clay, at times quite thin on steep surfaces.²¹ Examples of Silurian bedrock tilted close to the surface can be seen on the Yarra River, including the study area to the north-east around Warrandyte, where it has been referred to as the 'Anderson Creek Formation' (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Section of tilted Silurian rock strata through foliage at Pound Bend, Warrandyte.

Photo: author (17th March 2019)

²⁰ Wurundjeri Tribe Council, 'Ancestors and Past' <https://www.wurundjeri.com.au/our-story/ancestors-past/> [accessed 22nd March 2019]

²¹ Lacey, *Still Glides the Stream*, p. 16.

Overlying Silurian bedrock of the study area are flats and terraces of alluvial floodplain, which formed more recently during the Quaternary period between 2.5 million to 12,000 years ago. The soils of the alluvial flats are dark loams, clays and sands, fair to poor in nutrients.²² To this day, the riverbanks of the dynamic Yarra floodplain may be eroded away and at other times silt and sand deposited, except where industrial and residential development has halted its natural expansion and contraction.

Wetlands of the Yarra floodplain were an important resource for the Wurundjeri people providing both a variety of plant and animal foods as well as being of spiritual significance.²³ Upon his arrival in 1835 John Batman notes that Melbourne 'trees were thinly-scattered, in a park-like form, averaging five or six to the acre'. A possible explanation for these park-like areas, amid scrub and bush, may be found in geographer Jane Lennon's work:

It is now understood that through their manipulation of the environment, particularly firestick farming (a method of vegetation control through burning), the Aborigines greatly influenced the distribution and evolutionary selection of the Australian biota. When Europeans invaded they found not a pristine wilderness, but a land largely shaped by millennia of occupation by its indigenous people. In the last two centuries of European occupation the human impact has, of course, been much greater, and patently much more exploitative and destructive.²⁴

²² Lacey, *Still Glides the Stream*, pp. 19-20.

²³ PROV Melbourne Parks and Waterways 'Yarra Billabongs Study' (unpublished, conducted over 24 months, July 1993–June 1995), p. 2.

²⁴ Jane Lennon, 'Victoria's Hidden Inheritance: Historic Sites on Public Land', in Don Garden and Sue Hodges (eds), *Created Landscapes: historian and the environment* (The History Institute, 1993), p. 4.

This impact includes the disappearance, since colonial settlement, of 37% of wetlands in the state of Victoria, with almost another third partially destroyed.²⁵ Otto explains 'there were billabongs all along the Yarra. The older the directory or map the more billabongs, wetlands, waterholes and creeks you will find marked'.²⁶ Outside of the study area to the west remain the Yarra Flats and Bolin Bolin billabong systems, although prior to colonisation there would also have been more significant wetlands along the course of the Middle Yarra River study area. Figures 6 and 7 are an example of this transformation, where a lagoon mapped in 1862 as once covering a five-acre allotment owned by Patrick Mahony, is now a road and playing field called Wombat Bend.

Figure 6.

Mahony's lagoon

E. Gilks, *Town and Suburban lots, Township of Templestowe, Parish of Bulleen, County of Bourke.* (Department of Lands & Survey, Melbourne, May 15th 1862)

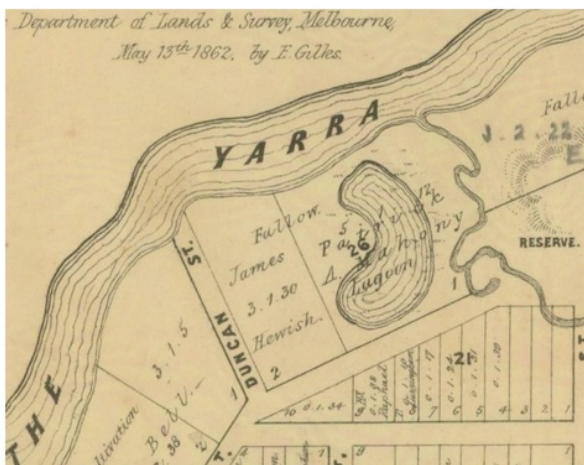
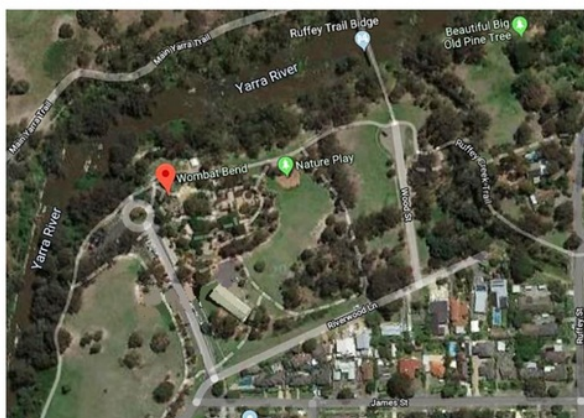


Figure 7.

Mahony's lagoon now Wombat Bend

Yarra River Templestowe. 64W8+G5 Templestowe Lower, Victoria Google Map data @ 2019, Australia



²⁵ <https://environmentvictoria.org.au/2013/07/16/wetlands-under-threat-need-help-2/> [accessed 24th March 2019].

²⁶ Otto, *Yarra: a diverting history*, p. 60.

Parks Victoria's 2008 management plan for the Yarra Valley Parklands describes sixteen ecological vegetation classes (EVCs), which cover the study area, many of which are classified as vulnerable or endangered in its survey (see Appendix 1 for a full description of each EVC).²⁷ The banks of the upper suburban and rural reach of the Middle Yarra River would once have supported more significant Floodplain Riparian Woodlands, for which river red gums and manna gums are characteristic species (see Appendix 1). Two types of vegetation that existed prior to 1750 – Swampy Riparian Woodland and Swampy Woodland/Swamp Scrub – have disappeared altogether as a result of land clearance for agriculture and urban development.²⁸

A billabong survey by Melbourne Parks and Waterways from 1993–95, suggests that low-lying areas on the floodplain, almost permanently flooded, would have supported these swampy areas, dominated by reeds, rushes, sedges and water ribbons. As with the Bolin Bolin and Yarra Flats billabongs west of the study area, there may also have been areas with heavy clay soil flooded for up to half of each year dominated by swamp wallaby-grass, common spike-sedge and a diversity of semi-aquatic herbs. Thick scrubs of swamp paperbark may have occurred on flats, while more elevated, better-drained areas would have supported woodlands consisting of large river red gums, shrub-layer of wattles and a grassy field-layer dominated by kangaroo grass, common tussock-grass and wallaby grasses.²⁹ While there has been significant modification from agriculture and development since the 1830s, 'lineal strips and pockets of remnant vegetation communities have

²⁷ Parks Victoria, 'Yarra Valley Parklands Management Plan, November 2008' (Parks Victoria, Victorian Government, Melbourne, 2008), p. 8.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 9.

²⁹ 'Yarra Billabongs Study', p. 19.

survived along the Yarra River and its tributaries and on steeper slopes',³⁰ particularly in the eastern half of the study area.

In its 1975 promotional film, *Space to Breathe*, the MMBW - instigators and managers of an ambitious strategy for reclamation of private to public land for a new 'Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park' - demonstrates its early efforts to revegetate the Yarra, stating that the organisation:

is well qualified to handle the control and regeneration of areas which have in some cases suffered as a result of decades of misuse and neglect. Here in the Board's nursery, native and old-world plants and trees are propagated as part of a steady program of improving land which has been placed under the Board's control.³¹

There are numerous introduced species of flora and fauna, invasive and non-invasive. Generally, the non-invasive specimen trees and plants are viewed with cultural interest and not managed out of the parklands. However, introduced fish such as European carp and mosquito fish, and introduced birds such as blackbirds, European starlings, house sparrows and common mynahs, compete with native bird and fish species for resources and habitat and present a common problem.³²

When John Batman arrived in 1835, he described Yarra flora and fauna as 'exceedingly rich, and beautiful in the extreme; thinly-timbered, richly-grassed and diversified by a few sweet vallies, and hills of small elevation and of volcanic formation'.³³ The wetlands and billabongs created a rich environment with a diversity of native animals that were the source of much amazement for

³⁰ 'Yarra Valley Parklands Management Plan', p. 7.

³¹ *Space to Breathe*, 16mm film, Australian Centre for the Moving Image, 322804, (Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, 1975).

³² 'Yarra Valley Parklands Management Plan', p. 9.

³³ SR 994.5202 B333, State Library Victoria, John Batman, *The Settlement of John Batman in Port Phillip: from his own Journal* (George Slater, 1856), p. 12.

settlers. The study area contains approximately 230 fauna species, 11 of which have national significance, including the Australian grayling, common bent-wing bat, great egret, grey-headed flying fox, Macquarie perch, Murray cod, painted snipe, regent honeyeater, swift parrot, trout cod and warty bell frog. It also provides habitat for six species of migratory birds of international importance. Over 600 flora species have been recorded in the parklands. But John Batman's village wasn't long the only new 'community' in the Port Phillip District, with introduced pests and invasive plants such as herbaceous and noxious woody weed species including willows, desert ash and blackberries, now a priority for removal. Grassy weeds such as Chilean needle-grass, Panic Veldt grass, sweet vernal-grass and wandering trad, challenge understorey communities throughout the Middle Yarra River study area, especially orchid assemblages. Gorse, hawthorn and African boxthorn have impacted in specific locations in the parklands. Creepers and climbers, such as bridal creeper, English ivy and Japanese honeysuckle, challenge different vegetation communities in the parklands. Angled onion, soursob and *Bulbil watsonia* are among the more prominent bulb weeds.³⁴

Infrastructure supporting visitation to the parklands, which doubled between 1992 and 2008, saw the Main Yarra Trail extended along the Yarra River to the Mullum Mullum Creek Trail, while the Plenty River Trail from Greensborough was extended to connect to the Main Yarra River Trail in 2007 and construction of a new bridge across the Yarra River between Candlebark Park and Lower Eltham Park occurred in 2004. Today the parklands comprise interconnecting trails, linear parks, wetlands and waterways. The ongoing effort to revegetate the parklands, mostly through the

³⁴ 'Yarra Valley Parklands Management Plan', p. 9.

contribution of community groups planting tens of thousands of trees each year, is seeing the return of some wildlife species.

In 1835, Batman diarised about a countryside 'capable of supporting a future nation'; setting out his early intentions for this land where 'kangaroo and other native grasses have attained at least two feet...capable of affording hay of the best quality'. Such observation triggered the switch from an Aboriginal style of landscape cultivation over millennia to a Western course still fewer than two hundred years old.³⁵

³⁵ Batman, *The Settlement of John Batman*, p. 12.

Chapter Two Mapping ownership and toponymy - 19th century

From topography, now to toponymy, as land ownership is explored in this chapter through layers of place names. In the study area, and Greater Melbourne, places are today named after a mix of western family names (Sweeneys Flats, Pettys Orchards), flora and fauna associations (Candlebark Park, Wombat Bend) or traditional Aboriginal words (Birrarung Park). Western family names outnumber Aboriginal names in the study area, although of course all of Melbourne, the state of Victoria and Australia would formerly have been identified entirely through indigenous toponymy.

Increasingly, Aboriginal words are being redeployed to name public places, facilities (buildings and office suites), events, programmes and products.³⁶ Perhaps this signifies an intention by Melburnians to become better connected with First Nations' languages, diverging from the historic pattern of superimposing place names of the West, and perhaps even restoring names where indigenous words were set in error by colonialists. For example, it is now commonly understood that Yarra River is a misnomer. 'Yarra yarra' means running or falling water; a reference to the falls that caused surveyor John Hedge to misname the river in his early survey of Melbourne.³⁷ Whereas Wurundjeri elders state that what is now known as the Yarra is actually called 'Birrarung' or 'river of mists' or 'river of mists and shadow' in Woiwurrung language.

The legal notion of *terra nullius*: a land to which no one has claim, legitimised the assertion by colonialists that all of the Port Phillip settlement could be instated as Crown land, thus providing

³⁶ Wurundjeri Tribe Council, 'Language and Naming', <https://www.wurundjeri.com.au/services/language-naming/> [accessed 7th April 2019].

³⁷ M. Eidelson, *The Melbourne Dreaming: A Guide to the Aboriginal Places of Melbourne* (Aboriginal Studies Press and Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, 2014), p. 6.

settlers with the tantalising chance to stake a claim on swathes of land to seek new livelihoods, fortune and, for some, their own family appellations for land and landmarks. Kate Grenville captures some of this mood in her fictional work, *The Secret River*, the story of freed convict, William Thornhill. Gazing across the Hawkesbury River in New South Wales, Thornhill muses jealously about his friend Thomas Blackwood's audacious land grab:

Yet here was Blackwood, a lighterman and convicted lag, no better in any particular than he was himself, owning a stretch of ground. Not simply owning it: naming it after himself!....He let himself imagine it: standing on the crest of that slope, looking down over his own place. Thornhill's Point.³⁸

Wright writes, 'Blank sheet it may have been but a hatching of property lines, tracks, fences and boundaries was quickly added.' Born out a sense of urgency to establish social and economic cohesion in the settlement, 'Old World experience demonstrated that restraints had to be imposed on the processes of property acquisition and physical resource use.'³⁹ Crown land reservation was one such method used to provide organisation to Yarra River land. 'It's not a matter of asking up here mate...Get your backside on a bit of ground, sit tight. That's all the asking you got to do,' advises Blackwood to Thornhill.⁴⁰ But from 1839-46, squatting licenses of £10 per year were issued for any run to restrain the unauthorised occupation of Crown lands. Licensees paid an assessment on the stock pastured on their runs to raise a revenue to pay for Border Police. Under this system almost the whole of the Port Phillip District was occupied by squatters.⁴¹

³⁸ Kate Grenville, *The Secret River* (The Text Publishing Company, 2005), p. 109.

³⁹ Wright, *The Bureaucrats' Domain*, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Grenville, *The Secret River*, p. 109.

⁴¹ E. Bladen, P. Cabena and H. McRae, *The Lands Manual: a finding guide to Victorian Lands records 1836-1983* (Royal Historical Society of Victoria, 1989), p. 2.

In 1860 the first Victorian legislation concerning sale and selection of Crown land, the Land Sales Act (Nicholson Act), divided three million acres of country land into surveyed allotments of 80–640 acres, available for selection. Each allotment was divided into two equal portions and the successful applicants were able to buy, or, part buy and part lease the acreages. This included land already occupied by squatters, and friction between selectors and squatters was commonplace.⁴² No person could annually select more than 640 acres, unless the land had been available for more than a year. Soon after, the Land Act of 1862 (Duffy Act) set aside ten million acres of Victoria to be gradually opened for selection in surveyed allotments of 40-640 acres. Licences for existing pastoral runs could not be renewed after 1870. And it was not until the Land Act of 1884 that Crown land was classified according to its significant public purpose, such as water reserves and rivers, only then prescribing different conditions of tenure than previous legislative Acts.⁴³ Appendix 2 tables the key pieces of land legislation of this period.

The Lands Department, formed in 1855, administered sales and controlled the use of remaining Crown lands through licenses, leases, and delegation of management to local public bodies. Most productive agricultural lands were transferred to private ownership during the 20th century, with Crown reserves and other public land being transferred to the new Department of Conservation, Forests and Lands in the 1980s.⁴⁴

Land ownership from the late 1830s to mid-20th century, across north and south banks of the study area have been identified through parish plans and Crown land surveys (see Appendix 3). It is possible to identify land ownerships retained over a period time, with some grantees named for

⁴² Harris, *Lobbying for legislation*, p. 8.

⁴³ Bladen, Cabena and McRae, *The Lands Manual 1836-1983*, p. 5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

more than a century on successive plans. Large tracts of riparian land operated by a few 1830s and 40s cattle station occupiers, became carved up, particularly it appears around the time of the 1860 and 1862 Land Acts. These later selectors will have been required to improve their leaseholds, by cultivating one tenth of the area within twelve months, or erecting a habitable building, or enclosing the land with a substantial fence. Developing the land with fences, homesteads and other landmarks, some owner names became synonymous with the land. Notably, many names of owners are found in Templestowe township street names – Porter, Unwin, Wood, James, Newman, Milne and Anderson Streets – and these 1862 landowners remain street names today - demonstrating the potency with which an early landholding could influence name associations for many generations to come (Figure 8).

Found elsewhere in the study area is Pettys Orchards; one of the last remaining apple and pear orchards in Melbourne, which has retained its name from Thomas Petty who arrived in Doncaster in 1853 and first cleared the land for orchards.⁴⁵ Elsewhere are Mahoney and Murphy Streets, Speers Court and the parkland known as Sweeneys Flats named after a locally celebrated convict-turned-free-settler, Thomas Sweeney. The Newman family at 'Pontville', south of the Yarra River and Mullum Mullum Creek confluence, and the Sweeney family to the north of the confluence, were among the first Europeans to occupy land in this region in the 1830s.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ SLV, SLTF 354.945 V66ST 'Pettys Orchard' guide (Board of Works, 1989).

⁴⁶ 'Yarra Valley Parklands Management Plan', p. 10.

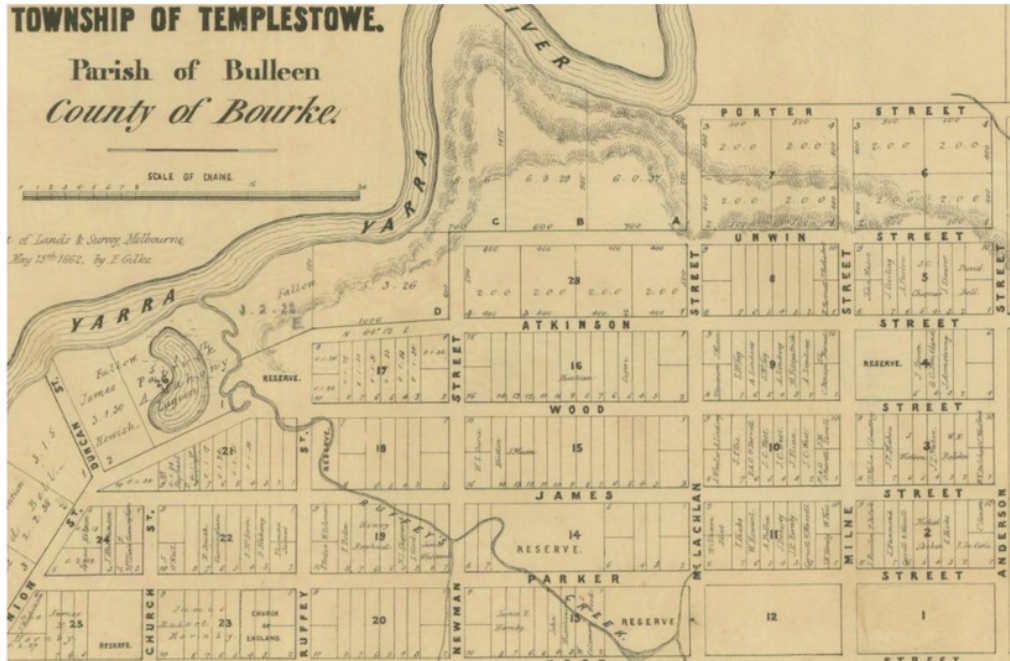


Figure 8. Section of Templestowe street names. E. Gilks, *Town and Suburban lots, Township of Templestowe, Parish of Bulleen, County of Bourke* (Department of Lands & Survey, Melbourne, 15th May 1862)



Figure 9. Sweeney's Land and Reserve for Aborigines. *Plan of the Parish of Nillumbik* (Office of Lands & Survey, Melbourne, 9th February 1866)

Some of Thomas Sweeney's land holdings were adjacent to a 'Reserve for Aborigines' (Figure 9) at the eastern conclusion of the study area; land now called Laughing Waters and Pound Bend, Warrandyte State Park. It represents a geographical edging out and corralling of Aboriginal people. As Wright explains, in a bid 'that the apparent problems caused by cross-cultural misunderstanding and aggression would be most directly addressed by the formation of distinct and supervised reserves'. This lot 'VII' formed part of 1,908 acres reserved for Aborigines in Warrandyte in 1849, one of the latter such reserves set up across Victoria from 1838, as part of an Aboriginal protectorate scheme.⁴⁷ There is varying opinion as to whether the Warrandyte reserve land was ever used for this purpose, but during the period a taskforce of Chief Protector and four Assistant Protectors were responsible for establishing and managing various reserves, where Christianity and agricultural teaching were intended to coexist with Aboriginal languages and customs. They were also tasked with ensuring squatters moved along from reserve land, which resulted in complaints, inobservance of boundary lines and violent clashes.

In 1849, Lieutenant General Charles La Trobe gave the opinion there was an entrenched lack of success and considerable expense and the end of December 1849 saw the dismantling of the Aboriginal protectorate in Port Phillip.⁴⁸ This area, Laughing Waters, or 'Garambi Baan' in Woiwurrung language (Figure 10), was rediscovered in 2007 as:

one of only a few known remaining (indigenous) 'iuk' (eel) traps once found the length of the Birrarung (Yarra)...aquacultural infrastructure was dismantled, taken away from sites

⁴⁷ Wright, *The Bureaucrats' Domain*, p. 18.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

and used to build houses, fords and roads by Europeans. The difficult and restricted access to the site is thought to be one of the reasons for its survival.⁴⁹

Perhaps difficult access was also a reason the land was reserved for Aboriginal purposes rather than agricultural in 1849.



Figure 10. Garambi Baan (Laughing Waters). @melbournewater
<https://twitter.com/MelbourneWater/status/712874754995261444> [accessed 4th June 2019]

Westerfolds Park is the Middle Yarra's largest public park. At 120 hectares, it is nearly identical in size to London's Kew Gardens, but it is difficult to imagine a more contrasting landscape, with southern river red gums, grasses and creeks. The first settler J. Brodie, purchased land from the Crown in 1846 and the original house, built around 1870 was demolished in the mid-20th century. It was named after the Westerfolds Company who purchased the property in 1965 for residential

⁴⁹ *Wurundjeri Tribe Council*, 'Management of Wurundjeri Properties and Significant Places', <https://www.wurundjeri.com.au/services/natural-resource-management/management-of-wurundjeri-properties-significant-places/> [accessed 3rd June 2019].

development, before it was acquired by the MMBW which in 1977 marked the first public park opening as a key constituent of the Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park.⁵⁰



Figure 11. West section of study area in 1945. Melbourne 1945-Now
<https://1945.melbourne/> [accessed 1st May 2019]



Figure 12. West section of study area today: Rosanna Golf Course, Birrarung Park, Wombat Bend and Westerfolds Park, Melbourne 1945-Now
<https://1945.melbourne/> [accessed 1st May 2019]

⁵⁰ SLV, SLTF 354.945 V66ST, 'Banksia and Westerfolds Parks' guide (Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, 1981)

Post-war Melbourne aerial photographs show the study area's land was still primarily used for farming purposes, with very low-density housing (Figure 11). But there is also a startling absence of trees at the river's edge, perhaps because as Otto explains, 'a lot of grazing land ignores the river as far as possible, or treats it as a manageable intrusion – like some suburban golf courses that still cut and fill to get every square metre of green grass they can right up to the river's sides'.⁵¹ By comparison, more recent satellite photography evidences residential proliferation in mid-20th century town planning, but also many more trees in proximity to the Yarra River (Figure 12).

The next chapter looks at three case studies in town planning and policy that led to the shaping of this landscape over the 20th century.

⁵¹ Otto, *Yarra: a diverting history*, p. 108.

Chapter Three Public parks for the population – 20th century

During the early stages of Melbourne's development 2,500 acres of parklands and gardens within a 3-mile radius of the centre of the city were reserved for the public.⁵² This foresight to include public open space in the mix of industrial and residential development is favourably viewed in later planning phases for the City. In 1975 the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works stated that the pace of population growth and proliferation of motor cars, meant town planning had a duty to ensure the public open space 'visions of the early planners are (being) recaptured after having become lost in the process of trying to provide opportunities for every Melbourne family to have a home of its own'.⁵³ There was much consternation about the rapid, burgeoning population of Melbourne and how best to equip the city to meet its demands. And this seems justified, as population growth has followed a course relatively aligned with the predictions of town planners in the 1920s, 50s and 70s (Figure 13).

However, it was not until 1929 that a major piece of town planning included strategic analysis and identification of an ideal ratio of parkland for Melbourne's expanding population. The following three case studies describe proposals for the development of parklands in and around the Middle Yarra River, which feature within town plans devised in response to Melbourne's growing population. Two of these are in the context of major city-wide development plans in 1929 and 1954, while the third relates to a dedicated parks strategy to create several metropolitan parks including the Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park from 1975 through to the 1980s.

⁵² 'Plan for General Development', 1929, pp. 248.

⁵³ ACMI, 322804, *Space to Breathe*, Geoffrey Thompson Productions, (1975)

	Greater Melbourne	Victoria	
1836		224	1835 John Batman declares village of Melbourne
1840		10,291	
1851	29,000	76,162	1851 Victoria founded as a British Colony
1861	125,000	537,847	
1871	191,000	808,437	
1901	478,000	1,201,070	
1911	622,811 [^]	1,315,551	[^] County of Bourke, containing city of Melbourne
1933	992,048	1,820,360	
1954	1,524,111	2,452,341	
1971	2,732,059	3,502,351	
2001	3,999,982	4,612,097	
2016	4,485,211	5,926,624	
2019	~4,870,388	~6,300,000	
2031	~6,058,800	~7,700,000	
2051	~8,024,100	~10,086,500	

Figure 13. Population growth in Greater Melbourne and State of Victoria based on statistics from year books, census and government reports.

Case study one – Yarra Valley Parklands, Plan for General Development 1929

In 1929 a 'Plan for General Development' was created by the Melbourne Town Planning Commission to prevent misuse of land and protect property values. The Plan spanned a 13-mile radius from the city centre, overlapping with roughly a quarter of this dissertation's study area, and strongly encouraged home ownership as 'a matter of building suitable accommodation at a price within the reach of the thrifty basic wage man'.⁵⁴ The State Savings Bank of Victoria had been empowered by State Savings Bank Acts and the Housing and Reclamation Act, to erect or purchase houses, and give liberal repayment terms that encouraged individuals to buy their first home. This was a popular scheme, which between 1910 to 1929 enabled loans of nearly £28.5 million for over

⁵⁴ 'Plan for General Development', 1929, p. 248.

55,000 houses and shops. 80 per cent of these properties were situated in the metropolitan area. Approximately 660 plans for subdivision were also lodged each year over a seven-year period.⁵⁵

The Plan purported that 'no definite parks or playgrounds scheme, based on a methodical study of the problem such as is presented with this Report, has hitherto existed, with the result that parks have not been located in accordance with any systematic plan'.⁵⁶ The provision of sufficient open spaces for the enjoyment of the community in large cities was generally accepted as a vital part of city development and there was also 'abundant evidence (is) available to substantiate the views of city planners, the medical profession, and psychologists that proper outdoor recreation has a most beneficial effect on the health, morals, and business efficiency of communities, and consequently on the national life'.⁵⁷

Social and educational context for such outdoor health benefits were evident through the popular Scouts movement, which reached Australia in 1908 only a year after it was founded by Lord Baden-Powell in England, and Girl Guides Associations of Australia which covered six states by 1920. Both movements give emphasis to outdoor skills for supporting young people's physical, mental and spiritual development. The health and well-being of the population at large was also brought into sharp focus following the social, mental and physical trauma and deprivation emanating from World War I. From a population of fewer than five million, 416,809 Australians enlisted to serve in the War, 60,000 were killed, 156,000 were wounded, gassed or taken prisoner and 2139 women served with the Australian Army Nursing Service.⁵⁸ Melbourne's Plan for General Development was devised at a time when special provision was made by the Returned Soldiers Settlements Act for

⁵⁵ 'Plan for General Development', 1929. p. 249.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 228

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁵⁸ Australian War Memorial, <https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/atwar/first-world-war> [accessed 15th July 2019].

the occupation of land by discharged soldiers and sailors. In Victoria, Crown land or acquired land was set apart for returned soldiers under the Land Act or Closer Settlement Act.

By 1924, the area in Victoria for soldier settlement was 2,272,350 acres, of which 1,744,111 acres comprised private land purchased at a cost of £13,214,902. The number of farms allotted to returned soldiers was 8,640 containing 2,290,489 acres.⁵⁹ This included three soldiers by the names of Andrews, Day and Houghton, who were settled within the study area at Pound Bend, Warrandyte. An example of financial pinch and confused responsibilities appeared at a council meeting held on 22nd July 1921 at which local man W. H. Gerard Esq. argued for a road to be built to better access Warrandyte and enable the soldiers to cultivate and distribute produce from their newly acquired allotments. Mr Moore of the Closer Settlement Board and various Councillors battled intently over Council vs Board financial responsibility, with Councillor McNamara stating that 'All the councillors are in sympathy with these men, but...we have an overdraft of £800 and no money to come in for 10 months'.⁶⁰ During this meeting the Board agreed to provide £300. However, the Country Roads Board later estimated build costs of £5,000 and it was many years before a road was constructed in the area, despite repeated petitioning on the matter.

The Plan also recommended at least ¼ acre of children's playground space for every 1,000 of population, within convenient walking distance of no more than quarter of a mile. This endorsed and formalised a simple solution that was already in place, as Melbourne municipalities had agreed a resolution in 1927 that 'state school grounds, where suitable, were to be available for use

⁵⁹Australian Bureau of Statistics

<https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/1301.0Feature%20Article11925?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=1301.0&issue=1925&num=&view=> [accessed 1st May 2019].

⁶⁰ PROV, VPRS 5714/P0000/1249, Estate Stiggant and Pound Bend Reserve Roads, Land Selection Files Section 12 Closer Settlement Act 1938, 1921-1938.

outside school hours'.⁶¹ The impact of this resolution continues today across much of Melbourne, where it is still common practice and permissible for the public to enter and use selected school grounds for recreation at weekends and evenings (Figure 14).



THE ROSE SERIES P. 2466

THE CHILDRENS' PLAYGROUND, ST. KILDA, MELBOURNE, VIC.

Figure 14. An example of a Melbourne playground, which must be within walking distance of a quarter mile. SLV, 'The children's playground, St. Kilda', Melbourne, [picture], Rose Stereograph Co (c.1920–54)

The Plan observed that 'the vacant paddock which formerly served the purpose of a cricket or football oval, is now a part of the built-up metropolis which, in turn, has contributed its quota of outdoor sporting enthusiasts and recreation seekers'.⁶² A further aim, therefore, was to find 5 acres of parks and playgrounds for every 1,000 of potential population: $\frac{1}{4}$ acre for children's playgrounds, 3 acres for playing fields, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres for general parks and sports requiring small areas. Although the development and improvement of reserves was regarded as a matter secondary to their acquisition. Allocation for parklands was directed to the various streams in the metropolitan area, and the comparatively sparse development in their vicinity. It was proposed

⁶¹ 'Plan for General Development', 1929. p. 191.

⁶² Ibid., p. 187.

this development along the watercourses, which, 'embracing the valleys of the River Yarra and Plenty River...would supply Melbourne with a splendid system of park lands which could be gradually improved and adapted to all forms of recreation'.⁶³

Partially located in the study area, Doncaster and Templestowe is mentioned in the Plan as having only 1,100 residents: 'practically a rural area'. The Commission proposed development of the Yarra Valley to supply a considerable area of parklands for the metropolitan portion of Doncaster, allowing for a total of 1,111 acres, with the object of supplying an excess of 418 acres (Figure 15).⁶⁴ The Plan was written at a time before the construction of sophisticated and costly river embankments was commonplace to support high-rise buildings. And as such, land along creeks and rivers subject to periodical inundation were viewed as valueless for building development.

⁶³ 'Plan for General Development', 1929. p. 214.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 203-204.

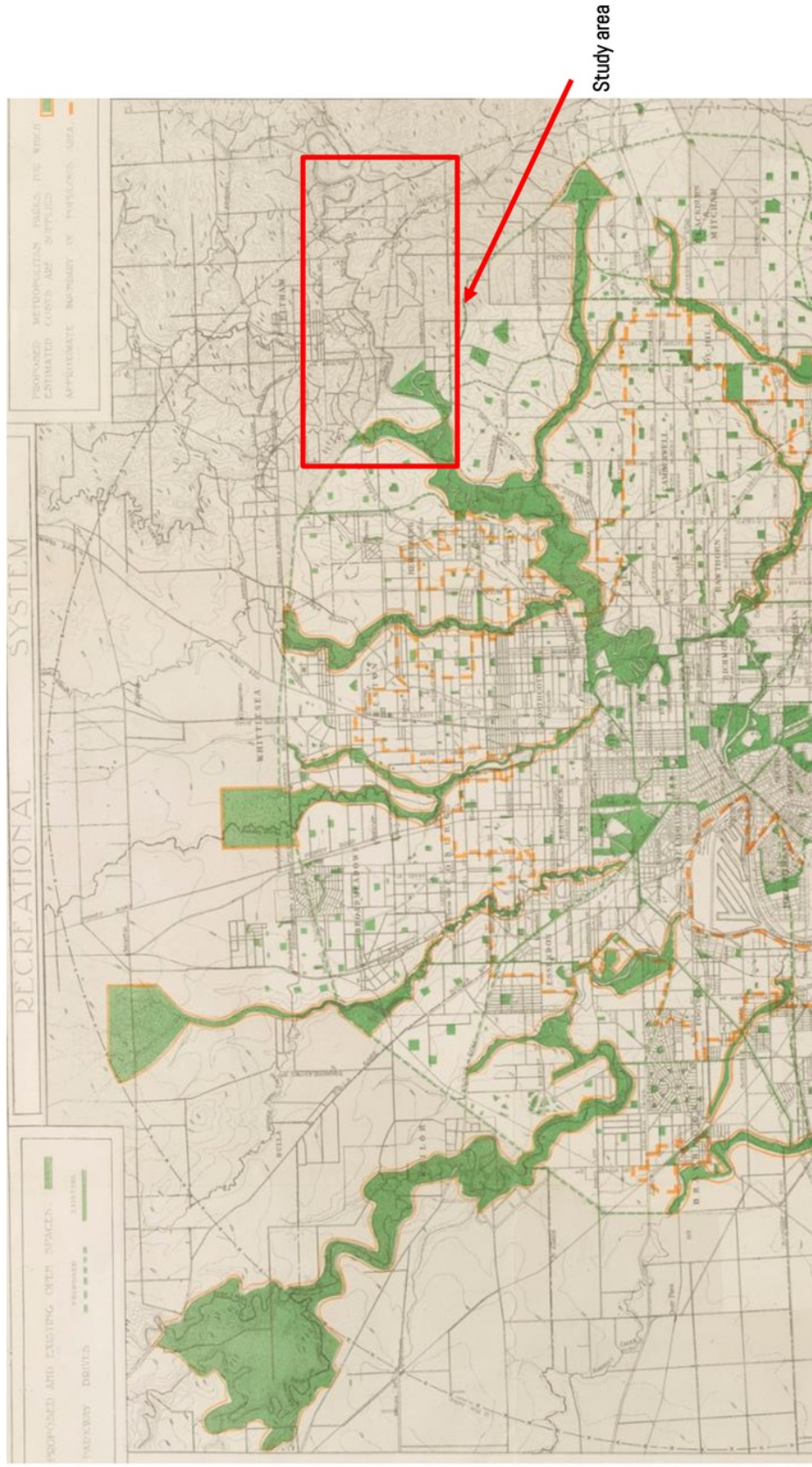


Figure 15: Recreation System, 'Plan for General Development', 1929, with study area shown in red. Metropolitan Town Planning Commission. (1929). *Metropolitan Town Planning Commission Melbourne & suburbs [cartographic material]*. Melbourne: By Authority H.J. Green, Govt. Printer.

The Plan set out the following arguments for park use instead.⁶⁵

1. The lands are cheaper than any other on account of their unsuitability for buildings.
2. They are particularly amenable to landscape treatment, and for the formation of playing ovals on the many small areas of flat lands along them, while the steep slopes provide natural vantage points for spectators.
3. Their resumption for park purposes will prevent the erection of buildings which may be subject to flooding, thereby avoiding unsatisfactory housing conditions and added expense to municipalities by reason of flood prevention or drainage measures.
4. The proper treatment of the lands would convert what will become drainage canals with houses close to their banks, into picturesque belts of park lands, which will considerably increase the value of contiguous property, especially the frontages to the proposed fringing roads.
5. Their utilisation for park purposes will supply the present deficiency of properly located park lands, and make reasonable provision for the recreation of the prospective population.
6. Their resumption will give public control of the banks of the streams.

The River Yarra and Plenty River scheme was estimated at cost of £190,820 to acquire 2,052 acres and it was considered that the greater portion of the lands required would have to be bought by negotiation and voluntary sale by owners, or compulsory acquisition. The Commission wanted to avoid a piecemeal purchasing strategy and suggested all lands for the metropolitan parks should be bought from loan money over a term of many years. It also predicted the scheme was sufficient

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 214.

for a population of over 3 million which it expected to reach by 1969.⁶⁶ This was not far off the mark, with a population census of just under 2¼ million in 1971.

However, the Commission's hopes that the park proposals would be put in hand immediately were dashed, even though it viewed the urgency for action as never greater than at that moment.

Indeed, the entire Plan for General Development for Melbourne in 1929 was never implemented. It coincided with Melbourne's fourth economic crash and the Great Depression, followed by World War II. The Plan was devised during Stanley Melbourne Bruce's prime ministership; a leader who had attempted to institute an amusements tax on movie theatre profits and had once declared 'that one of the biggest things the nation was up against was the atmosphere of pleasure and the desire for entertainment which seemed to be an inseparable part of the life of Australians'.⁶⁷

Bruce's successor, Prime Minister James Scullin, took office two days before the Wall Street crash of 1929 and his term saw a focus on repaying foreign debt, providing relief to farmers and creating economic stimulus to curb unemployment. The estimated £1,000,000 the Commission proposed to purchase the entire complement of land for the metropolitan parks was not forthcoming. The Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, responsible for river and waterways management, was at the time already undertaking hefty financial borrowings for other projects, including £2,000,000 from an English source, as minuted on 9th April 1929, and investing in major water reservoir works at Silvan, an expensive plant that was also minuted in April 1929 as 'laying idle'.⁶⁸ Unsurprisingly, Melbourne politics leaned heavily in favour of industry, stability and economy, which prevailed over

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 228-230.

⁶⁷ Brett, Judith, 'Stanley Melbourne Bruce' in Michelle Grattan (ed.), *Australian Prime Ministers*, (New Holland, 2000), pp. 126-38.

⁶⁸ PROV, VPRS 8609/P0015/3, Melbourne Board of Works, Meeting Minutes 18.09.1923 - 19.05.1931, 1921-1938.

an audacious proposal to acquire swathes of land for recreational use. And where land was acquired in such a scale, it was for the settlement of returned soldiers.

Case study two – Metropolitan parks, Master Plan for Melbourne 1954

In the 1940s Melbourne began to return to prosperity, where in the previous two decades 'to all but the most committed, the ideals of planning for a future were a luxury to be discarded amid the struggles of the present'.⁶⁹ Between 1950 and 1964 Melbourne's population increased by 50%. The number of car registrations trebled and the use of public transport declined by one fifth. But 'Melbourne's big problem is that it keeps on growing' said the MMBW in its 1969 promotional film *Blueprint for the Future*.⁷⁰ In the film it describes its own 1954 Master Plan for Melbourne as a worthy foundation upon which to develop further plans – an opinion not shared by many other town planners since. The MMBW was tasked by the Victorian Government under a special Act of Parliament in 1949 to create a planning organisation and a plan for Melbourne. But the Melbourne Master Plan was regarded by some as a failed opportunity for containment. In *Planning Melbourne: Lessons for a sustainable city*, Buxton, Goodman and Moloney argue that 'had it required greater urban densities, such as those of outer London...and redirected some outer growth into the established inner districts, Melbourne's growth trajectories and functioning would have been transformed'. Instead, it followed a demand-driven preference for single family detached houses in large blocks and saw 'an escalating sprawl'.⁷¹

⁶⁹ M. Buxton, R. Goodman and S. Moloney, *Planning Melbourne: Lessons for a sustainable city* (CSIRO Publishing, 2016), p. 18.

⁷⁰ *Blueprint for the future*, VHS & 16mm film, Australian Centre for the Moving Image, 502461 (Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, 1968).

⁷¹ Buxton, Goodman and Moloney, *Planning Melbourne: Lessons for a sustainable city*, p. 19.

On first reading, the Master Plan for Melbourne promises a bold and ambitious reshaping and development of infrastructure and amenities required for Melbourne's population growth. For example, it encompassed 50 miles from the city centre – much more wide-reaching than the 13-mile radius of the unexecuted 1929 Plan. And it recommended a ratio of at least 7½ acres of open public space, not including golf courses and racecourses, for every 1,000 people- a higher ratio than the 5 acres to every 1,000 proposed in 1929.⁷² It divides public open space into four classifications: ornamental public parks and gardens, grounds for sporting purposes, children's playgrounds, open parkland. Emphasis is given to the levels of effort and expense required for the upkeep of each of these classifications, giving a sense that its priorities are skewed toward affordability than necessity to the health of its inhabitants, which it also discusses. It states that with the large allotments in the outer suburbs and vast private gardens, the need for ornamental public parks and gardens in Melbourne is not as great as it is in many other cities. Rather, it sets out the dated 1950s consumerist ideology that there is great need is to 'establish rest parks in conjunction with busy shopping centres where the shopper may have the opportunity of brief relaxation from the bustle of shopping activity'.⁷³ But most of all, it is open spaces for sporting purposes that the Master Plan describes as having the greatest deficiency and for which the greatest provisions must be made in future. And without any further enhancement or reimagining of the idea, to fulfil a 1½ acres of playgrounds for children it imitates the earlier 1927 resolution: that wherever possible the playing areas of schools can be used as children's playgrounds when not required for school purposes.⁷⁴

⁷² 'Master Plan for Melbourne', 1954, p. 77.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 78.

Most relevant to this study, is that the Plan recommended 'a series of radial parks, mostly along the valleys of the River Yarra and the various creeks and watercourses, joining the larger park areas and thus affording the opportunity not only for field sports, but also a place for walking, riding and cycling within easy distance of the home'.⁷⁵ However, this description appears to belie its provision when viewing the associated map (Figure 16). The study area, again outlined in red, shows a largely agricultural, low-residential stretch, with almost no parkland at all. While, the inner Yarra is not dramatically different either, where dark green represents 'proposed' and light green 'existing' public open spaces. Scant new green belts are afforded to some waterways such as Koonung Creek (outlined in purple), but overall, a lack of green is obvious especially when compared with the more dramatic 1929 plan (see Figure 15).



Figure 16: Master Plan for Melbourne 1954, 20 Open Space map, principal existing and proposed reservations https://www.planning.vic.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0012/101190/Part-2.pdf [accessed 20th June 2019]

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 78.

Among the Master Plan's significant errors of judgement regarding open space is its underestimation of golf courses in the inner and middle suburbs. It ventures that most golf courses are owned by private clubs, and thus are not classed as public open space and that as the city grows around them, such clubs would move to the outskirts of urban development, where land is less valuable. It states that 'it seems certain that in future golf courses in Melbourne will be mostly located in the rural zone, and the scheme has provided for this'.⁷⁶ The continuation and proliferation of golf courses around the Yarra River alone suggests otherwise, with 11 different clubs now located along its inner and middle suburban reaches, along with the 'Melbourne Sandbelt' of golf clubs; comprising a further 24 public and private courses to the south east bayside suburbs.

Another significant shortcoming was not to recommend a detailed protection strategy for the Koonung Creek river reserve, nor the other public reserves it set out to create. The Koonung - a tributary of the Yarra River - was part of the Master Plan's proposed area for public open space (outlined in purple, Figure 16). Parts of the creek corridor appear to have been encouraged into open use years after the Master Plan, with the addition of a cycle trail, however, some fifty years later the M3 Eastlink Freeway opened and its 24-miles includes the entire course of the Koonung Creek, now described by management body Melbourne Water as the unhealthiest waterway in Melbourne (Figure 17). So, this tract of public reserve land designated in the Master Plan for the health and recreation benefit of the population became a ready-made setting, free from residential land acquisition, to accommodate major motorway expansion.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 77.



Figure 17: Koonung Creek Linear Reserve adjacent to M3 Eastlink. By Nick Carson at English Wikipedia, CC BY 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=13878960> [accessed 15th July 2019]

Many people thought the Master Plan for Melbourne lacked the vision of the General Plan for Development of 1929 to protect the rivers, including Yarra waterways, an opinion upheld by the five organisations who made the 1962 request for a Yarra Valley national park. However, the effectiveness of the Master Plan, its open space strategy along with a lack of containment plan, was widely condemned. Described in no uncertain terms by Melbourne historian Graeme Davison, as 'like an obese person contemplating a diet, they knew, or thought they knew, that abstinence - would be good for them; but they lacked the will or conviction to put their belief into practice'.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Graeme Davison, 'The Great Australian Sprawl' *Historic Environment*, Vol 13, no 1 (1997) pp. 14-15.

Case study three – Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park, 1975–80s

The 1962 'Request to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works for a Yarra Valley National Park' was made by five organisations including the National Trust of Australia (Victoria), the Victorian National Parks Association and the Save the Yarra Valley League. They noted a recommendation made to the then MMBW 33 years earlier, when Mr F. C. Cook, Chairman of the Town and Country Planning Board, drew their attention to the Plan for General Development of 1929, which recommended:

a magnificent series of Metropolitan Parks generally following the valleys of the rivers and creeks. One of the parks recommended by the Commission [parkland along the Yarra Valley] is almost identical with the 1962 present proposal. Melbourne would have been a more pleasant place in which to live if the far-sighted recommendations of the Commission had been carried out.⁷⁸

Their request had a geographical focus:

the confluence of the Plenty and Yarra Rivers has been taken as the upstream limit, covering, as it does, those areas which are at present experiencing rapid growth. However, it appears that not many years will pass before it will be necessary to raise our sights and look as far as Warrandyte, and perhaps even further.⁷⁹

This was an accurate prediction, that the necessity for a parks strategy would very soon expand beyond the geographical limits of inner and middle suburbs as the 'escalating sprawl' flowed

⁷⁸ SLV, LTP 333.72099451 R29N 'Request to the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works for a Yarra Valley National Park' (Landscape Preservation Council of the National Trust, October, 1962) p. 18.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

outward without a mid-century containment strategy. In its 1965 film *Vanishing Valley* the National Trust sets out a dystopian scene of:

factories sprung up on the banks of the Yarra, many of which must share the blame for this unsightly dumping. How can its water reflect the sky, when chemical waste is being poured into it day by day? Graceful trees once providing shelter are replaced by skeletons killed by the tainted waters flowing around their roots.⁸⁰

The National Trust Australia and its associates aimed to stem what it viewed as a tide of destruction and preserve what was left of the 'Vanishing Valley'. These lobbying voices were perhaps persuasive in the renewed vision of the MMBW, who in 1971 released 'Planning Policies for Metropolitan Melbourne': a report that introduced long-term conservation and development policies through a growth corridor and 'green wedge' principles, which sought to contain outward growth to a limited number of areas on the edge of the city. After this, the Land Management Division was established within the Lands Department in 1975; 'a belated response to changing community values regarding better management of Crown land, especially in the interests of nature conservation and public recreation'.⁸¹ Indeed the 1970s gave rise to increased understanding of human disruption to natural ecologies and its associated impacts, including the founding of influential climate organisations such as the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) in 1970 and Climatic Research Unit (CRU) in 1971 at the University of East Anglia in Britain. While, in 1969 the Land Conservation Council was founded in Victoria, since replaced by the Victorian Environmental Assessment Council (VEAC).

⁸⁰ *Vanishing Valley*, VHS & 16mm film, Australian Centre for the Moving Image, 013229 (National Trust of Victoria, 1965).

⁸¹ Bladen, Cabena and McRae, *The Lands Manual*, p. 7.

The MMBW was given authority in 1956 to acquire land to enable the development of strategically placed recreational parks into the metropolitan area. Large areas were set aside for this purpose, however, work in developing the parks did not begin until mid-1975 with sections of each of the parks open to the public from the late 1970s. They were developed 'to provide as wide a range as practicable of facilities for both active and passive recreation, at the same time conserving and enhancing their natural features and protecting habitats for insects, birds, animal and plant life'.⁸²

Victoria's Premier during this period, Rupert 'Dick' Hamer, was a great advocate for parks and gardens. His premiership gave official sanction to the slogan 'Victoria - Garden State' and these words were inscribed on every new car number plate from 1977. During Hamer's opening address at the 'Ideas conference, Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park' in 1976, he explains:

Already some 30 square miles in the Metropolitan area has been designated for parkland. At the last count, I think they had spent some \$20 million or thereabouts in buying back land, which I suppose you could say, should never have been alienated....The ownership does not matter so much as the overall management, overall direction of affairs and the overall policies to be pursued. It does not really matter whether the municipality, the State Government or private people own the land. The thing is to integrate them all into an overall plan.⁸³

Hamer goes on to update attendees that:

The remaining area of existing and proposed public open space between the Burke Road Bridge and Pound Bend, Warrandyte, is some 3,700 acres with the Special Conservation

⁸² SLV, SLTF 711.558 Y2 [Proceedings] 'Ideas conference, Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park' (Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, 29th May 1976).

⁸³ Ibid., p. 3.

Zones of about 660 acres interspersed through the area. Up to the present time the Board has acquired about 400 acres of the proposed park, at a cost of just over \$2m. and we are continuing an acquisition programme in this area.⁸⁴

In its Master Plan, developed from 1975, we know that the Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park was intended to extend twenty-four kilometres along the Yarra River from Warrandyte downstream to Ivanhoe, comprising 1,430 hectares. By 1979, 441 hectares were open to the public.⁸⁵ As funding became available and land was acquired, more parks were developed and opened, including Westerfolds Park, which opened in 1977, and Banksia Park in 1978. Birrarung Park opened in 1984.

A 'Special Conservation Zone' was a feature of the plan, where land in private ownership was overlaid with a set of covenants - more latterly known as a Public Acquisition Overlay (PAO) - which restricts development in order to fulfil public space and preservation objectives for the parklands (Figure 18). While in 1978 the Crown Land (Reserves) Act came into effect and granted the government greater powers to reserve Crown land, including for 'the protection of the beds or channels and the banks of waterways, and conservation of areas of natural interest and ecological preservation'.

⁸⁴ SLV, M821.09GBBG, 'Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park' guide (Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, 1978).

⁸⁵ SLV, M821.09GBBG, 'Space to Breathe' brochure (Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, 1979?).

Version No. 105 Crown Land (Reserves) Act 1978 No. 9212 of 1978 Version incorporating amendments as at 18th December 2013, p. 10–11.

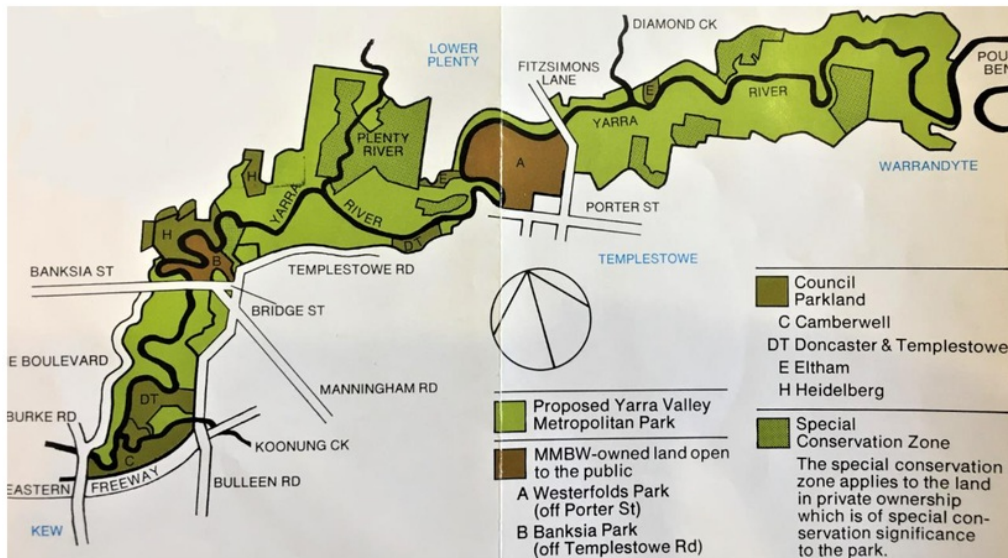


Figure 18: Proposed Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park 1979. State Library of Victoria, M821.09GBBG, 'Space to Breathe' brochure (Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, 1979?).

The Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park Master Plan was intended to continue to be realised to the end of the century. Land acquisition was segmented and chronologised 'present to 3 years', '3-10 years', '10-20 years' and 'Post 20 years'.⁸⁶ Now known as the Yarra Valley Parklands the public components are under the management of Parks Victoria, which was established in 1996 and reports to the Victorian Minister for Environment and Climate Change. These include Westerfolds, Banksia, Birrarrung and Candlebark parks, Yarra Flats, Sweeneys Flat and Longridge Park Camp, forming a significant river corridor of interconnecting trails, linear parks, wetlands and waterways through the north eastern metropolitan area. Volunteers organisation, Friends of the Yarra Valley Parklands, describe it today as 'the largest of its kind in metropolitan Melbourne, covering 1,700 hectares',⁸⁷ which appears to exceed the original 1,430 hectares intended in the Yarra Valley

⁸⁶ PROV, VPRS 11553/P0001/117 'Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park Master Plan' (Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, 1977).

⁸⁷ <http://www.yvfriends.org.au/> [accessed 11th July 2019].

Metropolitan Park Master Plan. The parks and reserves of the Middle Yarra moved into the 21st century following a period of transformative 20th century land policy that saw the river corridor, bolstered by covenants, alongside ecological legislation, and earmarked for conservation.

Chapter Four Parks use and conservation - 21st century

Alongside Melbournians' increasing interest in the city's nature conservation during the 1970s, Australia was developing a conscience around fitness and health. The *Life. Be in it.* television advertising campaign commenced in the same year as consultation began for the Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park, as a government response to an awareness that the national love affair with sport was increasingly a sedentary one. Using the couch slob character 'Norm' as motivation to combat obesity and heart disease, it encouraged people to be active and participate in sport, games and outdoor activities (Figures 19 and 20). *Life. Be in it.* became widely recognised by Australian households during its most prominent period from 1975 to 1981.



Figure 19: *Life. Be in it.* trademark, showing an active outdoor family, the campaign peaked from 1975-81

Figure 20: Campaign character 'Norm' epitomising the 'normal' Aussie bloke

Both figures are from <http://www.lifebeinit.org/> [accessed 18th July 2019]

At the end of the 20th century, the marketing of Melbourne's metropolitan parks had a similar tone. Recreational use of the new spaces that composed the Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park (YVMP) even mirrored some of the marketing style, imagery and messaging of *Life. Be in it.* (Figure 21).



Figure 21: 1980s Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park brochure with a similar theme to the *Life. Be in it.* campaign. State Library of Victoria, M821.09 GBBG, 'Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park' leaflet (Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, 1987?)

The brochure for Westerfolds Park – the first opened and largest of YVMP open spaces – recommends users 'Get away from it all' by going for a walk, 'Get Fit', 'Play', 'Have a picnic', 'Try canoeing, fishing or horse-riding'.⁸⁸ The health arguments for public parks, as during the Victorian era, were back in the spotlight, except this time the cause was overindulgence rather than the deprivations of industrial Britain. Fitness activity suggestions often appeared alongside descriptions of native flora and fauna found in the parks. This dual purpose - physical benefit and conservation of native wildlife and plants - carried across many YVMP marketing materials of the period and continues today, as shown in the parks' existing site interpretation (Figure 22).



Figure 22. Information board at Birrarung Park. Photo: author (8th March 2019)

In 1996 the YVMP had come under the management of Parks Victoria, which maintains a strong focus on conservation and regeneration, reporting directly to the Victorian Minister for Environment

⁸⁸ SLV, M821.09 GBBG 'Westerfolds Park' leaflet (Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, 1987?).

and Climate Change. The YVMP is now known as the Yarra Valley Parklands (YVP). To help fulfil conservation strategies, large workforces of community volunteers, such as Friends of the Yarra Valley Parks, often carry out massed planting and regeneration schemes, including weeding out invasive plant species and educating communities about the parks. While, advocacy groups such as Act for the Yarra and Yarra Riverkeeper Association play a vital role in the monitoring river health and lobbying for and responding to planning policy and legislation that impacts the future of the river.

Noting the success of demarcating 1,700 hectares of conserved green space for the Yarra Valley Parks, planning agendas of the 21st century also make it clear there is little room for complacency or an Arcadian ideal of Melbournians evermore flying kites and 'pootling' on bikes alongside pristine Yarra wildlife. Especially when the new millennium heralded nearly 4 million Melbourne inhabitants and fuelled a soaring demand for housing across the inner, middle and outer suburbs. Within the past two decades there have been five different Victoria state premiers and governments, but only in recent years have attentions returned more significantly to strategic planning priorities for the Yarra. These have been led at local council level, which have then made recommendations to state government, in a bid to create a cohesive management plan to preserve the landscape and prosperity of the river into the next mid-century, amid demands for the increased transport and residential infrastructure required to support a doubling population.

The Middle Yarra River Corridor Study of 2016 was prepared by the Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning in partnership with Melbourne Water and several local authorities including three featured in this dissertation - Banyule City Council, Manningham City Council and the Nillumbik Shire Council. Its objectives are 'to ensure that further development does not encroach on the river's landscape, environmental, aesthetic, cultural and recreational values', with

a focus on managing the interface between public and private land along the corridor. It incorporated public consultation and resulted in a series of recommendations deliberately aimed at legislature. Its advisory group, the Yarra River Protection Ministerial Advisory Committee ('Yarra MAC') formed in 2015, proposed governance reforms through 30 recommendations published in the 'Yarra River Action Plan', including to: prepare a Yarra (Birrarung) Protection Bill to establish an overarching planning framework for the Yarra River that coordinates waterway, public land and infrastructure management, cultural and heritage and statutory land use planning, with a clear role for amenity planning and; expand the Yarra model to protect other major Melbourne rivers and their open spaces such as the Maribyrnong and Werribee Rivers.⁸⁹

In 2017, the Yarra River Protection (Willip-gin Birrarung Murrn) Act 2017 passed through the Victorian Parliament. The state's Labour government, under Premier Daniel Andrews, commends the Act an Australian first because it 'enables the identification of the Yarra River and the many hundreds of parcels of public land it flows through as one living, integrated natural entity for protection and improvement'.⁹⁰ It is worth noting that an integrated river corridor was in fact developed, with a considerable amount of work also delivered, in the 1970s through the Master Plan for the Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park. However, it was not set in law.

The next step is the Yarra Strategic Plan; intended to be a ten-year strategy to establish long-term transformational change in governance and work towards delivering the community vision for protecting the Yarra River (Birrarung). The Yarra Strategic Plan Progress Report, released in September 2018, 'provides a high-level update on progress and outlines how the community vision

⁸⁹ Middle Yarra River Corridor Study (The State of Victoria Department of Environment, Land, Water & Planning 2016) pp. 28-29.

⁹⁰ 'Yarra River Protection', Victoria State Government, <https://www.planning.vic.gov.au/policy-and-strategy/waterways-planning/yarra-river-protection> [accessed 18th August 2019].

will be brought to life through the Yarra Strategic Plan',⁹¹ a draft for which is intended to be released in 2019.

21st century advances in water-sensitive urban design (WSUD), also mean planning and water management is far more integrated today than ever before. Engineers and designers employing WSUD practices are integrating stormwater, groundwater and wastewater management and water supply in ways that minimise environmental impact and foster natural landscape appeal. Evidence suggests that this helps address some of the long-term challenges facing Australian urban environments, including extreme heat events and drought. A mix of WSUD approaches 'can help restore a more natural water balance while irrigating green infrastructure and WSUD features can further drive evaporative cooling and support healthy vegetation'.⁹² And as Otto explains:

waterways planners and real estate developers look for 'off-stream' stormwater storage areas – billabongs and wetlands – for beauty, biodiversity, flora and fauna habitat, and better water quality through sediment clarification and removal of phosphorus and nitrogen. If these areas aren't there, they're designing them back in. The government's aim...is for rivers to have flows that rise and fall with the seasons, inundating flood plains, filling billabongs and providing a flush of growth and return of essential nutrients back to the river.⁹³

While 21st century developers began using WSUD methods that also enabled more natural wetlands aesthetics, the managers of the public parks tasked with maintaining an equilibrium of

⁹¹ Yarra Strategic Plan 2018.

⁹² Jason Beringer, Andrew M. Coutts, Matthias Demuzere, Margaret Loughnan, Nigel J. Tapper, 'Watering our cities: The capacity for Water Sensitive Urban Design to support urban cooling and improve human thermal comfort in the Australian context', *Progress in Physical Geography*(2012). p. 20.

⁹³ Otto, *Yarra: a diverting history*, pp. 92-93.

indigenous biodiversity were experiencing financial depletion. In the lead up to the Yarra River Action Plan, the management organisation for the YVP, Parks Victoria, had annual reports showing its direct funding from the state government reduced by 37 per cent from 2011 to 2015, from \$122 million to \$76.8 million.⁹⁴ In addition, local media reported it had been left struggling to cope with invasive weeds and animals. This 'ebb' of decreasing levels of human stewardship appears to sit alongside a 'flow' through assertive legislation designed to protect Yarra River land, along with sophisticated new WSUD technologies intended for developing Melbourne's waterways.

⁹⁴ 'Victoria's national parks in jeopardy after deep funding cuts' (The Age, 21st December 2015) <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/victorias-national-parks-in-jeopardy-after-deep-funding-cuts-20151221-glsfv0.html> [accessed 18th August 2019].

Chapter Five Conclusions and recommendations

Now to reflect and analyse in greater detail, having set out chapters exploring the Middle Yarra's natural history and topography; Land Acts, legitimised by *Terra Nullius*, and their repercussions on early settlements and ownership; the staying power of Western toponymy and a gradual reappearance of Aboriginal place-naming in the 21st century; along with case studies of planning strategies that sought to accommodate but not always contain or redirect a rapidly growing population.

So, how has the land of the Middle Yarra transformed since British colonisation? In setting a scene of Melbourne's foundation, the idea of an untouched wilderness is acknowledged as inaccurate, rather, in 1835 the land had areas appearing almost park-like having been gently cultivated and manipulated by Wurundjeri people living in proximity to the Yarra (Birrarung) and its life-sustaining resources. Squatters and settlers pursued and often fought over land-holdings in a chaotic and unregulated 'new world' landscape, which prompted licensing followed by more significant land reform through multiple Land Acts of the mid-19th century.

This reform was influenced by a framework of 'old world' sensibilities and the British instatement of all land as Crown land available to auction in allotments, often with a set of development rules attached such as installing fencing and houses. It showed little anticipation for the Yarra as a resource of consequence for the wider population and it was not until the Land Act of 1884 that Crown land, including waterways, was classified according to its significant public purpose. The few cattle station and farming operators occupying large areas of land along the study area in the 1840s were subdivided into dozens more allotments and subsequent sets of landowners appear to have held prime land serviced by the river for much longer periods, with their names remaining

attached to the study area today, through street and park names. While a Reserve for Aborigines was set up at the margin of the study area in Pound Bend, Warrandyte. Intensive farming right up to the water's edge is evidenced in the 1945 aerial images of the study area, which also shows a stark scarcity of trees.

The 1954 Master Plan for Melbourne was without containment and saw significant residential expansion across the middle suburbs and into the study area, causing the rural-residential divide, now around Warrandyte, to become more geographically distant from the centre of Melbourne. The 1970s saw a much re-treed study area with more audacious parks planning and delivery of the YVMP, including a revival of native planting and Special Conservation Zones designed to repurpose and protect public open space. While the 21st century shows a continuing commitment to preserving the Yarra River corridor, the nearby Koonung Creek Reserve earmarked in the 1954 Plan has since facilitated along its entire course the Eastlink freeway, which opened in 2008, such that it is now understood to be one the poorest quality and polluted waterways in Melbourne.

And what impact has a growing population had in the land's transformation? The biggest change is that the Yarra floodplain has been altered unrecognisably since 1835, due to cut and fill, embanking and diverting for residential and industrial development. This is evidenced by the absence of billabongs within the study area, where once there would have been, as reflected in earlier maps such as Wombat Bend (see Figure 7). The cause of this is that the past two hundred years have seen rapid and exponential change to Melbourne's landscape through a boom in population growth. Reinhold Hoffman's impression of Melbourne in 1836 shows a few tents and huts scattered across bushland (see cover page, Figure 1). The oil painting's most telling representation of early colonisation are the rectangular areas of enclosed fenced land, beginning to form along sections of river frontage. This 'hatching of property lines and fences' has been a

persistent pattern for a colonial population that began as couple of hundred when the village of Melbourne was declared, to half a million at the turn of the 20th century, with only 46 Aboriginal people recorded in the 1901 census, and to a four million population at the turn of the 21st century. The quest for land ownership in the colonial city was, and remains, a primary concern for Melbournians. The motorcar motivated ideals of 1954 and the encouragement of the 'thrifty wage-man' to afford his own home, which also happened to be detached and often with a block of land, is regarded as having fuelled an urban sprawl in the radius containing the study area, perhaps to the extent it has remained difficult to incentivise infrastructural redresses to Melbourne's heavy reliance on cars. While population predictions have been relatively accurate, the need to broaden the radius when planning open spaces and infrastructure for population and look farther afield earlier than anticipated has been important, especially where geographical constraint was lacking in the major piece of adopted planning in 1954. The priority given to playing fields and playgrounds has enabled a spread of open space around Melbourne, including the study area and inner Yarra reaches, where a number of private golf courses along the Yarra have also enabled local councils to meet green space targets, although these are far less horticulturally diverse than the bushland environments designed for Westerfolds Park, Birrarung Park and Warrandyte State Park.

How effective has town planning been in relation to the land? The city plans of 1929 and 1954, and 1976 Master Plan for the Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park, may be viewed in simplistic terms as products of the periods in which they were devised. Post-war Melbourne and the 1929 grand vision for open space for sports and recreation and their healing benefits to community, was unable to be actioned due to severe economic depression. While this grand design was not immediately realised, it was considered to be visionary by subsequent parks organisations and planners and it directly informed the 1962 'Request for a Yarra Valley National Park'; a motivating

force for the MMBW to devise its 1970s series of Metropolitan Parks including the YVMP. The 1954 Plan, having set the city on its most identifiable course of expansion and road networks, has been regarded with much ambivalence. It entirely misjudged the proliferation of golf courses in the middle suburbs and lacked any significant conservationist vigour for the Koonung Creek Reserve it proposed, which became a convenient course for the Eastlink freeway. The 1970s saw the advent of more widespread conservation consciousness and better scientific understanding of healthy river parklands as a network for sustaining flora and fauna, which in 2017 has been rendered into law through the Yarra River Protection (Willip-gin Birrarung Murron) Act. Planners in the 1920s and 70s were more aligned in their thinking, but the latter benefitted from a far more robust economic situation which saw local authorities and state government better equipped to deliver on their strategies. One obvious takeaway from this study is that ambitious land strategy over time is far more successful when combined with economic stability. With the best intentions, boom or bust periods have hampered land conservation planning, where priorities for housing, rehousing and easier commuting have been shown to outweigh a parks-for-population and conservation ideology. Legislation and community education and involvement are two vital, influencing factors. Such as the generation of voluntary workers required to support parks maintenance and preservation during diminished funding and staffing of Parks Victoria. Similarly, it was the residents who in 1980 petitioned against the near entire sale of Lenister Farm, in the east of the study area. This was following the land's inclusion in the Yarra Valley Metropolitan Park Master Plan, after the Shire of Nillumbik had bought the property for \$250,000 in 1974 but struggled to maintain payments on the farm.⁹⁵ It was put up for sale in April 1980 amid angry protests from residents, and a section of it rezoned as 'new Residential D zoning...gazetted by the Board of Works on May 7 (1980)',⁹⁶

⁹⁵ 'Lenister Farm Not to Be Sold' Diamond Valley News (9th September, 1980) p. 21.

⁹⁶ 'Battle to Save Farm is Hotting Up', Diamond Valley News (27th May, 1980).

transferring from public to private land. State government funding was sought to help retain the remaining existing section of the farm for use by the public.

A recommendation for further investigation is to identify sets of conditions that have safeguarded parks and reserves during economic instability. How can the study area's green space, and that of other waterways, avoid becoming fodder for sustained economic and population growth? Will the recommendations of the Yarra River Action Plan be applied to Melbourne's other more vulnerable waterways? Will the rural-residential divide continue on its path to becoming more geographically distant from the centre and what new pressures may be brought to bear on the Yarra's recent legislation? How have other cities of a similar age to Melbourne, such as Chicago and Toronto, addressed parks and recreation planning for 2051?

Aiding the Middle Yarra's conservation is an investment of community time in gardening the parks of the study area, weeding out invasive species and undertaking regenerative planting; action by residents in response to local councils' impunity to transfer public land to private during times of financial struggle, superseding historical policies; education and local stewardship such as that promoted through the public consultation on the Yarra Strategic Plan.

To the Wurundjeri it is Birrarung. To the colonials it was everything from Freshwater to Batman's to the Yarrow Yarrow to the Yarra Yarra. Today, we just call it the Yarra.

Whatever name you give our river, this much is certain: we need it.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Yarra River Action Plan Wilip-gin Birrarung murrn (Victoria State Government, 2017), p. 3.



Figure 23. Canoeing at Pound Bend, Warrandyte.

Photo: author (17th March 2019)

The prequel argument to this statement made by the Minister for Planning, Minister for Water and Minister for Suburban Development in the Yarra River Action Plan, is, of course, that the Yarra certainly did not need us. But it does now. The sequential approach from a study into the conditions of the River (Middle Yarra Corridor Study, 2016), generating a series of recommendations (Yarra River Action Plan, 2017), followed by government legislation (Yarra River Protection (Willip-gin Birrarung Murrn) Act 2017) and a long term strategic plan (Yarra Strategic Plan, draft to be released) which enlists widespread public consultation - when combined with a sustained period of economic stability - would suggest an effective new foundation on which to preserve the future health of the Middle Yarra River corridor of parks and reserves (Figure 23). However, time is yet to test the 21st century strategy for the Yarra.

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Appendix 1. List of Ecological Vegetation Classifications (EVCs) found in Study Area

- ★ **Floodplain Riparian Woodland*** is found along the Plenty River in the vicinity of Martins Lane and along the Yarra River downstream from the confluence of Kestrel Creek in Westerfolds Park. River Red Gums and Manna Gums are characteristic species of this EVC.
- ★ **Box Woodland*** occurs on hill-crests and spurs of the Plenty River, Mullum Creek and Yarra River. Yellow Box, Red Stringybark and a rich understorey of goldfields wattles and grassland species are present.
- ★ **Creeklane Grassy Woodland*** is found along Kestrel Creek and gullies in Westerfolds Park. River Red Gums are scattered along creeks on the Yarra floodplain above a mid-storey of Swamp Paperbark.
- ★ **Creeklane Herb-rich Woodland⁺** is located along creeks entering the northern bank of the Yarra River upstream from Diamond Creek. Prominent species include an overstorey of Manna Gum, Swamp Gum, and an understorey of ferns and sedges.
- **Aquatic Herbland (Floodplain Wetland)⁺** occurs in wetlands, billabongs and swamps, including Bolin Billabong and Banyule Swamp. (Out of study area.) Knotweed and Water-milfoil are characteristic plants of these wetlands.
- **Wetland Formation** is found at the artificial wetlands built since the 1970s at Bobs Wetlands at Glynn's Road, Birrarrung Park and Westerfolds Park. These areas are characterised by Common Reed, Cumbungi and Tall Spike-sedge.
- **Riparian Shrubland⁺** is located on small islands among the rapids of the Yarra River upstream from Plenty River. Muttonwoods dominate among Swamp Paperbark.
- ◆ **Herb-rich Foothill Forest** is found in the Laughing Waters area north of the Yarra River, where Messmate and Narrow-leaved Peppermint occur.
- ◆ **Valley Grassy Forest⁺** is located on valleys and terraces along the Yarra River upstream from Westerfolds Park. Yellow Box stands are characteristically in swathes of Kangaroo Grass.
- ★ **Gully Woodland⁺** is found along ephemeral gullies on the northern bank of the Yarra River upstream from Mullum Creek. Manna Gums are scattered through a mid-storey of Swamp Paperbarks.
- ◆ **Grassy Dry Forest** is found on slopes of the Yarra valley upstream from Mullum Mullum Creek. The rich variety of flora in the goldfields orchid assemblage includes species of National significance and supports several endangered vegetation including Box–Stringybark Woodland.
- ◆ **Riparian Forest⁺** is found along the Yarra River upstream from Mullum Mullum Creek to the boundary of Warrandyte Park. The overstorey is characterised by Manna Gums and there is a mid-storey of Silver Wattles.

- **Plains Grassy Wetland*** is found in ephemeral wetlands and floodplains north of the Yarra between Ruffey Creek and Banyule Creek. Club Sedges and Swamp Wallaby Grasses are found in these wetlands.
- ★ **Grassy Woodland** is found in a small linear parcel of alluvial sands along the Yarra River between Westerfolds Park and Finns Reserve.
- ★ **Plains Grassy Woodland*** is found at Westerfolds. River Red Gums and Swamp Gums are prominent in these vegetation communities. It is characterized by an upper-storey of Manna Gums and Sheoaks.
- **Riverine Escarpment Scrub** occurs on cliffs of the Yarra River upstream from Bonds Road, Lower Plenty. The middle storey has superabundant Yarra Burgan, Golden Wattle and Sweet Bursaria and the ground-storey supports a number of rare ferns adapted to rock faces.

*Endangered + Vulnerable

Swampy Riparian Woodland and Swampy Woodland/Swamp Scrub EVCs no longer exist.



Topography of study area, with Ecological Vegetation Classifications (EVCs) of 2008

Map section from Planning Victoria's *Middle Yarra Corridor Recommendations Report December 2015*, 2.4

Topography map. P. 21, to which author has added in Parks Victoria's EVCs to be read in conjunction with their definitions. Note: this is an overview, rather than exhaustive locational map. Some EVCs may be present in further parts of the study area.

Appendix 2. Summary of Crown Land Administration, as relevant to Melbourne from 1836-1983.

Sourced from E. Bladin, P. Cabena, H. McRae, *The Lands Manual: a finding guide to Victorian Lands records 1836-1983* (Royal Historical Society of Victoria, Melbourne, 1989), pp. 1-7.

1836-39	The Port Phillip District was legally opened for settlement.
1837-51	Robert Hoddle was appointed as Surveyor-in-Charge of the Port Phillip Branch of the Surveyor-General's Department (New South Wales). Three assistant surveyors had already been sent to Port Phillip in 1836.
c. 1837-39	A Commissioner of Crown Lands was appointed to regulate the occupation of Crown Lands.
1836-60	Land mainly disposed of by public auction. In 1847, an Order-in-Council provided for squatters to license and to lease pastoral runs, and to purchase up to 640 acres of these runs (homestead areas).
1839-46	Squatting licenses of £10 per year issued for any run to restrain the unauthorised occupation of Crown Lands and to provide the means of defraying the expense of a Border Police. Licensees paid an assessment on the stock pastured on their runs to raise a revenue to pay for the Border Police. Under this system almost the whole of the Port Phillip District was occupied by squatters. In 1845 the definition of a run was tightened up. Orders-in-Council in 1846 permitted the issue of leases, but very few were issued and generally licenses to pasture livestock on defined runs continued.
1851	Separation from New South Wales – Colony of Victoria established. Robert Hoddle became Surveyor-General.
1853	Robert Hoddle was replaced by Andrew Clarke as Surveyor-General.
1853-60	The office of Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands was established in charge of Crown land occupation.
1855	Responsible government was established in Victoria. The Surveyor-General briefly became a ministerial post.
1856	<u>Thistles Act</u> - This Act provided that noxious thistles and Bathurst burr growing on unoccupied Crown lands outside the boundaries of any municipality (at this time not all areas were covered by local government) were the responsibility of the Surveyor-General to destroy.
1857	The Commissioner of Crown Lands and Survey replaced the Surveyor-General as a ministerial post.

c. 1857-62	Commissioners of Crown Lands were gradually replaced by District Surveyors, each in charge of a land district.
1860	<u>Land Sales Act (Nicholson Act)</u> - First Victorian legislation concerning sale and selection of Crown land. Under this Act three million acres of country land were divided into surveyed allotments of 80-640 acres and proclaimed available for selection. Each allotment was divided into two equal portions and the successful applicants were required to pay full purchase money for freehold title, or pay for one half and either lease the other, or surrender all rights to it. No person could annually select more than 640 acres, unless the land had been available for more than a year.
1862	<u>Land Act (Duffy Act)</u> - This Act set aside ten million acres to be gradually opened for selection in surveyed allotments of 40-640 acres. Selectors required to improve their leaseholds by cultivating one tenth of the area within twelve months, or erecting a habitable building, or enclosing the land with a substantial fence. Licences for existing pastoral runs could not be renewed after 1870. Provisions were made for the formation of Farmers, Goldfield and Town Commons on which small-holders could graze their stock. Sections 33 and 34 of the Act gave selection rights to holders of occupation licences. Section 47 enabled people wishing to introduce 'novel industries' (e.g. vineyards) to obtain a lease of up to 30 acres of Crown Land for a maximum 30 years.
1865	<u>Amending Land Act (First Grant Act)</u> - Surveyed allotments of 40-640 acres were opened for selection. These were no longer divided in half, and selectors could not obtain immediate freehold title. Land could be leased for a minimum of three and a maximum of seven years. The lessee had to make improvements to the value of the one pound per acre within two years. After three years the land could be purchased either through public auction, or without competition if the lessee had been residing on the land. Section 42 of the Act allowed people to reside on and cultivate land in and around the goldfields under annual licenses. This section tentatively introduced the notion of selection before survey which was further developed by section 19 of the succeeding 1869 Land Act.
1869	<u>Land Act (Second Grant Act)</u> - The whole colony was opened for selection, including unsurveyed land. Selectors of unsurveyed land pegged out their claim and then applied for survey. A person could only select up to 320 acres (including land previously selected). This Act established a system under which land was held by license for three years before it could be purchased (sections 19 and 20). Then if conditions regarding improvements were met, selectors could purchase the land. If they did not wish to purchase it immediately, they could obtain an even year lease during which the balance was paid. Instead of the lottery system for deciding between applicants for the same land, Local Land Boards were introduced to arbitrate cases.

1876	<u>Forests Act</u> - This Act provided for the creation of local forest boards to implement proper management of state forests...These provisions were incorporated into the 1884 Land Act, but little used.
1880	<u>Rabbit Suppression Act</u>
1884	<u>Land Act</u> - This Act transferred the emphasis from sale of land to leasing. It was quite revolutionary in concept. The volume of land that could be auctioned each year was limited to 100,000 acres, and attention was focussed on achieving settlement of marginal agricultural lands, including the eastern highlands, swamplands, and other kinds of land that had hitherto (for good reason) been neglected by selectors. Subsequent land acts drew back from the leasing concept, and returned to a system under which Crown lands were alienated in 'fee simple'. A system of land classification was introduced under this Act: remaining Crown lands were classified according to their perceived productive capability of significance for public purposes (e.g. water reserves), and the Act prescribed different conditions of tenure considered appropriate for the various categories of land.
1890	<u>Land Act</u>
1893	<u>Settlement on Lands Act</u> - This Act made provision for village settlements, and labour colonies. This system was designed to alleviate the unemployment which developed during the 1890s depression.
1898	<u>Land Act</u> - The system of alienation by six-year license with right to conversion to a 14-year lease and Crown grant was extended to cover grazing areas (originally identified under the 1884 Land Act, but then only available under lease).
1901	<u>Land Act</u>
1904	<u>Closer Settlement Act</u> - This Act enabled the government to re-purchase land, re-survey it, and offer it for selection to promote more intensive settlement of rural lands. Special attention was given to the re-settlement of large pastoral estates.
1907	<u>Forests Act</u> - This Act provided for the creation of a new Forests Department to manage reserved forests. Such areas were then removed from the control of Crown Lands and Survey.
1911	<u>Land Act</u>
1915	<u>Land Act</u> <u>Closer Settlement Act (revision)</u>
1917	<u>Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act</u> - This Act made special provision for the re-settlement of returned soldiers, and was administered as part of the closer settlement programme.

1922	<u>Vermin and Noxious Weeds Act</u> - This Act placed control of vermin and weeds under the Lands Department. An Inspectors Branch was formed, with offices established in most country areas.
1928	<u>Land Act</u> <u>Closer Settlement Act</u>
1932-1957	Many amendments to the Land Act, the most important being in relation to residence area rights (1935), grants for decentralised industry (1944), and improvement purchase leases (1956).
1938	<u>Closer Settlement Act</u>
1958	<u>Land Act</u>
1969	The Little Desert controversy, in which the Minister of Lands unsuccessfully attempted to open some remaining tracts of bushland in the Little Desert for agricultural development. This as a watershed event for the conservation movement in Victoria and heralded the demise of the Lands Department. The resulting public outcry against the sale of environmentally significant lands resulted in the establishment of the Land Conservation Council (now the Victorian Environmental Assessment Council) and the introduction of more scientifically based land use decision-making for public lands.
1975	Establishment of a Land Management Division within the Lands Department. This was a belated response to the changing community values regarding better management of Crown land, especially in the interests of nature conservation and public recreation.
1983	Abolition of the Lands Department; its land administration and management functions were transferred to the new Department of Conservation, Forests & Lands, and its survey and land sales functions to the Department of Property & Services.

Appendix 3. Study Area, Land Ownership and Subdivision of Middle Yarra River from late 1830s to mid-20th century.

Compiled from parish, council and railway plans.

North bank							
Section of study area	Date	Title name	Lot	Land (acres.roods.perches)	Use	Present use	
West of Plenty River	1837	Joseph Hawdon's 'Banyule'	NA		Cattle station		
	1838	Richard Henry Brown	6	920.0.0	Subdivision		
East of Plenty River	1838	John Wood's 'Plenty'	NA		Cattle station		
	1850	George Porter	7	780.0.0 (both sides of Plenty River)		Rosanna Golf Club	
	1850	<i>Good pasture</i>	1			Montpelier Reserve / Residential / river reserve	
		Eltham (township)		Both sides of 'Arthur's Creek' (now Diamond Creek)	Allotments for township	Fitzsimons Reserve Lenister Farm Griffiths Park	
	1866	R. S. H Moody	1	80.1.13		Montpelier Reserve	
	H. Stooke	2	80.3.11			Residential / river reserve	
	J. G. Foxton	3	109.2.11			Residential / river reserve	
	J. G. Foxton	4	44.1.8			Residential / river reserve	
	S. Wekey	5	57.0.32			Residential / river reserve	
	Eltham Village Reserve			(both sides Diamond Creek)	Residential township	Fitzsimons Reserve Lenister Farm Griffiths Park	
	1935	George Porter				Rosanna Golf Club	

East of Diamond Creek	1947	R. S. H Moody	1	80.1.13			Montpelier Reserve	
		H. Stooke	2	80.3.11			Residential / river reserve	
		J. G. Foxton	3	109.2.11			Residential / river reserve	
		J. G. Foxton	4	44.1.8			Residential / river reserve	
		S. Wekey	5	57.0.32			Residential / river reserve	
		R. S. H Moody	11	80.1.13			Montpelier Reserve	
		H. Stooke	12	80.3.11			Residential / river reserve	
		J. G. Foxton	13	109.2.11			Residential / river reserve	
		J. G. Foxton	14	44.1.31			Residential / river reserve	
		S. Wekey	15	57.0.32			Residential / river reserve	
		Town of Eltham		7 allotments with river frontage	Residential township		Fitzsimons Reserve Lenister Farm Griffiths Park	
		1837	Henry Arthur's 'Nillumbik'	NA	40,000 acres		Cattle station	
		1850	H.G. James	VI	93 ac			Residential / river reserve
			T. Sweeney	VII	110 ac			Sweeney's Flats (park)
			R. Lane	VIII	99 ac			Residential / river reserve
1866	W. B. G. Alex Melville and A. Beams	IX	80 ac			Parkland		
	<i>Stringybark ranges</i>	6	810 ac			Parkland		
	H. G. James	6	93.0.0			Residential / river reserve		
	T. Sweeney	7	190.0.0			Sweeney's Flats (park)		
	R. Lane	8	110.0.0 (10 LET)			Residential / river reserve		

		Gordon Melville / A. Beams	9	93.0.0 (TO LET)		Parkland
		J. Carfroie & Co.	VI 4	336.0.0		Parkland
		<i>Reserve for Aborigines</i>		805.0.0	Reserve for Aborigines	Pound Bend, Warrandyte State Park
1947		H.G. James	V 6	93.0.0		Residential / river reserve
		T. Sweeny	V 7	110.0.0		Sweeney's Flats (park)
		R. Lane	V 8	99.0.0		Residential / river reserve
		W. Gordon & Co.	V 9	80.0.0		Parkland
		J. Carfrae & Co.	VI 4	336.0.0		Parkland
		J. Orford	VII 1	6.1.3 (without river frontage)		Parkland
		A.E. Morris	VII 1A	1.3.0		Parkland
		D. W. Thring	VII 5A	1.1.6		Parkland
		J. A. Panton	VII 8	93.1.10 (Pound Bend)		Warrandyte State Park
South bank						
Section of study area	Date	Title name		Land	Use	Present use
South of Plenty River and Yarra confluence	1840-mid 20 th century	F. W. Unwin's Special Survey		5,120 acres		Not river frontage to study area
West of Mullum Mullum Creek	1844	Major Newman's 'Ponteville'		4,400 acres	Cattle station	Residential / Pettys Orchards
	1862	John Semar	4	5.0.0		
		David Bell	3	2.0.22		

	David Bell	2	2.2.38			
	David Bell	1	3.1.5			
	James Hewish	2	3.1.30			
	Patrick A. Mahony	1	5.1.12			Wombat Bend
	<i>Fallow</i>	E	3.2.22			
	<i>Fallow</i>	D	5.3.26			
	<i>Fallow</i>	C	8.0.6			
	<i>Fallow</i>	B	6.3.29			
	<i>Fallow</i>	A	6.0.37			
1906	Township of Templestowe		5 allotments on river		Residential township	
	J. S. Brodie	XIX	255.0.0			Westerfolds Park
	W. H. Hull	XVIII A	89.0.0			
	J. T. Smith	XVIII B	109.0.0			
	W. Milne	XVIII C	109.0.0			
	W. Milne	XVIII D	148.0.0			
	F. B. St John	18	166.0.0			
	C. Newman	XVII 1	134.0.0			
	C. Newman	XVII 2	123.0.0			
	C. Newman	XVII 3	146.2.0			
1935	Township of Templestowe, 12 allotments along river				Residential township	
	J. S. Brodie	19	255.0.0			Westerfolds Park

East of Mullum Mullum Creek	1840	James Anderson's 'Yarra Bight'				
	1860s?					
	1906 & 1948	C. Newman	XVII 4	147.3.0		
		J. R. Murphy	XVI A	107.3.0		
		J. R. Murphy	XVI B	100.3.0		
		A. Speers	16	47.2.5		
		A. Speers	16 z	80.0.0		
		A. Speers	16 y	80.0.0		
		R. Hunter	16 x	80.0.0		