CONTEXT

Wyndham Heritage Review (Gap Study) Stage 1

Volume 2: Thematic Environmental History Final Draft Report

Report prepared for Wyndham City Council April 2021



Acknowledgement of Country

We respect and acknowledge the First Peoples and the Traditional Custodians of the lands and waterways on which we live and work. We acknowledge Elders past and present. We advocate social and cultural justice and support the Uluru Statement from the Heart.

Report Register

The following report register documents the development and issue of the report entitled Wyndham Thematic Environmental History, undertaken by Context in accordance with its quality management system.

Job Number	Issue Number	Notes/Description	Issue Date
2514	1	Draft Report	23 December 2020
2514	2	Revised Draft Report for Stakeholder Consultation	9 March 2021
2514	3	Final Draft Report	30 April 2021

Quality Assurance

The report has been reviewed and approved for issue in accordance with the Context quality assurance policy and procedures.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose

This Thematic Environmental History was commissioned by Wyndham City Council in September 2020 as part of the Wyndham Heritage Review Stage 1 ('the Stage 1 study'). The need for an updated Thematic Environmental History was identified as part of the Stage 1 study, the broader purpose of which is to identify and document post-contact places and precincts of potential heritage significance across the City of Wyndham area. The Stage 1 study is presented in two volumes:

- Volume 1—Key Findings and Recommendations.
- Volume 2—Thematic Environmental History (this volume)

This volume is a draft only and will be revised following stakeholder feedback.

It is expected that this volume will remain in draft form at the end of Stage 1 and will be further developed in Stage 2 of the Wyndham Heritage Review. Stage 2 of the study will involve the detailed assessment of individual places and precincts of potential heritage significance identified by this study. This requires more detailed historical research; the findings of which may reveal important information which should be included in the Thematic Environmental History. It is therefore expected that this volume will be supplemented with further information as it comes to light in future.

1.2 Project background and brief

The scope of the project includes researching and writing a thematic environmental history of the City of Wyndham, that outlines the historical development of the area from European settlement through to the present day.

This volume builds on previous heritage reports prepared for the City of Wyndham, primarily 'Heritage of the City of Wyndham', prepared by Context with Carlotta Kellaway for the City of Wyndham in 1997.

The development of the Thematic Environmental History is intended to be an initial step in a strategic process to review the post-contact heritage of the municipality, ensuring that the land use and settlement patterns of the area are captured and set within a broad thematic framework, which can be used to better compare, understand and substantiate the heritage values of individual places, areas and themes within the area.

This report includes some background on the rich Aboriginal heritage of Wyndham and the wider area, but this is limited as a full investigation into this subject was not possible.

Section 2 discusses in more details the approach and methodology for developing the Thematic Environmental History.

1.3 Study area

The study area is the municipal area of the City of Wyndham, as shown below:

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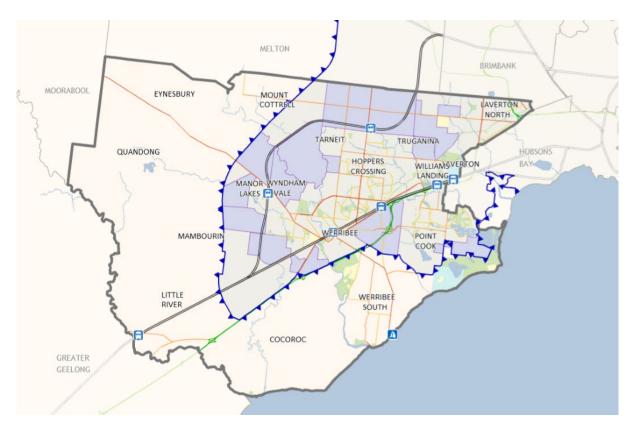


Figure 1. Map of the City of Wyndham, with Gazetted Precinct Structure Plan areas shaded. (Source: Wyndham City Council 2019)

Note that the locality of Little River is not able to be considered in its entirety — as a town and a wider district — because the Little River (and the municipal boundary between the City of Wyndham and the City of Geelong) straddles the town.

1.4 Project team

This report was prepared by Dr Helen Doyle, with support provided by Jessica Antolino and Jon Griffiths of Context.

1.5 Acknowledgements

We wish to acknowledgement the assistance of the following organisations and individuals:

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1.6 Abbreviations

ARP	Air Raid Precautions
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific Industrial and Research Organisation
MMBW	Melbourne & Metropolitan Board of Works
PROV	Public Records Office of Victoria
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
RHSV	Royal Historical Society of Victoria
RSL	Returned Services League
SLV	State Library Victoria
SRWSC	State Rivers and Water Supply Commission
VGG	Victorian Government Gazette
VMD	Victorian Municipal Directory
VHR	Victorian Heritage Register
VPRS	Victorian Public Record Series
WDHS	Werribee District Historical Society

The following abbreviations are used in this report:

1.7 Limitations

The development of the Thematic Environmental History has relied on general historical sources and fragmentary references to Aboriginal people in the study area that have drawn from contemporary accounts. Traditional Owner organisations have not been consulted with for this project and have not endorsed this work.

Restrictions associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, which were implemented during the course of the study, meant that in-person meetings with local historical societies and other groups could not go ahead as originally planned.



2 Approach and methodology

2.1 Introduction

This draft Thematic Environmental History of the City of Wyndham brings together the various strands of the history of the municipality around a series of historical themes. The history covers the period of settlement from the 1830s onwards.

No previous Thematic Environmental History of the area of City of Wyndham has been prepared. A framework of historical themes was developed for the City of Wyndham in 1997 (Context, 'Heritage of the City of Wyndham), but a Thematic Environmental History was not developed at that time. An earlier history of the (former) Shire of Werribee by historian Andrew May was prepared for the Ministry for Planning and Environment in 1989, which was based around historical themes.

The approach to developing a Thematic Environmental History for Wyndham involved the following key tasks:

- Review of the thematic framework developed for Wyndham in 1997 (see Appendix A);
- Further review of sources of historical information relevant to the City of Wyndham, including the review of recent historical literature since the 1997 study was prepared, and compilation of a bibliography for the Thematic Environmental History;
- Detailed historical research, covering a range of sources, including primary and secondary historical resources; historical maps, plans and images, and other reports and information sourced from local groups and selected stakeholders;
- Refinement of the draft Key Historical Themes (post-contact period) for the City of Wyndham that were identified in the preliminary Stage 1 study report; and
- Consultation with knowledgeable members of the local community.

2.1.1 What is a Thematic Environmental History?

The purpose of a thematic history is to bring the stories of particular aspects of the history of the municipality, to provide a stronger local context for these themes, and thus highlight the particular ways that an area has developed and changed. In providing a detailed and up-to-date account of the themes or strands of history in particular locality, a Thematic Environmental History serves as an important planning tool in the assessment of potential places of potential heritage significance.

2.1.2 Using historical themes in heritage practice

A thematic framework is a standard tool used in current heritage practice (relating not only to forms of built heritage but to many different place types), which is used to categorise, contextualise, compare and assess all kinds of heritage places. The framework prepared for this report (which was devised following the review and updating of the Wyndham historical themes prepared in 1997) was modelled on the document *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* (hereafter 'Victorian themes'), which was developed for Heritage Victoria in 2011. Section 2.2 below discusses the review of the 1997 thematic framework in more detail.

2.2 Thematic framework

A draft Framework of Historical Themes was developed as part of the Stage 1 Wyndham Gap Study in June 2020. This formed the basis of the structure of the Thematic Environmental History but has been



reshaped as a result of targeted research that has been carried out since then. This framework, shown below in Table 2.1, is based on 'Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes' (Heritage Victoria, 2011).

While 'Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes' (VFHT), prepared in 2011, is comprehensive, it is intended as a guide only. Different municipalities with different historical stories may have a slightly different approach to their historical themes. The understanding of historical themes will also change with time so that the understanding of history and historical themes in a particular place will inevitably change over time.

The draft Historical Themes for Wyndham (14 themes) prepared for this report differs from the Victorian Historical Themes (9 themes) in the following ways:

Aboriginal Country	This has been made a stand-alone theme for Wyndham because it is fundamental to the history of the area. Whilst this theme is covered in part in the VFHT 1.0 'Shaping Victoria's Environment' and partly covered by VFHT 2.0 'Peopling Victoria's places and landscapes', it is important to recognise that there was a rich history in Wyndham before British settlement, and that Wyndham was also an important place in the earliest permanent settlement of Melbourne.
Advancing scientific knowledge and agricultural research	This theme has been made a stand-alone theme for Wyndham on account of the rich history in Wyndham centred around the State Research Farm and other institutions that have contributed to scientific knowledge.
Defence and military	This has been made a stand-alone theme for Wyndham because of its strong representation in the area and its importance to the local economy and culture in terms of visibility and employment.
Water supply, sewerage and irrigation	This theme has been made a stand-alone theme for Wyndham on account of the important role that the sewerage farm, irrigation and water supply have played in its history

A framework of 14 key historical themes and a number of sub-themes has been developed, as presented in Table 2.1

Table 2.1. Draft thematic framework for the City of Wyndham. (Note that the examples of place types are representative only and serve as a guide for the types of places that might be considered under each theme.)

Historical Theme	Historical Sub-themes	Examples of place types
1 Aboriginal Country	1.1 Living as Victoria's First People	waterways wetlands and lagoons coastal area (and remnant middens) trees and other remnant vegetation (that has cultural as well as natural values) viewsheds
2 Shaping the environment	2.1 Tracing the natural history of the area2.2 Living with natural processes2.4 Appreciating and preserving the natural environment2.5 Transforming the land and waterways	nature reserves coastal reserves river-side reserves waterways remnant vegetation (cultural and natural values) wetland reserves



Historical Theme	Historical Sub-themes	Examples of place types
3 Claiming and occupying the land	3.1 Exploration and survey3.2 Pastoral settlement3.3 Impact of settlement: dispossession and frontier conflict3.4 Agricultural settlement	early tracks and camps of explorers and settlers Aboriginal camp sites surveyor's markers crossing points early settlement sites conflict sites pastoral homes and gardens drystone walls homesteads mansions
4 Building connections through transport and communications	 4.1 Establishing early tracks and travel routes 4.2 Building roads and bridges 4.3 Travelling by water 4.4 Developing rail networks 4.5 Postal and telegraph services 4.6 Newspapers 	explorers' routes early settlers' tracks road bridges blacksmiths' shops jetties and ports railway stations goods sheds sites of former sidings and goods sheds railway bridges aviation sites and hangars post offices telephone exchanges
5 Living off the land and sea	 5.1 Sheep and cattle 5.2 Grain growing 5.3 Mixed farming 5.4 Dairying 5.5 Poultry 5.6 Market gardening and orchards 5.7 Fishing and trapping 5.8 Horse-breeding 	pastoral homesteads woolsheds farms and farm buildings farmers' commons dairy buildings and cool rooms market garden sheds stockyards
6 Building water supply, sewerage and irrigation Infrastructure	 6.1 Establishing local water supplies 6.2 Providing essential services 6.3 Building irrigation schemes 6.4 Building and operating a metropolitan sewerage scheme 	water supply systems (wells and pumps) water tanks water towers sewerage system infrastructure irrigation channels and associated infrastructure drainage works



Historical Theme	Historical Sub-themes	Examples of place types
7 Building industries and employment	 7.1 Processing raw materials 7.2 Extractive industries 7.3 Manufacturing 7.4 Food processing and chemical manufacturing 7.5 Women's work 7.6 Changing nature of work and unemployment 	quarries and mines factories and other industrial buildings industrial plants sheds laboratories staff facilities
8 Building towns and cities	 8.1 Developing towns 8.2 Providing goods and services 8.3 Housing the population 8.4 Planting trees and cultivating gardens 8.5 Expanding metropolitan Melbourne and making new suburbs 	subdivision patterns public buildings shops banks public parks and gardens street trees housing estates commercial stables
9 Governing and keeping order	9.1 Local government9.2 Maintaining law and order9.3 Fighting for political rights	court houses police stations police paddocks lock-ups municipal offices (shire halls) State government offices drainage
10 Servicing the community	 10.1 Social life 10.2 Providing education 10.3 Establishing places of worship 10.4 Community buildings 10.5 Public health and welfare 10.6 Community organisations and service clubs 10.7 Immigrant communities 	public halls and mechanics institutes schools pre-schools and kindergartens churches and church halls social clubs and service clubs community centres hospitals infant welfare centres cemeteries
11 Defence and military	11.1 Establishing a military tradition11.2 Military aviation12.3 Italian prisoners-of-war11.4 War memorials	military training and parade grounds military barracks Bristol huts defence sites military aircraft hangars war memorials air raid shelters and air raid halls cannon



Historical Theme	Historical Sub-themes	Examples of place types
12 Advancing scientific knowledge and agricultural research	12.1 Promoting scientific knowledge12.2 Developing agricultural research12.3 Veterinary science and zoology	fossil sites field trial sites research institutes zoos agricultural showgrounds
13 Sport and recreation	 13.1 Horse-racing and coursing 13.2 Recreational reserves and sports grounds 13.3 Boating and fishing 13.4 Swimming 13.5 Cycling and motor sports 	sports grounds recreation reserves public parks and gardens bowling clubs tennis clubs croquet clubs swimming pools and swimming places foreshore reserves jetties golf courses
14 Shaping cultural and creative life	14.1 Nurturing and celebrating the arts14.2 Celebrating culture14.3 Popular culture: film, television, radio14.4 Appreciating history and heritage14.5 Tourism	cultural centres art galleries and studios theatres and cinemas tourist attractions monuments and memorials film sets

2.3 Developing the Thematic Environmental History

The Thematic Environmental History draws on a wide range of sources, including documentary and online sources. It also draws on input from some of the local history experts in the City of Wyndham; we have endeavoured to represent the suggestions of local experts about what is important about the City of Wyndham's history and heritage.

The thematic history does not include a detailed account of the Aboriginal history of the area, and nor has consultation with Traditional Owner organisations been carried out, both of which were outside the scope of the project. The thematic history does incorporate some of the documented aspects of the Aboriginal history of the area, particularly that relating to the early contact period from 1835 until the 1860s.



Local events (Wyndham)	Date	Victorian events
	30,000BP+	Human occupation of Port Phillip area
Matthew Flinders ascends 'Station Peak' (You Yangs) (outside the study area)	1802	British navigation of southern Australia
Convict William Buckley escapes from Sullivans Cove and lives with Wathaurung people for over thirty years	1803	British convict settlement at Sullivans Cove (Sorrento)
Charles Grimes explores Port Phillip and camps at Hovells Creek which is nearby (outside the study area)	1824	
Explorers Hume and Hovell pass through the area		
Werribee area included in large area known as the Iramoo Plains; members of the Port Phillip Association take up land for pastoralism	1835	John Batman and other members of the Port Phillip Association land at Indented Head; take up land at Port Phillip; the Batman treaty covers over 600,000 acres
Settlers avenged the death of Charles Franks and his convict servant Thomas Flinders at Mount Cottrell by killing a number of Aboriginal people	1836	The Port Phillip District of the Colony of NSW is declared and Melbourne is officially settled
First hotels established on the route to Geelong	1840s	
Country around Werribee is claimed as freehold by squatters	1847	Pre-emptive rights granted to pastoral licensees
Thomas Chirnside settles at Point Cook	1849	
Land sales in the local area Several bluestone quarries established Bluestone road bridges constructed Departure of workers for the gold rushes	1850s	
First schools operating Point Cook homestead is built Railway opened from Melbourne to Geelong	1850s 1851 1851 1857 1857	Colony of Victoria established Gold is discovered in Victoria
Towns and villages established Consolidation of pastoral holdings Werribee National School established	1860s 1860s 1861	Selection acts encourage small farming
Wyndham Road Board established	1862	Land Act (Vic.)
Werribee Park mansion erected by the Chirnside family	1871 1874	Severe drought in Victoria
Town of Werribee declared	1884	Royal Commission on Irrigation, chaired by Alfred Deakin
	1886	Irrigation Act (Vic.)
Werribee Irrigation Scheme (and tenant farming) established by Chaffeys	1888	
	1888	

2.4 Timeline of development in the City of Wyndham



Local events (Wyndham)	Date	Victorian events
	1890s	Economic depression
	1891	Establishment of the MMBW
Metropolitan Farm established by the MMBW	1892	
Two state schools established for MMBW workers		
	1901	Federation of the Australian colonies
	1904	Closer Settlement Act (Vic.)
Closer settlement scheme in Werribee Shire of Werribee declared	1906 1909	
Point Cook air base established	1910	
State Research Farm established at Werribee	1912	
	1914–18	First World War
Soldier settlement schemes in area	1917	Discharged Soldier Settlement Act (Vic.)
Residential development in Werribee	1920s	Suburban growth in Melbourne
	1920	Royal Australian Air Force established
	1921	New federal tariff stimulates local industry
Jesuits establish Corpus Christi Seminary at Werribee Park	1923	
Locality of Werribee South declared	1925	
	1929	Onset of the Great Depression
RAAF Base operational	1939–45	Second World War
Women's Land Army active in the area	1940s	Expansion of manufacturing in outskirts of Melbourne
New research institute – CSIRO		
	1945+	Beginning of large-scale postwar immigration to Victoria
Melbourne University Vet Science hospital established	1950s	Child farm labour from Britain sent to Victoria
Expansion of market gardening around Werribee		Increased ownership of the motor car
Housing Commission housing in Werribee	1954	Melbourne Planning Scheme
	1956	Melbourne Olympic Games
Housing Commission estates at Werribee and Laverton	1961-62	
Ongoing residential development in Werribee; development of Hoppers Crossing	1960s-70s	
Victorian Government acquires Werribee Park	1972	
Werribee Open Range Zoo established	1970s	
West Gate Bridge completed	1978	
Suburb of Wyndham Vale established	1980s	
City of Werribee declared	1987	
Wyndham City Council formed	1995	
Point Cook residential area developed	c.2000s	
Western Ring Road completed	c.2002	



2.5 Statement of significance for the City of Wyndham

The City of Wyndham occupies the Traditional Country of the Bunurong, the Wathawurrung and the Wurundjeri, three of the tribes of the Kulin Nation. Sited at the edge of one of the largest volcanic plains in the world in the shadow of the You Yangs to the west and bordered by the waters of Port Phillip Bay to the south, it is characterised by relatively flat, stony country with low-lying land and lagoons along its coastal edge. It is watered by the Werribee River, the Little River and various minor (and seasonal) tributaries. It is situated in close proximity to the western region of Melbourne and borders on Port Phillip Bay.

Known as Werribee, after the river of the same name, this was a significant site of early contact of the Kulin with the British – by the explorers Hume and Hovell in 1824 and John Batman and his party in 1835. It was part of the lands claimed in a 'treaty' made by Batman for the Port Phillip Association with the local 'chiefs' of the Kulin Nation. When settlers arrived they found vast grassy plains that were lightly timbered – ideal pastoral country. It was important as an area of early pastoral and agricultural settlement, which saw the emergence of small townships. Surviving built fabric from this period includes the dry-stone walls along roadways and between properties, which are characteristic of the area.

Werribee is significant as a nineteenth-century Victorian country town with its original village layout of 1849 and its remnant nineteenth-century buildings, reservations and tree plantings are associated with its early development. Thwarted to some extent by the dominance of Werribee Park, however, the town of Werribee experienced limited development in the nineteenth century. Werribee grew significantly from the 1890s and the early twentieth century —a result of the government's encouragement to settlement through closer settlement and soldier settlement, and general prosperity. Tenant farming, irrigation schemes and closer settlement from the late 1880s onwards brought greater prosperity to the area, through improved methods of dairying and cropping. There were further farming developments after 1915 with an expanded irrigation scheme in Werribee South that attracted returned servicemen and, later, a large number of Italian immigrants who developed a successful market garden industry.

The exorbitant wealth of the Chirnsides' Werribee Park has left a rich legacy in the buildings and grounds of the estate itself. The enormous size of the estate dominated the local area for several decades, and, later, also enabled large-scale developments such as a tenant farming scheme, the Metropolitan Sewerage Farm, an irrigation scheme, Corpus Christi College, and more recently the Werribee Open Range Zoo. Other historical uses of the estate, such as for hunting and voluntary military activities, also relied on its sheer size and its proximity to Melbourne.

Owing to its proximity to Melbourne and its large areas of relatively flat land, the municipal area of Wyndham has been used for some public purposes that were beneficial to Melbourne and Victoria. This includes the Metropolitan Sewerage Farm (1890s), the State Research Farm (1912) and the RAAF Airbase (c.1917). These operations had large workforces which attracted people to the area. Residential development increased in the early twentieth century but grew significantly in the 1920s as large areas were subdivided for housing.

Identified as a 'metropolitan growth area in 1971, Wyndham has been and continues to be one of the fastest growing areas of outer Melbourne. In the 1950s and 1960s it was the site of extensive residential development by the Housing Commission of Victoria and large areas of Housing Commission housing remain. New housing was also developed for the local employees of many of the large workplaces. In the postwar period, the area attracted significant numbers of immigrants from Europe. Subsequent waves of migrants have since arrived from the Middle East and Asia.



3 Thematic Environmental History of Wyndham

Introduction

The City of Wyndham occupies the eastern edge of a vast volcanic plain, demarcated by several northsouth flowing watercourses: the Werribee River and Little River to the west, and the Skeleton Creek and Kororoit Creek to the east. Today, Wyndham also marks the edge of the ever-widening sphere of metropolitan Melbourne, but through the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth, Werribee and surrounds was a farming region close to Melbourne, and a ready supplier of produce with close access to Melbourne markets. Though it both relied on, and served the needs of, the city, Werribee remained separate from it. A 'piece of the country' close to the city — an ideal that was promoted in advertising material for new homes in Werribee in the 1980s. For the smaller towns and settlements — including Tarneit, Truganina and Point Cook — a *country* identity persisted for much longer, but the residential transformation of farming land over the last ten to fifteen years has significantly changed much of the area. In contrast, Little River, further to the west, remains a country town and retains many of its smallscale buildings and range of commercial and community buildings.

The dramatic changes wrought by colonisation from the late-1830s were catastrophic to the Aboriginal people of the area: the Wurundjeri, the Bunurong and the Wadawurrung. Yet for the first decade of British settlement at Port Phillip much about the form and character landscape essentially remained unchanged. The Werribee River and Little River snaked their courses across a wide expanse of flat grasslands. Settlement was sparse and scattered, fencing was minimal, and the early emerging towns centres were small and undeveloped. While there were efforts in the mid-nineteenth century to develop farming, with efforts made at cropping and vegetable growing, the area was overwhelmingly pastoral. This changed by the latter part of the nineteenth century. Towns had developed slowly through the 1870s and into the 1880s, but saw increased activity from the late 1880s with the introduction of tenant farming from the late 1880s, the establishment of the Metropolitan Farm in the early 1890s, and closer settlement schemes in the early 1900s. These changes brought significant change to the social demographics of the area. The local economy ebbed and flowed with the broader booms and downturns in Victoria. The broader problem of decline in the countryside in the 1890s and early 1900s was not perhaps felt as strongly, or as widely, in the Werribee district owing to significant local developments like the building of the Metropolitan Farm and the Main Outflow Sewer, and the successful closer settlement schemes. As metropolitan Melbourne expanded in the mid twentieth century, the extensive plains to the west provided available land for residential development. The area slowly saw former farming land replaced with new housing developments, a pattern that has continued up to the present time.

For around seventy years, the Werribee Plains were dominated by the wealthy Chirnside family, whose expansive holdings were later acquired for other purposes, including Melbourne's sewerage treatment works, the State Research Farm, a Catholic seminary, and the Werribee Open Plains Zoo. In addition to their mansion Werribee Park, the dynamics of one dominant family in a rural area has left various other legacies, not least of which is the continuing operation of many of the institutions established on the Chirnside estate.



3.1 Aboriginal Country

3.1.1 Living as Victoria's First People

[This section of the records relies on general historical sources and fragmentary references to Aboriginal people in the study area that have drawn from contemporary accounts. Traditional Owner organisations have not been consulted with for this project and have not endorsed this work.]

The Werribee Plains and the adjacent coastline has been Aboriginal country for many tens of thousands of years, long before French and English navigators explored the area in the early 1800s. The west side of the Werribee River is the traditional land of the Wadawurrung, and the east side is the traditional land of the Wurundjeri; a coastal strip on the east side of the Werribee River is the traditional country of the Bunurong and this connects with their territory on the Mornington Peninsula. These three groups represent three different language groups which belong to the larger Kulin nation, which is a confederacy of five language groups, which share a degree of language and culture. The rich country around the Werribee River, and the resources of the river itself made this an important for Aboriginal people. It was perhaps a meeting place of the Wurundjeri, the Wadawurrung and the Bunurong, whose respective territories meet at the river.

The Kulin, made up of five distinct groups including the Wurundjeri, Wadawurrung and Bunurong, knew this country intimately and passed on their knowledge of plants and animals, of the land and its resources, the ancient origins of the land and its features, and its weather and astronomy. They lived at one with the land and sea, and the stories of the land and the changes they witnessed became part of their cultural heritage. They would have witnessed the encroachment of recent lava flows and been aware of the rising sea levels and the eventual inundation that created Port Phillip Bay around 8000–12,000 years ago. They shared the land with many birds and animals, including those long gone, such as the Diprotodons or giant mammals, for which evidence has been uncovered in the form of fossils on the Werribee plains.¹

The Kulin lived lightly on the land, using the local plants, birds and animals for a multitude of uses. There was surface stone in profusion, and it is likely that volcanic rock was used to create shelters and fisheries as Aboriginal people had done elsewhere in Victoria. William Buckley had observed Aboriginal huts, but did not comment of what they were made of. Different grasses would have been used for making baskets, necklaces and other items.

The Werribee River was a dominant feature of this landscape and had once formed a wide estuary or delta before flowing out to *Nerm* (Port Phillip Bay). It was recorded by early map-makers as the *Weeriby* or *Weariby*, derived from a local Aboriginal name believed to mean backbone or spine.² When settlers arrived in the 1830s the river marked the boundary between the lands of the Wurundjeri and the Wadawurrung. In times long past, around 12,000 years ago, the river had extended further across a former vast plain, or basin, that now forms Port Phillip Bay. When sea levels were much lower, this exposed land had been an extensive 'kangaroo hunting ground'.³ To the west of the Werribee River was the Little River, recorded by early surveyor William Darke as the Cocoroc Rivulet.⁴ Cocoroc was a Kulin word for frog.

¹ G.B. Pritchard 1895, 'Note on the Occurrence of Fossil Bones at Werribee', Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria, 1895. ² Esther Murray 1974, The Plains of Iramoo, Henwood & Dancey, Geelong, p. 11. Also noted in 'Native Names', Ballarat Star, 8 June 1866, p. 2.

³ Ian D. Clark (in consultation with Aunty Carolyn Briggs) 2011, The Yallukit-Willam: The first people of Hobsons Bay, City of Port Phillip, St Kilda, p. 4.

⁴ Ian Wynd 1981, So Fine a Country, Shire of Corio, Geelong, p. 126.



In the Wadawurrung Dreamtime, the Ancestor creator Bunjil gave life to the people at *Kareet Bareet*, a place now known as Black Hill, near Gordon. For the people of the Werribee Plains, occupying the country from the edge of Port Phillip Bay to the hills to the north, the site of *Kareet Bareet* was an important Dreaming place.⁵ Stories of the formation and evolution of this landscape — the flat plains, the waterways, wetlands and waterholes, and the prominent volcanic cones and the granite outcrops — would have been taught and passed on for tens of thousands of years.

These vast plains were formed by volcanic activity many thousands of years ago. They were a distinctive landscape. Gellibrand, who was a member of the Port Phillip Association, observed in 1836 that 'the land was quite flat and rather rocky'.⁶ The placename *Iramoo* (plains) was attributed to the Werribee plains by Hume and Hovell, who presumably sourced the name from local Aboriginal informant, and subsequently adopted by John Batman.⁷ The You Yangs, although outside of the City of Wyndham, dominate the otherwise flat landscape, rising to 319 metres above sea level. Named from the Aboriginal *Wurdi-Youang*, or *Youang*, meaning 'big hill', these granite hills are an important cultural site for the Wauthaurung and are also significant in Aboriginal astronomy.⁸ J.H. Wedge, a member of the Port Phillip Association, recorded the name 'Yun Yangs' in 1836.⁹ As the highest point in the surrounding area, the You Yangs would also have also been a critical vantage point.

As with other coastal areas of Victoria's western volcanic plains, the coastal area was punctuated with salty lagoons that attracted diverse birdlife, and fresh water springs and waterholes. As well as permanent streams, there were also impermanent waterholes or chains of ponds, like the Skeleton Creek east of the Werribee River, which, like the coastal lagoons, were also salty.

Settlers encountered the physical evidence of Aboriginal occupation in the form of kitchen middens along the coastline, made up of the debris from many years of discarding the shells. There also most likely saw Aboriginal ovens along the river and would have picked up discarded stone tools when ploughing the paddocks. Some of the River Red Gums that fringed the Werribee River would have borne the scars of bark being removed to make tools or canoes. It was noted in 1919 that a traditional Aboriginal burial site had been found at Point Cook.¹⁰ A number of Aboriginal heritage sites have been recorded in Wyndham, including artefact scatters.

The Aboriginal landscape of the City of Wyndham — the boundaries, landmarks, culture and stories that shaped and gave meaning to Aboriginal country — has been largely eroded, but the enduring features of the land and waters remain. Some of the original language of this country has been preserved in the anglicised Aboriginal placenames, such as Werribee (Weariby) and You Yangs, and in the parish names, Bulban, Cocoroc, Deutgam, Mamborin, Mouyang, and Murtcaim. Whereas new counties in the Port Phillip District were generally given British names — for example, Bourke and Grant — it was the policy of Surveyor-General Robert Hoddle to adopt Aboriginal names for parish names wherever possible and this involved assistant surveyors attempting to determine from local Aboriginal people the names of any local feature in a locality.¹¹ Truganina, the name of a parish, was not a local placename but named after the Tasmanian Nuenonne woman Truganini (or Trugernanner). She had survived the

⁵ Uncle Byron Powell 2019, 'Welcome to Wadawurrung Country' in David S. Jones and Phillip B. Roos (eds) 2019, Geelong's Changing Landscape: Ecology, development and conservation, CSIRO Publishing, Collingwood.

⁶ J.T. Gellibrand 1857, 'Mr Gellibrand's Memoranda of a Trip to Port Phillip', Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria, vol. 3, 1857, p. 74.

⁷ This name 'Iramoo Plains' was recorded by Hume and Hovell in 1824.

⁸ Dolce Evers and Ian D. Clark 2014, 'The You Yangs Regional Park' in Ian D. Clark (ed.), An Historical Geography of Tourism in Victoria, Australia; 'Native Names', Ballarat Star, 8 June 1866, p. 2 (J.L. Currie was advised by a Wadawurrung informant of the name Youang for Station Peak, meaning 'big hill'); Whitworth 1879, p. 517.

⁹ James 1985, p. 9.

¹⁰ Werribee Shire Banner, 25 September 1919, p. 2.

¹¹ Michael Cannon (ed.) 1984, Historical Records of Victoria: Vol. 3: The Early Development of Melbourne 1836–1839, p. 103.



Black War in Tasmania and came to Melbourne in 1838 with the appointed Chief Protector of Port Phillip, George Augustus Robinson. She returned to Tasmania in 1840 and died in Hobart in 1876. It is not known whether she had any particular association with the Werribee area.¹²

Another placename with an Aboriginal association was 'Bungey's Hole' — a deep swimming hole adjacent to the Werribee River, which was associated with the bunyip — a mysterious creature known to many Aboriginal people in different parts of Victoria. In an early plan of James Austin's pastoral run, dated 1845, the site on the river is marked as 'Bungel carnies Hole, A famed resort of the "Bunyip" (see Figure 3).¹³ The bunyip was a creature to be feared and often was associated with taking people into a waterhole a deep lake. According to the Assistant Protector of Aborigines at Port Phillip, William Thomas, the name "Bungen karney' meant 'ugly, frightful, monster, devil, imaginary animal between man and bear'.¹⁴

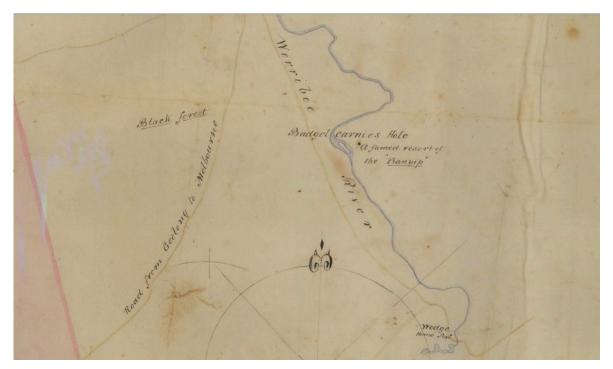


Figure 2. Plan of the site of James Austin's Black Forest station, dated 1845, showing the 'Black Forest', Wedge's home station, and 'Budgel carnies Hole'; detail from Pastoral Run plan 476. (Source: Public Record Office Victoria)

3.1.2 Early contact with the newcomers

Transported British convict William Buckley, who escaped from the penal settlement at Sorrento in 1803, lived with the Wathaurung for thirty-two years. He later recounted his experiences to John Morgan, who published an account of his 'life and times' in 1852.¹⁵ Buckley would have crossed the Werribee plains countless times and been familiar with many places on the Werribee River, the coast and the wetlands. Buckley learnt much about the variety of the country, of its interesting features like caves and islands, and the ample food resources that could be found. He learnt about the culture and traditions of the Wathaurung and came to only speak their language, forgetting his own as a result. His remarkable story is an important record of Aboriginal life in Victoria and a rare example of an early case of in Aboriginal culture before large-scale British settlement.

¹² Cassandra Pybus 2019, Truganini, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest (NSW).

¹³ Black Forest Pastoral Run, 1845, VPRS 8168/ P5, item RUN, record 476 (Public Record Office Victoria).

¹⁴ Marguerita Stephenson (ed.) 2015, The Journals of William Thomas, vol. 4, VACL, Fitzroy, p. 151.

¹⁵ John Morgan 1852, The Life and Times of William Buckley, Archibald MacDougall, Hobart.



Apart from Buckley's long period with the Wathaurung, and Hume and Hovell's brief passage through the area in 1824, it was not until John Batman and his party landed at Indented Head in May 1835 that Aboriginal people occupying what is now the Wyndham municipality had significant and sustained contact with the British. For many years prior, however, they would have seen the white-masted vessels of foreign seafarers on the horizon, and perhaps would have seen some of these strangers come ashore, for example Matthew Flinders who climbed 'Station Peak' (the You Yangs) in 1802. The foreign invaders recorded their observations of the Aboriginal people in this area. In 1824 Hume and Hovell noted the 'general prosperity' of the Aboriginal people on the Werribee plains.¹⁶ In 1835 John Batman, while crossing the Werribee plains, observed smoke rising from an Aboriginal camp beneath the You Yangs.¹⁷

In the years that followed the arrival of permanent settlers, Aboriginal people continued to occupy the area and follow many of their traditional practices despite the enormous difficulties this must have posed. An early arrival, Stephen Anderson, recalled seeing between 200 and 300 Aboriginal people camped on the Werribee in the early days of the settlement.¹⁸ Members of the Pinkerton family, who were involved in the early pastoral settlement of the district, retold a story of cooking a big cauldron of rice for the Aboriginal people when they came past once a year for corroborees.¹⁹



Figure 3. Robert Russell, 'Bed of Werriby River from the Plains', c.1852. (Source: State Library Victoria)

¹⁶ Cited in Allom Lovell Sanderson 1985, 'Werribee Park Metropolitan Park: Conservation analysis', p. 295.

¹⁷ Evers and Clark 2014, 'The You Yangs'.

¹⁸ Murray 1974, p. 116.

¹⁹ Frances Overmars, pers. comm., November 2020.



3.2 Shaping the environment

3.2.1 Tracing the natural history of the area

The majority of the area known as the Werribee Plains formed the eastern extremity of the vast volcanic plain of western Victoria, which is one of the largest in the world. The basalt derived from ancient lava flows and overlaid an existing layer of older sedimentary rock. Much of the area was grasslands with minimal tree cover, although this was likely to have been modified by fire by Aboriginal people for thousands of years. The largest waterway, the Werribee River, had its source in the hills to the north and terminated at Port Phillip Bay. When sea levels were higher there had been a much wider estuary area near the outflow. A secondary stream, the Little River, is fed by the Anakie Creek to the north; it is narrow but has cut deeply through the basalt layers.

Giant mammals inhabited the Werribee plains thousands of years ago, including giant wombats and kangaroos. Bones of these prehistoric animals were found at the site of the Metropolitan Farm in the early 1890s when the area was being excavated as part of its development.²⁰

The City of Wyndham is almost entirely a flat landscape with little topographical variation. But there is a slight rise to the north of the municipality. The granite hills the You Yangs to the west and Mount Cottrell to the north, both outside the study area, are dominant features of the wider landscape. Mount Mary, like Mount Cottrell, is a of volcanic origin.

Early settlers described the locality in the early period of settlement — as a place with rich birdlife, plentiful fish and a range of animals. J.H. Wedge description of the Werribee Plains as being home to emu and kangaroos, wild dogs.²¹ Many of the birds and animals that British settlers encountered when they first arrived in this area are now also rare in the local context.

Timber was not abundant on the Werribee plains but there were nevertheless some large River Red Gums along the Werribee River and on its floodplain, as attested to by early photographs. Early settlers could distinguish to course of the river by the distinctive line of trees along its banks. To the west wide of the river just north of Werribee was an area known in the early settlement period as the "Black Forest', suggesting a particularly dense timbered area (see Figure 3). These trees were possibly Blackwoods, which had a black-coloured trunk.

3.2.2 Living with natural processes

Human settlement in the area that now forms the City of Wyndham has seen both slow and incremental changes to the landscape, as well as more dramatic changes that are legible in the landscape. The changes through Deep Time that affected the Aboriginal people of the area were profound and have been told through generations in the stories of Country. Aboriginal people saw sea levels rise and fall, which altered the coastline many times over, and saw the waterways change significantly.

From their arrival in 1835, settlers were confronted by various challenges in the natural environment. The Werribee River was prone to flooding, which would often cause significant damage to settlers' buildings and property. Early residents witnessed firsthand the capabilities of the Werribee River, when the river broke its banks in 1852 and flooded with such devastating force that the timber homestead of Edward Wedge was washed away and several members of family were drowned.²² There were subsequent instances of damaging flooding of the Werribee River, for example in 1891, but none had

²⁰ G.B. Pritchard 1895, 'Note on the Occurrence of Fossil Bones at Werribee', Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria, 1895, pp. 157-58; Australian News for Home Readers, 25 November 1864, p. 7.

 ²¹ Cited in Susan Priestley 1988, Altona: A long view, Hargreen Publishing in association with the City of Altona, p. 3.
 ²² James 1985, p. 26.



the same gravitas as the dramatic loss of the members of the Wedge family in 1852. The damming of the river further upstream, for example, with the Melton Reservoir, has helped to mitigate the potential for flooding to some extent. In contrast to flooding, there have been periods of low rainfall and drought. When the river ran low, the shortage of water was detrimental to stock and hence to farming livelihoods.

Fire has also long been part of this landscape. Aboriginal people fired the grasslands using controlled burning to regenerate plant foods and to manage a fragile environment. The Governor of New South Wales, Richard Bourke, noted that the Werribee Plains had the appearance of having recently been burnt when he passed through the area in 1836.²³ Others were struck by the absence of trees on the Werribee plains.²⁴ Fire was a dire problem for settlers during dry seasons and frequently caught them off-guard with fire-fighting strategies limited in the early days of settlement. Large-scale fires affected the area on Black Thursday 1851 and in the dry summers of 1967–68 and 1968–69. Many early buildings have been lost to fires, including 'The Manor', which burnt down in 1925, and the historic Truganina Hall which was lost in the 1968 bushfires. In 1969, grassfires lapped the edges of new housing development at Hoppers Crossing, while the You Yang fires in 1985 came to within 150 metres of the Little River Mechanics Hall.²⁵ Controlling large grassfires was difficult without a reliable local water supply, mechanised transport and co-ordinated local efforts.

3.2.3 Appreciating and preserving the natural environment

Early settlers in search of grazing land beheld the Werribee plains as fine pastoral country waiting to be stocked with sheep and cattle, and so appeared to them as a place of beauty and promise. The country was well watered by the Werribee River and numerous lagoons, and the river and its banks provided many local beauty spots. 'Rolf Boldrewood' (T.A. Browne), taking a mob of cattle westwards in 1844, stopped to camp at the Werribee. He recalled the view from the tent of 'the glorious, far-stretching wild' to the west:

On three sides lay the plains, a dimly verdurous expanse ... The outline of the Anakie–You Yangs range was sharply drawn against the dawn-lighted horizon, while far to the north east was seen the forest clothes summit of Mount Macedon, and westward gleaned the sea. The calm water of Corio Bay and the abrupt cone of Station Peak, nearly in the line of our route, formed an unmistakable yet picturesque landmark.²⁶

Visitors found much to appreciate about the locality, particularly the Werribee River, as one fishing enthusiast explained: 'the Werribee has other attractions — the charming banks, lined alternately with high reeds that rustle like miniature bamboos, she-oaks climbing up the steep banks; and high thistles, illegally detained probably because they look so well'.²⁷ Many others saw the Werribee plains as a far from promising prospect. The drab monotony of the plains themselves, which was sparsely timbered and flat country, was often abhorred by those who passed through.

Steps to preserve the natural landscape were made by the MMBW in 1921 when part of the Metropolitan Farm was set aside as a bird sanctuary; in 1938 the whole Farm was proclaimed a sanctuary for native game.²⁸ The area has attracted enormous numbers of migratory birds, and a wide variety of species. When the Metropolitan Farm was extended in the 1970s with additional lagoons, this attracted many species of water birds. Conservation became increasingly important to the Board in the

²³ Michael Cannon (ed.) 1981, Historical Records of Victoria: Vol. 1, Victorian Government Printing Office, Melbourne, p. 101.

²⁴ Michael Cannon (ed.) 1984, Historical Records of Victoria: Vol. 3, Victorian Government Printing Office, Melbourne, p. xx.

²⁵ Little River Mechanics Hall website—History: https://littlerivermechanicshall.weebly.com/history.html, Hoppers Crossing', wyndhamhistory.net.au.

 ²⁶ Rolf Boldrewood (T.A. Browne) 1969, Old Melbourne Memories, William Heinemann, Melbourne (first published 1884), p. 10.
 ²⁷ James 1985, p. 55.

²⁸ Helen Penrose 2001, Werribee Farm: A history, Melbourne Water Corporation, Melbourne, p. 41.



1960s and 1970s.²⁹ The Point Cook Marine Reserve (and Ramsar site 1983?) on the coast was declared in 1982. Some land was reserved along the Werribee River for public purposes, but much has not been protected.

Other areas that are valued by the community as important to the natural environment include Truganina Cemetery which provides a habitat for the rare Button Wrinklewort daisies. The cemetery trustees had prohibited grazing from the 1860s which allowed this species of wildflower to survive.³⁰ The You Yangs (outside the study area) has long been appreciated for its scenery and birdlife and has attracted bushwalkers and birdwatchers. The native grasslands of the area have been lost with the dramatic expansion of residential development. A new park at Tarneit, called Wootten Road Reserve, has recently been developed as a habitat for native grasslands of the area.

3.2.4 Transforming the land and waterways

The pastoral invasion of the Werribee grasslands had dramatic implications for the land and waterways. It transformed the land and caused the waterways to become polluted and altered. It led to the disappearance of many of the native grasses and other plants used for food, such as Murnong or Yam Daisy (*Microseris lanceolata*), and other purposes, which were trampled by hoofed beasts.

Pastoral settlement caused the waterways to be monopolised by a few users rather than being accessible to a larger group of people. Pastoral settlers, and the small farmers who came after them, built an extensive network of drystone walls across the Werribee plains, using the volcanic field stone that was lying around in profusion. This was both to fence in the stock and to keep rabbits out. Some of the better-made walls were commenced below the ground surface to deter rabbits from digging.³¹ The stone walls had an impact on the land visually and ecologically.

Much of the area within the City of Wyndham had been taken up as freehold prior to a government order in the early 1860s for the protection and reservation of waterways and their frontages. As a result, many properties had unrestricted frontage to the Werribee River, Little River and the Skeleton Creek. Many of the waterways were depleted due to overuse and Little River residents have sought to remedy this.³²

Through the second half of the nineteenth century this remained a grazing and farming district with little concentrated settlement apart from the Werribee and Little River townships. Whilst there was little urban development up until the 1890s, the landscape was impacted by grazing and agricultural practices. The land was cleared of trees, although settlers found much of the area only thinly timbered. The waterways and lagoons were exploited by stock (with some used for sheepwashing), but some river frontage was reserved for various public purposes. Holes were dug to exploit the basalt.

Later, lagoons were drained and waterways were dammed (the Werribee River at Melton). The Skeleton Creek chain of waterholes was contained and altered. The network of irrigation channels in the Werribee area and the extensive operations that comprised the Metropolitan Sewerage Farm transformed the landscape from the 1890s until the 1940s.

²⁹ Tony Dingle and Carolyn Rasmussen 1991, Vital Connections, p. 300.

³⁰ DELWP 2019, 'A Halloween Tale: Melbourne cemetery pushing up rare daisies', https://www.environment.vic.gov.au/media-releases/cemetery-rare-daisies

³¹ Biosis 2015, 'Wyndham Dry Stone Walls Study', prepared for the City of Wyndham, p. 56.

³² Sue and Peter Jones, Little River, pers. comm., November 2020.



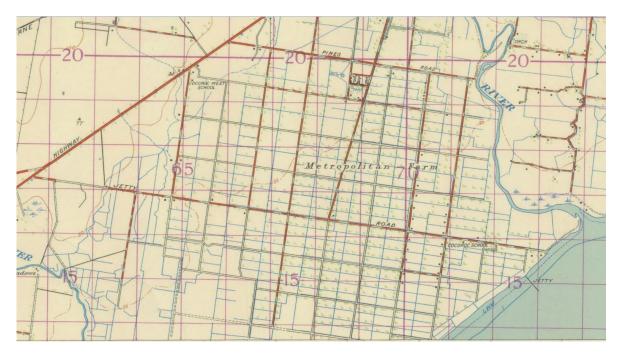


Figure 4. Australian Imperial Section General Staff, 'Melbourne' 1933 (drawn from 1916 map). Army plan of the Werribee area, showing the regimented structure of the Metropolitan Farm laid over the flat landscape. The blue lines indicate irrigation channels. (Source: State Library Victoria)



Figure 5. Photograph by Fred Kruger showing a section of the Werribee River, c.1882. (Source: National Gallery of Victoria, Accession number: PH323-1979)



3.3 Claiming and occupying the land

3.3.1 Exploration and survey

While navigating the south coast of Australia in 1802, the British navigator Matthew Flinders charted Port Phillip Bay. He went ashore and climbed to the highest point of the You Yangs, naming it 'Station Peak'. Whalers and sealers who were working the southern coastline may also have entered the bay over the following decades.

The area to the west of Melbourne was perhaps better known to the early settlers in the period before 1830s than much of the country to the east. The Werribee plains had been visited and reported on by Matthew Flinders in 1802 and by Hume and Hovell in 1824. In 1803 Charles Grimes had explored further west of the Saltwater (Maribyrnong) River and described the Werribee plains as 'one third grass, one third stone and one-third soil'.³³ The explorers Hume and Hovell crossed the Werribee Plains in 1824, stopping at Point Cook and camping at various places before turning back at Hovells Creek at Corio Bay. Local historian Lance Pritchard has reassessed the historical record of Hume and Hovell's journey, however, and determined that they in fact terminated their journey further east at the Werribee River.³⁴

Living in Van Diemen's Land in the 1820s, John Batman had eagerly read the accounts of Hume and Hovell's expedition to Port Phillip and the promising sheep country they encountered, and this prompted a long-considered plan, from the late 1820s, to take up land at Port Phillip. Batman followed Hume's account in determining that he should land at Indented Head on the Bellarine Peninsula. He was a member of the Port Phillip Association (originally the Geelong and Dutigalla Association), which was a syndicate formed in Launceston in 1835 with the objective of taking up land for pastoral expansion at Port Phillip. Batman landed at Indented Head in May 1835 and made his way across the Werribee plains. Early settler J.P. Fawkner recounted that Batman was at or near the Werribee River when he met with some Aboriginal women to whom he gave beads and other trinkets.³⁵ Batman was familiar with the map created by Hume and Hovell, and noted the 'Iramoo Plains', named as such by Hume and Hovell, who had relied on a local Aboriginal name. In June 1835, Batman purported to make a treaty with the Kulin 'chiefs', on behalf of the Port Phillip Association, laying claim to 600,000 acres of land between Dutigalla (Melbourne) and Geelong. At that time Port Phillip was outside the bounds of legitimate settlement of NSW and Batman's proposed land grab was an illegal venture. J.H. Wedge prepared a plan of Port Phillip, probably in 1835, in which he marked the Werribee plains as 'fine open plains' and 'extensive open country'.³⁶ The treaty lands were divided up by the members of the Port Phillip Association, with J.H. Wedge claiming allotment 12 within the present-day City of Wyndham.

With the settlement of Melbourne made official by 1836, the country was surveyed over the next ten to fifteen years. Parishes and counties were surveyed under the direction of chief surveyor, Robert Hoddle, and later by his predecessor Andrew Clarke. In 1849, the City of Wyndham was laid out on the Werribee River, with the river initially marking the dividing line between the Parish of Deutgam in the Country of Bourke (east bank) and the Parish of Mambourin in the Country of Grant (west bank).³⁷

³³ J.J. Ryder, 'Early History of Werribee', quoted in Werribee Shire Banner, 3 January 1924, p. 6.

³⁴ Lance Pritchard 2020, Hume and Hovell Expedition Termination, Midway Print Solutions, Sunshine West.

³⁵ J.P. Fawkner, 'Reminiscences of the Colony of Victoria', Leader, 14 June 1862, p. 6.

³⁶ J.H. Wedge, c.1835, [Map of Port Phillip from the survey of Mr. Wedge and others', Map Collection, State Library Victoria.

³⁷ See Robert Hoddle, 'Plan of the Township of Wyndham' 1849, reproduced in Geoff Hocking 2013, Wyndham: Our story, p. 29.

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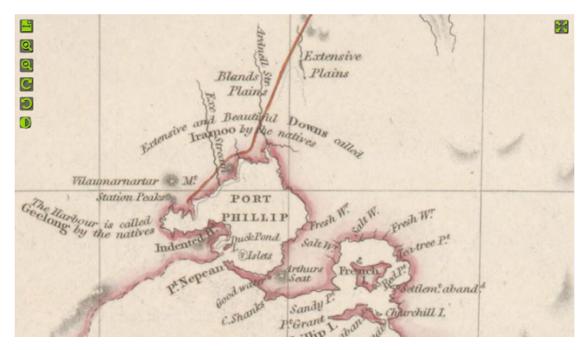


Figure 6. John Arrowsmith, Map of Australia, 1832. (Source: National Library of Australia)

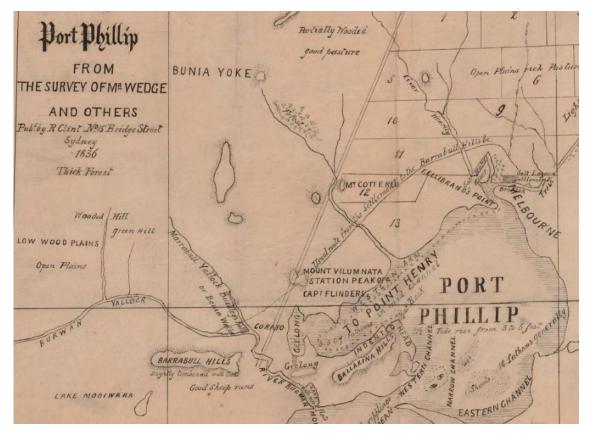


Figure 7. Detail from J.H. Wedge, 'Map of Port Phillip', 1835, showing allotment '13' occupied by Wedge in the Port Phillip Association's allocation of land from the illegal 'treaty' acquisition of 600,000 acres. (Source: State Library Victoria)

With its proximity to Melbourne and relative flat topography, this area provided a suitable location for the Victorian government to base the Victorian Geodetic Survey of 1858 to 1872. Base stones for this



survey were installed c1860 and several of these survive (e.g. South Base Stone, VHR H1957).³⁸ A trigonometric point was established at the highest point at Point Cooke, which was a costal dune.³⁹

3.3.2 Pastoral settlement

The early pastoral settlers, keen to expand their operations, beheld the Iramoo Plains as a vast sheepwalk. Although often described as flat and treeless, the plains provided fine pastoral country for the early settlers. It was an extensive tract of good country, fed by regular waterways and with minimal tree cover so that tree-felling did not pose an additional burden to settlers. Although there was little topographic variation across the volcanic plains, the country was rich in resources. It was recorded as red-black loamy soil, enriched by ancient volcanic activity and well-watered by the various creeks and by the Werribee River with its extensive flood plain.⁴⁰ This fine river had been named the Ardnell by Hume and Hovell was now named the River Ex (Exe) by J.H. Wedge. The Werribee plains were clothed mainly in Kangaroo Grass and lightly timbered with She-oak, stunted Banksia, tea tree and other species, with scattered River Red Gums on the flood plains. Government surveyor William Wedge Darke described the Werribee plains in 1841 as 'the finest possible sheep pasture, and so sufficiently watered that they are fully occupied by squatters whose flocks are in excellent condition, even when the plains are burnt up by summer'.⁴¹

The first British settlers were the members of the Port Phillip Association, who came across from Van Diemen's Land and settled illegally in 1835; others followed from NSW and then from the British Isles. In 1835-36 John Helder Wedge and James Simpson, both members of the Port Phillip Association, formed a sheep station on the Lower Werribee 'at the confluence of the salt and fresh water'.⁴² Charles Wedge joined them as their agent.⁴³ J.H. Wedge had served as a surveyor to John Batman and the Port Phillip Association and brought over sheep from Launceston.⁴⁴ His brother Edward Wedge also took up a pastoral license on the lower Werribee River in 1836.

The early pastoral runs established a home station comprising rudimentary shepherds' huts positioned at strategic distant locations. Nearby watercourses provided water for stock and also a ready-made sheepwash. Early pastoral runs included River Ex, Truganina, Black Forest, Werribee Lower, Cocoroc and Lollypop Ponds. Henry Grass, who held the Cocoroc run, had an out-station was on the east side of the Little River.⁴⁵ A 'hut in ruins' was marked on the Werribee parish plan, west of the Werribee River, dated 1859; this was possibly an early abandoned shepherd's hut on Grass's run.⁴⁶ James Anderson took up the pre-emptive right of 320 acres at Lollypop Ponds in 1848.⁴⁷ James Austin took up a pre-emptive right to 400 acres of the Black Forest run. In the north of the municipality were the holdings of W.J.T. 'Big' Clarke, who arrived at Geelong in 1837 and ran sheep at Little River and the You Yangs. Clarke went on to become the richest man in Australia, and the country's reputed first millionaire.⁴⁸ He erected a mansion 'Rupertswood' at Sunbury and his landholdings were so extensive that his sheep run

³⁸ May 1989, no pp.

³⁹ MMBW c.1990, 'Point Cook Metropolitan Park' (brochure).

⁴⁰ See map, 'Soil Map of Australia', c.1940s, reproduced in Richard Aitken, Modernism.

⁴¹ William Wedge Darke, cited in Murray 1974, p. 11.

⁴² T.F. Bride (ed.) 1898, Letters from Victorian Pioneers, Government Printer, Melbourne, p. 161.

⁴³ Cannon (ed.) 1984, p. 426.

⁴⁴ R.V. Billis and A.S. Kenyon 1930, Pastures New: An account of the pastoral occupation of Port Phillip, Macmillan, Bird & Co., Melbourne, p. 34.

⁴⁵ Geological Survey of Victoria, Cocooroc 1863 (SLV). Grass's Out Station was noted on an early map of Port Phillip c. late 1830s (SLV).

⁴⁶ Thomas Nelson, 'Country lots, Parish of Werribee, County of Grant', 1859, Crown Lands Office, Melbourne (Public Record Office Victoria).

⁴⁷ Werribee Parish Plan, Department of Crown Lands and Survey, Melbourne, 1880 (Australian National University).

⁴⁸ Peel 1974, p. 52.



stretched into the parish of Truganina.⁴⁹ By 1837, other squatters established at Little River included Synnot, Wallace and Pettett.⁵⁰

Pastoral settlers with sufficient capital sought to further consolidate their holdings, and often monopolised the best land, for example the area alongside watercourses. The most successful pastoral settlers in the district, Scottish-born brothers Thomas and Andrew Chirnside, had already consolidated extensive land holdings at Point Cook, before acquiring in 1853 Wedge's former run on the Werribee River. The Chirnsides obtained the land following the death of several members of the Wedge family in severe floods in 1852, after which the remaining members of the family left the district. The Chirnsides went on to purchase countless freehold parcels through the 1850s across the parishes of Werribee, Tarneit and Mambourin. In total, they held 82,000 acres of land just over 20 miles from Melbourne.⁵¹

R Austin's James Right emptive

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Figure 8 James Austin took up a pre-emptive right to the Black Forest pastoral run, within the Parish of Tarneit, shown here plan with the existing buildings marked close to the river; from Tarneit Parish Plan, drawn by Charles Wedge, 1853. (Source: State Library Victoria)

Figure 9 A.S. Kenyon, Map showing the pastoral holdings of the Port Phillip district 1835–51, Crown Lands Department, Melbourne, 1932. (Source: State Library Victoria)

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⁴⁹ James 1985, p. 31.

⁵⁰ Blake 1973, vol. 2, p. 994. (Note that Synnot's home station was on the west bank of the Little River and outside the study area.)

⁵¹ Sutherland 1888, vol. 2, p. 171.



Figure 10. Section from the Werribee Parish Plan, 1880, showing the comprehensive acquisition of allotments by the Chirnsides. (Source: State Library Victoria)

Buildings and structures

Many of the earliest dwellings in the district would have been rudimentary structures that drew on the vernacular building techniques settlers brought with them from the Old World. The profusion of surface stone provided the settlers with a readily available building material, and many of the Highland Scots would have been familiar with construction methods that utilised stone. The early dwellings of workers and small holders would have been constructing using vernacular techniques, including sod, wattle-and-daub, adobe, and rubble construction. J.H. Wedge refers to a sod hut built on the Werribee River in 1836.⁵² The same year, several early settlers initially occupied tents.⁵³ Masonry construction would have been reserved for the wealthy, although the prevalence of large bluestone homes on pastoral stations indicates a preference to use the materials at hand. Masonry was otherwise reserved for churches and public buildings.

A distinctive feature of the Werribee plains are the drystone walls that were made using the surface rock that settlers found lying around when they arrived. There was a requirement for those who were first to take up land from the Crown to fence their holdings.⁵⁴ The City of Wyndham lies at the eastern edge of the third largest basalt plain in the world and surface stone was not in short supply. Surviving drystone walls represent some of the earliest built fabric of the settlement period, but the walls were also often built and rebuilt over many decades. Often the drystone walls have survived in a complex comprising a farmhouse and stone farm buildings. At one property on the Skeleton Creek the drystone walls cross the creek to reflect the water rights of the landowner.⁵⁵ Drystone walls stopped being built when other materials became affordable, and notably, when barbed wire became available in the 1880s. Where there was not a lot of timber but unlimited stone on the ground, it was the cheapest option.

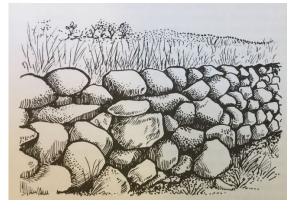


Figure 11. Drystone walling on the Western Plains. (Source: Winty Calder, *Beyond the View*, 1981, p. 97)



Figure 12. O'Shanahans Road, Tarneit. (Source: Google Streetview)

Homesteads

The dominance of the Chirnside family resulted in the construction of multiple homesteads. An early bluestone homestead dating to c.1850 was extant on the property when the Chirnsides acquired Point

⁵² Murray 1974, p. 11.

⁵³ Michael Cannon (ed.) 1984, Historical Records of Victoria, vol. 3: The Early Development of Melbourne 1836–1839, pp. 425–26.

⁵⁴ Biosis 2020, 'Don't Fence Me In', webinar on drystone walls.

⁵⁵ Biosis 2020, 'Don't Fence Me In'.



Cooke, which they subsequently extended.⁵⁶ Another modest bluestone homestead was built at Werribee Park in the late 1850s. As the Chirnside brothers became prosperous, they continued to consolidate land. They eventually accumulated an extensive estate in the Werribee area, acquiring a total of 47,000 acres. The Chirnside family had erected an assortment of bluestone buildings on the land from the late 1850s and 1860s, including a modest bluestone homestead, shearers' quarters, storerooms, and stables. In 1872 they built an Italianate bluestone homestead at Mount Rothwell (outside the study area).

The Chirnsides' boldest statement was Werribee Park, built between 1873 and 1877 — an Italianate mansion rather than a homestead, which cost the exorbitant sum of around £60,000.⁵⁷ Built from sandstone and bluestone, it was easily the grandest edifice erected in the district, and probably the grandest private home erected in Victoria and one of the largest in Australia.⁵⁸ The extravagance of Werribee Park followed the British tradition of the landed gentry occupying a lavish country home on a vast estate.

An extensive homestead complex like Werribee Park required a large number of staff to ensure that all operations ran efficiently. Workers' housing was an integral part of Werribee Park, and the Chirnsides provided accommodation for many staff who worked on the property. Domestic servants working at Werribee Park, and likewise at some of the other larger homesteads, were housed in servants' quarters, which were often upstairs above the working end of the house, or in wings connected to the main house in close proximity to the kitchen, similar to the practice in Britain. During the shearing season shearers, who were often single men, were often lodged in rudimentary, dormitory-style buildings or huts. Employees were not necessarily limited to rudimentary dwellings. The Chirnside family also erected a ten-room house on their land in the 1890s for Adam Hastie, who managed the property for the family.⁵⁹ A small villa-style gate lodge was also erected at the entrance to the property for staff.

⁵⁶ MMBW 1981, p. x.

⁵⁷ 'Werribee Park', Victorian Heritage Database, Place ID1207.

⁵⁸ Sutherland 1888, vol. 2, p.xx.

⁵⁹ 'Werribee Park', Victorian Heritage Database, Place ID1207.





Figure 13. Photograph of Werribee Park mansion by Fred Kruger viewed from the southeast in 1880, only a few years after its completion. (Source: 'South East View of Werribee Park Mansion', State Library Victoria, Accession no. H24834)



Figure 14. Fred Kruger, View from the tower at Werribee Park, c.1882, looking towards the farm buildings. (Source: National Gallery of Victoria, Accession number: PH322-1979 - check permission)

3.3.3 Impact of settlement: dispossession and frontier conflict

Pastoral settlement, proved catastrophic for Aboriginal people. Their world was turned upside down owing to the impacts of disease, abuse and intolerance of alcohol, violence and aggression of settlers, loss of country, and lack of access to food and water; the distress and trauma this caused is unfathomable and was poorly understood or simply not understood by the colonists.



Conflict was endemic on the pastoral frontier in the Port Phillip District. The murder of squatter Charles Franks and his shepherd at Mt Cottrell by Aboriginal people in 1836 struck fear into the minds of the new settlers at Port Phillip. Franks' callous attitude towards Aboriginal people was not widely known, and it is quite possible that he was killed in revenge.⁶⁰ Subsequent brutalities were not always recorded but local histories note the unofficial reports of crimes being committed against Aboriginal people, for example the use of arsenic in flour given to a local tribe.⁶¹ The Native Police were employed to assist with minimising trouble on the frontier and would certainly have moved through and operated in what is now the Wyndham municipality.

The impacts of colonisation on local Aboriginal people in the Werribee district were swift and extensive. There were few Aboriginal people residing in the district by the 1860s. In their annual reports submitted from 1860, the Board for the Protection of Aborigines does not include reports from local correspondents in Werribee or Little River; the closest correspondents were at Geelong and Bacchus Marsh.⁶² A reserve of 640 acres was set aside in 1859 in the parish of Balliang (outside the study area), about 20km south of Bacchus Marsh, 'for the use of the Aborigines' in the Moorabool and Werribee districts.⁶³

It is likely that local Aboriginal people were employed at some of the larger properties. The Chirnsides had employed Aboriginal workers on the Wannon in the Western District, which suggests that they may have done the same in the Werribee district in the early 1850s.⁶⁴ Bertram Armytage of Wooloomanata station near the You Yangs (located outside the City of Wyndham) employed a local Aboriginal man Billy Leigh of the 'You Yang tribe', who was given the European name of 'King Billy'. Attired in the apparel of the servants of the British landed gentry, Billy Leigh worked as the coachman for Wooloomanata. He would drive the team of four to and from the Little River railway station and further afield. He died in the early 1900s and he was buried in Geelong's Eastern Cemetery.⁶⁵

In the course of British settlement, Aboriginal people had their traditional country taken from them, and assigned to newcomers who sought to 'improve' the land and to generate revenue from it. Aboriginal people lived in Aboriginal 'camps', designated as such by the authorities, or to eke out an existence on Crown land reserves, such as the riverbank, railway reserves, and the foreshore. It is possible that camped at the police paddock in Werribee as the police had an obligation to provide rations to Aboriginal people. Some of the Wauthurung from Werribee may have spent time at the Buntingdale Wesleyan Mission at Birregurra and later at the Aboriginal people being in the Werribee district in the 1850s and 1860s, although some surely did. In the early 1860s the remaining Aboriginal people in Melbourne moved to Coranderrk Aboriginal Reserve near Healesville. Some Aboriginal people visited Werribee in the late-nineteenth century, for example the talented singers from the Maloga Mission near Echuca, who performed at the Werribee Mechanics Institute in 1893.⁶⁷

3.3.4 Agricultural settlement

Holdings before 1860

The Werribee area was declared a 'settled area' by 1847. Parcels of Crown land, usually up to 200 or 300 acres, were available for purchase as freehold title in the area from the 1850s. Many small farmers

⁶⁰ Kiddle 1961 p. 34; Murray 1974, p. 11.

⁶¹ Murray 1974, p. xx; James and Pritchard 2008, pp. 9-10; May 1989, no page numbers.

⁶² Board for the Protection of Aborigines, Annual Report 1860.

⁶³ VGG, 26 June 1860, p. 1177.

⁶⁴ Murray 1974, p. 42.

⁶⁵ Frank Shaw c.1993, Little River: A place to remember, Hamilton Printing Works, Lara, p. 5; David Burke 2009, Body at the Melbourne Club: Bertram Armytage, Antarctica's forgotten man, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁶ Caldere and Goff 1991, Aboriginal Reserves and Missions in Victoria, pp. 4, 8.

⁶⁷ Williamstown Chronicle, 8 July 1893, p. 3.



were established in the area in the 1850s, including a number of Irish settlers around Little River. Michael Gleeson's bluestone farmhouse Tarcombe (HO73) fronting the Little River dates to this period. Other notable early farms were May Farm and Leakes farm, both at Truganina.

Some purchased a number of adjoining blocks. In the east of the municipality in the parish of Truganina, large parcels of land were purchased by J.P. Fawkner, Alfred Langhorne and W. Cherry. The success of small farmers in this early period was limited, but those with sufficient capital could consolidate freehold allotments to form larger pastoral properties. Farmers and small holders argued that this was unrestrained acquisition was undemocratic and sought reforms to the way Crown land was allocated for small holders.



Figure 15. Early farmhouse of William Ison on Bulban Road, Werribee, was constructed of adobe. (Source: Miles Lewis, *Victorian Primitive*, 1977, p. 36; photograph by Miles Lewis)

Land selection

The Victorian land acts of the 1860s, often referred to as the 'selection acts', enabled small holders to acquire land before survey (the blocks acquired were known as selections). Much of the Crown land in the Werribee and Little River area had already been sold (mostly in the 1850s), which meant that the selection acts did not have much impact on local settlement patterns, except in some parts of the northern and western areas of the municipality.

Under the legislation of the 1860s, selection required that certain improvements were made to the property, including fencing, the erection of a dwelling, and the clearing of land (if necessary). Farmhouses were often rudimentary, and usually built of timber. Buildings and building materials were often recycled.

Farmers' commons, which provided selectors with common grazing land, were provided for as part of the *Duffy Land Act* of 1862. This provided a sort of insurance policy if crops had a bad year; there was always access to pastoral land for grazing. Farmers' commons were set aside at Little River and other localities. Selectors made use of the government 'commons' that had been reserved, although existing farmers who had purchased freehold land in the area also claimed a right to use the commons.

Closer settlement

The Closer Settlement Board was established by the Victorian Government in 1905, following the *Closer Settlement Act* the previous year, to administer the new developments in agricultural settlement. In particular, the Closer Settlement Board developed models of improved settlement in areas that could sustain a greater concentration of farming properties, or where irrigation schemes could be introduced to enable greater settlement in the area. Closer settlement in the Werribee area was closely tied to the



irrigation schemes developed by the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission and extended to the Soldier Settlement Schemes developed after the First World War.

The Werribee irrigation Area was fed with an unlimited supply of water from the Melton Reservoir. While pastoralists relied on good rains, the irrigation channels provided block holders with an insurance policy against dry seasons. By 1920, the Werribee irrigation district was thriving with 60 block holders finding it most profitable growing lucerne hay. It was reported of the irrigation area that 'these well laid out blocks look a picture'.⁶⁸ Other enterprising activities on closer settlement blocks included fruit-growing, dairying and poultry. By the 1930s market gardening had become the chief occupation in Werribee South.



Figure 16. Dilapidated farmhouse, O'Connors Road, Werribee South; this was probably erected during the era of the Closer Settlement Board. (Source: Context 2020)

Soldier Settlement

While soldier settlement was enabled by the *Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act* of 1917, it was essentially part of closer settlement and was administered by the Closer Settlement Board. Whereas soldier settlement schemes were dismally unsuccessful in many parts of Victoria, with a 40 per cent failure rate, the soldier settlers in the Werribee area did relatively well. They benefitted from a training period at the State Research Farm, and from the productive farming land of the district.⁶⁹ They also had the advantage of being situated close to the Melbourne market, which was easily accessible by train. The naming of Diggers Road remembers the soldier settlers.

Relations between pastoralists and farmers

As was the case in many country districts of Victoria in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was at times a degree of tension, at times bordering on animosity, between pastoralists and farmers in the Werribee and Little River districts. The pastoralists, and the Chirnsides in particular, assumed a position of authority and superiority in terms of land management. Small farmers were disadvantaged by some of their practices, such as preventing access to public roads and utilising unsold Crown land for their purposes rather than allow the farmers to use it (both parties sought to use any available Crown land for grazing). At Little River, this conflict came to a head and spear-headed the movement to create farmers' commons across Victoria.⁷⁰ The sheer scale of difference in terms of relative economic position also impacted on relations between the two groups. The Chirnsides as major landowners also controlled much of the land in the township and were an influential voice on the local municipal council and in local affairs.

⁶⁸ Weekly Times, 22 May 1922, p. 9.

⁶⁹ Mantello 1986, pp. 19-20.

⁷⁰ James and Pritchard 2008, p. 28.



3.4 Building connections through transport and communication

3.4.1 Establishing early tracks and travel routes

From the mid-1830s, the Werribee River marked the first stop on the long road trip out from Melbourne to Geelong and the west. There were established tracks across the plains for a much longer period and it seems likely that the Melbourne–Geelong Road developed from a route that approximated an Aboriginal track. On his early plan of Port Phillip drawn in c.1835, J.H. Wedge marked a track from Melbourne that swept north of the settlement, skirting around the West Melbourne swamp, and then heading west across the Werribee plains, which Wedge identified as 'Usual route from the Settlement to the Barrabool Hills, &c.'⁷¹ It is likely that this route was an Aboriginal track, given that the term 'Barrabool' was most often referred to in connection with the 'Barrabool tribe' (a Wathaurung clan). It is known the Wauthurung made regular visits to the Melbourne area for inter-tribal meetings with other Kulin, and it is likely that this was one of a few regular routes that they took. It is probable that the route taken by Aboriginal people would have connected with a convenient crossing point on the river and may also have connected with Bungey's Hole (or Bungel carnies Hole) as this deep pool was most likely a place of special significance.

The route to the west quickly became a well-trodden path of pastoralists, stockmen and shepherds, and all those who worked for and provided services to the pastoral industry. Initially these were tracks that followed the easiest path and best crossing points, and over time more defined routes were established. Many found the road notoriously dull. In the first few years of settlement the track was littered with surface stone, but this was cleared by roadwork operations of William Lonsdale c.1840.⁷² There were many mishaps in these early years of settlement at these crossing places where men and stock were injured.⁷³ From Melbourne, the first stop was the Werribee River. From the Geelong side, the first stop was the Little River where, as on the Werribee, there were also hotels/lodging houses established from the late 1830s. Once a defined track was in place, places to rest and water the horses were established at the Werribee and Little River crossings. Here, blacksmiths situated their smithy on the main transport route and plied a steady trade, shoeing horses, and mending the axles of carts and coaches.

3.4.2 Building roads and bridges

The earliest settlements in the municipality developed as stopping points on the roads that ran between Melbourne and Geelong; these points rapidly became the focal points for early settlers of the oftenisolated surrounding pastoral properties. The Golden Fleece Inn, an early 'country hotel,' was built in 1838, of wattle-and-daub construction, and quickly became the customary stopping place for those travelling between the two settlements.⁷⁴

To arrive in the district from Melbourne in the earliest years of settlement, a traveller would be faced with a punt at the Maribyrnong River before reaching the Geelong Road, a track that had few accessible water sources. The Werribee River was a suitable stopping place to rest and water the horses, and an appropriate location for an early hotel.⁷⁵ A makeshift bridge, constructed from local timber and stone,

⁷¹ Wedge 1835, Plan of Port Phillip.

⁷² Murray 1974, p. 17.

⁷³ R.V. Billis and A.S. Kenyon 1930, Pastures New: An account of the pastoral occupation of Port Phillip, p. 111.

⁷⁴ Murray 1974, p. 34; James 1985, p. 14.

⁷⁵ James 1985, p. 17.



provided access across the river in the vicinity of the hotel by 1840. At the western edge of municipality, Little River provided the same amenity to travellers making their way from Geelong.

Settlers in the Wyndham region often had to labour at their own rudimentary courses of travel to access the land. One such example of this is Cobbledick's Ford, a small crossing on the Werribee River, near Tarneit. The ford is paved in bluestone, a readily available surface stone, and provided a crossing on the river at a shallow point for local residents. Such was the importance of river crossings like Cobbledick's Ford that by 1872, locals were still said to take a detour of three miles to use it, rather than the Exford Bridge, as it offered free access to the established roads leading to Melbourne.⁷⁶

By the 1860s, it had become clear that a road board was necessary for the provision of roads of a better quality than the worn tracks that had been forged in the district. Floods had wreaked havoc on the roads and river crossings in 1862, almost completely washing away access to bridges around Werribee, leaving various portions of the road dangerous and impassable. The rising popularity of the region, partially owing to the railway, had also meant that the roads were becoming gradually unfit for use by increasing traffic. Writing to the *Argus* in September of 1862, one concerned resident wrote:

Some months since the inhabitants of this district forwarded a petition to the proper quarter praying for the formation of a road board, to be called the Wyndham Road Board ... yet nothing has been done that we can hear of to our satisfaction.

The late heavy floods coming down the Werribee have made the approaches to the bridge across that river at Wyndham almost impassable, and are now in a highly dangerous state. What will the Government do - Will they repair our bridge, or will they give us a road board? The bridge is not the only part that requires repairs, although the most urgent, as the greater part of the road between here and the Kororoit Creek needs repair, as it will now be used more frequently, thanks to the management (or, I should say, mismanagement) of the Railway Department.⁷⁷

Notwithstanding these issues, the earliest residential streets within Wyndham township were laid out and named by the 1860s, on both sides of the river.⁷⁸

Roads through the district were somewhat affected by the rise in large private landholdings, particularly the holdings of the Chirnside families. Access to public roads was enveloped into the land holdings, leaving residents and visitors to the region confused, and often frustrated. Werribee and its surrounds became increasingly popular for tourists, often drawn by the opportunities for fishing and shooting, the latter of which was a flashpoint for complaints about access to roads in the area. In 1875, the following was reported:

To reach the shore, it was necessary to cross the land intervening between the Geelong and Melbourne road and the Bay, nearly the whole of the tract being the freehold of Messrs T. and A. Chirnside. It is said there are three reserved roads running through the estate to the beach, two being on one side of the Werribee and one on the other, but where these roads are is known to very few, if any, of the residents, as the fence has been continued along the Geelong-road without anything to indicate the points at which the reserved roads should branch off, and the side lines are totally unmarked. The holiday sportsmen and others living in the vicinity were therefore compelled to cross at haphazard, and were met by persons employed by Messrs Chirnside, and informed that they must turn back, as they were trespassers.⁷⁹

Access to public roads was to become a cause championed by the residents of the district, many of whom believed that the dominance of the large land-owning families over public roadways, principally the Chirnsides, was detrimental to the interests of the town. The movement against the closure of public roads

⁷⁶ Bacchus Marsh Express, 21 December 1871, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Argus, 29 September 1862, p. 6.

⁷⁸ James 1985, p. 51.

⁷⁹ Gippsland Times, 8 April 1875, p. 4.



by the big landowners was championed by Patrick Kelly, who presided over the Wyndham Ratepayers Association.⁸⁰ The local newspaper further reported:

At a public meeting held on Saturday evening, at the Camp Hotel, a Wyndham Shire Ratepayers' Association was formed, the object being to enforce the right of the public to the use of the roads. The subscription was fixed at £1 and upwards per annum, and a committee was appointed who were instructed to provide for the defence of any who may be prosecuted for the late so-called trespass. The meeting was almost unanimous, the only persons who did not vote for the resolutions being Mr Stewart, president of Wyndham shire, and Mr Nolan, the shire secretary.⁸¹

yers Brid Wapproach Washed sway Flood 5. 3.19

Figure 17. The Sayers Road Bridge following a flood in 1919, where the western approach was washed away. Many of the river crossings and roads in the district were routinely affected by flooding on both the Little River and Werribee River. (Source: Werribee & District Historical Society)

The construction of bridges across the Werribee River and Little River was integral to the district's transport and communication network. The establishment of local government in the 1860s and resulting extension and improvement of roads meant that many of the small fords or rudimentary bridges began to be replaced, particularly in places where the size of the rivers made them impassable. The plentiful local bluestone provided a useful resource for the construction of bridges, and by the 1860s multiple stone arch bridges had been constructed over both rivers.

⁸⁰ Kelly Park, Cherry Street (corner Princes Highway), Werribee', Wyndham History website.

⁸¹ Gippsland Times, 8 April 1875, p. 4.





Figure 18. Rothwell Bridge, Little River, erected in 1866 by the Public Works Department and constructed by Clement Nash. (Source: VHD)

Tenders were called in 1849 for the construction of one of the first permanent bridges across the Werribee River, in line with Manly Street. The bridge was completed by 1851 but was washed away in flooding the following year.⁸² Bridges continued to be washed away over the following decades, which was a constant issue for the local council as it severely impacted travel and the movement of stock to the Melbourne markets.⁸³

In 1856, the first railway bridge over Werribee River was built, and a road bridge was replaced that had been washed away earlier. Destroyed again by flooding in 1861, a third bridge was built in 1875 at a greater height and strength to withstand the force of the river in flood times.⁸⁴ Floods would remain an issue in the following decades, washing away parts of this bridge, and others, in the 1890s and 1910s. The local council spent the remainder of the nineteenth-century building further crossings at other locations to supplement the bridges closer to Werribee. Other important river crossings were built with better luck elsewhere in the municipality, like the Rothwell Bridge on the Old Melbourne Road at Little River, which was finished in 1866 at a cost of £800. The Grant Bridge further along the River at You Yangs Road was finished a year later.⁸⁵

Transport requirements influenced the services on offer in the early towns and settlements. Werribee offered blacksmiths and wheelwrights, as well as saddlers, vets and grain merchants. Watering the horses was essential along the major transport routes and horse troughs were typically supplied outside hotels. In the 1930s, a large number of horse troughs were distributed to towns across Victoria by the animal rights activists George and Annis Bills, including Werribee, despite the fact that motorised transport was fast becoming the norm. The surviving Bills horse trough in Werribee is a legacy of the public provision of drinking water for horses. A more indirect link with the transport theme in Wyndham

⁸² Werribee Shire Banner, 22 July 1987, p. 3.

⁸³ James 1985, p. 44.

⁸⁴ Werribee Shire Banner 22 July 1987, p. 3.

⁸⁵ Context 1997, 'Heritage of the City of Wyndham Study'. (ROTHWELL BRDG and GRANT BRDGE)



was through cropping. Lucerne hay and oats were the major crops for horse-feed and the irrigation areas in Werribee were a significant producer of these crops which provided the necessary fuel for thousands of horses in Melbourne.

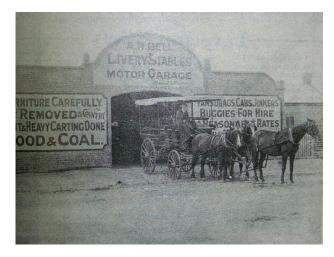


Figure 19. The A.R. Bell Livery Stables and Motor Garage at 28 Watton Street, Werribee, c.1920s. Due to the rise in use of motor vehicles, many businesses adapted to cater for both the traditional horse-drawn and modern motor vehicles. (Source: Flickr)

The arrival of motor cars around the turn of the century saw further necessary changes to roads in the municipality. The demands of motor cars — namely the need for safe road surfaces — meant that roads were gradually improved. Cars were initially restricted to the wealthy, and quickly became popular as a form of sport. Captain Percy Chirnside had participated in a race from Melbourne to Carlsruhe in 1905 in his own Packard.⁸⁶ Over time, the roads saw growing traffic from those driving between Melbourne and Geelong and the Western District. In the same year, the Victorian Railways' steam-motor bus carried a deputation of Williamtown town councillors to visit the Metropolitan Farm.⁸⁷ By 1908, Werribee Shire Council moved to put the first speed limits in place within the township.

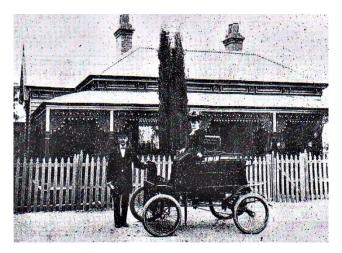


Figure 20. Mr and Mrs Woodcock photographed on Watton Street, Werribee, c.1905, with their own motor car, which was one of the first in the district. (Source: Lost Werribee Facebook Group)

The Country Roads Board, established in 1913, assumed responsibility for main roads in the area outside metropolitan Melbourne. Roads were metalled and sealed, and generally made safe for motor vehicles. The main road connecting Melbourne to Geelong was named the 'Prince's Highway' and

⁸⁶ James 1985 p. 79.

⁸⁷ James 1985, p. 80.



proclaimed in 1920. The introduction of motor cars also brought new dangers. Hopper's crossing on the Melbourne–Geelong Road proved a notorious place for accidents and the Country Roads Board advised of the installation of the of curiously named 'road light-houses' at this location in 1928.⁸⁸ The high frequency of potholes in the roads might was also posed a danger to horse-drawn vehicle, but it was the advent of the motor car and the frequency of road accidents that prompted improvements to the roads to be carried out.

The Country Roads Board built a new reinforced concrete bridge across the Little River in 1920,⁸⁹ and widened the bridge over the Werribee River at Werribee in 1935 and again in 1967. The railway bridge over the Werribee River has been rebuilt twice since the initial structure of 1856.⁹⁰

The increased number of cars on the road, and the importance of the Werribee as a stopping point on a common route to Geelong and the Western District, saw the emergence of motor garages, sales agents and other ancillary transport-related services in Werribee from the 1920s. The Werribee Motor Garage was situated in Cherry Street, while the A.R. Bell Livery Stables and Motor Garage and Nicholson's Bridge Motors were located in Watton Street in the 1920s.⁹¹

The Princes Highway (or Geelong Road) has been subject to many upgrades and road widenings by the Country Roads Board. The resulting road, thought to 'equal any road in the nation,' included the addition of the Maltby By-pass at Werribee, which when opened in 1961, was the first Victorian road to incorporate road surfaces of 'freeway quality'.⁹² Since that time, the whole stretch of road between Melbourne and Geelong has been upgraded to the same level.



Figure 21. Road workers drag spreading in Werribee township, April 1940, showing the Bridge Hotel [?] in the background. (Source: Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 17684, P3, Item 39_00399)

⁸⁸ Werribee Shire Banner, 19 January 1928, p. 5.

⁸⁹ Age, 20 March 1920, p. 14.

⁹⁰ Werribee Shire Banner, 22 July 1987, p. 3.

⁹¹ Wyndham History: http://www.wyndhamhistory.net.au/items/show/1310; Werribee District Historical Society website – Photo and text on Bridge Motors.

⁹² W.K. Anderson 1994, Roads for the People: A history of Victoria's roads, Hyland House, Melbourne, p. 74.



3.4.3 Travelling by water

Goods and people were transported by sea between Melbourne and the Werribee River from the early period of settlement. It was noted by Captain William Hobson in his charting of Port Phillip Bay in 1836 that 'there is one valuable little river ... that will admit vessels drawing six feet of water called the Ex [Werribee], at two miles from the entrance'.⁹³ In the late 1830s Police magistrate Foster Fyans referred to the 'boats on the Werribee River and noted that they were 'constantly passing in that direction from Melbourne and laying in the river for days'.⁹⁴

Travelling to Werribee from Melbourne or Geelong in the late-nineteenth century and into the early 1900s it was common to take the steamer. The roads were slow and uncomfortable for passengers. Passenger steamers, such as the *Ozone*, visited the Werribee area in the 1890s. The Chirnsides hosted lavish parties at Werribee Park and guests from Melbourne would often attend via a passenger boat.⁹⁵

In the nineteenth century steamers were used for transporting goods. The Chirnsides sometimes made use of the river as an access point to Werribee Park and shipped wool from the river to Melbourne. An early jetty was built in the vicinity of Point Cook by 1861 (it appears on a map of that date). This was possibly associated with the Chirnsides' activities. Another jetty was built here c.1920s.⁹⁶ In 1896 the MMBW pursued their plans to build a jetty at Werribee for the purpose of shipping produce cheaply from the Metropolitan Farm. This plan faced considerable local opposition as it was felt the MMBW should utilise the existing railway connection to Melbourne.⁹⁷

3.4.4 Developing rail networks

Construction of Victoria's first country railway line, providing a connection between Melbourne and Geelong, provided ready access to the area to the west of the city of Melbourne, and to Werribee and Little River. Construction commenced by the Geelong and Melbourne Railway Company in 1854 with the financial backing of British shareholders, the lure of the goldrushes drained the railway construction camps of necessary labour and slowed progress. The line finally commenced operation in 1857 and the first Werribee Railway Station (originally named Wyndham) opened the same year, located to the east of the town centre. The original Werribee Station was significantly damaged by fire in 1927. ⁹⁸

The Melbourne–Geelong railway connection was critical to the district in the period before motorised transport. The stations at Werribee and Little River were substantial complexes, each with a large station building and refreshment rooms. They also had goods sheds, an engine shed and water tank. A stone storeroom was built at Werribee station in the late 1850s.⁹⁹

Railway towns like Werribee and Little River had a large volume of traffic and provided water and feed for the teams who stopped here.

⁹³ Michael Cannon (ed.) 1985, Historical Records of Victoria vol. 4: Communications, Trade and Transport, p. 7.

⁹⁴ Cited in James and Pritchard 2008, p. 114.

⁹⁵ Burke 2009.

⁹⁶ MMBW, 'Point Cook Metropolitan Park' (brochure).

⁹⁷ Age, 10 June 1896, p. 6.

⁹⁸ Herald, 16 May 1927, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Geelong Advertiser, 16 July 1859, p. 3.





Figure 22. Bluestone railway station and engine shed at Little River, constructed in 1864. (Source: Winty Calder 1981, *Beyond the View*)

Little River suffered a railway disaster in 1884 when a collision occurred at night between two trains, with several people killed as a result. Further collisions, in some cases involving fatalities, occurred at the Little River level crossing in the 1930s.¹⁰⁰

Railway stations and sidings were built as local needs arose. Manor Station established between Werribee and Little River was established in the early 1900s.

Between 2012 and 2014, the Deer Park – West Werribee railway line was constructed through the north of the municipality, servicing Tarneit and Wyndham Vale.



Figure 23. Werribee Railway Station, c.1910. (Source: VPRS 12800 P1, H5141, Public Record Office Victoria)

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, accounts of railway accidents at Little River in 1884, 1930, 1931, and 1933.



3.4.5 Postal and telegraph services

The first post office in Werribee was operating by 1858 from a general store.¹⁰¹ The first building was a modest building erected in the c.1860s in Watton Street. A purpose-built post office was not built until 1904, and this was reputedly the first government building to be erected on land provided by the new Commonwealth. This building was demolished in 1966.¹⁰²

A post office and telegraph station was built at Little River in 1858, probably necessitated by it also being a railway station.¹⁰³ In 1895 and possibly earlier, the postmaster at Little River was also the local stationmaster. In 1907 a deputation from the Corio and Wyndham Shire Councils, as well as a group of residents proposed the removal of the post office from the Little River railway station to another site. In 1908, without consulting the residents, the postal department relocated postal services to a local store.¹⁰⁴

A post office operated at Truganina from 1878 and at Tarneit from 1888, where the local schoolmaster was also the postmaster. After closing in 1895, the Tarneit post office reopened in 1902 before closing again in 1943.¹⁰⁵

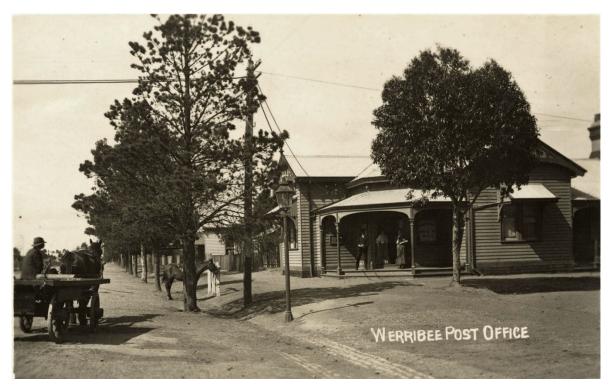


Figure 24. Werribee Post Office, built on the corner of Walton and Wedge streets, in 1904; photographed in 1911. The street tree appears to be a Radiata Pine. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H96.200/1474)

New postal services were also offered in areas where new settlements emerged. A post office was erected in Cocoroc in January 1901, servicing those who lived and worked at the Metropolitan Farm.

¹⁰¹ James and Pritchard 2008, p. 63. Statistics of the Colony of Victoria ... 1858, VPP, 1859, p. 74.

¹⁰² Murray 1974, p. 18.

¹⁰³ Geoff Hocking, 'Little River', Wyndham History, www.wyndhamhistory.net.au; Statistics of the Colony of Victoria ... 1858, VPP, 1859, p. 70.

¹⁰⁴ Geelong Advertiser, 22 January 1908, p. 4

¹⁰⁵ Context Pty Ltd 2012, 'Historic Heritage Assessment: Tarneit PSP Area 91', p. 14; VMD 1895, p. 624.



The town of Cocoroc was gradually depopulated and dismantled in the early 1970s, and the post office ceased operating in 1973.¹⁰⁶

The first telephone office was opened at the Werribee Railway Station in 1897 and calls to Melbourne could be made at a charge of a sixpence.¹⁰⁷ A purpose-built telephone exchange was erected c.1901. The Little River Progress Association moved to have an all-night telephone service installed in 1925.¹⁰⁸ A telephone exchange was also established at Werribee South by the 1940s.

3.4.6 Newspapers

Werribee's first local paper, the *Werribee Express*, was established in 1896 and operated until the end of 1936. A second newspaper, the *Wyndham Shire Banner*, was established in 1902 by proprietor Henry Barnes.¹⁰⁹ The paper was renamed the *Werribee Shire Banner* in 1911, reflecting the earlier name change of the town from Wyndham to Werribee. Its name was changed again to the *Werribee Banner* in 1984 and continued until the paper folded in 1984. It is not known whether there are any surviving places associated with the development of newspapers in the municipality. Another local paper, the *Werribee Leader Community News*, was established more recently.



Figure 25. The office of the Werribee Shire Banner. (Source: Werribee District Historical Society)

¹⁰⁹ '1902–Henry Barnes publishes the first local newspaper, the Wyndham Shire Banner', Wyndham History, www.wyndhamhistory.net.au.

¹⁰⁶ Werribee Shire Banner, 7 February 1973, p. 1; Baragwanath and James 2015, p. 612.

¹⁰⁷ '1897 – Telephone Office opened at Werribee Railway Station', Wyndham History, www.wyndhamhistory.net.au; Herald, 18 May 1898, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Werribee Shire Banner, 1 October 1925, p. 6.



3.5 Living off the land and sea

3.5.1 Sheep and cattle

Pastoralism, as discussed earlier, shaped the early British settlement in the district, with both sheep and cattle grazed across vast areas by settlers with substantial capital to obtain stock. Pastoral licence fees were negligible in the 1830s and 1840s, but the costs of labour and stock, and the risks of failure were significant. After difficult years in the early 1840s, when stock prices fell and many squatters abandoned their runs, pastoralists began to prosper. In 1847 squatters gained the right to claim a pre-emptive block of 640 acres, which saw the establishment of permanent homesteads and other improvements being made. By the early 1850s, Edward Wedge erected a homestead on the Werribee, as did William Drayton Taylor (or subsequent leaseholder Alexander Irvine) at Point Cook.¹¹⁰

The principal landowners in the district in the 1850s and 1860s were the Chirnside brothers and W.J.T. Clarke. Sheep were particularly lucrative owing to good prices for wool in export markets; by the 1870s, pastoralists were profiting from a boom in wool prices. Small holders ran smaller herds but many of the small farms were too small to be profitable in themselves. Additional grazing land was made available to farmers through the provision of farmers' commons in the early 1860s. Some farmers managed to increase their capacity by consolidating a number of smaller blocks to make grazing viable, but the dominance of the Chirnsides was difficult to compete with.

Grazing declined somewhat as other agricultural pursuits took hold — notably the shift to wheat-growing at Werribee Park in the 1880s, and other newer pursuits introduced with closer settlement and irrigation. Grazing continued to dominate the areas to the north and west, with wool-growing and fat lambs continuing to be an important to the local economy.



Figure 26. Shearers and rouseabouts at Werribee Park, grouped in front of the shearing shed, 1904. (Source: Weekly Times, 12 November 1904, p. 10)

3.5.2 Grain-growing

Grain-growing, or cropping, was a significant farming activity in the mid-nineteenth century, with haygrowing presiding over wheat-growing. There was an increased demand for wheat in the 1850s with the high rate of immigration and expanding population, but wheat crops were beset with various challenges,

¹¹⁰ 'Point Cook Homestead, Point Cook Homestead Road, Point Cook', Wyndham History website, http://wyndhamhistory.net.au/.



including rust and pests. From the 1880s onwards, however, improved strains of wheat were developed that encouraged more growers and harvesting techniques were also being constantly improved.

The predominant crop in the Werribee district was hay, as well as oats and barley. The introduction of a tenant farming scheme at Werribee Park in 1888, and later at The Manor, saw land use on the Chirnside estates shift from grazing to more intensive cropping, mainly barley and oats. Tenants on the MMBW's Metropolitan Farm were also growing crops from the 1890s.¹¹¹

Little River was well suited to grain-growing, and for many decades supplied hay and barley to Melbourne. A number of farms were important local grain producers, including Mouyong, The Rises, Rockleigh and Tarcombe.¹¹²

3.5.3 Mixed farming

Declared a 'settled area' from 1847, Werribee was an important early farming district that benefitted by the close proximity to Melbourne and the established rail connection.¹¹³ Small farms were available from the 1850s, which was earlier than many other areas of Victoria, which only provided small block for farming following the selections acts of the 1860s. Mixed farming refers to a range of farming pursuits being carried out on a single farm. This was sometimes a mixture of cropping and grazing, or a mixture of other agricultural pursuits such as poultry farming, dairying or raising pigs.

3.5.4 Dairying

Early settlers had some success in dairy farming where they had access to water. Many early settlers developed viable diaries, which often incorporated butter and cheese-making facilities. Leakes Dairy in Truganina, for example, milked over 100 cows in the 1850s-60s, made cheese and butter, and exported dairy produce overseas.¹¹⁴

The establishment of dairy co-operatives in the 1890s allowed local farmers to come together to sell their milk for an agreed price, and this worked well to satisfy supply and demand. In the early 1890s, the tenants on Werribee Park Estate sought to establish such a co-operative, however as tenants they were reliant on a private butter factory established by the Chirnside family in 1893. This was backed by the necessary capital needed to acquire the equipment needed, which provided an alternative model to the emerging diary co-operatives that were established across Victoria in the 1890s.¹¹⁵ The Werribee Park butter factory did well nevertheless and was exported significant quantities of butter to England in 1897.¹¹⁶

Dairying became a more viable pursuit for local farmers following closer settlement, especially where irrigation was available. There were a number of private dairies established on closer settlement blocks, including Fowlers cheese-making operation at Werribee South. The Werribee Settlers Dairying Cooperative Co. Ltd was established in c.1920 in the wake of closer settlement in the district and operated from a disused factory in Station Street. They sold their factory to the Federal Milk Company in 1924. The Federal Milk Company, which was established in Bacchus Marsh and other dairying districts in Victoria, erected a large modern factory on a property adjoining the railway at the northern end of the Werribee township in 1924 to produce milk by-products. In 1925, the factory was manufacturing a product range that included pasteurised cream, concentrated milk, condensed milk, evaporated milk, life

¹¹¹ 'Shaw House', Wyndham History, http://www.wyndhamhistory.net.au/items/show/282.

¹¹² 'Shaw House', Wyndham History.

¹¹³ May 1989, chapter 4.

¹¹⁴ Leakes Dairy, (Rosegrange), Sayers Road, Truganina, http://wyndhamhistory.net.au/items/show/1017

¹¹⁵ Flickr: https://www.flickr.com/groups/799686@N21/discuss/72157638029665286/

¹¹⁶ Bacchus Marsh Express, 13 March 1897, p. 3.



cream and powdered milk (both roller dried and spray dried). The evaporated milk was known as 'Crusader Milk' and used almost exclusively by the Australian Navy.¹¹⁷ The plant closed in 1932.¹¹⁸

By 1935, with the success of the Werribee Irrigation Scheme, there were 100 farmers in Werribee South who sought to supply milk to the Werribee Settlers Dairying Co-Operative. The Werribee Settlers Dairying Co-operative built a new factory of brick and steel on the Geelong Road in 1935 at a cost of $\pounds11,000.^{119}$

During World War II, the Werribee butter factory was one of several country dairy factories permitted to distribute dairy produce to Melbourne.¹²⁰ The commercial production of milk, butter and cream was a local operation until the mid-twentieth century.

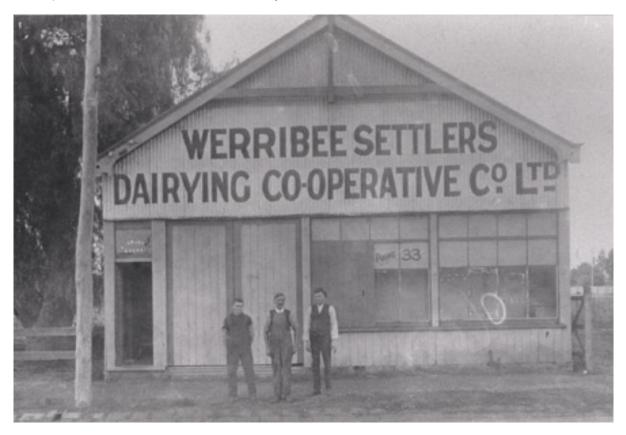


Figure 27. Werribee Settlers Dairying Cooperative, Station Street, Werribee, c.1920s. (Source: Werribee District Historical Society)

3.5.5 Poultry

The Werribee district proved well suited for poultry producers, on account of the suitable soil type, the availability of feed, and the proximity to Melbourne markets. A number of poultry farms were established in the area including John Robertson's Truganina poultry yards, which was operating by 1890. South of the railway line, Mr W. Cullen ran the Werribee Poultry Farm on an irrigable block on Duncans Road in the 1930s.¹²¹

The Carter poultry dynasty began with Walter Carter keeping chickens in the backyard of his parent's house on the Police Paddock estate in Werribee in the 1910s. The business developed into a large-

¹¹⁷ Werribee Shire Banner, 9 April 1925, p. 4.

¹¹⁸ Werribee Shire Banner, 24 March 1932, p. 4.

 ¹¹⁹ Age, 17 August 1935, p. 16; Werribee Settlers Dairying Co-operative Co. Ltd, http://wyndhamhistory.net.au/items/show/1504.
 ¹²⁰ Godbold 1989, p. 133.

¹²¹ Leader, 30 May 1891, p. 16; Weekly Times, 14 March 1936, p. 24.



scale operation, extending across 25 acres in Lock Avenue, Werribee; it became the largest poultry farm in the world.¹²² Carters also developed a housing estate in Werribee to provide accommodation for their workers.

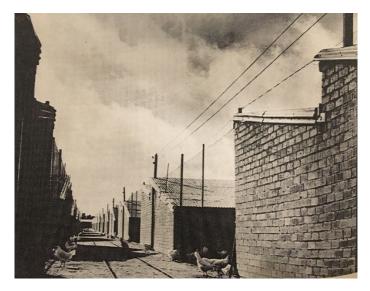


Figure 28. A series of brick poultry sheds at Carters' Poultry Farm, showing the tram tracks used to transport the feed bins, c.1940s. (Source: Walter M.S. Carter, *The Carter Family of Werribee*, 1999)

3.5.6 Market gardening and orchards

Suitable soil, access to reliable water supply, and proximity to the growing city of Melbourne also saw the early development of market gardens in the Werribee district in the mid-nineteenth century.¹²³ These operations would have been established on the riverbank where simple irrigation schemes could be built. It is likely that some of the market gardens were operated by Chinese settlers, who arrived in large numbers in the 1850s and who established themselves as proficient vegetable-growers in many towns across Victoria.

The advent of closer settlement and the local irrigation schemes in the early 1900s did much to advance market gardening in the district, especially in Werribee South. Several orchards were operating on the outskirts of Werribee in 1915, including along the Werribee River and east of Werribee in the irrigation area.¹²⁴ As well as the irrigation channels, there was other water supply infrastructure associated with these properties. Sheds and cool stories were established for the storage of produce and for machinery.

It was not until the 1920s that market gardening emerged as a major activity in the district. From the 1920s, Italian settlers took up market gardening in the irrigated area of Werribee South. Many took up blocks and proved highly successful. Market gardens would have also had glasshouses or greenhouses for propagation purposes.

After World War II, several small market gardens were established either side of Little River by European migrants.¹²⁵

¹²² Weekly Times, 13 January 1940, p. 7.

¹²³ There is an early reference to market gardening in the area in 1860; newspaper article, 1860.

¹²⁴ These are marked on the Imperial Section plan of the area, dated 1915 (State Library Victoria).

¹²⁵ Les Sanderson, Little River, pers. com, April 2021.





Figure 29. Bringing in the harvest on the rich soil of a Werribee market garden, c.1950s. (Source: private collection)

3.5.7 Fishing and trapping

Rabbits were a significant pest for landowners from around the 1860s, having been released for sport at Barwon Park, Winchelsea, in the 1850s. Rabbit trapping was mostly carried out by itinerant workers and rabbiters. Many rabbiters were sole operators while others worked as contractors for larger companies. There was a solid market in Melbourne for rabbits (both for meat and the skins).¹²⁶ The large properties in the district employed rabbiters, either on a regular or occasional basis, taking advantage of the bounty on rabbits. At the Chirnsides' Point Cook homestead there was a designated rabbiter's hut, where traps and other equipment was kept.¹²⁷

Commercial fishing in the waters of Hobsons Bay provided a modest, if sometimes unreliable, income. Fish commonly caught in the area included bream. A timber jetty at the mouth of the Werribee River in Werribee South was erected by the c.1920s (check) but was rebuilt after 1935.¹²⁸ In the 1920s, fishermen erected huts on the Crown land coastal reserve at Baileys Beach and Campbells Cove. By the 1940s, a greater concentration of settlers in Werribee South, through closer (and soldier) settlement, coincided with an increase in commercial fishermen. Amongst these were a number of Italian market gardeners and others who supplemented their income with fishing.¹²⁹ Around 20 fishermen were registered in the Werribee area in the c.1940s-50s.¹³⁰ The fishing huts have been added to over time and have possibly come to be used for recreational as well as commercial fishing.

¹²⁶ Catherine Watson 2012 (first published 1996), The Rabbit King, Morning Star Publishing.

¹²⁷ MMBW 1981, 'Point Cooke'.

¹²⁸ Werribee Jetty, Vintage Victoria: https://vintagevictoria.net.au/werribee-jetty/

¹²⁹ 'Portelli House and Shop, 650 Diggers Road, Werribee South', Wyndham Heritage,

https://wyndhamhistory.net.au/items/show/1150

¹³⁰ McIntyre and McIntyre 1944, Country Town of Victoria: A social survey, p. 61.



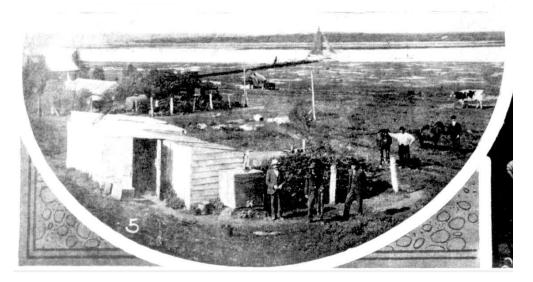


Figure 30. Fisherman's hut near the mouth of the Werribee River, 1904. (Source: *Weekly Times*, 12 November 1904, p. 25)

3.5.8 Horse-breeding

The breeding of horses was an early pursuit of the Chirnsides at Werribee Park. They kept blood stock and were keen judges of horses. John Robertson ran a successful trotting stud at Truganina in the 1890s and this was continued by McDonald following Robertsons death and the sale of the property in 1905.



3.6 Building water supply, sewerage and irrigation schemes

3.6.1 Establishing local water supplies

In the earliest years of settlement, water was drawn directly from the main watercourses for domestic and agricultural use; and stock was watered directly from the river. From the c.1860s, water reserves were set aside across the Werribee Plains to provide stock with suitable watering places when they were moving through the district.

As settlement increased, farms relied on water tanks for their domestic supply. The district was dry and many landholders resorted to sinking wells to ensure a steady flow of water. Thomas Chirnside sunk his first well in 1862 and sunk a second well, on land sitting between Little River and the Werribee River in 1879. It would appear the early wells were operated with a windmill as the location of an early well appears on a map of the area dated 1863.¹³¹ In 1880, a number of wells were dug at Werribee Park, each with a windmill.¹³² Over the following decades, many of the surrounding landholders follow suit.

Water supply for homes and properties during the early period of settlement was initially a private concern. Settlers endeavoured to take up land on the rivers and creeks to secure a reliable natural supply, but this was not always possible. Many of the watercourses were salty, as was the case with the Lower Werribee River, or there was only an intermittent flow, for example with the Skeleton Creek, which reverted seasonally to a chain of lagoons. Settlers sunk private wells on the Werribee Plains — for example at Werribee Park.¹³³ Tenant farmers who took up blocks at Werribee Park from the late 1880s were provided with water supply either directly from the river or from water tanks.

When the Metropolitan Farm was established in the early 1890s, the Yan Yean (Melbourne) water supply was laid on for its operational purposes. Despite requests for an extension of the water supply to Werribee township, this was not forthcoming, however a tank supplied with Yan Yean water was available for townspeople to draw supplies from. In 1929, the MMBW connected the Melbourne water supply to Werribee.¹³⁴

The Little River Water Works Trust was established in the early 1900s and relied on a windmill operation. There was agitation from local residents in the 1930s for a more proficient water supply system. John Rees was a strong advocate for improved water supply at Little River and to improve the flow of the river. A weir was built on the Little River in 1951 and improved water supply for farmers.¹³⁵ In 1954 the Little River Development League were agitating for a connection to the Yan Yean water supply.¹³⁶ In the 1970s a concrete water tower was constructed in Boadles Lane.

Smaller localities made do with rainwater tanks until sufficient residential development necessitated a mains connection to the Melbourne metropolitan water supply.

¹³¹ James 1985, p. 27. A windmill is marked on the east side of the Werribee River on the Chirnsides' land in 1863 (from Geological Survey of Victoria, No. 20, 1863, held NLA).

¹³² Australasian Sketcher, 20 March 1880, p. 14.

¹³³ Little River Seeks Yan Yean', Werribee Shire Banner, 6 November 1952, p. 1.

¹³⁴ James 1985, p. 75; James and Pritchard 2008, p. 65.

¹³⁵ Sue and Peter Jones, Little River, pers. com, November 2020.

¹³⁶ James 1985, p. xx.





Figure 31. Elevated water tanks on what was formerly Werribee Park, probably c1870s-80s. (Source: private collection)



Figure 32. Werribee office of the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission, 1946. (Source: State Library Victoria, Collection: Rural Water Corporation Collection. Werribee, Accession Number: rwg/1433)

3.6.2 Providing essential services

Sewerage and sanitation

Although the Metropolitan Farm had been constructed to manage Melbourne's sewage in the 1890s, towns in the local area were not provided with sewerage until after World War II as Werribee fell outside of the MMBW boundary of metropolitan Melbourne. Prior to the introduction of proper sewerage, residents in the district relied on a pan system and nightsoil men to remove their waste, and farmers relied on septic tanks.

Efforts were made towards providing the region with sewerage by the 1930s, and again in the 1950s when the Council began an enquiry into the provision of sewerage.¹³⁷ Work on obtaining the funding for a sewerage scheme was being undertaken in earnest in 1952, when Werribee, along with five other councils, sought £2 million from the Premier of Victoria to carry out a four-year plan.¹³⁸ Later that year, the councils turned to the federal government for funding as well.¹³⁹ Although work was commenced in the following years, the municipality wasn't fully sewered until the early 1960s.¹⁴⁰

From the 1970s, government regulations meant that all new building allotments were required to be sewered prior to construction. These regulations coincided with the growth of newly built housing estates in the municipality, all of which would have been connected to sewerage.

Electricity

Electricity was brought to the township of Werribee in June of 1915, with the opening of the Werribee power house on the corner of Duncans Road and Synnot Street. Powered by a twin-cylinder diesel generator, electricity was provided until 11:30pm on a weeknight and 12:30am on a Saturday, however this was later changed to 10:30pm on weeknights as a cost-saving measure. The town was connected to the State Power Grid in 1923.¹⁴¹ Prior to the introduction of electricity, Werribee had relied on oil lamps. The power house building was later utilised as an Air Raid Precaution Hall during the Second World War and was subsequently relocated to Truganina as a community hall.

¹³⁷ Werribee Shire Banner, 16 March 1950, p. 2.

¹³⁸ Argus, 28 May 1952, p. 7.

¹³⁹ Gipps land Times, 5 June 1952, p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ James 1985, p. 116.

¹⁴¹ James 1985, pp. 71-72.



Smaller settlements in the district took far longer to be connected to electricity, with some areas waiting until the 1950s before a permanent connection was available. World War II, and the associated pressure on resources for public works, was likely a deciding factor in the provision of electricity to rural towns. The Little River community had made attempts to obtain an electricity supply since at least 1950, however it was not until July 1951 that the town celebrated their official 'electricity switch-on', marking the occasion with a celebratory ball.¹⁴²

Fire prevention

The Werribee Fire Brigade made do with leased premises and was bestowed with a fire bell in 1915 by George Chirnside. Efforts were being made in the early 1920s to raise funds for a local fire brigade building in Werribee, which would also serve as a venue for the local brass band to practice. A purpose-built fire brigade building was finally erected in 1925.¹⁴³ In 1937, the Little River Bush Fire Brigade was established.¹⁴⁴

Lighting

Gas lighting was provided in the main streets of Werribee by c.1900. Street lighting was converted to electricity in the 1920s.

Drainage

Maintaining the public roads was the responsibility of the local council and drainage was an element of that work. Early photographs of central Werribee depict what looks like brick lined channels in the main streets.

3.6.3 Building irrigation schemes

The Werribee Water Supply and Irrigation Trust was established in 1888 pursuant to the *Irrigation Act* of 1886, which enabled local areas to develop and attract government funding for water supply and irrigation systems. The Trust was formed by a syndicate, the Werribee Irrigation and Investment Co. Lrd, under the directorship of George Chaffey, which purchased 1468 acres of land on the east side of the Werribee River in the parish of Tarneit. This comprised 4 miles of river frontage and river flats.¹⁴⁵ Plans were drawn up for the irrigation scheme in the late 1880s by the Chaffey brothers, who were pioneers of irrigation in Mildura. Drawing water from the river and pumping it through a network of channels, it was proposed to form an 'irrigation colony' that would convert the Werribee Plains into 'a rich productive and evergreen oasis'.¹⁴⁶ Promoted as 'a Mildura in the Metropolitan area', the Werribee scheme followed a similar, though much smaller, model as that devised by the Chaffey brothers for Mildura.

George Chaffey settled in Werribee in c1888 to manage the proposed Werribee Irrigation Colony, and built a flamboyant Californian-style, double-storey residence in 1889-90 that was painted pink.¹⁴⁷ The scheme relied on the investment confidence of Melbourne businessmen, but with the collapse of the land boom in the early 1890s plans for the Werribee Irrigation Colony were abandoned. There had also been an ongoing and unresolved problem with corrosion in the boiler tubes.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² Werribee Shire Banner, 20 July 1950, p. 5; Werribee Shire Banner, 26 July 1952, p. 1.

¹⁴³ Werribee Shire Banner, 5 July 1923, p. 2; Werribee Shire Banner, 11 June 1925, p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Les Sanderson, Little River, pers. comm, April 2021.

¹⁴⁵ Age, 3 December 1888, p. 4; VMD 1895, p. 74.

¹⁴⁶ Portland Guardian, 30 November 1888, p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Geelong Advertiser, 15 January 1890, p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ James and Pritchard 2008, p. 58.



Following the failure of the Chaffey scheme, the Werribee Irrigation and Water Supply Trust pursued its plans to develop an irrigation scheme, namely: 'The construction of a weir across Werribee river; pumping plant adjoining weir site to pump water into a head channel for conveyance to proposed Irrigation and Water Supply District, over which water will be distributed by means of a reticulation system.'¹⁴⁹ Surviving elements of this early developments in irrigation include Riverbend Historical Park (HO61), which includes a domed well and remnant trees.



Figure 33. Quantin Binnah, the Werribee home of George Chaffey, built of Californian Redwood c.1888-89 and later destroyed by fire. (Source: Werribee District Historical Society)

¹⁴⁹ VMD 1895, p. 75.



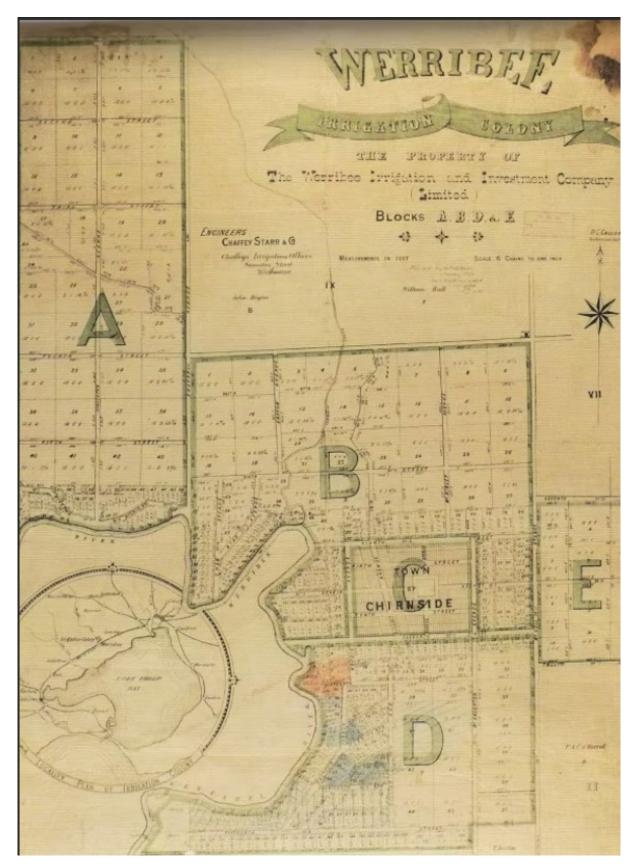


Figure 34. Plan of the Werribee Irrigation Settlement and the proposed Town of Chirnside, c.1888, devised by George Chaffey, American irrigationist. (Source: https://www.xmauboy.com/7-the-chaffey-brothers)



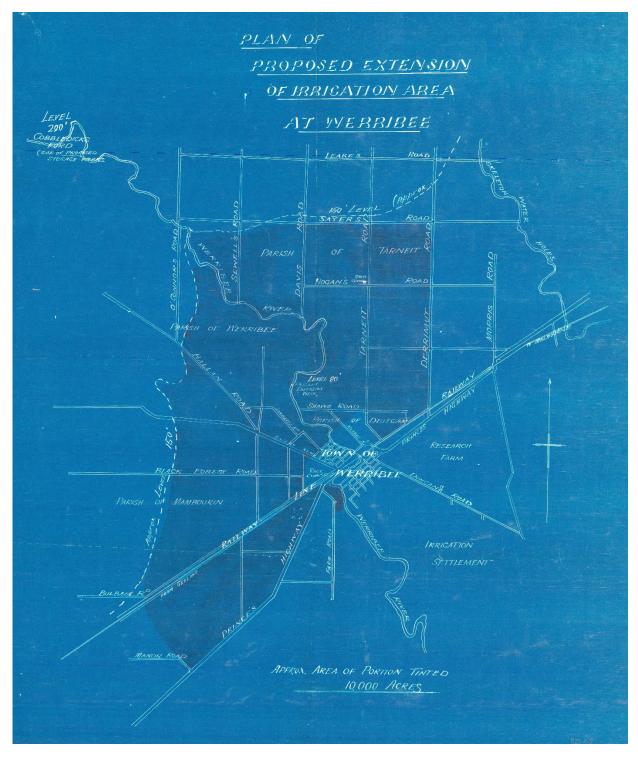


Figure 35. Proposed extension to Werribee irrigation area, c1900. (Source: State Library Victoria)

The Federation drought of 1895 to 1902 saw the Werribee River at low levels and highlighted the need for an improved water supply for irrigation purposes. The *Water Act* of 1906 resulted in the creation of the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission (SRWSC) in 1906.¹⁵⁰ The Werribee irrigation scheme was acquired by the Closer Settlement Board and was managed by the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission from 1905. The office of the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission was initially

¹⁵⁰ Context 2007, 'Victorian Water Supply Heritage Study: Vol. 2 Thematic history'. Prepared for Heritage Victoria and Melbourne Water, pp. 35-36.



accommodated in the former Werribee Shire Hall until the office was relocated to the water reserve in Tower Road, Werribee, in 1926, where a new office was erected.¹⁵¹

Sometimes referred to as the 'Duncan's Road Irrigation Settlement', the Werribee Irrigation Scheme area covered an area of 8000 acres between Duncans Road and the Werribee River, and between the mouth of the river and the Werribee railway station. Properties were irrigated via a network of channels. The water was fed from both the Werribee River and from two other sources to the north — the channel of the Werribee River at Melton (the reservoir was under construction in 1915) and the channel of Pykes Creek, a tributary of the Werribee. The Werribee Diversion Weir was constructed in 1909, and the following year tenders were called for the construction of 4 miles of channels near Werribee township, which involved excavation and subsidiary works.¹⁵² The Melton Reservoir was built between 1913 and 1916, primarily to assist in the irrigation of Werribee.¹⁵³ The damming also eased the flooding experienced further downstream, although floods continued to occur in the years after its completion. The Werribee Diversion Weir (HO3) was associated with the irrigation scheme.

By 1915, 6800 acres of the Werribee Estate had been subdivided. The estate was used for the growing of fruit and market gardens, cropping, and was also for fattening lambs.¹⁵⁴ Proximity to the Melbourne markets made this a prosperous farming area and the price of land and water was greater in the Werribee Irrigation Estate than other irrigation areas.¹⁵⁵

In 1917 a scheme was proposed for the Werribee Water Supply and Irrigation District. This involved a number of reservoirs on the Werribee River and its tributaries and a diversion weir near Werribee, as well as 'a system of main and distributary channels, and appurtenant works', with the estimated cost of the work at £125,000.¹⁵⁶ The channels were raised and concreted in the mid-1920s to reduce absorption and improve efficiency.¹⁵⁷ While initially the irrigation settlement was largely occupied with growing lucerne, there was a subsequent shift to preparing pastures for dairying. By the mid-1930s, it was reported that the settlement is becoming 'a vast market garden worked by Italians and providing Melbourne with vegetables'.¹⁵⁸

The Werribee irrigation district remained a highly productive area for many decades. The embankment of Melton Reservoir was raised in 1937, and further upgrade works were undertaken between 1988 and 1994, further reducing the river's ability to flood.¹⁵⁹ The Closer Settlement Board was wound up in 1938. Some channels are no longer used and some have been removed.

¹⁵¹ VGG, 2 June 1926, p. 1724.

¹⁵² Argus, 28 January 1910, p. 4.

¹⁵³ Southern Rural Water, Melton Reservoir, www.srw.com.au.

¹⁵⁴ Irrigation in Victoria, Australia, 1915, p. 13.

¹⁵⁵ Weekly Times, 8 December 1928, p. 33.

¹⁵⁶ VGG, 29 August 1917, p. 2713.

¹⁵⁷ Weekly Times, 8 December 1928, p. 33.

¹⁵⁸ Age, 7 March 1935, p. 14.

¹⁵⁹ Southern Rural Water, Melton Reservoir, www.srw.com.au.





Figure 36. Harvesting alfalfa on the Werribee Estate, c.1915. (Source: Irrigation in Victoria, Australia, 1915, p. 12)



Figure 37 'Type of new concrete channel at Werribee'. Improved irrigation channels at Werribee that have been raised and concreted. (Source: *Weekly Times*, 8 December 1928, p. 33)

3.6.4 Building and operating a metropolitan sewerage scheme

The sewerage treatment works at Werribee, developed to serve metropolitan Melbourne, were designed by the eminent British engineer, James Mansergh. The works occupied a large area of over 8000 acres situated on the south side of the Geelong Road, on land that had been acquired from the Chirnsides. Initially, the Chirnside family were not in favour of this area of the property being earmarked for a sewerage treatment, pointing out that 'the land was very valuable in itself ... its occupation for sewerage purposes would be detrimental to the Mansion and grounds'.¹⁶⁰ Works commenced in 1892, with the first sod turned by the Governor of Victoria, Lord Hopetoun, in 1893. Known colloquially as The Farm, the construction, maintenance and management of the operations provided a significant source of employment for many local people. It is now known as the Western Treatment Plant.

¹⁶⁰ Cited in Dingle and Rasmussen 1991, p. 53.



The Outfall Sewer was a major construction operation and employed a large number of workers. The digging of channels was also an extensive operation, with both horses and steam engines being put to work. The Metropolitan Farm also had its own nursery and much of the early work included extensive tree-planting.¹⁶¹

It would appear that there was no other extensive earth filtration sewage treatment plant or comparable size, in operation anywhere in the world at the time the Werribee Sewage Farm was established. Melbourne's sewerage system was not the first in the world, or in Australia. It is not the largest system, however, at the time of the official commencement of its construction in 1892, it was the most comprehensive scheme to be built in a single connected network, and the only one in Australia to completely collect and treat all sewage, without resorting to discharging contaminated effluent to waterways, or the ocean.¹⁶²

The Sewerage Fam employed a large number of people, performing a range of tasks. Single men were provided with rudimentary housing on the reserve. Many workers lived offsite in Werribee and Little River.

Once the sewerage works were operational, tenant farmers were allocated blocks on the Farm, as it was known. Tenants farmed this land, occupied mostly with cropping but also dairying, until 1914.

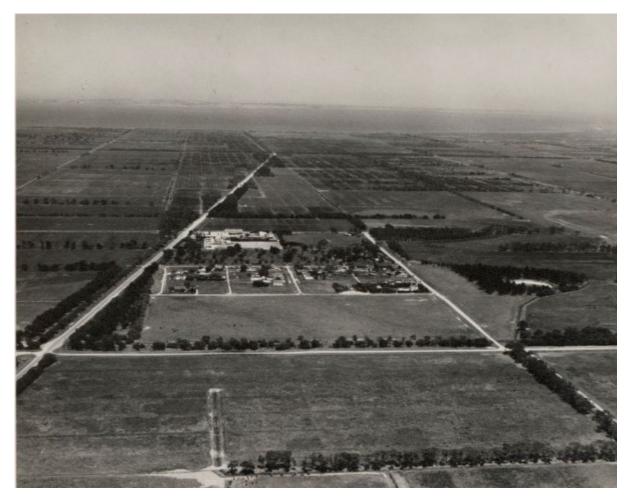


Figure 38. 'Aerial View of the Metropolitan Farm at Werribee', c.1920s? from Jessop Album MMBW. (Source: PROV)

¹⁶¹ Penrose 2001, p. 10.

¹⁶² 'Metropolitan Farm', Register of the National Estate.



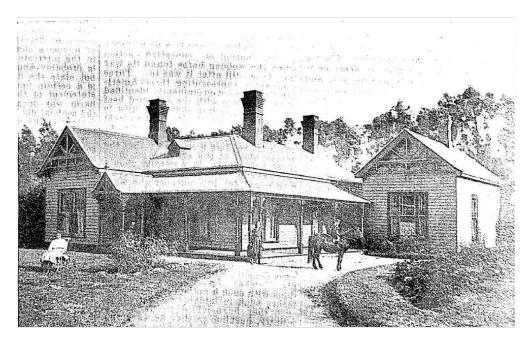


Figure 39. Manager's residence at the Metropolitan Farm, 1914 (Source: *Weekly Times*, 12 December 1914, p. 48)



Figure 40. Charles Bennett, 'Old Water Tank, Eastern Hill', c1880, before being moved to the Metropolitan Farm, Werribee. (Source: Dixson Library, State Library of NSW, DL PX 50, Number 63)



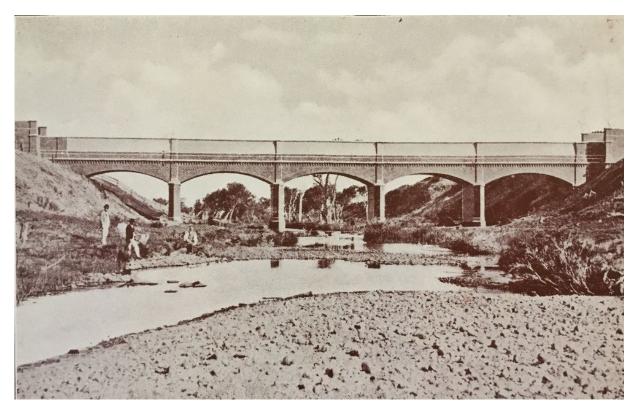


Figure 41. Outfall Sewer, Werribee River Aqueduct, c.1900s-10s? (Source: Gibbs 1925)



3.7 Building industries and employment

3.7.1 Processing raw materials

Grain

Grain-growing, particularly hay, was a major occupation in the Werribee district. There were chaff mills and flour mills in the Werribee district from the mid-nineteenth century that processed local grain. More intensive farming accompanied the introduction of tenant farming schemes in the 1890s and the closer settlement schemes in the early 1900s, both of which increased the local demand for milling.

Several chaff mills were operating in Werribee on the south side of the railway line by the 1920s, sited conveniently close to transport. Their approximate locations are indicated in an auction notice for Barbour's Glenluss Estate subdivision of 1923 (see below). Around the same time, W. Ison was advertising 'chaffcutting by electricity' for oats and hay in Cherry Street.¹⁶³ Ison's chaff mill was later taken over by Thompson Brothers General Merchants and Chaff Mill. The public weighbridge in Watton Street (HO105) was used by farmer to weigh the grain before taking it to the mill.¹⁶⁴

Carters poultry farm built their own silos to manage the high volume of grain they used as feed.

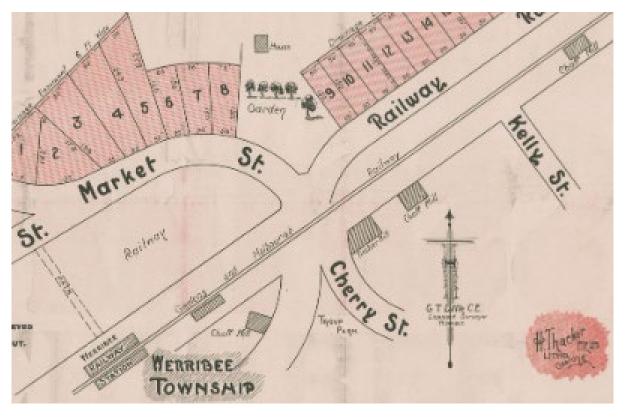


Figure 42. Detail from 1924 auction notice for Barbour's Glenluss Estate subdivision, showing the timber and chaff mills indicated on the south side of the railway line, near Cherry Street and Kelly Street. (Source: Thos. Roadknight & Co. et al 1923-24, *Geelong and district real estate posters: Werribee*, Deakin University)

¹⁶³ Werribee Shire Banner, 9 December 1920, p. 3.

¹⁶⁴ WDHS website—Thompson Brothers General Merchants and Chaff Mill.



Meat processing

Local slaughter yards were established at Werribee and Little River in the mid to late nineteenth century and these were subject to municipal regulations of the Shire of Wyndham. The Meat Preserving Co. proposed to erect an operation at Little River in the 1870s.

The Werribee district was well placed to serve the pastoral industry, being a key stopping place between Melbourne and the prosperous Western District and being well served by transport. The development of refrigeration technology in the 1890s contributed to the development of the meat industry through the early 1900s and several meat-processing plants were established in the Laverton North area. The William Angliss Industrial Estate in Laverton North reflects this development.

The Carter family had made their fortune through their poultry empire and was one of the largest sources of employment in the region through the middle of the twentieth century.

Wool and skins

In 1919 there were plans to relocate the noxious industries situated in inner Melbourne, particularly the inner west, to the relative isolation of Laverton. This included relocating the saleyards, the abattoirs, tanneries, fellmongers, and boiling-down works.¹⁶⁵ There is one remaining shed from the widespread skin-drying operations that were active in the Laverton area.

Manufacturing, including that of clothing and shoes, had been boosted in Melbourne the early 1920s owing to the Victorian Government's tariff protection measures. The by-products from the meat industry, including fleece and skins, had a range of commercial uses, and were critical to manufacturing in Melbourne. The rabbit industry, which was a major operation in the first half of the twentieth century, had a turnover of tens of thousands of skins and it is likely there were rabbit depots in the area.

Laverton North was a designated area for noxious industry from the early 1970s.¹⁶⁶

Timber

Timber was not a major industry in the Werribee area, largely owing to the lack of timber as a local resource that could be exploited. There was a timber yard, mill and store on the corner of Cherry Street.¹⁶⁷

3.7.2 Extractive industries

Quarrying

The land stretching between Melbourne and the South Australian border sits on rich basalt layers, resulting from the impacts of volcanic eruptions across the western plains tens of thousands of years ago and extending over a period of over many thousands of years. The earliest quarries in the areas around Werribee were likely small domestic quarries, dug through labour intensive methods for the construction of rudimentary houses and outbuildings. The readily available bluestone provided a hardy alternative to bricks for many of the early settlers.¹⁶⁸ Stone for the foundations of the Werribee Park mansion was also reputedly quarried on the property.

Through the 1830s and 1840s, the inner suburbs and land west of Melbourne supplied much of the stone used in construction throughout Melbourne. Many of the western suburbs were opened up for

¹⁶⁵ Information kindly provided by Gary Vines.

¹⁶⁶ May 1989, chapter 5.

¹⁶⁷ Context 1997, 'Heritage of the City of Wyndham', p. 258.

¹⁶⁸ Gary Vines 1993, Quarry and Stone, Melbourne's Living Museum of the West, Melbourne, p. 15.



quarrying by the 1850s, and Melbourne's rapid expansion in that same decade saw land occupied by industries such as quarrying taken over for residential development.¹⁶⁹ This urban expansion saw quarries pushed to the outer suburbs and further afield, especially to the rich plains surrounding Werribee. Bluestone from the Werribee area was carted to Melbourne for the construction of many of the major buildings as well as for bridges and road-making, and as ballast for ships.¹⁷⁰

In order to meet the labour demands of the quarries in the area, the Commissioner of Railways offered free train travel for workers from Melbourne to Werribee in 1878. The free travel carried the stipulation that the men would bring their own swag, and the free tickets were offered over multiple weeks in June of that year.¹⁷¹

The quarrying industry continued to be an important local industry through the twentieth century. In 1920, it was reported that work was being undertaken to establish a government quarry at Manor, west of Werribee. The government quarries were expected at the time to employ over 200 men in the region and it was hoped that they would provide an incentive for further development of much of the vacant land in its surrounds.¹⁷² By 1924, the quarry was referred to as the 'Railway Quarry' and a railway station at this location, known as Manor station, enabled ready transportation of stone. In 1927 it was estimated that the large bluestone quarry employed 66 men and provided thousands of tons of ballast for the Victorian railways.¹⁷³

The remains of quarries can be seen throughout the municipality. Quarries were often repurposed as rubbish tips before being converted for use as public reserves.¹⁷⁴ Wyndham Park is perhaps the best example of this within the municipality.

Salt works

Richard Cheetham, a chemist from Manchester in England, arrived in Australia in 1862, and by 1888 had begun construction of saltworks on land leased from the Victorian government between Limeburner's Point and Point Henry. The demand for salt meant that by 1924, the company purchased land between Laverton and Point Cook.

Salt was harvested in the area until the 1980s.¹⁷⁵ The refinery was closed in the late 1986 due to the salt pans requiring extensive repair. The eastern part of the site, located in the City of Hobsons Bay, contained the salt pans and remnant infrastructure. This area became Cheetham Wetlands. The land to the west lies in the City of Wyndham and was cleared for the development of the Sanctuary Lakes Resort in the 1990s.¹⁷⁶

Coal

Altona, when still part of the Werribee Shire, had a short-lived role as a place for coal mining in the first few decades of the twentieth century. It was reported in 1902 that the area surrounding Altona had an 'almost inexhaustible supply of brown coal', which many believed would be used to power the electricity needs of the metropolis. In the same year, a bore on a Chirnside property near the Skeleton Creek

Laverton, Melbourne's Living Museum of the West, Melbourne, p. 26.

¹⁶⁹ Vines 1993, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷⁰ Context 1997, p. 11.

¹⁷¹ Age, 8 June 1878, p. 5.

¹⁷² Werribee Shire Banner, 13 May 1920, p. 2.

¹⁷³ Advocate, 27 November 1924, p. 26; Dandenong Journal, 27 October 1927, p. 4.

¹⁷⁴ Gary Vines 1993, p. 30.

¹⁷⁵ Gary Vines and Brett Lane 1991, Worth its Salt: A survey of the natural and cultural heritage of Cheetham Saltworks,

¹⁷⁶ Sanctuary Lakes Resort Services Ltd. 2011, 'What's Our Story? An Overview of Sanctuary Lakes'.



revealed a large coal seam.¹⁷⁷ The single-shaft coal mine produced some 75,000 tons of coal between 1913 and 1919 alone, however a preference for coal sources elsewhere in the state, along with the growing suburbs of Melbourne, meant the plan was soon abandoned.¹⁷⁸

3.7.3 Manufacturing

Much of the industrial development in the municipality was reliant on the natural resources in the area. The area largely escaped the heavy industrialisation that many of the western parts of Melbourne experienced through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

There were some light manufacturing and minor engineering works in Werribee from the 1940s, which developed as part of wider decentralisation approach to industry at that time. A shoe factory was proposed in the 1940s and the ARP Hall in Werribee was used as a knitting mill.¹⁷⁹ The hall was eventually relocated to its present site at the corner of Dohertys Road and Woods Road, Truganina, in the 1960s.

There was also manufacturing operations in Laverton. More recent industrial sites have been established in the eastern region of the municipality, particularly in the area that adjoins Derrimut.

3.7.4 Food processing and chemical manufacture

By the 1970s there were some small-scale food-processing operations in and around Werribee (and possibly Laverton North) that developed as a result of the increased in local food production after the irrigation schemes had commenced. In the 1960s there was a pea-vining factory. By the 1970s there were establishments for antibiotic manufacturing and dyestuff manufacturing.¹⁸⁰

3.7.5 Women's work

Domestic Service

One of the primary forms of employment available to women before World War I was domestic service, belying the limited opportunities for women in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In the nineteenth century, women were typically occupied with farm work as well as running the home and caring for children. Typical female responsibilities were milking, making butter, and looking after the chooks. Paid work for the majority of women, as domestic servants, which was the norm before World War I, involved the same kinds of chores. A handful of women in the early period found employment as teachers, midwives, publicans or shop assistants, but the vast majority of women did not have the opportunity for paid work. Whilst employment as a domestic servant often provided women with room and board, the wages were comparatively low and the work was physically demanding.¹⁸¹ In areas such as Werribee and its surrounds, women would have found opportunities as domestic servants at Werribee Park and outside the study area at Eynesbury, Woolomanata and Mount Rothwell. Female domestic servants were usually tasked with roles within the 'domestic' sphere, like cooking, dressmaking, laundry work and overseeing the care of young children.¹⁸² Single women were also sometimes employed as governesses for younger children. Whereas the wealthier families had servants with stratified positions, middle-class households often employed just one 'general' servant.

¹⁷⁷ James 1985, p. 109.

¹⁷⁸ James 1985, p. 110.

¹⁷⁹ Werribee Shire Banner, 29 November 1945, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰ May 1989, chapter 4.2 and chapter 5 (no page numbers).

¹⁸¹ Shurlee Swain 2008, 'Domestic Service', eMelbourne, School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne.

¹⁸² James 1985, p. 15.



Domestic service saw a dramatic decline following World War I, when employment options for women began to gradually widen, and many could no longer afford the luxury of a live-in servant. There were some employment opportunities in Werribee and at the State Research Farm.

Australian Women's Land Army

With the onset of World War II, Australia experienced a shortage of labour due to the departure of men for military service. Many of the men joining the armed services and war industry were drawn from farms, and this included those farms and vegetable growers in the Werribee district.

The Australian Women's Land Army was formed to help with the shortfall in agricultural labour. Recruits were drawn mainly from urban locations and were often unskilled in agricultural work. Many women were encouraged to join by the large-scale recruitment campaigns. Generally, the Land Army was divided between full-time members and auxiliary members, and both classes were provided with uniforms and equipment.¹⁸³

In the Werribee district, the Land Army was most active at the State Research Farm. Members were engaged in regular farming activities; they were also provided with educational opportunities to be trained in meteorological readings, laboratory-level plant cataloguing, and recording the results of herd testing. Large swathes of land were also dedicated to the growing of fruit and vegetables, which before the war had been imported.¹⁸⁴



Figure 43. Photograph showing members of the Australian Women's Land Army returning to their lodgings on the Government Experimental Farm (State Research Farm) in Werribee, published in the *Herald*, 30 October 1942. (Source: Australian War Memorial, ref. 136977).

Work in the postwar period

In the postwar period employment was more diverse. The Shire of Werribee grew significantly and offered a wider range of employment opportunities. There were new industries, such as those based at the Laverton industrial estate, as well as established businesses such as Carter's Egg Farm that continued to prosper.

¹⁸³ Australian War Memorial 2017.

¹⁸⁴ Herald, 4 January 1943, p. 6.



A clothing factory was proposed in 1945, to be accommodated initially in the A.R.P. Hall in Werribee. It called for young women workers and promoted the favourable working conditions. The factory, operated by Latooff and Callil Pty Ltd, operated from premises in Beamish Street.¹⁸⁵



Figure 44. Women workers grading eggs at Carters Poultry Farm. (Source: *Weekly Times*, 13 January 1940, p. 7)



Figure 45. Female employees at Messrs Latoof and Calill's clothing factory, 1948. (Source: *Weekly Times*, 12 May 1948, p. 28)

3.7.6 Changing nature of work and unemployment

Farm labour was the principal form of employment through the nineteenth century and into the early decades of the twentieth century. The excitement of the gold rush impacted adversely on the district with a sudden loss of rural labourers who headed to the goldfields. It is likely that Aboriginal workers were used to supplement the meagre labour force at this time. The Werribee area attracted a large number of unemployed single men at different times; this was on account of the town being on a major transport link and also because it was an area close to Melbourne where there was potential agricultural work available. Referred to as 'swagmen' or 'tramps', these hopeful workers arrived in Werribee and often camped in the parks or at the racecourse much to the chagrin of the local council.

By the late 1800s and early 1900s, the local district saw the establishment of the Metropolitan Farm (1890s) and the State Research Farm (1912), both of which provided significant employment opportunities.

The region suffered from the impact of the economic depression of the 1890s, but the Great Depression that hit in 1929 took a greater toll. The unemployed gathered on the streets of Werribee, and deputations were made to the shire council to provide work for those who had lost their jobs. In 1930, many of the workers at the Metropolitan Farm lost their jobs. The dairy industry suffered greatly, with the closure of the condensed milk factory run by the Federal Milk Company.¹⁸⁶

There was some conflict between the local unemployed men and the government authorities who brought men into the district from suburban Melbourne to undertake work. The Werribee Shire Council eventually provided work for local men in the quarrying industry, as well as public works for jobs such as cleaning drains.¹⁸⁷ In 1931, the Werribee Traders' Association was formed to address issues surrounding the obtainment of credit, while the Werribee Progress Association joined forces with the Werribee Relief Committee to form an Unemployment Relief Committee. The dairy industry was given a boost when the Werribee Settlers' Dairying Co-operative purchased the former condensed milk factory

¹⁸⁵ Werribee Shire Banner, 20 December 1945, p. 2.

¹⁸⁶ James 1985, p. 113.

¹⁸⁷ James 1985, p. 112-13.



for use as a fresh milk plant, and their efforts were so successful that they were able to erect a new factory in 1935.¹⁸⁸

Some relief or sustenance ('susso') work was provided by the Werribee local council, for example in 1935 when the unemployed were given work on the irrigation channels.¹⁸⁹ The unemployed often took to life on the road, eking out a living doing odd jobs for farmers and others. The men who stayed on the road were known as swagmen; they were once a common sight on the Geelong Road and were still seen in the mid-twentieth century.



Figure 46. Workers at the Metropolitan Farm, Werribee, cleaning the silt out of the sewerage channels. (Source: Dingle and Rasmussen, *Vital Connections*, 1991)

The postwar boom saw new industries emerge in the Werribee area, including food processing and other areas of manufacturing. The number of workers at the Metropolitan Farm peaked in the 1950s with over 500 employed.¹⁹⁰ The economic boom also attracted new immigrants to the area who had arrived in Melbourne to make a new life.

One of the changes to employment in the latter parts of the twentieth century was the considerable geographic distance of large numbers of employees from their place of work, which was aided by public transport links and private vehicle use. This has been fuelled by rising house prices in Melbourne and the ongoing westwards expansion of metropolitan Melbourne. Many residents in the City of Wyndham commute directly to workplaces located in the Melbourne CBD or beyond.

¹⁸⁸ James 1985, p. 114.

¹⁸⁹ Werribee Shire Banner, 16 May 1935, p. 4.

¹⁹⁰ Penrose 2001, p. 23.



3.8 Building towns and cities

3.8.1 Developing towns

Police superintendent Captain Lonsdale had recommended that a village be surveyed on the Werribee River as early as 1838, but no action was taken. The township of Wyndham was declared in Sydney on 9 May 1850 when Victoria was known as the Port Phillip District in the Colony of NSW.¹⁹¹ Despite the local preference for the name Werribee, the town was given the name Wyndham in honour of a soldier who had fought at Waterloo (the name was changed to Werribee in 1884). A town plan, laid out by Assistant Surveyor Thomas Martin, took advantage of the Werribee River, with the town straddling the river at an S-bend, which divided the two parishes of Mambourin and Deutgam. By the 1860s, the streets in each parish had been named. In September 1850, ten half-acre lots in Wyndham Village, within the parish of Mambourin, were offered at auction.¹⁹²

In 1839 the Travellers' Rest Inn was opened on the Little River, which marked a crossing point on the track from Melbourne to Geelong. The opening of the hotel also provided travellers between Geelong and Melbourne with an alternate stopping point to the hotel already erected in Werribee. Twelve years later, in 1852, the township of Rothwell (Little River) was surveyed in the vicinity of the hotel. The development of the Melbourne–Geelong railway in the late 1850s, which was situated roughly one north of the original township, encouraged development to be gradually drawn to the land surrounding kilometre the railway station.¹⁹³

The township of Wyndham rapidly developed its own character in its first fifteen years, both within its physical and social environments. In 1861, the town was described as follows:

It is an ancient township, and numbers 15 years. It contains two hotels, about 20 houses, double that number of potato gardens, and nearly 100 inhabitants. An agrarian air pervades everything and everybody. All the men look like shepherds or ploughmen, and all the women carry pails, and have their skirts tucked up. Fashion seems unknown, save in the new Railway Hotel, which has a dash of modern style about its weatherboards and metropolitan smartness in its paint. The Werribee runs through the town, and supplies the inhabitants with that grievance no well-regulated community can be without. The bridge, which the late floods carried away, has not been restored, and hence the complaints, which are so far well-grounded that but a few days since a man was drowned in an attempt to cross the river.¹⁹⁴

The town of Rothwell, situated on the main crossing point on the Little River, was officially declared in 1852, and was later renamed Little River.¹⁹⁵ Like Werribee, Little River expanded to straddle both side of the river. Despite its development in the late 1800s and early 1900s, Little River was overshadowed by Werribee, and was occupied primarily with farming pursuits. Through much of the twentieth century, it remained a small country town, serving its immediate, largely rural population.

Smaller settlements such as Tarneit and Truganina were not large enough to be gazetted as towns in their own right, although Truganina was regarded as a village and for many years had a postal service that afforded it some status.

¹⁹¹ Murray 1974, p. 12; Port Phillip Government Gazette, 28 May 1850, p. 423.

¹⁹² James 1985, p. 24.

¹⁹³ 'Little River', Victorian Places website.

¹⁹⁴ Argus, 27 March 1861, p. 5.

¹⁹⁵ VGG, 4 February 1852, p. 131.



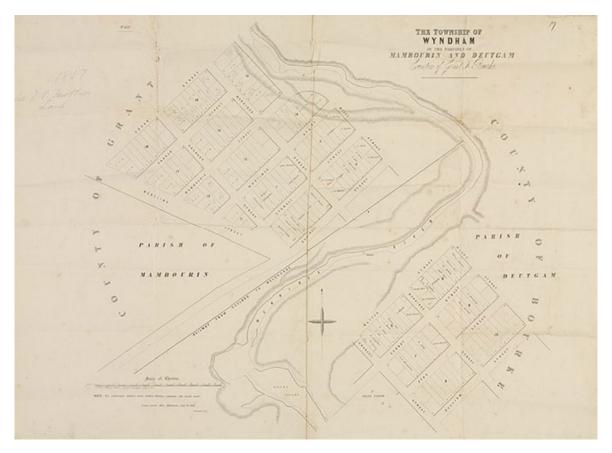


Figure 47. Thomas Martin, Township of Wyndham, 1857. (Source: Map Collection, State Library of New South Wales)



Figure 48. Station Street, Werribee, c.1910. (Source: Lost Werribee Facebook Page)

In contrast to the siting of the early settlements on the main crossing places, a number of settlements emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including Cocoroc and Murtcaim, which provided homes and services for the employees of the Metropolitan Sewage Farm. Cocoroc



commenced in 1894 with 72 allotments; by 1897 there were 32 houses, a town hall, football ground, swimming pool, tennis courts, four state schools and a post office. The town reached a peak in the 1950s, when it had over 100 houses. By the 1970s, it was becoming too expensive for the MMBW to continue to subsidise Cocoroc, and by 1973 most buildings were demolished or moved to Werribee (or Little River), along with much of its population.¹⁹⁶

Werribee has now developed into a major satellite city of Melbourne, which is accessible by rail and road.

3.8.2 Providing goods and services

The first commercial enterprises were hotels and inns on the major crossings in the district. This was typically followed by a blacksmith's foundry — that essential service provider to road travel before the advent of the motor car. The crossing places on the Werribee River and Little River also attracted general suppliers of essential goods, including food staples, hardware and tools.

As Werribee developed further in the early 1900s, there were a wider range of commercial operations in the town. Shops was centred initially along Station Street. Watton Street later emerged as the main shopping street. Stores included general stories, drapers, grocers, butchers, fruiterers, confectioners, hardware supplies and haberdashery. Barnes was a large store in Werribee in the c.1920s. Shops were generally modest timber structures with a front verandah. Commercial services included banks, stock and station agents, solicitors, and insurance agents. Commercial premises were generally single storey with the exception of the hotels and the banks. Werribee developed increased commercial opportunities as the city grew. Automotive services were established on Railway Avenue.

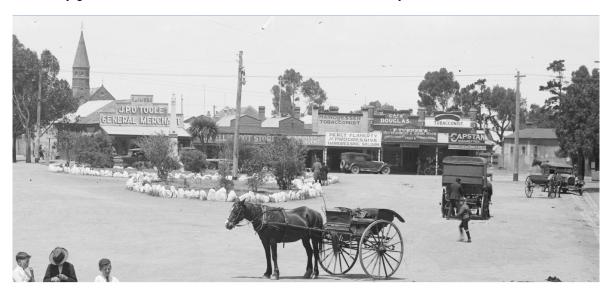


Figure 49. Detail from a postcard view of Station Street, Werribee, c.1920s. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H32492/7311)

By the 1940s, however, the town of Werribee had expanded with a large residential population but was found to have comparatively poor local shopping facilities.¹⁹⁷ The direct rail line to Melbourne (and Geelong) encouraged locals to visit the larger centres for more specialised shopping needs: Forges of Footscray was regularly advertised in the *Werribee Shire Banner*. By the 1950s, there were increased commercial offerings in Werribee and a greater diversity of goods available. Commercial opportunities expanded again in the 1980s, notable with the development of Werribee Plaza.

¹⁹⁶ Melbourne Water 2020, Cocoroc township, www.melbournewater.com.au.

¹⁹⁷ McIntyre and McIntyre 1944, p. 85.



The smaller towns provided fewer shops, and usually only essential goods. A longstanding store at Little River was the Campbell house and store at Edgars Road.¹⁹⁸ Another store in River Street comprised the post office, telegraph office and telephone exchange.¹⁹⁹

In the 1960s and 1970s, the new residential areas incorporated shopping areas — for example at Hoppers Crossing where the Woodville Park Shopping Centre was provided as a drive-in, off-road shopping centre. Prior to that Hoppers Crossing had had just one store — Kopacka's General Store.²⁰⁰

3.8.3 Housing the population

Early town buildings

Early dwellings in Werribee and Little River were typically modest, timber-framed buildings. Traditional or vernacular building methods were also used, such as wattle-and-daub and adobe. Chimneys were most often rubble or surface stone rather than masonry. The town of Werribee (formerly Wyndham) and the smaller settlements had relatively small populations prior to the 1890s. In 1881, there was a total of 57 inhabited dwellings in Werribee and 25 inhabited dwellings in Little River.²⁰¹

Later nineteenth century: 1880s-1920s

The period from the 1880s through to the 1920s was one of significant growth and expansion through the wider Werribee district, as a result of several local (as well as broader) economic factors. The introduction of tenant farming from the 1880s brought a greater population and increased commercial activity. There was stimulus provided by the Metropolitan Farm from the early 1890s and a further increase in population due to closer settlement from the early 1900s. In 1881, about one-quarter of the population of the Shire of Werribee was living in Werribee township, and this increased steadily in tandem with the growth over the following decades.²⁰²

Residents built their houses in line with the fashionable styles of the time. Middle-class families erected larger homes, often brick or timber villas within the Werribee township, while working-class people were more likely to occupy small timber cottages. In Little River a group of town residences were built in Rothwell Street in the early 1900s. With increased agricultural development, a number of farmhouses were also built in this period, which were largely single-storey timber dwellings. Most homes would have been built with decorative features that referenced the current styles.

¹⁹⁸ Wyndham History, wyndhamhistory.net.au.

¹⁹⁹ Les Sanderson, Little River, pers. com, April 2021.

²⁰⁰ Hoppers Crossing', Wyndham History website, wyndhamhistory.net.au.

²⁰¹ Henry Hamlyn Hayter 1881, Census of Victoria 1881, pp. 217, 222.

²⁰² Victorian Places 2015, 'Werribee', www.victorianplaces.com.au





Figure 50. A number of town residences were built in Rothwell Street, Little River, in the c.1910s. (Source: Google Streetview)

Few elaborate homes were built in this period with the exception of George Chaffey's ornate 'Quantin Binnah' (1888-89) and Percy Chirnside's 30-roomed mansion, 'The Manor' (1895-96), designed by Alexander Hamilton of Colac. Neither of these two houses survive.



Figure 51. 'The Manor', Werribee, designed by Alexander Hamilton in 1895-96 for Percy Chirnside. (Source: John T. Collins Collection, State Library Victoria, Accession No. H98.251/2681)

Interwar housing

The Werribee district underwent considerable residential growth in the 1920s. This paralleled the wider suburban development in Melbourne after the First World War and came in response to a more buoyant economy in the 1920s. But there were also significant local factors for growth, such as the prosperous farming activity and employment opportunities. Large areas of land on the outskirts of the Werribee township, mostly north of the railway line, were subdivided to meet the growing demand for housing. The government-run State Savings Bank of Victoria provided affordable housing through the credit foncier



scheme which provided long term loans with low interest. The scheme commenced in 1921, the same years that a branch of the State Bank opened in Watton Street, Werribee. The State Bank managed both the loans and the erection of the houses themselves.²⁰³ It provided a range of house designs for aspiring homeowners to select from, which were designed by the State Bank architect G. Burridge Leith. The bank invited tenders from local builders to carry out construction in line with the selected house design.

Under the *War Service Homes Act* (1918), war service homes for ex-servicemen were also built in the Werribee area from the 1920s. Like the early State Bank houses, these were modest timber-framed, detached homes built to a range of designs offered by the State Savings Bank of Victoria and also designed by G. Burridge Leith.²⁰⁴ There were also private subdivision sales and speculative housing developments in Werribee through the 1920s; this activity was centred around the outskirts of the town centre, including to the east near the railway line and to the south near Duncans Road.



Figure 52. Detail from 1924 auction notice for Barbour's Glenluss Estate subdivision. Note the timber and chaff mills indicated on the south side of the rail line, near Cherry Street and Kelly Street. (Source: Thos. Roadknight & Co. et al 1923-24, Geelong and district real estate posters: Werribee, Deakin University. (Source: Deakin University Library)

One of the wealthiest families in the region, the Carters, who made their fortune from their poultry empire, provided a large housing estate for their workers from the early 1940s. Between 1941 and 1954, the Carters erected over 60 brick veneer houses, with the Modernist-influenced designs prepared by architect W.J. Bliss. The Carter family also several grand, architect-designed homes in Werribee during the interwar years, including Shirwall Court in Deutgaim Street, erected in 1937, which was designed by Walter Pretty, and Monleisha, at 51-59 Russell Street, designed by Arthur Pretty in 1940 for Roland

²⁰³ Werribee Shire Banner, 8 September 1921, p. 3.

²⁰⁴ For example, tenders were invited for the construction of a war service home in Glenluss Street, Werribee, in 1926 (Werribee Shire Banner, 25 March 1926, p. 2)



Carter.²⁰⁵ The Carters' former homes have since been used for other purposes, including as a nursing home and a reception centre.²⁰⁶ Other better quality homes were built in the interwar period and often these were located south of the railway line.

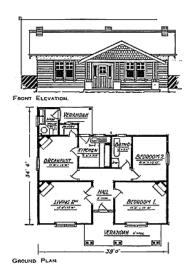




Figure 53. Type 13T State Bank House, 1929. (Source: xx)

Figure 54. Example of a Californian Bungalow built c.1920s, Princes Highway, Werribee. (Source: Google Streetview)





Figure 55. Shirwall Court in Deutgaim Street, Werribee, built for the Carter family in 1937. The house now operates as a nursing home, Villa Franca. (Source: Lost Werribee Facebook Page)

Figure 56. 'Muswell' (HO97), Spanish Mission style house, Synnot Street, Werribee, built for local councillor, Claude S. Creed, c.1930s. (Source: Google Streetview)

A number of houses were relocated from settlements on the Sewerage Farm in the period of the 1940s to 1970s as these settlements became obsolete and workers moved away. Many of the timber houses, built in the c.1890s, were relocated to other places, including Little River and Werribee.²⁰⁷

Postwar housing

The significant growth in population in Melbourne following the Second World War led to increasing demand for new housing. Extensive areas within the former Shire of Werribee were developed for housing in the postwar period. In Werribee, the Carters continued to build housing for their employees in the area now referred to as the Carter Estate. The estate's layout and house designs were influenced by

²⁰⁵ Built Heritage Pty Ltd, 'Arthur Pretty', Dictionary of Unsung Architects, http://www.builtheritage.com.au/dua_pretty.html.

²⁰⁶ Walter M.S. Carter 1999, The Carter Family of Werribee.

²⁰⁷ Sue and Peter Jones, pers. comm., November 2020.



the American Bungalow estates of the era, which often had concrete roads to service the emerging 'motor suburbs'.²⁰⁸

In the Melbourne Planning Scheme of 1954 the Shire of Werribee remained outside the metropolitan area but was identified as a satellite city with growth potential.²⁰⁹ The Housing Commission of Victoria (HCV), a State Government authority, was responsible for a number of residential developments in the municipality from the 1950s to the 1970s. These were predominantly modest 2- to 3-bedroom brick veneer dwellings with a tiled roof. In the 1950s houses were often sited at an angle on the block, creating visual uniformity and often had low woven-wire front fences. In 1954, an area of 100 acres of the Metropolitan Farm was to be sold to the Housing Commission for residential development. Around 100 of the new homes would be reserved for workers at Werribee Farm, who were transported in each day.²¹⁰ The Werribee Estate included a kindergarten in Vincent Street.



Recently constructed houses at Werribee

Figure 57. New homes erected by the Housing Commission of Victoria in Werribee, mid-1960s. (Source: *Housing Commission of Victoria Annual Report, 1965-66*)



Figure 58. HCV housing, Deborah Street, Werribee. (Source: Google Streetview)

In 1961, the HCV proposed an extensive new Werribee housing estate of 3000 homes on an 800-acre site adjacent to the Geelong railway line, not far from the Werribee railway station. As well as providing housing for workers employed in the Werribee, Altona and Brooklyn, the new homes would be available

²⁰⁸ Context 1997.

²⁰⁹ MMBW 1954, Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme 1954 Report, p. 29.

²¹⁰ Age, 4 September 1954, p. 8; 7 September 1954, p. 8.



to RAAF staff based at Point Cook and Laverton.²¹¹ A Housing Commission estate was developed at Laverton North at the same time.

The 1950s and 1960s housing built by the HCV embraced Modernist design. Rows of new houses were often arranged with alternating designs to break up the same-ness. There was also a shift away from conventional street layouts, with curvilinear designs, narrow roadways, lower, softer-edged kerbing, and dead-end 'courts' being common. Front fences and common footpaths were often done away with so that the front lawn extended openly to the kerb rather than there being a more conventional and defined 'nature strip'. Small reserves for children's playgrounds were often added to the layout.

The postwar period saw new modern home designs introduced. Some new homeowners probably made use of the Small Home Service, which was a progressive architectural service that ran a column in the newspaper, advocating the building of small modern homes that exhibited good design.

Surveyor T.W. Fowler of Werribee South had pioneered a method of concrete house construction in the 1920s which contributed to the mass construction of housing by the Housing Commission of Victoria.²¹²

Northeast of Werribee at Hoppers Crossing, housing development commenced with following the first housing subdivision in 1963. Warranwood Avenue was the first release of the Woodville Park Estate at Hoppers Crossing in 1963.²¹³ The brick veneer frontier continued to push outwards. By the 1970s, development had quickly transformed this farmer farming area into an instant suburb. Here, homes were predominantly single-storey brick veneer, with many property developers offering prospective new homeowners the opportunity to shop for their future home through the provision of 'display homes'. Little by way of infrastructure was established at the outset and residents waited extensively for services to be connected.²¹⁴ In the 1980s some new streets in Hoppers Crossing were paved rather than sealed with asphalt.

New homes in Werribee and Hoppers Crossing in the 1960s and 1970s were a mixture of conventional double-fronted brick veneer, modern contemporary, modern reproductions of earlier retrospective styles, and postwar migrant aesthetic, with a strong use of palms and conifers providing a landscape setting for the latter. Brown brick was the most common building material from the 1960s to the 1980s. Local architect John Flynn designed a number of significant homes in Werribee in the 1960s and 1970s, including an influential flat-roofed house in Slattery Street.²¹⁵



Figure 59. Housing in Carter Street, Werribee, c.1941-54, part of an extensive estate associated with Carters poultry farm. (Source: Google Street View)



Figure 60. House in Warranwood Avenue, Hoppers Crossing, built c.1960s, following the first subdivision in that suburb in 1963. (Source: Google Street View)

²¹¹ Age, 26 May 1961, p. 3.

²¹² Miles Lewis 1988, 200 Years of Concrete in Australia, Concrete Institute of Australia, North Sydney, pp. 104-05.

²¹³ Lost Werribee Facebook Page.

²¹⁴ Wyndham History, wyndhamhistory.net.au

²¹⁵ Built Heritage Pty Ltd, 'M. John Flynn', Dictionary of Unsung Architects, http://www.builtheritage.com.au/dua flynn.html



Housing development continued through the 1980s, 1990s, 2000s in the urban growth corridor of the west, with a number of new estates. A new residential area known as Wyndham Vale, north-west of Werribee, was established in the 1980s. The last 10–15 years has seen significant and rapid housing development at Point Cook, Tarneit and Truganina. New housing estates in these areas show a preference for double-storey homes on smaller blocks.



Figure 61. Flat-roofed brick home at 13 Slattery Street, Werribee, designed by local architect John Flynn in 1969. (Source: realestate.com.au)

3.8.4 Planting trees and cultivating gardens

Early homestead gardens were established by the 1840s and 1850s, for example at the Chirnside's Point Cook homestead; While some mature trees remain at this site, little has been recorded about the development of the gardens. It was common for early homestead gardens to cultivate what was readily available (for example, from seeds and cuttings from friends). Flower gardens usually ornamented the front of the house and a produce or kitchen garden was established at the rear. Windbreaks and shade trees were also established early, with species contingent on what was available from local nurserymen. Monterey Cypress (*Hesperocyparis macrocarpa*) was widely used as a windbreak on the western plains and was available to purchase from local nurserymen by the late 1850s.²¹⁶

Ferdinand Mueller, director of Melbourne Botanic Gardens, provided trees to the Werribee Shire Council in 1869.²¹⁷ Though the species are not known, Mueller is known to have favoured conifers. It is possible that these were planted at Kelly Park, which was reserved in 1864, or at Chirnside Park or the Werribee Cemetery. Street trees were planted in Werribee from at least 1880, when Elms were planted in Watton Street. In 1884 the shire council proposed street tree planting in Cottrell (Cotterill) Street, with every alternate tree to be a deciduous variety.²¹⁸

William Guilfoyle, who was Mueller's successor as director of the Melbourne Botanic Gadrens, and the pre-eminent landscape designer of late-nineteenth century Victoria, is credited for preparing a plan for the local council for the layout of Chirnside Park (then called Werribee Park), a public recreation reserve on the Werribee River.²¹⁹ Guilfoyle provided a plan to the Wyndham Council in 1878 but this appears to have not been what was required and proved too costly to execute.²²⁰ It is thought that he prepared a more suitable plan. Guilfoyle would have most likely visited Werribee Park and it is possible that he provided the Chirnsides with either some unofficial advice or more substantial plans for the formal

²¹⁶ Margaret Brooks and Richard Barley 2009, Plants Listed in Nursery Catalogues in Victoria 1855 to 1889, Garden Plant Conservation Association of Australia, South Yarra.

²¹⁷ Correspondence with Ferdinand Mueller, copy held by WDHS; noted on Lost Werribee Facebook page.

²¹⁸ Bacchus Marsh Express, 4 April 1905, p. 4; Geelong Advertiser, 2 February 1884, p. 2.

²¹⁹ Serle 1983, p. 45. The connection to Guilfoyle is cited in the entry on 'Chirnside Park', Wyndham History,

www.wyndhamhistory.net.au.

²²⁰ Williamstown Chronicle, 14 September 1878, p. 3.



gardens.²²¹ Guilfoyle is known to have provided such advice about other homestead gardens in country Victoria. While no direct evidence has been found to prove any links to Werribee Park, elements of the Werribee Park garden had a strong Guilfoylean character, notably the lake, shell grotto and rustic arbours. The extensive formal gardens also included fountains, ferneries, parterres, a croquet lawn, glasshouses, an island on the lake and a ha-ha wall.

Other notable private gardens of the late-nineteenth century, including The Manor and the Chaffeys' Quantin Binnah, have been lost although mature remnant trees survive at both sites. Fashionable Mlebourne landscape designer William Sangster was contracted to prepare a garden layout for The Manor in 1896.²²² The larger properties were also planted with windbreaks and avenues of trees along the entrance drives, for example at Werribee Park, Quantin Binnah and The Manor. In the 1890s, Radiata Pine (*Pinus insignis*) and Blue Gum (*Eucalyptus globulus*) were favoured for plantation planting.²²³ Sugar Gum was also widely used for this purpose by local landowners in the early twentieth century. The development of the MMBW of the Sewerage Farm in the early 1890s began with the planting of the boundaries with trees.



Figure 62. A *Phoenix canariensis* (Canary Island Date Palm) ornaments a traffic roundabout in Watton Street, Werribee. (Source Google Streetview)

Private gardens were laid out according to the fashions of the period but often have been altered over time. Werribee Park is a lavish and atypical example of a grand homestead garden established in the high Victorian period and developed further in the Edwardian era. Whilst certainly remarkable, it is atypical of homestead gardens in the municipality. Like the larger homesteads, farmhouse gardens also typically had a flower garden, as well as the essential kitchen garden and orchard. Popular specimen trees included Norfolk Island Pine (*Araucaria heterophylla*) and Canary Island Date Palm. While garden layouts followed the favoured style of the period, they were also determined by the nature of the site. There are some typical postwar-era gardens in the Werribee South irrigation area, characterised by their formal appearance, often with neat lawns, clipped shrubs, and deciduous specimen trees and conifers, including for example Italian Cypress (*Cupressus semprevirens*).

Typical postwar suburban gardens were simpler than their Victorian and Edwardian predecessors. Plants with bold foliage and bright flowers were often used, but more sparingly. Popular plants included Corylines, Dahlias, and Roses. Rocks and pebbles were used for edging and pathways. Concrete was also used for pathways and for edging garden beds. Raised front balconies or terraces (sometimes tiled)

²²¹ Murray 1974, p. 44; Jessie Serle 1983, Point Cooke: A history prepared for the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, p. 45; Allom Lovell Sanderson and Jessie Serle 1985, 'Werribee Park Metropolitan Park: Conservation analysis', prepared for the MMBW, pp. 314-15; Blairs Guide to Victoria, 1987, 278; Watts 1980, pp. 134-35; Georgina Whitehead (ed.) 2001, Planting the Nation, Australian Garden History Society, Melbourne, p. 139.

²²² Murray 1974, p. 58; Bacchus Marsh Express, 28 March 1896, p. 3.

²²³ Leader, 30 December 1893, p. 7.



became fashionable and these were often ornamented with pot plants. From the 1950s to the 1970s front fences were generally low or non-existent. Boundary fences between properties were often abandoned for the front section of the block, in an effort to create a seamless, uninterrupted parklike landscape rather a series of boxed-in squares. Bush gardens were also developed from the 1970s, often in association with contemporary home designs of the period.

3.8.5 Expanding metropolitan Melbourne and making new suburbs

The City of Wyndham has seen extensive development since World War II. Werribee had long been an area with a strong demand for housing, for example for workers at the Metropolitan Farm and the State Research Institute. From the 1960s and 1970s, Werribee was promoted as a favourable and attractive place to live. Touted as 'a home in the country', it offered the benefits of a metropolitan city but with plenty of open space and affordability.

In 1971 the Melbourne Planning Scheme, prepared by the Board of Works, introduced Metropolitan Growth Areas as linear 'corridors' that enabled urban growth. These were zoned to allow for housing development, on the fringes of fast-growing areas of Melbourne.²²⁴ Werribee was designated one of these growth corridors for the wider Melbourne metropolitan area, with others being the Plenty Valley corridor and the south-eastern corridor, with each area being protected by a green wedge of preserved open space and natural vegetation.²²⁵



'I'm a bit worried about our Gloria – she says she and Wayne are going to live in a corridor',

Figure 63. Understanding growth corridors: a cartoon from the *Herald*, 3 December 1971. (Source: Dingle and Rasmussen, *Vital Connections*, 1991)

This period saw a significant increase in residential development, with new housing developments emerging in areas that had previously been farmland. Hoppers Crossing was developed as a new planned suburb and was largely privately developed. The transformation of Hoppers Crossing was rapid; in 1960 it had one general store and by 1994 the population was around 40,000.²²⁶

The increase in residential development has impacted the rural character for which the region was known, particularly in the eastern portions that have rapidly been transformed to become the outer

²²⁴ Dingle and Rasmussen 1991, pp. 319-320, redact plan on p. 320; Duncan 1982, p. 86.

²²⁵ Ministry for Planning and Environment 1989. 'Werribee Growth Area: A technical report', October 1989, p. 10.

²²⁶ Victorian Places, Hoppers Crossing.



suburbs of Melbourne. Nonetheless, the municipality retains many rural areas which continue to attract those seeking country living.

3.9 Governing and keeping order

3.9.1 Local government

The Wyndham District Road Board was proclaimed in 1862.²²⁷ The first annual meeting was held in November 1863.²²⁸ The road board was replaced by the Wyndham Shire Council in March 1864 and extended from Footscray to Little River, and north to the Melton Reservoir. A site for a shire hall and office was reserved in 1864.²²⁹ The first meetings were held at Elliott Armstrong's hotel until a purpose-built shire hall was erected in bluestone in 1868.²³⁰ Early responsibilities of the shire included forming and maintaining roads, establishing a pound and pound keeper, assessing rates on properties, and addressing nuisances.

The village surveyed in 1850 on the present site of Werribee was named Wyndham. However, the original name of Werribee remained more popular than Wyndham and the town's name was officially changed to Werribee in 1884.²³¹

The Shire of Wyndham was renamed the Shire of Werribee in 1909 and Altona was annexed in 1957 forming a separate shire. Following the restructuring of council boundaries, the shire became the City of Wyndham in 1994 and a small area in the north was transferred to City of Melton.²³²



Figure 64. The first Werribee Shire Hall, erected in 1868. (Source: Context 1997)



Figure 65. The second Werribee Shire Hall, erected in 1893, Rose postcard, n.d. (c.1950s). (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H32492/7300)

3.9.2 Maintaining law and order

From the middle of 1835 settlers took the law into their own hands and attempted to settle disputes themselves with the Aboriginal people and amongst the settlers. The murder of Charles Franks and his shepherd in July 1836 prompted Governor Bourke soon after to despatch William Lonsdale to Port Phillip as police magistrate.²³³ Nonetheless, disputes and conflicts continued in the early period of settlement on the Werribee plains. This was a major throughway to the first significant pastoral

²²⁷ '1862 - Wyndham District Road Board is proclaimed', Wyndham History, http://www.wyndhamhistory.net.au.

²²⁸ Geelong Advertiser, 20 November 1863, p. 3.

²²⁹ VGG, 25 October 1864, p. 2388.

²³⁰ Our Shire Hall (Masonic Lodge), Wyndham History: http://www.wyndhamhistory.net.au/items/show/2670.

²³¹ Victorian Places 2015, 'Wyndham City', https://www.victorianplaces.com.au/wyndham-city.

²³² Victorian Places 2015, 'Werribee', https://www.victorianplaces.com.au/werribee.

²³³ Kiddle 1961, p. 34.



settlement of the Western District – it was a much-used route and was challenging to police. The stealing of horses and stock and the pilfering of goods was a common occurrence.

From the late 1830s, a mounted Aboriginal police force, known as the 'Native Police', carried out some of the earliest policing on the Werribee Plains, and particularly in cases that involved conflict between settlers and Aboriginal people. Established in 1838, the Native Police were based in Melbourne but also covered the country districts and operated from 1837 to 1838 and again from 1852.²³⁴

The first police site set aside in a new town or settlement was generally the police paddock, and typically this was a large reserve with frontage to a river or creek so that the police horses had ready access to water. A police paddock of a bit over 69 acres, was established on the Werribee River at Werribee in c.1855, and a contract let for the fencing of the reserve the following year.²³⁵ The Werribee Police Paddock is marked in the 1857 town place. Police were known to have been stationed at Werribee before 1856, however the temporary reservation of the 69-acre site was not formalised until 1869.²³⁶ The first police station at Werribee was a pre-fabricated iron building of the type widely used for early policing in the 1850s, and a new brick station building was erected in 1862.²³⁷ A lock-up was also erected.²³⁸ The police paddock reservation was revoked in 1909 and was subdivided the following year,²³⁹ with presumably some portion being retained for public buildings.

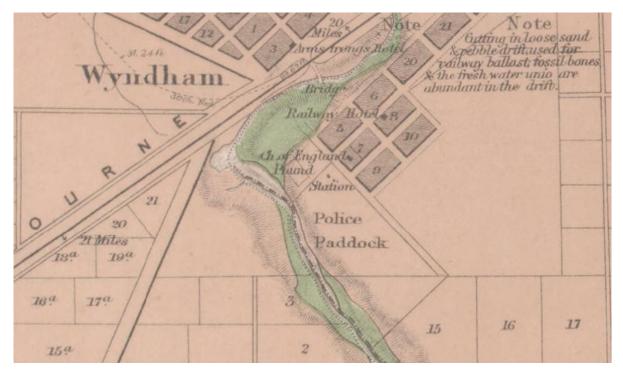


Figure 66. 'Police paddock' and [police] 'station', Werribee, marked in the plan of the Geological Survey of Victoria, dated 1863. (Source: National Library of Australia)

²³⁴ Marie Hansen Fels 1988, Good Men and True, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

²³⁵ VGG, 17 October 1856, p. 1741.

²³⁶ James and Pritchard 2008, p. 114; Township of Wyndham 1857, SLNSW; Police Life, December 1958, p. 8; VGG, 17 February 1909, p. 1379.

²³⁷ James and Pritchard 2008, p. 114.

²³⁸ Police Lock Up, Paddock Site, Synnot Street, Werribee', Wyndham History: http://www.wyndhamhistory.net.au/items/show/405.

nup://www.wyndnamnistory.net.au/items/snow/405.

²³⁹ Police Lock Up, Paddock Site, Synnot Street, Werribee', Wyndham History:

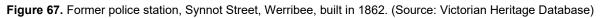
http://www.wyndhamhistory.net.au/items/show/405; VGG, 17 February 1909, p. 1379.



A police paddock reserve was also set aside on the riverbank at Little River. A one-acre site for police purposes at Little River was reserved at Little River in 1864.²⁴⁰ A police station was erected at Little River by 1895. Police stations at both Werribee and Little River included a lock-up.

The establishment of local magistrates' courts (or courts of petty sessions) occurred in the early period of settlement. This was where cases were initially heard before progressing to the County Court. It was typical for local landowners to be appointed as local magistrates. Courts were often heard in private homes or in a local hotel before a proper courthouse could be erected. A local police court (within the jurisdiction of the Geelong Police District) operated in Werribee from c.1911 and this was held in the reading room of the Werribee mechanics hall.





3.9.3 Fighting for political rights

There have been various political tensions percolate at different times in the Werribee district, between capital and labour and between large and small landowners, as well as sectarian and racial tensions – for example, between Catholic and Protestant, and between 'Old' and 'New' Australians.

Sections of the population within the area now known as the City of Wyndham have faced instances of discrimination and injustice through different periods of history. As discussed in Section 1, Aboriginal people were pushed out of their Country in the mid-nineteenth century and have been subject to wide-ranging forms of injustice since the beginning of British settlement. Some Aboriginal people worked on pastoral stations but their entire way of life was turned upside down and they lost so much of their long-established connection with Country. Aboriginal people endured the loss of their land and access to water and traditional resources as a result of settlement. Aboriginal people in Victoria, including those from the Wyndham area, made efforts to seek compensation from the government from the 1840s and 1850s. They had no success until the 1970s when land was returned to them in parts of Victoria. Increased mechanics for self-determinisation continued from the 1990s with the *Native Title Act* (Vic) 1994, and through better opportunities in Aboriginal health, Aboriginal justice, Aboriginal childcare and Aboriginal cultural heritage.

From the late-nineteenth century women fought for the right to vote on the same terms as men and it is likely that some of the signatories to the 'monster petition' for women's suffrage in 1891 were local residents. The growing recognition of the rights of women and children in the early 1900s saw women's suffrage being awarded in Victoria in 1908. In terms of local political representation, there have been a number of female councillors for the former Shire of Werribee, and later for the City of Wyndham.

Conflict between squatters and farmers (free selectors) intensified in the early 1860s, when the second Land Act ('the Grant Act' of 1862) allowed for small holders to take up land under the free selection

²⁴⁰ VGG, 18 October 1864, p. 2337.



provisions but were forced to contend with a monopoly situation of land ownership in the local area. There were protestations from local famers about access to public roads being denied by large landholders, and the mis-use of the public 'farmers' common by large landowners whose use it was not designed for.²⁴¹

Disputes between rural labourers and landowners in the Werribee and Little River districts from the latenineteenth century culminated in the widespread industrial unrest of the 1890s and the formation of the Australian Workers' Union. Shearers at Robert Chirnside's Mount Rothwell Estate voted to strike over pay in September 1893, with most of the shearers being small landholders residing in the Little River district.²⁴² Industrial disputes continued into the early 1900s with workers demanding better wages. One labour organisation encountered industrial unrest in Werribee during harvest time in 1912 when there was a strike amongst the threshers who refused to work the machines at the price offered by the machinery owners. He argued that 'the Werribee cocky is the greatest sweater in Victoria', in being unwilling to pay a fair wage.²⁴³ There was unrest again in the Werribee and Little River districts in January 1917 over the price farmers were paying threshers, which led to the 'Werribee strike'. Disgruntled members of the Werribee branch of the Victorian Farmers Union met at the Werribee Shire Hall and sought to prevent the strike action from affecting the transport workers as well.²⁴⁴ The strong position of labour in Werribee was also reflected in the results of the conscription referendum in 1917, when Werribee had a highest 'No' vote in the Corio electoral division.²⁴⁵ The Victorian Farmers Union, which commenced as an interest group of primary producers was formed in 1914 to oppose the political strength of organised labour unionism amongst rural workers. By 1917 it had developed into a political party, known as the Victorian Country Party.

From the 1920s there was a significant Italian community in the Werribee area and this group faced persecution from the mainstream population. Non-British immigrants posed an imagined threat to 'Anglo-Australian' labour, and unfamiliar culture, language and food was not accepted by all. There were no doubt strained relations at times, when extreme political positions were adopted. It is likely that the Werribee branch of Sezione Fascista (Fascist Section), an Italian fascist organisation that supported Mussolini, was not popular with all of Werribee's working-class population.²⁴⁶ Their support for Mussolini probably contributed to the arrest of a large number of Italians in 1940 who were deemed to be 'enemy aliens'.

Industrial disputes continued in the district. Carters Egg Farm was the subject to a significant strike by workers in 1948.

²⁴¹ Sue and Peter Jones, pers. comm., November 2020; James and Pritchard 2008, Werribee: The first 100 years.

²⁴² Age, 4 October 1893, p. 6.

²⁴³ The Worker, 18 December 1912, p. 1.

²⁴⁴ Werribee Shire Banner, 25 January 1917, p. 3.

²⁴⁵ Geelong Advertiser, 24 November 1917, p. 2.

²⁴⁶ Museum Victoria, Item SH 940595: https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/250386

CONTEXT



Figure 68 (a) and (b). Front and back sides of a hand-sewn fabric pennant created for the Sezione Fascista, Werribee, c.1930s. (Source: Museum Victoria)

3.10 Servicing the community

3.10.1 Social life

Social gatherings in the early days of Werribee and its broader locality followed the pattern typical of many country areas in Victoria. Social life revolved around the churches, sporting events, the harvest, public holidays and local fund-raising activities. A point of difference in early social life of the district was the role of the Chirnside family whose role as local lairds played a key role in shaping the social life of the district and in providing social activities for the people.

The operation of the Chirnside's vast Werribee Park estate, with its lavish mansion, its associated social activities, its provision of employment to local people and tenant farmers, and its focus on the breeding of prize stock and Fallow Deer, emulated the lifestyle of the British landed gentry. Up until c.1920, social life in the district was governed to some extent by what could likened to an Old World aristocratic model, with the 'laird' or 'lord of the manor' presiding, directly and indirectly, over much of the life of the district. The laird was initially Thomas Chirnside, and subsequently, George T. Chirnside. Other pastoral estates also had some bearing on the development of the district including Eynesbury, built by the Staughton family, and Wooloomanata (outside the study area), belonging to the Armytage family. The dominance of Werribee Park, however, gave the Chirnside family unparalleled dominance and influence in local politics and society. Werribee Park played host to various lavish social events for wealthy, fashionable society, including military encampments, hunts, picnics, balls, and vice-regal visits.²⁴⁷ The estate also served as a centre for the social life of the district, with the Chirnside's hosting social events for their estate workers and tenant farmers, and the wider local community, including annual fetes and dances.²⁴⁸

The role of the Chirnside family and Werribee Park, however, also constrained the opportunity for more democratic social activities in Werribee through the 1860s and 1870s due to the monopolisation of land by one family, and by the paternalistic benevolence of that family in providing opportunities for community social gatherings. Many of the local institutions, which were central to local social life had relied on the Chirnside family rather than other sources of funding for the land they stood on and their construction. While there was significant deference shown by the local community to the Chirnside family there are also hints of simmering animosity.

Tracing the dynamics of social life and social interaction in the Werribee district, class lines clearly drawn. Wealthy graziers, such as the Chirnsides, largely kept to themselves, and generally only mixed with the workers and tenant farmers on public occasions that celebrated the family's patronage of or

²⁴⁷ Victorian Heritage Database, Werribee Park, Place ID1207.

²⁴⁸ For examples, see 1880, 1881, 1882, 1910.



involvement in local institutions and events. The middle class — comprising government officials, religious clergy, bank managers, doctors, dentists and accountants, station managers, stock agents, and other professionals — to some extent moved more freely across the different social strata.

Clubs and societies

Werribee and Little River and some of the smaller centres of population established various social clubs and societies in the late-nineteenth century. These groups were important to the early development of social life. In the late-nineteenth century, examples included the Freemasons, the Irish National Foresters and the Rechabites. There was also a St Patrick's Society and the Band of Hope. The ANA became popular towards the end of the nineteenth century, with a branch established in Werribee. Apart from the Masons, who had tenancy of the former Shire Hall in Watton Street, it does not appear that these early organisations had their own premises.²⁴⁹ Active clubs in the early twentieth century included the Werribee Club, the Werribee Young Men's Club and the Werribee Cycling Club. The 1st Werribee Boy Scouts began in 1915 and 1st Werribee Girls Guides were formed in 1937.²⁵⁰

Ethnic clubs are discussed in Section 3.14.2 'Celebrating culture'.

Entertainment and leisure activities

Feature films without sound, known as 'silent pictures', were screened in the Werribee Mechanics' Institute from c.1919 under the guise of Werribee Universal Pictures.²⁵¹ The Palais Theatre in Werribee opened in 1928 and showed the first 'talking pictures' in 1932 to a large audience, which was perhaps the largest gathering of people the township had ever seen.²⁵²

Towns each had a busy calendar of social events, including balls and dances, and sporting events. Often the public buildings and public reserves were utilised for these purposes.

Traditions, celebrations and festivals

The major celebrations and festive occasions in the early settlement period followed practices that were commonly practised in Britain and Ireland. These included religious days, such as Christmas, Boxing Bay, saints' days, and harvest thanksgiving (for the Protestant churches), as well as other customs, such as New Year's Day and Guy Fawkes' Day. Picnics and sporting events were often held on Boxing Day and Eastern Monday. St Patricks Day (17 March) was a celebration confined to Irish Catholics, with St Patrick's Day sports held each year at Little River. The Scots celebrated Burns Night (25 January) and the occasional Caledonian sports.

In the early 1900s, Arbor Day, celebrated in May, and Wattle Day, celebrated in September, were events in the local state school calendar. Anzac Day was also commemorated in Werribee from the 1920s.

3.10.2 Providing education

Primary education

From the middle of the nineteenth century, small local schools were established by the emerging communities on the Werribee Plains. Some of these schools were short-lived, while others were shaped by different regimes of government education, adapting to new demands. Initially, schools were mostly attached to local churches: namely the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist or Catholic denominations. An

²⁴⁹ The ANA appears not to have had its own building but may have used the shire hall or another suitable public building.

²⁵⁰ Werribee Shire Banner, 23 June 1938, p. 2.

²⁵¹ See advertisement, Werribee Shire Banner, 13 November 1919, p. 3.

²⁵² James 1985, p. 114-15; Werribee Shire Banner, 28 April 1921, p. 4.



early example was a small Anglican school commenced in 1855 in the Village of Wyndham under the instruction of Miss Armstrong, the daughter of a local publican.²⁵³ In 1858, local families in Werribee successfully petitioned for a national school, and a new building was erected for this purpose on the corner of Mortimer and Werribee streets in 1861.²⁵⁴ National schools (established in 1858) were government-run primary schools, which were the predecessors of common schools (introduced in 1863) and state schools (introduced in 1873). The Wyndham National School and the Rothwell school both became common schools in 1862.²⁵⁵ These early schools generally provided quarters for the school teacher, either with an attached residence or a separate dwelling on the same site.

A new common school was built at Truganina in 1868-69 from bluestone quarried on Leake's property.²⁵⁶ A local school had originally been run by the Church of England and became Truganina Common School in 1863.²⁵⁷ At Little River, an independent denominational school was commenced with a class of 33 children in 1856, and a Catholic school (St Michael's) was erected in the church grounds near the Little River Railway Station two years later.²⁵⁸

The *Education Act* of 1872 created a new category of government school in Victoria known as a 'state school', and established a requirement for 'free, compulsory and secular' elementary education, which meant that church-run schools were forced either to become financially independent or be converted into state schools. Most of the first 'state schools' in the district simply took over the existing government-funded schools — including those at Truganina (1872); Tarneit (1875); Werribee (1873); and Little River (1877), with Little River periodically absorbing the earlier school, Rothwell (later Little River) Common School.²⁵⁹ State schools in country areas continued to provide accommodation for the teacher. St Michael's Catholic School at Little River was forced to close temporarily in 1877 with the cessation of government funding to Catholic schools, and the Catholic students were accommodated at the local state school.²⁶⁰ After re-opening, the school closed again in the late 1890s.



Figure 69. Truganina Common School, built in 1868-69 and destroyed by fire in January 1968. (Source: Lost Werribee Facebook Page)

²⁵³ James 1985, p. 121

²⁵⁴ James 1985, p. 123.

²⁵⁵ James 1985, p. 124; James 1985, p. 118.

²⁵⁶ A detailed account of Truganina school is given in E.C. Thompson (Head Teacher), 'The History of School No. 192,

Truganina', Educational Magazine, vol. 17, no. 10, 1960, reproduced at Wyndham History, 'History of School No 192, Truganina', https://wyndhamhistory.net.au/items/show/1553

²⁵⁷ Blake 1973, vol. 3, p. 22; Frances Overmars, pers. comm., November 2020.

²⁵⁸ James 1985, p. 119. Blake 1973, vol. 3, p. 41.

²⁵⁹ Blake 1973, vol. 3, pp. 22, 41, 45, 68, 78.

²⁶⁰ Blake 1973, vol. 3, p. 32.



New developments in the Werribee area from the late 1880s, which included tenant farming at Werribee Park (1888), the construction and operation of the Metropolitan Sewerage Farm (1890s), and the Closer Settlement schemes of the early 1900s, led to population growth and demands for additional schools. The Metropolitan Farm State School was established in the 1900s.²⁶¹ The Werribee Estate State School, established in 1915 on Duncans Road, later became Werribee South State School. Further south, the largely soldier settler population on Diggers Road School agitated for a state school, which commenced in 1927.²⁶²

A Catholic school continued to operate in Werribee into the 1900s, but without a suitable permanent building. A new school building was opened by Archbishop Mannix in 1920. The school was expanded in 1950, following a large increase in student numbers in the postwar period. ²⁶³

Other existing buildings were adapted for educational use as demand required. The Soldiers' Memorial Hall in Werribee South, for example, also served as an interim state school on Diggers Road from 1927 until 1935 when the school moved to a new site in Diggers Road.²⁶⁴ Schools in the Wyndham municipality have seen considerable change; some have endured but many early schools have been lost, including Truganina State School (former Common School), which was lost in a bushfire in 1968.

Secondary education

Before the 1920s, there was not a great demand for secondary schooling in the area. Most children finished school at the end of Grade 8 and either assisted on the family farm, found employment, or learned a trade. Prior to the establishment of a high school at Werribee, the closest secondary education for local children was at Melbourne or Geelong.

Werribee Higher Elementary School (HES) was opened on Duncans Road in the early 1920s to provide additional secondary classes (past Grade 8) as a continuation of Werribee State School No. 649. The school was erected on 5 acres of land that was gifted to the Education Department by George Chirnside.²⁶⁵ The Werribee HES was constructed at a cost of £3000 and was officially opened in 1923 by Sir Alexander Peacock, former Premier of Victoria and the Minister for Education.²⁶⁶

Higher elementary schools did not offer Leaving or Matriculation, which meant there was local agitation for a high school in Werribee. The local population had steadily increased in the 1940s and 1950s which put more pressure on the public education. The Werribee Higher Elementary School continued until 1955, when the new Werribee High School opened on Duncan's Road which went through to Matriculation (Year 12). The school occupied 10 acres of land that had been purchased by the Education Department. Initially occupying temporary buildings, a new school building was completed in 1959 and was officially opened in 1961.²⁶⁷ Werribee High School served the wider district, bringing children in from Little River and further afield. The school has expanded greatly to accommodate the ongoing growth of the local student population.²⁶⁸ In the postwar period army huts were used at several schools to provide additional accommodation, including Werribee High School.²⁶⁹

²⁶¹ James 1985, p. 119.

²⁶² Blake 1973, vol. 3, pp. 127, 144.

²⁶³ St Andrews Catholic School Werribee, https://www.sawerribee.catholic.edu.au/our-school/our-history/

²⁶⁴ Blake 1973, vol. 3, p. 144; Baragwanath 2015.

²⁶⁵ Argus, 5 May 1923, p. 27; Murray 1974, p. 93.

²⁶⁶ Table Talk, 24 May 1923, p. 26.

²⁶⁷ Argus, 5 May 1923, p. 27; Murray 1974, p. 93; Blake 1973, vol. 3, pp. 236–37.

²⁶⁸ Werribee Secondary College 2020, History, www.werribeesc.vic.edu.au.

²⁶⁹ Blake, vol. 3, pp. 127, 237. Werribee South State School also used an army hut.



A Catholic convent was built in Werribee in 1912 when the St Josephs were invited to teach at the local Catholic school. A new convent was built in 1968-69 to a design by local architect M. John Flynn.²⁷⁰ The Sisters of St Joseph commenced Catholic secondary education in Werribee in 1970, when they opened the Mary MacKillop Girls' College.²⁷¹ The school later became co-educational to meet the demand for Catholic education in the fast-growing suburbs of Werribee. In the 1990s, the school was joined by a second Catholic secondary school at Tarneit, Thomas Carr College.

In 1977, Williamstown Grammar School purchased a substantial parcel of land on Sayers Road in Truganina to build a campus additional to their earlier site on The Strand in Williamstown.²⁷² Now known as Westbourne Grammar School, the school has extended its initial buildings and remains in Truganina.

To meet the needs of the growing Islamic community in the City of Wyndham and surrounds, the private Islamic school, AI Taqwa College, was established on 50 acres of land on Sayers Road in 1986. Commencing with 25 students, the school has grown substantially, and now has a horticultural and agricultural campus in Tarneit.²⁷³ Good News Lutheran College was established at Tarneit in 1997.

Pre-schools

The rapid growth of Werribee and Hoppers Crossing in the postwar decades of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s also saw growth in the provision of kindergartens and pre-schools in the area. In the postwar period kindergartens were built at Vincent Street, Werribee, and Little River (1950s).

Tertiary education

There were particularly strong links in the Werribee district between local state education and key areas of work and industry of the area. Although not stricty an educational facility, the State Research Farm played a significant part in early agricultural education in Victoria. From 1917, for example, state school teachers were trained in agricultural education at the Werribee Demonstration Farm, State Research Farm.²⁷⁴ In 1919 returned soldier settlers were also provided with training in farming at the State Research Farm. From 1920, students of Dookie Agricultural College undertook their second residential year at the State Research Farm, Werribee. In 1922, accommodation for students was erected at the site.²⁷⁵ A School of Dairy Technology opened at the Werribee Research Farm in 1939 to provide up-to-date scientific training for those working in dairy industry.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁰ Built Heritage Pty Ltd, 'M John Flynn', Dictionary of Unsung Architects, http://www.builtheritage.com.au/dua_flynn.html

²⁷¹ MacKillop College Werribee, Our Story, www.mackillopwerribee.com.au.

²⁷² Westbourne Grammar School, History, www.westbournegrammar.com.

²⁷³ Al Taqwa College, History of Al-Taqwa, www.al-taqwa.vic.edu.au.

²⁷⁴ Weekly Times, 3 February 1917, p. 25; Weekly Times, 8 March 1919, pp. 26-27.

²⁷⁵ Lindsay Falvey and Barrie Bardsley 1997, 'Land and Food: Agricultural and related education in the Victorian Colleges and the University of Melbourne', no page numbers.

²⁷⁶ Weekly Times, 1 July 1939, p. 22.





Figure 70. School of Dairy Technology, State Research Farm, Werribee, 1950s. (Source: private collection)

The University of Melbourne School of Veterinary Science established a Werribee campus in the 1960s as a clinical centre but also to provide research and teaching opportunities.²⁷⁷ The W.T. Kendall Hall was opened in 1967 as a hall of residence for students of veterinary science at Werribee.

Victorian University of Technology established a campus south of Hoppers Crossing in the early 2000s.²⁷⁸

3.10.3 Establishing places of worship

Settlers brought their religious affiliations with them to the new colony and in what is now the City of Wyndham most of the major Christian denominations were represented. As well as Anglicans and Presbyterians, there was a significant number of Primitive Methodists in the district in the early period of settlement. Early church services were held in private homes whenever a religious minister passed through the area. As soon as small centres of population had been established moves were afoot to establish permanent places of worship.

In the early period the religious affiliations of settlers to a large extent correlated with cultural background. With the English-born being the dominant group, Anglicans were more numerous. The first church constructed in Werribee was St Thomas's Anglican Church, built in 1859 on land donated by Thomas Chirnside. The church, constructed as a simple building in weatherboard, was built largely with further donations from the Chirnside family. This building would remain in use as an Anglican church until 1900, when a larger brick building was completed with further assistance from the Chirnside family.²⁷⁹ The original timber building, erected in 1859, remains on site.

Another early church was the Baptist Church at Truganina, which was the sole church in that locality in the 1870s. The church occupied a bluestone hall that had been erected in 1862.²⁸⁰

Anglican worshippers in Little River had attended services at parsonages until a church was constructed in 1877. This small bluestone church, dedicated to St James, was moved from its original site to the

²⁷⁷ New Life, https://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/culture/community/display/33953-%22new-life%22.

²⁷⁸ 'Hoppers Crossing', Victorian Places website.

²⁷⁹ Context 1997.

²⁸⁰ Whitworth 1879, p. 474.



centre of the small township, stone by stone, in the 1890s.²⁸¹ At its re-consecration ceremony in 1893, the Anglican Archbishop of Melbourne rededicated the church as Christ Church.



Figure 71. Werribee Presbyterian Church, c.1911. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession no. H96.200/1480)



Figure 72. Church of England, Werribee, built in 1900. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession no. H96.200/1482).

In response to the region's growing population in the 1970s, the Anglican Church erected further churches in the municipality, such as the Epiphany Anglican Church in Hoppers Crossing.

The influx of Scottish settlers in the 1850s saw the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in towns throughout Wyndham and the broader Western District of Victoria. Presbyterians began meeting in Werribee in the 1850s, making use of the local Church of England church building, which was lent to them for meetings. A Presbyterian parish comprising of Lara, Little River and Werribee was later formed under a single minister, and an early timber church was erected in Werribee in the 1860s. The Chirnside family, who were Scots Presbyterians, provided the land and funds for the construction of a new church in Duncans Road, Werribee, in 1884, with Thomas Chirnside laying the foundation stone himself. The Church of St Thomas the Apostle, constructed to a Gothic Revival design by the eminent Geelong architect Alexander Davidson, was accompanied by a manse that was also funded by the Chirnsides. The Presbyterian church site in Werribee was a rare case in Victoria where 'the land, church and manse were funded by one family'.²⁸² In 1977, when the Uniting Church in Australia was formed through the amalgamation of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches, the church was renamed the Crossroads Uniting Church.



Figure 73. The bluestone Presbyterian manse in Duncans Road, Werribee, built c.1884. (Source: Google)

A Presbyterian church was opened in Truganina in 1907, in an earlier corrugated iron hall that had been built in 1862 and had been used by the Baptist Church. The Truganina Presbyterian Church was in use into the 1960s, when the building was lost in the bushfires of January 1968. The foundation stone of the

²⁸¹ Little River-Lara Anglican Parish, History, www.laralittleriveranglican.com.

²⁸² Miles Lewis (ed.) 1991, Victorian Churches, National Trust of Australia (Vic.), Melbourne, p. 154.



new St Paul's Presbyterian Church at Little River was laid in June of 1884, the same year as the Presbyterian Church in Werribee.²⁸³ At Little River, Presbyterian services were held in private homes for many years.²⁸⁴

The first Little River Methodist Church was constructed in 1869, as a small gabled bluestone structure. The land was granted by the Board of Land and Works in 1868, following a request from the Primitive Methodist Church in Geelong. The initial services were conducted by a clergyman from Geelong, who made regular trips to Little River. The Primitive Methodists, a breakaway group from the Wesleyan Methodists, had a stronghold in the colony, and were thought to have 125 churches across Victoria by 1901.²⁸⁵ When the Uniting Church in Australia was formed in 1977, the Methodist and Presbyterian congregations of Little River merged to form the Little River Uniting Church.

Catholic settlers, predominantly from Ireland and Scotland, had arrived in the region in the 1850s, and were most concentrated in the Little River area. The group of Scottish Catholics were Gaelic-speaking and had a Gaelic-speaking priest, Fr Ronald Rankin, brought out from the Scottish Highlands.²⁸⁶ The early Catholic parish stretched as far as Williamstown, and was administered by Fr Rankin, who was the first Scottish Catholic priest in Victoria.

A bluestone church, named St Michael's, was built in Little River in 1857. Deemed too small following the end of World War I, a bequest from Ewan McIntosh's will saw a new red brick church constructed in 1922, recognising the significant increase in population in the early years of the twentieth century. It was the only debt-free Catholic church in Victoria.²⁸⁷ A site for a Catholic church was reserved in Werribee in 1861 and the first church erected in 1868 (1871) built from rough-cut bluestone.²⁸⁸ It was dedicated to St Andrew on account of the prevalence of Scottish Catholics in the region. The original St Andrew's Church became an ancillary building, and possibly served as St Andrew's Hall, when it was replaced with the present red brick building in the 1890s, and this was in turn extended in 1938. An Edwardianera convent building and a Catholic primary school, built in the 1920s, completed the complex of Catholic buildings.

The Catholic Church became a significant social force in the municipality from the 1920s, when the Chirnside's Werribee Park was purchased to establish the Corpus Christi Seminary. Purchased by the Catholic Church for the sum of £70,000 in 1922, the building was adapted for use as a seminary in March 1923, with a full staff of Jesuit priests. The seminary was responsible for training priests for Victoria and Tasmania, along with other dioceses, and swelling enrolments saw significant additions to the original building in 1925 and 1937. A decline in the number of men joining the Catholic priesthood in the 1960s led to the closure of Werribee Park for use by Corpus Christi in 1973.²⁸⁹

The influx of a greater number of Catholics into Werribee South from the 1920s, including a large number of Italian immigrants, necessitated the opening of a Catholic church in that locality. In 1938 a timber church, relocated from Lara, was erected opposite the Diggers' Hall, and dedicated as St Mary's.²⁹⁰ Further Catholic churches, such as St Peter's and St James', both in Hoppers Crossing, were built in the 1970s and 1980s in response to the fast-growing suburban population in the eastern part of the municipality.

²⁸³ Geelong Advertiser, 17 June 1884, p. 3.

²⁸⁴ Sue and Peter Jones, Little River, pers. comm., November 2020.

²⁸⁵ Context 1997 (Little River Methodist Church).

²⁸⁶ Ian Wynd 1981, So Fine a Country: A history of the Shire of Corio, p. 127.

²⁸⁷ Les Sanderson, Little River, pers. comm., April 2021.

²⁸⁸ Murray 1974, p. 85.

²⁸⁹ Corpus Christi College 2020, Our History, www.corpuschristicollege.org.au.

²⁹⁰ Werribee Shire Banner, 14 July 1938, p. 2.



Many of the Orthodox Christian denominations were also established in the region following the arrival of large numbers of postwar European migrants, including for example new arrivals from Macedonia.

The latter portion of the twentieth century saw a diversification in the communities drawn to the municipality, bringing other forms of religious worship. The Islamic community has grown substantially in the area, reflected in the construction of the Al Taqwa Mosque, the Melbourne Grand Mosque and the Virgin Mary Mosque, amongst others.

The Hindu and Sikh communities have also become established in the City of Wyndham since the early 2000s, particularly in the suburbs of Point Cook, Tarneit and Truganina. These communities have also erected places of worship throughout the municipality. In recent years, Buddhists have established communities within the municipality, including a monastery in Point Cook.

3.10.4 Community buildings

Public halls and mechanics institutes

Public halls and mechanics institutes were erected in most towns, even the smaller settlements. The original Wyndham Shire Hall (1868) was used for a range of local events in the late 1860s.²⁹¹ Before a public hall was available, local school were often used for meetings and other public purposes. The Little River Assembly Hall, erected in the 1860s and destroyed by fire in the 1880s,²⁹² was one of the earliest community halls in the district. It was built on private property but was used as a de facto public hall, and provided a venue for social gatherings, musical events and balls.²⁹³ A timber building operating as a mechanics institute and free library replaced the assembly hall in 1910, and it continues to function as a public borrowing library after 110 years.²⁹⁴



Figure 74. Werribee Mechanics Institute, photographed c.1911 (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H96.200/1479)



Figure 75. Little River Mechanics Institute and Free Library. (Source: Little River Mechanics Institute website)

Mechanics institutes became popular in Victoria in the 1850s, born of the idea that working men ('mechanics') should improve themselves through reading, lectures and learning new skills. They usually incorporated a meeting hall and free library, and many had additional rooms for games and entertainment, as well as a rear service area. They became a mainstay in most towns around Victoria, taking pride of place on main streets. The Werribee Mechanics Institute was built in 1883, comprising a timber hall with an ornate façade, possibly to a design by William Pitt. Early donations were provided by the wealthy families in the district, including the Chirnsides, Staughtons and Clarkes. Andrew Chirnside

²⁹¹ James 1985; May 1989.

²⁹² See newspaper references, 1868, 1869.

²⁹³ See, for example, Bacchus Marsh Express, 23 May 1874, p. 3.

²⁹⁴ Baragwanath and James 2015, pp. 345-46; Les Sanderson, Little River, pers. comm., April 2021.



was the unofficial patron, donating £200 as well as a large number of books (400 books) that he reputedly purchased in England.²⁹⁵ A free library was operational by 1886. By 1925, the hall was considered out-of-date and extensive additions were made. The building also operated as the town's picture theatre, a role that ceased when the Palais Theatre opened in 1928. A new public hall was erected by the Shire of Werribee in 1963, the year of the municipal centenary, and was named Centenary Hall.²⁹⁶ The second Shire Hall, built in 1893, although no longer used for local government purposes, is legally required to remain in community use.²⁹⁷

The Truganina Hall, a simple gabled timber building, was built in 1907-08 on a site reserved for this purpose.²⁹⁸ The hall was administered by a committee of local trustees and was widely used by the local community — as a local school, for church services, and for a range of social and musical events. When the hall was destroyed by fire in 1968 the trustees continued to maintain the site but no replacement hall was built.²⁹⁹ The former Werribee Air Raid Precaution Hall, referred to as the ARP (Air Raid Shelter) Hall (HO125), was later relocated to Truganina for use there as a community building.³⁰⁰ The ARP Hall had been erected in 1915 as the Werribee power house that operated the local electricity scheme.³⁰¹

The Duncans Road Hall was also frequently used in the 1920s.

The Cocoroc Public Hall was built in response to the growing population of workers at the Metropolitan Farm from the mid-1890s.³⁰² Originally erected in c.1906, the hall was burned down in 1926 but rebuilt in 1927. The hall played a significant role in social life in the town, hosting dances, wedding receptions, school concerts and card games, as well as serving as the town's library.³⁰³ The Werribee Girl Guides used the former Cocoroc South state school building, following its relocation to Werribee in the c.1970s.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁵ Baragwanath and James 2015, pp. 611-12; James 1985, p. 55; Murray 1974, p. 81.

²⁹⁶ James 1985, p. 56; Baragwanath and James 2015, p. 612.

²⁹⁷ WDHS website - Second Shire Hall.

²⁹⁸ Independent (Footscray), 28 September 1907, p. 2. Claimed that site was reserved for the purpose; this needs to be checked.

²⁹⁹ Baragwanath and James 2015, p. 581.

³⁰⁰ James and Pritchard 2008, p. 63.

³⁰¹ WDHS website – Werribee Power House.

³⁰² Baragwanath and James 2015, p. 612.

³⁰³ Melbourne Water 2020, Cocoroc township, www.melbournewater.com.au.

³⁰⁴ See newspaper article, Lost Werribee Facebook Page, WDHS.







Figure 76. Truganina Hall was erected in 1908 and destroyed by fire in January 1968. (Source: Lost Werribee Facebook Page)

Figure 77. Former Werribee ARP Hall, relocated to Truganina for use as a community hall. (Source: Wyndham History website)

Rapid residential development in the postwar meant that new areas did not always have community facilities. At Hoppers Crossing, locals constructed a makeshift public hall using two RAAF huts purchased from the RAAF base at Laverton.³⁰⁵

The City of Wyndham has seen the construction of multiple modern libraries from the 1990s. A public library was constructed at Werribee Plaza in 1993, and most recently the Julia Gillard Library, named after the first female prime minister of Australia, was opened in Tarneit in 2015.

Soldiers' memorial halls and RSL clubs

The Werribee Sub-branch of the Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League of Australia was formed following a meeting of eighteen returned servicemen in the shire hall in July 1919. The boundary for the sub-branch was defined as the area within a 12-mile radius of the Werribee Post Office.³⁰⁶ Although plans were made in the following month to erect clubrooms for the group, they were not immediately realised — instead, the group met at various halls and at the Werribee Mechanics Institute. In 1920 the Werribee RSL had requested that the Shire Council guarantee the cost of a soldiers' clubrooms in the town.³⁰⁷ Whilst an RSL clubrooms or local soldiers' hall was not forthcoming in Werribee in the early 1920s, the Presbyterian Church of St Thomas built its own soldiers' memorial hall, with funding presumably donated by George T. Chirnside.³⁰⁸

The soldier settlement scheme attracted a large number of returned servicemen to the Werribee South area. Strong demand for a local meeting place led to the purchase in 1923 of one acre of land on Diggers Road for the erection of a soldiers' memorial hall. The hall was opened by George T. Chirnside on Anzac Day, 1925.³⁰⁹ In the absence of any other public venue in Werribee South, the Diggers' Hall, as it was known, was used for a range of other local purposes, including Italian political meetings in the 1930s.³¹⁰ In 1928 a public library was planned for the Diggers Hall.³¹¹

The end of World War II saw a resurgence in membership at the Werribee RSL sub-branch. In 1947, with help from the shire council, land was purchased in Kelly Park for the construction of a soldiers' memorial

³⁰⁵ See Wyndham History, www.wyndhamhistory.net.au.

³⁰⁶ James 1985, p. 104.

³⁰⁷ Weekly Times, 10 July 1920, p. 30.

³⁰⁸ Werribee Shire Banner, 1 September 1921, p. 3; James and Pritchard, 2008, p. 90.

³⁰⁹ Il Giornale Italiano, 22 August 1934, p. 7; Context 1997.

³¹⁰ James 1985, p. 105.

³¹¹ Werribee Shire Banner, 17 May 1928, p. 7 and 14 July 1938, p. 2.



hall and club rooms.³¹² Work began on the hall in 1957, and the Governor of Victoria, Sir Dallas Brooks, officially opened the Werribee RSL Hall in November 1958.³¹³

Senior citizens' clubs

Since the 1870s, efforts were made in Victoria to assist the welfare of the elderly whose final years often ended in poverty and illness. Where family support wasn't possible, a lack of government support often resulted in poverty for those entering their final years. Some philanthropic groups, often connected to churches, provided care to the elderly in this period, however the depression of the 1890s undid much of the progress these groups had made. The Victorian Government introduced the country's first aged pensions in 1900.³¹⁴

The depression of the 1890s and the Great Depression of the early 1930s resulted in social upheaval and the social and financial isolation of many senior citizens. This led to the development of senior citizens clubs in some towns and suburbs. Many municipalities took on welfare programs for its senior citizens, often providing facilities, regular meals and later, in-house care.³¹⁵ Senior citizens' welfare programs were implemented on a widespread scale in Victoria throughout the 1950s and 1960s, with particular encouragement provided by the government's contribution to funding local municipalities to establish centres for themselves. Senior citizens clubs became the 'obvious focus' in the provision of elderly welfare.³¹⁶

In Werribee, the local council built a senior citizens' club in Kelly Park in the 1970s. In 1975 the local Rotary club built a senior citizens' residential home, Manor Court, in Hogan Street, Werribee, designed by local architect John Flynn.³¹⁷

Local ethnic and cultural groups also established their own senior citizens services in Werribee, including the Macedonian Senior Citizens Club in Werribee and the Werribee Polish Senior Citizens Club.

³¹² Werribee Shire Banner, 25 September 1947, p. 2.

³¹³ James 1985, p. 105.

³¹⁴ Swain 2008, 'Old Age' in eMelbourne.

³¹⁵ Municipal Association of Victoria 2016, New Futures for Senior Citizen Centres and Clubs: A report for local government, Municipal Association of Victoria, Melbourne.

³¹⁶ Hannah Lewi 2010, 'Lawn Bowls: A community game' in Hannah Lewi and David Nichols (eds) 2010, Community: Building modern Australia, UNSW Press, Sydney.

³¹⁷ Built Heritage Pty Ltd, 'John Flynn', Dictionary of Unsung Architects, http://www.builtheritage.com.au/dua_flynn.html



3.10.5 Hospitals and public health

Hospitals

As the region became increasingly populated, so too did the need for the provision of medical services. In the earliest periods, it is likely that residents relied on local midwifes and nurses and visiting doctors. Early hospitals in Geelong and Melbourne were within reach for the most urgent cases.

In the absence of public hospitals, small private hospitals operated in Werribee. Often these hospitals occupied a converted dwelling and were operated by a matron and attended by visiting doctors. An example was Nurse Higgin's Private Hospital, which was noted in 1908 for being 'especially adapted for persons of moderate means'.³¹⁸ Another was Avilion Private Hospital in Cherry Street, which was operating in the 1920s and 1930s.³¹⁹ In the 1920s the bush nursing movement gained sway in the country areas of Victoria, with bush nursing services established at the Werribee South Irrigation Settlement in the early 190s. Sister E. Edgecombe was one of the early bush nurses based there in the 1920s.³²⁰

These small private medical establishments became increasingly more permanent in the following decades as the population of the area significantly climbed, and in 1946 it was noted that 'Werribee has had a [permanent] private hospital for 25 years'.³²¹ The most notable of these was the Wandene Hospital, run by Dr C.H. Prouse, which had opened in c.1935 in a Victorian villa on Synnott Street that had originally been built by Francis Beamish. When Wandene Hospital was threatened with closure due to financial difficulties in 1946, calls for the construction of a community hospital intensified.³²² The Werribee Progress Association set up a volunteer ambulance service by the 1940s.³²³

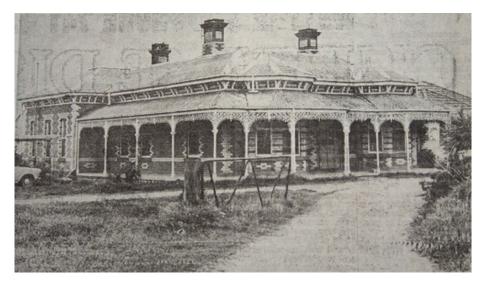


Figure 78. Wandene private hospital in Synnot St, Werribee, was the former Beamish residence. (Source: WDHS)

The Werribee District Hospital was opened on 9 September 1962. The new hospital contained 22 beds, a matron's flat, and four staff homes, and its construction was due largely in part to the fundraising efforts of the local community.³²⁴

³¹⁸ Age, 14 November 1908 p. 9.

³¹⁹ Werribee Shire Banner, 25 March 1926, p. 2.

³²⁰ Werribee Shire Banner, 28 September 1922, p. 2; Advocate, 25 November 1926, p. 34.

³²¹ Werribee Shire Banner, 28 February 1946, p. 1.

³²² Werribee Shire Banner, 28 February 1946, p. 1.

³²³ Weekly Times, 12 May 1948, p. 21.

³²⁴ Wyndham History, 'Werribee District Hospital, Synnot Street', www.wyndhamhistory.net.au.



In 1994, the Werribee District Hospital was replaced with the Werribee Mercy Hospital on Hoppers Lane. The Werribee Mercy Hospital has undergone many expansions since opening, to cater for the rapid growth of the surrounding population.

During the Second World War, the former Chirnside house known as 'The Manor' was used as a temporary RAAF hospital, servicing the nearby RAAF airforce base. Aviation medicine has been taught at the Point Cook RAAF Base for many years.



Figure 79. The Werribee District Hospital, shortly after opening in September 1962. (Source: 'Werribee District Hospital, Synnot Street', Wyndham History)

Managing epidemics and infectious diseases

In 1882, an infectious diseases sanatorium was constructed by the Central Board of Health near the mouth of the Kororoit Creek. Known as the Cut-Paw-Paw (or Newport) Sanatorium, it had been funded largely by the surrounding municipalities, including Wyndham (as it was known at the time) and Williamstown.³²⁵ The sanatorium was pivotal in the control of diseases such as smallpox in Victoria, and was known to have dealt with sporadic cases of the Bubonic Plague.

As was the case elsewhere in Victoria (and many parts of Australia), the Werribee district was impacted by the Spanish Flu epidemic in 1919-20. In preparation for its inevitable arrival in the area, the local council repurposed the Werribee Mechanics Institute as an 'isolation hospital,' and an estimated 400 residents in the district were vaccinated within the first week of February.³²⁶

The City of Wyndham was impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. The town of Little River was subject to two different sets of restrictions because the City of Wyndham (on the east side of the river) was deemed to be within metropolitan Melbourne whereas the City of Greater Geelong (on the west side) was not.

Infant welfare

Moves to improve infant welfare in Victoria led to the formation of the Victorian Baby Health Centres Association in 1918. Infant welfare relied on new teachings about the scientific management of children,

³²⁵ Hobsons Bay Libraries 2015, Early Institutions, www.libraries.hobsonsbay.vic.gov.au.

³²⁶ Werribee Shire Banner, 6 February 1919, p. 2.

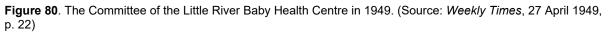


which focused on nutrition, hygiene and the importance of a daily routine. The necessity of infant welfare education in regional Victoria was highlighted in 1924, when government funded 'mothercraft lectures' were offered to young mothers from a train carriage visiting regional towns. This early intervention into infant and child welfare, as well as maternal health and welfare, encouraged local councils to fund such programs on a permanent basis.³²⁷ Between 1900 and 1945, Australia saw 'an extraordinary' decrease in infant mortality, which is directly related to the rise in infant welfare causes.³²⁸ Werribee Shire Council opened the district's first baby health centre in the shire hall in 1939.³²⁹ A similar service was also established at Little River by 1945.

The subsequent postwar 'baby boom' and the influx of immigrants to the area placed additional pressure on health and welfare services as well as housing. This encouraged the development of municipal buildings, including purpose-built infant welfare centres, that catered to the needs of the burgeoning population.³³⁰ A new purpose-built facility at Werribee, comprising an infant welfare centre and preschool centre, was planned in 1951.³³¹

By 1982 there was an infant welfare centre (and preschool) at Hoppers Crossing and at Wyndham Vale.³³²





Disposing of the dead

In the earliest period of settlement, the disposal of the dead often took place close to a settlement such as a homestead or farmhouse. There were several burials, for example, on the Chirnside's estate on the Werribee River in the 1840s before a formal cemetery was established. There were burials at May Farm, Truganina, and there were also probably early burials on Rothwell, although these are unknown.

A site was a public cemetery in Werribee (then known as Wyndham) was temporarily reserved in 1864, the same year that the Shire of Wyndham was formed.³³³ The cemetery reserve comprised 13 acres

³²⁷ Darian-Smith and Wills 2010, pp. 26-27.

³²⁸ Darian-Smith and Wills 2010, p. 28.

³²⁹ Argus, 20 July 1939, p. 2.

³³⁰ Darian-Smith and Willis 2010, p. 47.

³³¹ Werribee Shire Banner, 19 July 1951, p. 2.

³³² May 1989, chapter 5.

³³³ VGG, 18 October 1864, p. 2337.



within Crown allotment 25 and was located on the north side of the Geelong and Melbourne railway line.³³⁴ Trees were donated by the Chirnsides and a caretaker's cottage was erected (see HO77).





Figure 81. Small private cemetery at Werribee Park, enclosed with bluestone wall. (Source: John T. Collins collection, State Library Victoria, Accession no. H98.251/2747)

Figure 82. Truganina Cemetery, 2019. (Source: DELWP)

A public cemetery at Little River, originally known as the Rothwell General Cemetery, was reserved in 1859 and trustees appointed. This cemetery is situated outside of the City of Wyndham.³³⁵ The term 'general cemetery' was defined in the Cemetery Act (NSW) of 1850 as a burial ground that catered for all Christian denominations (and often other faith groups, including Jews).

There are a large number of graves of Italian immigrants at the Werribee Cemetery, particularly those representing the Sicilian community who settled at Werribee Park in the 1920s.³³⁶

3.10.6 Community organisations and service clubs

Many country towns established progress associations in the early twentieth century to try to offset the impact of rural decline and to stimulate local economies. Progress associations were formed Werribee (c.1909-10), and later at Little River and Truganina, and these groups agitated for practical improvements in the townships.

Through the twentieth century, a number of community-oriented organisations and societies emerged, including Country Women's Association (c.1940s), Rotary, Lions and Apex.

The Werribee Community Centre Inc. was established in 1974, offering a range of courses to adults. A new Community Centre building was erected in Werribee in 1987, using local timber and handmade bricks. The centre was renamed the Wyndham Community and Education Centre Inc. in 2011.³³⁷

3.10.7 Immigrant communities

Nineteenth-century immigrants

As was the case through much of the Western District of Victoria, the Scots formed a predominant social group amongst the early immigrants and made up a disproportionate number of the prominent class of squatters.³³⁸ There were also large numbers of Scottish immigrants amongst the servant and labouring

³³⁴ Context 1997.

³³⁵ VGG, 22 July 1859, p. 1533.

³³⁶ Maria Mantello 1986, Now and Then: The Sicilian farming community at Werribee Park 1929-49.

³³⁷ Werribee Community Centre, https://westernlearning.org.au/wyndham-community-and-education-centre/; RAF News, 1 January 1987, p. 18.

³³⁸ Kiddle 1961, chapter 2.



class; many had obtained passage to Victoria as assisted immigrants in the early 1850s to meet the demand for farm hands and domestic servants on country properties, particularly in western Victoria.

The was a significant number of Irish immigrants in the Little River area in the 1860s and they established a Catholic chapel here in 1857. A significant proportion of the Catholic settlers in the Little River area were Scottish, a point that was remarked upon by Archbishop Mannix on his visit to Little River in 1918.³³⁹ Edwin Brady noted in 1918 that there were a number of Irish farmers in the Werribee and Little River area who had been early settlers there and who had prospered.³⁴⁰

It is highly probable that there were Chinese settlers in Werribee area from the 1850s and 60s. After the initial gold rush period in the Central Highlands, many Chinese established themselves in towns where they developed market gardens or took up other pursuits such as providing herbal medicine.

New arrivals 1900s-1930s

From the 1920s, new settlers were attracted to the area on account of the successful irrigation scheme and ready work. This work was familiar to southern European migrants, including Italian, Maltese, Macedonian and Greeks who moved to the area. Many prospered and bought their own blocks.

Italian immigrants arrived in the Werribee area in the 1920s from the Vizzini area of Sicily who settled at former land of Werribee Park on farming blocks.³⁴¹ Many of the soldier settlers who had taken up blocks here after World War I did not prosper. The Italian market gardeners brought valuable skills and created a successful local market gardening industry. They struggled for the first few years, meeting with discrimination and economic hardship, but ultimately demonstrated considerable success.

Postwar immigrants

In the mid-1950s, around 60 per cent of the population of Werribee were from Continental Europe and most were working in the market gardening industry.³⁴² This included new arrivals from Greece, the Netherlands and Slovakia. In the 1980s Vietnamese people settled in the area and worked in food production. More recent arrivals include Filipino, Chinese, Indian and Sri Lankan migrants. Immigrants from Middle Eastern countries have settled in the area.



Figure 83. Residence built by Italian market gardeners, Diggers Road, Werribee South. (Source: Google Streetview)

³³⁹ James 1985, p. 131; Wynd 1981, p. 127.

³⁴⁰ Brady 1918, p. 386.

³⁴¹ Maria Mantello 1986, Now and Then: The Sicilian farming community at Werribee Park 1929-49.

³⁴² Police Life, December 1958, p. 8.



3.11 Military and defence

3.11.1 Establishing a military tradition

The Chirnsides did much to establish and develop Victoria's voluntary military forces through the nineteenth century. The Crimean War of 1854-56 had triggered local fears of invasion, resulting in the formation of the Volunteer Military Forces.³⁴³ In March of 1861, members of the Cavalry, Artillery, Rifle Corps and the Naval Brigade arrived at the Chirnside's Werribee Park estate to participate in the famed Werribee Volunteer Military Encampment. The Chirnside family donated £1000 to be distributed as prizes to the men. Such was the popularity of the encampment that an estimated 10,000 spectators arrived by rail to watch the military drills and 'sham fight', with a reputed total of almost 18,000 people, including the volunteers, present for the opening occasion.³⁴⁴ The encampment became an annual affair in the following years, with grandstands, tents and other amenities erected to cater to the crowds.



Figure 84. Photograph by Davies & Co. taken at the military encampment at Werribee Park in 1861. Men in military uniforms are standing behind a row of well-dressed women spectators. Tents are visible in the background. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. H4649)

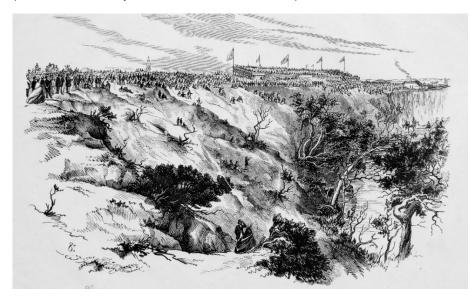


Figure 85. An image of the 'sham fight' at the Werribee Encampment published in the *Newsletter of Australasia* in 1861, showing crowds watching on. A grandstand had been erected at the Encampment to allow spectators a better view. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession No. NLA00/05/62/00)

³⁴³ James 1985, p. 27.

³⁴⁴ James 1985, p. 28.



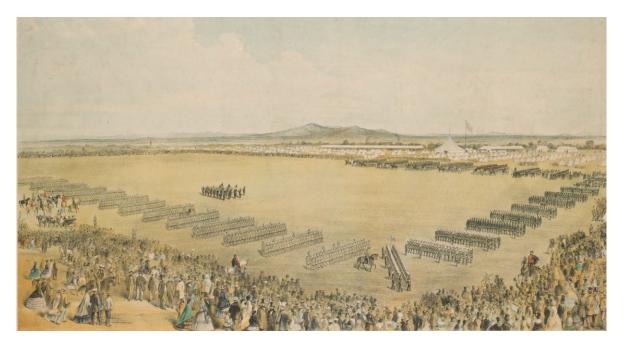


Figure 86. An image of the review of volunteers on the makeshift parade ground at Werribee in 1861. The scale of the event is evidenced by the crowds and arrangement of tents in the background. (Source: Shepherd 1861, 'Review and Encampment of the Victorian Volunteers at Werribee 1st April 1861,' State Library Victoria, Accession No. H4993)

The 1880s saw a resurgence in the Chirnsides' military interests in the area. Percy Chirnside, the son of Andrew Chirnside, was commissioned a lieutenant in the Victorian Field Artillery Brigade in June 1887.³⁴⁵ In 1889, Andrew Chirnside partially funded the cost of raising and maintaining a half-battery of horse artillery at Werribee, which was left in Percy's command. Andrew provided for the horses and stables, as well as the uniforms, drill hall and part of the military instructor's wages. Percy later went to England to complete further training and was promoted to captain in 1893.³⁴⁶ Percy Chirnside played a pivotal role in the military activities in the district. In conjunction with Sir William Clarke, Percy Chirnside had maintained the half-battery through to the 1890s, although it was disbanded shortly after he was promoted to captain. In 1897 he funded much of the cost of the military encampment.



Figure 87 Captain Percy Chirnside poses (centre) with members of the Victorian Half-Artillery at Werribee Park, 1893. (Source: *The Sketch*, 4 October 1893, p. 534)

³⁴⁵ Heather Ronald 1979, 'Chirnside, John Percy (1865–1944)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/.

³⁴⁶ Ronald 1979.



Chirnside hosted an Empire Day celebration in 1907 for schoolboy cadets, drawn from the major private schools in the state. The day included battalion drills and a mock battle, and Chirnside was responsible for funding a specially commissioned train trip for the 700 cadets that arrived in Werribee.³⁴⁷



Figure 88. Schoolboy cadets at Werribee, 1907. (Source: Leader, 12 June 1907)

3.11.2 Military aviation

In c.1913 an air base was established on the flat and open country at Point Cook close to the beach. The site was chosen both because of its proximity to the coastline and its proximity to Melbourne. Following the outbreak of the First World War this site was adapted as a military aviation camp in 1916, with a number of buildings and tents were erected.³⁴⁸ It became an RAAF base and the first pilot training school in Victoria. World War I was the first overseas conflict where air attacks were used and it was here that the Australian military were trained in aviation.

Percy Chirnside's former residence, The Manor, was used as an RAAF hospital during World War II Wooloomanata Station (outside the study area), was also used by the RAAF.

The RAAF airbase was an important military operation during the Second World War. Various structures were erected in the area by the RAAF during wartime, including several aircraft hangars. The RAAF continued to provide employment through the twentieth century.

3.11.3 Italian prisoners-of-war

Wartime created fears and tensions about the loyalty of some Australians who foreign nationals – namely those born in Germany and Italy. As had been the experience for Germans during World War I, Italians as well as Germans were suspected as 'enemy aliens' during World War II. In 1940, around 70 Italian-born market gardeners from the Werribee district were arrested under the *Enemy Alien Act* in 1940 and placed initially in the prisoner-of-war camp at Tatura in northern Victoria.³⁴⁹ The absence of these men placed a strain on their families and impacted on the vegetable-growing in Werribee South. They received support from the Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Daniel Mannix.

³⁴⁷ James 1985, p. 79.

³⁴⁸ Australasian, 9 September 1916, p. 20.

³⁴⁹ James 1985, p. x.



3.11.4 War memorials

Memorials to those who served in World War I were erected soon after the war in Werribee. In 1919 donations were sought for the Werribee Soldiers' Permanent Memorial in 1919. A simple stone obelisk was unveiled in Watton Street in 1920 and a memorial garden later established.³⁵⁰ The first trees in the Werribee Avenue of Honour, which were Eucalypts, were planted in August 1918; the ceremony commenced with the children from Werribee State School children marching to the site accompanied by the beat of a drum.³⁵¹

Honour boards were also installed in state schools and churches and other public buildings –examples include the Werribee Church of England and the Little River Mechanics Hall.³⁵² The Werribee Shire Council commissioned a large honour board, carved in Blackwood, that listed around 400 names of those who served.

To commemorate the centenary of the Great War, the Australian World War I Nurses Memorial was unveiled at Little River in 2015.



Figure 89. Honour board, Little River Mechanics Hall. (Source: Janet Butler, *Kitty's* War, 2013)



Figure 90. Shire of Werribee First World War honour board, Werribee RSL. (Source: Wyndham History website: www.wyndhamhistory.net.au)

Other war-related heritage within the municipality includes a trophy of the First World War is the German howitzer gun that was obtained as a war trophy by the Allies in France in 1918.³⁵³ It was one of a large number of enemy guns shipped to Victoria after the war and distributed to local government areas across the state; another howitzer was given to the Soldiers' Memorial Hall in Werribee South but this has now been removed.

There are a wide range of places in Wyndham that are associated with Second World War, including an abandoned munitions site in Truganina and several sites associated with military aircraft, including a satellite aerodrome and a RAAF hut, both in Werribee, and a bombing range in Tarneit.³⁵⁴ A temporary work camp site of the RAAF/USAAF was established north of the Malby By-pass near Werribee in the

³⁵⁴ Context 1997.

³⁵⁰ Werribee Shire Banner, 25 September 1919, p. 2. Authentic Heritage Services 2008, vol. 3, item no. 4530.

³⁵¹ Werribee Shire Banner, 8 August 1918, p. 3.

³⁵² Melton Express, 23 December 1916, p. 2; Janet Butler 2013, Kitty's War, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, no page number.

³⁵³ Authentic Heritage Services Pty Ltd 2008, 'Veteran-related Heritage, Vol. 3, item no. 4529.



early 1940s.³⁵⁵ There are also several military aircraft wreck sites off the coast, including an RAAF Spitfire Aircraft (wrecked 1942) and a Wirraway (lost 1950s).³⁵⁶

The memorial gates at the Little River recreation reserve are a World War II memorial, designed by Little River local Thomas J. Richmond and opened in 1957.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Authentic Heritage Services Pty Ltd 2008, 'Veteran-related Heritage, vol. 3, item number 4535.

³⁵⁶ Authentic Heritage Services Pty Ltd 2008, 'Veteran-related Heritage, vol. 3, item numbers 4532 and 4536.

³⁵⁷ Les Sanderson, Little River, pers. comm., April 2021.



3.12 Advancing scientific knowledge and agricultural research

3.12.1 Promoting scientific knowledge

Early scientific investigations on the Werribee plains involved the study of fossils and geology. Several scientists, including Richard Daintree, made some significant early discoveries about the nature of the country's geological past and its past fauna. Daintree worked with Selwyn on the Geological Survey of Victoria in the 1850s during which time he discovered several fossils of extinct animals in the Werribee area.³⁵⁸ Investigations by the Victorian government into the productive resources of the colony were also carried out in the 1850s and 1860s, which found some notable coal seams in the area.

3.12.2 Developing agricultural research

In the Werribee district, a wide expanse of open and relatively flat farming country close to Melbourne provided a well-suited location for the agricultural research and field trials. An early area of endeavour was improving the speed and efficiency of manual farming techniques, which were showcased in local ploughing matches that were popular from the c.1850s to the 1870s. Field trials and ploughing matches were also a test of the capacity of local ploughmen and local conditions.

Farm machinery was fundamental to optimising efficient and production in farming, and considerable effort was made to test and promote new techniques. In the early 1900s Sunshine Harvester utilised a testing ground at Werribee where trials of new machinery and new components were carried out. In the 1940s the same company, now named H.V. McKay Massey Harris, operated farm equipment manufacture and field trials at a site on Shaws Road, Tarneit.³⁵⁹

In the late-nineteenth century, Thomas Chirnside oversaw various agricultural tests and experiments at Werribee Park. In the late 1880s, the Chaffey brothers ran irrigation tests at 'Quantin Binnah', Werribee.³⁶⁰ Local farmers also came together annually for the Werribee Agricultural Show, and eagerly observed demonstrations of new farming methods.

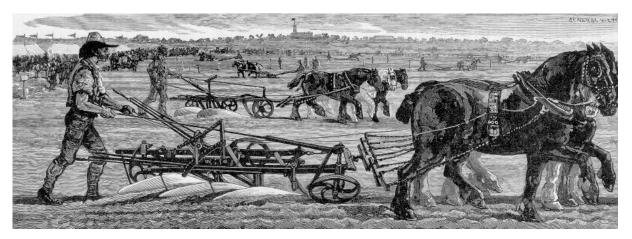


Figure 91. Intercolonial Ploughing Match held in Werribee in 1882, published in the *Australasian Sketcher*, showing a large crowd of spectators. The Werribee Park tower is visible in the background. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession no: A/S12/08/82/2480)

The promotion of closer settlement in Victoria from the early 1900s, and the associated push for efficient and productive agricultural practices, meant that developing improved methods or cropping and animal husbandry was of paramount concern to the government. The State Research Farm was established in

³⁵⁸ Baillieres 1870.

³⁵⁹ Museum Victoria, item no. MM 23628, https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/785282

³⁶⁰ Context 1997, p. 11.



1912 as the Victorian Government's experimental farm and centre for agricultural research.³⁶¹ Working closely with the Department of Agriculture, the State Research Farm was critical in providing expert knowledge drawn from experimentation and testing that significantly shaped the development of agriculture in Victoria during the early- to mid-twentieth century in terms of methods and technologies, particularly in the areas of soil science, crop yields, wheat strains, animal health, and overall productivity. Its development of a high quality and smut-free and rust-free strain of wheat by the 1930s proved to be of enormous benefit to the Victorian wheat industry.³⁶² The encouragement of efficient, productive and prosperous primary producers was strongly tied to the ethos of the 'countryside ideal' that shaped much of public policy about land settlement in the early 1900s and into the 1920s, including closer settlement. The State Research Farm extended its offering of agricultural training to government schoolteachers in 1915 and 1917, including primary schools, high schools and the new agricultural high schools.³⁶³



Figure 92. Sunshine Harvester field trials at Werribee, 1918. (Source: Museums Victoria Collections https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/784744)

During the interwar period, facilities for animal research were further developed in several states, including Victoria and the State Research Farm at Werribee.³⁶⁴

In the postwar period, the department's S.S. Cameron Research Laboratory at Werribee achieved international recognition 'for its research on the reproductive physiology of livestock, consistent with the director's personal interest and research achievements in this field.'³⁶⁵

The School of Dairy Technology opened at the State Research Farm in 1939.

The Arthur Rylah Institute is part of the State Research Farm, which concentrates on agriculture, farming, and biodiversity.

³⁶¹ Irrigation in Victoria, Australia, 1915, p. 13.

³⁶² Dingle 1983, p. 194; Age, 21 September 1939, p. 24.

³⁶³ Marilyn Lake 1988, The Limits of Hope, p. 24.

³⁶⁴ Alan W. Bell 2019, 'Animal Science Down Under: A history of research, development and extension in support of Australia's livestock industries', Animal Production Science, 60(2) 2019.

³⁶⁵ Russell et al. 2014 cited in Bell 2019.





Figure 93. State Research Farm, Werribee, looking across to the farm sheds and grazing land, c1918. (Source: E.J. Brady, *Australian Unlimited*, 1918, p. 371)

CSIR (later renamed CSIRO), which was the Commonwealth government's scientific research agency, became involved with the Animal Health section of the State Research Farm by 1939.³⁶⁶ It established its Animal Husbandry Research Centre, Werribee, in the c1940s. Later it was known as the Division of Animal Health. In the 1950s the Animal Health Division carried out extensive research into poultry health and productivity.

CSIRO originally occupied a large site north of the railway line that had been acquired by the Commonwealth. It relocated closer to the State Research Farm in the c1980s or 90s. It has been renamed CSIRO Food Innovation Centre.

3.12.3 Veterinary science and zoology

The University of Melbourne's Faculty of Veterinary Science was established at Werribee in the 1940s – it was the first veterinary school in Australia.

The Werribee site for Melbourne Zoo was acquired by the Victorian Government in the 1890s from the Chirnsides' estate as an additional area for the Melbourne Zoo. It was opened to the public as an Open Range Zoo in the 1980s.³⁶⁷ Some of the mature plantings that predate the use of the site as the Open Range Zoo are associated with the Chirnside era.

³⁶⁶ Werribee Shire Banner, 9 March 1939, p. 4.

³⁶⁷ Catherine de Courcy 1995, The Zoo Story, Penguin Books, Ringwood.



3.13 Sport and recreation

3.13.1 Horse-racing and coursing

From the beginning of settlement, the extensive Werribee plains offered great opportunities for sport and shooting parties made frequent trips to the area. There was prolific birdlife on the lagoons and the Werribee plains were 'abounding in game'.³⁶⁸ The Chirnside family provided a range of sporting events at Werribee Park for others amongst the landowning class and wealthy Melbourne society. This included coursing (with sighthounds) and regular hunting (with scenthounds). In keeping with the British fashions of an aristocratic landed estate, the Chirnside family ran a herd of Fallow Deer on their estate. These had been bred from the first deer on the Chirnside's land, which included two stag and three hinds imported from Windsor Castle that were a gift of Prince Albert.³⁶⁹ Deer was so important to the family identity that deer imagery is carved into the timber work at Werribee Park. The Chirnsides held regular shooting parties on the property. In the 1990s polo was played in the grounds of Werribee Park — a somewhat exclusive sporting activity that befitted the Old World legacy of the property.

Horse-racing had wide appeal from the beginning of settlement and racing reserves were set aside at Werribee (1861), Truganina (c.1869) and Little River (c.1870s).³⁷⁰ Thomas Chirnside was 'renowned for his racehorses', which he bred at Werribee Park.³⁷¹ He won the prestigious Melbourne Cup in 1874 with Haricot. Other local settlers also bred and trained racehorses, including John Robertson of Truganina whose trotting stud included its own racing track.³⁷² In the 1930s, The Manor was used as a horse-racing stud in the late 1930s by its then owner Phillip Lock.³⁷³

The Werribee Racing Club erected a new grandstand in the c.1920s to a design by architect H.J. Flagstaff.



Figure 94. Hounds in the grounds of Werribee Park, c.1900s. (Source: Michael Cannon 1985, *The Long Last Summer*, p. 12)

³⁶⁸ Sutherland 1888, vol. 2, p. 159.

³⁶⁹ James 1985, p. 27.

³⁷⁰ VGG, various; Bacchus Marsh Gazette, 5 June 1869, p. 2.

³⁷¹ Peel 1974, p. 130.

³⁷² Australasian, 5 September 1903, p. 9.

³⁷³ Context 1997.



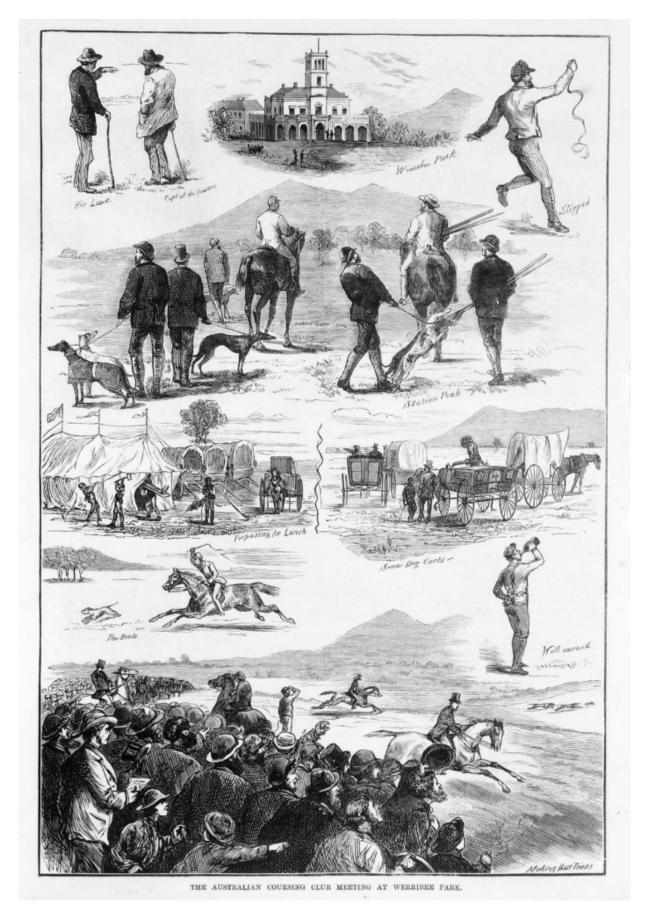


Figure 95. A montage of sketches illustrating 'The Australian Coursing Club Meeting at Werribee Park', published in the *Illustrated Australian News*, 11 June 1877. (Source: State Library Victoria, Accession no: IAN11/06/77/85)



3.13.2 Recreation reserves and sports grounds

The earliest recreation reserve in Werribee was gazetted in 1861 and was set aside for horse-racing and recreation. The Little River Recreation Reserve was first set aside in 1865. The Werribee (riverside) reserve was set aside for public recreation and sports in the 1870s and later named Chirnside Park. A timber grandstand was erected in 1923.³⁷⁴

Tarneit residents (Riverside Park) and Truganina recreation reserve was secured in 1925 following requests from the Truganina Progress Association.³⁷⁵

As new residential areas were developed areas were set aside for public recreation and green open space. Examples are Galvin Park Reserve and Riverbend Historical Park, both north of Werribee.

The beachfront reserve at Werribee South also provided a public recreation area for residents.

Football and cricket

Cricket was played at Little River and Werribee from around the 1860s. Early matches were possibly also played at Werribee Park. Football teams (under the Australian Rules code) were formed in the late nineteenth century at Werribee, and later at Truganina. The Little River Cricket Club was formed in 1869.³⁷⁶ New teams emerged through the early twentieth century where there were sufficient players and where there was a suitable home ground available for the purpose. The Metropolitan Farm had established football and cricket teams by the late 1890s. A Truganina football team was active from the 1920s.



Figure 96. World War II Memorial Gates at the Little River Recreation Reserve. (Source: Google Street View)

Tennis, bowls, croquet and golf

New fashions for team sports led to the establishment of new facilities and clubrooms. Bowls and croquet were popular in Victorian from the mid-nineteenth century, but formal clubs were not established in Werribee until much later. Croquet was probably played at Werribee Park from the c.1880s.

The Werribee Bowling Club was established in 1907. It was allocated use of a site at Chirnside Park in the 1920s that had previously been a bowling green, and a new clubroom was opened in 1937.³⁷⁷

The Werribee Tennis Club was established by c.1920s. Church-based tennis clubs were active in the period from the 1920s until the 1960s. At Little River, a lawn tennis club was active from c.1911.

³⁷⁴ VGG 1861; 1865; 1870s; Context 1997.

³⁷⁵ Werribee Shire Banner, 12 July 1934, p. 6.

³⁷⁶ Les Sanderson, Little River, pers. comm., April 2021.

³⁷⁷ Werribee Bowls Club website; Blairs 1987.



A number of sports clubs were formed for workers and occupants of the Farm. There were tennis courts at Cocoroc by the mid-1890s.³⁷⁸ In the 1920s the Metropolitan Farm fielded a football team and also had its own bowling and croquet clubs.³⁷⁹

Werribee Park Golf Club was established in 1976 following the acquisition of the Werribee Park estate by the State Government.

3.13.3 Boating and fishing

The mouth of the Werribee River, which accessed to Port Phillip Bay, was frequented by recreational vessels as well as working vessels. Yachts, passenger steamers and other vessels used the Werribee Jetty in the 1890s and early 1900s.³⁸⁰ Fishing was a popular recreational activity on the Werribee River and the Werribee Angling Club, formed in the c.1890s, enjoyed many pleasant and productive fishing trips. The river was regularly stocked with trout.³⁸¹



Figure 97 Photo titled 'The angling competition for women on the Werribee', 1897, showing a timber fishing hut on the river. (Source: *Weekly Times*, 1897)

³⁷⁹ Werribee Shire Banner, 21 April 1921, p. 3.

³⁷⁸ Melbourne Water 2020, Cocoroc township, www.melbournewater.com.au.

³⁸⁰ Werribee Jetty' article at Vintage Victoria online; see for example, a canoe trip around the Bay in 1934, Argus,

¹⁰ February 1934, p. 6.

³⁸¹ See, for example, 'Fishing in Werribee River', Werribee Shire Banner, 12 May 1927, p. 4.



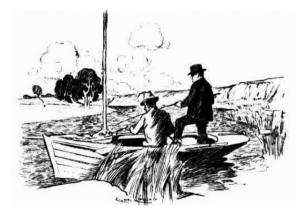


Figure 98. Sketch of a visit to the Werribee River, 4 miles from the sea, by the Werribee Angling Club. (Source: *Arena*, 26 December 1901, p. 6)

Figure 99. 'A picturesque spot at Werribee', fishing on the Werribee River, 1929. (Source: *Weekly Times*, 19 October 1929, p. 39)

3.13.4 Swimming

The Werribee River and the nearby beaches at Point Cook and Werribee South were popular swimming areas form the late-nineteenth century. In Werribee, a deep pool known as Bungey's Hole adjacent to the Werribee River was also a popular swimming place.

A concrete swimming pool and pavilion was constructed at Bungey's Hole in Werribee in 1935.³⁸² Known as the Pool, this was a popular venue for local swimming competitions. Dressing sheds for men and women were built. A smaller concrete pool for young children, known as the 'Little Pool' was also made.³⁸³ Over time, as the population increased, the Pool became more polluted and unsafe for swimming. A new public swimming pool complex was opened at Chirnside Park, Werribee, in 1961.³⁸⁴

A swimming pool was built by Dub Davis and opened in 1928 at Little River, and public swimming baths were built in a channel of the river in 1942.³⁸⁵

³⁸² Weekly Times, 2 March 1935, p. 63.

³⁸³ Wyndham Heritage website.

³⁸⁴ James and Pritchard 2008, p. 69. Context 1997.

³⁸⁵ May 1989, no page nos; Context 1997; Les Sanderson, Little River, pers. comm., April 2021.





Figure 100. Bungey's Hole, a popular swimming spot on the Werribee River. (Source: Werribee District Historical Society)



Figure 101. Concrete swimming pool at Cocoroc, probably dating to the 1920s-30s. (Source: 'Cocoroc', Melbourne Water website)

3.13.5 Cycling and motor sports

The flat plains west of Melbourne provide ideal for the new sport of cycling and the Werribee Road Race was instituted in the 1890s, which ran from Haymarket and followed a course along the Geelong Road to Werribee.³⁸⁶ Motor bike riding were also held in Werribee in the early 1900s.



Figure 102. Motor bike races, Werribee, 1917. (Source: Museum Victoria)

At the Little River Road Circuit, the Australian Tourist Trophy was the first official motorcycle race to be held in December 1952. The 1954 and 1955 Victorian Tourist Trophy races were held on the same circuit.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁶ Sportsman, 18 May 1897, p. 3.

³⁸⁷ Les Sanderson, Little River, pers. comm., April 2021.



3.14 Cultural and creative life

3.14.1 Nurturing and celebrating the arts

Musical and dramatic performances were a part of community life in the City of Wyndham from the beginning of settlement. These events usually took place in public halls and church halls as well as private premises. Various choirs and bands and musical ensembles featured through Werribee's history, including the Werribee Brass Band and the Flying School Orchestra in the 1920s.

Local musical groups and societies were formed, such as the Werribee Philharmonic Society (performing by 1889) and the Werribee Choral Society (by 1926).³⁸⁸ In 1951, a concert featuring outstanding leading artists and the State Concert Orchestra was performed for an audience of over 900 people at the Palais Theatre.³⁸⁹

From its establishment in 1883, the Werribee Mechanics Hall was the venue for many performances, such as 'Stolen Kisses' performed by a company from East St Kilda in 1915.³⁹⁰

Since the 1990s, the grounds of Werribee Park mansion have provided a venue for some leading musical performers.

The rock and roll band Little River Band emerged in the mid-1970s. The lead singer, Glenn Shorrock, had noticed the Little River exit sign whilst he was driving past the town on an early tour and thought it would make an 'egalitarian' name for a band. The band then filmed a video at the Little River Railway Station in 1976.³⁹¹ Many leading rock and roll acts, including AC/DC and Daryl Braithwaite, performed in the 1970s and 1980s at the former Tarmac Hotel, now Westside Hotel; this was once one of the biggest beer barns in the western suburbs.³⁹²

3.14.2 Celebrating culture

There has been a diversity of cultural expression in the City of Wyndham. In the early days of settlement this was dominated by English, Scottish and Irish immigrants who kept their musical traditions alive in the colony. In the Werribee district, the dominance of the Chirnside family with their proud Scottish heritage, kept Scottish culture alive. Events they organised or patronised often featured Scottish music and Caledonian (Scotch) sports, for example the grand fete held at Werribee Park in 1882.³⁹³ Caledonian sports and Scottish music, performed by the Ladies Pipe Band, were part of the 'Back to Werribee' celebrations in 1922.³⁹⁴ In 1938 A Highland Ball was held at the Werribee Mechanics Institute in aid of the Werribee Pipe Band. The hall was bedecked in tartan and participants wore Scottish costume and enjoyed Scottish reels.³⁹⁵ The Irish also kept their traditions alive, notably in Little River. St Patrick's Day was celebrated at Little River with athletic sports in the 1880s. In 1882 the Irish fiddler Mr Maher was present and provided music for those in attendance, 'whose music both young and old footed it with mirthful glee during the interval of the events'.³⁹⁶

³⁸⁸ Bacchus Marsh Express, 22 June 1889, p. 7; Werribee Shire Banner, 27 May 1926, p. 5.

³⁸⁹ Werribee Shire Banner, 1 March 1951, p. 1.

³⁹⁰ Werribee Shire Banner, 21 October 1915, p. 3.

³⁹¹ The Indian Sun, 9 February 2020, https://www.theindiansun.com.au/2020/02/09/45-years-little-river-band-returns-wyndham-free-concert/.

³⁹² Gary Vines, pers. comm., February 2021.

³⁹³ Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil, 11 February 1882, p. 39.

³⁹⁴ Ballarat Star, 31 December 1921, p. 2; Werribee Shire Banner, 9 February 1922, p. 2.

³⁹⁵ Werribee Shire Banner, 3 November 1938, p. 2.

³⁹⁶ Bacchus Marsh Express, 25 March 1882, p. 3.



In the twentieth century there were additional ethnic groups in the district, who shared a cultural identity and formed social clubs to keep their culture alive.

The Italian Social Club of Werribee was founded in 1960. Membership grew through the success of bocce competition and in 1971 a site of the club was purchased on the edge of Galvin Park, funded through donations and other fundraising activities. The club premises was designed by local architect M. John Flynn and constructed largely through voluntary labour of the club members. It was officially opened by the Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Winneke, in 1974. Many additions and alterations to the original building have occurred over time including the addition of the carpark (funded through efforts by the Ladies Auxiliary) in 1977, tennis and squash courts (John Flynn, 1978), extension of the gaming lounge and bistro (1993), front entrance altered from Parklands Grove to Heaths Road (1997) and extensive renovations to the bar and main function room (1998-99).³⁹⁷

The Slovak Social Club, or 'Ludovit Stur', was established in Melbourne by the Slovakian community in 1966. A large number of Slovakian people had settled in the wider Werribee area in the 1960s. Slovak House, or 'Slovenský Dom', was built as a result of tireless voluntary work by club members, and officially opened in Triholm Avenue, Laverton, in 1981.³⁹⁸ The building's aesthetic echoed that of Slovak folk architecture, with a traditional barn-like form, broad transverse gable and wooden shingles to the gable ends.

3.14.3 Popular culture: film, television and radio

Following its use as a RAAF hospital, the theatre entrepreneur Ernest Rolls sought to adapt Percy Chirnside's property, The Manor, as Victoria's first 'film colony.' Rolls' plans went unrealised, probably due to the lack of investment from locals.³⁹⁹

The Werribee Mechanics Hall screened motion picture films in the 1920s.⁴⁰⁰ In 1939, the screening of the Australian film *Show Business* at the Werribee Palais included appearances by several members of the cast who were well known celebrities in Victoria.⁴⁰¹

The municipality's proximity to Melbourne has meant that the region has had access to television and radio broadcasted from the city.

Numerous locations in Little River were used for many original *Mad Max* scene locations. Wyndham Vale is also known as Mad Max country' with several *Mad Max* filming locations. The 2016 feature film, *The Dressmaker*, was also filmed in Little River.

³⁹⁷ Italian Sports Club of Werribee n.d., 'About Us', https://www.com.au/about-us/; Built Heritage Pty Ltd, 'M. John Flynn, Dictionary of Unsung Architects, http://www.builtheritage.com.au/dua_flynn.html

³⁹⁸ SBS (Andrej Bucko) 2016, '50 years of Slovak Social Club "Ludovit Stur" in Melbourne',

https://www.sbs.com.au/language/english/audio/50-years-of-slovak-social-club-ludovit-stur-in-melbourne.

³⁹⁹ James 1985, p. 114.

⁴⁰⁰ Werribee Shire Banner, 14 June 1923, p. 2.

⁴⁰¹ Werribee Shire Banner, 22 June 1939, p. 3.





Figure 103. Mel Gibson sitting beside the river near Rothwell Bridge c1979 during the filming of *Mad Max.* (Source: Little River Historical Society)

Figure 104. Bike scene during the filming of *Mad Max* near Little River in c1979. (Source: Little River Historical Society)

3.14.4 Appreciating history and heritage

The week-long 'Back to Werribee' celebrations in 1922, when former residents of Werribee were invited back to the town, presented a range of events, including reunions of former residents and a recognition of local history and the 'pioneers' of the district.⁴⁰² Other local pageants have also celebrated the early history of the district.



Figure 105. Button badge produced to mark the 'Back to Werribee' celebrations in 1922. (Source: Lost Werribee Facebook Page)

Much of Werribee's built heritage was lost during the 1950s and 1960s, which was a period of extensive development. The loss of The Manor in the 1960s was a major blow for Werribee, as too was the loss of a number of important historical buildings, whether through demolition or accident, including Quantin Binnah (c.1888-89), the former Chaffey homestead situated north of Werribee, as well as local buildings such as the town's first post office, demolished in 1966. Local interest in the history and heritage of the area increased in the 1960s, encouraged by the municipality's centenary celebrations in 1963, and this led to the beginning of the Werribee District Historical Society, which was formed the same year.

Since the 1960s, efforts have been made to preserve the heritage buildings of Werribee and the wider district, including the first shire hall, which was erected in Watton Street in 1868. The second shire hall, in danger of being demolished, was preserved for community use and provided to the Werribee District

⁴⁰² Ballarat Star, 31 December 1921, p. 2.



Historical Society for their purposes in the c.1980s. Werribee Park mansion was acquired by the Victorian Government in 1973 and was managed initially by the Board of Works. The loss of a number of early buildings has nevertheless continued in Werribee, with the removal of the Beamish residence (former Wandene private hospital) in 1988 and the early Ison abode farmhouse in 2002.⁴⁰³

Little River formed a historical society in 2003 and celebrated the centenary of its mechanics institute in 2010. The smaller settlements of Truganina, Tarneit and Cocoroc have seen extensive change and much has been lost to residential development.

The survival of a number of early tree plantings are reminders of significant developments. For example, the row of Elms on the Werribee River, marking the site of the [old township], the Peppercorn trees near the former Chaffey site Quantin Binnah, and the markers of blocks on the short-lived Chaffey irrigation settlement. The creation of the Riverside Historical Park, north of Werribee, marks the site of the abandoned Chaffey irrigation scheme.

The government records for the state were held within the municipality for many years. The Public Records Office of Victoria maintained a repository and search room at 57 Cherry Road, Laverton North, from c.1975 until 1994. Public records had previously been held at the State Library of Victoria. In wake of the *Public Records Act* of 1973, a large brick structure was acquired in Laverton which provided a repository for 80 km of public records, a large search room, private meeting rooms, a café and adjoining carpark. Much frequented in the 1980s and 1990s by historians, students, professional researchers, some ground-breaking historical research was undertaken in this building, including research into institutional care and Aboriginal records, which has had implications for many Victorians.

Monuments and memorials

Many private memorials to individuals have been erected in the public cemeteries within the municipality and on private land. Public figures and notable events have also been honoured on public land. To mark the centenary of the Hume and Hovell expedition in 1924, a memorial cairn was unveiled close to the place near where the explorers crossed the Werribee River. The memorial took the form of a rough stone obelisk assembled from local basalt. The monument at Werribee was unveiled by Sir James Barrett, with Charles Long in attendance. ⁴⁰⁴ This was one of 33 similar cairns or obelisks that were erected at stopping points along the route taken by Hume and Hovell in 1924-25 and which were designed to be read as markers of this historical journey. The commemoration early explorers — including Hume and Hovell in 1924, Major Mitchell in 1936, and Thomas McMillan in the 1840s — was instigated by the Victorian Historical Memorials Committee of the Historical Society of Victoria, which sought to raise awareness of and to honour those who played a part in opening up Victoria for settlement.⁴⁰⁵ Charles Long sought to provide an 'instructive landscape' while Alfred Kenyon declared that the Hume and Hovell memorials 'lay across Victoria "like a scarf of honour".⁴⁰⁶

Other local memorials to figures in history include the Matthew Flinders memorial was unveiled at Little River, which was erected in 1952.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰³ Werribee District Historical Society website.

⁴⁰⁴ Monument Australia: https://monumentaustralia.org.au/search/display/33957-hume-and-hovell-expedition.

⁴⁰⁵ Tom Griffiths 1996, Hunters and Collectors: The antiquarian imagination in Australia, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, p. 158.

⁴⁰⁶ Griffiths 1996, p. 159.

⁴⁰⁷ Monument Australia website.



In addition to the Avenues of Honour planted in the Werribee area from 1918, there was also an Avenue of Honour planted to honour the work of William Calder, the former chairman of the Country Roads Board. The trees were planted in 1928 on the Geelong Road, on the west side of Werribee.⁴⁰⁸

[For war memorials, see Section 3.11.4]

3.14.5 Tourism

Travelling by road, Werribee was often regarded as simply a stop-over point en route a more distant destination, such as Geelong or the Western District. In the era before motor cars, it was a convenient stopping place for the horses. Yet the area also had its own charm, especially the river scenery, and this attracted visitors from Melbourne, including those who were sporting shooters.

Holiday-makers visited the Werribee area from the late-nineteenth century. Increased leisure time opened up opportunities for day trips and the Werribee River area and river mouth were a popular destination for visitors from Melbourne. Howard and Sons ran their steamer *SS Derwent* from Princes Wharf to Werribee Jetty on weekends at reasonable price of 3 shillings return.⁴⁰⁹

Residents of Melbourne's western suburbs visited the open country of Werribee seeking some relief from industrialised inner Melbourne,⁴¹⁰ but local people also enjoyed trips away. The railway provided the means for day trips, for example children visiting Melbourne attractions such as Melbourne Zoo. The annual Werribee Farmers' Picnic was regularly held at Sorrento from at least 1902 when around 400-500 local farmers boarded the steamer, *Ozone*, at Werribee jetty for a day trip across the Bay.⁴¹¹

The beaches at Point Cook and Werribee South were a popular summer destination for locals. Point Cook had the added attraction of the 'Flying Station, and later the RAAF base, which was open to visitors. Aeroplanes were something of a novelty in the 1920s and 1930s, with many enthusiasts. In the 1940s there was new interest in military aircraft, including the models that were being manufactured in Melbourne.

The establishment of the Metropolitan Sewerage Farm in the 1890s created a new tourist destination for curious passers-by.⁴¹² In more recent years facilities for visitors have been developed, with a visitors' centre established in the early 2000s.

Werribee Park has attracted large numbers of tourists since it was opened to the public in the 1970s. The number of tourists to Werribee Park increased from the late 1980s and a boutique hotel was opened in the 1990s. The National Rose Garden, opened in the 1990s, has also become an important local attraction. The opening of the 'safari-style' Werribee Plains Open Range Zoo in the late 1990s also draws a large number of visitors. The nearby Shadowfax Winery was established in 1998.

⁴⁰⁸ Werribee Shire Banner, 27 September 1928, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁹ Chris McConville 1988, Mum and Dad Made History, Museum of Victoria, Melbourne, p. 151.

⁴¹⁰ Sportsman, 9 January 1900, p. 8.

⁴¹¹ An image of the 1902 event and an explanation is provided by the Wyndham City Libraries website. This event continued into the 1940s.

⁴¹² May 1989, no page nos.





Figure 106. Posing with an early bi-plane: the aviation base at Point Cook was an early tourist attraction in the 1930s. (Source: State Library of South Australia, Accession Number: B 43968/117)



Figure 107. Visiting the hangars at the RAAF air base at Point Cook in the 1930s. (Source: State Library of South Australia, Accession Number: B 43968/119)



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Appendix A—Review of Thematic Framework

The first step in preparing the Thematic Environmental History involved reviewing the existing framework of historical themes, prepared by Context Pty Ltd in 1997 as part of the 'Heritage of the City of Wyndham' study.

A.1 Developing historical themes for Wyndham

A comparison between the Heritage Victoria's *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* (2011) and the Wyndham historical themes (prepared in 1997) revealed some gaps and inconsistencies (see Table A.1 below). The 1997 sub-themes required streamlining to some extent as there was a degree of repetition and overlap, as well as significant gaps—for example, there is no theme listed that equates to '1. Shaping Victoria's Environment' and '3. Connecting Victorians by transport and communications', while there is the inclusion of 'Ports and Waterways' but nothing that covers road and rail transport.

Table A.1. Comparing Heritage Victoria's *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* (2011) with the Wyndham historical themes (1997).

	Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes (2011)		Wyndham Heritage Study Historical Themes (1997)
1 Shaping Victoria's environment	 1.1 Tracing climate and topographical change 1.2 Tracing the emergence of Victoria's plants and animals 1.3 Understanding scientifically diverse environments 1.4 Creation stories and defining country 1.5 Living with natural processes 1.6 Appreciating and protecting Victoria's natural wonders 		
2 Peopling Victoria's places and landscapes	 2.1 Living as Victoria's original inhabitants 2.2 Exploring, surveying and mapping 2.3 Adapting to diverse environments 2.4 Arriving in a new land 2.5 Migrating and making a home 2.6 Maintaining distinctive cultures 2.7 Promoting settlement 2.8 Fighting for identity 	1 Exploring and colonising the western plains	 1.1 Contact with Aboriginals 1.2 Settling 1.3 Exploring the interior 1.4 Dispossession and conflict 1.5 Impact of gold 1.6 Surveying the land
		2 Appropriati ng the western plains	2.1 Pastoralists2.2 Re-defining the subdivision of the western plains2.3 The growth of Melbourne2.4 Government land needs2.5 Creating smaller rural holdings



	Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes (2011)		Wyndham Heritage Study Historical Themes (1997)
		11 Migration in and out of the region	 11.1 The arrival of Europeans 11.2 The gold rush immigrants 11.3 Migrant farmers 11.4 Postwar migration 11.5 Moving to and from other places 11.6 Changing migration policies
3 Connecting Victorians by transport and communicat ions	 3.1 Establishing pathways 3.2 Travelling by water 3.3 Linking Victorians by rail 3.4 Linking Victorians by road in the 20th century 3.5 Travelling by tram 3.6 Linking Victorians by air 3.7 Establishing and maintaining communications 	12 Ports and Waterways	 12.1 A landing place 12.2 Developing the port 12.3 Building boats 12.4 Maribyrnong River as a site for industry 12.5 Maribyrnong River as a place for recreation
4 Transformin g and managing land and natural resources	 4.1 Living off the land 4.2 Living from the sea 4.3 Grazing and raising livestock 4.4 Farming 4.5 Gold mining 4.6 Exploiting other mineral, forest and water resources 	3. Extracting resources from the western plains	3.1 Quarrying the plains3.2 Working the stone3.3 Materials for building3.4 Extracting mineral wealth3.5 Re-using the quarries
	4.7 Transforming the land and waterways	13. Modifying the environmen t	13.1 Changing the land 13.2 Creating a familiar environment
		4. Initiatives to diversify local production	4.1 Novel industries4.2 Boosting production4.3 New rural activities4.4 Using the rich alluvial soils4.5 Experimentation and research
5 Building Victoria's industries and workforce	 5.1 Processing raw materials 5.2 Developing a manufacturing capacity 5.3 Marketing and retailing 5.4 Exhibiting Victoria's innovation and products 5.5 Banking and finance 5.6 Entertaining and socialising 5.7 Catering for tourists 5.8 Working 	5 Developing an industrial base	 5.1 Meat processing 5.2 Wool and textiles 5.3 Animal processing 5.4 Building materials 5.5 Chemicals 5.6 Metal industry 5.7 Munitions and armaments 5.8 Synthetics 5.9 Diversification



	Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes (2011)		Wyndham Heritage Study Historical Themes (1997)
		6 Changes in the nature of industry	 6.1 Transport 6.2 A place for industry 6.3 Developing a workforce 6.4 Economic depressions 6.5 Changing processes 6.6 Women in industry 6.7 Devitalisation of industry 6.8 The postwar migrant labour force 6.9 Industrial relocation 6.10 Changing corporate structures
		7 Work and employmen t	 7.1 Women's work 7.2 Using available labour 7.3 Juxtaposition of home and work 7.4 Unions 7.5 Learning a trade 7.6 Unemployment 7.7 Changing nature of work
6 Building towns, cities and the Garden State	 6.1 Establishing Melbourne Town, Port Phillip District 6.2 Creating Melbourne 6.3 Shaping the suburbs 6.4 Making regional centres 6.5 Living in country towns 6.6 Marking significant phases in development of Victoria's settlements, towns and cities 6.7 Making homes for Victorians 6.8 Living on the fringes 	8 A place to live 15 The West and Melbourne	 8.1 Setting up townships 8.2 Housing estates 8.3 Creating a home 8.4 Housing to meet people's needs 8.5 Changing residential areas 15.1 Supporting the metropolis
7 Governing Victorians	 7.1 Developing institutions of self- government and democracy 7.2 Struggling for political rights 7.3 Maintaining law and order 7.4 Defending Victoria and Australia 7.5 Protecting Victoria's heritage 	14 Developme nt and change in local government	 14.1 Inception of local government 14.2 Changing participation in government 14.3 Restructuring local government areas 14.4 Changing role in service provision 14.5 Development of regional concepts



	Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes (2011)		Wyndham Heritage Study Historical Themes (1997)
8 Building community life	 8.1 Maintaining spiritual life 8.2 Educating people 8.3 Providing health and welfare services 8.4 Forming community organisations 8.5 Preserving traditions and commemorating 8.6 Marking the phases of life 	9 Growth of communitie s	 9.1 Overcoming physical isolation 9.2 Servicing communities 9.3 Establishing community services 9.4 Learning in the community 9.5 Local shops and services 9.6 A sense of community and identity
9 Shaping cultural and creative life	 9.1 Participating in sport and recreation 9.2 Nurturing a vibrant arts scene 9.3 Achieving distinction in the arts 9.4 Creating popular culture 9.5 Advancing knowledge 	10 Leisure time	10.1 Sport and recreation10.2 Separate leisure for men and women10.3 Public entertainment

The historical themes for Wyndham prepared in 1997 provide broad coverage of most of the key areas of importance in terms of the historical development of the municipality, however the framework lacks a tight and logical structure. As it was written prior to the guidelines provided by the document, *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* (2011), the 1997 framework is somewhat loose in terms of how it defines a theme and a sub-theme. The *Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes* guidelines encourage historical development to be structured thematically rather than chronologically. Although at times the themes may appear to follow a loose chronological order, they should remain thematic aspects of development and not slip into chronological stages.

A number of themes included in the 1997 thematic history warrant more detailed examination, including the development of tourism and the extent of community life and activities. There are also some gaps in the historical themes covered by the 1997 Thematic Environmental History, including aspects of local history that would be considered important to include and acknowledge. For example, there is insufficient discussion of Aboriginal life in the period following first contact with Europeans in the 1790s, and little acknowledgement of Aboriginal–settler contact and conflict from this early period through to the c.1860s. Further, it does not adequately consider the history of Aboriginal people in Wyndham in more recent times.⁴¹³

Wyndham has an ethnically diverse community, and the Thematic Environmental History should be reflective of the communities who have come to the area both in the distant and near past, and the ways in which these communities have shaped the character of the municipality. An examination of migrant and ethnic history would also require a review of any themes regarding spirituality, worship and education.

Whilst Wyndham has experienced population growth at different periods since early settlement, the area has developed significantly since the existing thematic history was prepared in 1997. Further, with Wyndham being one of the largest municipalities by population in the state, and having one of the

⁴¹³ Whilst the Aboriginal history of the area should be acknowledged and incorporated into a revised framework of historical themes for the City of Wyndham, a more comprehensive Aboriginal history of the area that incorporates archaeological records and consultation with Traditional Owner organisations would require a separate study.



fastest growing population rates in Victoria, this population boom will set the tone for the next century of history for the area, and should be reflected at this point in time. Expansion of the themes of transport and infrastructure, particularly in relation to road and rail, and the inclusion of additional themes pertaining to science and research, military and defence, and arts and culture would result in a richer understanding of the municipality.

Augmenting the scope of the thematic history in order to reflect more local historical detail as well as the broader history of the area would provide Council with a valuable document and a useful tool for future heritage planning.