A

Abattoirs

Melbourne's butchers commonly slaughtered livestock on their premises, until parliament and **Melbourne City Council** confined slaughtering to public slaughterhouses (abattoirs), first (1849) below **Batmans Hill** on the **Yarra River**, and from 1861 at **Flemington** on the Saltwater (**Maribyrnong**) River. Arguing that shops and **markets** had to be supplied quickly and regularly with fresh meat in the warmer Australian **climate**, butchers resisted what they termed 'civic interference', and objected to abattoir fees, **road** tolls and the distance to Flemington. They were swiftly accommodated by municipal abattoirs, erected from 1861 in an arc stretching along the Yarra from **Collingwood** to **Williamstown**, and in 1870 only one-third of Melbourne's meat was being supplied from Flemington.

Public abattoirs gave control to lessees and specialist slaughterers who, laxly supervised, simply concentrated the nuisances. While waste (blood and offal) from the premises of butchers who defied the law went into street channels, that from public abattoirs drained directly to the rivers and **Port Phillip Bay**, and that from private slaughterhouses on the outskirts of **suburbia** discharged to creeks (see **rivers and creeks**), sandpits and **quarries**. The droving of stock along suburban streets caused local nuisances to householders, but **smells** from filthy riverside abattoirs and their attendant **noxious trades** were carried by northerly and westerly winds into Melbourne's salubrious suburbs, and the tidal rivers delivered solid wastes to the city's front door. 'Meat three times a day' was a proud colonial boast, but **Marvellous Melbourne** was suffocating in the effluence of its own affluence.

From the 1870s numerous parliamentary inquiries wrestled with the issues of public nuisance and sanitation. More stringently regulated by the Board of Public **Health** from the late 1880s, suburban abattoirs declined in number. Increasingly the eastern and south-eastern suburbs were supplied from abattoirs at **Oakleigh, Mulgrave** (1909) and **Box Hill** (1910), but vested interests (rural stockowners and city-based meat processors) blocked attempts to relocate to the city's western fringe the ever-growing Flemington abattoirs and their attendant **Newmarket saleyards**. Meat exporting had boomed in the 1860s and did again from the 1880s. The early meat-preserving works were congregated along the Saltwater River, and their successors, which also exported frozen meat, located themselves in the inner western suburbs at **Newport** (public and private freezing works), **Footscray** (**Angliss Meatworks**, 1905), and **Brooklyn** (Borthwicks). Eventually, efficient refrigerated road transport, country killing, the growing live sheep export trade and more stringent export standards created a cycle of declining profitability and investment in the older

metropolitan premises. Their deterioration brought obsolescence. The closure in 1977 of the Flemington abattoirs, and of Angliss, all but ended central metropolitan slaughtering.

JOHN LACK

Abbotsford

(3067, 4 km E, **Yarra City**)
In 1838, when **Collingwood** land was first offered for sale, a handful of pastoralists, solicitors and merchants purchased 25-acre (10 ha) blocks and established rural retreats along the western banks of the **Yarra River**. John Orr built Abbotsford, named after a ford used by the Abbot of Melrose Abbey in Scotland, and thus gave the area its eventual name. Other early owners of 'out-of-town' estates were Captain William Lonsdale and Andrew and Georgiana McCrae, who called their home Mayfield. One version of the **Aboriginal** name for the area was Carran-Carranulk, after the carran or prickly myrtle. Richard Goldsbrough built The Rest and Edward Curr, the chief agent for the Van Diemen's Land Co., built St Helier's.

While much of 1850s Collingwood was subdivided into tiny **housing** allotments, blocks by the river remained largely intact. Alongside the comfortable houses, the first of a number of **noxious trades** was established by Peter Nettleton, who opened a wool-scouring and fell-mongering business. Other wool scourers, tanners, **abattoirs** and tallow works followed, becoming a source of river and air **pollution**. In addition, nightsoil collected from Collingwood **backyards** during the 1860s was often illegally dumped into the Yarra at Abbotsford.

In 1863 the **Sisters of the Good Shepherd** established an asylum for 'fallen' women in Abbotsford House and the neighbouring property, St Helier's. Over the next two decades they also cared for wards of the state, **juvenile offenders** and convent girls, who tended the large vegetable gardens, parts of which became the **Collingwood Children's Farm**.

Brewing (see **brewers and brewing**) was a local tradition, consolidated in 1903 when the Melbourne Co-operative Brewery was established by **hotel** interests concerned at the rising cost of beer produced by established breweries. This brewery was absorbed into the Carlton & United Group in 1925 and the Abbotsford Brewery became the major production centre for **Carlton & United Breweries**.

A reproduction of the **Skipping Girl sign** is erected on Victoria Street, and **Dights Falls** are located nearby on the Yarra River. Dights Paddock was adjacent vacant land owned by the Dight family from 1838 to 1878; most of it was eventually purchased by Collingwood Council, which turned it into a recreation ground that became Victoria Park, former home of the **Collingwood Football Club**.

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In the 1930s many residential streets in Abbotsford were labelled as **slum** pockets, with innumerable tiny houses crowded into narrow streets and rights-of-way, and after World War II many houses were replaced by factories. Abbotsford experienced moderate **gentrification** from the 1980s.

JILL BARNARD

Aberfeldie

(3040, 9 km NW, **Moonee Valley City**)

A western pocket of **Moonee Ponds** and **Essendon**, on high ground overlooking the **Maribyrnong River** from the north, Aberfeldie is a small residential suburb with large areas of parks and reserves. James Robertson purchased Crown land here in 1845 and gave his house its Scottish name. When the Aberfeldie Estate was first offered for sale by subdivision in the 1880s, scattered substantial houses appeared. Further attempts to sell blocks continued into the 20th century. By the 1920s local residents had prevailed on the Essendon Council to purchase a large area by the river as recreation space. By then Aberfeldie was populous enough to become Essendon's fourth ward and to need a state primary school of its own.

JILL BARNARD

Aboriginal artefacts

Artefacts made by Aboriginal people in the Melbourne region consist of ancient objects of stone and bone; wood, bone and fibre objects surviving from the 19th century; and contemporary artefacts made for sale. Non-portable artefacts such as scarred **trees** are also found *in situ* in various locations around the metropolitan region.

The artefacts surviving from the pre-colonial period are mainly stone implements of various kinds. These have been retrieved from many metropolitan sites. Stone for making axes was an important item of trade. Stone from the Mount William quarry at Lancefield, just north of Melbourne, was traded extensively in south-eastern Australia. Stone tools were used to grind seeds, to make weapons, and for scraping and cutting. Items made of organic materials such as wood, skin and fibres are fragile and few of these have survived from the Melbourne region. Those that have survived (items such as a canoe, water vessels, clubs and shields) form an important part of Victorian Aboriginal heritage. Items from the period before 1835 and later items not made for sale are protected by law.

Following European colonisation, Aboriginal people at mission stations such as at **Coranderrk**, near **Healesville**, continued to make artefacts both for their own use and for sale to **tourists**. Income from the sale of items such as baskets, boomerangs and skin cloaks was important for the economic survival of station residents.

In the 20th century with an increased demand for Aboriginal products, individual Aboriginal people made artefacts specifically for sale to tourists. Bill Onus established a factory and shop, Aboriginal Enterprises, at **Belgrave** in the 1950s. This became a significant outlet for sale of Aboriginal products. Aboriginal people continue to make items for sale (including art, artefacts, jewellery and other items) which can be purchased at Aboriginal keeping places and community events. Since the 1980s many retail (see **retailing**) outlets for Aboriginal artefacts have emerged in **Central Melbourne**, though most Aboriginal products come from other States rather than from local Aboriginal people.

GAYE SCULTHORPE

Aboriginal Child-Care Agency

A **Koorie** community organisation which oversees placements for Aboriginal children in need of alternative care, Aboriginal Child-Care Agency (ACCA) was founded by Mollie Dyer in 1976. It worked initially through the **Victorian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service** but became a separate organisation in 1978, when its right to be consulted was recognised by the State Department of Community Welfare Services. Committed to asserting the 'normality' of Aboriginal family structures in order to reverse insensitive welfare intervention and the over-representation of Aboriginal **children** in care, ACCA runs family support programs and administers Link-Up services for individuals removed from their families in the past.

SHURLEE SWAIN

Aboriginal Community Elders Service

This **aged care** service was established by the **Koorie** community to care for elders previously isolated in **hospitals** and other institutions. Planning began in 1987 in response to discussion about the problems faced by older people in the local community. Led by Gunditjmara elder Aunty Iris Lovett-Gardiner, the group secured Commonwealth Government funding to establish a 24-bed hostel in East **Brunswick** designed and operated in accordance with Aboriginal cultural principles. Aboriginal Community Elders Service (ACES) also administers Home Care packages in the Koorie community.

SHURLEE SWAIN

Aboriginal Melbourne

Initial relations between indigenous and settler people in the Melbourne region were mixed, but combined to create a familiar pattern marked by colonial power. On 15 February 1802, 20 crew of the brig *Lady Nelson*, the first ship to enter **Port Phillip Bay**, met five **Boon wurrung** men on the beach near Arthurs Seat. They exchanged greetings and danced, but that afternoon violence erupted and contacts ceased. The Boon wurrung also kept their distance from the garrison at the abortive **convict** settlement at **Sorrento** (1803–1804). Over the next 30 years, sealers, whalers and a few castaways (including William Buckley) made intermittent, sometimes violent, contacts with **Kulin** clans.

In May 1835 John Batman, representing Hobart entrepreneurs, made a treaty with the **Woi wurrung** and Boon wurrung people, allegedly purchasing some of their land (see **Batman's Treaties**). Three months later John Pascoe Fawkner and his party settled the **Yarra River** bank. From the first, both cultural groups desired contact with and control over the
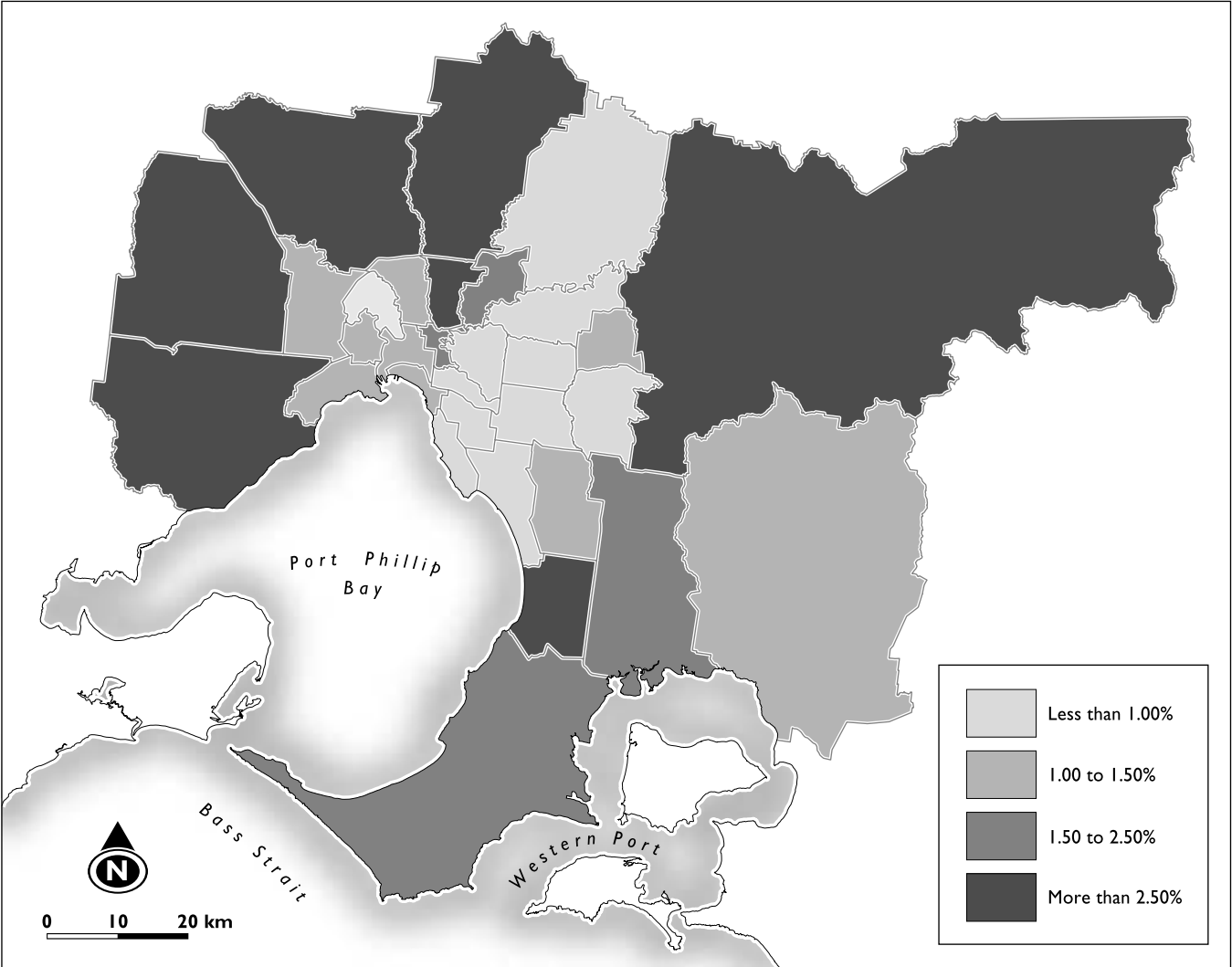
INDIGENOUS POPULATION *(Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001 Census)*

Legend:
- Less than 1.00%
- 1.00 to 1.50%
- 1.50 to 2.50%
- More than 2.50%

other. The settlers sought conciliation with the Aboriginal people, 'savages' as they often termed them, to access their knowledge of the land and then to expropriate it. The Kulin sought to access some desirable European artefacts – steel axes, guns and the like – from these interloping 'white ghosts' and to tame them to Aboriginal purposes. Both sides had mixed views as to how to deal with the situation, but caution and conciliation initially prevailed. This is evident in Fawkner's account of relations with the Kulin. Some of the upcountry Kulin planned to kill Fawkner's party for their goods. Two of the local Melbourne clan heads, Derrimut and Billibellari, preferred to use diplomacy and warned the Europeans about an attack. Fawkner forced the attacking party across the Yarra, burning their weapons and canoes, but exercised moderation. Thereafter, Derrimut and several others attached themselves to Fawkner, who, like Batman, was soon supporting groups of Kulin in return for work.

As more Europeans arrived to take advantage of the pastoral economy or to work in the growing town, the balance tipped in the Europeans' favour. Conciliation gave way to European arrogance and Aboriginal resentment. This produced ill feeling and scuffles, but fatalities were largely confined to the frontier. However, the 'Melbourne tribes' – the Boon wurrung and the Woi wurrung – were affected by violent frontier relations as they moved about their lands outside the settlement or visited Kulin kin upcountry.

Genocidal outcomes developed, but not of the classic type of a deliberate official policy of extermination, for after

1839 a government Aboriginal Protectorate existed (see **Port Phillip Protectorate**). Rather, these were 'relations of genocide', as historian Tony Barta has called them, relations shaped by the unintended outcomes of a rapid decline of Aboriginal people. The usurping of Aboriginal lands by settlers and their cloven-hoofed sheep scared away the game, trampled the grasslands and waterholes, and ate out the root vegetables that formed the Kulin's staple diet. Despite its **environmental** damage, pastoralism could have coexisted with Aboriginal land use, but the settlers' exclusive ideas of property swept the Aboriginal economy aside, disrupting use of Aboriginal lands, and their cultural and ritual life. New respiratory and other diseases (see **diseases and epidemics**) devastated the Kulin, already weakened by rapid change. Their psychic disorientation created fatalism among some. Billibellari, an elder, commented in 1843 that 'black-fellows all about say that no good have them pickaninneys now, no country for blackfellows like long time ago'. A drop in new births compounded the Kulin's decline.

However, fatalism was not the dominant response. Most Kulin revealed a zest for cultural interaction. They camped in scores, even hundreds, by the Yarra in the early 1840s to sample European novelties, especially flour, mutton and tobacco. One Kulin man in 1844 remarked: 'the bush big one hungry no bellyfull like it Melbourne'. They quickly learned English and sang Scottish (see **Scots**) songs with a brogue. They desired guns and metal objects. Some Kulin traded lyrebird feathers and **possum** skins or laboured around

Melbourne to purchase such items. They were not averse to behaviours called 'begging' by the Europeans, which to them were reciprocal exchanges for the use of their land. The Kulin frequented the Government Mission by the Yarra while there was food to be had, and enrolled their **children** in the **Baptist** (Aboriginal) School on the **Merri Creek**, where they were cared for while their parents travelled on Kulin business. Many young Kulin men joined the **Native Police Corps**, based at **Narre Warren**, to gain access to food, fine uniforms, guns, **horses** and added power.

By the early 1840s, the government discouraged the Kulin from visiting their own lands, arguing that they lowered the tone of an increasingly 'respectable' town. By the 1850s, the Kulin worked in the Plenty Valley and the **Mornington Peninsula** as rural labourers, shepherds and stockmen, for hard-pressed employers during **gold** rush **labour** shortages. They visited Melbourne on drays and horses, delivering or collecting goods, trading lyrebird feathers, visiting gunsmiths, calling on their friend William Thomas, then the Guardian of Aborigines, or simply seeking amusement. Six Kulin men even performed corroborees for a week in the **Queen's Theatre** in 1856 to entertain the gold-diggers. These Kulin workers dressed like European labourers until nightfall, when they threw off their work clothes and slept under the stars as their people had always done.

However, few Kulin survived. Their numbers plummeted by 90% in 20 years. William Thomas, Assistant Aboriginal Protector (later Guardian) from 1839, reported that the Boon wurrung and Woi wurrung, who numbered about 350 in 1835, and 233 by 1840, totalled only 28 in 1857 (17 Woi wurrung and 11 Boon wurrung). In 1863, these survivors moved to **Coranderrk**, a traditional camping site near **Healesville**, once their request for farming land had been granted.

Once special Aboriginal legislation was introduced in the **Parliament of Victoria** in 1860, Aboriginal people were subordinate to the state. After the *Aborigines Act* was strengthened in 1869, the Board for the Protection of Aborigines was empowered to determine where Aboriginal people could live and work, and could remove their children if deemed neglected. By 1877, half of the surviving 1000 Aboriginal people in Victoria lived under direct Board control on six rural reserves and missions. The remainder lived nearby to stay in contact with kin. In 1886, a new Act pushed those of mixed descent ('half-castes' in the Act's terminology) off the missions to 'blend' into the white population. They ceased to be Aboriginal people in the eyes of the government. In 1925 about 200 people remaining under the Board's control were centralised at Lake Tyers reserve, near Lakes Entrance.

Some of those pushed off the missions drifted back to Melbourne seeking work. However, there was no significant Melbourne Aboriginal community at this time to keep them there. The 1901 census recorded 46 Aboriginal people living in Melbourne. Some were **domestic servants**, others were children who had been removed from their parents under the 1886 Act. A few were in training, preparatory to working at low wages for whites. The boys trained at the **Salvation Army** farm school at **Bayswater**, normally a home for troublesome boys, while the girls learned domestic skills at church institutions.

The 1920s saw the re-emergence of Aboriginal people in **Fitzroy**, most living around the intersection of George and Gertrude streets. This community, formed of people from all over the State, forged the first pan-Aboriginal political movement in Victoria. William Cooper, a Yorta Yorta man from the Murray Valley, established the **Australian Aborigines' League** in 1933 to push for citizenship rights.

His strategies included a petition to the King calling for federal intervention in Aboriginal affairs and Aboriginal parliamentary representation. He and others also devised a Day of Mourning on 26 January 1938 to protest the 150th anniversary celebrations of white settlement.

Most Melburnians had little contact with the small Melbourne Aboriginal community in the interwar years. Perhaps some heard Cooper or Bill Onus speak at **Yarra Bank Park**, read their occasional letters to the editor, or saw Aboriginal people about Fitzroy. Many more marvelled at Doug Nicholls, dubbed 'the flying Abo', who played for Northcote and **Fitzroy Football Club** around 1930 before ministering to the Gore Street Mission in the 1940s. Others saw Mulga Fred, an Aboriginal whip-cracker from the Western District, performing at **Victorian Football League** matches.

By the 1950s, however, Aboriginal people had a higher profile in Melbourne. Many theatregoers witnessed the highly acclaimed Aboriginal production *Out of the dark*, which was part of the Jubilee celebrations. Others saw Bill Bull, gumleaf player, busking at **Princes Bridge** before being moved on by the **police** or gaoled. In 1950 the Melbourne *Herald* defended his right to be there and a top Melbourne lawyer represented him in court.

In 1958 policy changes followed the Cabinet-inspired McLean Report, which urged equal rights and citizenship for Aboriginal people at the price of assimilating to white ways. A new Aborigines Welfare Board represented this renewed commitment to assimilation. Ironically, Aboriginal people not under the Board's control were finally acknowledged as being Aboriginal, at the very time the Welfare Board planned their absorption and cultural disappearance. The previous year, 1957, the **Victorian Aborigines Advancement League** (VAAL) was formed in Melbourne, providing Aboriginal people with a means of resisting the Welfare Board's assimilationist agenda. While Aboriginal people desired equality with other Victorians they did not want to become just like them. By the mid-1960s VAAL and the Lake Tyers community battled the Board's efforts to dismantle the reserve and distribute Aboriginal people among white communities. In 1968 its criticisms helped topple the Board and its policies and led to the hand-back of Lake Tyers and Framlingham lands to the communities. In Melbourne, VAAL developed hostels, services and a permanent centre for the Melbourne Aboriginal community at **Northcote**.

By the 1960s one in five Aboriginal Victorians lived in Melbourne. While distinct regional identities still existed among Aborigines in the metropolis, Aboriginal balls at the Northcote Town Hall, community activities, and intermarriage, helped to modify regional identities and strengthen pan-Aboriginal feeling. In 1969 the word '**Koori(e)**' emerged and was used especially by younger Aboriginal people. There was also a movement into the wider community, with 11% of married Aboriginal men and 27% of married Aboriginal women in the 1960s having non-Aboriginal partners.

In the early 1970s, Aboriginal-run health, **housing** and legal services and other community bodies were formed in Melbourne. Aboriginal people drifted to the city in search of jobs, lured there by the growth of community organisations. In 1986 over 6000 people of indigenous descent lived in Melbourne, almost half the State total. By 1996 their numbers in Melbourne had climbed to almost 11 000, again almost half of their Victorian total; currently they total almost 15 000 in the Melbourne region. Melburnians of indigenous descent are scattered thinly throughout city and suburbs, except for modest concentrations in Fitzroy, Northcote and **Preston**. A larger concentration exists at

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nearby Healesville, a traditional place of the Kulin and a pleasant rural area with affordable housing. Such clusters create dozens of fiercely supported community groups as the government found to its cost when it attempted to close the Koorie-backed Northland Secondary College in 1992. After four years of court battles the community retained the right to government support for the school.

Koorie cultural expression now forms a vibrant part of Melbourne's multicultural ambience. Key examples are the establishment of exhibitions at the **Koorie Heritage Trust** from 1985, the creation of a Koorie heritage trail called 'Another View', the existence of Koorie music groups and the creation of the Melbourne **Museum**'s Bunjilaka Centre in 2000. The popularity of these cultural expressions reflects a growing tolerance between Koories and Gubbas (to use local indigenous words) or Aboriginal and other Victorians (to use English terms). Koories now move more confidently in the wider community, adhering as always to their Aboriginal identities, kin and culture. Most Melburnians now respect these Koorie cultural expressions.

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RICHARD BROOME

ABORTION

Always a contentious feature of Melbourne life, abortion has been publicly condemned but privately accepted as an unfortunate inevitability. 'Pills for female obstruction' marketed during the 19th century by doctors such as parliamentarian L.L. Smith (1830–1910) were overtaken by more interventionist methods, offered by midwives in the poorer suburbs and by doctors in clinics and private **hospitals** for the more affluent. The risks of such methods were evident in the high maternal mortality rates, which continued into the 1930s. Abortion was illegal but **police** collusion and the reluctance of juries to convict meant that successful prosecutions were rare. The decision by police to break this compact in 1967 opened a space for debate in which abortion law reform campaigner Dr Bertram Wainer exposed the corruption which underwrote contemporary practice. The 1969 Menhennit ruling, which held that abortion was not illegal if the physical or mental health of the mother was at risk, and the 1974 addition of abortion to the medical benefits list, facilitated the development of both public and private clinics. This liberalisation has been welcomed by **feminists** but opposed by the Catholic Church (see **Catholicism**) and anti-abortion groups like Right to Life, which continue to argue for a strengthening of the existing law.

SHURLEE SWAIN
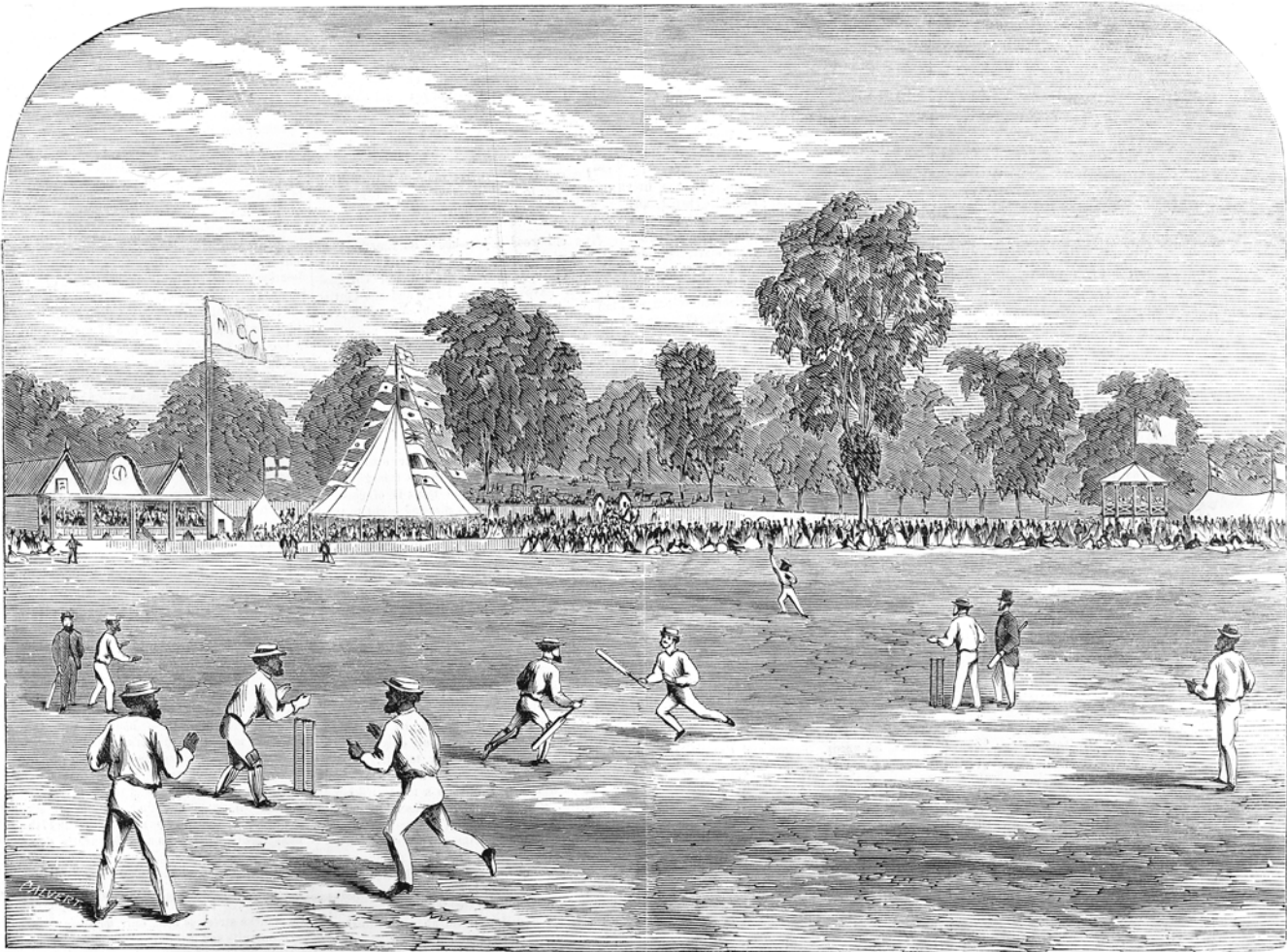
THE ABORIGINAL CRICKET MATCH ON THE M.C.C. GROUND. — SEE PAGE 6.

A rare sight in 19th-century Melbourne – an Aboriginal cricket match at the Melbourne Cricket Ground.

(*Artist: Samuel Calvert.* Illustrated Melbourne Post, *24 January 1867*)

Academy of Mary Immaculate

(88 Nicholson Street, **Fitzroy**)
A **Catholic** secondary day college for girls established by the **Sisters of Mercy** in 1857, the Academy of Mary Immaculate has the distinction of being the first convent school in colonial Victoria.

Three **Irish** sisters came to Melbourne in March 1857 and were given a 14-room house, with mortgage, by the then bishop, James Alipius Goold. He wished the sisters to be self-supporting and advised them to open a fee-paying select school for girls from the neighbourhood, to be augmented by a boarding school for daughters of Catholics living in rural areas.

Mother Ursula Frayne, leader of the Mercy community, opened the school in convent rooms on 29 April 1857 with six pupils. By the end of the year, enrolments were at 43, with girls aged between three and 18. Subjects taken included music, elocution, English, French, Italian and drawing. The sisters taught, but from early on also employed lay staff.

At present the school population is some 540. There is a wide diversity of cultural background among students, and the school specialises in English as a second language (ESL) and Integration Programs, supported by Commonwealth funding.

MAREE ALLEN

Accidents and disasters

Melbourne has over the course of its history both defended its population against damaging **environmental** phenomena and technological mishaps, and itself been an agent of instability and recklessness. Periods of rapid **city growth** have often run ahead of the necessary social and regulatory frameworks. By virtue of its structural and demographic density, the city has been vulnerable to **fires**, **floods** and **disease**, and human error and technical failure can be tracked across the city's history. Counted across generations, the impact of accidents and disasters in Melbourne can be measured in mental trauma, **community** dislocation, the disruption to livelihoods, infrastructure and the **economy**, the loss of life and the suffering of the injured. Of those disasters that remain lodged in the national memory, the most notable are the **Sunshine** Rail Disaster (1908), the 1918–19 influenza epidemic (see **diseases and epidemics**), the **West Gate Bridge disaster** (1970), and the Ash Wednesday **bushfires** (1983).

Maritime disasters were a feature of 19th-century intercolonial and international trade and travel, and many lives were lost in **shipwrecks** as vessels tackled the treacherous **Port Phillip** heads in rough conditions. **Railway** accidents were a periodic occurrence from the 1860s, although the crash of a train from **Brighton** Beach between **Jolimont** and **Flinders Street Station** in August 1881, with four fatalities, was the first attended by passenger deaths and multiple injuries. Other noted collisions or derailments in the 19th century occurred on the **Hawthorn** railway (1882, one fatality), **Little River** (1884, three fatalities), and **Windsor** (1887, six fatalities). Melbourne's greatest rail disaster and the worst in Australia to that time, occurred at Sunshine

on Easter Monday, 20 April 1908, when the Bendigo train smashed into the rear of the Ballarat train which had just departed **Braybrook** Junction. The Ballarat train was crowded with returning holiday-makers and bridal parties and the collision and subsequent fire took the lives of 44 people, with another 413 injured. In July 1910 Brighton and **Elsternwick** trains collided in heavy fog at **Richmond**, killing nine, and other railway fatalities occurred at **West Melbourne** (1912, two fatalities), **Caulfield** (1926, three fatalities), and **Laverton** (1976, one fatality). On 7 February 1969, the Melbourne–Sydney express train the Southern Aurora hit a goods train head on at Violet Town, outside of Melbourne, killing nine people.

Transport accidents were by no means uncommon in the pre-**motor car** era, and city **inquests** attest to poor **road** conditions, shying and bolting **horses**, and the furious galloping of riders. Thomas Hall, a 47-year-old irondresser, became Melbourne's first known **motor car** fatality when he was knocked down by MacPherson Robertson's vehicle at the intersection of Nicholson and Gertrude streets, **Fitzroy**, on 24 August 1905. While ameliorated from the 1970s by more concerted **road safety** measures, Melbourne's annual toll of death and trauma on the roads is a measure both of the city's car dependency and the collective myopia of a citizenry prepared to sacrifice its own kin for speed, power and independence.

Expansion of the **suburban** railway from the 1920s, coupled with the growth of motorised road transport, ushered in an era of regular accidents and fatalities at level crossings. The collision of a bus and train at **Boronia** in June 1952, with nine fatalities, brought to a total of 28 deaths and 54 injuries at that crossing since 1926. Improved signalling technology and the replacement of old-style gates with booms made railway crossings safer, but never completely eliminated fatal level-crossing accidents.

In October 1938, the Kyeema, an Australian National Airways Douglas DC-2 aircraft, crashed into Mount Dandenong en route from Adelaide to **Essendon Airport**. With 18 fatalities, this was Melbourne's worst **aviation** disaster. Other multiple fatalities occurred in 1970 (a Beech aircraft collided with a helicopter near **Moorabbin** Airport), in 1978 (a Partenaia 68 aircraft crashed into a house near Essendon Airport), and in 1986 (a Cessna 202 air ambulance crashed into a suburban field near Essendon Airport).

The streets of the colonial city presented the unwary pedestrian with a range of impediments, obstructions and dangers, some liable to be fatal. Reports of drownings in potholed and poorly lit streets were common before the 1860s. People fell down **hotel** cellar gratings or through verandah roofs. A developing array of **building** regulations began to protect the public domain of footpath and street from the nuisances of construction sites, prohibiting builders from dangerously obstructing footways or working on adjacent buildings to the danger of those below, and limiting the hours during which such work could be carried out. In addition to the risk of being showered in brick dust from building sites, splattered with paint under verandahs, or showered by overflowing gutters, it was not uncommon for pedestrians to narrowly escape injury or death from falls of scaffolding, heavy flower pots, lumps of freestone, cement work, plaster ornaments and pieces of iron or piping. By the second half of the 20th century, construction sites were more likely to be sequestered from their environs, but the **building** industry continued to be a locus of injury and death. In 1961 three people died when a crane collapsed at the Colonial Mutual

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building construction site at the corner of Elizabeth and **Collins** streets. While there were no fatalities when the fracture of supporting girders brought down a section of the King Street bridge, 35 people were killed when a section of the West Gate Bridge collapsed in October 1970. Workplace safety, progressively deregulated, is monitored by the Victoria WorkCover Authority.

Urban **fires** were common in the 19th-century city, with many Melbourne landmarks succumbing to flames. In 1924 a Metropolitan Gas Company **gas holder**, weakened by internal corrosion, burst at **Port Melbourne**. Despite the spectacular explosion and column of flame, there were limited injuries and no loss of life. A fire at the **Coode Island** chemical store on 21 August 1991 had been preceded by explosions of toxic **chemicals** at other transport depots, factories and petrochemical plants in **Altona** West, **Laverton** North, **Sunshine**, **Deer Park**, **Braybrook**, and **Footscray**.

Drowning in **rivers and creeks**, **quarry** holes and at **beaches** was a common source of death in the 19th century, while baths and domestic swimming pools continued to pose a risk, particularly to young **children**. **Flood** mitigation works along the **Yarra River** from the late 19th century, together with improved **drainage** systems, abated the risk of major inundation, although localised flash floods can still occur seasonally, flooding houses and shops and stranding motorists. Destructive Yarra flooding in October 1934 claimed 35 lives in and around Melbourne. Only minor earthquakes are felt in the Melbourne region, a smart shock in August 1841 being recorded as the third since the formation of the settlement. Many 19th-century diseases such as typhoid resulted from poor **sewerage** and drainage. A well-publicised outbreak of Legionnaire's Disease at the Melbourne **Aquarium** in 2000 took two lives. Two of Melbourne's most notorious **crimes** occurred in 1987 when 16 people were killed and 24 injured in two separate shootings in Queen and **Hoddle** streets. Suburban engrossment of the rural fringes, together with lifestyle and aesthetic expectations, and outmoded planning and design codes, have contributed to the cost in lives and property at the hands of the annual **bushfire** season. Summer heatwaves invariably cause heat-related deaths, while electrical storms, tornados (such as the **Brighton Tornado**) and heavy rain cause periodic damage and insurance losses.

The necessity to respond adequately and efficiently to accidents and disasters has led to the progressive development of Melbourne's emergency services (see **ambulance services**, **Metropolitan Fire Brigade**, **hospitals**, **medical technology**) as well as **insurance** companies. Accidents and disasters are also times when **communities** rally, with **voluntarism** playing an important role in the relief and recovery process. **Inquests**, government inquiries and press reports are revealing about the ways in which city-dwellers confronted both private and public disorder and calamity, and attempted to guard against or at least minimise the effects of future catastrophes. In 1864, the father of a 9-year-old boy who drowned at Footscray was very clear on the cause of his son's death: 'I should not have allowed the child to have gone fishing if asked, on account of it being the Sabbath day.' The providentialism observable in Melbourne's early decades, when deaths were commonly attributed to Acts of God, can be contrasted with the manner in which many accidents – such as road trauma – were normalised in the 20th century as predictable outcomes of technological and social development.

ANDREW BROWN-MAY

REMOVING THE WOUNDED AFTER THE RAILWAY ACCIDENT AT PRAHRAN.
(Illustrated Australian News, 21 May 1887)

ACCLIMATISATION SOCIETY OF VICTORIA

The Acclimatisation Society of Victoria (ASV) was established in 1861 when Edward Wilson, former editor of the *Argus*, returned to the colony from Britain. He found the Zoological Society of Victoria (ZSV) in disarray, a situation caused largely by the severely strained relationship between Ferdinand von Mueller and other active members of the society. Inspired by the acclimatisation movement in Europe, Wilson orchestrated a change of name for the society and a permanent location in **Royal Park**. The existing members of the ZSV such as Professor Frederick McCoy, Thomas Embling and other eminent members of the scientific (see **science**) and professional community, all continued to play an active role in the transformed society.

The objective of the new Acclimatisation Society was to import animals with economic, game or recreational value in large numbers so as to establish them as part of the regional livestock or wildlife. Government support made the ASV one of the wealthiest acclimatisation societies in the world. For four years, they arranged the importation of Cashmere goats, alpacas, pheasant, deer, hare, sparrows and thrushes. Once the animals had recovered from their journey, they were farmed out to friends of the society.

The introduction of songbirds contributed to the society's reputation as a misguided organisation. Contrary to the wishes of some members of the ASV, Edward Wilson imported large numbers of **birds** at his own expense to 'enliven' the bush. These birds provoked the only contemporary protest about the activities of the society when, in 1868, farmers complained that sparrows were destroying their fruit crops.

The ASV's active history ended in the late 1860s as expensive experiments failed and illegal **hunters** decimated the game animals. The society's new gardens, soon to be known as Melbourne **Zoo**, attracted few visitors, having no facilities or exotic animals. By 1870, the society was on the point of closing when Albert Le Souef was appointed

honorary secretary and wound down the acclimatisation activities. As the emphasis of the ASV shifted towards displaying exotic animals, the society was renamed the Zoological and Acclimatisation Society of Victoria in 1872. The only acclimatisation work that continued on any scale was the propagation of trout in Victoria's inland waterways. The word 'Acclimatisation' lived on until 1957 when the organisation was finally wound up. The ZASV had given up its role in the management of the zoo in 1936.

Catherine de Courcy. *Evolution of a zoo: A history of Melbourne Zoological Gardens, 1857–1900*. Melbourne: Quiddlers Press, 2003.

Linden Gillbank. 'The origins of the Acclimatisation Society of Victoria: Practical science in the wake of the gold rush.' *Historical Records of Australian Science* 6(3) 1986: 359–73.

CATHERINE DE COURCY

Acland Street

This **St Kilda** street was named after Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, a former owner of the schooner *Lady of St Kilda*, after which the suburb is named. Acland Street is divided into two sections, the northern end primarily residential, the southern end below Carlisle Street entirely commercial. In the 19th century and again today, the northern end has been one of Melbourne's most sought after addresses. From 1870 it was the home of Moritz Michaelis, part-owner of the **Footscray** tanning works Michaelis Hallenstein, and whose mansion Linden, operating today as a community **art gallery**, still stands at number 26. Since the 1930s Acland Street has been a meeting place for Jewish (see **Jews and Judaism**) and other Eastern European immigrants (see **immigration**), and became famous in the postwar period for its cake shops and cafés. In 1958, Masha and Avram Zeleznikow opened the Scheherazade Café, named after the Persian Queen and the Paris club where they met after the traumas of the war in Europe. It soon became a haven for artists and writers, a role it maintains today. An Acland Street Residents Association was formed in 1994 to focus local concerns about **traffic**, planning and development issues.

SEAMUS O'HANLON

Adult education

Provision of adult education began in Melbourne in 1839 with the establishment of the Melbourne **Mechanics Institute**. Based on English intellectual premises which assumed an embedded **class** structure, Mechanics Institutes were organised by the middle classes for the benefit of the working classes. But with the rise of mass **trade unionism** and working-class **political** organisation, which sharpened the class divide, the Institutes failed within 40 years.

During the latter half of the 19th century, adult education shifted to the newly founded technical colleges and schools of art, which offered informal adult education programs and hobby courses along with certified professional and trade qualifications. But from 1892, a time of economic **depression**, these programs were a casualty of Victorian government cuts to the funding of technical education.

In 1891 the **University of Melbourne** established the University Extension Board (UEB) which offered to the public fee-for-service 'extension' lectures based on subjects offered within the university prospectus. From 1913 the UEB formed a close working relationship with the new Melbourne branch of the Workers' Education Association (WEA). The WEA organised and recruited students while the UEB provided subjects and lecturers. However the UEB-WEA arrangement soon failed: the public ignored it and the organisation's primary target group – **trade unionists** and their leaders – used the services of their own labour college from 1917.

The UEB-WEA structure endured under hapless leadership for three decades until its reconstitution as the Council of Adult Education (CAE) in 1947. The CAE was led by the charismatic Colin Badger until 1971 and then by a succession of highly capable directors. From its inception the CAE popularised adult education through innovations such as summer schools, an arts train, rural theatre and book discussion groups, plus an expanding scheme of fee-for-service hobby and skills-based programs.

Increased awareness of adult education led to its expansion. In 1962 the CAE supported the establishment of the Wangaratta Centre for Adult Education, the first of a growing network of locally funded neighbourhood and community houses. The first Melbourne-based community provider was the **Diamond Valley** Learning Centre, established in 1973. In 1985 the Adult Education Association, a student body affiliated with the CAE, began classes for the volunteer-staffed University of the Third Age. From 1975 the Adult Migrant Education Services (AMES) offered adult education in English as a Second Language (though forms of this service had been offered since 1947).

Following a 1974 Commonwealth initiative to establish the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector and its inclusive acknowledgment of the role of adult education in promoting lifelong learning, adult and community providers received funding to offer an increasing number of certified vocational programs. This broadened focus and heightened profile firmly located adult education as a preferred entry point for adult career, life skills and leisure education and training. From the mid-1990s in excess of 100 000 adults participate annually in a further education course, whether at a community organisation, CAE, AMES, TAFE institute or private agency.

Colin Robert Badger. *Who was Badger?: Aspects of the life and work of Colin Robert Badger, director of adult education, Victoria, 1947–1971*. Melbourne: Council of Adult Education, 1984.

Helen Gribble. *Useful knowledge: A brief history and description of adult, community and further education in Victoria*. Melbourne: Adult, Community and Further Education Board, 1991.

PETER RUSHBROOK

Advertising, outdoor

From the 1840s, shopkeepers have distinguished their premises with painted signs, elaborate window displays, or goods exposed for sale on the footpath. Handbills were distributed in the streets ('bill sniping'), advertisements were stencilled or painted on footpaths ('screeving'), while spruikers and sandwich-board men also proved popular outdoor advertisements. Posters outside **theatres** advertised the latest attractions, and other advertisers placed their posters on poles, buildings and construction site barriers (known as hoardings).

The Encyclopedia of Melbourne: Acland Street

In 1860 a Bill Sticking Co. erected fences at building sites for advertising purposes, and at least by 1875, three companies identified themselves as Bill Posters, owning and maintaining hoardings which were rented out to advertisers. The posters were created by commercial artists, notably Blamire Young and Harry Weston. Bill-posting companies paid large sums for exclusive advertising rights to **railway** station hoardings and space inside carriages. Advertising has since appeared on **trams**, **buses** and taxis, and their respective stops. Harold Clapp's 1920s poster campaign promoting Victoria to urban commuters was later replicated at both national and international levels.

Increasing car patronage stimulated roadside advertising. Large billboards have appeared near major arterials and intersections, while mobile billboards travel along city **roads**. From the 1910s, electricity enabled advertisements to be seen at night. Such advertisements as 'Little Audrey', the neon **skipping girl** on Victoria Street in **Abbotsford**, and the **Nylex**, **Pelaco**, Victoria Bitter and Slade Knitwear signs in **Richmond** have become celebrated landmarks. The Nylex sign is listed on the Victorian Heritage Register. Many landmark signs have been removed, including the **Southbank** Allen's sign and the Atlantic Ethyl and Shell Petroleum rolling dice at St Kilda junction. Ironically, name changes, such as Optus Oval for **Princes Park**, have converted other landmarks into outdoor advertisements.

A fatality in 1896 due to a falling hoarding in Flinders Street polarised debate about the advertising hoardings as an unsightly urban nuisance or an artistic and popular advertising medium. Little came from suggestions heard in the Legislative Assembly in 1914 that hoardings be abolished, though **Melbourne City Council** (MCC) regulations in 1920 more strictly controlled outdoor advertising on footpaths and streets. Greater regulation within the industry occurred with the incorporation of the Outdoor Advertising Association of Australia in 1939. During the 1960s and 1970s State Parliament took a more active interest in outdoor advertising, increasing restrictions and by 1987 banning tobacco advertising outdoors. The defacing of billboards with **graffiti**, most notably from the late 1970s by BUGA-UP (Billboard Utilising Graffitists Against Unhealthy Promotions), has become a common reaction to advertisements deemed morally offensive.

ROBERT CRAWFORD

Advertising industry

Gordon & Gotch (1854) was the first agency in Melbourne of an industry which over time has not only created advertisements but has supported Melbourne's media outlets and helped establish a consumer culture. Most advertising appeared in the press, although outdoor advertising, pamphlets, and gimmicks or stunts also proved popular. Originally selling **newspaper** space, agents gradually expanded and offered to create and insert advertisements. Hugh Paton's Advertising Service (1904) was the first of such agencies in Melbourne.

The industry's disordered state was exploited, as agents overcharged clients and advertisers made false claims. To gain credibility, moves were made to regulate the industry. An Australian Advertisers' Association was first mooted in 1911. Two years later the Victorian Advertising Club emerged as the nation's first advertising organisation. Following a 1918 advertising convention, other States

Skipping girl vinegar sign above the factory in Victoria Street, Abbotsford, 1968.

organised similar bodies. Melbourne hosted conventions in 1921 and 1925, and by 1930 Melbourne agencies viewed **Sydney** as the nation's premier advertising city.

Advertising expenditure plummeted during the **depression,** causing an upsurge in false advertising. State Parliament outlawed such advertising in 1932 in the first Act of its type in Australia. **Radio** advertising also emerged in the 1930s, its popularity growing rapidly from World War II. Working together as the War Effort Publicity Board, agencies in Melbourne and Sydney successfully waged the Commonwealth's propaganda campaign using all sections of the media.

Postwar prosperity and the emergence of **television** stimulated greater advertising activity and the industry flourished accordingly. Clemenger and Monahan-Dayman-Adams proved particularly successful Melbourne-based agencies. With agencies following clients globally and television stations networking nationally, Melbourne's advertising industry increasingly faced mergers and takeovers from interstate and abroad. While Clemenger joined forces with an American group to become the renowned Clemenger-BBDO agency, Monahan-Dayman-Adams' merger with Sydney's Mojo proved less successful. Like the Paton Advertising Service before it, Monahan-Dayman-Adams did not retain its identity and disappeared entirely.

ROBERT CRAWFORD

Africans

Around 2000 Somali-born Africans came to Melbourne following the 1991 civil war in that country, and the city continues to be the centre of the Australian population of Somali and Nigerian immigrants. As diverse communities divided along clan or ethnic lines, Melbourne's Africans have been represented and supported by a number of cultural, community and welfare organisations including the Somali Relief Association, the Nigerian Society of Victoria, the Ethiopian Community Association of Victoria, and the African Communities Council of Victoria, a short-lived umbrella organisation in the 1990s. Melbourne's Somali

population was initially concentrated around **Springvale** (the location of the Enterprise **migrant hostel**) and south-western suburbs, while **Footscray** has been the epicentre of the Ethiopian population. The influence of African immigrants on Melbourne's **ethnic** character has been revealed in recent decades through the burgeoning of African **restaurants**, cafés, bands, and community **radio** programs. At the **Centre for Education and Research in Environmental Strategies** park in **Brunswick**, an African Village has from 1988 been the centrepiece of a multicultural education program.

Greg Gow. *The Oromo in exile: From the Horn of Africa to the suburbs of Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002.

ANDREW BROWN-MAY

Age newspaper

Founded on 17 October 1854 by the mercantile (see **mercantile houses**) firm of Francis Cook & Co., the *Age* was sold on 31 December of that year to a co-operative that included the **journalist** Ebenezer Syme, a former employee of the *Argus*. Ebenezer Syme became sole editor and proprietor in June 1856, to be joined by his brother David, a road contractor, the following September. David was disinclined to take a prominent part in running the newspaper, but Ebenezer's retirement in 1857, followed by his death in 1860, forced him into a position that he might not otherwise have chosen. He remained in partnership with Ebenezer's widow and, later, her son Joseph, and it was not until 1891 that he became sole proprietor. However, his determination to make the *Age* a powerful force in Victoria is evident from the 1860s onwards.

Ebenezer's **politics** had been radical; David was more conservative, though outspoken on issues he believed important, including a fairer land policy, trade **protection** and a more democratic method of **government**. He was in a position to influence both political decisions and the rise and fall of leading politicians. This earned him the name of 'the kingmaker'; it also gave rise to criticism from holders of opposing beliefs, at times making him a controversial figure.

The *Age* expanded its activities through ventures such as its town and country weekly, the *Melbourne Leader* (1856, later the *Leader*), which absorbed the *Melbourne Weekly Age* (1855, later the *Weekly Age*) in 1868. The *Leader*, which was able to continue until 1957, competed with the *Australasian* (1864–1946), published by the *Argus*, and the *Weekly Times* (1869, still in print) published by the *Herald*. The *Age* was also in competition with the parent **newspapers**. Circulation figures demonstrate the ascendancy of the *Sun News-Pictorial* (founded by the *Herald* in 1922, now in combination as the *Herald Sun*) as well as the improved position of the *Age* following the closure of the *Argus* in 1957.

	1941	1947	1954	1961	1962
Sun	25 959	372 232	426 788	586 732	576 048
Age	99 400	114 837	128 147	174 087	179 125
Argus	108 370	123 943	160 731	—	—

The popularity of the *Sun News-Pictorial* depended a good deal on the fact that it was easy to read and printed in tabloid form. The *Age* had built up an advertising base that attracted purchasers, though not necessarily readers. If it was to be a quality newspaper that could take the place of the *Argus*, it needed to achieve a wider, middle-class appeal. Members of the Syme family had continued their association with the paper after David Syme's death in 1908. Ranald Macdonald, his great-grandson, became managing director in 1964, retaining this position until he decided to sell the paper to the Fairfax group in 1983. Macdonald's appointment of Graham Perkin as editor in 1966 allowed the development of the determined investigative journalism that made the *Age* once more a powerful social and political force, as well as earning it strong criticism from those whose activities it exposed.

Following Perkin's death in 1975, various editors have endeavoured to maintain circulation by engaging new columnists and diversifying the content of the *Age* into specialised sections and magazines. By 1995, the circulation had risen to 191 150, an unsatisfactory figure that led to vigorous discounting for subscriptions, resulting in a temporary increase. Like all modern newspapers, the *Age* is threatened by the convenience as well as the immediacy of **television** news and features. Its movement into multimedia in the form of online news and advertisements is a further diversification that proves its proprietors' awareness of the need for continued change and expansion.

LURLINE STUART

Aged care

Melbourne's earliest institutions, the **Benevolent Asylum** (1848) and the Immigrants' Aid Society (1853), began as multipurpose facilities, but progressively focused on aged care, with the opening of specialist **hospitals**, **orphanages** and **disability services**, and the ageing of **gold** rush **immigrants**. Anxious to save the more genteel from the indignities of such large institutions, community organisations like the **Old Colonists Association** established cottages for their elderly members. The **Catholic Church** moved into the field with the arrival of the **Little Sisters of the Poor** in 1883.

The introduction of the aged pension in 1900 temporarily relieved the demand, but a concern for the plight of widows left childless in the wake of World War I and couples left destitute as a result of the **Depression** saw more church homes opened. In 1945 the **Brotherhood of St Laurence** began moving aged couples into its **Carrum Downs** settlement, establishing the village pattern which would be adopted more widely after Commonwealth Government funding became available in 1955.

The Brotherhood also established the Coolibah Club (1946; see **Coolibah Day Centre**), the forerunner of Elderly Citizens Clubs which hosted the range of domiciliary services developed in the postwar years. Beginning with Meals on Wheels (**South Melbourne**, 1947), these services, designed to decrease the demand for institutional care, are administered by **municipal** councils through the Home and Community Services scheme (1970). Day hospitals auspiced by some of the established institutions provide medical and ancillary services for those with limited mobility and regular respite for their carers while Do-Care (1977), under the auspices of the **Wesley Central Mission**, provides contact for the housebound.

While, with the ageing of the population, there has been increasing pressure on private and charitable aged care facilities, most older Melburnians remain independently at home. Less than 15% of the elderly use any aged care services, with rates of institutionalisation the lowest in Australia.

SHURLEE SWAIN