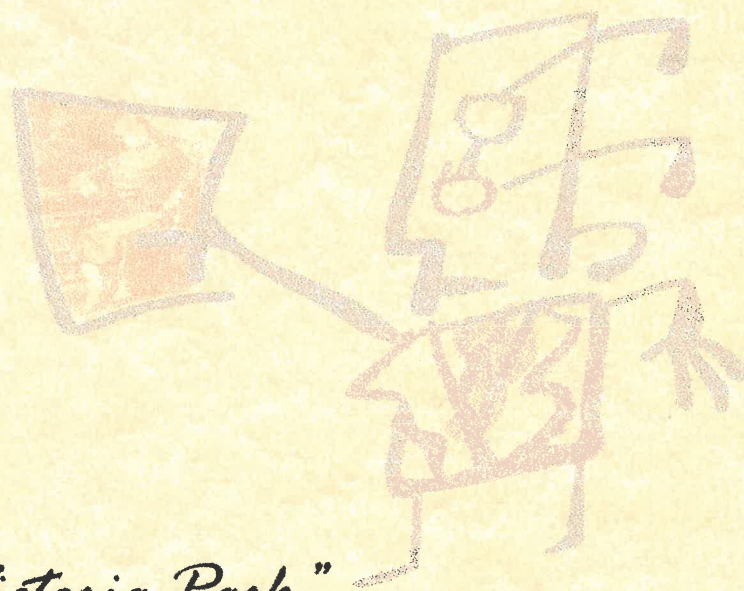


TOWN OF VICTORIA PARK LIBRARY
LOCAL STUDIES COLLECTION

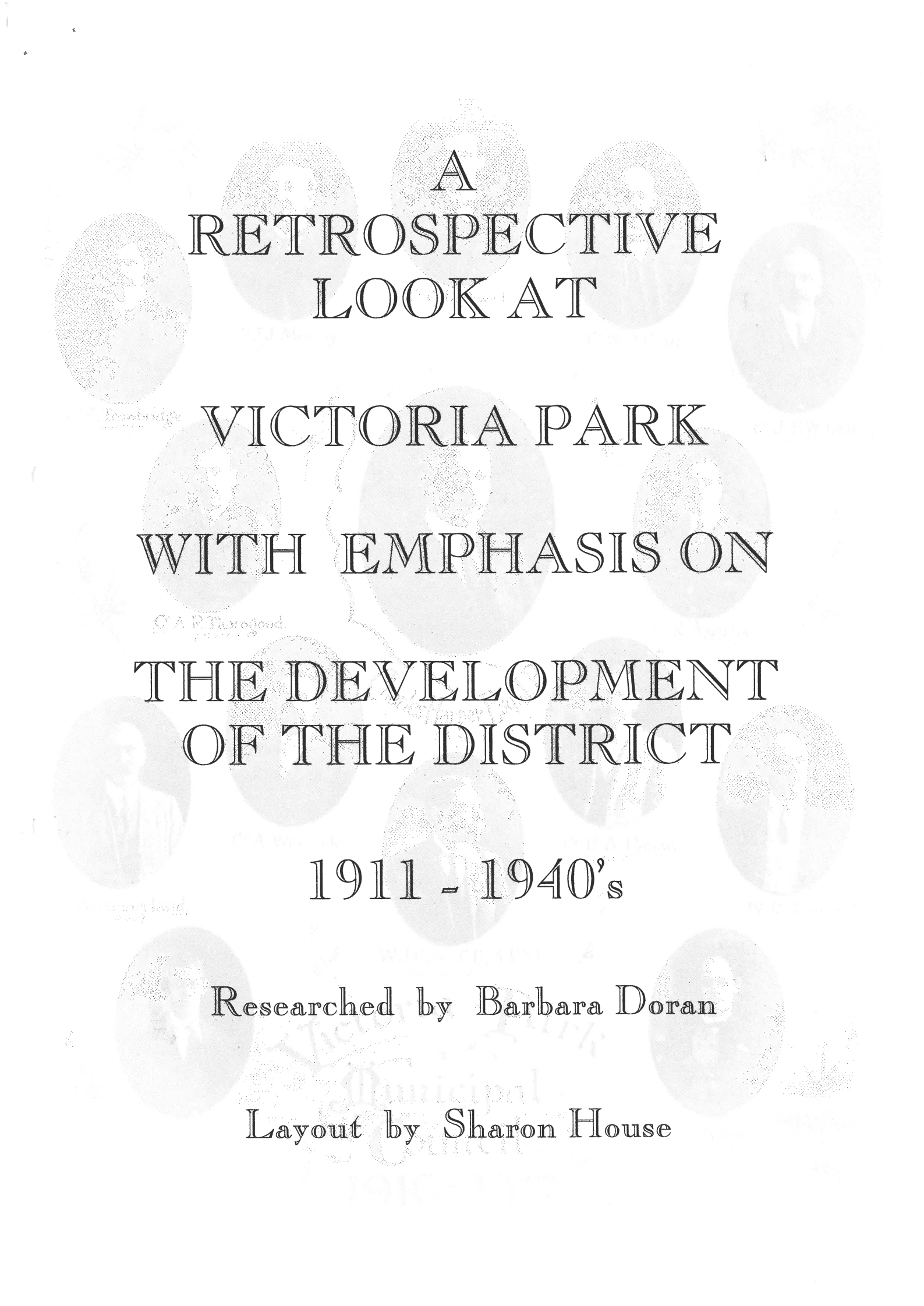
History Competition

1999



"A retrospective look at Victoria Park"

by Barbara Doran



A
RETROSPECTIVE
LOOK AT
VICTORIA PARK
WITH EMPHASIS ON
THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE DISTRICT

1911 - 1940's

Researched by Barbara Doran

Layout by Sharon House

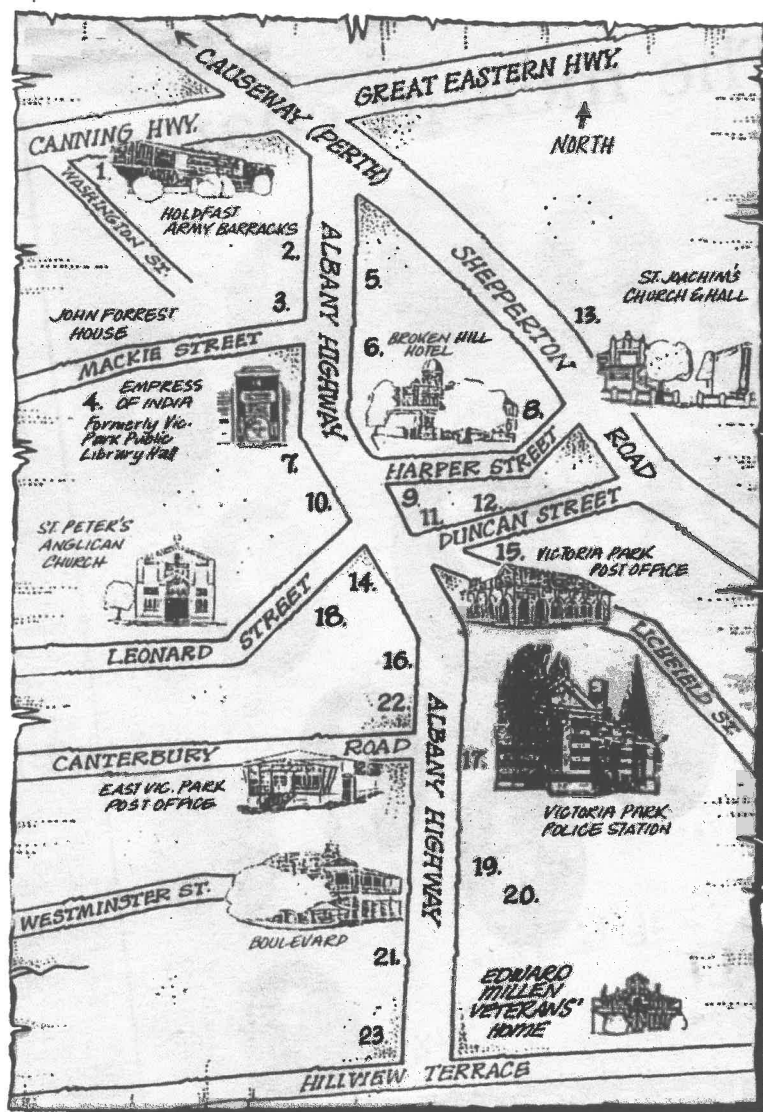
Although Victoria Park of 1999 presents as a closely populated residential and commercial suburb the initial development of the area was particularly retarded compared to suburbs north and west of the Swan River and the city of Perth.

What environmental factors deterred both early colonists and potential suburban residents, prior to 1911, from utilising land in close proximity to Perth city will be considered. However, emphasis in this discussion will deal with some of the major environmental issues pertaining to the western area of Victoria Park during the 1920 - 1940's period of development. Following this will be a brief comparison between the land use of the post Great War period and of contemporary environmental patterns within the district.

Research had demonstrated that very

1. *Holdfast Barracks. 1900's architecture.*
2. *Victoria Park Primary School 1894.*
3. *No 5 Mackie St "The Homestead".*
4. *John Forest House. 1886. Surrounding area was dairy and orchards.*
5. *Site of Victoria Park Town Hall, 1902. Demolished 1983.*
6. *Victoria Park Memorial Garden, 1900 Boer War Volunteers.*
7. *Victoria Park Public Library Hall 1903. Features pressed tin ceilings.*
8. *The Broken Hill Hotel 1890's Heritage Building.*
9. *This corner was the town centre. Old Theatre was here.*
10. *Harold Chamber & Coolgardie Chambers.*
11. *Hearn Bros & Stead. A furniture factory from 1920-1960.*
12. *Site of an indecisive battle between whites and Nyoongahs, 1829.*
13. *St. Joachims School & Church & Hall founded 1899.*
14. *The Mitchells Greengrocers. The family lived upstairs over the shop facing the Post Office till 1950's.*
15. *Victoria Park Post Office 1896. Heritage Building.*
16. *443 Albany Hwy, used to be Parrys building, before the Amuscu theatre.*
17. *The Victoria Park Police Station once staffed by a single constable on horse back.*
18. *Masonic Temple only surviving meeting place from an era of Buffalos, Oddfellows and Ancient Foresters.*
19. *Read Park (1950) named for councilor Ray Read, park's Nyoongah name was gooma - the place of possums.*
20. *RSL Hall opposite Read Park and now young motors. 1918 War Memorial - later sold 1960.*
21. *Victoria Park Hotel.*
22. *Alexandra Theatre, 1920's.*
23. *Edward Millen Veterans Home.*

scanty documented records have been accumulated on the history of Victoria Park. Therefore the opinions expressed here are based largely on observation and reminiscences rather than factual evidence. The "I remember" series published in the West Australian has provided more evidence than the Battye, Victoria Park Library or the Perth City Council records. The



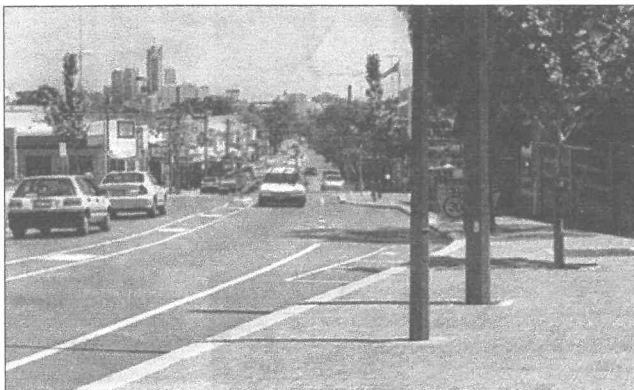
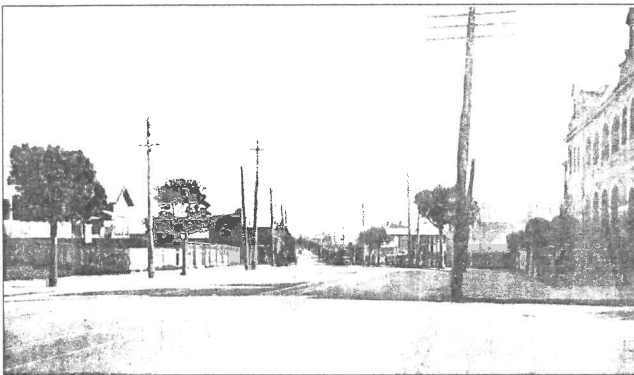
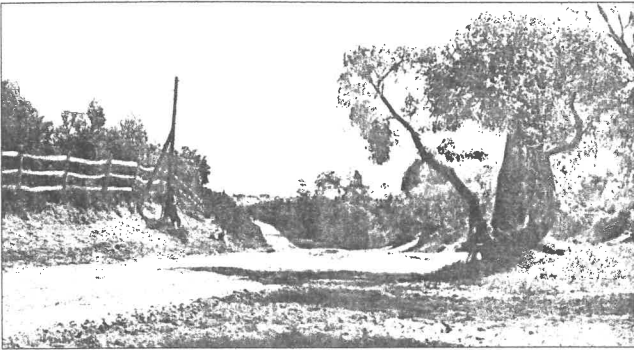
historical assistant at the Lands Department was surprised to find that his department had no available maps of the area earlier than 1920.

All the land now know as Victoria Park was contained in two original grants of land to Mr Bickley and Mr Butler by Governor Stirling on 15.6.1831. The title deeds were issued on 6.5.1836 in return for certain location duties.

The Bickley grant included most of Victoria Park beyond the boundaries of Mr Butler's grant, although a small part of a Mr Campbell's Riverdale estate came as far as Miller Street, Victoria Park.

John Butler's grant, Swan location 36 (comprising of 972 acres) had as its current boundaries the Swan River foreshore, Berwick Street (then Fitzroy Street) to Kent Street and to Mars Street, Carlisle, intersecting Midgley Street to the river at Rivervale.

By 1887 the district had been sub-divided into certain areas for building lots. This



***Main Street in Victoria Park. Earliest picture 1889.
Secoded picture 1920's and the last picture 1990's.
Pictures are taken outside the Broken Hill Hotel looking
towards Perth.***

subdivision continued into the 1890's when people began to move into the district, then known as part of Canning. At that time the area officially known as Victoria Park was located South of the (since demolished) East Perth Power House and the Bunbury Bridge.

However records reveal that during the building of the Barracks in 1863 Mrs Stevens, a lady teamster, excused the late delivery of a load

of scaffolding poles because her wagon had broken down in Victoria Park (the present site). So speculation continues regarding the official nomenclature of the area.

Horse drawn traffic had suffered the rigors of travel over the sand road and later convict built log road, as Albany Road (now Albany Highway) had been an artery to and from city to Southern Centres from early settlement. Travellers had long enjoyed a respite under the shady trees beside the naturals springs near the Broken Hill Hotel.

The residential development of Victoria Park was delayed mainly due to two major factors, namely the absence of a satisfactory causeway across the Swan River flats. The variable conditions seasonally of the 3/4 mile span across the channel and muddy islands was a formidable barrier, especially during winter floods. The first of a series of causeway structures was built in 1837 and 1843. Coupled with this problem was the infestation of the shallow river pools with mosquitoes and midges. The only protection after settlement from insect attacks was to burn cow dung. The usual Australian bush fly added to the misery of the residents living nearby. Public transport to South Perth was more convenient owing to the depth of Perth waters, which favoured the use of small boats and barges across the Swan River.

When the Victoria Park municipal Council was established in 1902 the district was largely semi-rural so by-laws were geared to rural rather than suburban requirements. A Road Board had been gazetted 1894.

Parking at bridle posts was limited to 60 minutes during daylight but prohibited after sunset. Horse troughs were provided along main thoroughfares. No sheep, swine or cattle, (other than dairy cows) could move along or over streets except between 8pm - 8am. The throwing of orange peel or like dangerous substances were outlawed under pain of a £10 fine which also applied to people who failed to clean up a park after use (By-law 8).

By-law 33 which restrained the keeping of houses of ill-fame also outlawed dogfights and prize fights otherwise the offenders would be fined £10 too. By-laws pertaining to animals (and vehicles) referred to horses, asses, mules, oxen, cattle, goats, camels none of which were permitted to mate unless behind a screen.

Stringent rules applied to piggeries, the removal of pig wash and the manufacture of bone dust. Dairies and bakeries were liable for special scrutiny as there were several small establishments of that nature.

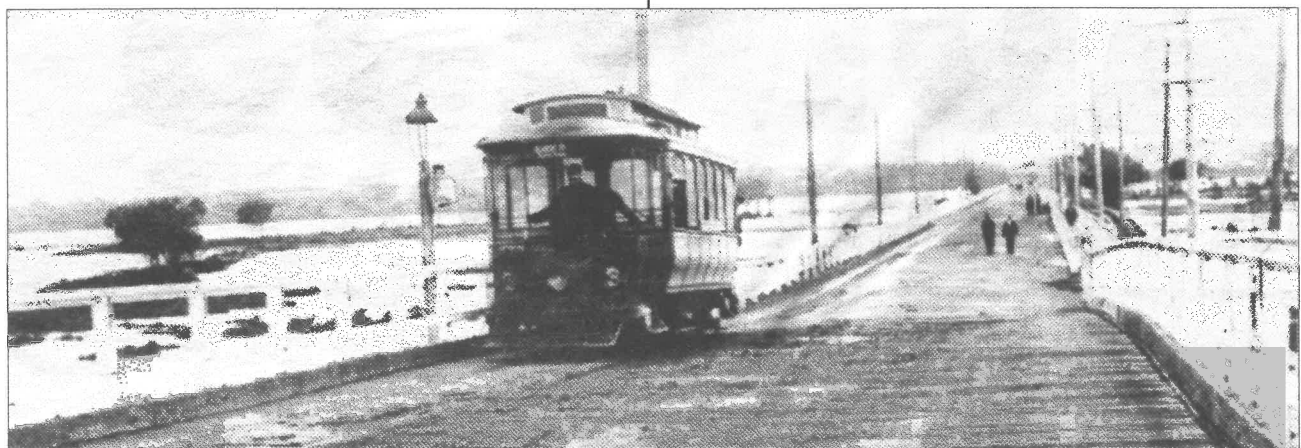


Ursula Frayne College, formerly St Joachim's, found in 1899

Privies were to be built to particular specifications 3'9" x 4'6" x 6'6" not closer than 20' from a dwelling. Also the contractors who removed night soil were required to wear special protective leather clothing and to work to specific routines on their rounds.

As the sandy tracks (roads) presented problems when transporting heavy loads, most goods were moved by river transport. Consequently dwellings and buildings tended to cluster along the swampy land adjacent to the river bank.

Hopkins brick works in Armagh Street, near Albany Road (it later became a produce business) provided employment. Also because of the local slaughter yards there were three soap factories near the causeway, behind the Town



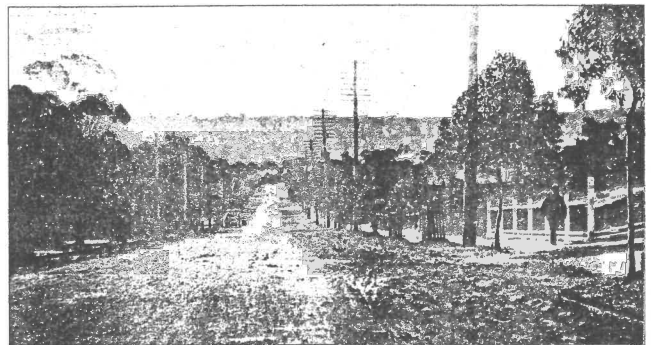
The causeway tram ran alongside a plank road which later became Albany Highway

Hall and in McMaster Street, Poultry farms offered some economic return but the variety of business enterprises was necessarily limited to shops providing domestic goods, produce

merchants, black smiths and similar village type facilities.

The Victoria Park Primary School at Cargill Street was opened in 1894 but at the turn of the century that (then tiny) school was still serving the families of Welshpool, Rivervale, Belmont as well as the local children. The Sisters of Mercy too ran a small school on the present site of St Joachims School on Shepperton Road.

Periodic flooding at the State School was such a problem due to the high water table that Miss Constance Jones kept a bottle of Castor Oil in the school room as a deterrent to children



Canning Highway looking from Hurlingham Hill

tempted to play in puddles. On certain occasions, owing to flooding, the school had to be evacuated to the Local Town Hall building.

Victoria Park Central was at the Town Hall corner opposite Mackie Street and the Tramway Terminus too when the first tram crossed the causeway in 1905. This event was of such public utility that a school holiday marked the occasion.

Although the district of Victoria Park was of a semi rural nature the land had been sub-divided into residential lots prior to the publication of the first map in 1887. Bigger holdings were numbered 1 - 10 (or whatever) attached to the lot

number of that on which the present residence was built. Later the original lot numbers were re entered. The area was laid out on the grid system of 1/6 - 1/4 acre blocks at right angles to or parallel to Albany Road.

Originally the Causeway was illuminated by hurricane lamps as it was considered dangerous to add the weight of poles or gas pipes to the flimsy wooden structure. The state of the bridge also delayed the installation of the tramways system as well as gas for domestic use (1912). The gasometer later constructed on the corner of Geddes and Horden Streets was seen as an environmental hazard, leaks lent credence to the fear that the stored gas could explode. The gasometer served out its term without major mishap. Electricity was installed or available from 1909.

Real estate agents promoting residential properties in Victoria Park were having considerable success by 1911. But of course building was at a standstill during the Great War; though it was in 1917 that the rate payers voted to join the Greater Perth.

During the rehabilitation and

reconstruction period following the Great War numerous intrepid families (possibly by necessity rather than desire) moved from the inner city suburbs into Victoria Park. Ex service men in particular, disregarded their elders advice re 'moving out into the sticks'. They accepted isolation and the inconvenience of the single line tramway system which had a waiting loop on the causeway and another opposite the Duncan Street post office which was by then the terminus. Newcomers realised they would be cut off from the city facilities as even medical specialists usually refused to 'cross the causeway' for even higher service fees.

A 1923 lament expresses the anxiety regarding the causeway artery, little did residents realise that 30 years would pass before the old

bridge would be replaced and the single track abolished.

Causeways song to the government.

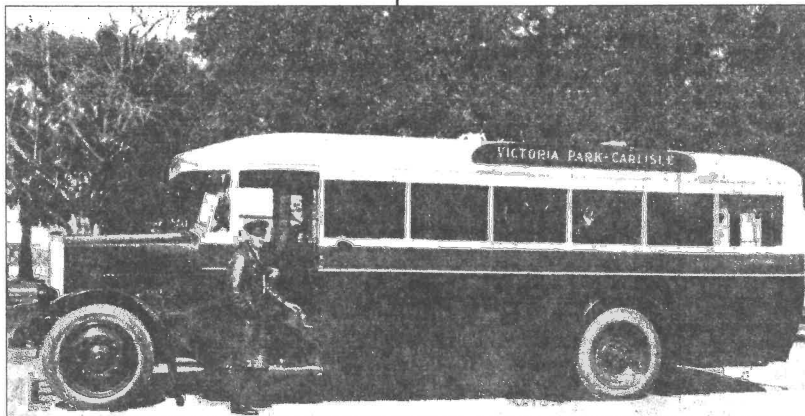
C an't you see I'm ancient?
A re you going to let me fall?
U may think I'm sturdy
S till I don't feel strong at all
E ver since the tram cars
W andered o'er my aching head
A new bridge would be safer - cause
Y ou can see I'm nearly dead...

By 1923 one of the estate agents named B Woodhouse could claim 18 years experience in sales of Victoria Park land.

The following statement was quoted to extol the rapid development and environmental progress in the area.

"Victoria Park situated on the East side of the city of Perth is a rapidly improving suburb of the city. Only a few years ago Albany Road contained only 1/2 dozen shops and business

establishments. Today it contains no fewer than 80 shops from the Causeway to the terminus (tramway). Also a dozen or so scattered shops near the



Mr Bert Armstrong, driver-partner with Mr Fred White in the Carlisle Bus Service, which was started by Mr White in 1922. The first bus was a Ford truck converted to a bus, and the ride was said to be bumpy. The service was taken over by the MTT in October 1958, when there were 13 buses in the service.

park centre. There are local markets next to the town (1899) Hall

(central) open every day and in the evenings on Tuesdays and Fridays".

An up to date motor garage and service station decorates the exit from the Causeway to Albany and Guildford Roads.

The Amusu Theatre Gardens are cooler than city theatres.

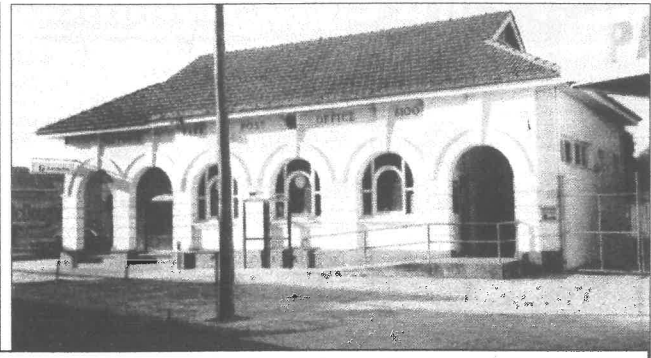
Films are shown at the Town Hall too. The library (1909) building has recently been extended. There is a Boys Club (later the temporary Catholic Church) and the Alexandra Hall.

The Albany Road built of logs by the convicts (1850-68) has been covered with gravel then macadamised (1916) but the old blocks

show where the surface has been pierced by the logs.

A double tramline and new causeway would be welcome. The Council and Government don't want a new causeway which would be a godsend and miracle.

The double tramline never materialised but residents in the vicinity of the Carlisle border did have the convenience of the steam train service,



Victoria Park Post Office - Heritage building 1986. The trees have been removed and the cyclist has parked his bike in what is today a no standing zone. The façade of the building has changed little.



Perth to Armadale from 1893, a full Victoria Park Railway Station was established in 1922.

Victoria Park residents had the options of delays on the tram route, pedestrian, horse back, horse drawn or cycling modes (motor vehicles were rare) of access to the city or beyond, which ever method was adopted afforded them observation of the abundant bird life on the Swan River flats and if via Hay Street east the beauty of the Queen's Park and the Royal Mint gardens. Many people walked to Perth, especially on public holidays such as Anzac Day or Labor Day when processions were held in the city.

The unprecedented housing development boomed in Victoria Park as ex-servicemen took up land/house deals for £700 - £800 on £10 deposit, at fixed interest for a 45-year term of repayments.

The Workers Homes Board 1922 and speculative builders of cheap purchase or rental homes were attracted too as cheap land enabled them to make up the back log of accommodation due to the recent war time restrictions. The average street provided approximately 100 building lots.

The terrain west of McMaster Street appears flattish but has a gentle slope towards the Swan River. The black sandy soil now provides good drainage but prior to the 1930's sinking of a deep drainage system along Washington Street the

same residential blocks suffered shallow flooding every winter. Ground water could be exposed at 1 - 2 metres but where houses were built over claypans the situation was worse. Fremantle Road (now Canning Highway) area was severely flooded twice in the 1920's particularly so in 1926.

Summer reticulation via wind mill power was practical but installation and maintenance was beyond the economic resources of the average working man.

It follows that septic tanks were not introduced into the area which depended on sanitary contractors until the completion of the deep sewage installation at the close of the 1930's. However numerous residents retained the old system for many more years. The deep sewers had been dug by sustenance workers during the privations of the Great Depression. Dole (Social Security) payments were not available to unemployed persons.

When the housing development occurred during the 1920's the native vegetation had almost entirely disappeared, possibly due to prior grazing rather than organised land clearing. There was a patch of low native scrub on a large open space in the front of MLA Mick Raphael's own house which he had officially declared 'public open space' to prevent anybody building out the view from his King George Street home. Probably the nearest natural flora was that wonderful area near the sanitation depot, site of the present Kent Street School grounds. The rifle range was located nearby, an area where young boys sought collection of spent bullets.

Probably the land along the River flats had been park like before colonisation due to the Aboriginal fire stick. In fact aboriginal tribes still occupied land on the corner of Berwick (Fitzroy) and Horden Streets on Fremantle Road in the

mid 1890's. The tribes at that time still carried spears.

Pigface did grow on empty paddocks but bamboo cape lilacs, pepper and lucerne trees, pie melons, buffalo grass, wild oats, clover and couch grass thrived as if native to the area.

Birds, particularly willy-wag tails, lined the overhead wires, lizards darted along wooden fences, frogs croaked, opossums scampered over ceilings, bees, butterflies and numerous insect varieties inhabited gardens but snails had not then arrived, nor had artificial fertilisers or pesticides. Neighbours vied with each other to follow horses with a shovel! Poultry manure and ashes also fertilised the sandy garden soil.

Gardens often protected by high hedges above the standard front boundary fence with closed gates, had introduced exotics as 'it was known' that native plants would not survive.

Unoccupied land was generally utilised as grazing paddocks for horses and cows. The rear of residential blocks could be used to house stables and exercise yards for trotting horses or hacks. Baker's and Milkmen's horses often doubled as trotters. Race horse facilities were more common along Guildford Road (Great Eastern Highway).

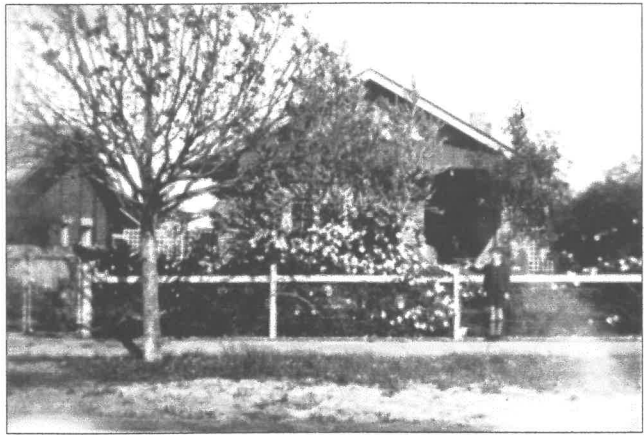
Due to the limited backyard space horse owners sort agistment on nearby vacant land or grazed and exercised their stock on the lush grasses of the Swan River flats.



The Police Station, built in the 1920's

In general, home owners ignored care of verges as the land was deemed public space being in daily use by horse riders and trainers, thus creating permanent tracks alongside the roadway.

Gravel footpaths were provided on one side of residential streets but both sides of Albany Road. Timber kerbs were eventually installed along roads but owing to the rarity of visiting vehicles individual driveways were unnecessary. Better pedestrian conditions prevailed when the



A typical residence in Cargill Street

muddy footpaths were finally lightly bitumised. Concrete block pavements did not appear until 1950's.

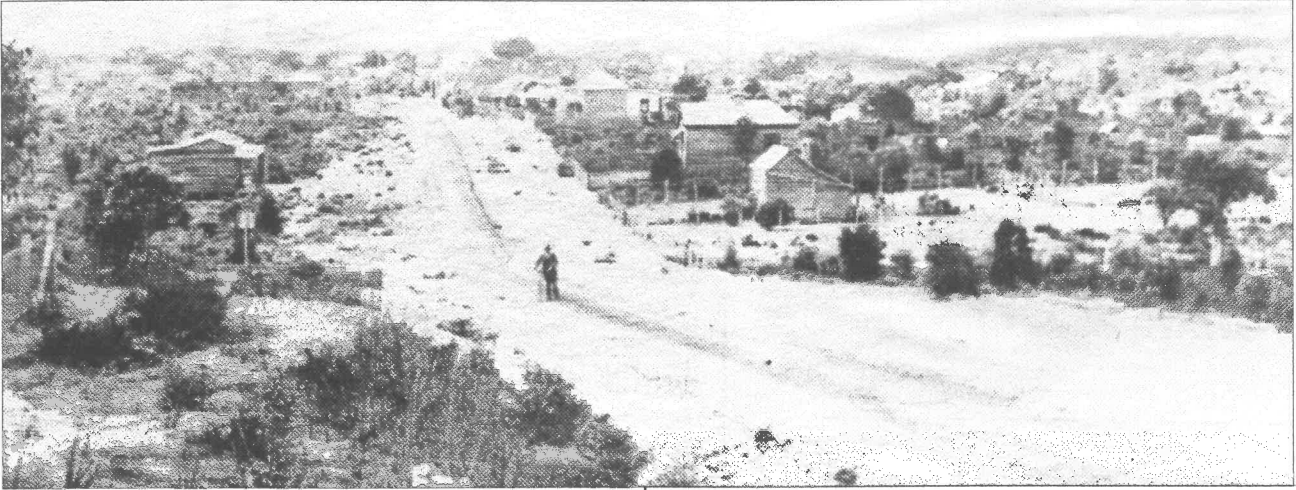
Street Plain Trees planted when the Cargill Street School opened in 1894 provided a shady environment for pedestrians, the Salvation Army Band and children's playtime. However Autumn brought cheerful communication or neighbourly aggression depending on the whims of the wind as neighbours raked leaves daily. Nearby streets had been planted with Bottle Brush, Tuarts, Flame, Box, Kurrajong and Cape Lilac trees. To pedestrian traffic the shady trees, paths and the presence or absence of savage dogs was of particular environmental consideration.

War Service homes were built of double red State bricks with either galvanised iron or clay tile roofs. As so too were the 'workers' homes. Purchase and rental homes built by speculators were generally of weather board and stucco with galvanised iron roofing. The older homes were weather board and stucco with galvanised iron roofing. The older homes were usually weather board and iron or made of the softer pink bricks from the earlier kilns on either side of the river. Where possible verandahs were built with or added later to the homes which usually comprised of four main rooms.

The fashion of a fireplace in every room had passed by the 1920's but a kitchen wood fuel stove, a sitting room open fireplace and a wood burning copper were routine appointments. As bath water was heated in the copper, a bathroom adjacent to or combined with the wash house was a distinct advantage for convenience and safety. However children were known to be scolded by falling into a copper when being bathed in wash house troughs.

The introduction of wood chip bath and later gas or electric bath heaters during the 1930's had distinct domestic advantages. Bathroom basins were not installed in 1920's homes so people

The pigmen/creamman called on his dual rounds to pick up wet pigswill on certain days only to return with dairy products alternatively. Hawkers called with haberdashery and electrical



A lonely cyclist in Basinghall Street, 1912

made do with a bowl resting on a board across the bath.

Woodmen's carts carried banksia, jarrah and sheoak mainly for domestic fuel. The wood heap was a focal point for chopping or splitting wood, chastising children or beheading poultry. Nearby were the other usual backyard appointments, woodshed, poultry run, vegetable garden, fruit trees plus facilities for pets and domestic animals.

During the 1930's domestic gas fuel became more attractive to house holders as the new enameled stoves and bath heaters outstripped the old image of the foul odours of black gas cookers in former old homes or apartment buildings.

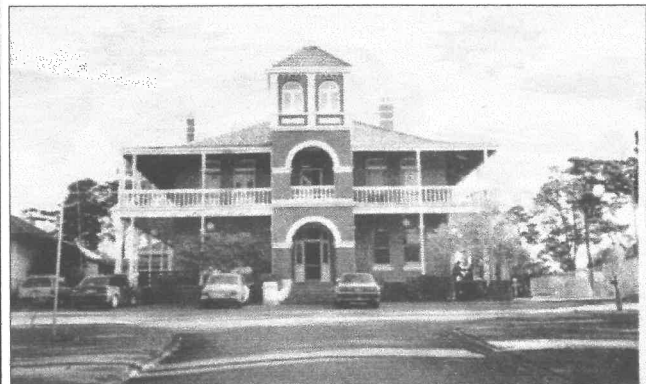
Environmentally it could be asserted that during the era of wood fuel for domestic purposes smoke pollution did not present an obvious environmental side effect. Even during the hours of maximum use smoke did not seem to remain near ground level whereas nowadays incinerators and similar devices cause obnoxious fumes.

The weekly rubbish service depended on a sole collector who dumped the contents of bins onto an open high sided horse drawn dray. The local gypsy collector dispensed advice on minor ailments, watched for missing pets on his rounds and cheerfully swung toddlers astride his horse. Food scraps fed domestic pets and much dry rubbish was thrown into backyard pits dug in preparation for planting fruit and nut trees.

goods whilst the Rawleighs and the Watkins male representative called carrying popular medicinal and spice goods.

Woodmen from winter doubled as ice-men in summer and the chips of ice they gave children was eagerly accepted from, and into unwashed hands. The local grocer who called for the weekly order returned with the goods plus a bag of boiled sweets but butchers tended to favour humbugs to entice trade. Tradesmen were fairly dependant on children's favour as children did a fair measure of local shopping - a responsibility denied the modern child.

Until the early 1930's butchers could still serve their customers from a cutting cart but after health regulations curtailed that system children were often sent to purchase meat. Green Grocers called too as housewives with large young families had little opportunity to leave their homes for daily perishables prior to domestic refrigeration. Milkman delivered bulk milk every day but had a special delivery at



The Edward Millen Veteran's Home. Built as a Maternity Hospital 1912.



Above picture of a group of cyclists in front of the Victoria Park Hotel. Picture below shows the same hotel which as you can see is vastly different in appearance.



midday for babies requiring very fresh milk.

Flies thrived in poultry runs and mosquitoes in water tanks and nearby swamps but by the late 1920's fly spray could be dispersed by the housewife blowing on a metal tube device inserted into the bottle of insect killing fluid or swishing a cloth out through the door or using large vases of fresh young gum tips (difficult to obtain) as a decoration and fly deterrent. Fly wire screens were not standard equipment so introduction of insect spray hand pumps in the late 1930's made quite an environmental impact. Kerosene was poured over still water to prevent thriving mosquito larvae but citronella odour had to be endured if only to avoid having sulphur powder burnt on a shovel to discourage mosquitoes outdoors. Fortunately cow dung was then out of favour as a burning agent to repel insect pests.

The midge problems of earlier days were probably eliminated during the prolonged river dredging which altered the course of the river channel, the shape and location of the islands

(see dotted lines on No 1 map) prior to the completion of the new causeway, the first stage of which was to be opened in 1952.

The personal environment as well as the aforementioned physical environment of the period between the two world wars was very different from contemporary privatised suburban life in Victoria Park. Residents there were very much part of the total communal environment. Although there was a greater community awareness of ones neighbours and neighborhood life was not completely idyllic as nostalgia tends to infer. Often life was harsh, sectarian and especially impoverished for many people during the depression years. A different environmental atmosphere prevailed in social attitudes to home life commitments, sport, recreation, work ethics, entertainment, education, religion - in fact most facets of suburban life.

Parents seemed to have had more privacy in their personal lives whereas children had less opportunity for privacy. Neighbours often had less privacy as there was generally more interaction between neighbours; but on reflection probably that interaction was carried not only via over the fence or local store gossip but by children moving between kitchens as well as into backyard play areas.

Without the current mass media coverage people of all ages tended to be more observant regarding their contemporaries and environment. People were less reserved on public transport, on the footpath, at street political meetings, at the local picture theatres or open air gardens. Death was often far less private as so too was illness because neighbours usually shared added burdens and tragedies.

During the 1930's improving health and hygiene standards coupled with a less suspicious attitude towards immunisation made some inroads on environmental health in a more positive manner. From that period onwards, separate infectious disease hospitals became obsolete. Victoria Park had a local infectious disease hospital, on Albany Road, near Leonard Street, even before the pre Great War. The Fire Station which was on the corner of Leonard Street was an exciting place to local children.

Crime was not a particularly disconcerting environmental problem in Victoria Park prior to World War II. Most people at least knew

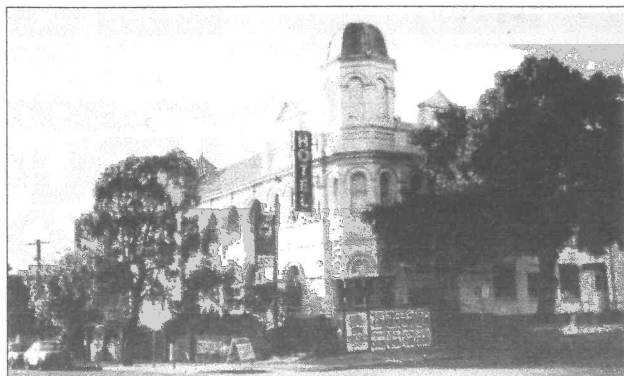
permanent residents by sight, Youths or lads (rather than teenagers) tended to congregate on street corners, Vandalism included throwing stones on roofs or at street lights, deflating tyres or doing public mischief in a variety of unsophisticated ways. Girls were confident to go out alone at night, maybe subjected to mild heckling, but rarely molestation. Excessive drinking of milkshakes at Kielmans Milk Bar could be competitive but while admitting that alcohol could cause problems, drugs and high speed car chases did not rate as serious criminal acts. Wildfire word of mouth of responsible citizens was a great deterrent to those contemplating anti-social behavior. A word from the local policeman was often a warning against further regrettable behavior. Most families attended church of choice therefore the vicar or priest was a respected advisor of youth. Do not forget the influence of the Victoria Park Citizen Band under the baton of Mr Gus Stuart, who demanded high standards of his young band members. There were a variety of community activities such as Boy Scouts, Cubs and Girl Guides.

By late 1930's residents close to Berwick Street had the option of travelling to the city on White's Carlisle Bus Service, therefore their journey became much faster and more convenient.

Naturally the disruption of World War 2 wrought many adaptations to the tempo of life in Victoria Park. Never again would the community that had grown up together ever be so closely knit again.

Dramatic environmental changes have occurred between 1940 and 1999. Volume and speed of traffic has divided the district. Supermarkets have almost eliminated small store trade. The former premises have not all been demolished but their character has been retained to trade in electronic goods, as repair shops, estate agencies, secondhand and opportunity shops. Car yards have proliferated. The former public library is now a restaurant, the site of the Broadway Theatre is presently a Business Centre and the Amuzu Picture Gardens have long since been built over to become a Discount Store. The Broken Hill Hotel has remained in a dilapidated state in common with much of the other old architecture within the area. The soldier who stood on the monument on the Harvey Street

Park was transformed into a column years ago. Cargill Street Primary School and the Local Hall still survive as does the bowling green but the rifle range, polo and lacrosse fields are forgotten. Rubbish refill has altered the irregular river banks into attractive gardens but probably at a price environmentally due to the loss of the cycle of life that had lived in those cracked areas of mud. The rich bird life on the river has largely given way to sea gulls which now even fly at



The Broken Hill Hotel, built in the 1890's.

night.

The round about at the eastern end of the 1952 causeway has, altered the alignment with Albany Highway and hidden for ever the hoarding which stood in the flooded paddock at the junction of Albany and Canning Highways.

Shops along the lower end of Albany Highway are mostly shabby but in their original condition, apart from the removal of verandah posts.

It is difficult to locate haberdashery, a tailor or dressmaker but the glamorous milliner retired years ago.

Decentralisation has improved welfare and sophisticated medical services, technology and professionalism within the district. Geriatric nursing homes would not have been required within the pre World War 2 period when families took care of the aged.

Stables and grazing paddocks have gone like the starting price book makers. Churches have become larger or defunct. Although high rise housing has changed the environment on the hills, homes on the flats have changed little architecturally. A few minor changes involving duplex units and rebuilt homes have occurred but the impact is minimal. Corner stores in Cargill Street and Mackie Street are still functional. Robinsons, later Rossiters Store in Geddes Street, is but a memory.

The environment has changed in obvious and subtle ways in the western area of Victoria Park but essentially the land marks remain though maybe in an adapted manner. To qualify that ambiguous statement it would be safe to add that a person returning to the area after 60 years would not be completely disorientated.

David Crann, director of the Patch Theatre expressed a hope of bringing back the old community spirit to the lower end of Victoria Park. It was a worthy sentiment especially as David Crann only immigrated to Victoria Park following the Indian Independence. But he could

scarcely comprehend the richness of that lost environment, known so intimately by those who were born and bred amongst neighbours who watched over the whole of the community rather than only their own family responsibilities.

It would be futile to regret the demise of the environment prior to World War II. Adaptation is essential to survival as technological changes continually alter and mould the pattern of life without consideration of individual consequences. Social change is an inevitable fact or life.

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11. *Discussions with Mrs Rae Williams, Mr Bob and Mrs Jean Baird, their recollections provided largely to the mosaic of memories.*
12. *Southern Gazette 1994 - no further details*