



East Perth 1916-1981: A Changing Commercial and Industrial Landscape

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Murdoch Business School

Working Paper No.2

November 2011

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National Library of Australia.
ISSN 1837-6371

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Abstract

This Working Paper is an outcome of research undertaken as part of the ARC Linkage Grant project on the history of the East Perth Power Station, directed by Professor Lenore Layman (Murdoch University). The Working Paper examines changes in the historical geography of East Perth, Western Australia, during the operational life of the East Perth Power Station (E.P.P.S) between 1916 and 1981. The aim is to locate the E.P.P.S. in its inner-city landscape, in order to connect the power station, historically and geographically, to the changing form and function of a twentieth-century, inner-city, Western Australian suburb. As such, this Working Paper also offers an insight into the changing commercial and industrial landscape of 20th-Century Perth.

The Paper is divided into three main sections. The first section examines East Perth and the E.P.P.S. in 1916, the second reviews the inter-war and post-war periods, and the third examines the inner-city decline and transition culminating in the closure of the power station in 1981. The Report is fully referenced, and a complete bibliography is included. Three appendices are also been attached to the Report, to reproduce primary materials on industrial pollution and contemporary advertisements for East Perth industries, and to describe useful maps and photographs located during research.

At the level of human experience, the historical geography of East Perth between 1916 and 1981 encapsulates familiarity as well as change. Changing perceptions of the E.P.P.S. itself demonstrate this point; the same well-known industrial landmark has been a symbol of advanced technology and the harbinger of twentieth-century progress, the foundation of a state's electricity infrastructure and a mainstay in the structure of a working-class community, a bypassed relic of past economic development and the derelict reminder of a bygone era. Since 1916 the E.P.P.S. has both shaped, and been defined by, the changing inner-city landscape of East Perth. Upon these historical links rests the special quality of the heritage value of the E.P.P.S.

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Part One: East Perth in 1916

1.1 The E.P.P.S. in 1916

1.1.1 The Opening of the E.P.P.S.

The E.P.P.S. began generating electricity on 3 December 1916. The occasion appears to have attracted little fanfare, and more than a week passed before two reports appeared in the *West Australian* announcing the commencement of operations, describing the 'technology of the enterprise' and the electrification program in the process of implementation, and informing the public of the cost to which the Government had been put.¹ In ordinary circumstances the speech of a Government Minister at a formal opening ceremony would probably also have featured in the newspaper, and the *West* could be expected to have run an editorial testifying to this latest milestone in the state's progress; but the E.P.P.S. opened during the Great War, and the social upheavals and anxieties of the day detracted from any celebration of the occasion. A comparison can be drawn here with the unheralded opening of the Trans-Australian railway during 1917, another iconic infrastructure project delayed in completion by the War.

1.1.2 The Location of the E.P.P.S.

Louise Boylen, in *Power for the People*, and Leigh Edmonds in *Cathedrals of Power* (2003), both identify three factors that determined the location of Western Australia's new Power Station, beside the Swan River at East Perth: the proximity of the Railway line to Bunbury, to allow for the efficient supply of coal from Collie (to fuel the power station); the proximity of the Swan River, to provide a source of cooling water (to enable the efficient operation of the steam generating units); and the closeness of the industries, businesses and residences the Power Station was to serve (to allow for efficient delivery of the electricity).² Across East Perth, these same three factors also shaped the geography of the suburb as a whole. The Railway had a dominant presence, with the line entering the suburb from Perth branching to the north of the East Perth (now Claisebrook) Station into two separate lines; through the northern part of East Perth and beyond passed the Midland line; and to the east, past the E.P.P.S. and across the Bunbury Bridge to Burswood and beyond, passed the line to Bunbury. The closeness to the city was also crucial; the grid of major and minor roads

¹ *West Australian* 11 December 1916 p-8 and 14 December 1916 p-8

² L. Edmonds *Cathedrals of Power* (2000) p-18; L. Boylen 'Success to the New Power Station' in L. Boylen and *Power for the People* (Perth: 1994) pp.37-8

interspersing and sub-dividing the suburb had been laid out during the 1830s and subsequent decades, in the course of the initial phases of planning of the city; and by 1916, these same these same major and minor roadways formed the eastern section of an axis of settlement centred on Perth, encompassing North Perth and Highgate, and extending over to West Perth and Subiaco, within which a considerable proportion of Western Australia's commerce, industry and population was located. The river was a great natural boundary, defining the suburb's limits to the south and east. The Causeway, at the shallow river flats in the extreme south-east of the suburb, linked the city with the southern bank of the river, and channelled much of the ever-growing road traffic to and from Perth through East Perth.

1.1.3 East Perth Landmarks

In 1916, East Perth's geography was also shaped by a number of prominent landmarks. These landmarks continued to exist during the operational life of the E.P.P.S, and therefore influenced the form and function of the suburb throughout the twentieth century. Adelaide Terrace, which in 1916 fronted the Swan River and ran between the Causeway and its junction with St. George's Terrace at the western boundary of East Perth, was one of Western Australia's premier roadways. Behind Adelaide Terrace were two other dominant landmarks of the south-western portion of the suburb: firstly Victoria Square, the site of the city's Roman Catholic Cathedral (St. Mary's); and then the Royal Perth Hospital, to the immediate north-west of the Square. Victoria Square was formed at the junction of Murray Street from the west and Goderich Street from the east, and by Victoria Avenue running up from the Terrace and Lord Street stretching off to the north; a convent, the Bishop's 'palace', St. Patrick's Boy's School (on the northern side of the Square, facing Wellington Street) and Sisters of Mercy Ladies College (on the southern side of the Square, facing Goderich Street) were located next to the Cathedral. The Perth Mint, just down the road at the corner of Goderich and Hill streets, is another familiar landmark in this part of East Perth. Two blocks east and two blocks north of Victoria Square, on a double-block bounded by Wellington, Wittenoom, Hill and Bennet Streets, was Wellington Square, another familiar landmark. Known as 'the Rec' well into the twentieth century, Wellington Square was regularly used for organised sport, especially by children growing up in East Perth. To the east of Wellington Square, on the higher ground overlooking the Swan River, was the East Perth cemetery. The cemetery was divided into sections for the different Christian denominations, plus sections for the Jewish and Chinese community, and contained some of the oldest European gravesites in Western Australia. To the south-east of the cemetery, in the direction of the Causeway, stood three of East Perth's more popular attractions: Queen's Gardens (on the site of an old clay-pit); the playing field of the Western Australian Cricket Association; and Brennan park, the trotting

ground (located on the site of a former tip).³ In 1916, another long-term occupant of the south-eastern corner of East Perth, the Police Force, had yet to establish a presence directly south of Queen's Gardens and the WACA, on the portion of land between Hay Street East and Adelaide Terrace, although the long-term neighbour of the Police, the Public Transport system, was established in the form of the depot of the city's tramway system (see section 1.1.4).

The home ground of the East Perth Football Club, Perth Oval, was located at north-western corner of East Perth, on the western side of Lord Street, on a block bounded by Brewer, Bulwer, and Irwin Streets. The oval continued to be known as 'Loton's', after the original owner of this portion of land, into the inter-war period.⁴ The geographical centre of East Perth can be conveniently fixed around two separate landmarks. The East Perth (now Claisebrook) railway station had a central-western location; the station was located immediately before the branch of the railway into the Midland and Bunbury lines, at a point roughly half-way between Wellington Square to the south and Perth Oval to the north. Claisebrook, the natural stream converted into an industrial drain during the nineteenth century (see section 1.2.4), flowed through centre-east of East Perth, in the lower ground behind the Cemetery, and to the south of the Bunbury Railway line and bridge. The E.P.P.S. itself was located on the northern side of the Bunbury railway line, at the north-eastern corner of East Perth.

1.1.4 The Tramway and Pre-Existing Electricity Infrastructure

The city's tramway system was another important factor that both shaped East Perth's geography in 1916, and influenced the choice of East Perth as the location for the new power station. The Perth Electric Tramway Company began operating in 1899; the Company's Depot, known as the Carbarn, and Offices were located opposite Queen's Gardens in the south-east corner of East Perth, on Bay Street (now gone, but then linked to Hale Street) fronting Howick Street (now Hay Street East). On the other side of Bay Street, opposite the WACA (and later the site of Police Headquarters), was the Vehicle Repair Workshop. The city's first tramline ran down Howick-Hay Street to West Perth.⁵ In later years many additional tramlines were built; in 1902 a line to serve the East Perth community and workforce began operating, on a route that went up Hill Street to Wittenoom Street (at the north-western corner of Wellington Square), along Wittenoom Street (past the northern edge of the Square) to Claisebrook Road, up Claisebrook Road to Kensington Street, and then down Kensington

³ V. Courtney *Perth- and all this* (Sydney: 1962) pp.182-5; also V. Courtney *All I May Tell* (Sydney: 1956) pp.226-7

⁴ Courtney (1962) p-121

⁵ S. Carpenter *The Rise and Demise of Perth's Trams and Trolley Buses* (Perth: 1999) p-6

Street to its terminus at Trafalgar Road, near the river between Claisebrook and the Bunbury Railway line.

The Electric Tramway was one of the city's major users of electricity, and in the early years of the service the electricity was supplied by the Company's own power station, which was located in East Perth, on Claisebrook Road near the corner of Kensington Street. During the 1890s, the Perth City Council (P.C.C.) built a gasholder at the junction of Kensington Street and Trafalgar Road, near to the outlet of Claisebrook and on the opposite side of Bunbury Bridge from the E.P.P.S.⁶ Another of the city's earliest power-suppliers, the Perth Gas Company, which used coal to generate both gas and electricity, was located just outside East Perth, along Wellington Street between Lord and Irwin Streets. As Boylen and Mcillwraith have observed, the origins of the E.P.P.S. are directly linked to the history of these two earlier hubs of the city's power-generating infrastructure, as well as to an important development in Western Australian politics:

The construction of one large power station to supply Perth's domestic, industrial and transport power needs grew out of the Scaddan Government's take-over of the Perth Electric Tramways company and the Perth City Council's acquisition of the Perth Gas Company which supplied both gas and electricity.⁷

After 1916, the Tramways became a major customer of the E.P.P.S. Meanwhile, the P.C.C. eventually built a substantial Gasworks on the site of its original gasholder (see Part 2).

1.2 The Historic Development of East Perth

1.2.1 East Perth's History: Meredith Thomas

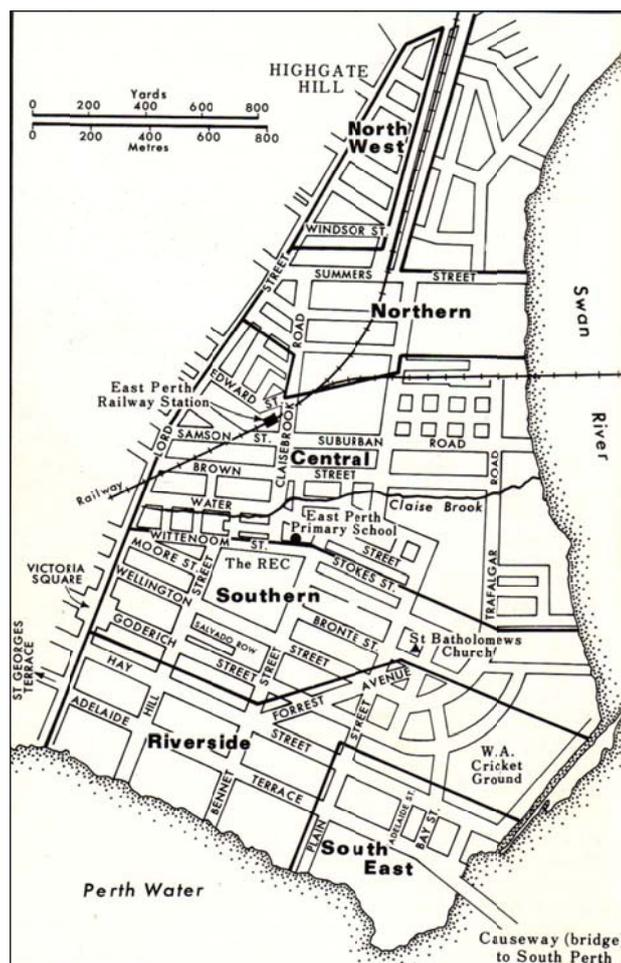
Within the geographical framework provided by these prominent landmarks and the roads, trams, railways and river-bank, a distinct pattern to the social landscape had developed by the end of the nineteenth century. The development of this pattern is examined by Meredith Thomas, in a thorough examination of the population growth and socio-economic stratification of East Perth between 1880 and 1904.⁸ Thomas bases her study on Perth City Council rate-books, complemented by an oral-history program with former residents. East Perth is shown to have undergone tremendous growth during the late-nineteenth century: in 1884, a

⁶ C.T. Stannage *The People of Perth* (Perth; 1979) p-253

⁷ Boylen (1994) p-38

⁸ M. Thomas 'East Perth 1884-1904: A Suburban Society' (BA hons dissertation, Department of History, UWA: 1974) vols.1-3. A shortened version of the dissertation is published as 'East Perth 1884-1904: A Suburban Society' in J.W. McCarty and C.B. Schedvin (eds) *Australia's Capital Cities: Historical Essays* (Sydney: 1978). The historical geography of East Perth in the decades prior to the opening of the E.P.P.S. is also covered in F. Cunningham 'Memories of Old East Perth' *Early Days* vol.8 pt.6 (1982) pp.25-38 and J. Adam 'Memories of Adelaide Terrace, Perth' *Early Days* vol.3 (1942) pp.14-19

population of around 600 people resided in a total of 112 rateable dwellings concentrated along Adelaide Terrace, Howick (later Hay Street East) Street, and Wellington Street, whilst 'the northern portion of East Perth was used for little more than fruit and vegetable gardens [and] paddocks'; in 1894, the population had risen to approximately 1300; and by 1904, 'the suburb had assumed a shape recognisable today...the number of dwellers had increased nine-fold to over 5500, while the 1066 houses, shops, villas and shanties were spread over 66 streets'.⁹



Map 1: Social Regions of East Perth, 1904.

A centrepiece of the research by Thomas is the identification of six distinct socio-economic regions (on the basis of a property's rateable value and the occupation of the owner) that formed in East Perth between 1884 and 1916. These six regions are shown in Map 1, below; the E.P.P.S. is located at the eastern boundary of the 'Northern' and 'Central' regions.

⁹ Thomas (1974) pp.1-2

To complement the different socio-economic regions, Thomas divides the suburb's residents into six categories; the 'Elite', 'Upper Middle Class', 'Middle Class', 'Artisans and Skilled Labourers', 'Lower Working Status', and a miscellaneous category (widows, pensioners, or no known occupation). The elite and upper-middle classes are identified to have resided in the riverside region, especially along exclusive Adelaide Terrace, 'in houses emulating the rural splendour of English country gentlemen'.¹⁰ The south-east region was largely home to artisans and skilled labourers, and included a high proportion of tramway employees. Both the southern and the northern regions of East Perth are classified as middle class areas. The north-west region, home to many railway employee's, was defined by a mixture of skilled and unskilled working-class residents. The large central region is described as 'overwhelmingly' working class, and is also identified as the location of 14 of the 17 'factories and workshops' located in East Perth in 1900.¹¹ In general, the suburb appears to have acquired a respectable working-class character by the turn of the century; as Thomas writes, '[b]roadly speaking, by 1904 East Perth could be classified as a middle-class-come-skilled working man's suburb'.¹²

Thomas makes the pertinent observation that '[l]ocal topography was a most important influence on the regional pattern of social status'.¹³ In particular, the middle-class southern and northern regions were located on relatively high ground, on either side of the low-lying area of the working-class and industrial central region. Claisebrook ran through the middle of the central region, at the lowest point of the suburb (see section 1.2.4). It was beside Claisebrook that a large 'tent town' was located at the height of the 1890s gold-rush; the camp was famously described by Henry Lawson in 1896.¹⁴ Thomas also records that East Perth had come to be typified by a 'large transient population' by the end of the 1890s. In 1884, 38% of the suburb's residents owned their homes, and 62% rented; by 1904 the ratio had changed to 27% owners and 73% tenants, and a total of seven boarding houses (presumably catering mainly to unmarried working men) were also located in the once-exclusive Riverside region.¹⁵ The phenomenon of a highly transient population, produced by a typical pattern of new immigrants or young male workers taking short-term residence in

¹⁰ Thomas (1974)p-6

¹¹ Thomas (1974)p-25

¹² Thomas (1974) p-6

¹³ Thomas (1978) p-148

¹⁴ Lawson's account of the Claisebrook camp is reproduced in B. Bennet and W. Grono (eds) *Wide Domain: Western Australian Themes and Images* (1979) pp.163-5

¹⁵ Thomas (1974) p-12; Thomas (1978) p-156

rental accommodation, appears to have carried on into the middle decades of the twentieth century.¹⁶

In *The People of Perth*, Stannage drew upon the research by Thomas research to present a vivid image of East Perth at the turn of the century:

Two large open drains, with the city as their catchment area, flowed into East Perth where they joined together to form the Claisebrook drain...the stench became notorious. In East Perth alone the drain received refuse from a tannery, soap factory, brickworks, factories, stables, laundries, four saw mills, foundries, and so on. By the turn of the Century the drain was regarded as a 'disgrace to the Council', and local children were warned not to go near it. One of the open drains, in Coolgardie Street, was known as the 'fever drain'. By 1901 the dangerous clay hole east of Plain Street had been transformed into Queen's Gardens, but directly across the road was the East Perth rubbish tip...Not until 1904 was the tip covered with sand. As if all this was not enough, central East Perth was selected as the site of the city's gasometer. Its construction in the late 1890s led to the decline and fall of Kensington Street. Finally, from 1906 the new sewerage beds were located on Burswood Island off East Perth's river bank. The hot summer easterly winds...carried the stench into the crowded, ill-ventilated, semi-detached premises which predominated in all but the higher land near Highgate, and the Adelaide Terrace area. East Perth, in short, was Perth's Collingwood.¹⁷

1.2.3 Claisebrook's History: Graham O'Neill

The historical development of the industrial and working-class central region of East Perth, commonly referred to as the 'Claisebrook Precinct', has also been studied by the geographer Graham O'Neill.¹⁸ O'Neill's study begins in the era of 'Aboriginal Usage' preceding European settlement, and carries through to 'Claisebrook's Resurrection' at the end of the twentieth century; a section devoted to the years 1900-1990, titled 'The Industrial Years and the Destruction of Claisebrook', covers the operational life of the is particularly relevant to this Report. Where Thomas and Stannage leave off, O'Neill carries on thus:

In 1900, Claisebrook was a magnet for industry, including a soap factory, laundry, tanneries, four brickworks (one being Bunning Brothers in Trafalgar Road), stables, saddleries and dairy paddocks. There were also two breweries, tobacconists, brothels, bakehouses, hotels, wine saloons, wood yards, a confectionary manufacturer, Hunts biscuit factory, butchers, a boot factory (both considered noxious), at least six workshops, Chinese market gardens, a skating rink and several shops. In addition, the Perth City Council opened a plant nursery and rubbish tip in East Perth during the late 1890s, with the latter further devaluing the

¹⁶ The writer and historian Gavin Casey took up residence at a Boarding House in Hay Street East in the early 1930s, after moving to Perth as a young man from the Goldfields, in search of work. See G. Casey 'Growing Up in Kalgoorlie and Perth' in J. Graham (ed) *Perth and the South-West* (1962) pp.156-9

¹⁷ Stannage (1979) p-253.

¹⁸ G.R. O'Neill (2001) 'Claisebrook, East Perth' *Early Days* vol.12 pt. 1, pp.60-72. The history of the central part of East Perth is also described in R. Bodycoat *East Perth Heritage Study*.

*status of the area... A prominent landmark, the five storey Boronia Flour Mill on the corner of Brown and Jewell Streets, opened in 1916.*¹⁹

The skating rink, a well-known attraction in Perth, was actually located outside of the Claisebrook precinct, along Goderich Street. The P.C.C. rubbish-tip and nursery were located, like the E.P.P.S, on the previously vacant, swampy land beside the Swan River. The remaining industries mentioned by O'Neill were spread amongst the working-class housing of the central part of East Perth (see section 1.3.1)

1.2.4 Claisebrook Drain and City Sewerage

The Claisebrook Drain, one of East Perth's most enduring icons, had been converted from a natural stream into an industrial drain during the phase of development described by Thomas and O'Neill. The construction of Perth's sewerage system contributed another aspect to the historical development of East Perth. Construction of the system began a decade before the opening of the E.P.P.S, in 1906, and East Perth was one of the first suburbs connected to the system. The sewerage filter beds were located at Burswood, on the opposite side of the river from East Perth; the main pumping station for the sewerage pipes under the river were located at the end of Adelaide Terrace, near the Causeway.²⁰

1.2.5 Clay Manufacturing Industries

The history of the clay-manufacturing industries of East Perth has received greater historical attention than any other industrial activity in the suburb, except for electricity generation. O'Neill has observed that:

*East Perth proved to be popular for clay manufacturing industries due to the nearby clay deposits. The Monier Patent Propriety Company Limited had opened its concrete pipe plant in Claisebrook Road by 1911, while the Mills and Company (bought out in 1928 by Brisbane before amalgamating with Wunderlich in 1938) and the Stoneware Pottery Company also began operations in the early 1900s.*²¹

A more detailed insight into the historical development of clay manufacturing industries at East Perth can be found in Bryce Moore's *From the Ground Up* (1987). Moore writes that the suburb had been 'the centre of the brick industry until almost the turn of the century, by which

¹⁹ O'Neill (2001) p-66

²⁰ J.S. Le Page *Building a State: A History of the Public Works Department of Western Australia* (Perth: 1986) pp.355-6; S. Hunt and G. Bolton 'Cleansing the Dughill' *Studies in Western Australian History* vol. 2, 1978, pp. 13-16

²¹ O'Neill (2001) p-66

time encroaching residential and industrial development and the imminent exhaustion of clay was forcing the industry further afield'.²² By the late 1890s, the remaining brickworks included the Bunning Bros works in Trafalgar Road, and the East Perth Brick Company, which folded in 1899.²³ In 1908, the Wunderlich Company opened an office and tile-producing factory in Lord Street, and in 1913, the Stoneware Pottery Company opened a clay-pipe works in Brown Street. The Lord Street factory 'was Western Australia's first specialized clay roofing-tile production facility and would remain the largest for years. Like the Stoneware Company, Wunderlich chose to locate closer to their potential markets and to transport facilities that to the source of raw materials'.²⁴ The clay used at the Wunderlich factory was dug near Guildford, and transported, presumably by train, to East Perth, 'to be dumped in huge heaps in an open paddock opposite the Lord Street works'.²⁵

1.3 East Perth in 1916

1.3.1 The Central Region

An analysis of the *Western Australian Postal Directory* reveals that the East Perth landscape in 1916 remained fixed to the pattern established at the turn of the century. The industrial heartland of the suburb lay in the old 'central region' delineated by Thomas, or in the corresponding Claisebrook precinct described by O'Neill. The E.P.P.S. was located at the north-east corner of this part of the suburb. To the south, Wellington Square and the cemetery, both of which front Wittenoom Street, form the boundary between the centre and the predominantly urban, middle-class southern part of the suburb. To the west lay Lord Street; although the zone of industry stretched beyond Lord Street, into Moore, Short and Newcastle Street and towards Pier Street and beyond, Lord Street formed the boundary of the East Ward of the Perth City Council, and effectively marked the western edge of East Perth. Within this area, the major streets consisted of Brown Street, Claisebrook Road, Jewell Street, Kensington Street, Royal Street, the eastern portion of Edward Street, the southern portion of East Parade, and the northern portions of Bennet Street, Hill Street, Plain Street and Trafalgar Road. The minor roads included Alma Street, Belvidere Street, Braid Street, Brook Street, Cameron Street, Caversham Street, Cheriton Street, Clotilde Street, Coolgardie Terrace, Gladstone Street, Glyde Street, Henry Street, Kirkstall Street, Lime Street,

²² Moore, B. *From the Ground Up* (Perth: 1987). The author records that 'Queen's Gardens, in Hay Street East, was developed on the site of a clay-pit that had provided millions of bricks used to build Perth, including those used for the Town Hall building'. [p-39]

²³ Moore (1987) p-40

²⁴ Moore (1987) pp.47-8, 61-3

²⁵ Moore (1987) p-63

Murchison Terrace, Norbert Street, Pilbara Street, Princess Street, Samson Street, Saunders Street, and Walton Street.

The listings for Lord Street and Claisebrook Road demonstrate something of the character of the central part of East Perth. Many addresses list a trade or occupation of the householder: butchers, bakers, cab drivers, carriers, confectionary makers, drapers, hairdressers and tobacconists, milliners and dressmakers, newsagents, storekeepers and grocers. Alongside these smaller businesses, a range of larger or more conspicuous factories and warehouses can be found: on Lord Street, the large Millar's Timber Co. Trading Yards, Tomlinson Bros. Engineering Works (see fig. 12 in Appendix 4), Perth Soap Co, City Bottling Co, the Commonwealth G.P.O Bulk Store, the P.C.C. Bulk Store, Stables and Yards, the Wunderlich factory, a 'horse dealer', and the 'Sing Lee Laundry'; and along Claisebrook Road, the Hancock and Sons Iron Works, Buckingham Bros. Timber Yards, the old Tramways Power Station, and the 'W.A. Govt. Powerhouse Tar Yard'. These two streets also contained some important centres for the East Perth community; the East Perth Hotel and St. Bartholomew's Hall are listed on Claisebrook Road, and the Norwood and Kalgoorlie Hotels are on Lord Street. A fourth hotel, the Kalgoorlie Hotel, is on Short Street, next-door to Wunderlich on Lord Street.

Other major factories and warehouses in the central region in 1916 include: the Australian Glass Manufacturers on Kensington Street (see figs. 1-3 in Appendix 4), next-door to the Boronia Flour Mill; the Cyclone Fence Company fronting Lime, Brown and Royal Streets; the Western Preserving Works on Saunders Street; the Stoneware Pottery Co. in Brown Street; an iron foundry on Saunders Street; a stovemaker on Braid Street, a flour mill on Kirkstall Terrace, and a Biscuit factory on Walton Street. Along Wittenoom Street, between Lord Street and Wellington Square, is the Public Works Department Workshops and Stables and a 'horse dealer'; whilst along Wellington Street, again between Lord Street and Wellington Square, is the West Australian Paper bag Co. (fig. 17 in Appendix 4), next door to St. Patrick's Boys School. There is a poultry farm on Brook Street, a Chinese market garden on Kensington Street, and a dairy on Nash Street. Along Brown and Royal Streets, where cottages and semi-detached 'worker's homes' had been built during the 1890s boom,²⁶ private residences dominate the listings; the MLA for East Perth, John Hardwick (see Appendix 2) is listed as residing at 171 Royal Street. Several boarding houses are listed on Wittenoom Street, Wellington Street, and Lord Street. Along Tamar Street, leading to the E.P.P.S, a total of 11 residences are listed. Summers Street, to the north of the E.P.P.S, is also entirely residential.

²⁶ Thomas (1974) p-18

1.3.2 The Southern and Riverside Regions

The Postal Directory indicates that Adelaide Terrace retained an exclusive status in 1916. The residents in that year included R. Cecil Clifton, Under-Secretary of the Lands Department; George Parker, at 'Lyminge'; George Glyde J.P., at 'Ilfracombe'; next-door to Septimus Burt K.C, former parliamentarian; next-door to Sir Edward Stone, at 'Rose Hill'; the Church of England's Reverend Lindsey; and George Hillman, clerk of the parliament, plus a number of other prominent names. There is an Anglican Girls Orphanage and Loretto's Lady's College, a private hospital, four boarding houses, and three lodging houses, but only a small number of commercial offices. At the eastern end of the Terrace, past the police station, is the Ozone Hotel, next door to a sewerage pumping station, and across the road from Leong Cheong's laundry.

Behind the Terrace, an increase in the number of boarding homes has taken place since the turn of the century. There are eleven boarding houses on Goderich, Hay and Bennet Streets alone, plus other on Wittenoom and Wellington Streets. In this part of East Perth, many of the houses list female occupations including dressmaker, music and language teachers, and nurses. The Barnett Glass factory, at the corner of Hay and Bennet Streets, is one of the few factories in this part of the suburb. There is a single Chinese laundry on Hay Street, and a Chinese Garden along Nelson Crescent. Like the central region, bakers, butchers, and storekeepers are scattered amongst the private residences on most streets.

1.3.3 North and North-East

Along Tamar Street, Summers Street and East Parade, the three roads immediately surrounding the E.P.P.S, private residences predominate the listings. Across the railway line, in the area approaching and surrounding Perth Oval, the postal directory takes on a similar character to the central region. Parry and Edward Streets, in particular, contain a mixture of residences and small factories and workshops, including bakers, blacksmiths, cab drivers, a dairy, bootmakers, laundry's, milliner's and dressmakers, language and music teachers, storekeepers and grocers, hairdressers and tobacconists, and a couple of boarding houses.

Part Two: Inter-War and Post-War East Perth

2.1 The E.P.P.S. in the Inter-War Period

The inter-war period was the heyday of the E.P.P.S. Boylen has remarked that the station played 'a vital role in economic development of the state' throughout this period,²⁷ and it was during these same years that the links between the E.P.P.S. and the East Perth community were strongest, when many of the suburb's working-class residents were employed on the coal gangs or as labourers inside the station.²⁸ The capacity of the E.P.P.S. expanded steadily after 1916, in line with the growing demand for electricity; the remaining two of the three initial 4 megawatt generating units commenced operating in March and December 1917, a 7.5 megawatt unit began generating in December 1922, and a 12.5 megawatt unit was brought into service in December 1927. A new 25 megawatt unit was ordered in 1935, and a new building, Station B, was constructed to house the unit, which entered service in late 1938. On this last occasion, an elaborate opening ceremony was held, and the station was officially opened 'with much fanfare and publicity' in January 1939.²⁹

2.2 The Inter-War Inner-City Landscape

2.2.1 Moore and O'Neill

O'Neill has described how the construction of the E.P.P.S. precipitated a new phase of industrial development in the central region of East Perth:

*Large-scale industrial activity in East Perth was facilitated by the commencement [of construction] of the East Perth Power Station in 1914. This was followed by the construction of the gasworks at Trafalgar Road, the first gas storage tank erected alongside Claisebrook in 1915. It was not long after this that Claisebrook was re-routed from the north to a more southerly discharge point. Further gasholders enabled the plant to operate at full capacity by 1924...The next industry of substance was the railway locomotive depot established in 1919. Railway work and affordable housing attracted large numbers of workers to East Perth, as increasing pollution, especially through the use of coal, helped suppress property market prices. Other government utilities like the Public Works Department set up in 1928...were also established near Claisebrook.*³⁰

²⁷ Boylen (1994) p-38

²⁸ Edmonds (2000) p-20

²⁹ Boylen (1994) p-45

³⁰ Boylen (1994) p-45

The Gasworks was located on the opposite side of the Bunbury Railway Bridge from the E.P.P.S, beside the river at the point of the original outlet of Claisebrook. Like the E.P.P.S, the Gasworks became a defining icon of the industrial centre of East Perth; and with the E.P.P.S, the Gasworks eventually fell under the control of the State Electricity Commission. The Railway Locomotive Depot, created on railway land to the north of the East Perth Station, became a major employer of the suburb's working-class workforce; throughout the inter-war and post-war period, the E.P.P.S, the Gasworks and the Locomotive Depot had close links with the East Perth community. The Public Works Depot was created on land adjoining the E.P.P.S, fronting onto Tamar Street. The effect of this location was to extend the industrial zone northwards from Claisebrook, into the region formerly occupied by distinctly middle-class housing. Along with the E.P.P.S, the Public Works Depot appears to have been a factor in the declining status of this part of East Perth.

Moore has recorded the changes within the clay-manufacturing industries at East Perth. During the early 1920s a new roof-tile factory, owned by Mills and Co. Potteries, had opened, also in Brown Street. In 1928, Wunderlich purchased this works, together with the Company's other factories at Maylands and Belmont. When Wunderlich amalgamated with a competitor to form Brisbane and Wunderlich in 1938, the Brown Street factory was turned over entirely to the production of clay pipes, and tile production was concentrated entirely at the original Lord Street works.³¹

2.2.2 Snapshots of a Changing Inner-City Landscape

Several other factories and warehouses were opened in the central region of East Perth during the prosperous years of the 1920s. One of the largest, in size and in workforce, was the Boans furniture factory and warehouse, which manufactured goods for sale at the well-known city store.³² The Boans factory grew rapidly during the 1920s, as the company added a bulk store and a bakery to the furniture factory; eventually, the complex occupied the entire block bounded by Brown, Henry, Glyde and Saunders Street, in the heart of the industrial centre. At its peak during the 1930s, the Boans factory and warehouse employed around 800-900 people, making it one of the largest employers in the suburb.³³ A hat factory existed next-door to Boans, along Brown Street, during the inter-war period, whilst a Slipper Factory also existed along Hay Street East in the same period.³⁴

³¹ Moore (1987) pp.64, 66, 101, 120.

³² I have yet to find the year the factory opened.

³³ Ewdwin Bennes, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/1) pp.11-13

³⁴ see *The National Handbook of Australia's Industries* (1934)

The Hume Pipe Company, a major industrial concern, operated at 120 Claisebrook Road during the 1920s, before moving to Subiaco following a raft of protests from nearby residents, who objected to the 'dust nuisance' created by the works (see Section 2.3).

During the early 1920s, extensive additions were made to the Tramway Depot in the south-east of the suburb, to cater for the expansion of the tramway network into outlying suburbs.³⁵

The Chinese market gardens and laundries in East Perth listed in the Postal Directory for 1916 disappeared during the 1920s.³⁶ A striking feature of the Postal Directory for the 1920s is the number of houses listed as 'vacant' in the industrial centre of East Perth.

Shortly after the E.P.P.S. opened, during the summer of 1916-17, a new public park, named Haig Park (presumably after the British General), was declared in the area east of Wellington Square and below the cemetery, on the block formed by Royal, Plain and Wittenoom Streets and Trafalgar Crescent; during the nineteenth century, the area had been a Mulberry Orchard and Silkworm farm.³⁷ In 1926, the famous statue of Peter Pan was erected in Queen's by the newly-formed city branch of Rotary in 1926.³⁸

Numerous changes also swept across the southern part of East Perth during the inter-war period. Along Adelaide Terrace, some of the old homesteads were converted into lodging houses during the 1920s, possibly because increasing motor traffic and the opening up of riverside suburbs detracted from the former appeal of the street.³⁹ The growth in motor traffic definitely underpinned the expansion of the RAC in Western Australia; in 1926, the Club purchased 228 Adelaide Terrace as its headquarters, and added the next-door lot, 230 Adelaide Terrace, in 1940.⁴⁰ Extensive additions were made to St. Mary's Cathedral in 1930.⁴¹ Brennan park was renamed 'Gloucester Park' in 1934, in honour of the Duke of Gloucester; the track had been greatly improved in 1929. During the 'turbulent' 1930s, 'one of the best second-hand bookshops in Australia' existed opposite the Mechanics Institute Library, near the eastern end of Hay Street.⁴²

2.2.3 Inter-War Town Planning

³⁵ I. Heydell *The History of the Perth Electric Tramways, 1885-1958* (Perth: 1999) pp.33-5

³⁶ The laundries and market gardens had certainly gone by 1929; see *Wise's Western Australian Postal Directory for 1929*.

³⁷ D. Hutchison *East Perth Project: European Heritage Study* pp.8-11

³⁸ See the entry for 'Service Clubs' in the forthcoming Historical Encyclopaedia of Western Australia.

³⁹ Thomas (1978) p-151

⁴⁰ RAC Website www.100years.rac.com.au

⁴¹ A. Hasluck and M. Lukis *Victorian and Edwardian Perth from old Photographs* (Sydney: 1977) no. 40

⁴² 'Perth in the Turbulent Thirties'



Map 2: East Perth in 1935.

Following the passage of the *Town Planning Act 1928*, the P.C.C. appointed a Metropolitan Town Planning Commission, to plan the city's future development. In 1930, the Commission produced a Report in 1930, which became the basis for all future planning policies in Perth.⁴³ Among a range of objectives, the Commission had sought to channel future industrial development into outer suburbs such as Maylands, Bassendean and Welshpool, and with this aim in mind, the Report recommended that future industrial development in the city should be limited those areas where industry was already located, effectively preventing any further encroachment of industry into residential areas in the inner-city.⁴⁴ Map 2, a reproduction of a map produced to accompany the published final Report in 1935, shows the light-industrial area of East Perth in brown; the zone of heavy industry, including the brick and tile works, the glass factory, the Gasworks and the E.P.P.S, is not colour-coded, but is contained in the area

⁴³ M.J. Webb 'Planning and Development in Metropolitan Perth to 1953' in *The City and Region of Perth: Papers of the 10th Congress of the Australian Planning Institute* (Perth: 1966) pp.4-5

⁴⁴ *Report of the City of Perth Town Planning Commission* (1935)

between the brown-shaded area and the railway. Henceforth, all industrial activity in East Perth was confined to this area in the centre of the suburb.

2.3 Pollution

2.3.1 Pollution as Defining Characteristic of East Perth

Industrial pollution, of the atmosphere and the river, is a defining characteristic of inter-war and post-war East Perth. The E.P.P.S. contributed to the pollution of East Perth, as Edmonds has observed:

The East Perth Power Station was a very noisy place because of the coal-handling equipment, the steam and electricity, and the two rotary converters which converted the electricity from the generators into direct current for use by the electric tram system. The station had an important impact on the community in East Perth, partly because of the smoke that coated the area in grit and smut.⁴⁵

In regards to the gasworks, where a great quantity of coal was also used, O'Neill has noted that:

The use of coal for the production of gas required extracting the gas from the coal by means of a baking process, leaving by-products of coal tars and coke, both of which contaminated the surrounding landscape intentionally or accidentally.⁴⁶

Maureen McSweeney, referring to the southern East Perth during the 1930s in a 1994 oral history interview, recalled that:

When we first came here the coal trucks used to come up our street [Forrest Ave], every morning at 7 o'clock, a number of them, shaking the house (on the way) to the gasworks. They used to coal over there- the dust used to fly back and it was always dirty, you know, it was very hard to keep it out of the house. If you were in the front at all, these tiny little specks of black would land on your skin and really get itchy. They were so tiny that you could hardly see them, you really had to peer to find them. It must have been terrible for the men working over there because they came home black. Like, my father worked in the railways and came home with his face blackened.⁴⁷

Edwin Garrity, also interviewed in 1994, expressed the situation succinctly, describing East Perth in the 1940s as 'dirty, noisy and polluted'.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Edmonds (2000) p-20

⁴⁶ O'Neill (2001) p-66

⁴⁷ M. McSweeney, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/11) p-47

⁴⁸ E.P. Garrity, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/9) p-47

2.4.2 The Dust Nuisance

AN EAST PERTH NUISANCE.
 To the Editor, "The West Australian."
 Sir,—Surely the residents of this part of the city have stood the Hume Pipe Works quite long enough. They are a complete eyesore. I heard recently that the Broken Hill Proprietary was not likely to commence operations at Welshpool, so here would be a good chance for the Hume Pipe Co. to secure a suitable site for its works away from everybody. Surely the matter has never been mentioned to our energetic member, but of course much of his time seems to be spent attending conferences over East, about other people's labour troubles.—Yours, etc.
G. J. WILKINSON.
 East Perth, Nov. 30.

AN EAST PERTH COMPLAINT.
 To the Editor, "The West Australian."
 Sir,—With the writer of the letters in your paper regarding the Hume Pipe Co. I consider it a disgrace to have this unsightly area allowed so near our city. Another place that is a nuisance in this locality is the power house, the smoke from which makes everything filthy. If we must have this obnoxious place in our midst, something should be done to prevent the smoke being such a nuisance to residents.—Yours, etc.,
PROGRESS.
 Perth, Dec. 4.

West Australian 2 December 1929 p-9

West Australian 6 December 1929 p-8

The two letters reproduced above relate to the 'dust nuisance' created by the Hume Pipe Company in Claisebrook Road-Caversham Street, in 1929. Further correspondence pertaining to the same issue is reproduced in Appendix 1 of this Report. This particular case, which was first raised by concerned residents in March 1928, is especially interesting because of the effect that public protest seemingly had on the Hume Pipe Company's subsequent move away from East Perth, to a greenfields site in Subiaco. A second 'dust nuisance' of the inter-war period, caused by the Perth City Council's road-works plant in Lord Street and affecting nearby residents and the operations of the adjoining Faulding pharmaceutical factory, also attracted a measure of protest and official attention. As with the Hume Pipe Company, the nature of the protests against the Council's road-works plant

indicates the extent of the pollution. A series of correspondence relating to this second case is also reproduced in the Appendix.

2.4.3 River Pollution

Appendix 1 also reproduces a series of correspondence and newspaper reports relating to the pollution of the Swan River by the Perth Gas Works on Trafalgar Street, on the opposite side of the railway from the E.P.P.S. As early as 1926, reports of the 'discharge of a tar-like substance' from the Gas Works into the River began to be received by the Fisheries Department, with further reports being received intermittently during the 1930s and 1950s. Further research will no doubt yield additional information; but on the basis of the information contained in the Appendix, it can be concluded that, in contrast to a later period when more rigorous monitoring and restriction of river pollution was enforced, the inter-war and post-war period is marked by a somewhat casual approach to protecting the river from industrial pollutants. It can also be concluded that, during the inter-war and post-war period, the worst of the pollution at the Gas Works took place. After the East Perth Redevelopment Authority was created 1991, some 69 000 tonnes of contaminated soil and riverbank at Claisebrook were removed in an effort to clean-up the old Gas Works site.⁴⁹

2.4 Removal of Ashes and River Reclamation

2.5.1 Agreement Between E.P.P.S. and P.C.C.

In March 1918 the Perth City Council expressed an interest in removing the ash of burnt coal from the E.P.P.S, for use in covering the Council's rubbish tips at Lake Monger, North Perth and Victoria Park, as well as tips located a short distance south of the E.P.P.S. along the East Perth foreshore.⁵⁰ A contract between the Council and the Western Australian Government Electricity Supply was negotiated during 1918, and came into effect in 1919. The Council

⁴⁹ O'Neill (2001) pp.67-8

⁵⁰ See City Engineer, Perth City Council (P.C.C.), to the Chairman and Members, Health Committee, P.C.C., 4 March 1918; Sanitary Manager P.C.C. to Town Clerk P.C.C., 18 March 1918; and Electrical Superintendent, W.A. Government Electricity Supply to Town Clerk P.C.C., 24 April 1918, in Perth City Council file 101/1918, 'Ashes-Removal from E.P.P.S. 1918-1933' SROWA An 20/5 Acc 3054 (hereafter file 101/1918). In letter dated 4-3-1918 the Health Committee original suggestion that Ashes be removed by barge was rejected in favour of motor lorry. There is no information about the removal of ashes prior to the Agreement between the Council and Government. Some correspondence in the file also relates to the difficulty of measuring a ton of ash, and the problems created by the frequent break-down of the Council lorry and a strike by Council workers around early January 1920.

undertook to remove 50 tons of ashes per week, for which the Government Electricity Supply paid the Council 6 pence per ton; the ashes were delivered to the Jewell Street railway siding by the Government, and taken away by the Council 'motor lorry'. The agreement, extended in 1923 and again in 1933, is preserved at the State Records Office.⁵¹

2.5.2 River Reclamation

The practise of using ashes from the E.P.P.S. (and the Gasworks) to cover rubbish in riverside and municipal tips eventually merged with the program of river reclamation that commenced began after the passage of the *Swan River Improvement Act 1925*.⁵² John Deeble remembered the practice in the course of his 1994 interview:

*A lot of their coke that they couldn't sell they filled in...not a lot, but a section of the river. You know, they kept tipping it and tipping it and tipping it. I suppose there's probably several acres of the river that is all coke and clinkers and so forth.*⁵³

O'Neill, who also cites Deeble as evidence, refers to the practice being employed on both the Claisebrook and Burswood banks of the River. Historical accounts of the program of river reclamation can be found in a contribution by T.L. Riggert to one of Sesquicentenary volumes, in Seddon and Ravine's *A City and Its Setting*, and in George Stephenson's *The Design of Central Perth*.⁵⁴ This last account includes a map, reproduced overleaf, showing the progressive stages of reclamation of the river foreshore.

The most conspicuous outcomes of the river reclamation in East Perth came during the 1930s, when Riverside Drive, the Esplanade and Terrace Road were added to the south of Adelaide Terrace. In the 1930s, a number of flats were built along Terrace Road.⁵⁵ Ongoing reclamation led, in the post-war period, to the building of Trinity College on newly-created land behind the WACA (see Section 2.7.4).

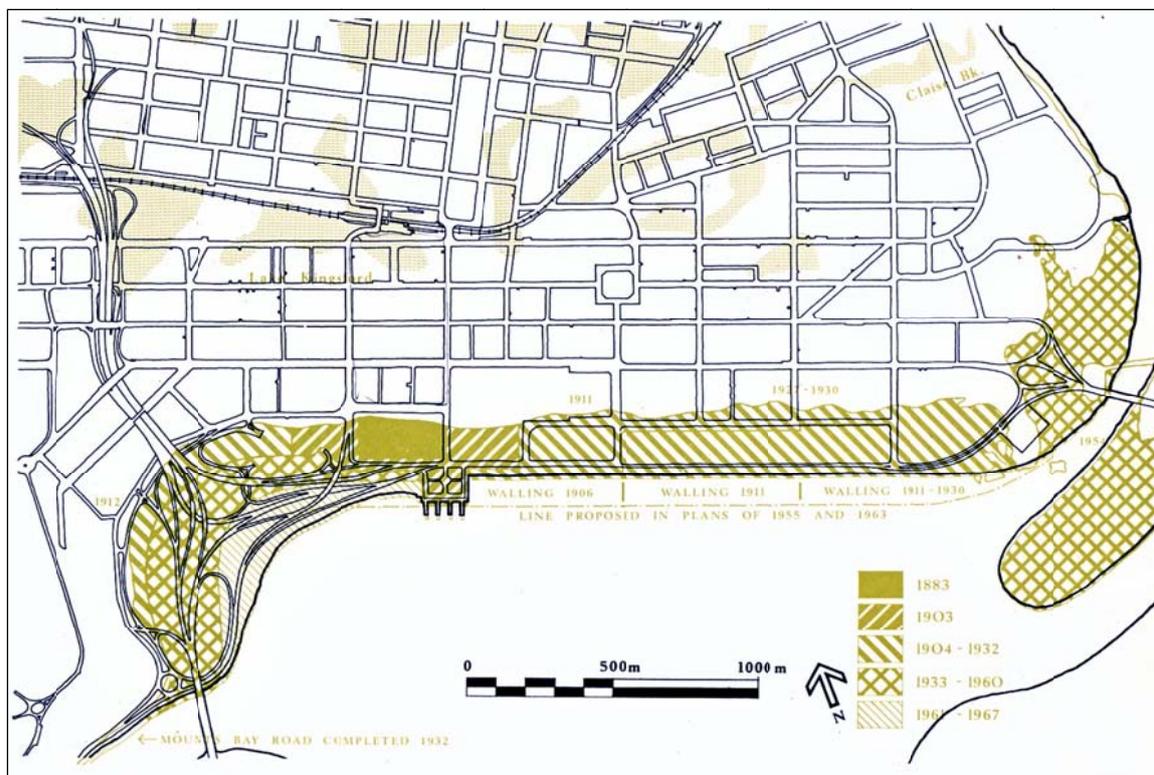
⁵¹ Copies of the Agreement, together with accompanying correspondence between the Council and Government, are kept in file 101/1918.

⁵² T.L. Riggert 'The Swan River Natural Environment' in J. Gentilli (ed) *Western Landscapes* (Perth: 1979) p-197

⁵³ J. Deeble, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/6) p-

⁵⁴ Riggert (1979) p-197; Seddon, G. and Ravine, *A City and its Setting: Images of Perth, Western Australia* (Fremantle: 1986); G. Stephenson *The Design of Central Perth* (1975)

⁵⁵ Gregory, J. *A City of Light* (Perth: 2003) pp.55-7



Map 3: River Reclamation

2.5 Aspects of Human Geography

An oral history program with elderly East Perth residents, conducted by Erica Harvey for the East Perth Redevelopment Authority in 1994, is a valuable source for the social history of East Perth during the inter-war and post-war periods. The transcripts of these interviews provide insights into the human geography and social landscape of inter-war and post-war East Perth which is not contained in other historical sources.

2.5.1 Socio-economic Divisions

There is evidence to suggest that socio-economic divisions existed in East Perth throughout the inter-war and post-war period, in a pattern resembling the social landscape that Thomas identified at the turn of the century. Certainly the central region retained a distinctly working-class character. Among those interviewed in 1994 was Jessie Mason (nee Grasso, born 1924), who grew up 'a very old house' on Brown Street, between Claisebrook Road and the

railway; her parents were Italian, and ran a small store on Brown Street. Mason describes the street-scape during her childhood;

*There were a lot of little houses together...called semi-detached houses. They had one common wall and little houses on each side. There were houses all the way up and down the street except for this factory, or foundry, opposite where we lived.*⁵⁶

Mason also recalled that the Vacuum Oil Company and a scrap metal yard were located on Brown Street, near to the railway, a cyclone fence company near the family house, and a bakery and the Hunt's Biscuit factory behind the house in Royal Street.⁵⁷ In this central region of East Perth, between the 1920s and the 1950s, a strong working-class identity prevailed; 'I think that we were all battlers in East Perth at that particular time. Yes, in fact all the time because it seemed like only the poorest lived in East Perth and people used to think that too'.⁵⁸

Harold Dodd, speaking in 1994 about the same inter-war and post-war period, also recalled the working-class character of the central region of East Perth. Dodd grew up along Jewell Terrace, in the area between Claisebrook and the Bunbury railway line, in the vicinity of the Gas Works, the Glass factory, the Brisbane and Wunderlich factory and the Boronia Flour Mill. In this area 'the housing lingered through all the factories and that generally', and the links between home and work were strong, especially because a number of houses were owned by the larger employers including the E.P.P.S, the Gasworks, the Railway and Brisbane and Wunderlich, and rented out to employees.⁵⁹

Another of those interviewed in 1994, Edwin Bennes, offers a different view of the central region. Bennes was a long-term employee at the Boans furniture factory in the Brown-Saunders-Glyde-Henry Street block, but did not live in East Perth himself. He remembered that, during the 1940s and 1950s, 'the immediate vicinity of the [Boan's] factory and bulk store was a very depressed area. The houses were old, in a very poor condition...they were really in a poor condition and I guess you would describe them as slum areas'. When asked if Boan's employed worker's from East Perth, Bennes replied in the negative: 'Boan's employees were [skilled tradesmen and] probably on what was regarded in those days as a better wage, so they could afford to live in better suburbs'.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ J. Mason, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/12)

⁵⁷ Mason (1994) pp.38-40

⁵⁸ Mason (1994) p-25

⁵⁹ H.W. Dodd, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/8) pp.6-7

⁶⁰ Bennes (1994) pp.11-13

The question of the extent to which 'slums' existed in inter-war and post-war East Perth is something of a vexed question; individual impressions vary considerably. As early as 1918, the Royal Society of Western Australia published a paper by the architect W.A. Saw stating that '[w]e have slums in Perth and Fremantle. In East Perth there are 11 houses on one allotment of half an acre, some fronting a narrow lane only 20 feet in length'; but although a photograph of a rear-view of several semi-detached houses located in 'East Perth' was published with the paper, the claim was not elaborated on with any further detail.⁶¹ However, Saw may well have been referring to the terrace housing along Royal Street, where '[o]ne terrace of single-story houses...was built [during the 1890s] on blocks of one-thirteenth of an acre, and...another seven-unit terrace on the same street on one-twentieth of an acre'.⁶² Thelma Jones admitted that East Perth was 'notorious' for being the slums of Perth during the 1930s; '[i]t was not thought very highly of at all'.⁶³ On the other hand, Harold Dodd rejected the existence of slums outright; 'Oh no, that's ridiculous. There was never ever any slums in East Perth'.⁶⁴ He instead offers a picture of a respectable working-class community, where the residents obtained a reasonable living by working in the factories that shared their suburb. John Deeble, another long-term resident, described the terrace housing in the centre thus: 'Royal Street was nearly all terrace housing, a lot of it there. They'd be known as slums now days but, of course, they were the usual thing round the turn of the century when they were built.'⁶⁵

Some years later in 1938, when the existence of 'slums' in 'the city' attracted a measure of attention in the press and parliament, East Perth was not singled out as an area of marked over-crowding or poor housing.⁶⁶ Moreover, the fear expressed at the time, that the new Terrace Road flats were 'contemporary slums', did not eventuate.⁶⁷

Maureen McSweeney, another to be interviewed in the 1994 program, was a long-term resident of Forrest Ave in the southern, middle-class part of East Perth. During the 1930s and 1940s Forrest Ave was 'quite a select little street with nice homes, especially our end'.⁶⁸ The household identified with the neighbouring middle-class residents along Waterloo and Nelson

⁶¹ W.A. Saw 'Some Aspects of Town Planning' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Western Australia* vol.5 (1918) p-45

⁶² Seddon and Ravine *A City and Its Setting* (1986) pp.264-5.

⁶³ T.L. Jones, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/2) p-12

⁶⁴ Dodd (1994) p-32

⁶⁵ Deeble (1994) p-25

⁶⁶ Western Australian Parliament, 'Report of a Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Administration of the Perth City Council' *WAVP* 1935; also Gregory (2003) pp.53-5

⁶⁷ I. Hocking (1979) p-276

⁶⁸ McSweeney (1994)p-4 'Growth and Change in Central Perth' in Pitt-Morrison and White *Western Towns and Buildings* (Perth; 1979)

Crescents, on the high ground behind the WACA. In 1937, some of the residents of this part of East Perth sought to have their portion of the suburb re-named 'Gloucester Park'.⁶⁹

The reminiscences of Mina Rose Sherlock (nee Clifton, born in 1907) indicate the Adelaide Terrace retained its exclusive residential status during the early inter-war period. Mina was the daughter of Robert Cecil Clifton, Under-Secretary for Lands for 27 years; her mother was the daughter of George Walpole Leake, Queen's Council and Minister, and the brother of George Leake, sometime Premier; the family lived at 231 Adelaide Terrace, opposite where the RAC headquarters came to stand. Her short biography describes the household of her childhood as 'a bastion of music, as well as regular and unshakeable Christianity. on Sundays the Cliftons, hymn book in hand, would walk along the Terrace for services at St. George's Cathedral'.⁷⁰ The household also provided odd jobs, such as wood-chopping, for the 'down and outs who appeared' in the back lane:

Usually the men, who were mostly elderly, took the food away with them, or possibly sat on the woodblock out the back, to eat. But then they started to come in great numbers, probably because it became known around the town that they would get a response. Overall, it got too much for the household. So Father got an order book from the Duke of York café in town, and would fill out a form authorising the men to get a meal there. He wouldn't give them money, in case it was used for drink.⁷¹

Yet the family, who also employed two full-time servants, are not considered to have been especially affluent; '[t]he Cliftons were a family of thirteen supported on a civil servant's pay, so they were not wealthy'.⁷²

2.5.2 Skid Row and Vice

In East Perth, in the midst of the community of middle- and working-class residents, a 'skid-row' of homeless and destitute people also existed throughout the inter-war and post-war periods. Among various haunts of alcoholics was a wine saloon, on corner of Royal Street and Claisebrook Road, which was 'frequented by drunks' during the 1920s.⁷³ However, the reputation of East Perth as the city's 'skid row' seems to have developed in the years after the Second World War, when the suburb entered the period of decline.

⁶⁹ McSweeney (1994) p-19

⁷⁰ P. Cornish 'Mina Rose Sherlock: Holding Firm to the Right' in P. Cornish (ed) *Western Australia in the 20th Century* (Fremantle: 1999) pp.43-5

⁷¹ Cornish (1999) pp.44-7

⁷² Garrity (1994) p-6

⁷³ Jessie Brotherton, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/10) p-49

Although 'houses of ill repute' had existed in East Perth during the 1890s, by the interwar period brothels did not have a visible presence in the suburb. Raelene Davidson has explained that developments during the Great War had prompted greater control of Prostitution in Western Australia, with the industry being effectively confined to Roe Street in North Perth.

Outside Roe Street the picture was one of gradual decline in the numbers of houses used for prostitution after 1916. If the locations of these houses are plotted on a map it is clear that what was occurring was a gradual 'thinning out' of houses in all areas except Roe Street...There were still isolated houses in surrounding suburbs such as Subiaco, East Perth, Victoria Park, West Perth and Leederville, but these were few in number. By 1921 the remaining premises in the city used by prostitutes as their addresses were really just places that catered for the homeless. These were usually coffee places and were notorious for their cheapness and filthy conditions.⁷⁴

The most common illegal activity carried on in East Perth during the inter-war period was one common to suburb's across the city; the placing of a bet with an S.P. Bookie.⁷⁵

2.5.3 Community, Education, Recreation

Patrick Garrity, who commenced a long period of employment with the Railways at East Perth in the early 1940s, was impressed at the time by the strong sense of community identity that prevailed in the suburb; he described the workforce at the Locomotive Depot as 'very close, very East Perth-orientated people'.⁷⁶ Nearly all the interviews indicate that the focus of East Perth community life was the East Perth Football Team.⁷⁷

The East Perth Hotel was generally considered to be 'the local' during the inter-war and post-war period, although various other establishments, including several along Wellington Street, the Carlton Hotel on Hay Street East, the Norwood and the Knutsford Arms Hotel were also frequented by the suburb's residents. Some residents were even known to travel as far away as the Central Hotel on Wellington Street, and Queen's in Mt. Lawley.⁷⁸ The trots was another favourite destination and distraction for the suburb's residents.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ R. Davidson 1980 p-95

⁷⁵ Dodd (1974) p-33, 55

⁷⁶ Garrity (1994) p-6

⁷⁷ Jones (1994) p-12; Irene Stainton, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/7) p-16

⁷⁸ Thomas Joseph Brosnan, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/4)pp.28-30

⁷⁹ Dodd (1994) p-11, 39

The river was popular for swimming, crabbing and fishing, amongst both children and adults, but for males more so than females.⁸⁰ An especially favoured swimming place was the 'hot pools', which were created by the discharge of heated water at the E.P.P.S. Nearby Bunbury Bridge was a favoured fishing location.⁸¹ For some families, fish caught in the river were an important component of the daily diet.⁸²

The working-class families of the industrial centre typically sent their children to the East Perth Primary School.⁸³ The private catholic schools in the southern part of the suburb took a significant proportion of their pupils from outside of East Perth, and therefore never developed links to the community comparable to the East Perth Primary School.⁸⁴

2.5.4 Animals and backyards

The ongoing presence of a variety of domestic Animals in East Perth is a striking feature of the inter-war and early post-war period. Backyard stables, a common addition to the houses built during the 1890s, remained common across the suburb. Jessie Brotherton's father worked as a cab driver in the years following the end of the Great War, and in keeping in horse at a stable in the back-yard of the family home in Claisebrook Street, he was following seems to have been a common practice.⁸⁵ Thelma Jones recalled that a small dairy, the Glen Esk dairy, was located near to the Boans factory in the 1930s.⁸⁶ Jessie Mason also remembered a dairy in East Perth, as well as a horse paddock on Claisebrook Road, during the interwar period.⁸⁷ John Deeble remembered the Clydesdale Horses that were kept at the Public Works Depot in the 1930s;⁸⁸ Thomas Brosnan recalled that '[e]very Friday the Council had about 50 horses in two lots of 25 that would come down Royal Street and be put down to Plain Street in the paddock', in the area around the Cemetery and Haig Park, during the 1920s and 1930s.⁸⁹ Recollections of the baker's and milkman's horse-and-cart are common.

Dogs were kept by most families; according to Jessie Mason, 'everyone had a dog' in inter-war East Perth. Mason's family kept poultry, sheep, rabbits, and even ferrets in their

⁸⁰ Maxwell Shean, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/5) p-37; Jones (1994) p-19; Brosnan (1994) p-16

⁸¹ K. Colbung, transcript of an interview with Erica Harvey, 1994 (Battye Library OH 2546/3) p-7

⁸² Stainton (1994) p-16

⁸³ Stainton (1994)

⁸⁴ McSweeney (1994)

⁸⁵ Brotherton (1994); Jones (1994) p-20

⁸⁶ Jones (1994) p-3

⁸⁷ Mason (1994) p-10, 38-9

⁸⁸ Deeble (1994) p-24

⁸⁹ Brosnan (1994) p-11

backyard, with room to spare for a vegetable garden as well.⁹⁰ The Brotherton, Dodd and Stainton families all had dogs, and all kept poultry in the backyard.⁹¹

When, in the late 1960s and 1970s, the inter-war and post-war period gave way to the period of East Perth's decline, the presence of larger animals in the inner-city landscape came to appear as an anachronism, a legacy of the suburb's former character; such a viewpoint was presented by an article in the *Weekend News* of 1979, discussing the impending revitalisation of a dilapidated inner-city area: 'In East Perth there is still a stable, with live horses in it, at the junction of Goderich Street and Forrest Avenue'.⁹²

2.6 Depression and War

2.6.1 The E.P.P.S. in the Great Depression and Second World War

Both Boylen and Edmonds refer to the falling demand for electricity during the early 1930s, as industries closed-down or scaled-back their operations, and households sought to reduce expenditure. From a peak of 82 213 MWh in 1929-30, the E.P.P.S. reduced its output to 75 234MWh in 1930-31, and to 73 604 MWh in 1931-32, before recovering thereafter.⁹³

By contrast, the E.P.P.S. operated at close to full capacity throughout the Second World War, to supply electricity to factories working round-the-clock to manufacture supplies for the war effort. The continuous running of these years is blamed for the turbine failures that beset the E.P.P.S. in the late 1940.⁹⁴

2.6.2 East Perth in the Great Depression

Moore records that Wunderlich's tile factory in Brown Street was 'closed down almost immediately after the beginning of the slump in building activity' during the Depression.⁹⁵ The journalist Victor Courtney has written that East Perth was among the worst-affected suburbs in the city during the early 1930s; 'In the thirties the depression struck Western Australia in common with the rest of the world and East Perth, being mostly a working man's suburb, was

⁹⁰ Mason (1994) p-10, 38-9

⁹¹ Stainton (1994) p-4

⁹² Alan Hale 'Boomtime in East Perth', *Weekend News* 27 January 1979

⁹³ Boylen (1994) p-44

⁹⁴ Edmonds (2000) pp.21-2

⁹⁵ Moore (1987) p-101. The year of reopening is not given

very hard hit'.⁹⁶ The oral history program undertaken by Erica Harvey in 1994 supports this view; John Deeble recalled that the Depression was 'very hard in East Perth because there was a lot of unemployment, an enormous amount of unemployment'.⁹⁷ Given the dearth of historical material relating to the suburb's working-class community, a basic problem obstructing any historical account of marginal groupings within Australian society, it seems reasonable to refer, by way of contrast, to a 1976 paper by Tom Stannage for one perspective on East Perth in the early 1930s: 'there are older people in Perth today who scarcely remember the depression of the 1930s because that terrible decade was no worse than were the 1910s, 1920s, 1940s and so on.'⁹⁸

A single incident recounted in Geoffrey Bolton's *A Fine Country to Starve In* provides a classic perspective on a protest of the unemployed at East Perth during the Depression:

Every Sunday, orators on the Perth Esplanade denounced the evils of the capitalist system, and in November 1930 the police arrested one of the regulars, a radical bootmaker of East Perth named Henry Wilkins, and successfully charged him with seditious utterances on the grounds of his provocative remarks about the Royal Family...In [January 1931], according to his own story, one John Stevens, a thirty-six year old labourer, arrived in Perth from the East for the purposes of acting as an organiser for the Communist Party in Western Australia, and he soon became a marked man in the demonstrations of the unemployed. He teamed up with another self-styled communist, the thirty-six year old William Bagwell...who acted as secretary to the unemployed single men's organization in Perth. Bagwell was already well known to the police, who said (without gross exaggeration) that he was mixed up with every disturbance of the unemployed in Perth at the time, and was in the habit of making revolutionary speeches...These inflammatory speakers decided to organise a mass meeting of the unemployed at a relief depot in Bennett Street, East Perth, on 19 January. What they said on this occasion is not recorded, but the police who attended decided that it was enough to book them on charges of holding a public meeting without police permission, and Stevens and Bagwell were arrested. Others who attempted to speak afterwards were also arrested...Nobody resisted or attempted to make a scene, although there were several hundred onlookers, mostly unemployed on sustenance. Nor was there any protest or demonstration when the eight speakers were fined...If this was communist agitation, it was no more ferocious than what had gone on before in the easy-going atmosphere of Western Australia.⁹⁹

Bagwell later became a key player in the infamous Treasury Riot of March 1931.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Courtney (1962) p-216

⁹⁷ Deeble (1994) p-24

⁹⁸ Stannage p-102

⁹⁹ Bolton *A Fine Country to Starve In* p-147. In September 1931 "Violent Wilkins, wife of the radical shoemaker of East Perth as herself a fiery outdoor orator, was arrested for addressing a meeting at Hovea without permission". Mrs. Wilkins had only one arm, and was a supporter of the IWW; see *Ibid* p-179.

¹⁰⁰ Gregory (2003) pp.8-9

2.6.2 East Perth in the Second World War

The nature of war-time industrial activity at East Perth has been contextualised on a state-wide basis by Jan Mayman and Mel Davies:

During the first years of the war, production increased rapidly in Western Australia, with the armed services, food and clothing needs responsible for much of in large numbers the increase. Full employment was achieved, overtime was plentiful, women were introduced into the workforce and wages rose...But the war effort also produced dislocations in the state's economy and there were problems for factories whose products were considered non-essential, such as clay products, bricks, tiles and earthenware...Like other components of the economy, the workforce was under strict government control and the movement of skilled workers between jobs was restricted; 'manpowering' legislation kept employees in key plants like the East Perth power station, and even prevented them from joining the armed forces.¹⁰¹

Moore records that Brisbane and Wunderlich received several munitions contracts during the war. The largest, commissioned after Japan entered the conflict, was for the supply of pontoons and folding boat bridges, which were manufactured at the Lord Street factory. Import restrictions imposed during the war, and the cancellation of sewerage programs in 1940, also prompted the Company to investigate the feasibility of converting the Brown Street clay-pipe factory into a works for the 'manufacture of refractory products for industrial appliances'. The conversion proceeded during the early 1940s.¹⁰² The 'all British staff' of the J.A. Weaver shoe factory in were also kept busy during the war, manufacturing boots for use by the armed services. On Adelaide Terrace, the RAC head office became a depot for the issuing of petrol rationing coupons.¹⁰³ The East Perth community did not dedicate a separate memorial commemorating the suburb's servicemen and women in either the First or Second World War.¹⁰⁴

2.7 The Post-War Period

2.7.1 The E.P.P.S. in the Post-War Period

The post-war period was a challenging time for the E.P.P.S. In May 1946 the 25-megawatt unit 'suffered a turbine failure and the capacity of the power station dropped from 37 to 18

¹⁰¹ J. Mayman and M. Davies '1930-1945' in P. Firkins (ed) *A History of Commerce and Industry in Western Australia* (Perth: 1979)

¹⁰² Moore (1987) pp.132-4

¹⁰³ RAC website www.rac.com.au

¹⁰⁴ No War Memorial at East Perth is listed in O. Richards *War Memorials in Western Australia* (Como: 1994)

megawatts...[the unit] had been operating almost continuously since 1939 without and let-up for all but the most minor maintenance'.¹⁰⁵ The unit was repaired and re-operating by June 1946; but in June 1947 the first of the 4-megawatt units 'disintegrated, sending pieces of metal through the roof and walls of the powerhouse, one hitting the Bunbury railway bridge half a mile away. It has simply expired through old age and fatigue'.¹⁰⁶ The 25-megawatt unit failed an additional six times between 1949 and 1951, creating an 'electricity crisis' across Perth, when power restrictions were enforced, rolling blackouts affected the suburbs, trams ran only during peak times, and businesses were implored to conserve power wherever possible. The opening of the city's second power station at South Fremantle in May 1951 alleviated the crisis, and removed the pressure that had been placed on the E.P.P.S.¹⁰⁷

The long-awaited conversion of the state's electricity grid from 40 Hertz to 50 Hertz took place between 1951 and 1957, following the installation of a 25 megawatt frequency converter, housed in a separate building, at the E.P.P.S. sometime after 1945.¹⁰⁸

2.7.2 The Post-War 'Heyday of Industry'

Graham O'Neill writes that 'the 1950s represented the height of industrial activity in the Claisebrook precinct, and was the period when the greatest large-scale pollution of the local environment occurred'.¹⁰⁹ In a work of considerably broader scope, Frank Crowley alludes to another long-term corollary to this same Post-War economic boom, noting that '[a]s well as increased activity in the traditionally industrial suburbs of East and West Perth, Subiaco, Midland Junction and Fremantle, new areas were transformed by the rapid construction of factories [in] the districts of Welshpool, Bassendean, Osborne Park, Hilton Park, Innaloo, O'Connor and Kwinana'.¹¹⁰ The prevalence of pollution during the Inter-War years supports O'Neill's statement that the resurgence of industrial activity in the 1950s was accompanied by an upsurge in industrial pollution; while Crowley's observation alludes to a central reason behind East Perth's future decline, because Post-War Perth's new outer-urban industrial suburbs were destined to eventually host many of the industries traditionally located in the inner-city.

Additional evidence attests to the thriving industrial character of post-war East Perth. In 1952, 17 000 'industrial workers', equal to 46 percent of the state's industrial workforce, were

¹⁰⁵ Edmonds (2000) p-25

¹⁰⁶ Edmonds (2000) p-25

¹⁰⁷ Edmonds (2000) pp.26-7

¹⁰⁸ Edmonds (2000) pp.26-7; Boylen (1994) pp.37-8, 47-8

¹⁰⁹ O'Neill (2001) *op.cit* p-67

¹¹⁰ Crowley p-349

employed in the 'two oldest [industrial] areas of East Perth and West Perth'.¹¹¹ Several new factories, including the Australian Electric Co, the West Australian Plaster Mills, and the Krafts Food factory at 183 Brown Street, became established in the suburb during this period.

In 1957, something of a milestone in East Perth's history occurred, with the opening of the St. Vincent de Paul Society's Night Shelter 'Camillus House' at 15 Bronte Street:

*The men who reside in this shelter are largely the victims of human inadequacy and human frailties -just men without roots. There are an incredible number of men cut off from their families for various incompatibilities, not always of their own making -in and out of a job- finally losing heart and resorting to drink and even drugs to dispel their unhappiness and loneliness...These men come to the Night Shelter, where they are supplied, free of charge, with beds, meals, and clothing and other needs. Radio, television and concerts help to bring cheer. A small but attractive chapel is available for meditation.*¹¹²

2.7.3 Multiculturalism in the Post-War Period

An outcome of Australia's post-war immigration program was a noticeable increase in the ethnic diversity of East Perth, as many European people took up the cheap accommodation existing in the centre of the suburb upon arrival in the country. The pattern was one of a frequently changing European-speaking population, as progressive waves of Greek, Polish, Italian and other migrants typically established a foothold in the inner-city, before moving on to better quality housing in the fast-expanding suburbs. The high proportion, and high social mobility, of European-born residents in East Perth carried on throughout the 1960s, into the period when East Perth went into decline.¹¹³

2.7.4 Snapshots of Progress in the South

The resumption of economic progress and population growth after the Second World War also had an immediate impact on the landscape in the southern region of East Perth. On Murray Street East (formerly Goderich Street), 'the development of the high-rise section of Royal Perth Hospital in 1947, overshadowing St. Mary's Cathedral, provided a foretaste of the jump in scale which was to mark the next phase of the city's development'.¹¹⁴ The transformation of the skyline of the southern part of East Perth proceeded during the following decades.

¹¹¹ G. Stephenson and J.A. Hepburn, *Plan for the Metropolitan Region: Perth and Fremantle, Western Australia* (Perth: 1955) pp.54-6

¹¹² M. Sawyer *The History of the St. Vincent de Paul Society* (Perth: 1979) pp.27-8

¹¹³ Mason (1994) p-

¹¹⁴ Hocking (1979) p-281

During the 1950s, southern East Perth remained a desirable and popular place for high-density, inner-city residences. The Langley Park flats, built along Terrace Road during the 1950s to cater to young office workers, are a prime example of the post-war investment in flat construction that occurred after the lifting of wartime housing controls. Jenny Gregory records that there were a total of 21 blocks of flats in Goderich, Forrest and Hill Streets, Burt Way and Terrace Drive by 'the early to mid fifties.'¹¹⁵

The ongoing program of river reclamation opened up new land for development. The most significant development took place between 1960 and 1962, when Trinity College was built and opened on reclaimed land behind the WACA Oval and Gloucester Park.¹¹⁶ The reclaiming and landscaping of Herrison Island was completed by 1955. In 1959, the old tip site north of Gloucester Park, between Arden Street and the river, was developed as a public park.

In 1955, the RAC opened a new, two-storey building at 228 Adelaide Terrace.¹¹⁷ In 1958, another long-term and familiar tenant of the Terrace, the ABC, opened a 'multi-studio radio complex' at 191 Adelaide Terrace, in the former mansion 'Rose Hill'. By 1960, the ABC had also opened a television on the same site, between the studio and Terrace Road.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Gregory (2001) p-58

¹¹⁶ Trinity College website www.trinity.wa.edu.au

¹¹⁷ RAC website www.rac.com.au

¹¹⁸ ABC website www.abc.com.au

Part Three: East Perth in Decline and Transition

3.1 The E.P.P.S. in Decline

The E.P.P.S. ceased generating electricity on 23 December 1981. Over the preceding years the E.P.P.S. had steadily declined in importance as new Power Stations were opened, and subsequently expanded, at Bunbury (1957), Muja (1965), and Kwinana (1970). By 1981, the E.P.P.S. was contributing just 2.5% of the state's total power output.¹¹⁹

During its final decades the E.P.P.S. alternated between burning oil and burning coal. In 1974, when the Station was to be converted back to burning coal, the old locomotive which had formerly been used to handle coal had already been sent to a railway museum. At the same time a different incident also revealed the passing of the older era, when the emissions created by the E.P.P.S. subsequent to the return to coal generated 'a serious environmental problem' at East Perth. The installation of precipitators on the chimneys of the E.P.P.S. became necessary, to ensure the emissions met the stringent environmental regulations of the day.¹²⁰

3.2 East Perth in Decline

3.2.1 Graham O'Neill and Bryce Moore

During the 1960s and 1970s the industrial and working-class central region of East Perth went into decline, giving the suburb the appearance and reputation of a blighted inner-city area. O'Neill provides the following account of this decline:

The closure of the East Perth Locomotive Depot in 1968 represented a significant industrial turnaround for the area. A diesel railcar depot opened next to Claisebrook (formerly East Perth) Station, and was substantially less polluting, quieter and cleaner than its predecessor...The gradual closure of industry around Claisebrook was due to the State Government's plan for a new bridge and a city bypass, which was a consequence of town planning based on the Stephenson and Hepburn Report of 1955, and earlier planning proposals. During the late 1960s, the government placed caveats on several houses around Claisebrook in order to acquire land for the proposed Burswood Bridge. By the late 1970s most industry surrounding Claisebrook, including the gas works, Brisbane and Wunderlich, the Stoneware Pottery Company, the Boronia Flour Mill and its neighbour, the Australian Glass Manufacturers factory, had closed. The last of the big industries, the power station, ceased operating in 1981 while the concrete plant lasted until the late 1980s.¹²¹

Moore's book demonstrates that the decline of clay-manufacturing industries of East Perth resulted from a range of factors, including the emergence of new technologies, the competitive advantages of competing factories located in the city's newer, outer-urban industrial areas, and the flow-on

¹¹⁹ Edmonds (2000) p-89

¹²⁰ *Ibid* pp.76-7

¹²¹ O'Neill (2001) *op.cit* p-67

effects of the closure of other industries in East Perth. The Brown Street tile factory, for instance, is shown to have suffered from the closure of the old railway locomotive depot:

*Nineteen seventy-four was a year of tough decisions for Brisbane and Wunderlich. For the first time in the history of the company, a plant was permanently closed and a whole division eliminated, a move that would be repeated a number of times over the ensuing years. The first factory to go was the Brown Street refractory and special clay-product works, taken over from Wunderlich in 1938...During the 1960s, the railways firelump contract disappeared as a consequence of the switch from steam to diesel locomotives. Brown Street was always at a disadvantage in competing for the remaining market, due to being located far from a source of supply of good refractory clay. Furthermore, changing tastes and processes in commercial building during the decade were seriously shrinking the demand for architectural terra cotta. There was, by 1974, insufficient business in Brown Street's traditional product lines to justify continuing in those areas, and the choice had to be made between closing the works and redeveloping it for another purpose. Economic factors dictated the former course.*¹²²

In 1976 another long-standing tenant of the industrial centre, the Stoneware Company, also closed down, largely because PVC piping had superseded clay-pipes, and thus eroded the company's markets.¹²³ The Lord Street factory of Brisbane and Wunderlich (in 1978 the firm was renamed Bristile) survived only a few years longer. Back in 1956, the tile-plant at Lord Street was closed down and moved to Caversham, with production thereafter concentrating on aluminium window frames, stainless-steel sinks and troughs, and other similar building products. 'Fierce competition and declining profitability killed the residential window division in 1978'; and in 1983, sink production was moved to a large, recently-acquired factory in Victoria. The Lord Street factory was retained for a further two years as a showroom, before the company finally ended its long association with East Perth's industrial centre in 1985.¹²⁴

3.2.2 Jenny Gregory

Gregory, in *City of Light*, provides a thorough account of the changes that swept East Perth in the 1960s and 1970s, set within a context of the history of Perth City as a whole. The history of Aboriginal people in East Perth during this period is covered at some length;¹²⁵ although this subject is beyond the scope of this Report, it can be mentioned that Gregory (drawing upon the 1967 survey of Aboriginal housing needs by Michael Robinson) writes that the Aboriginal community was concentrated along Brown Street, Claisebrook Road, Wickham Street and Royal Street in the central region, and nearby Parry Street (west of the railway line).¹²⁶ Elsewhere, the book gives the following image of East Perth in decline:

Much of East Perth was blighted. Its central section around Claisebrook had long been the site of noxious industries, from the tanneries and abattoirs of the nineteenth century to the sewerage treatment works, gasometer and power station of the early twentieth century. The main railway line for both passenger and goods trains ran through the area. Part of East Perth had been designated 'light industrial' in 1929 and warehouses and furniture factories were built in the area. Offensive smells diminished as the most

¹²² Moore (1987) p-220

¹²³ Moore (1987) p-221.

¹²⁴ Moore (1987) pp.180, 231-5

¹²⁵ Gregory (2003) pp.162-170

¹²⁶ Gregory (2003) p-167

*noxious industries closed, but the air was still heavy with soot from coal-burning steam trains and the power station. By the fifties and sixties, housing in the area, much of which had been built in the 1890s and early 1900s, was in a state of decay.*¹²⁷

Concerning the transition of the southern region during the final decades of the E.P.P.S, two distinct contemporary impressions of Adelaide Terrace quoted by Gregory are revealing. The first, from the novelist Dorothy Sanders, comes from the 'late 1950s':

*Adelaide Terrace where once had been the great houses of the pioneering families and which houses, newly façaded, now represented the executive side of industrial progress. The old Terrace had kept its serene dignity nevertheless. Progress had not destroyed the historic trees planted in the fore gardens of the big two-storeyed houses. Enough of these houses still kept their colonial mansion appearance in spite of the cleverly designed nameplates that boasted of oil, or radio, or motor vehicle. It was a lovely street.*¹²⁸

The second quote, which appears later in the book, recounts the impression of the journalist John Hepworth, 'when he came home to Perth in 1975 after many years' absence':

*Along the gracious boulevard of Adelaide combining into St George's Terrace...it seems there's not even a façade I can recognise. Great ugly boxes of glass and concrete - offensive to the souls and offensive to the eye...*¹²⁹

3.2.3 The Closure of the Tramways

The closure of Perth's tramway system can be regarded as a portent of the decline of the old East Perth. The Tramways closed in 1958, 38 years after the opening of the E.P.P.S, and 27 years before its closure;¹³⁰ since the turn of the century the sight and sound of the trams, the tram routes and the overhead electricity cables, had been a constant part of the inner-city landscape. Trolley-Buses continued for a few years longer. The site of the Car barn in the south-east of the suburb became a depot for the buses of the Metropolitan Transport Trust after 1958, and like the subsequent changes to the railway from 1968, it seems likely that the workforce based at the newer depot tended to live outside of East Perth, and therefore did not establish the same connections between workplace and community in the manner that tram and railway employees once had.

3.2.4 Snapshots of a Suburb in Decline

There are two symbolic milestones in the decline of East Perth's inter-war and post-war community identity. In 1961, a redistribution of electoral boundaries in Western Australia led to the abolition of the old Legislative Assembly seat of East Perth.¹³¹ And in 1974, the East Perth Primary School, between Royal Street and Wellington Square, closed down (after the Second World War, the old teacher's quarters and the old infant's school were used by the Department of Native Welfare).¹³² The school building was eventually redeveloped into a trendy café, at the heart of a revitalised precinct.

¹²⁷ Gregory (2003) p-162

¹²⁸ quoted in Gregory (2003) p-100

¹²⁹ quoted in Gregory (2003) p-219

¹³⁰ Pleydell (1999) p-45

¹³¹ J. Mandy and D. Black *The Western Australian Parliamentary Handbook: Centenary Edition* (1990)

¹³² *Heritage Matters* February 2004 p-10.

Beginning in the late 1960s, the Boans furniture factory and warehouse began to remove various operations to a new industrial area at Cannington. The imposition of the Freeway Reserve, which prevented the factory from expanding, is recognised as a factor in the departure from East Perth. The final move from East Perth to Cannington was completed in 1976.¹³³ Similar to the Primary School, the façade of the old warehouse was redeveloped into an up-market apartment complex. The F.H. Faulding pharmaceutical factory and laboratory on Lord Street, another familiar tenant of the industrial centre during the inter-war and post-war period, closed in 1969, when all production was moved to a much larger, ten-acre site in Adelaide.¹³⁴

Between 1973 and 1976, the thirteen-story interstate railway terminal and Westrail headquarters was constructed to the north of the old Locomotive Depot. Some 800 employees officially moved to the new headquarters on 12 October 1976.¹³⁵ Like the transition from trams to buses in the south-east of East Perth, it can be presumed that the greater majority of these new employees lived outside of the suburb and commuted to work, and therefore did not sustain the former links between workplace and community. The new building was one of the earliest of the major redevelopments that defines the East Perth landscape today.

3.3 East Perth and Metropolitan Planning from 1955

3.4.1. Stephenson and Hepburn

O'Neill clearly recognises the influence of metropolitan planning on the decline of the Claisebrook precinct, when he writes that 'The gradual closure of industry around Claisebrook was due to the State Government's plan for a new bridge and a city bypass, which was a consequence of town planning based on the Stephenson and Hepburn Report of 1955...'.¹³⁶ Indeed, in the context of this report, Stephenson and Hepburn's *Plan for the Metropolitan Region* (1955) can be regarded as the single greatest factor driving the decline of the industrial, working-class central region of East Perth during the final decades of the E.P.P.S. The history and influence of the 1955 Plan is well covered in Gregory's *City of Light*.¹³⁷ As its title suggests, the 1955 Plan covered the entire metropolitan region, although as Gregory has noted, the 'City of Perth was a special focus of the Report'.¹³⁸ Stephenson and Hepburn suggested a new zoning scheme for the CBD and inner-city 'that was implemented in a city by-law even before the report was completed';¹³⁹ a simplified representation of this new zoning scheme, included in the 1955 Report, is reproduced below; a more detailed, colour-coded representation of the scheme is contained in the *Atlas* that accompanied the single-volume Report.¹⁴⁰

¹³³ Bennes (1994) pp.6, 16.

¹³⁴ McWhinney (1975) p-279

¹³⁵ F. Affleck *On Track: The Making of Westrail* (1978) p-214

¹³⁶ O'Neill (2001) p- 67

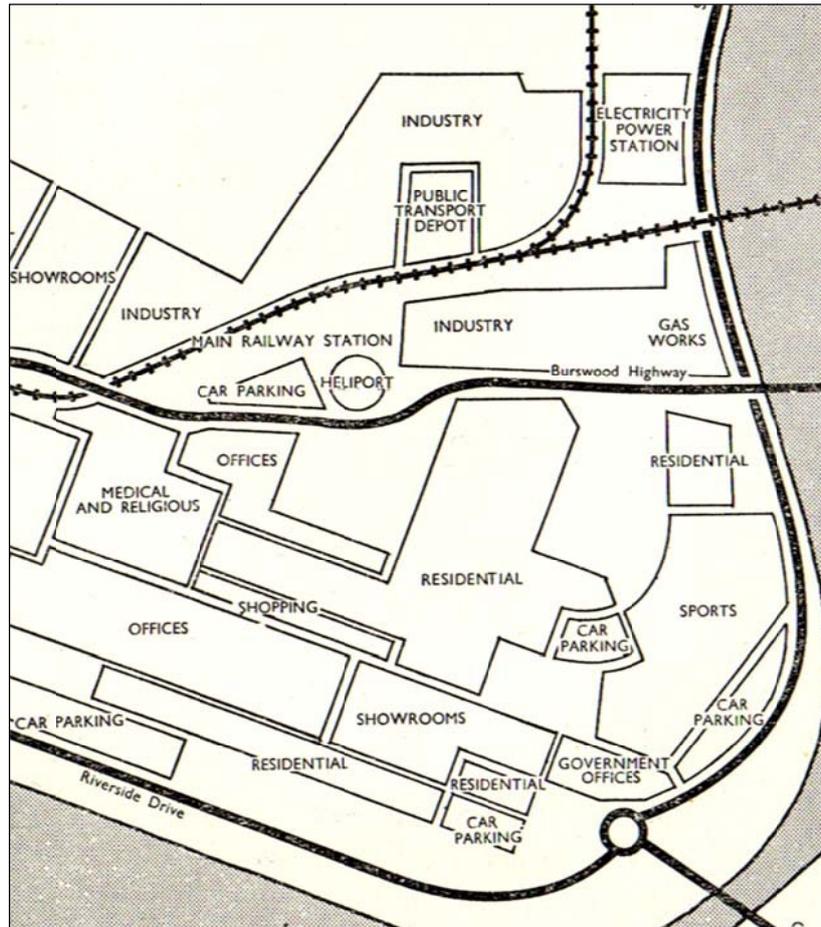
¹³⁷ Gregory (2003) pp.93-106

¹³⁸ Gregory (2003) p-97

¹³⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁰ Stephenson and Hepburn *Atlas* (1955) plate 13

The implications of the zoning scheme for the inner-city landscape of East Perth were profound. Commercial offices were planned to spread eastward along Adelaide Terrace, progressively replacing the old mansions of the elite; a new area of 'showrooms' and shops is also proposed at the eastern end of the Terrace. An additional area of offices has been put adjacent to Wellington Square, between Wittenoom Street and Wellington Street and Bennet Street, an area hitherto occupied by factory's, warehouses and stables. The old middle-class residential area in the southern part of the suburb and the working-class residential area in the central region have both been diminished in extent, and distinct residential zones are proposed: a smaller zone comprising the portion of Trafalgar Street facing the Burswood bank



Map 5: East Perth in Stephenson and Hepburn's Zoning Scheme of 1955

of the river and including Nile, Constitution and Macy Streets; a larger residential area in the middle of East Perth, comprising of Hay and Goderich Streets as far as Plain Street, and stretching north to include the portions of Bronte, Wickham, Wittenoom and Royal Streets bounded by Wellington Square to the west and the Cemetery and Haig Park to the east; a second small zone, at the eastern end of Adelaide Terrace; and the Terrace Road precinct, where several blocks of flats were located.

The Report's anticipation of ever-increasing motor traffic in the city was critically important to the subsequent decline of East Perth's central region. To cater for the growing traffic in and around the city, Stephenson and Hepburn developed an 'inner-ring freeway' surrounding the city. The western portion of the freeway was linked to another of the 1955 report's major recommendations, the

Narrows Bridge and Kwinana Freeway. The eastern portion of the proposed freeway, clearly visible on Map 4, exerts a dominant influence of the East Perth landscape envisaged in the 1955 report. The ring freeway was planned to skirt the Swan River, along Riverside Drive to a major intersection at the Causeway, and then continuing north past Gloucester Park, the Gasworks and the E.P.P.S, along the river-bank for the entire eastern boundary of East Perth, and thence on the Maylands. A second, new highway, the 'Burswood Highway', is shown to pass from North Perth through the central region of East Perth, along the route of Claisebrook and in the vicinity of Brown and Royal Streets, before exiting the suburb via a new bridge, the 'Burswood Bridge'. The plan had a major impact on East Perth's decline. Henceforth, a 'freeway reserve' was zoned in the centre of the suburb, covering the length of Kensington, Pilbara, Belvidere, and Alma Streets, and portions of Tamar Street, Brown Street, and Royal Street.¹⁴¹ The land within the reserve was progressively acquired by the government, and in the years that followed, whilst the plans for a city by-pass were revised and debated, new building activity in the reserve ceased, and the pre-existing houses and factories fell into the 'state of disrepair' for which the central part of East Perth became notorious.

Several large new car-parks were also recommended by the Report, to cater for the ever-growing motor traffic in the city; the car-parks were located along Nelson Crescent, on the hill above the WACA, and in a large block bordered by Royal Street, Claisebrook Road and the Railway. The forward-thinking design of the Report also led to the most novel suggestion for change at East Perth, a Heliport, on land between the new car-parks and the railway locomotive yard (the city's much-anticipated Heliport was eventually placed near the Causeway, in south-eastern East Perth). The major recommendations of the Report concerning the Metropolitan Region generally also affected East Perth in a variety of ways after 1955. In particular, the development of new industrial suburbs including of Kwinana, Welshpool and O'Conner was planned for by Stephenson and Hepburn, and it was to these new suburbs that several of the former East Perth industries relocated during the 1960s and 1970s.

3.4.2. Metropolitan Planning After 1955

Although the zoning scheme for the central city was immediately adopted by the P.C.C., and although the Narrows Bridge and Kwinana Freeway were quickly constructed, Stephenson and Hepburn's inner-ring freeway remained at the planning stage throughout the final decades of the E.P.P.S. The opening of the Graham Farmer Freeway and the Goongoonup Bridge around 2000-01 (work started in 1996¹⁴²) represented the final outcome of the protracted period of planning and debate surrounding the city by-pass. The worst of East Perth's deterioration took place within the Freeway Reserve during the 1960s and 1970s, as the future of the project remained uncertain.

In 1963, Stephenson and Hepburn's original plan for a ring freeway became a centrepiece of the Metropolitan Region Scheme (the 'Corridor Plan'), which also provided legislative authority over the

¹⁴¹ The freeway Reserve is shown in greater detail in Plate 13 of the Atlas.

¹⁴² L. Edmonds *The Vital Link* (Perth: 1997) p-390

Freeway Reserve passing through East Perth to the state government. In 1967, a consultant for the Main Roads Department, the De Leuw Cather engineering firm, recommended changes to the inner-ring freeway which effectively 'turned Stephenson's English road system into a California Expressway'. In addition to a new traffic bridge adjacent to the Bunbury Railway Bridge, this 1967 plan also suggested a second new bridge adjacent to the Causeway, and an increase in the Freeway Reserve to allow for the building of a six-lane Freeway. Further proposals by another group of consultants in 1970 and by the P.C.C. in 1972 proposed various moderations to the prospective city by-pass, without significantly altering the Freeway reserve other than adding to the ongoing delay in the finalisation of the plan.¹⁴³

3.4.2 Paul Ritter and East Perth

Paul Ritter is a prominent figure in the history of East Perth during the period of decline and transition. An urban-planner of international standing, the German-born Ritter joined the P.C.C. in 1964 and spent three turbulent years as Chief Planner, before being controversially sacked in 1967. After his dismissal, Ritter, who enjoyed a high public profile, was elected to the Council as a representative of the East Ward. Ritter has been credited with attempting to hasten the construction of the city by-pass, in order to overcome the deterioration of buildings within the Freeway Reserve, which had already prompted businesses and residents to leave the affected area.¹⁴⁴ Once on the Council, Ritter also showed some concern for the amenity of East Perth generally, encouraging improvements to programs of street-sweeping and rubbish-removal, and seeking to involve the community in the decision-making process (It is also noteworthy that Ritter frequently contrasted the attention given to West Perth by Council planners with the neglect of East Perth). Ritter's dramatic tenure as the Council's Chief Planner, and his subsequent foray into municipal government, is covered in Gregory's *City of Light*. An insight into some of his activities as a Councillor can be gleaned from a series of newsletters he produced between c.1968-c.1971, selections of which are reproduced in Appendix 3.

Ritter's alternative vision for the city bypass is outlined in one of his many self-published pamphlets, titled 'Perth in Peril'. In this alternative plan, Stephenson and Hepburn's inner-ring freeway passing along Claisebrook and over the new Bunbury bridge is retained; a proposed 'Wellington Street' bridge (or more accurately, a causeway, as the bridge is shown passing over the northern end of Herrison Island) is also included, along with a widening of Wellington Street and Nelson Avenue there is a new street planned between the WACA and Gloucester Park. A widening of Adelaide-St. George's Terrace was also suggested by Ritter in his plan.

3.4.3 Alan Bond

¹⁴³ Gregory (2003) p-108. See also M.J. Webb 'If you seek his memorial, look around you' in *Western Planner* vol. 15, no. 5 (1999); G. Stephenson *On A Human Scale: A Life in City Design* (Fremantle: 1992) pp. 147-9; Ritter, P. *An Analytical Approach Study of the Proposed Corridor Plan for Perth and Possible Alternate Approach to a Regional Plan for the Metropolitan Area* (Perth: 1972)

¹⁴⁴ Gregory (2003)

The Entrepreneur Alan Bond served a term on the Perth City Council as a representative for the East Ward between 1972 and 1975 (Appendix 2). In the autobiography he wrote from prison, Alan Bond recalled his achievements on the Council. He had been a visionary, and a man of the people:

*I was left in no doubt that there weren't enough people with business experience on the Perth City Council. Poor decisions were being made by misguided, unqualified people...I wanted to do something about it, and the only way was to do it myself...So I stood for council and after some effort I was elected. Interestingly, I wasn't elected by big business people but by the ethnic minorities. They could relate to me because they were European people who had come to Perth and set up their own small businesses, and they held similar concerns about mismanagement in the council...During my three-year term the council changed dramatically. The rates never increased in that period and we saved money by outsourcing things like rubbish removal. The council had been getting out of its depth by venturing into commercial enterprises, so we put a stop to that. It was the council's job to serve the community rather than compete with it. I got myself onto the finance and town-planning committees and encouraged them to free things up and get the city moving. I believed that the best way to add to the council coffers was to get more people into the city rather than penalise the people already there.*¹⁴⁵

Bond resigned at the end of his three-year term, claiming that he had 'achieved what he set out to do'; although as Gregory observes, Bond had failed to keep one of his core promises to electors, 'a change in zoning from residential to industrial on the East Perth end of Wellington Street in order to increase land values'.¹⁴⁶ It is not clear how much of East Perth ever became part of Bond's extensive real estate portfolio.

3.4 Surveys of a Suburb in Decline and Transition

The urban geographer D.R. Scott, in a study of the development of Western Australian Manufacturing for the Sesquicentenary series, provided the following summary of industrial East Perth in 1976:

*East Perth, which contains one of the Metropolitan Region's three power stations, is the most specialized of the older, inner-suburban areas...Most of its forty-two factories are small establishments engaged in light manufacturing (no pun on the power station intended), but it contains two large establishments, one making glass bottles and jars and one plaster products. Its specialization derives from Printing and Publishing (closeness to the city) and the manufacture of Glass, Clay and Other Non-Metallic Mineral Products which, together, account for about 69 per cent of the Value Added in this area.*¹⁴⁷

A number of other surveys, carried out during the 1960s and 1970s, yield useful information on the historical geography of East Perth during the period of decline and transition.

3.4.1 Industrial Survey 1967

This survey records that a total of 153.9 acres, equal to 69 percent of the central part of the suburb, was classified under 'Industrial use', and that East Perth industries occupied an average of 1.22

¹⁴⁵ A. Bond and R. Rundle *Bond* (2003)

¹⁴⁶ Gregory (2003) p-182

¹⁴⁷ D.R. Scott 'Evolution of a Landscape: Manufacturing' in J. Gentilli (ed) *Western Landscapes* (Perth: 1979)

acres per site and employed an average of 29.91 employees.¹⁴⁸ Industrial activity at East Perth was summarised as follows:

*Industry is mainly of the engineering, furniture-type activity with such government uses as the East Perth power station, railway maintenance yards, Metropolitan Transport Trust and engineering and stores depot and Public Works mechanical and plant engineering workshops. The area is essentially run-down with the major non-industrial residential usage in poor condition. The area is badly planned and off-street parking is a problem in narrow streets.*¹⁴⁹

3.4.2 Central Area Survey 1977

The Central Area Survey 1977 was carried out by the P.C.C, and was designed to record the rapid growth of Perth during the 1960s and 1970s. A large section of southern East Perth -the portion of the suburb south of Royal Street- was included in the study area. The results of the Survey were presented in a large series of maps displaying information on Land Use, Age, Height and Condition of buildings, Workforce, Residents, and Traffic and Pedestrians. A selection of these maps is reproduced in Appendix 4. In general, the study demonstrates that, while central East Perth was undergoing a decline as the future of the city by-pass remained uncertain, the southern part of the suburb continued to develop in concert with the rest of the city, as new houses, flats, offices and hotels were built along the major streets including Adelaide Terrace, Hay Street East, and Goderich, Hill, Plain and Bennet Streets.¹⁵⁰

3.4.3 Urban Lands Council East Perth Project 1985

In the years following the closure of the E.P.P.S, a series of reports on the Freeway Reserve was produced for the Urban Lands Council and the M.R.P.A. These reports contain some useful information pertaining to the ownership, age and value of property within the Reserve, which included a significant portion of central East Perth.

Estimates on the condition of each building in the survey area, contained in Report 2, listed 3% (20 buildings) in a 'Poor' condition, 23% (144) in 'Fair' conditions, and 72% (443) in 'Good'. The Report commented that this 'surprisingly high standard of building condition given the area's generally run-down appearance' was 'due more to a lack of maintenance leading to superficial taintiness rather than fundamental problems of condition. The area's appearance is also directly related to the significant number of vacant sites, sited used for unsightly open air storage, and ad hoc car parks. In many places unattractive fences also detract from the area's appearance'.¹⁵¹ Estimates on the age of the buildings were as follows: 29% (178) buildings were estimated to have been built before 1920, 30% (184) during 1920-1949, 21% (129) between 1950-1969, 11% (68) between 1970 and 1979, and 5% (32) since 1980. The Report noted that 'buildings within the City Northern By-pass Reserve tended to be older than those outside the Reserve. Such a result is to be expected and is one of the symptoms of the 'blight' caused by the imposition of the By-pass Reserve'.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Appendix 4A, 4C and 4D, pp.48, 52-4. The average acreage of East Perth industries is based on a survey of 109 industries occupying 132.6 acres, and the average workforce on a survey of 95 industries employing 2841 workers.

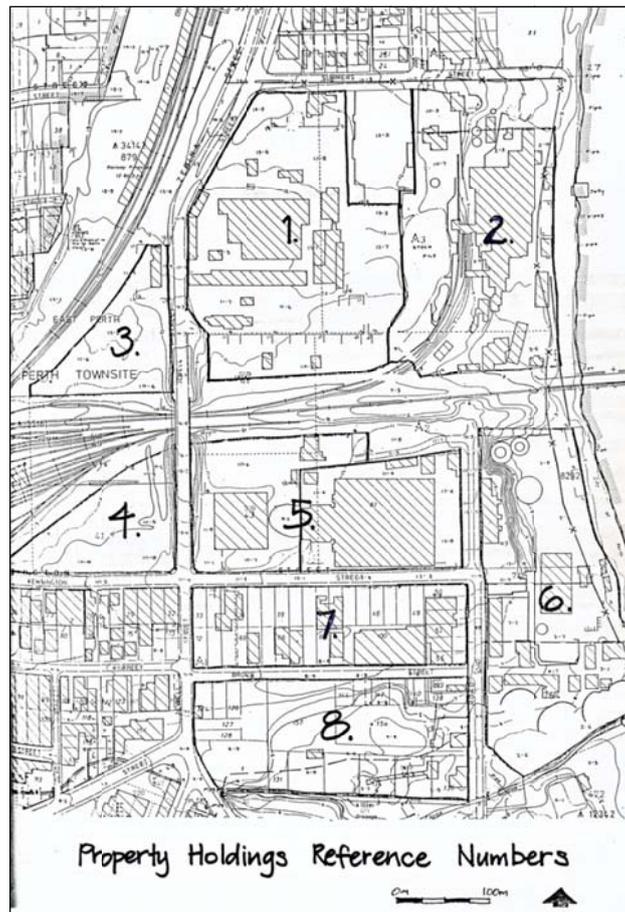
¹⁴⁹ Perth Metropolitan Region Planning Authority *Industrial Survey 1967-68* (Perth: 1969) p-10

¹⁵⁰ City of Perth, *Central Area Survey 1977* (Perth: 1980)

¹⁵¹ Wilson Sayer Core, *East Perth Project Land and Buildings Survey May 1985: Working Paper 2* (West Perth: 1985) p-4

¹⁵² *Ibid* p-5

Report 7, on land control and ownership, recorded that the M.R.P.A. was the dominant landowner and landlord within the Freeway Reserve, especially in the Northbridge area. Within the East Perth Study Area, 72% of the land was tenured to Government; 20% Westrail, 15% P.C.C, 12% M.R.P.A, 8% S.E.C, and 8% Crown. By 1981, 'less than 10 000 residents' lived in the Study Area, with 'barely 1000' located in the region around Claisebrook.¹⁵³ The ownership of land in central East Perth is shown overleaf, in Map 6; the map shows the amount of land-holdings controlled by the railway, and the extent of the property surrounding the E.P.P.S. and the Gasworks owned by the S.E.C. The land shown in this map eventually fell under the control of the East Perth Redevelopment Authority.



Map 6: Property Holdings Claisebrook, 1985

1. Westrail, 6.45 hectares, occupied by the P.W.D. Depot; 2. SEC, 4.4 hectares, Power Station; 3. Westrail, 1.98 hectares, vacant; 4. Westrail, 1.93 hectares, vacant; 5. Westrail, 4.45 hectares, Westrail and M.T.T. Depot; 6. SEC, 4.4 hectares, Gas Works; 7. Private Business Sector, commercial and light industry; 8. Homewest, 3.6 hectares, vacant.

Report 9, on housing in the East Perth portion of the Freeway Reserve, also contains a range of useful facts. A total of 350 houses (including units, duplexes and terraces), and 12 hostels and boarding houses, were contained in the Study Area; some 44% of these buildings had been built before 1929, and a further 44% between 1920 and 1949. Two-thirds of the housing was assessed to

¹⁵³ Wilson Sayer Core, *East Perth Project Working Paper 7: Non-Residential Activity Structure* (West Perth: 1985) pp.16-19

be in 'Good' condition, 31% in a 'Fair' condition, and 5% 'Poor', and privately-owned housing was generally found to be in a better condition than government-owned buildings:

*Government owned dwellings in the Primary Study Area are obviously receiving minimal maintenance and are being let on a very short term rental basis. This situation exists despite the indefinite nature of the by-pass proposal...Generally the Primary Study Area contains a high proportion of rental households and migrants, many of the latter being relatively recent arrivals in Australia.*¹⁵⁴

The Report also dealt with the prevalence of short-term crisis accommodation and boarding houses in East Perth. The situation was summarised as follows:

*Lodging Houses used to provide an important role in the private rental sector up until World War Two and for two decades after. However, a number of factors including health and planning provisions, age of the dwelling stock, cost of operation and their attractiveness for conversion to more saleable dwelling forms, have meant there has been a significant decline in the number...Whereas there were 245 lodging houses accommodating 3198 in the City of Perth in 1968/69, this number has declined to 77 lodging houses accommodating 2323 in 1983/84...Lodging and apartment houses form an important rental form for low income persons, especially males, who are without family support and often highly mobile. Elderly single males and young adult males are often significant tenant groups...East Perth has been for many years attractive for transient youth, men and women including Aborigines. East Perth is close to the centre of the city and a range of community and social support services now exists within walking distance of each other. Hence, East Perth has strong drawing powers for the unemployed, homeless and those seeking counselling, support and other assistance, for example those with an alcohol-related problem.*¹⁵⁵

The Report listed the following hostels and emergency residences in East Perth: St. Norbert's New Era Hostel, 2-4 Norbert Street (lone alcoholic men, generally of Aboriginal background); Camillus House, 15 Bronte Street (lone and homeless men); Anamim Centre, Lane Street (Aboriginal women); Jack Davis Hostel, Bennet Street (Aborigines visiting the city for medical treatment); Watson Lodge, Aberdeen Street ('for women with behavioural problems'); St. Bartholomew's House, 78 Brown Street (refuge for alcoholics); St. Bartholomew's Night Shelter, 111 Kensington Street (homeless men); Boomerang Hostel, 85 Trafalgar Road (persons requiring medical treatment); Gnoorda Hostel, 317 Pier Street (aboriginal students attending WAIT); HAPCA, 24 Norbert Street (homeless alcoholics); and Jewel House, 180 Goderich Street (YMCA).

3.5 The Renewal of East Perth

The renewal of East Perth began during the final years of the E.P.P.S. In January 1979, the Western Australian Government announced its decision to build the new headquarters of the Education Department along Wittenoom Street, opposite Wellington Square, in the blighted former-heartland of the suburb's urban-industrial, working-class central region.¹⁵⁶ The subsequent construction of adjoining offices for the Health Department and the T.A.F.E. Advanced Technology and Manufacturing Centre completed the redevelopment of the newly-dubbed 'Silver City', and all but obliterated the remaining, run-down factories and terrace housing.

¹⁵⁴ Wilson Sayer Core, *East Perth Project Working Paper 9: Housing Mix Opportunities* (West Perth: 1985), p-3

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p-5

¹⁵⁶ Gregory (2003) p-315

A journalist for the *Weekend News* responded to the decision to build the new Education Department headquarters by discussing the small real-estate boom underway in East Perth:

*The fact is that East Perth is a coming area, just as Subiaco has arrived...it has the remnants of character and dignity and charm, but overwhelmingly, it is close to the city centre...Most property in East Perth has exactly doubled in price these past two years, but there are still attractive propositions.*¹⁵⁷

The formation of the East Perth Redevelopment Authority in 1992 heralded the next stage in the inner-city revitalisation program that had, by 2006, wholly transformed the East Perth landscape. The creation of the EPRA and the 'reclaiming' of East Perth in the years following the closure of the E.P.P.S. is covered in some detail in Jenny Gregory's *City of Light*.¹⁵⁸

As of 30 June 1974, two buildings in East Perth were recorded by the National Trust in Western Australia as being 'among those parts of the physical environment...which contribute to the heritage of Australia and which should be recorded and whose preservation is encouraged': the Coombe Wood and Co. Building (later Millar's Timber) in Lord Street; and the Old Orphanage (more recently the offices of the Department of Fisheries and Fauna) in Adelaide Terrace.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ *Weekend News* 27 January 1979

¹⁵⁸ Gregory (2003) *op.cit* pp.314-28

¹⁵⁹ Stephenson (1975) Appendix F p-84

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Appendix 1: Pollution at East Perth

1. Fisheries Department file 60/1947 'Swan River-Pollution of' SROWA Acc 477 An 10/2

Chief Inspector of Fisheries to Under-Secretary, Chief Secretary's Office, 4 September 1926:

Inspector Green of the Department reported yesterday that at and in the vicinity of a drain situated about 300 yards south of the Bunbury Railway Bridge, and on the western side of the Swan River, there was a large deposit of a tar-like substance, and that the discharge from this and another nearby drain appeared to contain matter resembling tar. A sample of the discharge from each drain was obtained, and each appears to contain a percentage of tar, or matter closely resembling it.

The deposit referred to above may be traced on the bed of the river for some distance, and if a paddle is used the blade becomes coated. There is reason to believe that the discharge is coming from the Gas Works in the vicinity.

A discharge of quantities of material of this nature into the waters of the river is likely to have an injurious effect upon the fish life therein, and it should, in my opinion, be discontinued. Legal proceedings may be taken under the Fisheries Act.

General Manager, City of Perth Electricity and Gas Department to Under-Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, 10 September 1926:

We note the remarks in regard to tar-like substance getting into the river and have to advise that we do not think that any quantity of this could have got into the river. In any case we are making provisions to prevent it doing so in the future.

It is exceedingly difficult to prevent small globules [sic] of tar floating on water passing through the drains and so getting in to the river, but we will put in a trap to stop this.

In any case we do not think there is any danger of sufficient going in to affect the fish in any way. As a matter of fact our men advise that fish are plentiful immediately around the mouth of these drains.

Under-Secretary, Chief Secretary's Office, to General Manager, City of Perth Electricity and Gas Department, 27 May 1927:

The Chief Inspector of Fisheries has been informed that the tar-like substance reported as flowing into the River from the Gas Works during September last, is still being discharged into the waters, and that, in the vicinity of the discharge pipe, there is a considerable accumulation of the substance.

Your attention was drawn to this matter in September last year, and your reply stated that you were taking steps to prevent the substance from discharging into the river. The report now received indicates that the measures taken have not been effective, and I shall be glad if you will give further consideration to the question of preventing the discharge complained of.

General Manager, City of Perth Electricity and Gas Department to Under-Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, 7 June 1927:

We cannot understand this report as we are positive we have not discharged any matter like this into the river since our last letter.

The accumulation spoken of is, we believe, the same as that referred to previously, and is not a recent addition.

It is possible for a few globules of oil to escape into the drain and flow into the river. To prevent this in future we will install a separator, which should absolutely prevent any more oil from going into the river.

Inspector of Fisheries Bowler to Chief Inspector of Fisheries, 13 December 1948:

I have to report for your information that whilst on patrol of the Swan River at East Perth this morning, in company with Inspector Smart we observed at least half a square mile of very discoloured water of a reddish colour near the Gas Works, also the banks adjoining the Gas Works were badly stained with a bitumous substance. In my opinion this discharge from the Gas Works may have some bearing on the state of the pollution of the Swan River.

Note from Inspector of Fisheries Thorn to Superintendent of Fisheries, 17 August 1951:

Reports that during a patrol on 14-8-1951 'a very heavy bad smelling substance completely covered the area of water below the Perth Power Station'. Thorn believed the substance originated from the Power Station. and that 'it would be detrimental to both River life and the Perth public as well.'

Note from Supervising Inspector Bromby to Superintendent of Fisheries, 23 August 1951:

Reports that the substance referred to be Inspector Thorn 'comes from the Gas Works not the Power Station. This substance can be found floating on the water almost any night near the Bunbury Railway Bridge'.

2. Fisheries Department file 1163/1956 'Pollution of Swan River' SROWA Cons. 1846 Was. 268

The file contains a number of newspaper cuttings of reports of pollution of the Swan River at East Perth during 1959 and 1960. Some examples of the cuttings are reproduced below.

'West Australian' 11 March 1959 p-1

Mystery Oil Scum Fouls the River

A thin scum of oil floating on the Swan River yesterday appears to have been emptied into the river from a point near the Bunbury railway bridge. It is not known what caused the scum, but a tanker was seen pumping out liquid in some reeds at a point nearly opposite the Bunbury bridge yesterday morning. The oil slick which was more than 30ft. wide in one place late yesterday was moving slowly towards the Causeway but did not extend north of the bridge. Four drainage pipes close to the bridge were emptying material into the river from nearby factories but the oil slick did not come from these. The slick left a black deposit along 200 yards of the foreshore of Gloucester Park. The oil caused concern to a trotting driver who swims horses at the rear of the trotting ground, where the scum was thickest. The driver, Bill Sansom, of Nile-Street, East Perth, said he took six horses for swimming exercise at the spot yesterday. Some of the horses refused to enter the river when they smelt the water which had an odour similar to that of phenyle. The sum adhered to the bottom of Mr. Sansom's dinghy when he exercised the horses. The spot is used for swimming by children, Sansom said.

'West Australian' 13 March 1959

Swan Being Polluted
[photograph included]

This dark, oily liquid, smelling like coal tar, was flowing yesterday into the Swan River from the East Perth Gasworks grounds through a 6in. pipe into the Claisebrook-road drain near where it joins the Swan. The pipe is underground, and directly behind about 30 yards away is one of the domestic gas tanks. An 8ft.-wide stream of the tarry liquid was flowing out into the Swan River. Fifty yards west along the Claisebrook-road drain an overflow pipe from another gas tank was dripping dark fluid into the drain, Here also there was coloured film on the water. A State Electricity Commission official last night said the department would look into the matter.

'West Australian' 14 March 1959 p-7

Railway Team Traces Slick to Gasworks

Works Minister Tonkin said yesterday that he doubted whether the dark oily liquid polluting the Swan River came from the East Perth gasworks. But an official Railways Department inspection party later reported that pollution was definitely being caused by gasworks drainage. The railways -two engineers and an architectural expert- indicated that the open drain outlet on the southern side of the gasworks might be entirely responsible for the pollution. The party reported that the water near this outlet contained a noticeable oil slick with small patches of a heavy black oil or tarry substance floating on the surface.

Depot Clear: The party said that on Thursday, there was no oil or pollution in the water near the East Perth loco depot. However, there was a light slick similar to petrol floating near the depot's stormwater outlet. Cooling water outlets from the East Perth power house were also relatively clear of impure liquid. The railway inspection party claimed that yesterday morning, 19 hours after their Thursday visit, the position on the river was unchanged except that an oil slick interspersed with patches of black tarry substance surrounded the East Perth loco depot storm water outlet. The slick continued in a narrow strip back through the navigation channels of the Bunbury railway bridge to within 100yds of the drainage outlet near the gasworks.

Minister's View: Mr. Tonkin, when commenting on a statement in yesterday's issue of The West Australian that the river was being polluted by dark oily liquid flowing into the river from the East Perth gasworks, said that monthly inspections were made under the direction of the Swan River Reference Committee. Water tests were made every three months. The report of the river inspection made on January 28 showed that conditions at the gasworks were the best for some time. Filling of the small bay in front of the gasworks was progressing and the only effluents reaching the river were condenser water and a small trickle of drainage water. Normally, the next test would be made during the first weeks of April

'West Australian' 26 March 1959 p-1

Waste Fouls River Again

State Electricity Commission tankers were dumping waste matter on Burswood Island near the river's edge, Belmont Road Board health inspector C. Hall said yesterday. At high tide the waste was being carried into the river and as far upstream as the Belmont swimming area. Mr. Hall said that yesterday morning a mass of the oily slick extended from Goodwood-parade to the Sandringham Hotel. Behind St. John of God Hospital, Belmont, an oily patch covered about an eighth of an acre.

Oily Slick: A reporter from The West Australian who inspected the river yesterday afternoon found that a sea breeze has broken up the oily slick on the river but has washed the waste matter on to the shore. The shoreline smelled badly and was stained with a brown liquid. Belmont residents have complained to the Road Board that the stench is so bad at times that their homes become almost uninhabitable. Belmont Road Board Chairman P.J. Faulkner said that his home by the river was often affected by a foul smell which he believed to be from the polluting waste matter. An S.E.C spokesman said later that the complaints would be investigated.

'West Australian' 30 May 1959 p-2

River Beach Polluted at Belmont

Thick deposits of a tarry substance lay on a 300-yard stretch of the Swan River beach opposite the East Perth gasworks during the weekend. Yesterday Belmont Road Board chairman, P.J. Faulkner, made an inspection. There were three distinct lines of a tarry mixture on the beach, left by receding tides. River water was stained a deep brown and an oily slick was on the surface. The deposits were about two inches thick and coated flotsam on the beach. Further attempts failed to find the source of a brown, oily substance in the river on Thursday. Mr. Faulkner said that local residents intended taking a boat up river near Belmont to examine the banks for a possible source of the pollution. He said that swimmers were abandoning training in the area because of a foul-smelling substance on the water.

3. Perth City Council file 95/1949 'Dust Nuisance: Complaints re' SROWA An 20/5 Acc 3054

Town Clerk PCC to T.J. Hughes MLA, 14 January 1926

Some little time ago you telephoned me re the dust nuisance at the Municipal Road's Board plant at East Perth. I immediately saw the Chief Health Inspector in respect to the matter, but regret, as far as we were concerned, we have no power to act. He, however, interviewed the Chief Inspector of Factories, who, I understand, is keeping a watch on the premises to see if he can take any action. I am somewhat doubtful whether it is within his jurisdiction, but may point out that any person who considers he is aggrieved by a nuisance of this character may apply to the Court for an injunction to restrain the offenders from continuing the nuisance.

Petition to Mayor and Councillors of the City of Perth [undated but 1928]

We the undersigned ratepayers [six residents of Caversham Street and Claisebrook Road, East Perth] living in the vicinity of the Hume Pipe Coy's works East Perth do hereby beg that your Council shall take action to have these works removed from their present site owing to the dust nuisance which they create; or alternatively compel them to abate same. The dust from these works are destroying property and impairing the health of residents nearby. On almost any day (but particularly a windy day) clouds of dust come from there and it is impossible for a woman or child to walk down that side of the street as their clothes would be ruined. This forces them on to the other side of the street where they have to pass an hotel where many undesirable people [sic] and often 'incidents' present themselves. Trusting you will accede to our request.

Manager, Hume Pipe Co. Ltd. to Chief Health Inspector PCC, 16 March 1928

One of your inspectors called on me yesterday and advised that a complaint had been made to the Council re a dust nuisance arising from our Factory to the annoyance of residents in Caversham Street.

We are very sorry to hear this and quite appreciate that when there is a strong wind blowing a certain amount of dust may be blown across the street from the stack of flour dust we have close to this street. We have now arranged to have water sprayed on this continuously in order to keep down this dust and we hope this will overcome the problem. However if it does not we will endeavour to overcome the nuisance in another direction.

We regret that your Department has been put to any trouble in connection with this matter.

Town Clerk PCC to Manager, Hume Pipe Co. Ltd, 20 March 1928

With reference to a petition from residents in the vicinity of your works complaining of the dust nuisance which arises therefrom, and your letter of the 16th instant, I beg to advise that the Council have given consideration to your offer to install sprinklers in order to overcome the trouble.

The Council is pleased to see the efforts being made to minimise this nuisance, but suggest that in addition a closed fence be provided. It is considered that this will obviate a considerable amount of dust being blown across the road.

I shall be glad if you will advise me that you are prepared to erect a closed fence in addition to the other suggestion, as stated in your letter, for minimising the trouble.

Manager, Hume Pipe Co. Ltd to Town Clerk PCC, 22 March 1928

The suggestion you put forward about erecting a closed fence may help to overcome the difficulty but we are afraid that it would not overcome it to any great extent unless it was a good height, say 12ft, and this as you can understand, would run into a considerable cost.

I personally think that by keeping our dust absolutely wet and at the same time regularly spraying our private road from Caversham Street will give better results. However we would like, if you are agreeable, to give this a god trial and if this spraying does not overcome the difficulty then we will consider installing a fence as you suggest.

J.W. Allberry, Caversham Street East Perth, to Town Clerk PCC, 18 October 1928

Six months have now elapsed and your Council have done nothing...You stated that you had no power to stop the dust nuisance which may be right, but you have the power to compel this firm to fence their works.

We now decrie [sic] your Council to attend to this matter, as also to the construction of a footpath fronting Claisebrook Road.

In order to reach our tram (Kensington Street) we are compelled to cross the main thoroughfare (Claisebrook Road) and three intersections, which is a continuous source of danger which could be obviated if this footpath is constructed, which is the Council's duty.

We also note that our Rates have been increased for the current year, but of something is not done it is our intention to seek a reduction at the next Appeal Court.

Our properties are decreasing in value owing to the dilapidated state of these works, which would not be tolerated by your Council if it was a private home.

Why was Caversham Street the only street avoided in this locality during the recent reconstruction works? There is no storm water drain in this street, the kerbing having now disappeared from view and gullies are now forming on the roadway removing the surface and exposing the foundation!

A comparison may be drawn between the neglect of this locality and the attention paid to the surrounding area of a nearby Councillors home.

Town Clerk PCC to Mr. G.J. Wilkinson, East Perth, 2 January 1929

With reference to your letter dated 30th November, which was published in the 'West Australian' an extract of which was sent to the Lord Mayor, presumably by yourself, re alleged nuisance at East Perth at the Hume Pipe Company's works, I beg to say that this matter has been dealt with by the Council some time since. An inspection of the works was made by the Health Committee, when the Manager stated that immediate steps would be taken to minimise the nuisance by screening the dust dump with hessian and spraying with water all loads of screenings on arrival at the yards and before unloading commenced. The Manager further gave a definite assurance that within six months the works would be removed to a new position outside the City boundaries.

Messrs. Stone, James and Co. to Town Clerk PCC, 13 August 1929

Mr Fowler of Trafalgar Road has instructed us to issue a writ to see of some end can be put to the intolerable nuisance which he suffers from on account of dust [from PCC road plant at Lord Street].

We wrote to you on this matter several years ago and vain efforts have been made by our client to have the matter settled and he has shown very great patience.

At last however he is determined to take legal proceedings and we have issued a writ against your Council.

J.H. McDonald to Town Clerk PCC, 25 November 1929

It is with reluctance that I feel compelled to protest against the dust nuisance caused by the [Hume Pipe Co], at their works at East Perth.

On the Caversham Street side of their property there is a plant erected for relining cast iron pipes with cement concrete. On several days last week two men were engaged carting very fine blue stone screenings and during the unloading from the Motor truck, a continuous cloud of dust was blowing from the works so much so that at times one could hardly see the houses on the opposite side of the street.

The nuisance, which is not only occurring during the unloading period but also when the ordinary workmen are putting the dust through a screen before mixing, and, even when the works are idle the dust is continually blowing from an unprotected dump of dust, which is from 10 to 15 feet high. The nuisance has become unbearable we are not able to have our windows or front door open, but notwithstanding this there is always a fine coat of dust on the furniture. I am informed that the inhaling of this dust is injurious to health and the depreciative effect on the values of property in the vicinity of the works is considerable.

It is almost useless to attempt house painting on account of this nuisance, an inspection of my front Verandah at the present time would give some idea of the extent of the nuisance and I feel sure that other residents in this Street will confirm my complaint.

I trust that your Council, will be able to take some action that will free us from this trouble.

Chief Health Inspector to Town Clerk PCC, 3 December 1929

I have to report that, as arranged at last Health Committee Meeting, a visit of inspection to the Hume Pipe Company's works in Claisebrook Road, East Perth, was made yesterday by Councillors Howling, Todd, and Styants with the Chief Health Inspector. Mr. McDonald, a nearby resident, was also present. The manager, Mr. Veitch, was interviewed and that part of the works complained of, inspected.

The manager admitted that cause had been given for complaint and stated that immediate steps would be taken to minimise same by screening the dust dump with hessian, and spraying with water, all loads of screenings on arrival at the yards, and before loading commenced. A definite assurance was also given that inside of six months the works would be moved to a new position outside the City boundaries.

It was generally agreed that if the precautions indicated were faithfully carried out, conditions for nearby residents would be satisfactory.

Director, F.H. Faulding Co. Ltd. to Town Clerk PCC, 21 January 1930

We beg herewith to confirm our telephone communication of yesterday's date, and we very much regret that we should have to again bring under your notice the amount of dust created, we presume by your bitumen plant, at your Lord Street yards.

It has been necessary in the past for us to complain and we trusted that your Council were making an endeavour to obviate this nuisance, but it has gradually been enforced upon us that it is not your intention to do anything. As you are no doubt aware, the major portion of the manufacturing done by this Company at our Lord Street works is the manufacture of articles for human consumption, and we feel certain that as you are also responsible for supervising manufactured products sold round the city, you will agree with us that it is necessary that these articles should be free from contamination. On certain days when the wind is in a direction which brings the dust from our yards into your works, it is practically impossible to manufacture anything which is exposed. In addition to that it has caused us considerable loss by exposed articles being contaminated and made useless.

The residents of this district are also of the same opinion that the plant should never have been erected in its present position, and that some very serious attempts should be made to overcome the trouble. As it is now some very considerable time since we made our first complaint, we should be pleased if you would treat this matter as urgent as we thank you in anticipation of a favourable response.

Town Clerk PCC to Messrs. F.H. Faulding and Co, Ltd, 13 February 1930

In reply to your letter of 21st instant, complaining of the amount of dust created by operations at the Council's yards in Lord Street, I beg to say that the City Engineer advises that instructions have been issued for the use of a fine water spray when metal is being loaded into the elevator bins and trucks, and it is anticipated that by this means the dust trouble will be practically eliminated.

Authority has already been granted by the Council for the erection of a dust arrester in connection with the hot-mix bitumous plant, and it is considered that when this work, which will be put in hand as early as possible, is completed, the position will be further alleviated.

Director, F.H. Faulding Co. Ltd. to Town Clerk, PCC, 8 January 1934

With reference to our communication of the 21st January 1930, and your reply of the 13th of February of the same year, we beg to inform you that we have given three years trial to the supposed alleviation of dust emanating [sic] from your Lord Street Works, and very much regret to inform you that the dust which is now coming from these Works is worse than it ever has been in the past, and in view of the fact that most of the commodities which we manufacture are used for internal consumption, we cannot allow the position to remain as it is.

In addition to this, we have had repeated complaints, from both members of our staff and others, that on certain days, when the wind is blowing from the direction of your Works, that the dust is intolerable, and in view of the circumstances we shall be pleased if your Council will advise us, at your earliest, what action they propose to take in order that this nuisance may be discontinued.

Report by Inspector Evans for the Chief Inspector of Health, W.A. Department for Public Health, 19 February 1934

Re the complaint of F.H. Faulding Co. Ltd...I have to report making an inspection of the plant on the 14th instant in company with Mr. Patterson, Engineer (an employee of the Council).

The plant was in operation at the time of inspection, and consisted of 3 elevators, revolving drying cylinders, grading cylinder, and mixer. The metal is carted by motor lorries from the quarries (already crushed, no crushing takes place at the works) and is raised by an elevator to the bins, and from the bins there are shutes [sic] to a hopper where sand is mixed with the metal and then raised by elevator No.2 to the revolving cylinder, where the moisture is evaporated by heat from burning of crude oil: it is then raised by elevator No.3 into a revolving cylinder with mesh of three grades, where metal is graded and falls into hoppers. From this it falls into the mixer, where the liquid bitumen is added, and it is then dropped into the lorries to be delivered to the road gangs.

The dust escapes from the top of the three elevator casings and exhausts into the atmosphere at various heights, approximately from 20' to 40' at highest, and although there was very little dust about the plant, there was a strong easterly breeze and the houses on the westerly side of the works would receive a great deal.

I inspected the premises on the westerly side of the works and made inquiries from the occupiers as follows:

Millar's Timber Yard. Mr. McBeth, Foreman, and several workmen, were interrogated re the dust from the works and they were all emphatic that when an easterly breeze is blowing they are working in a cloud of dust the whole of the time. Dust could easily be observed while I was there, in the air and also on the timber that the men were handling.

I also visited several cottages owned by the Railway Department in Nash Street and went through the houses, and in every instance the occupiers said that the dust was an absolute nuisance; that it went through the houses, and dishes could not be used without wiping them immediately before meals: also on washing days the dust accumulated in the wet clothes when they were hanging out to dry. Dust was plainly observed on tables and other furniture in the houses, and I may state the women gave the impression they are very clean and were very annoyed by the dust from the works when an easterly breeze is in.

I interviewed Mr. Tyler, Manager of Faulding's factory, and he said that the dust was very bad when the wind was blowing from the west. At the time of inspection no dust was noticeable here as the wind was blowing from the east, but I could imagine they would have reason for complaint had the wind been in the opposite direction.

The works operate for about 6 months of the year during the summer, and there is no doubt that a nuisance is created and felt by the residents on whatever side the wind is blowing.

This could be abated by enclosing the top of the elevators and screening cylinder, and connecting same by pipes to a fan which could be worked off the existing machinery, to draw the dust off and discharge it into a dust house specially built for the purpose. The cost of this would not be too great to a large concern like the City Council, and I am sure the residents in the vicinity would be very grateful if the dust was

Appendix 2: East Perth Parliamentarians and Councillors

1. East Perth representatives in the Western Australian Parliament (seat abolished 1961), Chronological Order.

Adapted from J. Mandy and D. Black *The Western Australian Parliamentary Handbook: Centenary Edition* (Perth: 1990)

Hardwick, John Edward	Liberal; National from 1917	1914-21 (also 1904-11)
Simons, John Joseph	ALP; Independent from 1922	1921-22
Hughes, Thomas John	ALP	1922-27
Kenneally, James Joseph	ALP	1927-36
Hughes, Thomas John	Independent	1936-43
Graham, Herbert Ernst	ALP	1943-62

2. City of Perth Councillors for the East Ward 1945-1981 (in 1988, the East Ward was replaced by the Heirisson Ward), Alphabetical Order.

Adapted from J. Gregory *City of Light* (Perth: 2003) Appendix 2 'City of Perth Councillors 1945-93'.

Banks, Ronald F.	(1955-63)
Bond, Alan	(1972-75)
Book, Frederick D.	(1940-69)
Deal, William H.	(1946-55, 1957-58)
Evans, Roderick P.	(1964-88)
Gillet, Edward D.	(1969-73)
Halse, Edward C.	(1958-64)
Hardwick, James L.	(1924-57)
Leahy, James M.	(1975-88)
Ritter, Paul	(1968-86)
Weaver, James	(1944-46)

Appendix 3: Paul Ritter's 'East Perth Plans'

East Perth Plans No. 1

Improved Road Access for East Perth: The bridge to take Jewell Street over the railway is under way, but the construction of a similar bridge for Lord Street is increasingly urgent.

East Perth is badly served by roads. Recently the P.C.C. has asked the Government to examine the possibility for a new bridge across the Swan. It would continue Wellington Street between the W.A.C.A. ground and the Trotting ground and then across the river using the northern tip of Herrison Island. This would improve road access for East Perth, and for the City in general, very greatly.

Old People' Centre: One contribution towards making East Perth a better place to live in would be an old people's centre. Support and ideas are required for this from the older electors particularly. Councillors would like to take the matter further and get some results. Money is available on the estimates. Every opportunity should be taken to make East Perth more beautiful, to freshen its air and make it safer.

East Perth Plans No. 6

West and East: For three years, time and effort has been spent on planning West Perth. A small proportion of the electors there have had more than their share of time. Let us stress the urgency of East Perth planning. It was held up for the railway decision. But now we must urge proper planning for East Perth.

East end Causeway: The large ugly area which has been filled by Council near Trinity College is to be landscaped. The College have offered to help with maintenance, and the offer of co-operation is appreciated. This gateway to the centre of the City should be beautiful. An overall design, for the whole of the area, is being prepared by the City Planner.

Streets and Verges: There should be improvements showing on the cleanliness and maintenance of streets and verges in the East Ward. Extra labour was to be put on after the recent Ward inspection. We hope it is noticeable.

East Perth Plans No. 7

For Old People: A talk by Dr. Lefroy to Council and continued pressure has now got us to the point where we are at long last within reach of agreement for a combined old people's centre and homes for the frail aged on a fine site in the East Ward. \$80 000 is provided on the loan funds. The matter will be strenuously pursued.

Causeway: The Eastern end of the causeway, between the school and bridge, is to be beautiful before the Test Match. Council funds and policy to this end have been arranged. And about time too!

Attitude to the East Perth Ward: The general attitude that East Perth gets second best must be reversed. The run down parts of the city deserve and require more, not less, attention than the new and posh city areas...East Ward pays too much and gets too little.

East Perth Plans No.8

Anti-Litter: Council has pledged to try and get the city really clean for Christmas. It's a matter of extending the idea of getting one's own house bright and shiny, and to make us all aware of how much better our city could look. It's a first step towards a cleaner philosophy for our city environment. Together with Cr. Gillet and his family, my family and I will be distributing this bulletin, and picking up litter in key places in the East Ward.

Attitude to the East Ward: My concern over street cleaning etc. in the East Ward seems to be having some effect with the vigilance of the other ward members. The recent clean-up of dilapidated houses was a direct example of the rundown parts of the city requiring more, not less, attention than the new suburbs.

East Perth Plans No. 9

A cleaner City: Council is still striving to make the City cleaner, the following points should be noted-

1. many new litter bins will be erected in East Perth. When before Christmas, we went round picking up East Perth litter we learnt a lot!
2. Street sweeping is to be improved.

3. A study is in progress to see whether a municipal incinerator could be built to avoid having to burn rubbish in built-up areas, including some in view of East Perth.
4. The levelling and cleaning of up of the area east of the Causeway is timed to be ready for the Test match.

Freeway Bridge: The Main Roads department has recently announced that the first priority of bridge construction should be the Burswood Bridge linking East Perth across the river. This has been the City policy and it's wonderful for Perth, particularly East Perth, that it's been adopted.

East Perth Railway Terminal: The opening of the railway terminal was a wonderful thing to happen in our ward. The job is now to make sure that we get road and path access across this long stretch so that we don't repeat the mistake of the centre of the City.

East Perth Plans No. 12

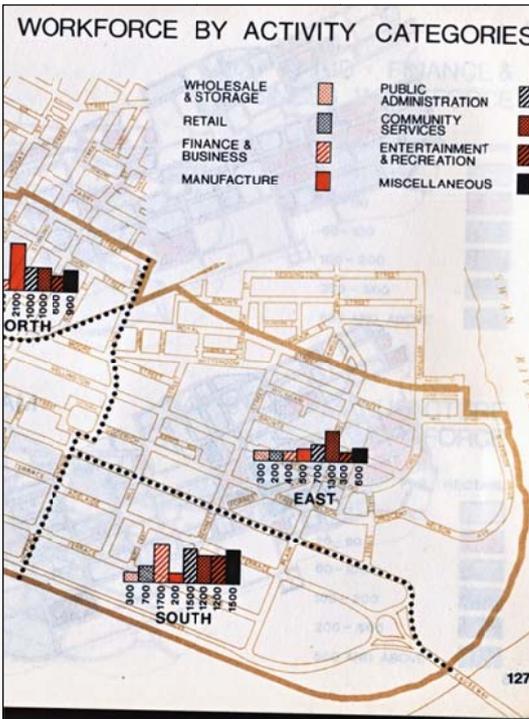
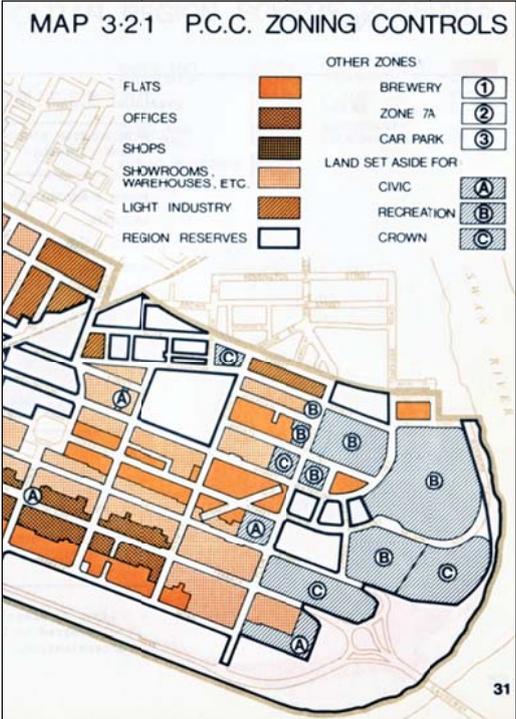
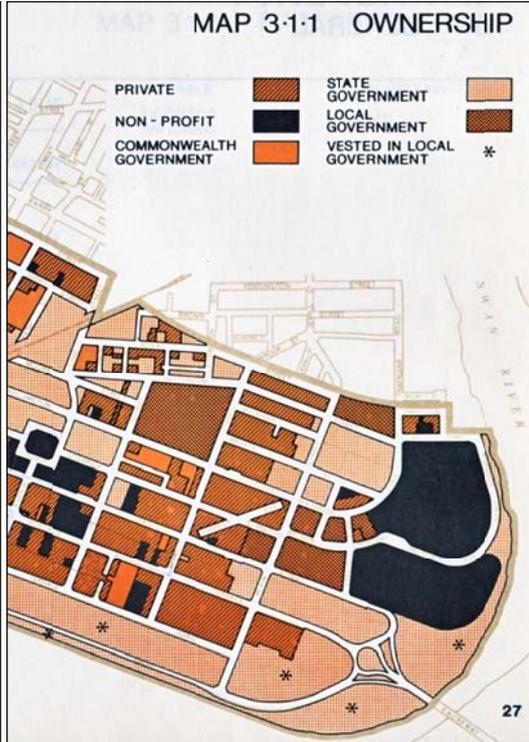
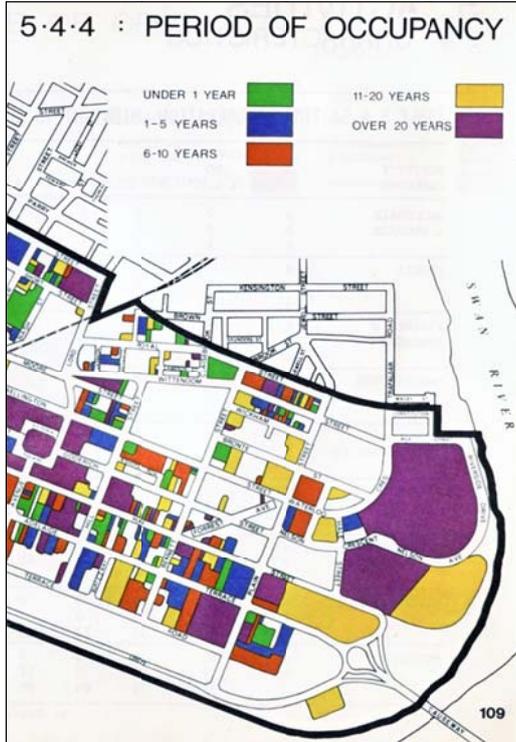
Parking: We have tried hard to reduce the nuisance caused by the pressure of all day parking from the Main Roads Offices on neighbouring streets and we wish to thank the East Ward for the co-operation in making the Test Match so pleasant for all our visitors.

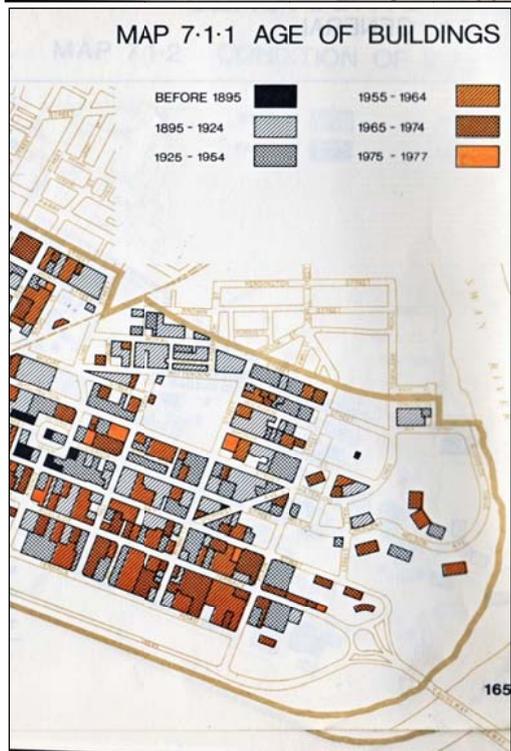
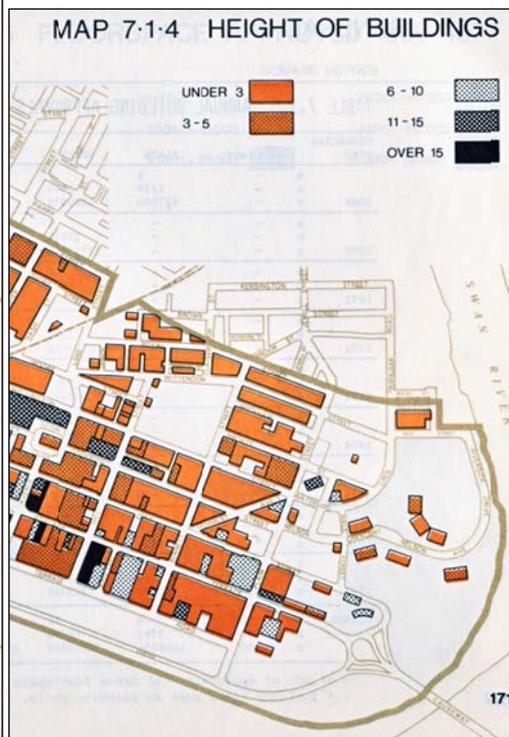
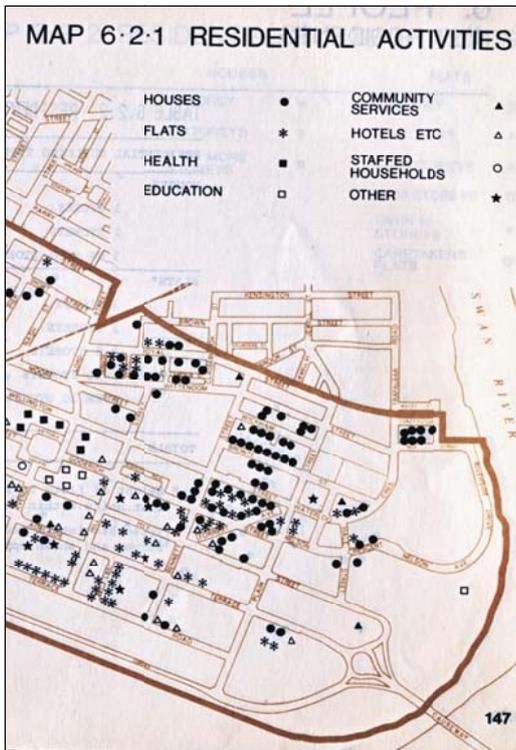
Planning East Perth: For too long planning East Perth was delayed because of Railway and Freeway uncertainties. Now that these have been overcome and we are pressing for special efforts to give the sort of attention that has been lavished on West Perth to East Perth planning. Even so the area has been enormously improved by clearance of sub-standard buildings and the erection of fine new ones in many parts. But much more positive planning is required.

Appendix 4: The *Central Area Survey 1977*

Below: Period of Occupancy (map 5.4.4)
Bottom: PCC Zoning Controls (map 3.2.1)

Below: Ownership (map 3.1.1)
Bottom: Workforce (map 6.1.1A)





Above Left: Residential Activity (map 6.2.1)
Above Right: Building Height (map 7.1.4)
Left: Building Age (map 7.1.1)

Maps Reproduced from:
 City of Perth, *Central Area Survey 1977* (PCC: 1980).