

Collingwood Historical Society, Inc

35th Annual History Walk 9 November 2013

Alexandra Parade: East-West, Past & Future

We acknowledge the Wurundjeri people as the early inhabitants of this area.

➤ *Start at the corner of Wellington Street and Noone Street, Clifton Hill*

Introduction

This year's walk will focus mainly on Alexandra Parade for two reasons. We wanted to talk about Industrial History in the area, and we want to look at the buildings slated for demolition to make way for the East West Link, and the impact that the project will have on the local heritage precincts.

We need to start with a bit of background history. Land in Collingwood south of Alexandra Parade was sold in large parcels in the late 1830s. In 1855 when local government was established, East Collingwood also acquired the Crown lands of what we now call Clifton Hill. Although there were already some residents and industries in East Clifton Hill, the area as a whole was not subdivided for settlement until 1864, when Clement Hodgkinson drew up plans which were lithographed by John Noone who worked in the Department of Lands. After 1864, development remained fairly slow, really taking off in the 1880s and 1890s, although there is also a considerable number of Edwardian houses in the area as vacant blocks were gradually built on.

Reilly St Drain The Flat was poorly drained, and Council was also interested in draining Clifton Hill to allow for settlement. In the late 1850s Collingwood resolved to co-operate with Melbourne Council to cut a major drain along Reilly St from Smith St to the Yarra. The drain was an immediate failure, overflowing southward on to the Flat. Then it was extended westwards through Fitzroy to Carlton, bringing down even more water and pollution, so the East Collingwood section needed enlarging. At that time it was about 10 feet deep and lined with stone but later was further enlarged. It was crossed on wooden bridges.

It tended to accumulate refuse ranging from pots and pans to animal carcasses, not to mention the occasional drunk to be rescued. This section was not covered in until around the turn of the century. You will be aware that the Yarra River and the Merri Creek attracted industries requiring disposal of waste, and so did the Reilly St Drain from around 1870. Industries were given council permission to discharge waste into the open drain.

Yarra Heritage Protection Sites of local significance are protected by Council through the application of Heritage Overlays in the Yarra Planning Scheme. A Heritage Overlay may apply to an individual building or a Heritage precinct and its contributory buildings. The Planning Scheme is intended to offer a high level of protection to Yarra's significant heritage, to prevent demolition, and avoid unsuitable development near a heritage place. The majority of buildings protected by the Planning Scheme do not derive their importance only from their individual character, but rather from their contribution to a representative whole.

Yarra's Heritage Overlay 317, Clifton Hill Western precinct, is predominantly a residential precinct with most buildings dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and also incorporates some historically important industrial buildings especially those associated with the Reilly St Drain (now Alexandra Parade). Overall the area remains considerably intact, with the majority of the buildings comprising single and double storey Victorian and Edwardian terraces and houses. Contributing to the overall cohesion of the area are remaining elements of nineteenth century infrastructure such as bluestone kerbs and gutters and pitched lanes.

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The Statement of Significance from the City of Yarra's Heritage Review (Allom Lovell) describes:

... a significant and substantially intact and discrete area within the City of Yarra ... contains a large number of intact typical 19th and early 20th century buildings ... The most intact streetscapes within the Precinct [include] Wellington Street ... [and] contain no or very little non-heritage building stock.

The Clifton Hill Western precinct is aesthetically, socially and historically significant to the City of Yarra and is a fine representation of Victorian-era life. Also of importance is a strong industrial theme, seen especially in the south of the area.

➤ *Walk down Wellington St, turn left into Alexandra Parade.*

The following buildings to be demolished are Victorian houses and shops included as **contributory** elements in Clifton Hill Western Heritage Overlay 317 (with the exception of number 406 Wellington St and 56 Alexandra Parade):

East side Wellington St

420 Wellington St (probably the first house on this side, ca. 1879, with a small factory used for making confectionery by Robert Simpson, and a shop at the front, since removed and the existing verandah constructed)

418 Wellington St (Robert Simpson later lived in this rather grander house but may have continued using his factory at the rear of the neighbouring house)

416 Wellington St

414 Wellington St

406 A and B Wellington St

406 Wellington St

West side Wellington St

367 Wellington St
365 Wellington St
363 Wellington St
361 Wellington St
359 Wellington St
357 Wellington St
355 Wellington St

Building commenced earlier on the west side than the east side, shortly after Wellington St was extended through to Heidelberg Road in the 1870s. However until the 1880s Wellington St was sparsely populated and dominated by the State School which opened in 1874.

56 Alexandra Parade, 58 Alexandra Parade, 60 Alexandra Parade

➤ *Turn left into Gold St*

Stop 2, near Provan's driveway

64 Alexandra Parade **Provan's Timber**; former Box Hair Curling Works; former Clifton Wheel Co.

Charles and George Box, hair curling works

This business started in Reilly St East near Dight's Falls about 1873 but after a spectacular fire it moved to this location around 1880. The brothers owned a large tract of land running through to Noone St. (They also owned a large saddlery and hardware business in the city). The hair manufactory seems to have been from its inception under the management of Joseph Chadder Bickford who lived next to the works, first near Dight's Falls and later at number 11 Noone St, a double-fronted timber house called Woolston Cottage, one of the first built in the block, believed to be still standing but divided into two houses with additions at the front. Bickford and his wife became stalwarts of St Andrew's Church in Gold St. When he died in 1890 his son took over as manager. If you have ever wondered why houses on this side of Gold St and 13-17 Noone St are Edwardian while the opposite side is Victorian, the Box brothers supply the answer to the late subdivision.

Hair curling was once an important industry, providing hair for stuffing mattresses and saddles, and also drawn hair for making brushes; this was the biggest such manufacturer in Melbourne.

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The building is more significant than one might think at first glance. The central two-storey section dates from 1880 and is believed to be the only 19th century timber framed factory remaining in Collingwood and one of very few two storey 19th century timber factories in Melbourne. If you have never been inside, think of some timber you would like to buy so you can have a look upstairs at the structure.

The factory later became home to the **Clifton Wheel Company** established by James Reid by 1901. Which business was where is not entirely clear as sources are inconsistent; they may have shared the premises.

David Provan & Sons set up on this site in Alexandra Parade in 1924 after a fire in October 1923 destroyed his previous timber yard. He had been in partnership with Mulready & Clarke since 1903, in the firm Mulready, Provan & Clarke, that was located on the south side of Alexandra Parade in Fitzroy, next door to the present day Officeworks.

Mulready & Clarke decided not to continue after the fire, so David set up, with his sons Bob & Ed, a new firm called David Provan & Sons Pty Ltd and that business continued until Mendy & Barry Rosenberg bought it in 1966. They were also a father and son, so continuing the tradition started by David Provan.

The business thrived and had two hardwood yards – one located on the corner of Gold Street and Alexandra Parade and the other between Emma & Blanche Streets, Collingwood. We can assume it was located where the Shell Service Station is today.

David Provan & Sons made an astonishing range of products from doors, cabinets and stairs to roof trusses, flagpoles and church furniture. Their advertisement in *The Argus* of September 1939 boasts:

*“Manufacturers of Anything Made of Timber”
“Large or Small Orders Promptly Executed” and
“First-Class Material and Workmanship.”*

David’s parents Robert & Marion Provan arrived in Melbourne from Glasgow in December 1854 and settled in Collingwood, where they brought up their family. Robert’s occupation was a joiner, so there is a family history through three generations of being in the timber manufacture industry.

David Provan was one of nine children of whom only five survived. He was born in 1866 and died in 1931. David had eight children of whom five survived. His three sons Edgar, Robert and Albert all worked in the business.

David lived with his family in Clifton Hill until 1924 when he moved to Ivanhoe.

This long-standing local business is now under threat of being demolished to provide a short term site works area and re alignment of Alexandra Parade for the duration of the construction period of the East West Link Tunnel.

124 Gold St

This house would be demolished. It is not rated as Contributory to the precinct because it has been so much altered.

94 Alexandra Parade former Shot Tower (also site of former Antimony & Sulphur Works Co) Heritage Overlay 85, Victorian Heritage Register HO709.

Our favourite local landmark was constructed in 1882 and owned by Richard Hodgson. The tower was used for the manufacture of lead shot. Molten lead was poured through a sieve near the top of the tower, cooled partly on the way down then landed in cold water at the bottom to complete the process. It is an outstanding example of this type of building and the quality of the brickwork is excellent.

Hodgson had an Antimony and Sulphur smelting works on this site by 1870. Lead ore came from Ringwood, Costerfield, Buchan and even a shipment from Mt Bischoff in Tasmania. The smelter is variously referred to as being in Gold St and Noone St so we assume the works covered the block. Into the 1900s there was still a chimney on the Noone St side which was about half the height of the shot tower and square in shape.

Hodgson died in 1885. Despite the value of the Shot Tower and other property he owned, he had such large loans that his net worth was negative. The tower was eventually bought by the Coop family who owned the shot tower in the city.

We are of course very concerned at the risk of physical damage to the tower foundations, and also the insult to this landmark which will be posed by the flyover, tunnel entrance and venting stack planned to be constructed in very close proximity.

➤ *Return to Alexandra Parade and walk to Hoddle St, passing the Shot Tower and public housing. Turn left.*

Stop 3 Hoddle St near Noone St giving a view of a number of factories.

174 Alexandra Parade	site of Hall Brothers wool scourers
457 Hoddle St	William Murray & Co wool works. Individually Significant HO 89
408-420 Hoddle St	former Llewellyn's Shoe Factory. Individually Significant HO 316
380-406 Hoddle St	former Clifton Hill Shoe Co (now Schott's). Individually Significant HO 316
376-378 Hoddle St	former Rampling & Hall shoe factory
324-326 and 316 Hoddle St	former Charles Trescowthick shoe factory. Individually Significant HO 19

William Murray & Co 457 Hoddle St

The 1992 Northern Suburbs Factory study notes that this was one of several noxious trades along Alexandra Parade including Box's hair works, the Shot Tower and the Leadenhall tannery, all of which developed adjacent to the old Reilly St drain which emptied into the Merri Creek. The study rates this site as important at a **state level** as the most prominent industrial complex relating directly with this development.

A wool works which was operating here in the 1890s was taken over by William Murray and Co in 1898 with the current building **built 1918** and operated until the 1950s.

An Edwardian red brick factory with the name and Wool Works in low relief on stuccoed panels, it has a symmetrical presentation to Hoddle St. The dogtooth corbel adds ornamentation at the cornice line. The brick chimney has been reduced in height.

(Hall Bros 174 Alexandra Pde – demolished)

Next door in Alexandra Parade was Hall Bros factory which has been demolished in recent times. This site was also rated as of **state** significance by the Northern Factory Study as a well preserved 19th century wool scouring works. It was also important as a rare example of the once common type of timber-framed, corrugated iron clad factory building.

Hall Brothers are believed to have developed the first mechanical wool scouring process in Australia. They were at the site **by 1869**. The wool scouring equipment was made here. The firm continued until 1972 and was still trading as a textile engineering works under the name Hall in 1992.

Clifton Shoe Co (Schotts) 380-406 Hoddle

Along Hoddle St, close to Alexandra Parade and its tanneries, there are a number of very large boot and shoe factories that were built in the early 20th century, on land left vacant adjoining the railway line that went through in 1901.

The Clifton Shoe Company was built in **1913**, a substantial red brick factory with a basement. The roof has three gables with large glazed roof lanterns. It is almost identical to the next door factory and similar to the MacRobertson Buildings in Fitzroy and the Foy & Gibson buildings in Collingwood.

In 1947 it was still Clifton Shoes; in the 1970s Dattners leather and furs; by the 1990s Schotts.

Llewellyn's Shoe factory 408-420 Hoddle

Built in 1911 and extended in 1920, still a boot factory in 1930s.

By 1947 it was occupied by the Hoddle St Hatcraft hat factory. It has been the Chien Wah dim sim factory for at least 40 years.

Ramplng & Hall Pty Ltd, boot and shoe manufacturers, southeast corner Noone and Hoddle St

Established around 1917, the firm was still operating at this site in the 1950s.

- *cross Hoddle St carefully at Roseneath St traffic lights, down Hoddle, turn left at the small street between the two factories, right into another lane, left into Noone, right at Rutland, (note public housing) left at Alexandra Parade East*

Stop 4 Northeast corner Groom Street and Alexandra Parade East

- Look west, refer to the **East West Tunnel** information you have seen, and visualise the height and bulk of the flyover which will cross Hoddle St at a minimum height of 6 metres above the railway line, eventually joining the freeway at some point to the east of the pedestrian overpass, which will be re-located. The flyover will be quite high as it passes in front of houses in Alexandra Parade East.
- **From this corner we can see more boot and shoe factories of East Clifton Hill**

Charles Trescowthick's shoe factory He first established himself as a boot and shoe manufacturer in Roseneath St in **1892** where he lived. By 1902 he had moved manufacturing to the three storey building in Groom St where he employed 250 workers. This later became the Government Harness Factory during WW1. Trescowthick moved to the **324-326 Hoddle St** site.

Chidsey Rogers & Co boot factory 210 Alexandra Pde East

c 1920, a typical 1920s factory

By 1947 it was occupied by:

No. 210 Pinkney and Holland shoe manufacturer

No. 212 A E & F Tame nail manufacturers

Wainwright boot factory 230 Alexandra Pde East (west corner Groom)

c 1920

By 1947 Gaynor Shoes Pty Ltd

But from about **1891 to 1910** the site had been occupied by an 'odorbane' and black lead works, **Lewis and Whitty** who made a range of household and other products. The manager was involved in a strange occurrence:

The Argus 1907 28 August: Mr. Jacob Van Prooyen, manager of Lewis and Whitty's factory at Clifton Hill, whose disappearance was reported to the police yesterday, is still on the list of "missing." The circumstances of the disappearance are extraordinary. The wife of the missing manager, stated to-day that early on the morning of Monday, her husband went out as usual to open up the factory, which is at the rear of their dwelling. She expected him to return to his breakfast, but he did not do so. He opened the factory, but nothing more had been seen nor heard of him.

The Argus 29 August: Mr Jacob Van Prooyen ... who was reported as missing from his home in Noone street, Clifton Hill, has returned to Melbourne. When he was seen by his relatives yesterday he could not be induced to return to his home, and he was taken in charge by the police

- **Industry before the boot factories.**

Before the boot makers there were various noxious industries in the area such as wool scourers/fellmongers, tanneries and slaughterhouses, most long since gone. The biggest concentration of pigs in East Collingwood was to be found at the abattoirs at the end of Ramsden St.

Industries included:

Bennet and Woolcock slaughterhouse
Barry wool scourers and fellmongery
Currie fellmongery
Hopetoun Tannery
Leadenhall Tannery

The Leadenhall Tannery is the only such business that left a recent physical remnant. It became the Australian Dye Works (260-90 Alexandra Parade East) which has only recently been demolished and replaced with residences.

(Optional detour: the Reilly St drain runs into Merri Creek, although it was altered when the Freeway constructed. Walk to the Merri Creek footbridge near Dights Falls if you want to see the outlets).

- *Cross the pedestrian bridge over the Freeway, looking for glimpses of some of the following:*

Dight's Falls, Dight's Mill, Victoria Park, Austral Silk Mills, Shelmerdine Hat Factory, Yarra Falls Spinning Mill.

Stop 5. Grassed area below pedestrian crossing.

John Dight and his brother built the first water-powered flour mill in Victoria, in 1841. It was not entirely a success as the water flow was inconsistent but Dight persevered with various enterprises. Later industries along the river were the Austral Silk Mills, Shelmerdine hat factory and Yarra Falls Spinning Mills.

Dight had bought the extensive land holding of JDL Campbell when he died. The Dight family finally sold what had become known as Dight's Paddock in the late 1870s. Victoria Park was created as the centrepiece and the surrounding subdivisions were gradually built on from the early 1880s onwards. Dight's substantial house (opposite Maugie St) remained for years, as did Campbell's house which became known as Mikado when it was home to the noted architect William Pitt.

Where we are standing was once covered with houses in Maugie St and Little Maugie St, demolished for Freeway construction.

- *Walk along Maugie St. then take the path by the freeway. Look to the left at Hoddle St to see Trescowthick's. Cross at the lights, turn into Bendigo St.*

Stop 6 Bendigo St

The whole of the east side of **Bendigo St** and three houses in **Hotham St** are proposed to be demolished for the East West Link. This area is covered by Gold St Heritage Overlay 321. The following Victorian and Edwardian houses are rated as **contributory**.

Bendigo St		Hotham St
2A Bendigo St	12 Bendigo St	108 Hotham St
4 Bendigo St	22 Bendigo St	110 Hotham St
6 Bendigo St	24 Bendigo St	112 Hotham
8 Bendigo St		

An off ramp would be constructed on the east side of the street, leading to the flyover. Long term residents would lose their houses. Remaining houses on the west side of the street would have their quiet outlook replaced with a concrete vista.

History and significance of Bendigo St.

Gold, Ballarat, Bendigo, Alexander and Forest Sts, in Portion 87, were named after the principal Victorian goldfields and subdivided prior to 1855. Although an 1858 map shows various buildings in these streets, it is believed none of those have survived, but the original street layout remains. This is part of **HO 321** a precinct which as a whole represents the largest surviving group of early residential buildings in Collingwood. It

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consists mainly of modest timber and masonry workers cottages, interspersed with occasional industrial and commercial buildings. The primary development period is the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. With its rows of housing, corner shops, dairies, local pubs, churches, and places of work, this area demonstrates what was once the typical nature of much of Collingwood as a working class industrial suburb. This precinct is a predominantly residential area dominated by streetscapes of small cottages, primarily small single-storey timber and brick Victorian and Edwardian cottages.

It is of local significance within the City of Yarra as a relatively intact area of mid-to-late 19th century and early 20th century working class housing interspersed with a few larger villas and industrial buildings.

Bendigo Street is one of the neighbourhood residential streets and a number of houses are rated as Contributory as listed above.

These are modest house, perhaps of no particular heritage significance taken individually; their contribution to the significance of the area is as elements in a residential mix contributing to an understanding of the area's heritage as a working class suburb.

Construction of the Eastern Freeway:

This is not the first time this area has felt the impact of road construction. The 1969 Melbourne Transportation Study planned three new freeways through Collingwood as well as major street widening.

These included the Eastern Freeway (F19) and the Hume Freeway (F2) which was to join it.

Amidst a turbulent time for freeway construction the F19 east of Hoddle Street was approved in December 1970. There was strong public opposition to the route which would consume a large swathe of parkland in the Yarra Valley. The Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works, constructing authority for the freeway at the time, acted promptly once approval was given, to the frustration of those who were still disputing the government's decision. In November 1971, the Board acted a little too promptly and bulldozed ten acres of the Yarra Bend Park in advance of the passage of the necessary enabling legislation. An acutely embarrassed government only narrowly averted a threat by its backbench to join the opposition to force a breach of parliamentary privilege inquiry.

Meanwhile, construction of the first stage was progressing and public opposition was building.

<http://mrv.ozroads.net.au/SRNS/M%20Routes/M3%20Eastern/history.htm>

Opposing the freeways became a major community struggle in the 1970s. In 1973 Collingwood Council voted \$1000 to fight against the freeways. In 1976 the Country Roads Board decided to upgrade Alexandra Parade. The decision to widen Alexandra Pde caused the anti-freeway protests to boil over and in 1976 protesters built a symbolic brick wall across Alexandra Parade at the beginning of the freeway. Nonetheless the freeway went ahead and the CRB opened it to traffic in three stages during December 1977; firstly from Hoddle St to Chandler Hwy; then to Burke Rd; then to Bulleen Rd.

The Collingwood Residents Association and others tried to prevent the completion of the Eastern Freeway which had been built through Yarra Bend Park. In 1976 we built a symbolic brick wall across Alexandra Pde and in late 1977 a barricade was built to stop the freeway opening. The section of Alexandra Pde between Gold Street and Nicholson Street was declared a state highway - Eastern Highway - in October 1977 so that it would be completely a state responsibility.

The Eastern freeway opened in December 1977 but the F 2, the Hume Freeway was scrapped.

➤ *Return to Alexandra Parade and walk west towards The Fox in Wellington St, where you may wish to partake of refreshments. Note the following en route:*

- Buildings in Alexandra Parade Collingwood (south side) were demolished for the freeway entrance.

55-61 Alexandra Parade Collingwood: former Ivor Trescowthick Pty Ltd boot factory, now the blue bathroom building, built about 1925. Ivor was Charles Trescowthick's nephew and later founded Julius Marlow.

Stop 7 The Fox Hotel 351 Wellington Street Collingwood

There has been a hotel operating on this site on the south west corner of Wellington Street and Alexandra Parade (formerly Reilly Street) Collingwood operating continuously from 1871 until the present day. During this time the hotel has operated under four different names:

Fox's Hotel 1871-1882 (presumably named after the first licensee, John Fox)

Tower Hotel 1882-ca 1992 (renamed in reference to the Shot Tower built nearby in 1882)

Office Inn ca 1992-2007

Fox Hotel 2007- present (reversion to a variant of the original name).

Images

There are only two images which give us a sense of what the hotel was like before the 20th century renovations. A photograph from the 1890s (Mary Forde, Licensed Victualler) can be seen in the Hotels page of this website. This shows a much smaller brick double storeyed building with a timber cottage adjacent on the Wellington Street frontage and another timber structure adjacent on the Reilly Street frontage. The only other representation, on the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works map in 1900, suggests that the timber building on Reilly Street was part of the hotel and behind it there was a yard and hotel WCs. The hotel was renovated in the interwar period and maybe that is when the footprint was extended to its current dimensions.

History

This hotel must be the only pub in Collingwood not to have engaged regularly in illegal Sunday trading or to have scandals attached to its name. So reporting of it in the press is minimal and does not provide any particularly juicy stories. There are accounts of the occasional inquest held, particularly in the 19th century, and a couple of accounts of police charges (both in the interwar years under licensee Francis Gallagher), one for Sunday trading and one for selling spirits out of mislabelled bottles. However investigating the publicans is fascinating as they provide a microcosm in the history of one pub of the type of people who were publicans.

The first licensee was **John Fox**, presumably eponymous, but we know little about him and he was licensee for only a year or so. However, there are a few licensees from the 1880s onwards who are interesting.

James Michael Forde was publican from 1880-1891, interestingly as he died in 1885! James Forde was a **single man**, who was born in Galway and emigrated to Melbourne with his family at the age of 2. He took over the license in 1880 and saw the marketing opportunity of the building of the Shot Tower in 1882 to change the name of the hotel to the Tower. He died very suddenly, an awful and untimely death from hydatids, in 1885. He was 30 years old. Aside from his interest in the hotel, James owned houses and land in Rathdowne Street Carlton and Wellington Street, Collingwood as well as four other parcels of land in Carlton and Clifton Hill.

His will left the effects, license and goodwill of the hotel (valued in probate at £350) to his sister Miss **Mary Forde**, a **single woman**, who was licensee until 22 December 1897. It is not known whether she had been party to running the hotel previously, but given the will and that her address is given as Wellington Street Collingwood, it is likely that this had been a **brother and sister partnership** before James' death. There is an impression from the will and from her role as executrix of other family wills that Mary was the family business person. Mary gave up the licence in December 1897 and within two years her sister Bidelia and her mother Susan had died, and Mary herself died of uterine cancer in 1900. She was 50 years old.

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Mary was replaced as licensee by **Samuel Goodman** who held the licence from 1897-1913. Samuel Goodman was a **single man**, but while he was licensee he married and his two daughters were born while he was there. So we have the example of a **young married couple with small children** running the hotel.

John Caples (licensee from February 1913 to June 1914) was a very different type of publican. In his sixties when he came to the Tower, he was a **long term hotelier** who had moved to the Tower from the Dan O'Connell in Carlton. He had a **wife and six adult children**, four of whom were living in the pub but not working there. Occupations of his children included two teachers, a solicitor and a linesman so the family was upwardly mobile. At first sight it seems puzzling why he would have left the Dan O'Connell for the relative backwater of Collingwood but the answer probably lies in the fact that shortly after moving to the Tower, he made a will in June 1913 and died of cancer in June 1914.

Caples left the goodwill of the hotel (valued in the probate at £500) to his widow, **Honora Caples**, who was licensee from 4 November 1914 to September 1919. Honora provides an example of another type of publican, namely a **widow who took over from her husband**.

If the whole list of licensees from 1871 were to be investigated there would no doubt be many more stories but one more suffices to give another example. **Francis Gallagher** was licensee in the interwar years and was responsible for the renovation in 1935 that extended the building and gave it its current footprint. As evidenced by the contemporary electoral rolls, **Francis and adult members of the Gallagher family** all played roles in the hotel as licensed victualler, barman, barmaid and housemaid.

So, this hotel has managed in the history of its publicans to give us examples of the hotel being run by a single man, a brother and sister, a single woman, a young married couple, a husband and wife, a widow and a whole family. It truly provides a microcosm of the types of publicans we might expect to find in Collingwood, Melbourne or Victorian pubs in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Prepared for Collingwood Historical Society, Inc, Reg. No. A0030731L

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