CLUSTER

EXPLORING THE STORIES & PATTERNS BEHIND MELBOURNE STREET NAMES

Branding before we even knew it *or*
What street name clusters say about us

As a child growing up in a 1960s housing estate on the outskirts of Melbourne I would watch in excitement as new streets and courts were created seemingly overnight, and with them the skeletal wooden house frames that we would immediately transform into impromptu playgrounds. But what I found most intriguing about these newborn streets was the final, finishing touch – the arrival of a little van of men who would speedily erect the street signs, at last providing our 'playground' with a more official title.

These street names were ordinary enough on their own, but when seen in sets, a distinct theme would emerge. In the case of my immediate area there was a very distinct Anglo-Irish theme running through the street names; I lived on *McAuley* while my friends were on *McCrae*. It never dawned on me that the answer lay on the 'big house on the hill' – the huge hilltop convent that overlooked our suburb. It was from their land that the entire estate had been subdivided many years before. With the process of carving up the land came the process of naming, and so it was that my neighbourhood streets were named after the Catholic nuns from the convent. Once I learnt of this historical lineage, the area suddenly seemed to don an alternative identity, one that offered a richer and deeper story than what I had assumed was just a random selection of names.

The story of my suburb gave some meaning and a sense of continuity to those words on the street signs. This narrative grew out of an authentic source – real people, real names and above all, a real provenance.

Looking across any metropolitan map of Melbourne, the careful observer begins to see curious patterns emerge – thematic clusters – developed to bring sets of streets together under a single concept. Individual street names, meaning nothing when read individually, are in fact composite parts of these larger narratives. The themes underlying these clusters are rich and varied – from the expansive Camelot theme running across 38 streets in Glen Waverley, right through to the Strawberry Fields estate in Narre Warren South estate which features 16 Beatles-themed streets.

Naming something is a way of telling its story. Like many old adages, the phrase 'to name is to own' carries more than an ounce of truth and helps to explain why marketers feverishly appropriate our popular phrases, words and songs. They are more than aware that naming brings with it values and perceptions. Naming the streets of an estate under an overarching concept unites that which was divided, presenting a convenient form of packaging the real estate for easy consumption. Buying into an idea is much more palatable than negotiating with the unknown.

The naming of new estates is now a very considered decision and often used as a promotional tool by development companies and their marketing agencies. As one developer noted of a new Bundoora estate, 'The names weren't about what was already there. They were more about what we were going to create'.[1]

Although aspirational street naming is nothing new, the target of this aspiration has changed. Viewed chronologically, street naming experienced a set of three distinct periods. It began with a British, imperial and aristocratic tone; transitioned into a more Australian, civic and nationalistic form; then finally focussed on marketing, aspirational and pop-cultural references. But whether for God, king and country or a popular TV show, the naming of new residential areas is about 'selling a promise of a particular kind of utopia to a targeted demographic'.[2]

The aspiration for an inner urban experience has given rise to one of the oddest forms of clusters there is – the 'mini-melbourne' cluster. These feature a gridded network of streets whose names playfully mimic those of the central business district (*Flinders*, *Collins*, *Bourke* etc).

And so it is that in places as far afield as Red Hill, Hastings, Thornbury or Mentone, one can stand at the intersection of these familiar streets and have an 'alter-urban' experience – a quieter, suburban facsimile of its city counterpart. Urban in name only.

So what do these clusters say about us and our environment? Clustered street naming represents an early form of branding. So early, in fact, that it was not so much imposed upon our urban landscape as interwoven into how we perceive our cities and suburbs. Each thematic cluster brings with it the aspects we associate with our contemporary notion of branding – a distinct persona, a notional identity and a specific set of (usually desirable) values. More than just a form of navigation, they are a tool of identity.

This form of branding could be considered vernacular in that clusters are often tied in with local references and languages – such as the the nest of 14 streets in Berwick named after Essendon football players from the 1980s[3]. Such local references offer unique insights such as the aviation-themed Burwood (*Boeing* Crt, *Dehavilland* Ave, *Ansett* Cres etc) or the golf course-themed Kingsbury (*Bunker* Ave, *Driver* St, *Wedge* St, *Flag* St, *Green* Ave, *The Fairway*, *Tee* St, etc). Others express their parochial aspirations through seeking to be a part of a wider theme, such as the 41 streets that radiate from Waverley Park, all named after international stadiums. Other clusters appear completely whimsical, such as the Ancient Greek zone of Doncaster (*Andromeda* Way, *Artemis* Crt, *Olympus* Drv, *Antigone* Crt etc).

So common are these themed clusters that entire tracts of the city and suburbia are transformed into dense patterns. The flat housing estate of Lynbrook offers a staggering 77 streets named after writers (dwarfing

Dial-a-cluster

Themed clusters can now be added to the experience of online maps, offering the viewer a huge array of stories spanning whole parts of the suburban landscape. In a limited capacity, this is already being done. The Dresden Stadtplan Project is an online mapping of the ancient German city whereby the thematic basis of street names can be 'dialed up' under subjects such as art, sport et cetera, unearthing intricate patterns of naming across the entire city.
stadtplan.dresden.de

the renowned literary cluster in Elwood) while in Avondale Heights the Hundred Years' War between France and England is playfully re-enacted with 24 French streets facing off against 23 English streets, all referring to the period.

In an age where cities are conspicuously branding themselves in an attempt to muster a collective sense of self[4] these vernacular or localised identities are often overlooked as a source of defining our sense of self and place.

In direct discussions with those living within clusters, many residents were not only aware of the street naming theme area but thought that it added to a sense of community. 'It influenced our decision to live here... I like the fact that it's part of a theme, it gives it a village feel'.[5]

Others saw a link between the cluster and the persona of the area and its residents; 'When we first moved in, it was quiet so the (literary) theme suited. It was more of an artsy area then with interesting characters so it was a good fit'.[6]

Stories transform and add meaning to a place. The power of a story is amplified by its intimacy and its direct connection. The names we give things deeply influence such stories, particularly when they are from the very streets that surround us.

Our ability to read and uncover the stories and patterns within clusters could not be better timed. Just as the city planners and developers looked down upon their early maps showing wide open expanses ready to have their identities forged through naming, we now look upon our cities through a similar viewpoint – from above. Thanks to the unlikely hand of technology, the silent connections and stories that underly clusters are now more apparent than ever to the viewer. Advancements such as Google Maps show us our cities topographically, viewed aerially rather than along a common horizon.

Naming is the basis of clusters. This makes them well suited to current and future ways of looking at our cities. The immediate method of locating anything – a place, a person, a restaurant menu, medical conditions – is by its name. It is the language of the online search engine, ensuring connections are made (or not) simply by using this one central criterion, the name. All of this has made the ownership of names highly commodified. Even the term used to describe this, 'name real estate', reflects the process of subdividing up both our environment as well as our language.

Rather than just walking us through the narrative footprints of history, street name clusters gesture to future readings of our cities – an individualised experience made up of endless connections and patterns of information, all located by name and viewed from the god-like perspective of the satellite. In an age where people are intrigued by sharing and visualising information, the reading of clusters offers something particularly valuable – a whole new way of seeing what we thought was familiar.

Stephen Banham April 2013

1.
Peter Howden, Land Manager of development company Australand.

2.
Costello. M, 'A road by any other name', *The Age*, 20 June 2009.

3.
This cluster is more likely to have been the result of a personal interest on the part of the developer rather than a deliberate and well-considered marketing strategy.

4.
Much recent effort has been put into unifying the many Melbourne branding identities .

5.
Door-to-door interviews in the Elwood 'literary cluster'. 24 March 2013.

6.
ibid.

Elwood

Addison St
Austin Ave
Blessington St
Blessington Wy
Browning St
Burns St
Byron St
Chaucer St
Coleridge St
Cowper St
Daley St
Dickens St
Dryden St
Goldsmith St
Herbert St
Lawson St
Lindsay St
Lytton St
McCrae St
Meredith St
Milton St
Mitford St
Moore St
Poets Grv
Rosetti Lne
Ruskin St
Scott St
Shakespeare Grv
Shelley St
Southey St
Spenser St
Tennyson St
Thackeray St
Wordsworth St

Lynbrook

Amy Mack Wlk	Hasluck Cr
Astley Wynd	Henning Ave
Banjo Circuit	Henry Lawson Drv
Baynton Cr	Henry Lawson Drv
Bingham Rse	Hopegood Plc
Boldrewood Plc	Hutchinson Drv
Bonwick Cls	Kingsley Crt
Boothby Ter	Lindsay Crs
Brady Cls	Litchfield Way
Brindabella Way	Lockwood Rise
Buckley Way	Louise Mack Wlk
Bushman Way	Lower Mews
Campion Wlk	Macleod Way
Carboni Crs	Matilda Crt
Cato Parkway	May Gibbs Crs
Charlwood Cls	Morrant Mews
Chauncy Way	Morris West Ct
Cilento Crs	O'Dowd Plc
Cottrell Plc	O'Reilly Crs
Culotta Lne	Paterson Dvr
Cusack Way	Pedley Way
Darcy Niland Crs	Penton Way
Dennis Cls	Pitt Lne
Devaney Ave	Prichard Ave
Durack Ave	Ronans Ret
Dutton Cls	Rowcroft Ave
Dyson Drv	Rudd Crt
Eldershaw Drv	Slessor Ave
Elliott Pde	Tennant Crt
Ethel Turner Plc	Thiele Cr
Evans Rd	Tranter Sqr
Forbes Ave	Upfield Wlk
Franklin Prd	Wallaby Wllk
Gilmore Crs	Waltzing Drv
Gumnut Lne	
Hal Porter Ter	
Hanrahan Wynd	
Harford Cls	
Harris St	

1980S ESSENDON FOOTBALL PLAYERS

RIVERS AND RIVER TOWNS

Berwick

(Alan) Ezard Cls
(Billy) Duckworth Cls
(Garry) Foulds Crt
(Frank) Dunnell Rse
(Glenn) Hawker Gd
(Jack) Clark Crt
(Ken) Mansfield St
(Kevin) Walsh Ret
(Merv) Neagle Mews
(Paul) Van Der Haar Ave
(Shane) Heard Cls
(Simon) Madden Ret
(Terry/Neale) Daniher Cls
(Tim) Watson Gd
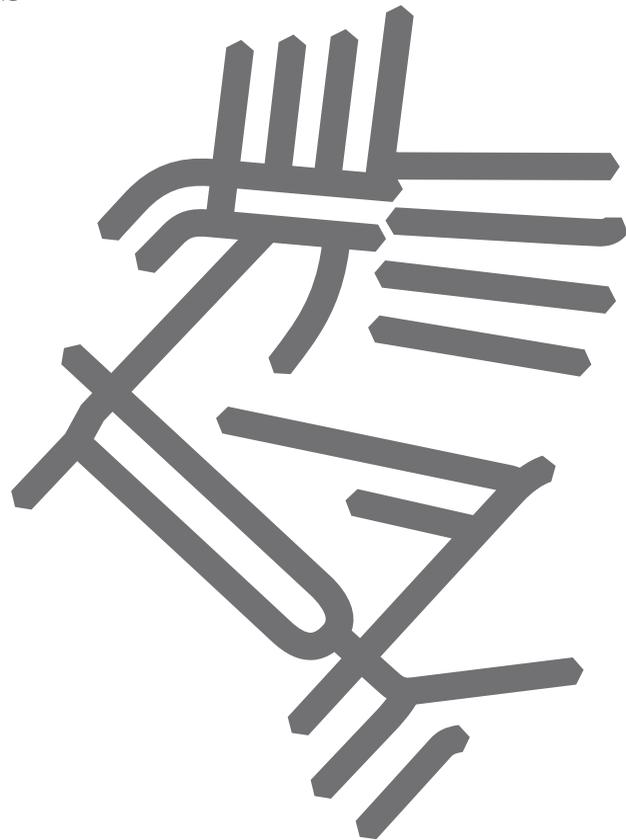
Reservoir

Acheron Ave
Barwon Ave
Bendigo St
Charlton Crs
Erskine Ave
Genoa Ave
Gisborne Crs
Goulburn Ave
Keilor Ave
Kerang Ave
Kilmore Ave
Kyneton Ave
Loddon Ave
McIvor St
Nicholson Ave
Rubicon St
Tambo Ave
Wilkinson St
Wimmera Ave
Yarra Ave

ELIZABETH

BOURKE

STREET

COLLINS

LONSDALE

LATROBE

VICTORIA

KING

SPRING St

STREET
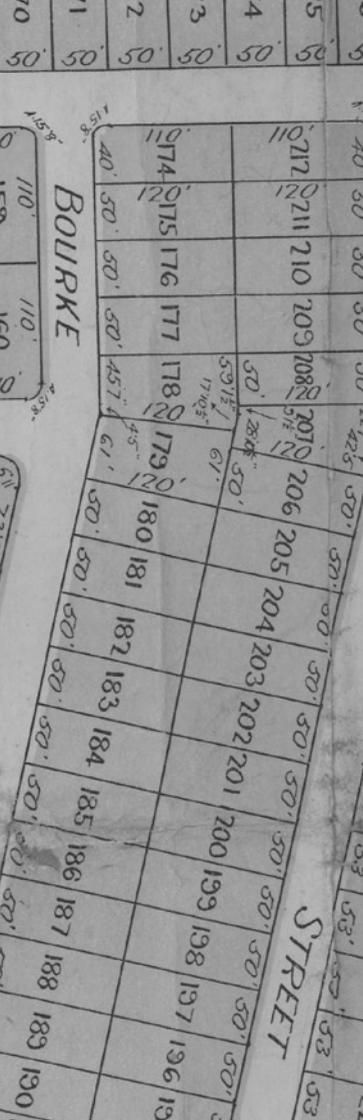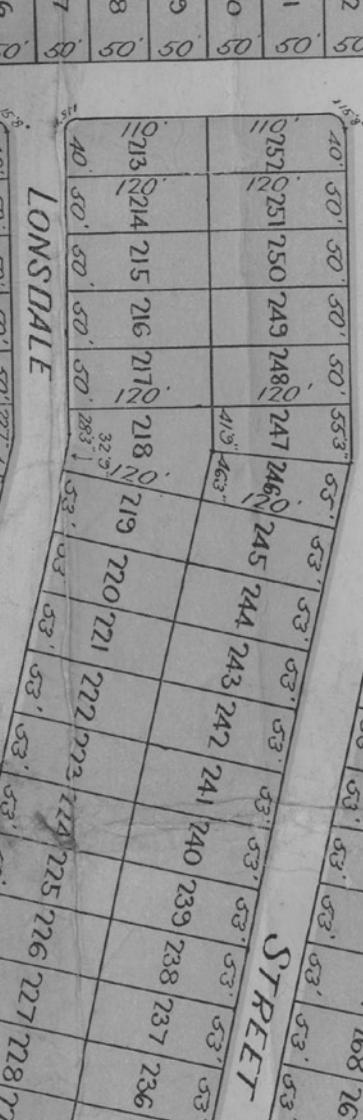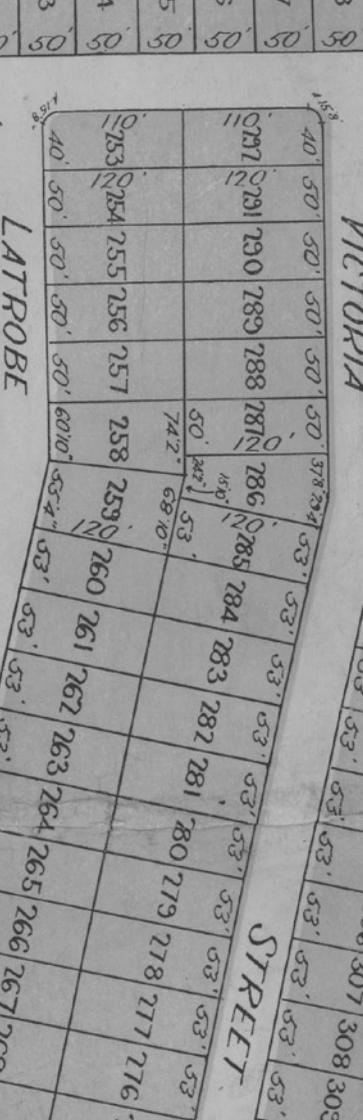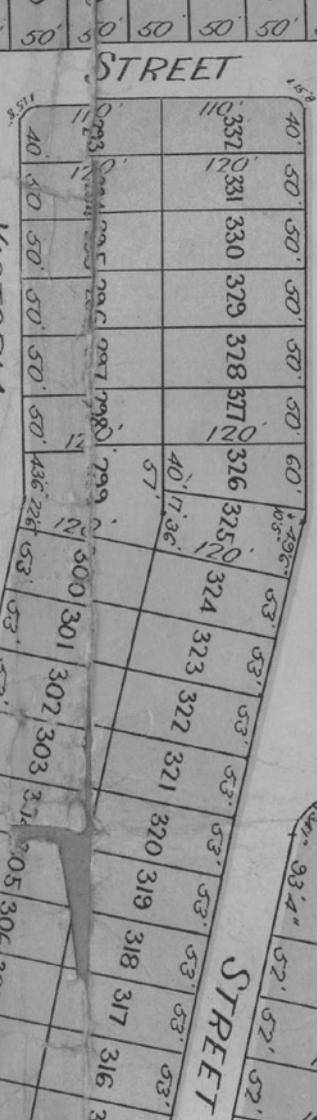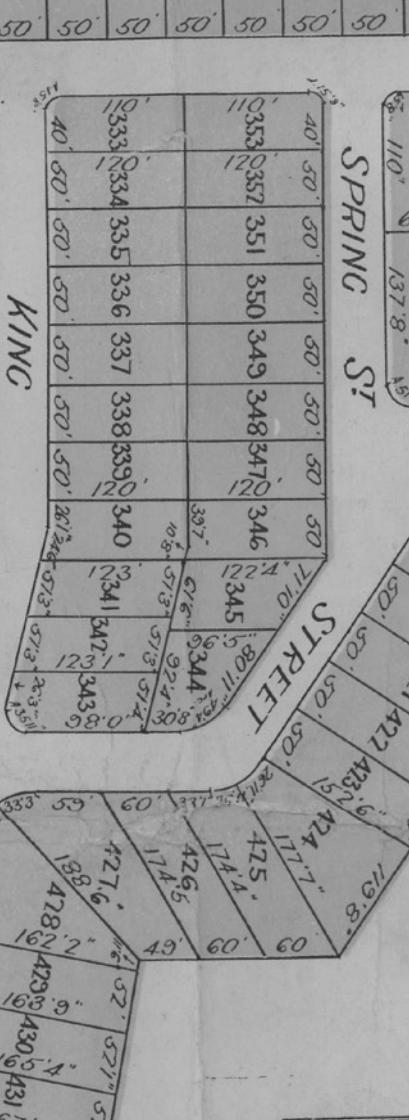
MINI MELBOURNES

Cheltenham

Bourke St
Collins St
Elizabeth St
Flinders St
Franklin St
Latrobe St
Russell St
Spencer St
Swanson St
William St

Bulleen

Bourke St
Collins St
Elizabeth St
Flinders St
Latrobe St
Russell St
Spencer St
Spring St
Swanson St
Victoria St
William St

Coburg

Abeckett St
Bourke St
Collins St
Flinders St
Lonsdale St

Essendon

Collins St
King St
Queen St
Spencer St
William St

Red Hill

Bourke Rd
Collins St
Elizabeth Rd
Flinders Rd
William Rd

Taylors Hill

Bank Plc
Church Ave
Collins St
Faraday Way
Flagstaff Way
Flinders St
Johnston Way
Latrobe Ter
Lygon Plc
Swanson Crt
Treasury Plc
University Drv

Hastings

Elizabeth St
Flinders Rd
King St
Queen St
Spring St
Victoria St
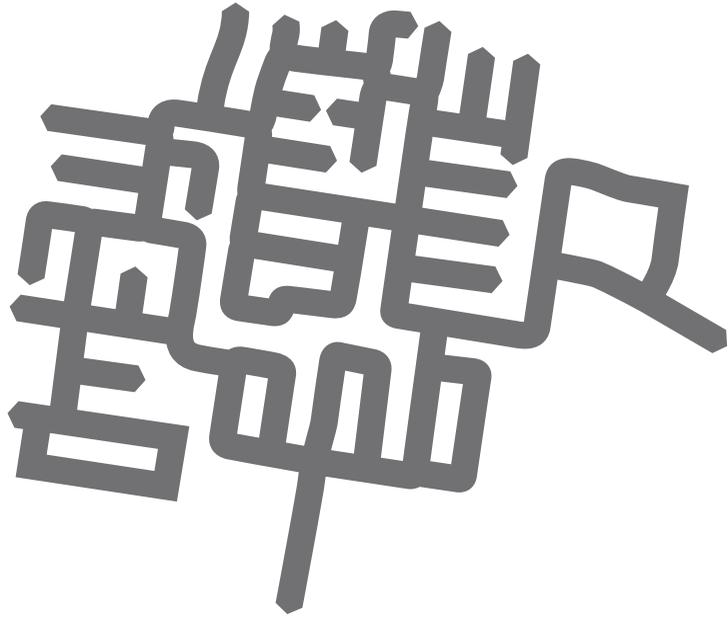
Taylors Hill

Argyle Way
Batman Crc
Beaufort Pde
Bennelong Crt
Birchgrove Way
Bond St
Bondi Lne
Botany Lne
Bronte Way
Clarence Way
Coogee Drv
Cottlesloe Pde
Cremorne Grv
Cronulla Way
Cumberland Grv
Darlinghurst Plc
Double Bay Drv
Druitt Plc
Drummoyne Tce
Edgecliff Cls
George St
Kent Plc
Kingston Drv
Kirribili Blv
Liverpool Drv
Manly Crt
Murray Plc
Pitt St
Pyrmont Tce
Rushcutter Plc
Sydney Grv
Ultimo Wlk
Vaucluse Bld
Wakefield Rd
Woollahra Pd
Woolwich Plc

Mulgrave

Bolton Drv
Brunton Crs
Centurion Crt
Cooley Lne
Derby Plc
Dudley Crt
Edgbaston Way
Elland Plc
Ellis Park Ave
Exhibition Drv
Gipps Crt
Heytesbury Plc
Lansdowne Circ
Liberty Plc
Linton Plc
Liverpool St
Lords Ave
Macaulay Plc
Malone Grv
Manchester Plc
Marylebone Drv
Mills Crt
Newport Drv
Notre Dame Pde
Nowlan St
Old Trafford Way
Padey Drv
Pinto Plc
Quay Plc
Selhurst Park Rd
Sir Kenneth Luke Blvd
Southampton Drv
St Jakob Crt
St James Park Drv
Stadium Circ
Tivoli Rd
Tottenham Gve
Trentbridge Rd
Tusmore Pce
Unley Pce
Waverley Park Drv
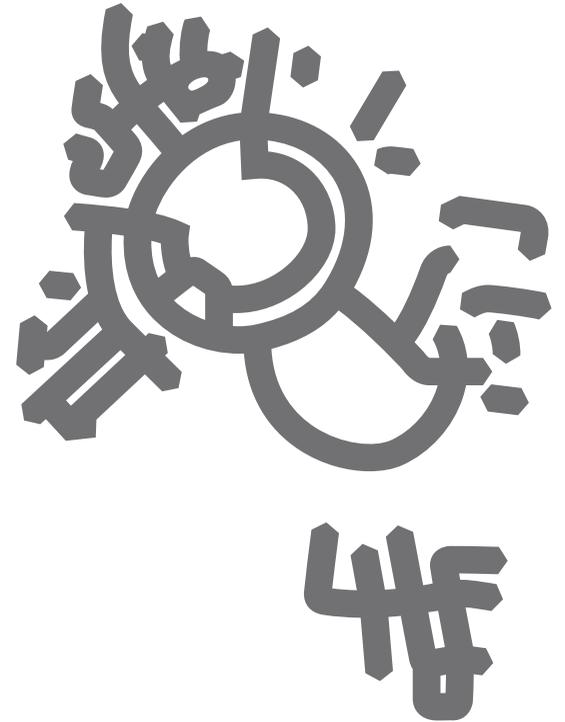
NUMBERS

Parkdale

First St
Second St
Third St
Fourth St
Fifth St
Sixth St
Seventh St
Eighth St

Warrandyte

First St
Second St
Third St

Black Rock

First St
Second St
Third St
Fourth St
Fifth St

Moorabbin

First Ave
Second Ave
Third St

Brunswick

First Ave
Second Ave
Third Ave
Fourth Ave
Fifth Ave

Springvale

First Ave
Second Ave
Third Drv
Fourth Drv
Fifth Rd
Sixth Ave
Seventh Ave
Eighth Rd
Ninth Ave
Tenth Ave

SPORT

SPORTSPEOPLE

Wheelers Hill

Buxton Crt
Clarke Rd
Cuthbert Crt
Draper St
Freeman St
Garrick Crt
Landy Crt
Strickland Drv

CRICKETERS

Keilor East

Armstrong Cls   Hassett Crt
Benaud Cls   Hughes Rd
Border Dr   Lawry Crt
Bradman Blv   Murdoch Crt
Chappell Pl   Simpson Plc
Collins Cls   Woodfull Crt
Darling Cls   Trott Plc
Harvey Crt   Yallop Ct

FISHING

Warburton

Anglers Drv
Callop St
Carp St
Golden Perch Ave
Rainbow Trout Ave

GOLF

Kingsbury

Bunker Ave   Niblick St
Club Ave   Stymie St
Driver St   Tee St
Eagle Ave   The Fairway
Flag St   Wedge St
Golf Ave
Green Ave
Link St

Glen Waverley

Armour Cl
Avalon Ave
Banner Crt
Camelot Dr
Castle Cl
Champion Crs
Chivalry Ave
Courage Crt
Crusader Crs
Dinadan Crt
Excalibur Ave
Galahad Crs
Gareth Crt
Garwain Pde
Gauntlet Ave
Grail Crt
Guinevere Pde
Hector Crt
Herald Crt
Jousting Pl
King Arthur Dr
Knights Dr
Lancelot Crs
Le Fey Crt
Legend Ave
Morgan Cls
Percivale Ave
Plume Crt
Quest Crt
Rampart Ave
Sagramore Crt
Shalott Cls
Shield Crt
Spear Crt
Squire Crt
Tristram Crt
Valiant Crt
Vigil Ave
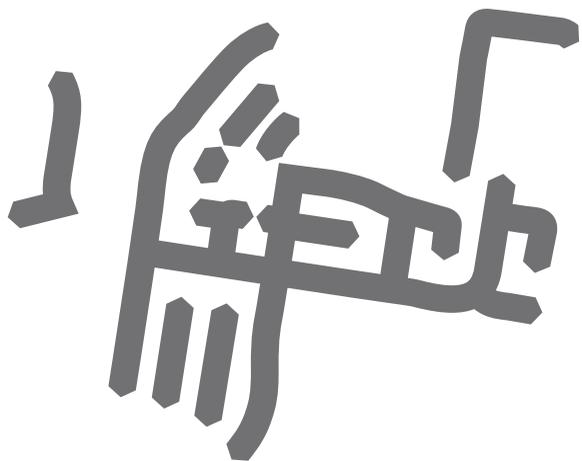
Narre Warren

STRAWBERRY FIELDS ESTATE

Abbey Rd
Beethoven Drv
Blue Jay Crt
Bungalow Lne
Chain Crt
Cotton Field Way
Harrington Drv
Jude Plc
Lennon Crt
Liverpool Crt
Longfield Way
McCartney Drv
Norwegian Way
Rigby Crt
Ringo Plc
Tangerine Drv
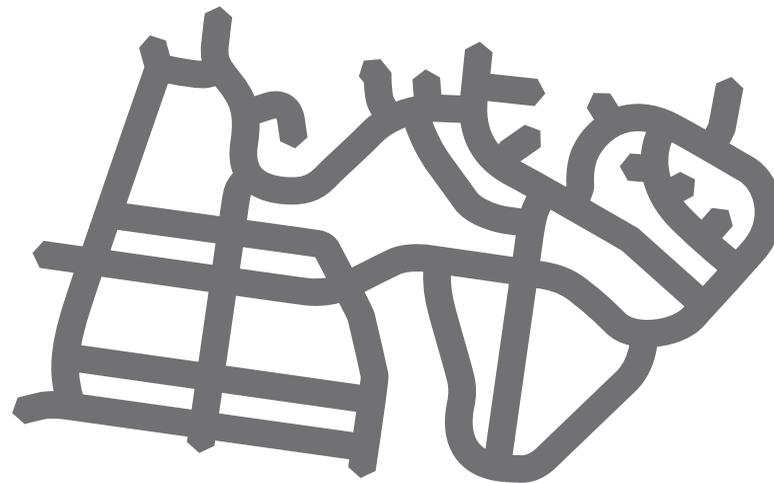
Rowville

Bonaparte Plc
Crimea Cls
Emperor Plc
Napoleon Rd
Waterloo Plc
Josephine Cls
Karoo Rd
Boradino Plc
Longwood Cls
St. Helena Plc
Jenna Crt
Blackwood Park Rd

Avondale Heights

THE FRENCH

Asti Crt
Bordeaux St
Bordeaux St
Camille Crt
Cannes Ave
Cannes Ave
Caprice Crs
Chantilly Ave
Chantilly Ave
Charmaine Ave
Charmaine Ave
Madeleine Crt

Menton Crt
Monte Carlo Drv
Montpellier Drv
Montpellier Drv
Orleans Rd
Orleans Rd
Riviera Rd
Riviera St
Saint Agnes Crt
Saint Raphael St
San Remo Drv
Venice Crt

THE ENGLISH

Avalon Crt
Black Crt
Bolton Crt
Brighton Crt
Browning Crs
Clive Crt
Cortina Pl
Essex Crt
Hanover Crt
Karen Crt
Kent Crt
Kindale Crt

Lisa Crt
Michel Crt
Oakley Drv
Parr Crt
Peerless Crt
Rowe Crt
Shane Crt
Somers Crt
Suda Crt
Tyrone Crt
Warrick Crt
Windsor Drv

City of Signs

Graeme Davison

Melbourne, a city of suburbs, is also a city of signs. Sprawling across an immense saucer of gently undulating countryside, it lacks the dramatic topography of Sydney's rocks and harbours and the glaring social contrasts of some European and American cities. Its wide open spaces cry out to be bounded, named, signed.

When the British came, they imposed a grid, a plan well suited to the purposes of land speculators and businessmen. 'The arithmetical cast of mind that characterised Melbourne's capitalists was already a spatial matter of fact', Paul Carter observes.[1] With blocks and subdivisions of uniform dimensions, you could easily count your way across the town. Its north-south east-west orientation made it easy to navigate. But it took twelve years before the authorities, heeding 'the inconvenience not infrequently experienced (more particularly by strangers) in ascertaining the names of the various streets', decided to erect painted signs at each intersection.[2]

If navigation was the only problem it might have adopted the rational and democratic American method, first used in Philadelphia, of naming streets by number, *First*, *Second*, *Third* Street, etc.[3] But in giving proper names to their towns, suburbs and streets, and erecting signs to display them, Melburnians were also making themselves at home. 'Names are important in crystalising identity', writes Kevin Lynch in his classic *The Image of the City* (1959).[4] If the names happen to offer clues to the location (*North* Street, *Hillside* Crescent) or form part of a cluster of names (*Chestnut* Street, *Oak* Street, *Cedar* Street), their value in structuring and familiarising the environment is enhanced. This is even more so when the names evoke feelings of nostalgia, hero-worship, patriotism or domestic charm. In surveying the street names of Melbourne, on the lookout for clusters of significance, we gain an insight into the changing identity of the city itself.

'In the early days of Melbourne streets were laid out by Government officials and their names had to be approved by those in authority', local historian A.W. Greig noted in 1924. In 1837 New South Wales Governor Sir Richard Bourke visited the new settlement. 'Sir Richard Bourke came early one morning into my tent and gave me a list of the names of the streets', surveyor Robert Hoddle recalled.[5] Bourke's list did not survive, leaving later historians to speculate on his reasoning.[6] From south to north, the sequence represented successive stages in the foundation of the city from the first explorer (*Flinders*), through the abortive first settlement at Sorrento (*Collins*), the first permanent town (*Bourke* himself) to the first local administrator, police magistrate William *Lonsdale*. Lieutenant Governor Charles *LaTrobe* followed later. Less obvious was the logic for naming the streets running west to east. Bourke, a representative of the new Whig administration of Lord Melbourne, honoured four of his patrons, Earl *Spencer*, leader of the Whigs in the House of Lords, his successor Lord John *Russell*, Thomas *Spring*-Rice, Secretary for the Colonies, and his permanent head, Sir James Stephen. (*Stephen* Street, notorious as the centre of the city's vice trade, was cleaned up for the 1880 International Exhibition and renamed *Exhibition* Street). 'I had the satisfaction of affixing Whig names in the bush', Bourke reported to his son.[7]

Generations of Melburnians have learned to chant the rhythmic sequence *King William / Queen Elizabeth / Swanston Russell / Exhibition Spring*. But the King was probably not William IV, already honoured by William Street, but Philip Parker King who accompanied Bourke to Port Phillip, and the Elizabeth was probably not the famous English monarch, but Sir Richard Bourke's wife Elizabeth. Captain Swanston, the business brain behind the Port Phillip Association, got the nod ahead of the more disreputable John Batman and John Pascoe Fawkner. Lonsdale remained determined to keep the naming of streets under tight government control. 'I have had some difficulty to

prevent their naming them themselves', he explained in recommending the adoption of the prefix 'little' for the lanes between *Bourke, Collins* and *Flinders* streets.[8]

When the time came for Hoddle to survey the first extension of the city, Carlton, he chose names with aristocratic and colonial, rather than party associations. *Elgin Street* is not named after the stealer of the 'Marbles', but his son, Governor-General of Lower Canada, while *Canning* is not the famous Foreign Minister, George Canning, but his son, first Governor-General of India. By the mid 1850s, gold rush democracy and the sheer pressure of population had broken the government's tight control over the process of street naming. In 1854, when Melbourne received word of the British victory in the Battle of Alma, a turning point in the Crimean campaign, Thomas Earles, a St Kilda tailor and friend of the fallen hero Colonel Gould, painted the words 'Alma Street' on the side of his shop. The Lands Department not only ratified the name, but also extended the plan to create a little Crimean Peninsula defined by *Inkerman, Balaclava, Malakoff, Sebastopol* and *Nightingale* Streets. In 1857 a heated debate on St. Kilda Council resulted in Elwood being named for British poets and writers (including the colonial poets *Kendall* and *Gordon*) rather than British and Australian statesmen.[9] Literary men (seldom women) are also honoured in poets' corners of Canterbury, Moonee Ponds and Heidelberg.

In the 1880s landboom naming streets became part of the boomers' stock in trade. Sometimes, as in Northcote and Kew, where streets were named after English politicians, the appeal was patriotic. Sometimes it was scenic. Elwood and Aspendale, low lying suburbs carved out of swamps, highlighted their proximity to the open sea with names like *Wave, Foam, Beach, Spray, Tide, Ebb, Dolphin* and *Ozone*. Later, North Balwyn, the dress-circle suburb for Melbourne's nouveau riche, celebrated its topographical, as well as social, elevation with a row of streets entitled *Mountain View, River View,*

City View, Long View, High View, Belle Vue and *Bon Vue*. The ostentatious use of distinguished English place names (*Windsor, St George, Albany*) was often code for the Anglo-Saxon Protestant character of a suburb. The counties most frequently found in clusters of Melbourne street names (*Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Essex*) are those from which many Victorian colonists originated; their Irish counterparts (*Mayo, Munster, Clare*) seldom appear on the suburban map, and never in clusters.[10] Many of the landboomers were Wowsers, and their zeal to sell land was often coupled with a desire to promote domestic virtue.[11] English-inspired street names clustered in suburbs like Camberwell, Canterbury, Surrey Hills and Mont Albert, the heart of Melbourne's 'Bible Belt', where English-inspired domestic architecture, Protestant churches, deciduous trees and sleepy Sundays evoked an aura of unctuous rectitude.[12]

The boom and bust of the 1880s and 90s coincided with the high noon of the British Empire. The 1885 Sudan crisis, when British General Gordon was martyred at Khartoum, produced clusters of *Gordon, Soudan* and *Khartoum* Streets in East St Kilda, West Footscray and Coburg. The Boer War, an inglorious guerrilla campaign coming at the end of the depression left a fainter imprint. By contrast, memories of the Great War are etched deep into the namescape of the city. In 1914 Richmond councillors dismissed a demand from the Burnley Progress Association to expunge *Hamburg, Berlin* and *Frankfurt* streets from the local map as 'childish'.[13] But two years later, as Australian losses on the Western Front mounted, they vowed to abolish all German street names 'with a view to applying in their stead such names as Anzac Avenue, Gallipoli parade, and others likely to be generally approved of.'[14] Neighbouring Hawthorn changed *Weinberg* to *Wattle* and *Hildebrandt* to *Hilda* Street as a step towards 'eliminat[ing] everything German from the municipality'.[15] New suburbs showed their colours by dedicating whole estates to the commemoration of epic

battles, generals, political leaders and the collective heroism of the mighty dead. Box Hill led the way in 1916 with streets named for the heroes of the hour–generals *Kitchener*, *Haig*, *Foch*, and *Birdwood*, admiral *Jellicoe* and British prime minister *Asquith*. [16]

In naming their new suburbs and streets, the colonists were often obliterating traces of the original inhabitants. While the pre-European names of local geographical features survived in the titles of some suburbs (*Prahran*, *Toorak*, *Boroondara*, *Banyule*, *Maribyrnong*), they seldom appeared in clusters of street names until local councils began to encourage their restoration in the mid-twentieth century. In 1885 the Melbourne Directory listed only a handful of Aboriginal street names, many interestingly concentrated in Prahran and Toorak (*Kooyong*, *Orrong*, *Neerim*, *Warragul*, *Mernda* Roads, for example), where missionary George Langhorne seems to have fostered their use. [17] In the 1920s Australian nationalists began to promote 'native names' in preference English ones. A resident of Sunshine, home of the famous Sunshine harvester and a model of 'native industry', objected to the 'peculiar nomenclature' of its streets. 'Sunshine could place its name on the scroll of fame by scrapping all our present street titles and substituting native ones', he declared. 'How much more distinctive would *Mia Mia* Street be than *Hampshire* road and *Gunyah* would prove more acceptable than *Devonshire*.' [18]

Unwittingly, he had opened an old wound. Before it became Sunshine, an old-timer explained, the area had been known as Albion, the ancient name of England bestowed by the suburb's founders 'with a view to founding a settlement where there would be no cause for sectarian strife. Their motto was "No Irish need apply".[19] There was still some resistance to the introduction of Aboriginal street names ostensibly on aesthetic grounds. Some of them are not too nice sounding', one resident observed.[20] Sunshine kept its English county names and it was not until

the 1960s that significant clusters of Aboriginal street names appeared in places like Notting Hill, Noble Park, Eltham, Karingal and Wantirna, where low-slung ranch houses set among eucalypts along meandering drives and cul-de-sacs express a desire to inhabit the Australian bush rather than subdue it.[21]

Until the 1960s, suburban development was largely a small-scale affair. The average developer may not have been over-endowed with imagination when it came to naming streets. 'It is hard to award the palm for originality in street naming', A.W. Greig observed in 1941. 'Hundreds of names evolved from the inner consciousness of land vendors, trusting in the inspiration of the moment.' [22] The historian seeking the origins of Sunshine's *Una*, *Dorothy* and *Alice* Streets, or Oak Park's *John*, *Gregory*, *Ethel* and *Margaret* Streets, probably need look no farther than the developer's family tree. With streets, as with ships, women's given names seem to outnumber men's, evidence perhaps of a quiet strain of chivalry running beneath the surface of suburban life.

The few large-scale builders, like the Victorian Housing Commission, had the opportunity to develop more ambitious naming schemes. Richmond Council welcomed a proposal to honour the heroes of Tobruk in the Housing Commission estate on the old Richmond racecourse, but a narrower patriotism eventually prevailed when the streets were named after local councillors. Meanwhile the Commission had dedicated streets on its West Heidelberg estate to battles in both the European and Pacific theatres. When the area was selected as the site for the 1956 Olympic Games Village, nobody considered the potential embarrassment of requiring German athletes to live on *Tobruk* Street, Japanese on *Lae* Street or Italians on *Bardia* Street.[23]

After the Games were over, the Commission decided to honour Australia's heroes with streets on its new estate at Broadmeadows. *Fraser*, *Rose*, and

Leech Courts honour swimming stars, Dawn Fraser, Murray Rose and Faith Leech, while *Lorraine* Crescent honours 400 metre champion Lorraine Crapp, sparing locals the shame of living on Crapp Street.[24]

The cycle of commemoration rolls on. In 1970, Australia marked the bicentennial of the first act of British colonisation, James Cook's possession of New South Wales. Developer A.V Jennings launched Endeavour Hills, an entire suburb orchestrated around the theme of British exploration. Cook and eighty members of his crew, together with a pantheon of other notable explorers such as *Flinders, Bass, Mitchell, Hovell* (though not Hume), *Fawkner* (but not Batman), give their names to its streets, the most illustrious to the arterial drives that link the estate, the more humble to its court and cul-de-sacs.[25] Not one of these heroes is a woman. Not one is an Aborigine. It is unlikely that even a decade later such a scheme could have been ratified without objection. Nowadays, many Melbourne municipalities follow street-naming protocols designed to redress the prejudices of the past, and to ensure that the streetscapes of the future honour a more generous vision of who we are.

Meanwhile, many Melburnians inhabit villages of memory denoted by clusters of names unrecognised by all but a few of their residents. The tide of history has washed over them, extinguishing the imperial, tribal, sectarian, family and political loyalties that created them. Who now knows, or cares, about the Whig aristocrats, the British generals and politicians, the landboomers and local councillors for whom our streets are named? Yet the names we give our places are a window into the past, and knowledge of their clustering may foster a sense of connection to the land and to each other in the present, as well as in the past.

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His publications on the history of Melbourne include *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne* (1978 and 2004), *Melbourne on Foot* (1980), *The Outcasts of Melbourne* (1984), *Car Wars* (2004), *University Unlimited: The Monash Story* (2012) and *Trendyville: The Battle for Australia's Inner Cities* (forthcoming 2013).

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16 Andrew Lemon, *Box Hill*, Lothian Melbourne 1978, p. 152.

17 Ian D Clark and Laura Kostanski, *An Indigenous History of Stonnington: A Report to the City of Stonnington*, School of Business, University of Ballarat 2006, pp. 23-26.

18 *Sunshine Advocate*, 2 August 1924.

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20 Ibid., 24 August 1924.

21 See for example the clusters at Melways Map references 22 D3, 63 E9, 89 D-H 5-10, 71 8B. On native vegetation see Sally Wilde, City of Monash Environmental History, 1996, pp. 94-101.

22 A.W. Greig, 'Melbourne has a Street Lore of its Own', *Argus*, 12 April 1941.

23 Graeme Davison, *'Welcoming the World: The 1956 Olympic Games and the Re-presentation of Melbourne'*, Australian Historical Studies, vol. 28, no 109, October 1997, p. 72.

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Above

Thirty years after land boomers named this cluster of streets after Chancellor Bismarck, Australia was at war with Germany. Patriots demanded the obliteration of Surrey Hills' 'Little Germany'. *Bismarck* Avenue and *Friedrichsruh* Street, named after Bismarck's palace, disappeared, although *Varzin* Avenue, named after his birthplace, mysteriously survived.

Image courtesy of State Library of Victoria

Above

Captain James Cook, hero of oceanic exploration, surveys the coastline of Melbourne's seemingly limitless suburbs. Endeavour Hills, named in the bicentennial year of Cook's most famous voyage, 1970, would become the site for Melbourne's most ambitious venture in thematic street-naming. Every member of the Endeavour's crew, from captain to cabin boy, had a street named after him.

Image courtesy of City of Berwick

Right

In 1974 Victorian premier Rupert Hamer and Berwick Mayor Cr John Thomas officially name the suburb Endeavour Hills under the benevolent gaze of the great navigator.

Image courtesy of City of Berwick

ELIZABETH

BOURKE

STREET

LONSDALE

STREET

COLLINS

STREET

50' 50' 50' 50' 50' 50' 50' 50' 50' 50' 50' 50'

63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 1

152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167

174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190

210 211 212 209 208 207 206 205 204 203 202 201 200 199 198 197 196

213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228

251 250 249 248 247 246 245 244 243 242 241 240 239 238 237 236

136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146

135 134 133 132 131 130 129 128 127 126

117 118

Cluster:
Exploring the stories
and patterns behind
Melbourne street
names

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Pages 12 and 13
The Famous Mount
Eagle Estate, East Kew
Subdivision Poster
(detail)
Haase & Sons. 1920s
Image courtesy of State
Library of Victoria

Inside front cover
Intersection of Flinders
and Swanston Streets,
Bulleen (detail)
16x20" pigment print
Louis Porter (b.1977)
City of Melbourne Art
and Heritage Collection

Inside back cover
Street sign, Flinders
Street, in use until the
late 1990s made by
City of Melbourne
(detail)
enamelled metal
City of Melbourne Art
and Heritage Collection