

GRAYLANDS: THE EVOLUTION OF A SUBURB

PAMELA MIKUS

Bachelor of Arts in History

STATEMENT OF PRESENTATION

This thesis is presented as part of the requirements for
the Honours degree of Bachelor of Arts in History
at Murdoch University

2013

I declare that this is my own account of my research

COPYRIGHT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I acknowledge that a copy of this thesis will be held at the Murdoch University Library.

I understand that, under the provisions of s51.2 of the Copyright Act 1968, all or part of this thesis may be copied without infringement of copyright where such a reproduction is for the purposes of study and research.

This statement does not signal any transfer of copyright away from the author.

Signed:

.....

Full Name of Degree: BACHELOR OF ARTS IN HISTORY WITH
HONOURS

Thesis Title: GRAYLANDS: THE EVOLUTION OF A SUBURB

Author: PAM MIKUS

Year: 2013

ABSTRACT

'Where is this Graylands?' A journalist posed this question in 1950 and answered by pointing out that the bus company misspelled the name as Greylands; the postal address was Claremont; the railway station was Karrakatta; and the area fell under the Nedlands Road Board. This thesis endeavours to answer the question by describing the unrecognised importance of this small, seemingly inconsequential locality and explaining themes relevant to its history.

The original colonial owners of land in this area were pioneers in the mid-nineteenth century. The first, Captain Harding, bequeathed it to his wife and it was eventually owned by her sister, Maria Gray, who gave her name to the suburb. However, although Graylands was recognised locally as a name from 1896 when land sales began, only a road was gazetted in 1902 until the postal district was recognised in 1959.

The area was a long-term site for housing the unwanted. Psychiatric patients were moved to Graylands in 1903; federal and state governments settled migrants from Britain and refugees from Europe in a large hostel immediately post-war and state housing tenants soon after.

Education also played a significant part in the Graylands story. The development of the primary school from 1917; the coming and going of the teachers' college between 1955 and 1979; and the move of

John XXIII College from Claremont in 1986, all influenced the local population and the evolution of the suburb.

The demolition of the hostel, the teachers' college and part of the psychiatric hospital in the 1980s was the catalyst for change. Private housing growth accelerated and the demographic of the suburb changed permanently. This development led to the change of name from Graylands to Mount Claremont, and consigned Maria Gray's story to the proverbial dustbin of history.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Title page	
Statement of Presentation	i
Copyright Acknowledgement	ii
Abstract	iii
Table of contents	v
List of Illustrations	vi
List of maps	viii
Acknowledgments	ix
Chapter 1 – Literature Review and Introduction	1
Chapter 2 – Swan Location 429	16
Chapter 3 – Housing ‘the other’	33
Chapter 4 – Education	54
Chapter 5 – Conclusion	74
Appendix 1 – Comparisons: ‘Growing up in Graylands’ and research	82
Appendix 2 – James Harding’s family tree	86
Appendix 3 – John Gray’s family tree	87
Bibliography	88

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
1	Memorial plaque to John Butler	19
2	Lake Claremont (Butler's Swamp) 2013	19
3	Gwambygine Homestead, York	21
4	Harding Family headstone in Fremantle Cemetery	21
5	Memorial in East Perth Cemetery to Panter, Harding and Goldwyer. Maitland Brown, who retrieved their remains, was interred with them 10 years after his death	24
6	Memorial on Fremantle Esplanade to Panter, Harding and Goldwyer showing two plaques and bust of Maitland-Brown on top	24
7	Portraits of Goldwyer, Panter & Harding on the Fremantle Memorial	24
8	Detail from 1856 lithograph of one of the wards of the hospital at Scutari during the Crimean War after the arrival of Florence Nightingale. Artist William Simpson (1823-1899)	27
9	Maria Gray's grave site	31
10	View from the new suburb of Mount Claremont, overlooking Claremont 1913	34
11	Dr S.H.R. Montgomery (1870-1916), the first Inspector General of the Insane who inaugurated nurse training, drew up the Lunacy Act [1903] and established Claremont Hospital	36
12	Approach to Claremont Hospital, 1912 Courtesy of <i>Western Mail</i> (showing Administration building (L) and laundry tower)	37
13	Two young protesters with their messages to the government 1991	41
14	Nissen huts under construction at the Graylands Migrant Hostel 1951	43
15	'Kimberley' living quarters at Graylands Hostel 1974	43
16	House plans from Workers Homes Board	48

17	Areas acquired and houses erected by the Commission in the metropolitan area since 1944 showing 293 in Graylands and 224 in [old] Mount Claremont and Swanbourne	49
18	1950 – 27 Alfred Road	51
19	2013 – 27 Alfred Road – block sub-divided – 366 sq.m. for sale – \$860,100	51
20	1913 ‘Old’ Mount Claremont home (north of Butler’s Swamp)	52
21	2013 ‘New’ Mount Claremont home, Alfred Road	52
22	Extracts from the School Journal and Admissions Register	56
23	Graylands Primary School as it is today	59
24	Claremont Teachers’ College	61
25	In the beginning 1954	62
26	Auction notice	63
27	Excavations for basketball courts	65
28	“The grounds were the real problem ...” c. 1955	65
29	Badges of the two founding schools and John XXIII College	69
30	Quadrangle of John XXIII College, Mount Claremont	72
31	1904 Studio portrait of Maria Gray aged 65	81

LIST OF MAPS

MAP	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
1	Map of Graylands 1980 described by black border	1
2	'Kau Nyungar Boodjar Gabbee Gnarning Quobberup' ('Oh, A Place within Aboriginal Country where the Drinking Water is Very Good')	17
3	Section of map: Claremont No. 1 showing Swan Location 429 undated	19
4	Area of Swan Location 429 superimposed on present day map	32
5	Location of Graylands Migrant Reception & Training Centre 1947-51. Later divided into Graylands Teachers' College and Graylands Migrant Hostel	44
6	Proposed subdivision at Graylands by Workers' Homes Board 1945	47
7	Location of Graylands Primary School	55
8	Location of Graylands Teachers' College	60
9	Proposed John XXIII College site showing proximity to Hospital buildings 1983	70
10	Mount Claremont and Graylands in 1944	78
11	Mount Claremont 2013	78

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge the invaluable assistance afforded to me by a number of people when I was working on this thesis and thank them sincerely.

At the beginning of my research, four ladies guided me through the collections in their respective workplaces: Anthea Harris, the Local Studies Librarian at Nedlands Library; Pam Hartree and Kristi McNulty, Local History Librarians at Fremantle Library; and Fiona Crossan, Historian/Curator at Claremont Museum; and I appreciate their patience.

Various officers at the State Records Office and the State Library of WA have been most helpful and generous with their time in helping me to locate records pertinent to my thesis and I thank them for their assistance.

Thank you, too, to Barbara Johnson, Senior Records Management Officer of Edith Cowan University at Joondalup, who provided information about Graylands Teachers' College; and to Helen Birch, a volunteer at the Army Museum of Western Australia in Fremantle, who provided information about the Army installation at Graylands during wartime.

Ann Jones, Win and Ethel Lucas and Joan Atkinson have all contributed to my research with anecdotes of their personal experiences of living in or around Graylands for many years and I am grateful for their input.

My dear friend, Maureen Gathercole, supported me throughout the process, as well as providing tales of her time at Claremont Teachers' College and the rivalry with Graylands.

My two sons, Steve and Andy, have encouraged me throughout this venture called mature age tertiary education, and celebrated my achievements with me.

Lastly, but most importantly, I am indebted to my supervisor at Murdoch, Dr. Jan Gothard, for her encouragement, for being a thoughtful sounding-board for my ideas and for giving me the confidence to complete a task which has been my ambition for many years.

Pam Mikus 2013

*What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other word would smell as sweet.*²

Graylands, it appears, was so unremarkable that as far as can be ascertained the suburb has never been defined accurately.³ In his book *Nedlands from Campsite to City*, A.E. Williams states: 'The actual honour of inspiring the name Graylands rests with three claimants' and lists them respectively as James Gray of Mosman Park, Maria Gray owner of property in the district and David Gray of Claremont.⁴ My own research, together with additional information accredited to her grandson, Thomas Flintoff,⁵ has led me to believe that Maria Gray is the relevant person, for it was she who owned many blocks of land in the area, which she began to sell in 1896 under the banner of 'Graylands Estate'.

I have long wanted to honour Maria Gray's memory by discovering more about her and writing about the suburb which took her name because I admire women like her who came to Western Australia from Great Britain over a century ago to make a life for themselves in difficult circumstances: as I myself did, forty years ago. The suburb known as Graylands until 1988 is now called Mount Claremont, thereby avoiding what has been described as 'the stigma that has grown up with the State Housing area, Graylands Hospital and the Migrant Centre'.⁶ When I looked in the online Post Code

² William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* in *The Illustrated Stratford Shakespeare* (London: Chancellor Press, 1982) Act II, Scene ii, 43-44.

³ Nomenclature Road Names Greylands [sic] Locality City of Nedlands. State Records Office of Western Australia (hereinafter SROWA), WA Series (hereinafter WAS) 211 Files – General, Consignment no. 6621, Item No. 1949-01858-02RO, Letter from Chairman, Nomenclature Advisory Committee to Town Clerk, City of Nedlands, 18 September 1967.

⁴ A.E. Williams, *Nedlands: from Campsite to City* (City of Nedlands, 1984), p. 153.

⁵ Erin Paul, *Growing up in Graylands: memories of Graylands Primary School, 1917-1960* (Mount Claremont, WA: Published for the Graylands Parents & Citizens Association by Personal Publishing Press Services, c1992), Appendix.

⁶ City of Nedlands Council Meeting Minutes of 22 August 1985. Town Planning, Buildings and Parking Committee, Item 13: Proposed Name Change – Mount Claremont.

directory for Graylands, the following message appeared: *No location was found that matched your search. Please try again.*⁷ I think it a shame that the name of the suburb and the memory of a pioneer woman have been, first, stigmatised, and then swept away.

There are many books and articles written about Perth and its suburbs, but none of them gives much more than a sentence or two to the small, insignificant (to them) suburb of Graylands. Jenny Gregory's *City of Light*,⁸ relates the social history of Perth since 1950; Geoffrey Bolton's *Claremont a History*⁹ describes the early history of Claremont to the present day and the events that gave it 'the stamp of respectability', with an underlying theme of the local Aboriginal Mooro people's loss of their land.¹⁰ Tom Stannage's *The People of Perth*,¹¹ while discussing the generations who have peopled Perth since its foundation, does not mention Graylands at all, despite the presence of major institutions in the area in the asylum and teachers college. In an article entitled 'Changing relationships in public open space and private open space in suburbs in south-western Australia', Margaret Grose charts the requirement for public open space in new or redeveloped areas such as Mount Claremont, because so much private (garden) space has been lost due to in-fill housing.¹² Louise Johnson utilises selected social, economic and political indicators in her article 'Style Wars: revolution in the suburbs?' about the design of suburban dwellings and notes

⁷ Postcodes Australia
http://postcodes.qpzm.com.au/postcodes.cgi?search_suburb=graylands&search_state=wa&type=search&.x=21&.y=12 accessed 31.10.2012

⁸ Jenny Gregory, *City of light: a history of Perth since the 1950s* (Perth: City of Perth, 2003).

⁹ Geoffrey Bolton and Jenny Gregory, *Claremont: a history* (Nedlands, W.A.: UWA Press, 1999).

¹⁰ Elizabeth Davies, review of Geoffrey Bolton and Jenny Gregory, *Claremont: a history* (Nedlands, W.A.: UWA Press, 1999), in *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, Vol. 46, Issue 3 (June 2008), p.432.
<http://0-onlinelibrary.wiley.com/prospero.murdoch.edu.au/doi/10.1111/1467-8497.00107/pdf>

¹¹ C.T Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia* (Perth: UWA Press, 1981).

¹² Margaret J. Grose, 'Changing relationships in public open space and private open space in suburbs in south-western Australia', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Vol. 92, Issue 1 (15 August 2009), p.56.
<http://0-www.sciencedirect.com/prospero.murdoch.edu.au/science/article/pii/S0169204609000334>

the 'seemingly contradictory trend' over the past twenty years or so, of smaller families living in larger homes on smaller blocks,¹³ mirroring Mount Claremont. Andrew May, in an article entitled 'Ideas from Australian Cities: Relocating Urban and Suburban History' declares 'the role of the historian is ... in formulating new models for writing the histories of metropolitan places'.¹⁴ This is what I am attempting to do in this thesis. I could find no definitive history of Graylands, such as that written by John Lack about Melbourne's Footscray¹⁵ and a myriad of other suburban histories from around Australia. While I am unable to write a complete history of the suburb, this thesis proposes to look at three main themes that occur throughout the story of Graylands: the pioneer history; housing 'the other'; and education.

Firstly, I will examine the early history of the area, after colonial settlement, looking in particular at the story of Maria Gray as she is credited with giving her name to the suburb. The starting point for this thesis, therefore, is Maria's own story, featured in Chapter 2. Information about her came from Erin Paul's *Growing up in Graylands: memories of Graylands Primary School, 1917-1960*.¹⁶ The appendix to this publication, entitled 'How we found out how Graylands got its name', contained information provided by Maria's grandson, Thomas Flintoff. Some of the details proved difficult to verify despite further investigation (see Appendix 1 of this thesis for more detail) and could perhaps be attributed to family myth, but genealogical

¹³ Louise C. Johnson, 'Style Wars: revolution in the suburbs?' *Australian Geographer*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (July 2006), p.259. <http://0-www.tandfonline.com/prospero.murdoch.edu.au/doi/pdf/10.1080/00049180600701935>

¹⁴ Andrew May, 'Ideas from Australian Cities: Relocating Urban and Suburban History', *Australian Economic History Review*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (March 2009), p.83. <http://0-onlinelibrary.wiley.com/prospero.murdoch.edu.au/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8446.2009.00250.x/pdf>

¹⁵ John Lack, *A history of Footscray* (North Melbourne: Hargreen Publishing in conjunction with the City of Footscray, 1991).

¹⁶ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*.

research together with Fremantle and Claremont rates books have confirmed much of the information in this appendix. The booklet, marking the 75th anniversary of the founding of Graylands Primary School, was compiled by past students, and augmented by some scholarly research.

Maria's husband, John Gray, was an ex-soldier and prison warder from Chatham who arrived in Western Australia with convicts on the *Belgravia* in July 1866 and worked as a warder in various locations in Western Australia until his death in 1891. Roy Dutton's *Forgotten Heroes, the Charge of the Light Brigade*¹⁷ and David Barker's *Warders and Gaolers: a dictionary of Western Australian Prison Officers 1829-1879*¹⁸ provided much detail of John Gray's military and civil service, as both are written in the format of biographical dictionaries. I have been unable to find any book that relates specifically to prison warders in the early days of the colony of Western Australia but F.H. Broomhall's *The Veterans*,¹⁹ a record of the Enrolled Pensioner Force which arrived in Western Australia from 1850, provides a detailed insight into conditions that prevailed on board ship and on arrival, which would also have applied to Gray in 1866.

John Gray was a widower when he married Maria Wickliffe in Fremantle in 1872. Maria had arrived in Victoria from Britain in 1860 aged twenty. She was followed out to the colonies in 1862 by two younger sisters, Sarah and Annie, who were described as servants on the shipping list and came directly to Western Australia, both marrying in 1863. All three were young, single women from northern Ireland who may have been attracted to

¹⁷ Roy Dutton, *Forgotten Heroes, the Charge of the Light Brigade* (InfoDial Oxton Wirral Cheshire, 2007).

¹⁸ David J. Barker, *Warders and Gaolers: a dictionary of Western Australian Prison Officers 1829-1879* (WA Genealogical Society Inc., 2000).

¹⁹ F.H. Broomhall, *The Veterans. A History of the Enrolled Pensioner force in Western Australia, 1850-1880* (Carlisle W.A.: Hesperian Press 1985).

the prospect of a good job in colonial Australia. Rica Erickson's *The Bride Ships*²⁰ and Jan Gothard's *Blue China*²¹ concerning the migration of vast numbers of single women from Britain to Western Australia, together with excerpts from Daphne Popham's *Reflections: Profiles of 150 women who helped make Western Australia's History*,²² have informed my knowledge of this period of growth in the history of Western Australia and the privations experienced by the pioneer women who arrived before 1900. For example, both Erickson and Gothard describe in detail the selection criteria for prospective female migrants such as Maria and her sisters, and the controls exercised over them before leaving England, during the voyage and after arrival. While there was a considerable imbalance in the genders, Gothard argues (though Erickson disagrees) that female migrants were not brought to Australia specifically to marry the single men, but to provide essential domestic services to the families already here. Nevertheless, many of the women, like Maria, Sarah and Annie, did marry quite soon after arrival. Maria's brother-in-law was the first owner of the land around Graylands which she inherited following a series of misfortunes which befell him and his immediate family.

The second focus of the thesis is the state government's settling of three disparate groups of people into the suburb: psychiatric patients; migrants and refugees from post-war Europe; and state housing tenants. The suburb itself was considered worthless in its early days and the state government's decision to locate these three groups of people there

²⁰ Rica Erickson, *The bride ships: experiences of immigrants arriving in Western Australia 1849-1889* (Carlisle, W.A.: Hesperian Press, 1992).

²¹ Jan Gothard, *Blue China: single female migration to colonial Australia* (Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2001).

²² Daphne Popham, *Reflections Profile of 150 Women who helped make Western Australia's History* (Perth, W.A.: Carroll's, 1978).

underlined the value accorded to both the suburb and the people. Despite this, many new arrivals made a positive mark on the suburb and the state.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the state's major insane asylum with its many patients was moved away from the centre of Fremantle and virtually hidden in the Graylands bush. As described by A.S. Ellis in *Eloquent Testimony*, 394 acres of Government Reserve 8636 were set aside in 1903 to accommodate a replacement for the overcrowded Fremantle Lunatic Asylum – the Claremont Hospital for the Insane.²³ Ellis, who was the WA Director of Mental Health Services until he retired, examines the way people with mental illness were dealt with from the beginning of the colony in 1829 until 1975.

Under Blue Skies: the social construction of intellectual disability in Western Australia,²⁴ edited by Errol Cocks et al, though written primarily from the point of view of the evolution of services in the public sector for adults and children with intellectual disabilities, contains many references to the Fremantle Asylum, Claremont, Swanbourne and Graylands Hospitals and provided more background information for my thesis.

According to Geoffrey Bolton and Jenny Gregory in *Claremont: a History*, with the establishment of the asylum in the community, "Claremont" became a 'byword for insanity' and a significant embarrassment to the well-heeled population of the suburb.²⁵ Yet even though this book contains much information about the evolution of Claremont, it pays scant regard to the less salubrious portion named Graylands, mirroring the way Graylands had

²³ A.S. Ellis, *Eloquent Testimony The Story of Mental Health Services in Western Australia 1830-1975* (Nedlands: UWA Press, 1984), p.43.

²⁴ Errol Cocks et al (eds.). *Under blue skies: the social construction of intellectual disability in Western Australia* (Joondalup, W.A.: Centre for Disability Research and Development, Faculty of Health and Human Services, Edith Cowan University, 1996).

²⁵ Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*, p.199.

always been considered of little value.

Life in Graylands appears to have been uneventful until the war years, when the 4 Motor Vehicle Trades Training Centre was constructed by the Australian Army on Lantana Avenue in Graylands in 1942 and operated there until 1944. Thereafter the camp was used for other military activities of Western Command until being handed over to the Department of Immigration in 1948. *A Guide to Historical Military Sites in the City of Nedlands*²⁶ provided some information on this period in Graylands history, and the Australian War Memorial has a collection of photographs which show the accommodation. Of itself, the army installation was comparatively short-lived and insignificant but the land and the buildings thereon were divided after the war, partly to house European immigrants and partly for the creation of the Graylands Teachers' College, an institution which lasted twenty-five years.

After World War II, migrants from Britain, who were deemed acceptable by the Australian public, and refugees from Europe who were less welcome because of the long-standing White Australia policy and preference for British migrants, increased the population of the suburb considerably. Sponsored by the International Refugee Organisation, post-war migration of refugees from Europe began in 1947, and many arrived in Western Australia under a scheme which required them to undertake unskilled work wherever they were needed for a period of two years. Nonja Peters, Fiona Bush and Jenny Gregory wrote about the conditions in their

²⁶ Helen Birch, *A Guide to Historical Military Sites in the City of Nedlands* (Nedlands W.A.: Nedlands Library Service Local Studies Collection, 2004).

report *Graylands & Swanbourne Migrant Reception Centres*,²⁷ but other than government records in the State Records Office and brief mentions in several books about Perth, there is little else in written format. However, Episode 2 of an SBS production 'Immigration nation: the secret history of us'²⁸ provides excellent context to the machinations of Arthur Calwell, the Immigration Minister in the post-war Chifley government and his efforts to achieve his mantra 'populate or perish' by bringing to Australia many thousands of refugees from all parts of Europe and thereby signalling the beginning of the end of the White Australia policy. This provided useful contextual background on this well-documented period to my study of the suburb.

The Australian Government's Heritage Database statement of significance about Graylands Migrant Reception and Training Centre and Graylands Migrant Hostel reads somewhat ironically: 'The Graylands site does not appear to have value to the wider community of Graylands, however it does have considerable value to the migrants who passed through there (Criterion E.1).'²⁹ I and my young family were among those migrants, arriving from England in 1971 and this echoes my own feelings exactly. The hostel was eventually closed in 1987, having been the first home in Australia and the beginning of a new and better life for many thousands of British migrants and refugees from post-war continental Europe and later from other war-torn areas of the world such as Cambodia and

²⁷ Nonja Peters, Fiona Bush and Jenny Gregory, *Graylands & Swanbourne Migrant Reception Centres* (Centre for Western Australian History. UWA Press, 1996).

²⁸ 'Immigration nation: the secret history of us'. SBS. Directors Jacob Hickey and Ben Shackleford. Screen Australia, Film Victoria and Renegade Films (Australia) Pty. Ltd. 2010, Episode 2.
www.sbs.com.au/immigrationnation

²⁹ Australian Government Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities. Australian Heritage database. Graylands. Place ID 100635.
http://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl?mode=place_detail;place_id=100635

Vietnam. They brought their skills from many parts of the world, to improve their lives and to benefit their new homeland, and their passage through Graylands, though sometimes very brief, was their own 'rags to riches' story and inevitably left a trace on the development of the suburb.

In addition to 'the mad, the military and the migrants',³⁰ who shaped the suburb into the 1950s, Graylands, as unfashionable as all the other locations of social housing around the metropolitan area, became the site of new state housing and war service homes, made available to welfare recipients.

After World War II many houses were built in suburban Perth, and Graylands, at that stage still only a parcel of undeveloped bush bounded by Ashton Avenue, Alfred Road and the railway line, was one of the areas selected. Almost four hundred homes were constructed by the Workers' Homes Board (later the State Housing Commission) to alleviate the shortage of domestic housing. This brought many families to the area, into small, modest homes situated on quarter-acre blocks. The early houses were utilitarian, because of the shortage of materials immediately after the war and most were rented to tenants.³¹

Amy Nancarrow described this process in considerable detail in *Mengler Avenue: The Story of a Street in Claremont*,³² a well-researched paper which includes personal reminiscences of local residents. However, neither her work nor the similar work of Claire Eden, who wrote about nearby

³⁰ Personal conversation and reminiscence of long-time local resident.

³¹ Amy Nancarrow. *Mengler Avenue: The Story of a Street in Claremont* (Curtin University Research Unit for Cultural Heritage, produced in association with Claremont Museum, Town of Claremont, 2002).

³² Nancarrow, *Mengler Avenue*.

Second Avenue,³³ puts the suburb into a larger context of time and place and neither gives much detail about its evolution from the 1980s when, according to their texts written in 2004, Graylands, once the poor relation of Claremont, became the much-admired Mount Claremont. Over this period the population demographic has gone from working class to upper middle-class with a high proportion of professionals choosing this suburb for their home.

The third theme of the thesis, education, played a large part in this transition. Graylands Primary School became renowned for its pioneering methods of teaching migrant children; a teachers' college whose graduates achieved an enviable reputation was located there for twenty-five years; and lastly John XXIII College, an innovative co-educational Catholic establishment, moved from Claremont to Graylands in 1985.

Graylands Primary School was opened in 1917 and the school population fluctuated markedly, particularly rising after World War II when European refugees were brought into the local area followed by British migrants and in the 1970s and 1980s by people from Cambodia and Vietnam. Information about these arrivals was gleaned from Paul's publication *Growing up in Graylands*,³⁴ *Graylands Primary School 1917-1979*³⁵ and from school yearbooks held by Nedlands Local Studies Library but as far as I can ascertain, there is no formal history of Graylands Primary School.

The Graylands Teachers' College was located between the hostel and the primary school. As with the migrants in the hostel forging a new life in a

³³ Claire Eden, *Second Avenue, Claremont A story of two streets* (Curtin University Research Unit for Cultural Heritage, produced in association with Claremont Museum, Town of Claremont, 2000).

³⁴ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*.

³⁵ *Graylands Primary School 1917-1979*. Graylands School History. No author.

new land, it was a starting point, this time for young teachers. Buildings from the wartime army camp were refurbished and the majority of the accommodation in both the college and the hostel was initially in basic Nissen huts, though brick buildings were added to the hostel later.³⁶ Campbell Rielly's [sic] book *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*³⁷ is a comprehensive history, with many photographs, of a college which lasted twenty-five years. In 1977 the state government commissioned an enquiry into the future of the college. Because of a projected decline in the demand for teachers, coupled with the federal government's fear of spiralling inflation and consequent need for fiscal restraint, the recommendation was that the college should be phased out by 1979.³⁸ Geoffrey Bolton and Geraldine Byrne's book *The Campus That Never Stood Still: Edith Cowan University 1902-2002*,³⁹ includes a chapter about the beginnings of Graylands Teachers' College and touches on its closure, but the text, which contains some quotes from Rielly's book, has little fresh information for my purpose.

Although the co-educational John XXIII College is now thirty-seven years old and has been at Graylands for twenty-eight years, I have not found any monographs relating specifically to the school. Such information as I did find about its beginnings was gleaned from an article written by Terry O'Connor, Chairman of the College Council, in the Year Book of 1985, largely in praise of the College's achievements during its first ten years. Various newspaper cuttings held at the Claremont Museum, together with

³⁶ C.W. (Campbell W.) Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story* (Graylands, W.A.: Graylands Teachers College, 1979).

³⁷ Rielly, *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*.

³⁸ Western Australian Post Secondary Education Commission *Report on the future of Graylands Teachers College* (The Commission, [Perth], W.A., 1977).

³⁹ Geoffrey Bolton and Geraldine Byrne, *The campus that never stood still: Edith Cowan University, 1902-2002*. (Churchlands, W.A.: The University, 2001), p. 89.

correspondence held at the State Records Office, provided details of the negotiations between the College Council and the state government regarding the purchase of government land and relocation of the College from Claremont to Graylands. There was also more than a hint of the contribution of two Catholic premiers, Ray O'Connor and Brian Burke, who eased the way for the establishment of the College; and a suggestion in government correspondence that 'in the light of current employment problems the Government would welcome what would be a multi-million dollar construction project'⁴⁰ was also illuminating.

Graylands changed considerably in the mid-1980s. Swanbourne Hospital, the teachers' college and the migrant hostel were all demolished and John XXIII College moved from four Claremont sites onto one campus on former Mental Health Services land. The surrounding once-sleepy suburb was discovered to be prime real estate because of its location between Perth and Fremantle, and its proximity to excellent facilities: rail and bus routes into the city, good schools, the University of WA and excellent beaches. This resulted in an influx of newcomers, who brought with them to the suburb, as well as middle-class housing, a different attitude to the proximity of the psychiatric hospital. Many of the earlier residents of Graylands had not chosen to live in the locality; rather they had been housed there in state housing by the government and many were grateful, despite the somewhat primitive accommodation, comparative isolation and lack of facilities. They had soon accepted the closeness of the hospital and its patients; they had had no choice. The newcomers, however, in their privately-owned houses,

⁴⁰ Graylands Hospital site. Proposed sale to John XXIII College. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 4990, Item No. 1983/0083. Letter from T.E. O'Connor, Chairman of Council to Premier, 10 December 1982.

brought a completely different ethos with them, of privilege and entitlement, and they were not averse to agitating for change if they did not agree with government decisions, such as the locating of the new forensic unit at the hospital. In the face of this shift in attitude towards 'Graylands', with all its negative associations, the suburb was re-named Mount Claremont.

Maria Gray's unpromising beginning in Australia was mirrored by the inauspicious beginnings of Graylands, the suburb which took her name. In parallel with her rags to riches life story – for she ended her days in comfort – the suburb has changed from a working-class area to one of considerable wealth in the last twenty-five years. The institutions of college, hostel and hospital have all been demolished to be replaced by housing of a density, size and quality previously unknown in this area; the primary school has changed its name to match that of the re-named suburb. I doubt if the people who lobbied to change that name had any inkling of the history behind it when, in 1985, Graylands was dropped from the Perth map.

In 1985, Maria Gray's grandson, Thomas Flintoff, sought to maintain the name of Graylands at least for those streets situated south of Alfred Road in the original Swan Location 429 which had been owned by his grandmother (First and Second Avenues between Graylands Road and Ashton Avenue). His plea was ignored,⁴¹ and these streets now bear a Claremont address. The only remaining uses of the name Graylands today are found in the psychiatric hospital and the original road gazetted in 1902 alongside the Royal Agricultural Society's Showground.

⁴¹ *Claremont/Nedlands POST*, 18 June 1985, p.7. (Copy in my archives.)

Since its early years, that part of Claremont south of the railway line has been known as a suburb of rank and privilege while, situated north of the railway line, Graylands was looked down upon and considered 'less than fashionable',⁴² containing as it did the state's major psychiatric hospital, a migrant hostel and a large proportion of social housing. This thesis will examine how that sentiment has changed today.

⁴² Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*, p.103.

GRAYLANDS: THE EVOLUTION OF A SUBURB

CHAPTER 2

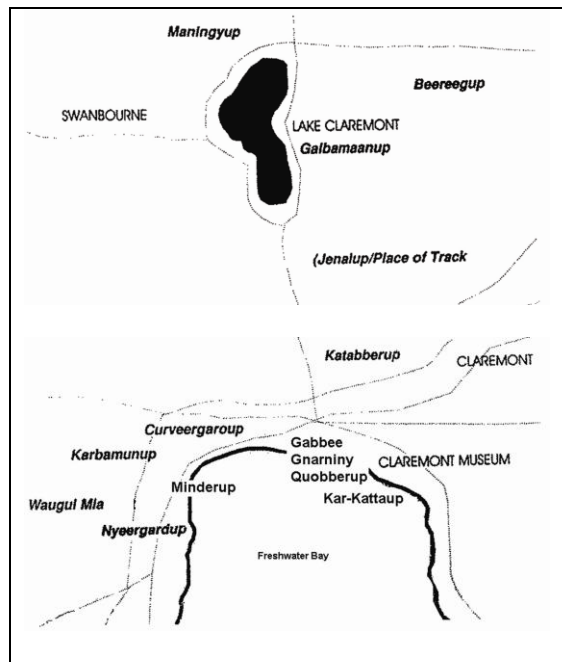
PIONEER OWNERS OF SWAN LOCATION 429

*They ... embraced this country as their own and said;
“let's get on with it, this is a new land, this is our home”.⁴³*

Before the coming of British settlers to Western Australia in 1826, local Aboriginal people, the Nyungar, utilised the area known as Mooro (between the ocean at Swanbourne and the river at Claremont) part of which is the subject of this thesis. According to the season a small itinerant family group of about thirty-two people was thought to roam the area between the hills and the lower reaches of the river. Around Gabbie Gnarniny Quobberup (later Freshwater Bay – see Map 1) these people ‘could catch crabs, water fowl and fish and harvest bush food, animals, snakes and lizards from the surrounding bush’. Close by, a freshwater lake called Galbamaanup (see map) ‘had shell fish, tortoises, frogs and reed rhizomes for damper and other bush food like zamia nuts as well as paperbark resources to use to build shelters’.⁴⁴

⁴³ Dennis O'Keeffe – Musician. <http://www.convictcreations.com/culture/wisdom.htm>

⁴⁴ Heritage and the Town of Claremont.
http://www.claremont.wa.gov.au/Libraries/ContentDocs/Thematic_history_1.sflb.ashx p. 1.



Key

Beereegup	The place of Banksias
Curveergaroup	Unknown
Galbamaanup	The place of black water
Jenalup	The place where the feet make a track
Waugul Mia	The Waugul's home
Minderup	The place for alleviating or causing sickness (where the Waugul killed some Nyungar in ancient past)
Nyeegardup	The place where fresh water flows from the top of the hill (Nyeera - Above). Garda or Katta is top of or hill or head or of the cliff through limestone to its base (Gardup - Below or underneath)
Kar-kattaup	The place of the banks (sand) where crabs are located in Freshwater Bay
Katabberup	The place of the high ground where the 'buyer' or Zamia plant grow
Maningyup	The place of vegetables
Karbamunup	The place where the hill is haunted due to Nyungar breaking a food law and being punished by the Waugul
Gabbee Gnarniny	Where the drinking water is very good
Quobberup	

Map.2 Source: Len Collard 1997 'Kau Nyungar Boodjar Gabbee Gnarniny Quobberup' ('Oh, A Place within Aboriginal Country where the Drinking Water is Very Good'), produced for Town of Claremont – Thematic History⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Heritage and the Town of Claremont.
http://www.claremont.wa.gov.au/Libraries/ContentDocs/Thematic_history_1.sflb.ashx p. 2.

The Swan River Colony was established in 1829 as a free settlement, but population growth was slow and conditions were harsh. The first census in 1832 revealed 1305 colonists were living in the colony,⁴⁶ while that of 1848 showed a population of only 4622 after almost twenty years.⁴⁷ Settlers soon appealed to the government in Britain for assistance and a decision was made to send convicts to Western Australia. In 1850 the *Scindian* brought 75 convicts, as well as a number of guards and their families. These guards were former soldiers, who were discharged with a pension as there was no longer a requirement to maintain a large standing army following the Napoleonic Wars. Many were sent to the colonies, where they could act as a reserve police force as well as guarding convicts.⁴⁸

Most colonists lived either in the port town of Fremantle or the capital, Perth. At the half-way point between them, John Butler, a settler, set up an inn and later claimed farm land a mile to the north in the area which became known as Butler's Swamp, although there is no record of a Certificate of Title to this land being issued in his name.⁴⁹

In 1850 the colonial office used the government reserve known as 'Butler's Swamp' to form a village for military pensioners. Seventeen families were settled on grants of 10 acres, each having 1/2 acre on Freshwater Bay and 9 1/2 acres of swamp land for cultivation. This was the beginning of the first community in this district.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ian Berryman, *A Colony Detailed. The first census of Western Australia 1832* (Perth: Creative Research, 1979), p.17.

⁴⁷ C.T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia*, Appendix 6.2, p.235.

⁴⁸ Leanne Bicknell and Bill Cooper, *The Story of Davies Road, Claremont* (Curtin University Research Unit for Cultural Heritage, produced in association with Claremont Museum, Town of Claremont, 1998), p.4.

⁴⁹ *Lake Claremont Policy*, B.T. Haynes, I.R. and P.M. Lantzke, Town of Claremont, Western Australia (1992, rev. 1998). <http://members.iinet.net.au/~mrfoster/LakePolicy1.html>

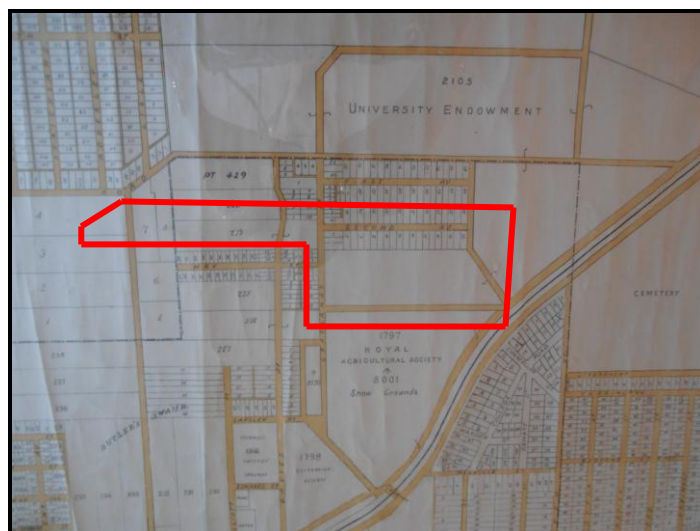
⁵⁰ Butler's Swamp (Lake Claremont) wording on memorial plaque, see photograph. http://monumentaaustralia.org.au/monument_display.php?id=60269&image=0



Fig. 1 Left: Memorial plaque to John Butler

Fig. 2 Above: Lake Claremont (Butler's Swamp) 2013⁵¹

The convicts built and maintained the road from Perth to Fremantle until the 1870s and the guards farmed the area around Butler's Swamp for many years, although most had no farming experience.⁵² Speculators began buying large blocks of land between the river and the Fremantle road and a number of wealthy individuals built homes, particularly after the railway was built in 1881 and the station was given the name Claremont. However, the area north of the railway line was largely ignored until much later. Development in this area north of the railway is the topic of my thesis.



Map 3  Section of map: Claremont No. 1 showing Swan Location 429 undated⁵³

⁵¹ Author's own photographs.

⁵² Heritage and the Town of Claremont, p.3.

http://www.claremont.wa.gov.au/Libraries/ContentDocs/Thematic_history_1.sflb.ashx

⁵³ Claremont No. 1 comprising all of the Municipality and part of the Road District. D. Ferguson publisher, undated.

Swan Location 429 on the east side of Butler's Swamp, appears on early maps of the Claremont area but it was not until the early twentieth century that the name 'Graylands' came into common usage for this location. Captain James Harding, the Fremantle harbour master, was the first registered owner, having made a speculative purchase of the land for £20 in 1866.⁵⁴ Captain Harding had arrived at Kings Sound in 1846 with his first wife, Elizabeth⁵⁵ and four young children.⁵⁶ The family went back to England for two years between 1848 and 1850 for the children's schooling. Having returned to Fremantle in 1850, by 1851 Captain Harding was appointed acting Harbour Master of Fremantle, upon the resignation of Captain Dan Scott⁵⁷ and the position was confirmed in 1852.⁵⁸

Turbulent years followed for his family when in 1851 Harding's youngest daughter, Emily Louise died, followed in 1852 by his wife Maryann.⁵⁹ On 30 March 1853, Captain Harding was married for the second time to Jane Harris; on the same day his eldest daughter Sarah Elizabeth, aged only seventeen, married the fifth son of the Colonial Chaplain J.B. Wittenoom: Charles Wittenoom of Gwambygine near York.⁶⁰ Charles and Sarah Wittenoom were the founders of the famous Western Australian Wittenoom family line, through their sons Edward Charles and Frederick. The occasion was marred by the death of Sarah's younger sister, eleven

⁵⁴ Landgate Historical search summary report Ref: JT#123606.

⁵⁵ Named as Elizabeth in a number of reference books, but as Maryann on family headstone in Fremantle Cemetery. Will henceforth be referred to as Maryann.

⁵⁶ Rica Erickson (ed.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914 Vol 3 Free 1850-1868* (Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1979).

⁵⁷ *Inquirer* (Perth, WA: 1840 - 1855), Wednesday 12 February 1851, p.1.

⁵⁸ <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65738688>

⁵⁹ *The Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News* (WA: 1848 - 1864), Friday 18 June 1852, p.4. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/3173520>

⁶⁰ See author's photograph Fig. 4.

⁶⁰ Certified copies of Marriage Certificates, WA Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Perth, Western Australia.

year old Rose Harding, killed in an accident on the way to Gwambygine a few days later.⁶¹



Fig. 3 Gwambygine Homestead, York⁶²



SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
EMILY LOUISA HARDING
who died 18 July 1851 aged 8 years

also
MARYANN THE WIFE OF
JAMES HARDING
who died 21 January 1852
aged 40 years

also
MARY ROSE HARDING
who died 4 April 1853
aged 11 years

also
CAPT. JAMES HARDING
who was drowned 23 June 1867
aged 59 years

Fig. 4 Harding Family headstone in Fremantle Cemetery⁶³

Harding's second wife Jane died in December 1862⁶⁴ and in March the following year, he married Sarah Wickliffe, an Irish immigrant girl who was 'under the age of twenty-one' according to their marriage certificate (he

⁶¹ *Inquirer* (Perth, WA: 1840 - 1855), Wednesday 6 April 1853, p. 2.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65485241>

⁶² Author's photograph.

⁶³ Author's photograph.

⁶⁴ Certified copy of Death Certificate, WA Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Perth, Western Australia.

was fifty-two).⁶⁵ She and her younger sister Annie, both listed as servants from Antrim in Ireland, had arrived in Fremantle aboard the *Mary Harrison* in June 1862. The *Mary Harrison* carried 140 single women but only seven single men⁶⁶ - one of the so-called 'bride ships' bringing free, single women to the colony to increase the numbers of females and balance the proportion of males to females. According to the 1859 census, there were 4414 single adult men to 801 single adult women in Western Australia.⁶⁷ Reilly opines that Irish girls were a good influence on the men of the colony – both bond and free.⁶⁸ A mere nine months after arriving in Fremantle, on 18 March 1863, Sarah married James Harding and Annie married William Weir, also a free man. Their older sister, Maria Wickliffe, had preceded them to Australia, arriving in Victoria in 1860.⁶⁹ Maria later came to Fremantle and in 1872 married prison warder John Gray,⁷⁰ and it is this married name that was to feature in the naming of the suburb of Graylands, as will be explained later.

Another misfortune was to befall the Harding family in 1864. James Richard Harding, the last surviving child and only son of Captain James Harding was killed by Aborigines near Roebuck Bay. Accompanied by Police Sergeant William Henry Goldwyer and Frederick Kennedy Panter, Harding was exploring inland from Beagle Bay for the Roebuck Bay Pastoral Company. Their encounter with local Aborigines met with fatal consequences for the party, as the inquest verdict stated:

⁶⁵ Certified copy of Marriage Certificate, WA Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Perth, Western Australia.

⁶⁶ Rica Erickson, *The bride ships*, p.72.

⁶⁷ Adult –15 years of age and upwards accessed via http://hccda.anu.edu.au/pages/WA-1859-census-02_4 16.11.2012.

⁶⁸ J.T. Reilly, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Western Australia*. Perth: Sands & McDougall 1903, p.49.

⁶⁹ Ancestry.com. *Victoria, Australia, Assisted and Unassisted Passenger Lists, 1839–1923* [on-line database]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2009.

⁷⁰ Certified copy of Marriage Certificate, WA Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Perth, Western Australia.

Willful murder against a number of natives unknown; and that the deceased were so murdered near Lagrange Bay, on the North-West Coast of Australia, on the night of the 13th of November, 1864.⁷¹

Captain Harding had to endure not knowing what happened to his son until a successful expedition led by Maitland Brown to discover the fate of the group returned to Fremantle with their bodies in May 1865. A great many members of the public attended the funeral service, conducted in the Perth Cathedral, and afterwards the bodies were interred in the East Perth Cemetery.⁷² A monument to the three men was erected in the cemetery and another was erected later on Esplanade Park in Fremantle.

Notwithstanding the litany of disasters that plagued him, Captain James Harding was a conscientious and well-liked public servant to the thriving port of Fremantle. His annual income increased from £160 upon appointment in 1851 to £250 with a house in Fremantle for his personal residence by 1855.⁷³ Furthermore, he acquired properties in Norfolk, Suffolk and Adelaide Streets in Fremantle with cottages which he rented out.⁷⁴ He also purchased Swan Location 429 at Butler's Swamp for £20 in 1866 and although it remained undeveloped bush land during his lifetime it increased considerably in value in just a few years.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *The Inquirer & Commercial News (Perth, WA: 1855 - 1901)*, Wednesday 24 May 1865, p.2.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66015080>

⁷² *The Perth Gazette and West Australian Times (WA: 1864 - 1874)*, Friday 19 May 1865, p.2.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/3750777>

⁷³ Public Service Lists (WA) Blue Books 1851 – 1866 inclusive. Civil Establishment / Harbour Master's Office.

⁷⁴ Fremantle Rates Books.

⁷⁵ Landgate Historical search summary report Ref: JT#123606.



Fig. 5 Above: Memorial in East Perth Cemetery to Panter, Harding and Goldwyer. Maitland Brown, who retrieved their remains, was interred with them 10 years after his death.⁷⁶



Fig. 6 Above: Memorial on Fremantle Esplanade to Panter, Harding and Goldwyer showing two plaques and bust of Maitland-Brown on top⁷⁷

Fig. 7 Left: Portraits of Goldwyer, Panter & Harding on the Fremantle Memorial

Captain Harding wrote his will on 4 January 1867, leaving all of his estate to his wife, Sarah Wickliffe Harding, whom he appointed sole executrix.⁷⁸ In June the same year, he was tragically drowned in the course of his duty, attempting to assist a ship in distress in Gage Roads. Captain

⁷⁶ East Perth Cemeteries. Description of Grave Panter, Harding, Goldwyer, Brown 1864, 1905. <http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/graves/bio-27.htm#Top>

⁷⁷ Author's photographs. The monument bears a plaque commemorating the explorers using somewhat emotive language which was considered by Aboriginal communities to be racist and presenting a biased account of events. In 1994 a second plaque was placed on the monument to commemorate the twenty or so unarmed Aboriginal people killed in the skirmish while defending their land against the armed explorers. It also commemorates "all other Aboriginal people who died during the invasion of their country". *LEST WE FORGET MAPA JARRIYA-NYALAKU*

⁷⁸ Probate of James Harding's will. SROWA, WAS 34 Files – PROBATE, Consignment No. 3403, ITEM 1867/356.

Harding went off with five of his crew in the Water Police whale-boat which capsized in the rough seas while returning to port, with the loss of five men.⁷⁹ His young widow, Sarah had already experienced the terrible uncertainty of the loss of her stepson, James, and now had to endure the loss at sea of her husband. Captain Harding's body, identified only by his clothing, was not discovered until eight weeks later on Garden Island.⁸⁰

Sarah inherited the Fremantle and Butler's Swamp properties, but sadly by 1870 she was resident in the Fremantle Lunatic Asylum and unable to manage her affairs. Her older sister, Maria Wickliffe, came over from Victoria probably to support her sister and in a hearing in the Supreme Court in April of that year an order was made 'appointing Miss Wickliffe the committee of lunatic's estate'⁸¹. She obviously took this responsibility seriously, for in 1876 Maria (now Mrs Maria Gray) posted a notice in the local press threatening:

ANY person or persons found Cutting, Splitting, carting timber, or otherwise trespassing, on Mrs. Hardey's [sic] property, at Butler's Swamp, without my written authority will be prosecuted. Maria Gray Trustee of the said property.⁸²

In December 1889, together with several Fremantle properties and Swan Location P233, the 40 acre Swan Location 429 at 'Butler's Swamp' was offered for sale. Advertisements appeared throughout the month, suggesting that 'the under-mentioned Properties, which will give a splendid opportunity to parties wishing to become investors' were 'For Account Estate

⁷⁹ *The Inquirer & Commercial News* (Perth, WA: 1855 - 1901), Wednesday 26 June 1867, p.3.

⁸⁰ *The Inquirer & Commercial News* (Perth, WA: 1855 - 1901), Wednesday 14 August 1867, p.2.

⁸¹ *The Inquirer & Commercial News* (Perth, WA: 1855 - 1901), Wednesday 20 April 1870, p.2.

⁸² *The Western Australian Times* (Perth, WA: 1874 - 1879), Friday 22nd September 1876, p.3.

Sarah Harding.⁸³ It is not known when Sarah died, though it was possibly back home in Ireland as there is no record of her death in Western Australia. The purchaser and therefore third owner, was John Gray, husband of Sarah's sister and trustee, Maria.⁸⁴

John Richard Gray was a veteran of the Crimean War. Enlisting on the day before his fourteenth birthday (not unusual in those times) Private 1485 John Gray joined the 57th Regiment of Foot at Rochester, Kent in November 1845. In 1849 he was 'appointed drummer' and in 1851 transferred to the 4th Light Dragoons, where he served until discharged in Dublin in 1861, still a private, as 'being unfit for her Majesty's service'. The Regimental Medical officer described his condition thus:

Pt. John Gray, 4th Lt. Dragoons, has for a considerable time suffered from varicose veins of the legs.⁸⁵

Apparently his condition was not "aggravated by vice or misconduct", a common association, but was more likely a result of frequent horse-riding as a private in the 4th Light Dragoons. During more than twelve years of service, Private Gray spent almost two years 'With Army in the East, Turkey and the Crimea'⁸⁶ and rode in the infamous Charge of the Light Brigade at the Battle of Balaclava in October 1854. 'Slightly wounded' in the Charge and his horse killed,⁸⁷ he was invalided to Scutari Hospital on 26 October 1854 and remained there until February the following year.⁸⁸

⁸³ *The Daily News (Perth, WA: 1882 - 1950)*, Tuesday 17 December, 1889, p.3 inter alia.

⁸⁴ <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/77288971>

The Inquirer & Commercial News (Perth, WA: 1855 - 1901), Wednesday 1 January 1890, p.5.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66931991>

⁸⁵ Army record:WO-1285-146-003-JOHN_GRAY accessed via <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/> 5 April 2012.

⁸⁶ Army record:WO-1285-146-001-JOHN_GRAY accessed via <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/> 5 April 2012.

⁸⁷ Roy Dutton, *Forgotten Heroes, the Charge of the Light Brigade*. InfoDial Oxtou Wirral Cheshire, 2007, p.39.

⁸⁸ 4th Light Dragoons records accessed via <http://shadowsoftime.co.nz/4ths/dragoong/gray6.html> 5 April 2012.

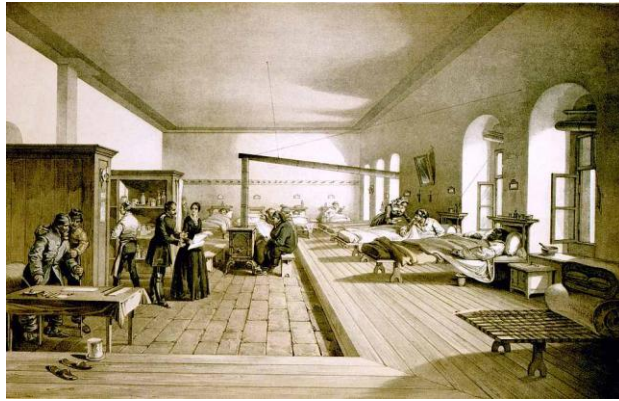


Fig. 8 Detail from 1856 lithograph of one of the wards of the hospital at Scutari during the Crimean War after the arrival of Florence Nightingale. Artist William Simpson (1823-1899).⁸⁹

Conditions at Scutari were deplorable and a report revealed deficiencies in accommodation, transportation and all aspects of care. The arrival of Florence Nightingale and thirty-eight nurses was lauded⁹⁰ but casualty statistics were remarkable: of 22,000 British dead in the Crimean War 6,000 died in combat or from wounds and 16,000 (72%) died of disease.⁹¹ The end of the war in 1856 signalled the beginning of a relatively peaceful period in British history and thousands of soldiers were discharged, many without a trade. John Gray was one of them.⁹²

Upon his discharge from the army in 1861, John Gray expressed his intention to live in Ipswich, where he had married Isabella Kersey on Christmas Day 1853⁹³ while his regiment was stationed there. However, by 1863 his army pension was being paid to him at Chatham in Kent, where he was working as a prison warder and it was from there that he migrated at the age of thirty-six, with his wife who was thirty-four, to Western Australia.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002713027/> accessed 19 November 2012.

⁹⁰ Report upon the State of the Hospitals of the British Army in the Crimea and Scutari. WO 33/1 ff.119, 124, 146-7 (23 Feb 1855) accessed via <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/battles/crimea/popup/medical.htm> 19 November 2012.

⁹¹ Joseph Cummins, *The War Chronicles: From Flintlocks to Machine Guns. A global reference of all the major modern conflicts* (Beverly, MA: Fairwinds Press, 2009), p.100.

⁹² 4th Light Dragoons records accessed via <http://shadowsoftime.co.nz/4ths/drangoong/gray6.html> 19 November 2012.

⁹³ Certified copy of Entry of Marriage, General Register Office (UK) obtained 16 October 2012.

⁹⁴ Barker, *Warders and Gaolers*, p.86.

John and Isabella Gray arrived in Fremantle on board the *Belgravia* on 4 July 1866. He was one of four prison warders who, along with thirty pensioner guards, were in charge of 275 convicts.⁹⁵ They were among the last of thirty-seven shipments of convicts who had been sent out to Western Australia since 1850 at the request of settlers 'for augmentation of the colony's scanty work force'.⁹⁶ John Gray began work the day after arriving with an annual salary of £53 plus £25 in lieu of rations, fuel and light. Almost immediately he was put in charge of a road party 'at South Road on the Bannister' and thereafter for the next five years he worked with the road parties down to Kojonup and Albany, 'then to the Gordon to erect a police station.' The Albany Depot was finally closed in March 1872 and John Gray returned to Fremantle, subsequently working between the Prison and the North Fremantle Depot.⁹⁷

In September 1872, John Gray, by now a widower, married Maria Wickliffe in St John's Church, Fremantle.⁹⁸ They lived at the North Fremantle Depot situated between Rocky Bay and the coast and from May 1876 he was appointed caretaker to do usual duties inside Fremantle Prison and he continued with various duties there until his death in 1891.

John Gray bought several properties from Sarah Harding's estate in 1889 and their value was quite significant.

The land sold by Messrs. E. Solomon & Co. last Monday, at the Cleopatra Hotel realised as under : — Willow Bank Cottage, land extending from Cantonment Road to Beach St., was knocked down to John R. Gray, for £900. A grant and cottage in Adelaide St. was bought by Mr. Gray for £850. A block of nine acres [Lot P.223] at Butler's Swamp was also purchased by Mr. Gray, at

⁹⁵ Perth DPS. Convicts to Australia A Guide to Researching Your Convict Ancestors. <http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/con-wa39.html#Top>

⁹⁶ Broomhall, *The Veterans*, p.1.

⁹⁷ Barker, *Warders and Gaolers*, p.87.

⁹⁸ Certified copy of Certificate of Marriage, Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Perth, Western Australia.

£15 an acre, and also 40 acres [Swan Location 429] (suburban land) for £4 an acre.⁹⁹

These purchases amounted to a total cost of £2,045, a sizeable sum for a man and who never reached any rank in his occupation and who was not highly paid. Even with a working wife and ‘Terms — 25 per cent. Cash, balance 3, 6, and 9 months approved Bills, without interest’¹⁰⁰ this acquisition amounted to a considerable financial commitment. Like many others who came to Australia at this time, hard work and diligence appear to have put Gray and his wife in a position that they were unlikely ever to have achieved in England. When he died, James Harding had bequeathed ‘all the real and personal estate to which I shall be entitled at the time of my decease unto my wife Sarah Wickliffe Harding’¹⁰¹ and it is possible that Sarah, in turn, left money to her sister, Maria – however, no will has been located.

When John Gray died in 1891 from ‘paralysis alcoholism (acute)’ as described on his death certificate,¹⁰² he was afforded a military funeral, honouring him as one of the last survivors of the celebrated “Six Hundred”. Attended by several serving officers from the military contingent and accompanied by a firing party and band, the funeral procession proceeded to Fremantle Cemetery where ‘the customary volleys were fired over the grave’ as befitted ‘a Balaclava hero’.¹⁰³

Written in 1881, John Gray’s will named his wife as sole executrix and beneficiary of his real estate.¹⁰⁴ This included several Fremantle properties

⁹⁹ *The Inquirer & Commercial News* (Perth, WA: 1855 - 1901), Wednesday 1 January 1890, p.5.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66931991>

¹⁰⁰ *The Daily News* (Perth, WA: 1882 - 1950), Tuesday 17 December, 1889, page 3 inter alia.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/77288971>

¹⁰¹ Probate of James Harding’s will. SROWA, WAS 34 Files – PROBATE, Cons. No. 3403, ITEM 1867/356.

¹⁰² Certified copy of Death Certificate, Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Perth, Western Australia.

¹⁰³ *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 - 1954), Friday 26 June 1891, p.5.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/3021495>

¹⁰⁴ Probate of John Richard Gray’s will, SROWA, WAS 34 Files – PROBATE, Cons. No. 3403, ITEM 1881/1053.

and the land at Butler's Swamp designated Swan Location 429. While no evidence has been uncovered, it is possible that his death so soon after buying a number of properties may have left her with considerable debts. Although she never lived at the Butler's Swamp property, Maria eventually left Fremantle in 1912 to live in Davies Road which bordered the area, not on one of her properties, but with her married daughter, Elizabeth Minnie, now Mrs Thomas Flintoff.

In 1896, five years after John Gray's death, the large portion of land between Graylands Road and Ashton Avenue (west to east) and Alfred road to Second Avenue (north to south) was divided into 88 lots (see Map. 4).¹⁰⁵ Advertisements began to appear in the local press offering lots in 'the Graylands Estate' for sale.¹⁰⁶ This was possibly the first use of the name 'Graylands' and may have been coined by the auctioneer responsible for the sales, as suggested by Paul in *Growing up in Graylands*.¹⁰⁷ By the middle of the year several blocks had been sold at prices between £11 and £20¹⁰⁸ but it is not known if these sales made Maria a wealthy woman – or paid off any of the debts she may have inherited. Nevertheless, the word 'Graylands' came into popular usage and Graylands Road was gazetted in 1902, confirming her name in the area. This was the first step in the evolution of the suburb, more of which will be described in future chapters.

¹⁰⁵ Landgate Historical Search Summary Report. Ref. JT#123606 13 November 2012.

¹⁰⁶ *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 – 1954) Tuesday 4 February 1896, p.8.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/3079158>

¹⁰⁷ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.58.

¹⁰⁸ *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 – 1954) Monday 17 August 1896, p.5.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/3097911>

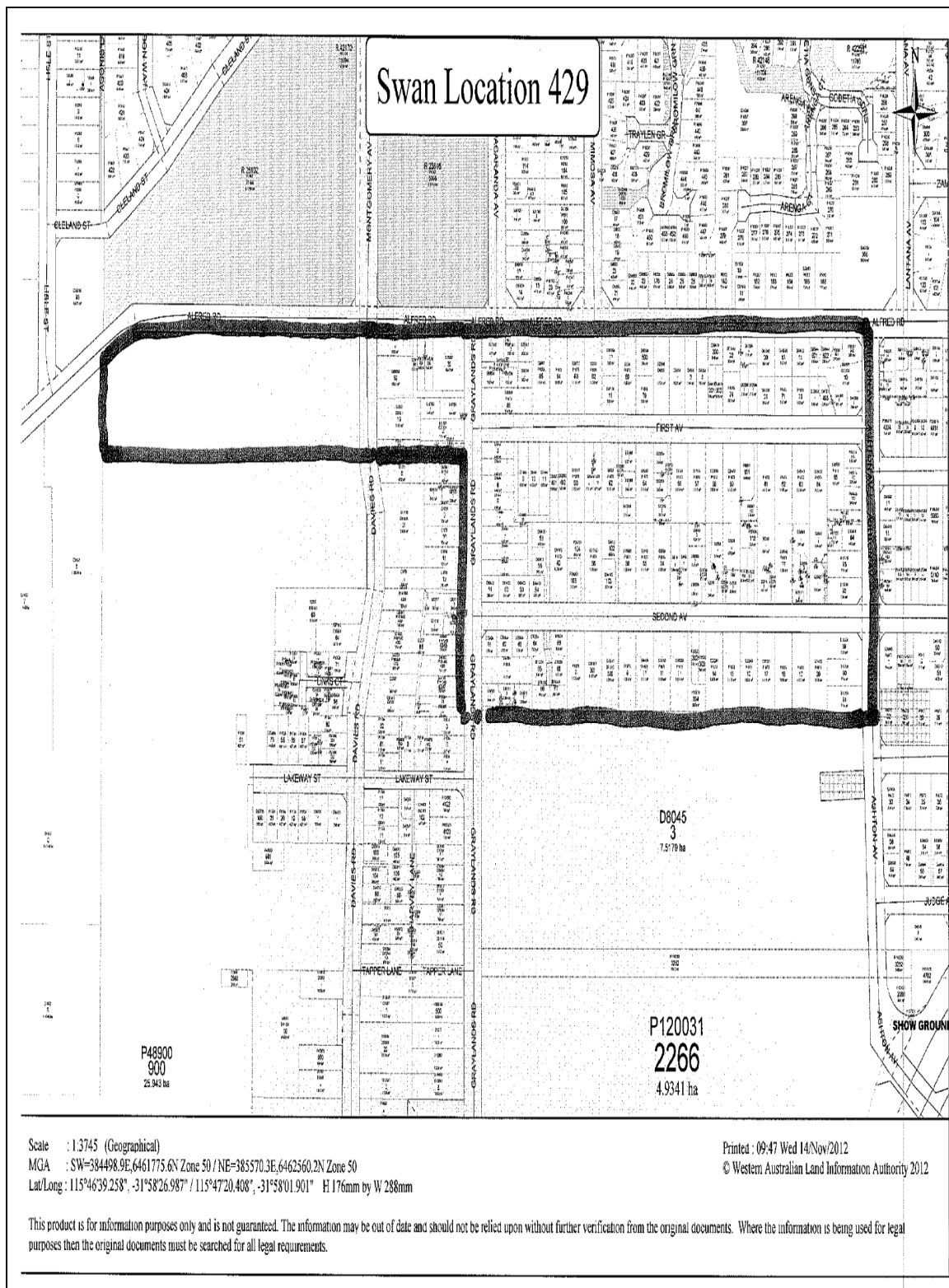


Fig. 9 Maria Gray's grave site¹⁰⁹

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF
JOHN R. GRAY
WHO DIED 24TH JUNE 1891
AGED 60 YEARS

ALSO
MARIA GRAY
WIFE OF ABOVE
DIED 15TH JUNE 1923
AGED 84 YEARS

¹⁰⁹ Headstone erected to memory of John Richard Gray and his wife Maria in Karrakatta Cemetery. Burial area has been renewed and grave markers removed. Only Maria is buried here; John was buried in the Alma Street Cemetery in Fremantle, which was closed and the location of his grave is unknown. Photograph supplied by Metropolitan Cemeteries Board.



Map 4 Area of Swan Location 429 superimposed on present day map ¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Landgate Historical Search Summary Report. Ref. JT#123606 13 November 2012.

GRAYLANDS: THE EVOLUTION OF A SUBURB

CHAPTER 3

HOUSING 'THE OTHER' IN GRAYLANDS

Where is this Graylands? A canvas of city shoppers yesterday proved somewhat disappointing. Perhaps this is not surprising when a bus company calls it Greylands; when the postal address is Claremont; the railway station is Karrakatta and one section comes under the Nedlands Road Board. And yet the area of Graylands is clearly defined. It lies in a huge misshapen triangle bounded by the railway line, the Claremont showground and the Claremont Mental Hospital boundary Within this area is a network of new streets.¹¹¹

In 1967 a member of the Graylands primary school Parents and Citizens Association wrote to the Nomenclature Advisory Committee seeking information about the origin of the name 'Graylands'.¹¹² In the course of correspondence with the Town Clerk, City of Nedlands on the matter, the Chairman of the Committee stated that the area had been in use for 'motor cycle scramble races and other recreational pursuits', and the road name [which was not gazetted until 1902] was used for the area. In fact, 'the only "locality" designated as Graylands is that of the Postal District which came into being during May 1959'.¹¹³ Nevertheless, the name was in common usage for the primary school in 1917 and the teachers' college in 1955.

Graylands was an insignificant area in the early 1900s and apart from the site of the new hospital for the insane, it consisted of mostly undeveloped bush which, if it was utilised at all, was a place for recreation, not for making

¹¹¹ *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 - 1954), Saturday 15 April 1950 p. 13.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/47841652>

¹¹² Nomenclature Road Names Greylands [sic] Locality City of Nedlands. State Records Office of Western Australia (hereinafter SROWA), WA Series (WAS) 211 Files – GENERAL, Consignment No. 6621, ITEM No. 1949-01858-02RO. Letter from Mrs S.T. Wales to Chairman, Nomenclature Advisory Committee, 9 August 1967.

¹¹³ Nomenclature Road Names. SROWA, WAS 211, Cons. no. 6621, Item no. 1949-01858-02RO. Letter from Chairman, Nomenclature Advisory Committee to Town Clerk, City of Nedlands, 18 September 1967.

a home. With the opening of the Fremantle to Perth railway in 1881 and a platform at Butler's Swamp (the station at Claremont did not come until 1886)¹¹⁴ the surrounding area became popular for picnic outings, the onset of train transport enabling more working-class families to enjoy recreational pursuits far from their homes. Claremont bloomed with the arrival of the railway and the subsequent subdivision of land which brought in 'merchants and the moderately wealthy, the "Gentry" of their time'¹¹⁵ but there was no such rush to develop 'the less fashionable Graylands'.¹¹⁶ Apart from the development of the initial Mount Claremont Estate to the north of Butler's Swamp, which began with 191 blocks offered for sale in 1912, there was little other progress in the Graylands locality and until development began in the 1950s it remained a quiet semi-rural backwater.

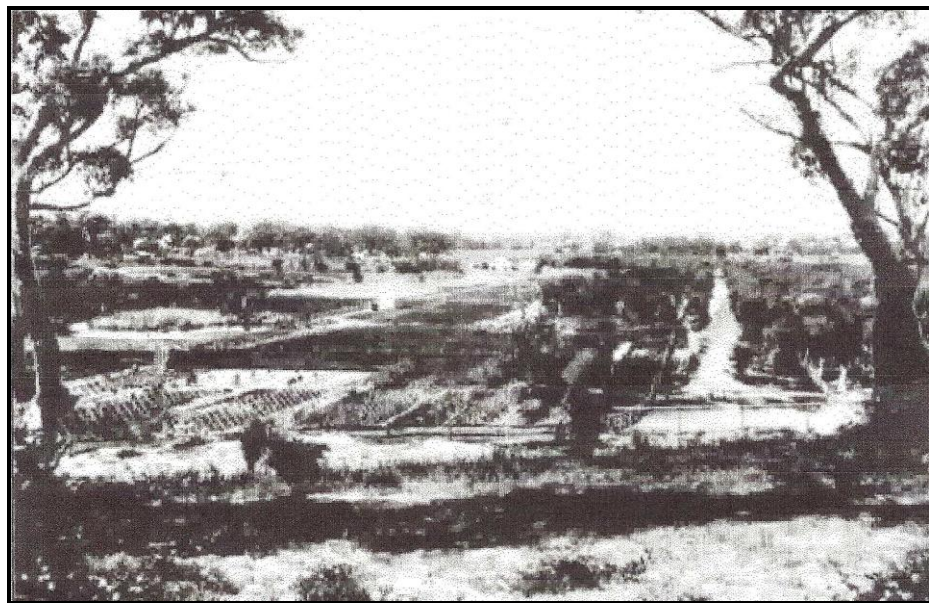


Fig. 10 View from the new suburb of Mount Claremont, overlooking Claremont 1913¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ *Heritage and the Town of Claremont*, p.5.

http://www.claremont.wa.gov.au/Libraries/ContentDocs/Thematic_history_1.sflb.ashx

¹¹⁵ *Heritage and the Town of Claremont*, p.5.

http://www.claremont.wa.gov.au/Libraries/ContentDocs/Thematic_history_1.sflb.ashx

¹¹⁶ Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*, p.103.

¹¹⁷ *Western Mail* (Perth, WA: 1885 - 1954), Friday 31 October 1913, p. 34.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/44882027>

After World War II there was a huge increase in the population of the area for two main reasons: firstly, the coming of British and other European migrants under federal government assistance schemes; and secondly the decision of the state government Workers' Homes Board to utilise vacant bush north of the railway line to build houses for returning servicemen and those unable to afford their own homes,. There were already a large number of marginalised people housed permanently at the psychiatric hospital and, confirming Graylands' status as being 'on the wrong side of the tracks',¹¹⁸ these other outsiders were soon to swell the local population.

In the interpretation of the history of the western suburbs it may be well to remember that, in the thinking of those days, certain institutions and services were always put in remote places. Hence we had ... the Hospital for the Insane ... purposely 'out in the bush' away from built-up areas.¹¹⁹

During the late 1890s there were numerous reports in the press about the inadequacy of the Fremantle Lunatic Asylum.¹²⁰ The Vosper Committee appointed in 1900 to look into conditions there recommended 'a new regime for a new century, a new superintendent and a new institution'.¹²¹

In 1901, Dr Sydney Montgomery, an Irishman with an interest in asylum design, took up the position of superintendent of the dilapidated and overcrowded Fremantle Asylum and immediately began work on planning its replacement. The first decision was the location. He overrode the choice of Whitby Falls at Mundijong where a small number of Fremantle patients had

¹¹⁸ Nancarrow, *Mengler Avenue*, p.30.

¹¹⁹ Claremont in the 1920s and 1930s – Paul Hasluck's View in Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*, p.185.

¹²⁰ 'Improvements At Asylum Needed. Dr. Montgomery Speaks Out.' *The Daily News* (Perth, WA: 1882 - 1950), Tuesday 1 October 1901, p. 3. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/82488685>

¹²¹ Christina Gillgren, "Once a Defective, always a Defective": Public Sector Residential Care 1900-1965', in Errol Cocks et al (eds.), *Under blue skies*, p. 55.

already been transferred, because it was too remote.¹²² Montgomery chose a site near Claremont 'on the Perth Common, about a mile and a half from the Karrakatta station, and the same distance from the sea', as he told a reporter.¹²³ Despite its location in Graylands, it would be known as Claremont Hospital for the Insane ('Claremont' for short).



Fig. 11 Dr S.H.R. Montgomery (1870-1916), the first Inspector General of the Insane who inaugurated nurse training, drew up the Lunacy Act [1903] and established Claremont Hospital. ¹²⁴

Accordingly, 'Government reserve No. 8636 of 394 acres (160 hectares)' was duly set aside and building commenced in 1903.¹²⁵ As buildings were erected over the next few years, patients were progressively transferred from Fremantle Asylum, which was finally closed in 1909. The new hospital housed seven hundred patients and employed almost one hundred nursing staff. According to Bolton and Gregory the choice of site had logic, since the locality was healthy, accessible to the city, but far enough from built-up areas not to cause distress or offence to susceptible citizens.¹²⁶

Dr Montgomery was credited with bringing an enlightened focus to the treatment of people with mental illness in Western Australia, providing the

¹²² Ellis, *Eloquent Testimony*, p.42.

¹²³ *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 - 1954), Thursday 13 November 1902, p.7. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/24847916>

¹²⁴ *The Laying of Langley's Ghost. A story, with pictures that shows 150 years of Mental Health in Western Australia* (Health Education Council of Western Australia), date unknown. (Copy in my archives).

¹²⁵ Ellis, *Eloquent Testimony* p.43.

¹²⁶ Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*. p.102.

medical model of treatment for those deemed insane rather than the punitive model of incarceration. Consideration was given to the design of the buildings and the surrounding grounds (which in time boasted gardens, farmlands and orchards) which would prove a spacious and therapeutic environment and be almost self-sufficient. Those patients deemed capable, were permitted to work on the farm, in the bakehouse and laundry and many were permitted to roam the grounds. An effusive report in the local press described

a splendid block of buildings, designed on hygienic principles, fitted with all the latest appliances for lighting, heating cooking, washing and general administration purposes ... all who visit the Claremont institution ... must feel a thrill of pleasure that this State should have made such humane provision for those who can only look upon life through darkened windows.¹²⁷

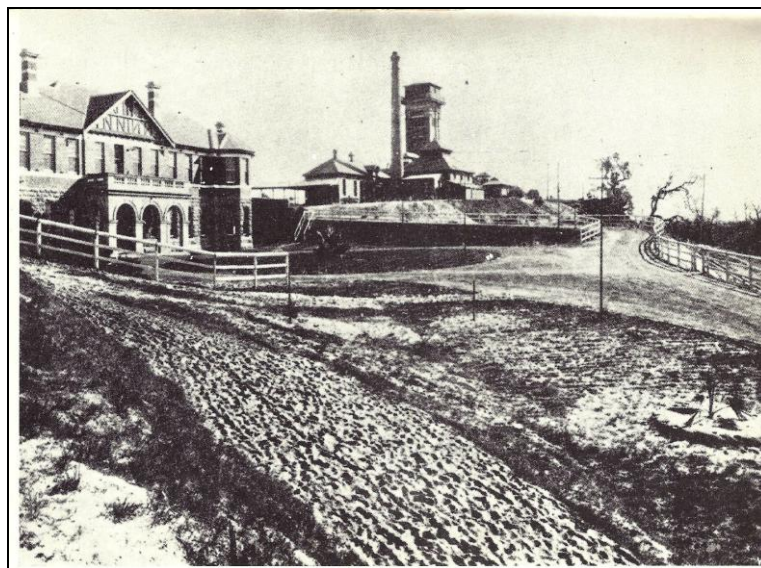


Fig. 12 Approach to Claremont Hospital, 1912 Courtesy of *Western Mail* (showing Administration building (L) and laundry tower)¹²⁸

However, Claremont residents were less pleased, for their name was to be colloquially connected to insanity for over half a century by the association of 'a respectable and upwardly mobile suburb with a collection of unfortunates

¹²⁷ *Western Mail* (Perth, WA : 1885 - 1954) Saturday 10 October 1908, p.14.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/37817859>

¹²⁸ Ellis, *Eloquent Testimony*, facing p.62.

who were “not quite right in the head”.¹²⁹

Claremont Hospital continued its role of looking after people with mental illness and intellectual disability for decades. In 1910 it was expanded to house two hundred more patients;¹³⁰ by 1960 over fourteen hundred were crowded into its many wards.¹³¹ However, in the decades after World War I it remained a geographically isolated institution, its patients ‘out of mind, out of sight’,¹³² the pithy phrase used as the title of an exhibition at the Claremont Museum in 2000 until after World War II. At this stage the suburbs began to spread towards it as more housing was required and things began to change.

In the post-war years, the advent of various drug therapies and a larger focus on de-institutionalisation meant that many patients, instead of requiring institutional care, could be managed in the community, although not necessarily locally. Consequently, inpatient numbers began to drop, despite the state's population increasing. Graylands Day Hospital and an Industrial Rehabilitation Unit were opened in 1959,¹³³ attended by outpatients who utilised public transport. Contact with people who had previously been feared became an everyday occurrence and there are apparently no reports of any untoward incidents.

In 1975 the state government decided to divide the large Claremont Hospital administratively and functionally into two smaller units. As reported in a document prepared at the time ‘[a]t this period changing attitudes

¹²⁹ Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*, p.103.

¹³⁰ Ellis, *Eloquent Testimony*, p.206.

¹³¹ Ellis, *Eloquent Testimony*, graph pp.98-99.

¹³² ‘Out of Mind, Out of Sight’. Exhibition of Mental Health Services at Claremont Museum, 1999-2000.

¹³³ Ellis, *Eloquent Testimony*, p.206.

towards the mentally ill encouraging integration of patients back into the general community led to the move towards disbanding large residential institutions'.¹³⁴ At the same time it was proposed to remove the name Claremont because of the stigma attached to it.

Graylands' role [the eastern portion] was to care for the adult mentally ill; the remainder of Claremont became Swanbourne Hospital and cared for the Intellectually Handicapped and Psychogeriatric inpatient population.¹³⁵

In November 1980 six forensic and thirty-two acute care patients were transferred from wards on the Swanbourne site to two new Graylands wards.¹³⁶ Subsequently, adult intellectually disabled patients were progressively transferred to Pyrtton Training Centre and community homes around the metropolitan area¹³⁷ (children had been moved from Claremont to Pyrtton in the 1960s),¹³⁸ and by 1984 psychogeriatric patients had all gone to custom-built lodges at suburban hospitals.¹³⁹ At the same time, Swanbourne Hospital was finally closed, the land re-zoned and put up for sale.¹⁴⁰ Most Swanbourne buildings were demolished to make way for new and expensive housing estates¹⁴¹ and other hospital land, including the oval, was sold to the Catholic Education Commission for John XXIII College.¹⁴² This would be the beginning of the second wave of housing development in the small suburb of Graylands. Consequently, a completely new demographic moved into the

¹³⁴ Conservation Plan for Swanbourne Hospital formerly Claremont Hospital for the Insane, Heritage Lane, Mount Claremont, W.A. prepared for Building Management Authority, September 1994, p.38. Heritage and Conservation Professions, Perth.

¹³⁵ Dr J.A. Lister, Psychiatrist Superintendent, Graylands Hospital Report entitled *The Future of Graylands Hospital*, 2 September 1986. (Copy in my archives).

¹³⁶ Day reports Guildford wards, 7 November 1980. (Copy in my archives).

¹³⁷ 'New John XXIII college [sic] planned for 1985', *Claremont/Nedlands POST*, 8 December 1982, p.1. (Copy in my archives).

¹³⁸ Leonie Stella, 'Normalisation and Beyond: Public Sector Residential Care 1965-1990' in Errol Cocks et al (eds.) *Under blue skies*, p. 112.

¹³⁹ Background History of Graylands Hospital, undated. (Copy in my archives).

¹⁴⁰ 'Tip rezoning knockback', *Claremont/Nedlands POST*, 25 October 1983, p.7. (Copy in my archives).

¹⁴¹ I worked at Claremont/Swanbourne/Graylands 1972- 2009 during these changes.

¹⁴² 'New John XXIII college [sic] planned for 1985', *Claremont/Nedlands POST*, 8 December 1982, p.1. (Copy in my archives).

area as professional rather than working-class people, some of them parents of students at the proposed new college, bought land and built homes in the area.

The new arrivals in the area brought with them new attitudes to the mental institution. Following the state government's decision in 1989 to build a maximum security unit at Graylands, to house forensic patients who had previously been held in less secure accommodation at the hospital, there was much public outcry and many protests were held. Parents at the new John XXIII College were particularly visible, forming a Parents' Action Group, which initiated a fighting fund (the figure of \$100 was suggested) to finance a very successful media campaign, lobby Members of Parliament and support the protests of Nedlands Council.¹⁴³ Many new local residents who, anecdotal evidence suggests, had been told by real estate agents that Graylands Hospital would soon be closed down, joined about ninety placard-waving parents and students in April 1991 to picket the auction of Pine Grove lots.¹⁴⁴ Despite this, and the protests at subsequent land sales later in the year of others, who thought the unit should be built at Casuarina Prison, building continued and the thirty-bed Frankland Centre was opened in 1993.

¹⁴³ Parents' Action Group – Activity Report, undated. (Copy in my archives).

¹⁴⁴ 'Parents picket land sale', *Claremont/Nedlands POST*, 22 April 1991, p.3. (Copy in my archives).

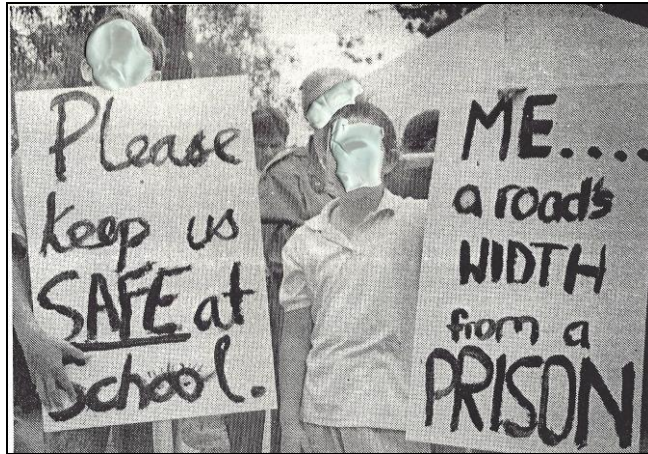


Fig. 13 Two young protesters with their messages to the government 1991¹⁴⁵

Today, Graylands Hospital continues as the major psychiatric hospital in the state, although patient numbers have been reduced considerably to around two hundred. No longer is it 'out in the bush', as Paul Hasluck stated,¹⁴⁶ but in the middle of suburbia, houses having sprung up all around it.

In the years directly following World War II another marginalised population was to be housed in the suburb of Graylands: refugees and other migrants from Europe. Fears of Japanese invasion in 1942 after the fall of Singapore and the acknowledgement that Australia's population was too small to defend this vast land were the catalyst for a post-war immigration policy that was to change permanently the population mix of Australia. Arthur Calwell, the first Minister for Immigration (1945–1949) devised a scheme whereby assisted passage to Australia would be offered firstly to British migrants and later to Displaced Persons and refugees wanting to flee a devastated Europe. Referring to Australia's falling birth-rate, the slogan 'populate or perish'¹⁴⁷ came into vogue. To persuade Australians to accept

¹⁴⁵ 'Parents picket land sale', *Claremont/Nedlands POST*, 22 April 1991, p.3. (Copy in my archives).

¹⁴⁶ Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*, p.185.

¹⁴⁷ *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic : 1848 - 1956), Saturday 4 August 1945, p.11.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/965850>

non-British migrants, these immigrants were restricted initially to fair-haired northern Europeans, Calwell's so-called 'beautiful Balts'¹⁴⁸. According to the Department of Immigration

[p]rinciples were set for the 1950s: to increase Australia's population at a rate of one per cent by immigration with the annual migrant intake balanced between assisted and non-assisted migrants, British and non-British migrants, and between northern and southern Europeans within the non-British intake.¹⁴⁹

Australia operated schemes to assist selected migrants from many European countries, notably Netherlands and Italy (1951); Austria, Belgium, Greece, Spain and West Germany (1952); Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland (1954).¹⁵⁰ By 1955 Australia's one millionth post-war migrant had arrived. A number of them had come to Western Australia, with many more still to come. In the suburb of Graylands, the impact was felt not just in terms of housing, but across all the local community facilities.

The problem of housing a large influx of immigrants saw former army camps being utilised. Military barracks at Graylands were taken over for this purpose, receiving Australia's first intake of Displaced Persons from the Baltic states in September 1947.¹⁵¹ The facility, known as the Graylands Migrant Reception and Training Centre (1947-51), located in Lantana Avenue,

provided initial reception, processing and accommodation for migrants until the breadwinner was directed to work. Then his wife and children were taken to longer-term residential camps ...

¹⁴⁸ 'Immigration nation: the secret history of us', SBS. Directors: Jacob Hickey and Ben Shackelford (Screen Australia, Film Victoria and Renegade Films (Australia) Pty. Ltd. 2010). www.sbs.com.au/immigrationnation

¹⁴⁹ Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Australia). 2001. *Immigration to Australia During the 20th Century – Historical Impacts on Immigration Intake, Population Size and Population Composition – A Timeline*, p.5 <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/federation/timeline1.pdf>

¹⁵⁰ Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Australia). 2001. *Immigration to Australia During the 20th Century – Historical Impacts on Immigration Intake, Population Size and Population Composition – A Timeline*, pp. 4-5. <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/federation/timeline1.pdf>

¹⁵¹ Bonegilla Migrant Camp – Heritage assessment, p.22. <http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/ahc/national-assessments/bonegilla/pubs/bonegilla.pdf>

All procedures at reception and holding centres were aimed at assimilating non-Britishers to the 'Australian way of life'; however, the reality was that the migrants were given little to prepare them for their new way of life.¹⁵²

However, in 1952 half the reception centre site was transferred to Commonwealth Hostels Limited for the Graylands Migrant Hostel (1951-86), which housed British migrants who migrated under the Assisted Passage Scheme.¹⁵³ Initially, new Nissen huts were constructed on the unused half of the 7.2 hectare site in Lantana Avenue, Graylands,¹⁵⁴ to provide accommodation, later replaced by substantial brick buildings.¹⁵⁵

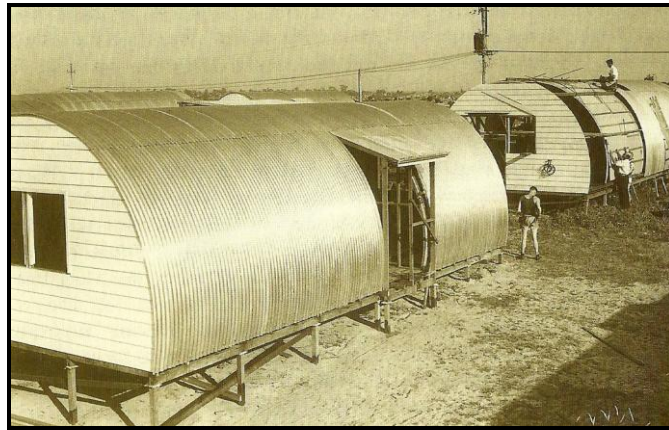


Fig. 14 Nissen huts under construction at the Graylands Migrant Hostel 1951¹⁵⁶

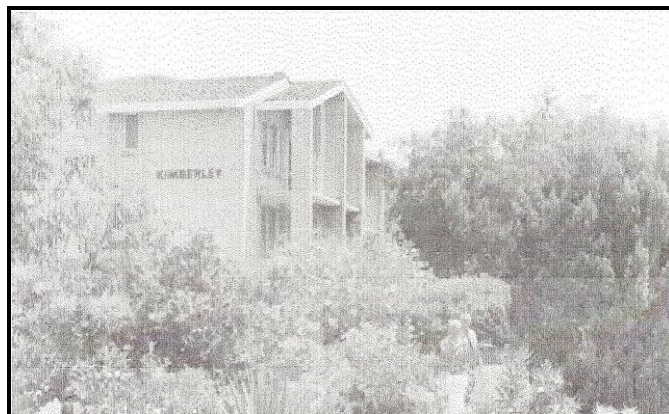


Fig. 15 'Kimberley' living quarters at Graylands Hostel 1974¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Kristy Bizzaca, 'Migrant Reception', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds.), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press 2009), p.580.

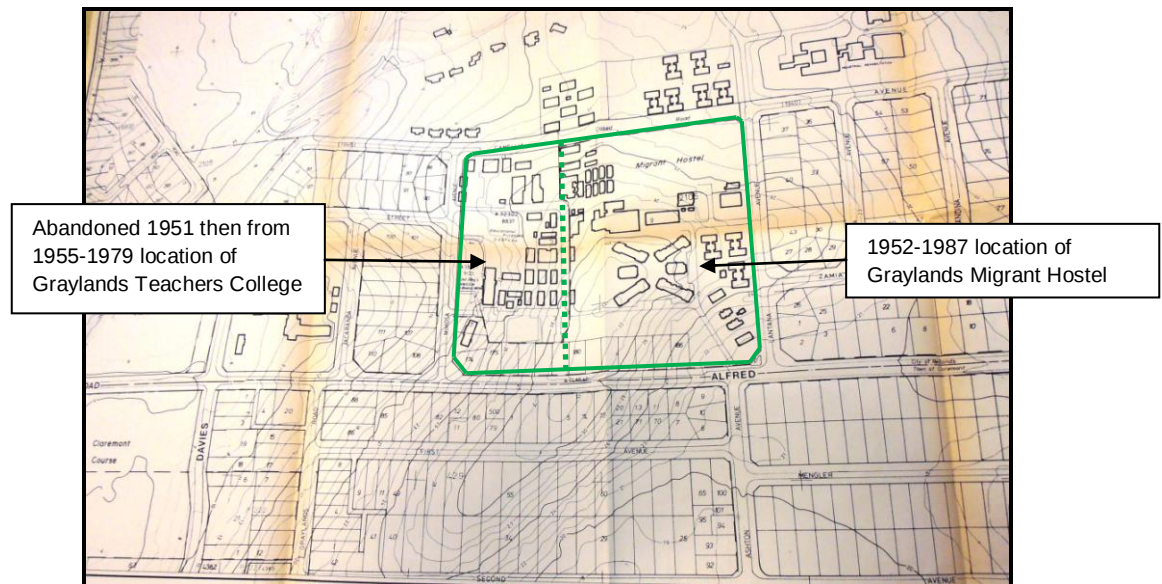
¹⁵³ Bizzaca, 'Migrant Reception' in Gregory and Gothard (eds.), *Historical Encyclopedia of WA*, p.580.

¹⁵⁴ Jenny Gregory (ed.), *On the home front: Western Australia and World War II*, (Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press), 1996.

¹⁵⁵ My family lived in a Nissen hut for the first three months after our arrival in Graylands, moving to a first floor flat for the remaining nine months of our stay there.

¹⁵⁶ Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*, p.200.

The remainder of the site, including all its buildings, was put up for sale¹⁵⁸ but three years later it was bought by the Education Department for the new Graylands Teachers College, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.



Map 5 Location of Graylands Migrant Reception & Training Centre 1947-51
Later divided into Graylands Teachers' College and Graylands Migrant Hostel¹⁵⁹

In 1947 Australia agreed to accept 12000 Displaced Persons per year through the International Refugee Organisation in Europe.¹⁶⁰ Many of the people who came in this first major wave of post-war migration were fleeing from persecution in communist countries, and their passage was paid for them in return for two years' work in designated jobs.¹⁶¹ Many had sponsored jobs to go to in Western Australia. Others were in transit to the eastern states (some to work on the Snowy Mountains Hydroelectric Scheme) as the decision had been taken in 1949 to make Fremantle the port of disembarkation for all passengers from Europe in order to shorten the

¹⁵⁷ National Archives of Australia. Destination Australia. Record ref.1/1974/22/24.

¹⁵⁸ Australian Government Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities. http://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl?mode=place_detail;place_id=100635

¹⁵⁹ Swanbourne Hospital Graylands: John XXIII recommended site. Feilman Planning Consultants Pty. Ltd., 1983. Battye Library call no. Q 711.57 FEI.

¹⁶⁰ Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Australia). 2001. *Immigration to Australia During the 20th Century – Historical Impacts on Immigration Intake, Population Size and Population Composition – A Timeline*, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ John Curtin's Legacy: Aliens to Australians. *Land of Opportunity*. <http://john.curtin.edu.au/legacvex/aliens.html>

turnaround time for the ships, which were in short supply.¹⁶² Consequently, the turnover of people at Graylands was constant. The *Sunday Times* reported in June 1949 that there was a muster of eight hundred Displaced Persons and an expectation of a further nine hundred in July¹⁶³ when the holding capacity was three hundred and fifty. It was not, however, until the reception centre was closed and replaced with the migrant hostel in 1952 that the migrants began to stay for longer periods and thereby had any real impact on the local population. According to local historian Erin Paul, '35,000 migrants of all nationalities passed through the [Graylands] Camp, and almost all of their children attended the local school'.¹⁶⁴

Not everyone was happy with the choice of Graylands as a home for Arthur Calwell's 'new Australians' – a term he coined to discourage the pejorative alternatives of 'reffo' or 'Balt' then in use. As one contemporary resident remarked 'Great, we've lived with the nuts, now we're getting the Balts too'.¹⁶⁵ While it was expedient to house refugees and immigrants in army barracks that were no longer required, it was another example of a government (albeit this time federal not state) imposing onto Bolton's 'less fashionable Graylands'¹⁶⁶ a group of people who were deemed different. Yet these migrants were crucial to the state's and the nation's post-war recovery.¹⁶⁷

From the early 1950s large numbers of migrants also came from Britain, many in family groups. They were known colloquially as 'ten pound

¹⁶² *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 - 1954), Tuesday 15 March 1949, p.9.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/47651266>

¹⁶³ *Sunday Times* (Perth, WA : 1902 - 1954), Sunday 12 June 1949, p.3.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/59490679>

¹⁶⁴ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.29.

¹⁶⁵ Personal conversation and reminiscence of long-time local resident.

¹⁶⁶ Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*, p.103.

¹⁶⁷ Australian Government Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities.
http://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl?mode=place_detail;place_id=100635

Poms'. Adults paid only ten pounds sterling each, children travelled free and accommodation was provided at the hostel at no cost until a job was found and wages earned.¹⁶⁸ These British migrants mixed reasonably well with Australians and children were often the ice-breakers as migrant youngsters attended the Graylands Primary School and mingled with classmates in after-school play. Ironically, the hostel also provided amusement for these local children for there was little else for them to do. They were 'fascinated by the camp', played in the recreation hall and on Guy Fawkes Night they attended the bonfire, generally coming and going as they pleased.¹⁶⁹ Parents, brought together through their children's school activities, began to socialise too and many moved into houses in the Graylands area when they left the hostel, renting and later buying their first modest home in Australia.¹⁷⁰ Many more took up jobs at Claremont Mental Hospital, the largest local employer.

Graylands Hostel closed down in 1987, having provided a first home in Australia for people from many countries particularly war-ravaged Europe. They had few material goods to bring with them, but they worked hard and made their way, many achieving a better life than they would have had in their home countries. After the hostel closed down, as with Swanbourne Hospital, the land was rezoned to residential use, subdivided and offered for sale. Auctions of 133 residential lots, 66 grouped dwellings and 33 old people's units began in April 1991.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ My family took advantage of this scheme, arriving at Graylands in 1971. Two adults and two children; three week sea voyage via Capetown – cost £20.

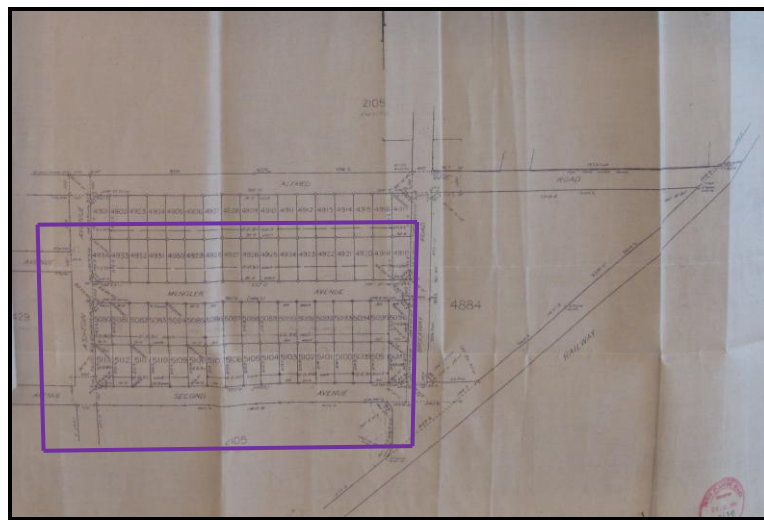
¹⁶⁹ Nancarrow, *Mengler Avenue*, p.27.

¹⁷⁰ Eden, *Second Avenue, Claremont*, pp.46-52.

¹⁷¹ *Sunday Times Homes Guide*, 7 April 1991, p.20.

The earlier twentieth century development of Graylands had begun when, as early as 1941, the Workers' Homes Board started planning for anticipated post-war social housing needs,¹⁷² utilising twenty-three acres of Crown land they owned at Graylands.¹⁷³ By 1944 the Board advised that the Commonwealth Government

is sponsoring an extensive housing programme ... for the construction of homes for rental purposes, in order to afford some relief of the acute housing shortage which exists.¹⁷⁴



Map 6  Proposed subdivision at Graylands by Workers' Homes Board 1945¹⁷⁵

Bounded by Alfred Road, Ashton Avenue, Second Avenue and Brockway Road, the subdivision was intended to house sixty-eight families. As there was an 'extreme shortage of building material and manpower for building purposes', it was decreed that each house 'should be of a modest type' and 'expenditure on each house should be kept to a figure not greatly in excess

¹⁷² 'Social housing... is secure and affordable rental housing for low to moderate income families and individuals, in particular, those who have difficulties accessing accommodation in the private market.' Queensland Government Department of Housing and Public works.

<http://www.communities.qld.gov.au/housing/housing-services/social-housing>

¹⁷³ Municipality of Claremont – Workers' Homes Board, new estate, Graylands, SROWA, WAS 4413 – Correspondence files, Cons. no. 900, Item No. 262, Letter from Secretary, Workers' Homes Board to Town Clerk, Claremont, 24 July 1941.

¹⁷⁴ Claremont – Workers' Homes Board, new estate, Graylands, SROWA, WAS 4413, Cons. no. 900, Item No. 262, Letter from A/Secretary, Workers' Homes Board to Town Clerk, Claremont, 10 May 1944.

¹⁷⁵ Town Planning Board WA, 24 July 1945. State Records Office Item No. 262, Consignment no. 900.

of £800'. Furthermore, 'the houses built under this war-time programme will be for letting only and not for sale'.¹⁷⁶

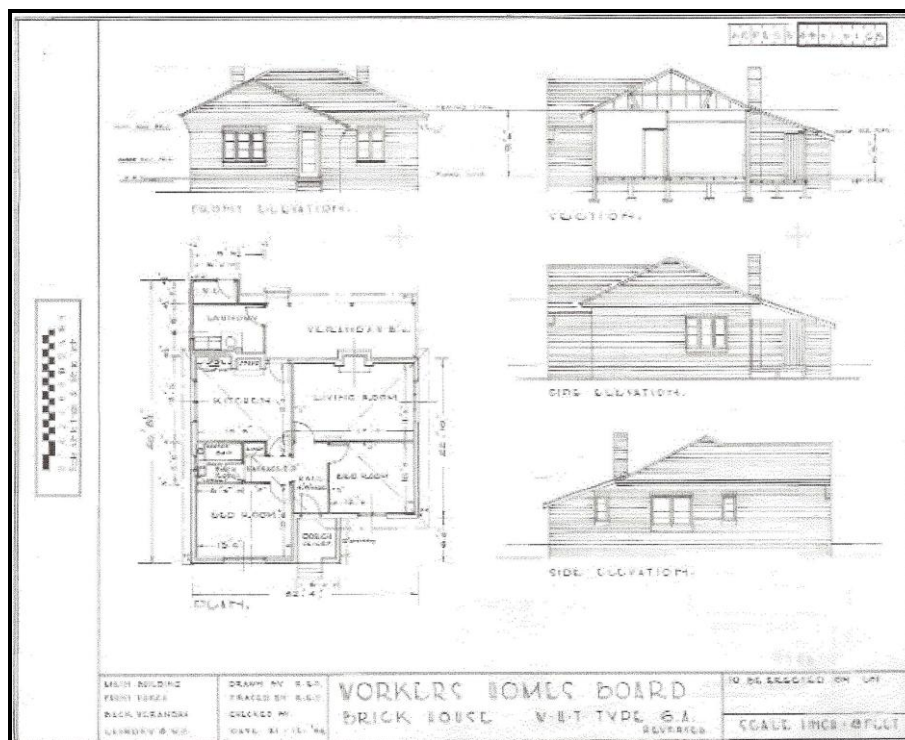


Fig. 16 House plans from Workers Homes Board¹⁷⁷

The War Service Homes Scheme built houses for ex-service personnel. In Western Australia two purchase options were available. One was a rent-purchase scheme which required a deposit of 5% for a land and house package. The other depended on obtaining a loan from the Scheme to buy or build a house. ... Modern designs tended to be simple and utilitarian not only because of lack of materials or money but also because until 1952 house size was limited by legislation.¹⁷⁸

However, the project did not proceed smoothly and by February 1946 the Workers' Homes Board was threatening to cease construction of the houses (by then well underway) because of the intransigence of the Claremont Council over sharing the cost of necessary new roads. Other

¹⁷⁶ Claremont – Workers' Homes Board, new estate, Graylands, SROWA, WAS 4413, Cons. no. 900, Item No. 262, Letter from Chairman, Workers' Homes Board to Town Clerk, Claremont, 9 August 1944.

¹⁷⁷ John Curtin's Legacy. Families. Courtesy State Records Office of Western Australia: WAS 1381 AN 150. <http://john.curtin.edu.au/legacyex/families.html>

¹⁷⁸ John Curtin's Legacy. Families. <http://john.curtin.edu.au/legacyex/families.html>

thirteen houses occupied on the left side and 'buildings in course of construction' on the right side.¹⁸¹ By 1950 the press was reporting

[o]ut of a "wilderness" of sand, small scrub and isolated trees, in which herds of cattle often grazed, has emerged in the short space of five years the modern housing settlement of Graylands containing at present 183 occupied houses and a population of over 800 persons. ... For a host of migrants, Graylands is the first glimpse into Australian home life, and they could have none better.¹⁸²

It was planned to build 399 houses in the area eventually. Clearly, this influx of people would make an enormous difference to the demographic of Graylands. Previously a small suburb with few young families, the virtual explosion of housing saw the population of the primary school increase from fifty in 1948 to six hundred in 1955.¹⁸³

Initially, the houses were rented but arrangements were made for people to buy their homes when they could afford them. In 1948/49 all of the houses in Mengler Avenue were rented but a year later half of them were reassigned to their occupants who had made their own mortgage arrangements. A handful of occupants was unable to buy the houses and private ownership was only achieved when they were sold in the 1960s and 70s.¹⁸⁴ For nearly fifty years, Graylands would continue to be a largely working-class suburb consisting of families mostly with children, who befriended each other and enjoyed an almost village-type of life.

According to Nancarrow, throughout the 1970s and 1980s many of the houses in Mengler Avenue were extended as new people moved in with expectations of more modern homes. She gives an example of one home

¹⁸¹ The Western Australian Directory [Wise's]: 1946. State Library of Western Australia. <http://www.slwa.wa.gov.au/pdf/battyepods/1946/0076.pdf>

¹⁸² *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 - 1954), Saturday 15 April 1950 p. 13. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/dell/article/47841652>

¹⁸³ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.29.

¹⁸⁴ Nancarrow, *Mengler Avenue*, p.9.

that expanded from a 'single-storey house with two bedrooms and a sleep-out' to a 'two-storey house with five bedrooms, three bathrooms, two family rooms and a below ground pool'.¹⁸⁵ Similar expansions were happening among the old Workers' Homes Board houses in other nearby streets.

In the 1990s the state government began encouraging the subdivision of the old quarter-acre blocks in an endeavour to halt the urban sprawl north and south of the Perth metropolitan area. Graylands was ripe for this sort of development when rezoning and subdivision of the Swanbourne Hospital and Graylands Teachers' College and Hostel lands opened up the area to an influx of wealthier individuals.



Fig. 18 1950 – 27 Alfred Road¹⁸⁶



Fig.19 2013 – 27 Alfred Road – block sub-divided 366 sq.m. for sale – \$860,100¹⁸⁷

No longer would the simple State Housing homes be extended and upgraded; the new trend was to demolish and rebuild. A good example of this is found at 27 Alfred Road (Fig. 18) pictured in 1950, newly built at a cost of approximately £800. After it was demolished a few years ago, the block was divided and a new house was built on one portion. The remaining portion, which is only 366 square metres in area (Fig. 19) is estimated to be

¹⁸⁵ Nancarrow, *Mengler Avenue*, p.32.

¹⁸⁶ State Housing Commission Homes.

<http://catalogue.slwa.wa.gov.au/search-S67/Xgraylands&searchscope=6&SORT=D/Xgraylands&searchscope=6&SORT=D&SUBKEY=graylands/1%2C11%2C11%2CB/frameset&FF=Xgraylands&searchscope=6&SORT=D&7%2C7%2C#>

¹⁸⁷ onthefhouse.com.au Property profile report.

http://www.onthefhouse.com.au/reports/property_profile/11277623/27_Alfred_Road_MOUNT_CLAREMONT_WA_6010 as at 18/02/2013.

worth \$860,000. The contrast in plot ratios and building sizes between the old and the new is quite remarkable.

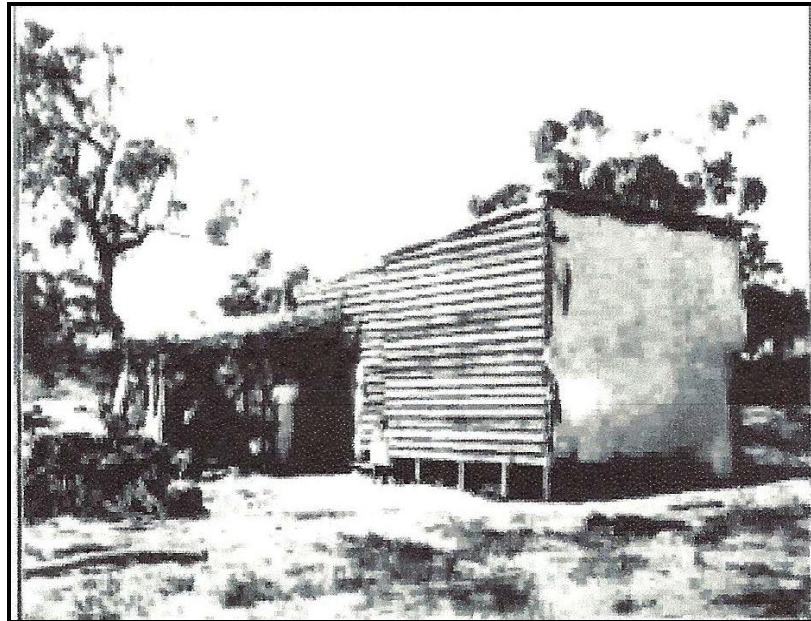


Fig. 20 1913 'Old' Mount Claremont home (north of Butler's Swamp)¹⁸⁸

From this primitive home erected in 1913 (Fig. 20) to one for sale on Alfred Road in 2013 (Fig. 21) what a difference one hundred years has made.



Fig. 21 2013 'New' Mount Claremont home, Alfred Road¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ *Western Mail* (Perth, WA: 1885 - 1954), Friday 31 October 1913, p. 34.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/44882027>

¹⁸⁹ realestate.com.au <http://www.realestate.com.au/property-house-wa-claremont-111944455>

Clearly, the working class people who were the original inhabitants of this suburb have now been priced out of the area and the demographic of the suburb has been changed for ever. The next chapter will examine the influence that educational establishments had on the evolution of this quiet suburb.

GRAYLANDS: THE EVOLUTION OF A SUBURB

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION IN GRAYLANDS

Despite the fact that Graylands was only a comparatively small area, it has been home to educational establishments which have played their part in the development of Western Australia and particularly the suburb. The Graylands Primary School and the Graylands Teachers' College pioneered many facets of education and provided the state with a well-trained and much respected group of teachers. Later, John XXIII College brought a different calibre of people to this small, unfashionable western suburb when the college, born of an amalgamation of St Louis boys' school and the Loreto Convent girls' school, moved from Claremont in 1985. This chapter deals with educational establishments in the suburb from the early twentieth century.

By the end of the 1890s, the area known as Graylands was developing only slowly. According to A.E. Williams¹⁹⁰, 'a bush track existed in the area. Graylands Street, by the showgrounds ... was gazetted on 6 May 1902.'¹⁹¹ The Royal Agricultural Society's showgrounds were moved from Guildford to Claremont, east of Butler's Swamp, in 1905¹⁹² and the bush was utilised for army training.¹⁹³ While the population of the Perth metropolitan area multiplied four-fold in the years between 1891 and 1901

¹⁹⁰ A.E. (Bert) Williams was Head Teacher of Graylands Primary School from 1952-3.

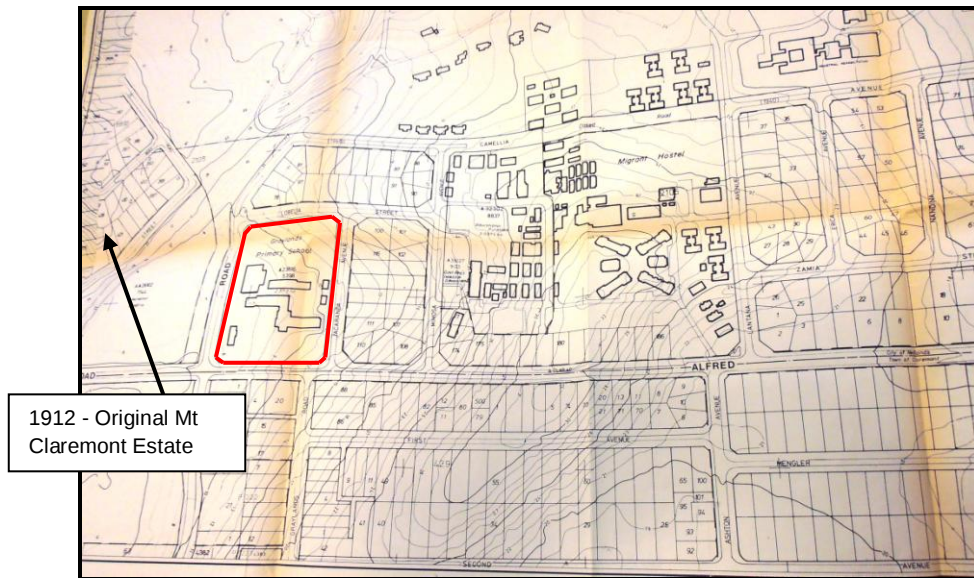
¹⁹¹ Williams, *Nedlands: from Campsite to City*, p.153.

¹⁹² *The Daily News* (Perth, WA: 1882 - 1950), Tuesday 31 January 1905, p.5.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/82642362>

¹⁹³ Bolton and Gregory. *Claremont: a history*, p.130.

and that of Claremont increased ten-fold, from 250 to 2500,¹⁹⁴ there was not much growth around the area known as Graylands. There were two dairies and other small farms in the vicinity but the area remained semi-rural with only a few simple houses, and any children who lived in the area had to walk to the nearest school in Claremont.



Map 7 Location of Graylands Primary School¹⁹⁵

When Harold Redcliffe and Company opened up the Mount Claremont Estate 'on the ocean side of the railway line, on Alfred Road, off Davies Road, and ... less than a mile distant from the Claremont railway station'¹⁹⁶ in 1912, and more people began moving into houses to the north of Butler's Swamp, it was almost inevitable that families in the area would petition the government for a local primary school. In 1913 the newly-formed Mount Claremont Progress Association wrote to the Education Department seeking a new school, but it was not until 13 August 1917 that the school, called the Graylands Infants School, was opened. The Education Department had set

¹⁹⁴ Bolton and Gregory, *Claremont: a history*, p.58.

¹⁹⁵ Swanbourne Hospital Graylands: John XXIII recommended site. Feilman Planning Consultants Pty. Ltd., 1983. Batty Library call no. Q 711.57 FE1.

¹⁹⁶ *Sunday Times* (Perth, WA: 1902 - 1954), Sunday 15 September 1912, p.4 S.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/57733672>

aside four acres of University Endowment land for the school, but it began very humbly with a '30' x 20' Pavilion School room', in the style of a one-teacher, one-classroom country school. Children who completed Standard 2 were required to transfer to Claremont. The original enrolment of eight children grew to forty-eight by the end of the first week and fifty three by early September; all were living locally and many were English-born.¹⁹⁷

1917.

Aug. 13th School opened. Mr. Inspector Ellis present. 8 children enrolled.

Aug. 14th 9 children enrolled.

Aug. 15th 23 children enrolled.

" 16th 8 children enrolled, 48 in all.

Sep.

Aug. 24th School closed for week's vacation

Sep. 3rd School re-opened after vacation

Enrolment 53. Present 32 Epidemic of measles in neighbourhood; attendance reduced thereby

ADMISSION

August 13th, 1917. From August to August, 1917.

Date of Admission.	NAME.		Residence.	Date of Birth.	Where Born.
	Surname.	Christian Name.			
8-17	Crisp	John	"Empire" Adderly St. M ^r Claremont	10-10-10	England.
8-17	Iles	Francis	Seaton's Adderly St. M ^r Claremont	29-9-10	England
7-17	Armes	William	Graylands Rd. Graylands	10-8-12	England
1-17	Late	Thomas	Adderly St. M ^r Claremont	30-6-12	England
8-17	Kennedy	Ronald	Lapsley Rd. Claremont	23-1-12	Claremont
8-17	Berry	May	Graylands Rd. Graylands	6-6-12	Graylands.
2-17	M ^r Alister	Joyce	Davies Road	20-7-12	Botolph
8-17	M ^r Alister	Eva	" "	5-8-11	Freemantle
8-17	Lennis	Clarence	2 nd Avenue. Claremont.	15-10-10	Claremont
8-17	Adams	John	49. Adderly St. Claremont.	25-5-10	England.
8-17	Hairer	George	Adderly St. Claremont.	19-2-10	England.

Fig. 22 Extracts from the School Journal and Admissions Register¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.9.

¹⁹⁸ Graylands School History, pp.1-4.

Subsequently, however, over the next thirty years the school numbers remained fairly static as recorded by Erin Paul, reflecting little growth in the local population.

As the previous chapter has demonstrated, the decade after World War II was one of rapid change for Graylands leading to an unprecedented growth in the number of children living in the suburb. The school 'ceased to be a one-room "country" school, just as the suburb ceased to be a semi-rural "backwater"'.¹⁹⁹ Between 1948 and 1955 the number of pupils at the school went from fifty to six hundred, largely as a result of the influx of European migrants housed in the nearby migrant centre and the government's decision to develop housing in the area. Before the war the Education Department employed mostly women as 'permanent' staff in primary schools but they were required to resign upon marriage, remaining on staff as 'Assistants on Supply'.²⁰⁰ Afterwards, often following war service, more men took up primary school teaching and the gender balance of the staff began to change. In 1952, with the appointment of A.E. Williams as Head Teacher and E. Osborne as his Deputy, male teachers were employed at Graylands for the first time.²⁰¹

Throughout its existence, Graylands School has had to cope with an element of itinerant children attending for only a brief period. In the early days, around Royal Show time, children of the side-show spruikers would attend for a week or two; from the 1950s to 1980s, children from the migrant camp might attend for up to a year. In addition, children from the Army families based at Swanbourne became part of the school population until

¹⁹⁹ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.29.

²⁰⁰ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.33.

²⁰¹ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.34.

their fathers were posted to another location.²⁰² Furthermore, from 1973 until 1997, Mental Health Services opened a children's inpatient facility at the nearby Stubbs Terrace Hospital and those children who were able to go to school were enrolled in mainstream classes at Graylands School.²⁰³ A number of Vietnamese children arrived in 1977 and a Child Migrant Resources Centre was opened at the school, with two additional English teachers to assist with the new arrivals.²⁰⁴ Not surprisingly, some children were saddened when their friends moved on as their parents left the area, as one former pupil recounted in *Growing up in Graylands*.²⁰⁵ Others such as Perth entrepreneur Zhenya Tsvetnenko 'went to Graylands Primary School where he was enrolled in the English as a Second Language program. "I loved it," he recalls. "There were so many different nationalities there and I enjoyed it ...".²⁰⁶ While this instability might tax lesser schools, Graylands has managed to cope with the changes forced upon it by government policies and budget constraints.

Since the 1970s children attending selected government primary schools in Western Australia have had access to PEAC – the Primary Extension and Challenge Programme for intellectually talented students.²⁰⁷ Graylands School has a history of being in the forefront of primary school education in collaboration with the teachers' college nearby. One of only four participating primary schools in the North Metropolitan Region of the

²⁰² Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.49.

²⁰³ Health Directory Service – Organisation: Stubbs Terrace Hospital.
http://www.pmh.health.wa.gov.au/services/family_pathways/documents/7067.pdf

²⁰⁴ I worked at Stubbs Terrace Hospital and my children were pupils at Graylands Primary School during this time.
 Graylands School History, pp.16-18.

²⁰⁵ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.49.

²⁰⁶ *Sunday Times Magazine*, 15 November 2009.

<http://0-global.factiva.com.prospero.murdoch.edu.au/ha/default.aspx>

²⁰⁷ Margaret Ashworth and Debra Osborn. 'System Level Provision for the Gifted Child: A Western Australian Initiative'. *Gifted Education International*, Vol. 5, (1988), p.113.

Department of Education, Graylands was among the first schools to offer students access to the PEAC programme, helping many children to succeed and go on to gifted and talented programmes in selected high schools.²⁰⁸



Fig. 23 Graylands Primary School as it is today

At the end of 2006, following several requests, community consultation and 70 per cent support in favour of change, the Education Minister gave permission for the school to be renamed Mount Claremont Primary School, reflecting the suburb's changed name, which had been gazetted ten years previously. The principal said the new name 'reflected the updated role of the school in a community that has been overhauled in recent years',²⁰⁹ thereby confirming the increasing affluence of the suburb since its beginnings over a century before. The school has benefited from this affluence in the way that the Parents and Citizens Association has funded classroom and playground equipment upgrades and landscaping of

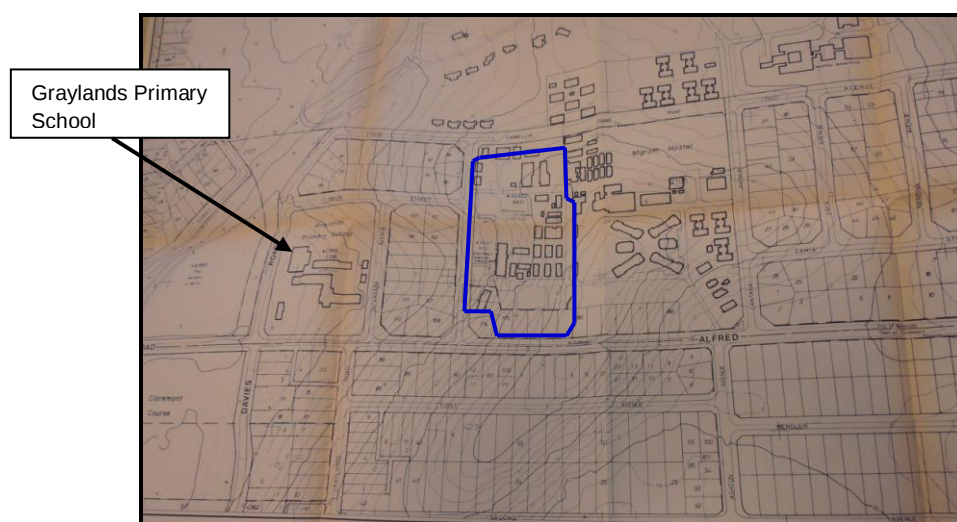
²⁰⁸ Sorrento Primary School PEAC information.
http://www.sorrentops.det.wa.edu.au/special_programs/peac/PEACmain.html

²⁰⁹ *Western Suburbs Weekly*, 19 December 2006.
<http://0-global.factiva.com.prospero.murdoch.edu.au/ha/default.aspx>

the grounds, amenities which the working-class parents of earlier days would never have been able to afford.²¹⁰

Graylands Primary School might not have been so effective without the benefit of the nearby teachers' college. Writing in the foreword of Rielly's book about the college, Neil G. Traylen, Foundation Principal in 1955, stated:

Graylands is the story of a temporary college which almost became permanent, a college where people were always more important than things, a college which thrived on adversity and a college which built traditions which will last long after the college itself disappears.²¹¹



Map 8  Location of Graylands Teachers' College²¹²

Teachers had been educated at the Claremont Teachers' College since 1902, beginning with an intake of thirty-seven students. According to Rielly, numbers of students fluctuated until the post-war baby boom resulted in a need for more primary school teachers. The population of Western Australian government primary schools 'jumped from 48,000 in 1945 ... and was to reach 79,000 in 1955'.²¹³ People were encouraged to enter teaching by a relaxation of qualification requirements, introduction of two-year

²¹⁰ Mount Claremont Primary School. <http://www.mountclare.schooljotter.com/Parents+Citizens>

²¹¹ Neil Traylen in Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, Foreword p. ix.

²¹² Swanbourne Hospital Graylands: John XXIII recommended site. Feilman Planning Consultants Pty. Ltd., 1983. Battye Library call no. Q 711.57 FEI.

²¹³ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.7.

bursaries to help students achieve their Leaving Certificates; and the admission of mature-age students who had not passed the Leaving Certificate. This had the desired effect of enticing more students, but Claremont College was unable to accommodate them all, for it had originally been intended to house only one hundred students and almost one thousand were enrolled by the mid-1950s. As Rielly said, 'The obvious solution was to create another teachers college'.²¹⁴



Fig. 24 Historic Claremont Teachers' College now a campus of the University of WA²¹⁵

Neil Traylen, vice principal of Claremont at the time, was given the task of finding a location for the new college and after discarding rural localities as none could provide sufficient student numbers,²¹⁶ Fig. 25 is an image of the chosen site, three kilometres from the Claremont campus.

²¹⁴ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.7.

²¹⁵ Author's own photograph, February 2013.

²¹⁶ Bolton and Byrne, *The campus that never stood still*, p.66.



Fig. 25 In the beginning 1954²¹⁷

During the war, the Australian Army had occupied much of the land near Graylands Primary School which was originally University Endowment Land, bounded by Lantana, Camelia and Mimosa Avenues and Alfred Road. From 1942 until early 1944 it was home to the 4 Motor Vehicle Trades Training Centre (MVTTC) with lecture and model huts, stores buildings and accommodation for officers and other ranks. From 1944 until 1947 Graylands was an administrative centre for HQ Western Command and for a period in 1945 Courts Martial were held there.²¹⁸ After the war the land remained almost derelict until 1948 when it was transferred to the Department of Immigration and became a reception centre for newly-arrived non-British immigrants described in the previous chapter. In 1952, the facility was partially taken over by Commonwealth Hostels Ltd. to receive mostly British migrants. The portion no longer required was to be sold, together with all buildings, fixtures and fittings.

²¹⁷ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.xxvi.

²¹⁸ Birch, Helen, *A Guide to Historical Military Sites in the City of Nedlands* (Nedlands W.A.: Nedlands Library Service Local Studies Collection, 2004), p.10.

In August 1954 the Commonwealth Government Department of the Interior advertised the sale of all the buildings on the site.

**Under Instructions from Commonwealth
of Australia
Department of the Interior
TO BE OFFERED BY**

PUBLIC AUCTION

SATURDAY, AUG. 28, 1954
commencing 10 a.m. on the site
Mimosa Ave., GRAYLANDS

Comprising—
TWENTY-SEVEN BUILDINGS
for Demolition and Removal

INSPECTION DAYS ONLY ON . . .
Saturdays, August 14 and 21, 1954
9 a.m. to noon
Wednesdays, August 18 and 25, 1954
1.30 p.m. to 4 p.m.

Amongst lots to be offered: **BUILDINGS**, all of Wood Frames, mostly Gable Roofs (some trussed roofs), large quantity Corr. Asbestos, other Corr. Iron; Floors, T. and C.; Ablution and Toilet Buildings; Sundry Piping and Fittings.
BUTCHER'S COOLING CHAMBER with Electric Motor, Compressor, etc. **HOT WATER BOILER UNIT** and other miscellaneous items. Shelving, Cupboards, Benches, Tank Stand, Kitchen Stoves, Electric Light Poles, etc., etc.

TERMS: CASH ON DAY OF SALE

To be offered in lots as far as practicable to suit requirements of individual purchasers.
CONDITIONS OF SALE MAY BE INSPECTED AT AND SCHEDULES OBTAINABLE FROM—
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
A.N.A. House, 44 St. George's Terrace, Perth.
OR AUCTIONEERS—
MCCLEAN CARMICHAEL PTY. LTD,
89 St. George's Terrace, Perth.
Phone B2829 and BF1395.

Fig. 26 Auction notice²¹⁹

However, before the auction could take place, the Director of Education suggested that the site and buildings might be suitable for the creation of the proposed new college, although a considerable amount of work would be

²¹⁹ *Sunday Times* (Perth, WA: 1902 - 1954), Sunday 15 August 1954, Supplement Magazine p. 16.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/59693622>

required to make it useable. He estimated the cost of the buildings at £10,000 and the cost of repairs and renovations to make it suitable for college use at another £10,000,²²⁰ although the eventual cost was considerably more. When Traylen accepted the proposal, the auction was cancelled²²¹ and the Housing Commission agreed to lease the land to the Education Department for a nominal £105 per year.²²²

Thus far, there were neither staff nor students for the new college, but that soon changed. Traylen was appointed the first Principal in 1955²²³ and several of his colleagues from Claremont took up the challenge of working with him at Graylands. There was no formal process of selection of the students who were to go to Graylands. Upon induction at Claremont, individuals were approached and asked if they wanted to be part of the first intake at Graylands.²²⁴ Those who agreed, both first and second year students, were instrumental in the success of Graylands Teachers' College as an educational institution. Along with their academic efforts, they enhanced the surroundings, 'grassing the site, planting trees and shrubs, and terracing, ... because of the slope of the site.'²²⁵ In addition, they built drywells to take the overflow from the lecture room guttering;²²⁶ and tennis and basketball courts. The enthusiasm of both male and female students

²²⁰ Claremont Teachers Training College. Purchase of portion of Graylands Army camp. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 1503, Item No. 1954/2282. Letter from Director of Education to Under Secretary of Works 16 August 1954.

²²¹ *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 - 1954), Saturday 21 August 1954 p.32.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49875774>

²²² Claremont Teachers Training College. Purchase of portion of Graylands Army camp. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 1503, Item No. 1954/2282. Letter from Chief Administrative Officer, Education Department to Under Secretary for Works, 25 May 1955.

²²³ *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 - 1954), Thursday 25 November 1954 p.2.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/52966478>

²²⁴ Personal conversation with Maureen Gathercole (née Coghlan) student of Claremont College in 1957.

²²⁵ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.17.

²²⁶ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.23.

contributed to the landscaping of the grounds and many other projects over the years.²²⁷



Fig. 27 Excavations for basketball courts



Fig. 28 "The grounds were the real problem ..." c. 1955²²⁸

From the beginning, Graylands students were successful in their examinations, graduating with a full certificate at a greater rate than Claremont students. This gave rise to suggestions that standards at Graylands were lower, but this was not borne out on inquiry.²²⁹ It was thought that because Graylands was much smaller (student numbers peaked at 606 in 1977) any student problems were noticed and dealt with much earlier than in the larger college. Nevertheless, common examinations were introduced in 1957.

²²⁷ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.37.

²²⁸ Photographs show male and female students at work. Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, pp. 37 and 18 respectively.

²²⁹ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p. 24.

A policy of integration with the local community was encouraged; students used the oval at the nearby mental hospital as their sports ground; put on concerts for patients; taught them physical education and showed them craft work – a precursor of occupational therapy.²³⁰ In 1955 the Education Department opened Graylands Teachers' College, near the school and

[s]oon after Graylands became a 'Demonstration School', with the privilege of being staffed by some of the most talented ... teachers in the state. Trainee teachers came down to the school to stand at the back of the classroom and observe lessons; as they gained in proficiency the students would take classes of their own.²³¹

This meant that for the twenty-four years of the College's existence, sufficient teaching staff were available at the school during the period when student numbers grew.

Despite the fact that Graylands was intended to be a temporary solution to the problem of overcrowding at Claremont, the initial lease on the land was renewed more than once²³² and the college continued to take in students and produce graduates of a very high calibre for twenty-four years. Graylands teaching students were considered among the best produced by the tertiary education system in Western Australia. As well, several alumni are well-known products of the sporting ethos of the college with numerous League footballers, successful swimmers and track athletes, and former Test captain, Kim Hughes.²³³

²³⁰ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.17.

²³¹ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.32.

²³² Claremont Teachers Training College. Purchase of portion of Graylands Army camp. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 1503, Item No. 1954/2282. Letter from Manager, State Housing Commission to Under Secretary, Department of Public Works, 8 July 1960.

²³³ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.52.

Though the quality of its students remained excellent, Graylands facilities were falling behind. As Bolton and Byrne state: 'Insufferably hot in summer and frigid in winter the Graylands complex was due for replacement.'²³⁴ The opening of education training colleges at Mount Lawley and Churchlands in modern buildings in the 1970s²³⁵ only served to emphasise the shabbiness of Graylands and recommendations were made to rectify the situation by establishing a new college, using Graylands staff. By 1975, plans were being made to move Graylands College to a new site. The initial choice of Rocky Bay proved too expensive but Cockburn was considered a viable alternative, thereby fulfilling 'a long-standing commitment to tertiary education south of the river'.²³⁶

However, in January 1975 the state government set up an enquiry into post-secondary education in Western Australia 'having regard to its future needs' under the chairmanship of Professor P.H. Partridge.²³⁷ According to Partington, the publication of *Population in Australia (1975)* indicated a likely decline in the rate of population growth resulting in a reduction of the projected demand for teachers. In addition, the spiralling rate of inflation was of concern to the federal government which led to fiscal restraint, and education duly suffered. Graylands had 'expected massive capital grants to commence building a new college on a larger site, but this was shelved'.²³⁸ Following Partridge's recommendation that Graylands Teachers College be phased out, an inquiry concerning the future of the college was undertaken.

²³⁴ Bolton and Byrne. *The campus that never stood still*, p. 89.

²³⁵ Lynne Hunt and Janina Trotman, 'Teacher training' in Gregory and Gothard (eds.), *Historical Encyclopedia of WA*, p.860.

²³⁶ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, pp. 69-72.

²³⁷ G. Partington, 'The Teachers Colleges and the Partridge Report in Western Australia: An End to Autonomy?', *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, Vol. 1, Issue 1 (1976), p.1.

²³⁸ Partington, 'The Teachers Colleges and the Partridge Report', p. 9.

The resultant report by the Western Australian Post Secondary Education Commission stated *inter alia*

It is recommended that Graylands Teachers College and use of the college site be phased out by the end of 1979 and that Churchlands and Mount Lawley Teachers Colleges absorb as many as possible of the Graylands resources (other than buildings), staff, and students, and that Claremont Teachers College absorb any Graylands resources, staff, and student numbers that cannot be otherwise accommodated.²³⁹

The recommendation must have been an enormous disappointment to all the staff and students of Graylands, past and present, who had worked so hard under such difficult circumstances over more than twenty years to build up an educational establishment with such an enviable reputation.

This, then, signalled the beginning of the end for Graylands College which ceased operating in 1979. The other colleges continued and were combined to form the Western Australian College of Advanced Education in 1982, renamed Edith Cowan University in 1991.²⁴⁰ Throughout its tenure in 'a group of abandoned army huts set in a Sahara-like environment',²⁴¹ as described by Les Johnson, acting vice principal in 1957 and later Australian Ambassador to Greece, in the preface of Rielly's book, Graylands lived up to its motto *Non nobis Solum* (*Not for ourselves alone*). Over its twenty-four year existence, four thousand teachers had been graduated and passed into the Western Australian education system. Their legacy is the establishment of the Graylands Teachers College Memorial Scholarships which

²³⁹ Western Australian Post Secondary Education Commission *Report on the future of Graylands Teachers College*. The Commission, [Perth], W.A., 1977, Abstract.
http://eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/search/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=ED194031&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=ED194031

²⁴⁰ Hunt and Trotman, 'Teacher training' in Gregory and Gothard (eds.), *Historical Encyclopedia of WA*, p.861.

²⁴¹ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.xi.

was set up to support further study at Edith Cowan University by outstanding students in the field of education and to perpetuate the memory of Graylands Teachers College²⁴²

This constituted a fitting memorial to one institution much loved by past staff and students, an institution which grew from the humblest beginnings, just as the suburb in which it was located had done, and proved that good results can come from hard work and persistence.

While one educational establishment disappeared from the locality of Graylands, planning for the relocation of another, which would have a big impact on the suburb, would soon begin. Founded in 1976, John XXIII College was a multi-campus amalgamation of much older Catholic schools in Claremont: the Loreto Sisters' junior and senior schools and the Jesuit Brothers' St Louis junior and senior schools.



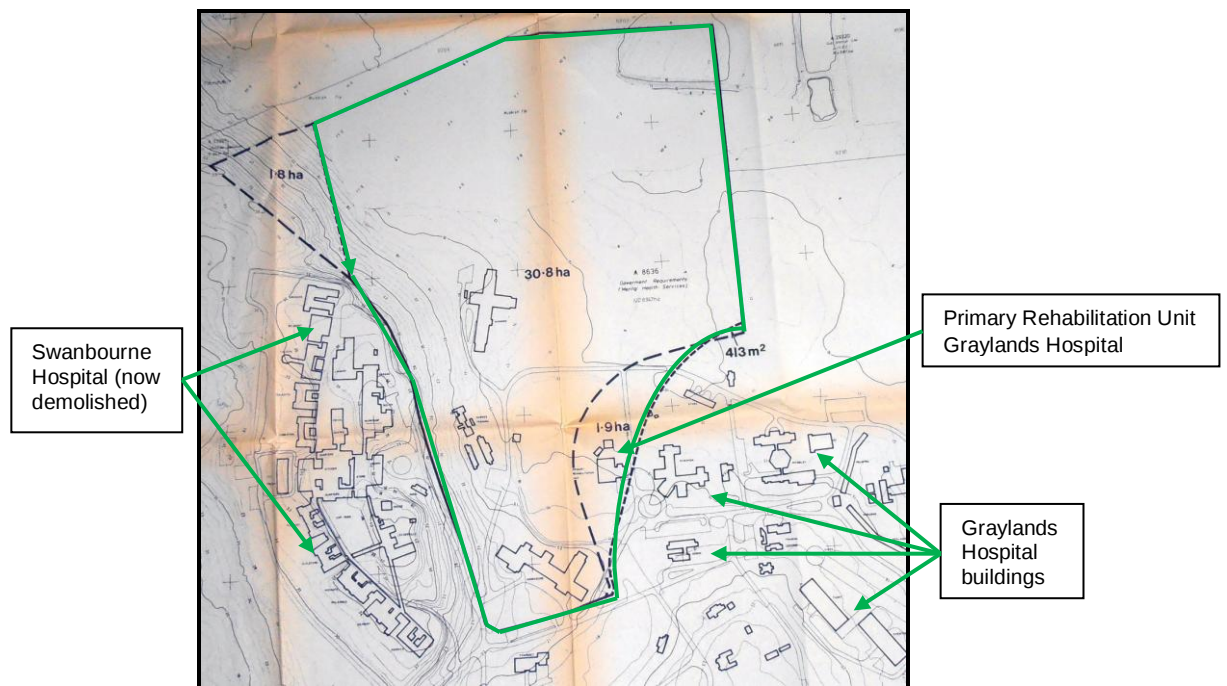
Fig. 29 Badges of the two founding schools and John XXIII College²⁴³

When the WA State Government announced in 1981 that it would close Swanbourne Hospital the news provided a solution to the problem faced by Catholic Education of where to site a single-campus college. John XXIII wanted to move from a number of small campuses to one large campus – and the Graylands site was thought ideal for this purpose.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Graylands Teachers College Memorial Scholarship. <http://www.ecu.edu.au/scholarships/scholarships-by-pathways/undergraduate/details/graylands-teachers-college-memorial-prize>

²⁴³ John XXIII website. <http://www.johnxxiii.edu.au/view/about-us/alumni>

²⁴⁴ John XXIII website: Our History. <http://www.johnxxiii.edu.au/view/our-history/history>



Map 9  Proposed John XXIII College site showing proximity to Hospital buildings 1983²⁴⁵

Sr Denise Desmarchelier was the second Principal of John XXIII from 1979 until her retirement in 1987. To her fell the responsibility of consolidating the Loreto and St Louis schools and finding a new site. In addition to the school sites in Claremont, there was also the sports oval near Lake Claremont, all of which were to prove valuable assets when the time came to sell and finance the move to a new location. The College Council became aware of the State Government's intention to sell the Swanbourne Hospital land and part of the nearby rubbish tip at Graylands and negotiations began with Mental Health Services. Negotiations were undertaken on behalf of the College by T.E. O'Connor, a well-known lawyer, who was Chairman of the School Council. In later years he was the Chairman of the Anti-Corruption Commission of Western Australia and involved with Australian Football – firstly as West Coast Eagles Chairman for

²⁴⁵ Swanbourne Hospital Graylands: John XXIII recommended site. Feilman Planning Consultants Pty. Ltd., 1983. Battye Library call no. Q 711.57 FEI.

three seasons, including the 1992 Premiership season, and then as an AFL Commissioner from 1993 to 2000.²⁴⁶

The Valuer General assessed the land as one parcel (Map 9) worth \$3,500,000 in December 1982. After protracted negotiations, the size of the site was reduced from over 32 hectares to 24.5 hectares and the price was dropped to \$2,400,000 with the additional purchase of the existing manual workshop of the Primary Rehabilitation Unit of Graylands Hospital, situated on one side of the land, at a cost of \$300,000.²⁴⁷ Terry O'Connor wrote to the Minister for Health Ray Young MLA and Premier Ray O'Connor MLA [no apparent relation] seeking their assistance with expediting the sale and rezoning of the land.²⁴⁸ A statement in the *West Australian* in January 1983 confirmed approval of the sale of the land 'to clear the way for construction of a \$7 million private school' and further stated

In a joint statement, the Minister for Health, Mr Young, and the Minister for Employment, Mr Hassell, said yesterday that the project had been accelerated as part of the job bank programme to provide jobs in the building industry. ... Mr Hassell said that the Government would liaise with the college and the Nedlands City Council to ensure that the procedures of the job bank programme were used to expedite zoning and other matters necessary for the development of the site.²⁴⁹

There was a change of government following a general election in February, but the incoming government honoured the agreements arrived at and the final agreement was ratified on 18 April 1986, signed by Terry O'Connor and Michael King for John XXIII College Council, together with the Roman

²⁴⁶ Western Australian Amateur Football League. <http://www.waafll.com.au/history/119> accessed 18 April 2013.

²⁴⁷ Graylands Hospital site. Proposed sale to John XXIII College. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 4990, Item No. 1983/0083. Letter from Under Secretary of Works to Director, Mental Health Services, 20 December 1982 and letter from Assistant Administrator (Administration), Mental Health Services to Under Secretary for Works, 22 December 1983.

²⁴⁸ Graylands Hospital site. Proposed sale to John XXIII College. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 4990, Item No. 1983/0083. Letter from T.E. O'Connor, Chairman of Council to Minister for Health, 21 October 1982 and from T.E. O'Connor to Premier, 10 December 1982.

²⁴⁹ Graylands Hospital site. Proposed sale to John XXIII College. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 4990, Item No. 1983/0083. *The West Australian*, 18 January 1983 (page no. not noted).

Catholic Archbishop of Perth, Dr William Joseph Foley as the purchasers.²⁵⁰

There is little doubt that as declared practising Catholics, both the outgoing and incoming premiers (Ray O'Connor and Brian Burke respectively) would have been sympathetic to the negotiations and pleased with the eventual outcome.

According to the local newspaper, the *Post*, in an 'unusual deal' between the College and Clough Engineering,

the college swapped its four prime Claremont sites for a new building by Clough on 24 hectares of former mental health department land so the three [sic] schools could come under one roof.²⁵¹

The State Government gave a 'modest' loans subsidy but there was no assistance from the Commonwealth Government. The planned opening of the College in Term 1 of 1986 had to be postponed because the school was not ready. Delays had been caused by the tardiness in providing new buildings at Graylands Hospital to relocate a number of patients who were resident in ward buildings on the school land. Eventually, students and staff moved to the new site in Graylands at the beginning of Term 2 on 11 May 1986.



Fig. 30 Quadrangle of John XXIII College, Mount Claremont²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Graylands Hospital site. Proposed sale to John XXIII College. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 4990, Item No. 1983/0083. Agreement dated 18 April 1986. Folios unnumbered.

²⁵¹ *Claremont/Nedlands POST*, 13 May 1986. Copy accessed at Claremont Museum.

²⁵² John XXIII website. <http://www.johnxxiii.edu.au>

Such a large, wealthy Catholic co-educational college with 1,500 students from kindergarten to year 12 in the suburb of Graylands was in stark contrast to the small, somewhat impoverished local primary school. Graylands Primary School had endured the hardships of its early years with insufficient space and little capital funding together with the vagaries of government policies which had seen its student numbers ebb and flow enormously according to local requirements, particularly after the war.

These three establishments, Graylands Primary School, Graylands Teachers' College and John XXIII College have all contributed to the education of numerous young people over almost a century. The previously unfashionable suburb of Graylands was home to a small junior school which, despite its inauspicious beginnings, was able to offer its students the best possible education. The teachers' college, during its twenty-five year existence nearby, was responsible for providing excellent training for its students and would surely have continued to do so had it not been closed down because of changes in government policy. Many parents moved into the newly released subdivisions within walking distance of John XIII College, into new modern houses on small blocks when the college opened. It is well-entrenched in the western suburbs and has been instrumental in the gentrification of the surrounding suburb of Graylands, now known as Mount Claremont.

GRAYLANDS: THE EVOLUTION OF A SUBURB

CHAPTER 5

The changing demographic in the area formerly known as Graylands has been a recurring theme throughout this thesis. From the very humble beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century, with small houses, even shacks, to the mansions of today; from the small one-teacher, one-classroom almost country-style primary school with only eight pupils on its first day to the splendid John XXIII College which started its first day in Graylands with 1200 pupils – this is a ‘rags to riches’ story of fascinating complexity.

This thesis is not a definitive history of the suburb of Graylands and was never intended to be so. However, it does look at three distinctive threads of the story: the early pioneer owners; the way state and federal governments housed ‘the other’ in the suburb; and the variety of educational institutions which were established there.

Maria Gray was the owner of Swan Location 429 who decided to break it up into small building lots for sale by auction and, according to family tradition, it was the estate agent who was responsible for suggesting the land be named ‘the Graylands Estate’.²⁵³ *The West Australian* reported of the auction that ‘a few blocks sold at from £20 to £11 per block in August 1896’²⁵⁴ and ‘a few lots in the Graylands Estate’ were still being offered in November that year.²⁵⁵ It was clear that there was no great rush to move out into the

²⁵³ Paul. *Growing up in Graylands*, p.58.

²⁵⁴ *The West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 - 1954), Monday 17 August 1896, p.5.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/84462421>

²⁵⁵ *The West Australian* (Perth, WA : 1879 - 1954), Wednesday 18 November 1896, p.6.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/3102573>

wilds of Graylands at that time, despite the advertisements describing 'large frontages and good areas, close to the Claremont railway station'.²⁵⁶

Although many homes were built there in the decades after World War II, the suburb did not change its working-class character for almost ninety years, when more land was released by the state government. The undervalued area, previously ignored by developers, became a gem of the western suburbs and very popular among more wealthy newcomers who could afford the somewhat inflated prices. By 2003, 'Mt Claremont residents gave public housing the thumbs-down' at a workshop 'to discuss what should be done with the former Swanbourne Hospital',²⁵⁷ thereby ensuring the continuing upward mobility of the suburb and protecting the value of their own properties. By 2006 only 34 Homeswest [formerly State Housing Commission] properties remained.²⁵⁸

Besides the changes in housing style and ownership in Graylands, the hospital, which constituted the largest land-holding institution in the area, underwent considerable changes at the end of the twentieth century. More modern treatment regimes allowed more patients to be treated as outpatients in the community, usually at home, and the number of beds was steadily reduced from over 1500 in 1960²⁵⁹ to just over 200 today²⁶⁰ – this despite a three-fold increase in the population of the state during the same period.²⁶¹ The original 1903 160 hectares site (394 acres)²⁶² has been reduced to

²⁵⁶ *The Daily News* (Perth, WA: 1882 – 1950), Saturday 7 March 1896, p.8.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/84722744>

²⁵⁷ *Claremont/Nedlands POST*, 25 October 2003, p.1. (Copy in my archives).

²⁵⁸ *The West Australian*, 'Compassion will rule in any change in big Homeswest blocks', Roberts, 22 June 2006. <http://0-global.factiva.com/prospiero.murdoch.edu.au/ha/default.aspx>

²⁵⁹ Ellis, *Eloquent Testimony*, graph pp.98-99.

²⁶⁰ *Nursing and Midwifery in Western Australia*. Government of Western Australia, Department of Health. Graylands Hospital. <http://www.nursing.health.wa.gov.au/working/graylands.cfm>

²⁶¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics. 3105.0.65.001 Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2008.

<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3105.0.65.0012008?OpenDocument>

²⁶² Ellis, *Eloquent Testimony* p.43.

today's 10.1 hectares (25 acres)²⁶³ and no doubt developers are waiting patiently for the government to respond to calls for the closure of the hospital, so that they can again subdivide the remaining land. As Alison Xamon, MLC, pointed out in a recent press release, the future of the hospital is in doubt, as it is falling into disrepair, its buildings are outdated and government investment is 'long overdue'.²⁶⁴ Were the hospital to be re-sited elsewhere instead of being updated, then one of only two remaining references to the name Graylands would survive: Graylands Road, alongside the Royal Agricultural Society's showgrounds, between Alfred Road and the railway line.

The recognition of being the largest land-holding institution in the area has now passed from the hospital to John XXIII College, situated on 24.5 hectares (55 acres) of former hospital land.²⁶⁵ The college is another example of the upward mobility of the suburb for there is no comparison between its beginnings in 1986, as a '\$7 million private school ... which will accommodate 1200 pupils',²⁶⁶ and the Graylands Primary School which began with one classroom costing £335 and eight students in 1917.²⁶⁷ The other educational establishment of some historical note in the suburb, the teachers college, outgrew itself in the Graylands location and by 1975 was planning a move to Cockburn. However, it fell victim to 'the restriction of

²⁶³ *Nursing and Midwifery in Western Australia*. Government of Western Australia, Department of Health.

Graylands Hospital. <http://www.nursing.health.wa.gov.au/working/graylands.cfm>

²⁶⁴ Alison Xamon, MLC, 'Greens call for Government to come clean over Graylands future', 30 December 2012. <http://alisonxamon.org.au/greens-call-government-come-clean-over-graylands-future>

²⁶⁵ Graylands Hospital site. Proposed sale to John XXIII College. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 4990, Item No. 1983/0083. Letter from Under Secretary of Works to Director, Mental Health Services, 20 December 1982 and letter from Assistant Administrator (Administration), Mental Health Services to Under Secretary for Works, 22 December 1983.

²⁶⁶ Graylands Hospital site. Proposed sale to John XXIII College. SROWA, WAS 82 Files – General, Cons. no. 4990, Item No. 1983/0083. Article from *The West Australian*, 18 January 1983 (page no. not noted).

²⁶⁷ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, pp.8-9.

finance by the federal government'²⁶⁸ and plans had to change from moving to managing closure. In something akin to a lament, the last President of the Student Council at Graylands, Mike Dixon wrote:

There are many who would argue that Graylands produced the most successful and respected teachers in the profession and that this could be attributed to the fact that it was a practical college, and practice made perfect. ... Every student associated with Graylands regrets the decision to close the college, and I wonder who, in the long run will suffer as a result?²⁶⁹

So it was, that within the space of ten years, three major institutions in Graylands either down-sized (the hospital) or closed (the college and the hostel) and land was made available in an area where land sales had been dormant for decades. Subsequently, the evolution of this quiet suburb accelerated at a pace heretofore unseen.

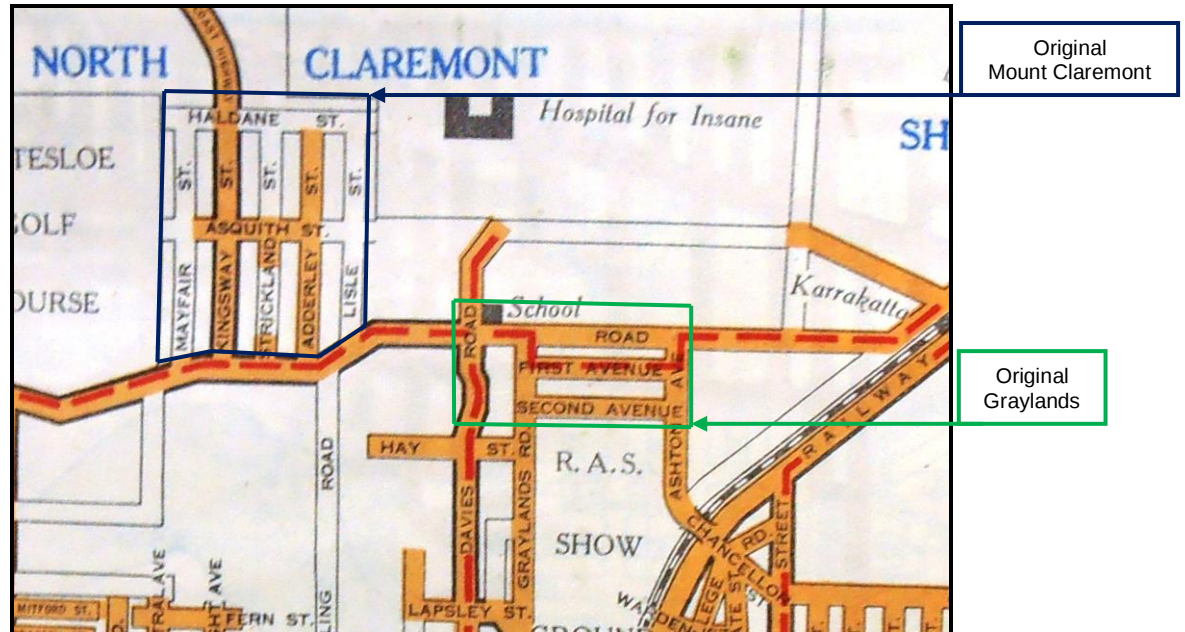
I wanted to write about Graylands because so much of my own life has been bound up in it. Glenn Albrecht, Professor of Sustainability at Murdoch University, coined the word *solastalgia* in 2003 and defined it simply as “the homesickness you have when you are still at home”. He was referring to a feeling similar to melancholy when ‘one’s home environment is damaged or degraded’. Although I acknowledge that there is neither the same sort of change nor degradation in Graylands such as Albrecht describes in the Hunter Valley,²⁷⁰ this comes close to describing the way I feel about Graylands and its history, bound up, as it is, in my own. I have a strong attachment to the area for, though I have not lived in it for many years, I worked at Graylands Hospital for almost 38 years in a variety of positions from 1972 to 2009. My family and I spent the first year after our arrival in

²⁶⁸ Partington, ‘The Teachers Colleges and the Partridge Report’, p.13.

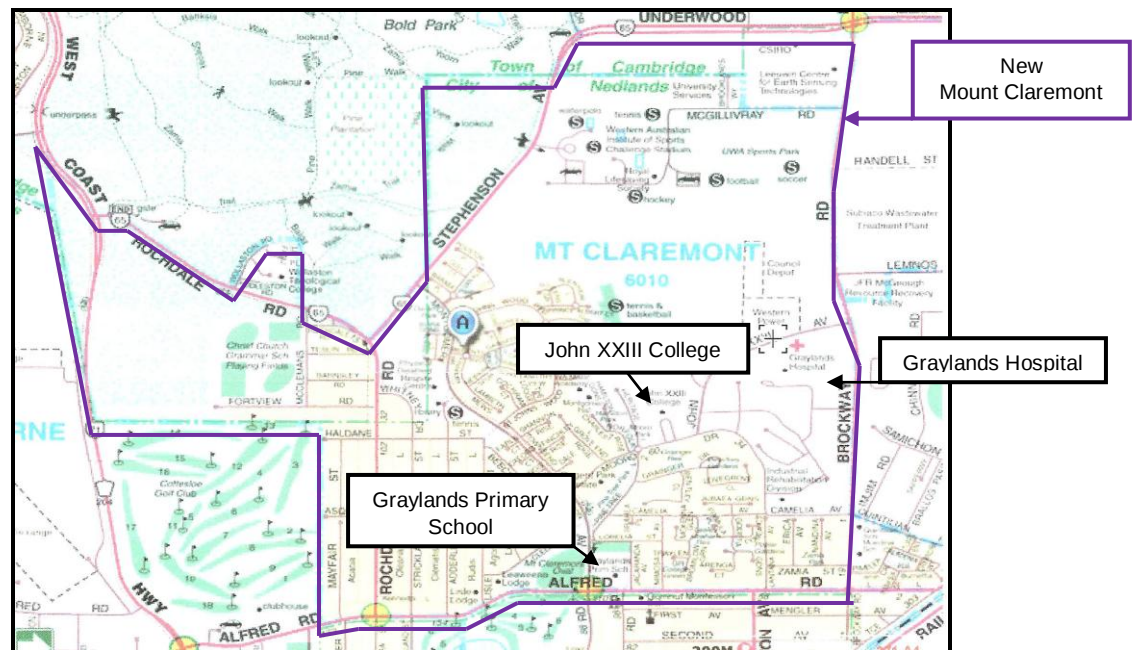
²⁶⁹ Rielly [sic], *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands Story*, p.97.

²⁷⁰ Glenn Albrecht, ‘The age of solastalgia’. *The Conversation: in-depth analysis, research, news and ideas from leading academics and researchers*. <http://theconversation.com/the-age-of-solastalgia-8337> 7 August 2012 accessed 18 April 2013.

Australia at the Graylands Migrant Hostel in 1971-1972. Returning to the area to live in Nandina Avenue, Graylands for five years, I rented a 1950s-era small former State Housing house from 1975-1980 and during that time, my two sons attended Graylands Primary School.



Map 10 - Boundaries of Mount Claremont and Graylands in 1944²⁷¹



Map 11 - Mount Claremont boundaries 2013²⁷²

²⁷¹ Perth Metropolitan Street Directory. Department of Lands and Surveys, Perth, Western Australia.

²⁷² streetdirectory.com.au <http://www.street-directory.com.au/wa>

I had hoped when writing this thesis that I would be able to compare statistical information from the national censuses about Graylands at various times during its history. However, this proved impossible because of the changes in name and boundaries as can be seen in Maps 10 and 11. The original Graylands of 1896 and Mount Claremont of 1912 were small and distinct localities within Claremont and hence were not reported on separately.

According to the 2011 Census, the present day Mount Claremont has a population of 4375,²⁷³ and further analysis of the data reveals much about the suburb's social structure. Statistics show that 41.6 per cent of the employed people aged 15 years and over are professionals and 18.3 per cent are managers, compared with state figures showing 19.9 per cent and 12.2 per cent respectively and national figures of 21.3 and 12.9 per cent.²⁷⁴ This is in marked contrast to the earlier population of the suburb, which was mainly working class, with many inhabitants working either at the hospital or the hostel. The suburb now boasts a well-educated population with 23.4 per cent declaring tertiary institution attendance, compared with 13.5 per cent in the state and 14.3 per cent nationally.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, 26.4 per cent of households in Mount Claremont report a gross weekly income of more than \$3,000 compared with 14.1 per cent in the state and 11.2 per cent nationally.²⁷⁶ This is, clearly, an affluent suburb now, very different from its humble beginnings.

²⁷³ 2011 Census Quick Stats – Mount Claremont. People – demographics & education – people. http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/SSC50524?opendocument&navpos=220

²⁷⁴ 2011 Census Quick Stats – Mount Claremont. People – employment – occupation.

²⁷⁵ 2011 Census Quick Stats – Mount Claremont. People – demographics & education – education.

²⁷⁶ 2011 Census Quick Stats – Mount Claremont. Dwellings – household composition – Household income.

Maria Gray did not live in the area which bore her name until the last ten years or so of her life, although at one time she did rent out a house she owned on nine acres (Lot P233) between Davies Road and Butler's Swamp, eventually selling it to Alfred Sandover.²⁷⁷ In 1912 she left her home in Fremantle²⁷⁸ to live in a house in Davies Road, with her married daughter Minnie Flintoff.²⁷⁹ The extended family remained there until they moved to Maylands in 1921²⁸⁰ and it was there that Maria died aged 83 in 1923.²⁸¹

It seems that her link with the suburb effectively died with her. In June 1985, the State Government's Urban Lands Council, apparently ignorant of the origin of the name Graylands, moved to change the suburb's name and asked Nedlands Council to advertise its intention in the local press²⁸² and seek comment.²⁸³ There were few objections, and according to council meeting minutes in August 1985, writers to the Nedlands Council felt

the stigma that has grown up with the State Housing area, Graylands Hospital and the Migrant Centre, should now be put aside and keep pace with the fact that many of the houses are now in private ownership and they believe that there is a general wish that the name "Graylands" should disappear.²⁸⁴

And disappear it did in 1986. Graylands Primary School followed suit in 2006, using the fact that the suburb had disappeared ten years before as part of its persuasive argument to the Education Department. It subsequently started the 2007 school year as the Mt Claremont Primary School, after Minister Ravlich agreed to its request.²⁸⁵ Graylands Road, which cut through the original Swan Location 429, is now the last lingering

²⁷⁷ Claremont rates book, 31 October 1904.

²⁷⁸ Fremantle rates book, 1911/12.

²⁷⁹ Paul, *Growing up in Graylands*, p.58.

²⁸⁰ WA Post Office Directories, 1921.

²⁸¹ Certified copy of Death Certificate, WA Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Perth, Western Australia.

²⁸² *Claremont/Nedlands POST*, Advertisement, 18 June 1985, p.7. (Copy in my archives.)

²⁸³ City of Nedlands, Town Planning, Buildings and Parking Committee. Minutes of meeting 23 May 1985.

²⁸⁴ City of Nedlands, Town Planning, Buildings and Parking Committee. Minutes of meeting 22 August 1985.

²⁸⁵ *Western Suburbs Weekly*, 19 December 2006.

<http://0-global.factiva.com.prospero.murdoch.edu.au/ha/default.aspx>

vestige of Maria Gray's legacy in the area. I hope, most sincerely, that it, at least, be allowed to remain.

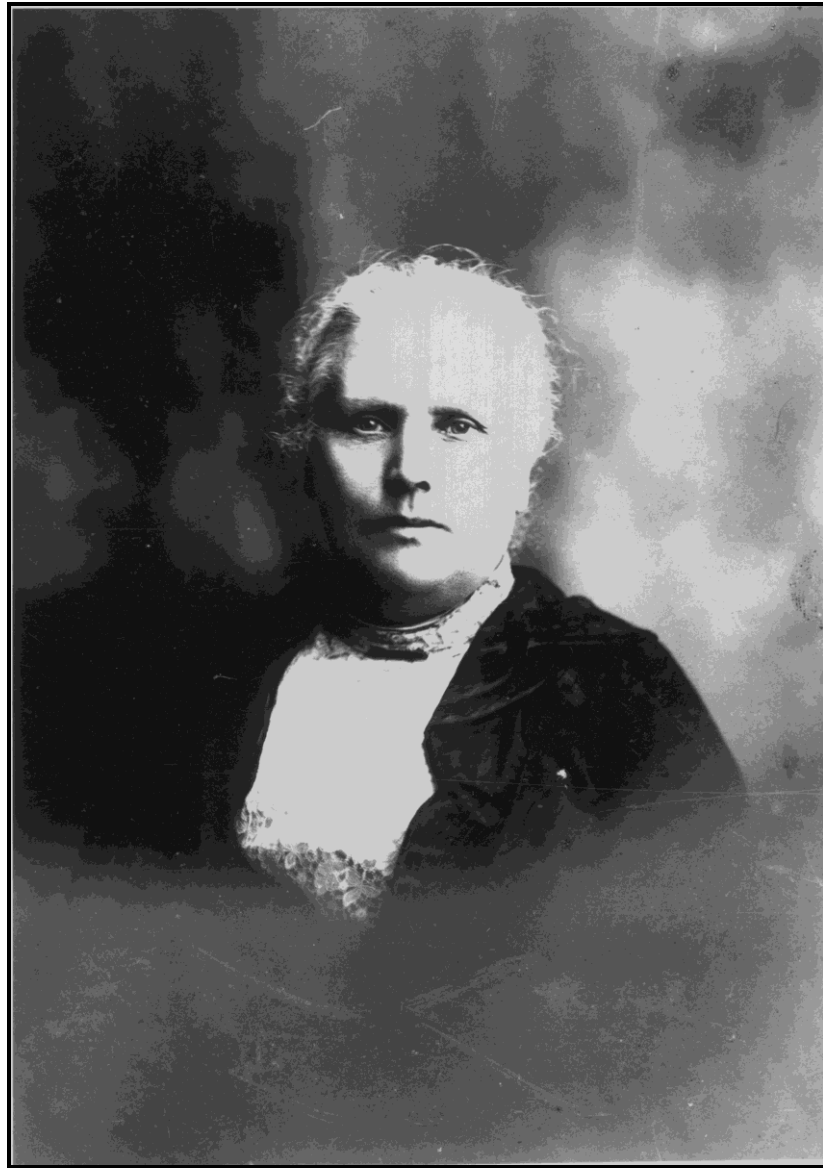
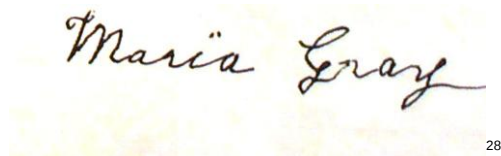


Fig. 31 Maria Gray aged 65 c. 1904²⁸⁶



287

²⁸⁶ State Library of Western Australia Image No. 3370B/1. Sourced from the collections of the State Library of Western Australia and reproduced with the permission of the Library Board of Western Australia.

²⁸⁷ Copy of signature taken from correspondence. Mrs Maria Gray assessment No. 825. SROWA, WAS 3644 Correspondence files – General[1], Cons. No. 1377, Item No. 1910/070. Letter from Mrs Maria Gray to Town Clerk, Municipality of Fremantle, 9 February 1910.
http://aeon.sro.wa.gov.au/Investigator/Details/Item_Detail.asp?Entity=Global&Search=maria%20gray&Op=All&Page=1&Id=4876376&SearchPage=Global

Appendix 1

Statements about John and Maria Gray in *Growing up in Graylands* and results of my research

Growing up in Graylands	Research Results	Source
After John's death [1891] Maria Gray ran a dairy in Fremantle ...	In 1882 she is recorded as a 'dairy keeper' occupying a cottage and stockyard owned by Mrs Harding [her sister]	Fremantle rates books
... 'hard work enabled her to buy land around Butler's Swamp	John Gray bought the land from Sarah Harding's estate in 1890 and bequeathed it to his wife	Newspaper accounts of sale
She was offered land in Peppermint Grove but preferred the Claremont area	Not so. This story could be confused with the fact that Pensioner Guards were given land on the east of Freshwater Bay [Peppermint Grove is on the west of the bay] and Butler's Swamp, together with the belief that John Gray was a Pensioner Guard – when, in fact, he was a prison warder.	Heritage and the Town of Claremont
Graylands was named after Mrs Gray who lived in Davies Road. Source: Mr Guthrie local resident since 1911 at Graylands Road & 2 nd Avenue	Most likely. Maria Gray inherited land in the area and sold some in 1896.	Newspaper accounts of sale
Mr & Mrs John Gray came from England in 1854 Source hereafter: 'Flintoff Jnr' dentist residing in Mosman Park (grandson)	John Gray arrived per 'Belgravia' 4 July 1966 with his first wife, Isabella née Kersey. No record of her death in WA. He married Maria Wickcliffe in Fremantle in 1872.	Dead Persons Society website + Warders & Gaolers

John Gray was an Enrolled Pensioner Guard	John Gray was a prison warder. Had worked at Chatham Prison before coming to WA.	Warders & Gaolers
He served in the Crimean War, pensioned because of chest wounds by a cannon ball.	Enlisted aged 14½ as drummer in 57 th Foot & was in the Crimean battles of Alma, Sebastopol & Balaclava with 4 th Light Dragoons. One of Tennyson's 'Six Hundred' who rode 'into the valley of death' – 'slightly wounded & horse killed'. Invalided out of Army aged 29½ with varicose veins. Discharge pension rank: Private.	Army records
Came out as a warder & worked at Fremantle Gaol.	Correct, also worked on Albany Road with convict gangs & at North Fremantle Depot.	Warders & Gaolers
Mr & Mrs Gray lived at a house called Willowbank where Dalgety's later were at Fremantle.	Property previously owned by Mrs Harding, Maria's sister. Bought property called Willowbank between Cantonment & Beach Streets on town lots 303 & 266 (rated together) – Mrs Gray alone lived there between 1898 & 1903, after John's death. Blocks later purchased by Dalgety's for wool store – now 'Fort Knox'. Also grant + cottages in Adelaide Street + land at Butler's Swamp: 9½ acres Swan Loc. P233 & 40 acres 429. Lived in Adelaide Street cottage, near Roman Catholic Convent.	Newspaper 1.1.1890 PO Directory + Fremantle rates books
John Gray died shortly after coming to Australia	John Gray arrived 1866, died 1891 – 25 years later	Death cert.
Mrs Gray bought land at Claremont for £4 per acre later sold for £400 per acre	December 1889: Land sold by Messrs. E. Solomon & Co to John R. Gray: A block of 9½ acres at Butler's Swamp adjoining Smith's Land [P233] west of Davies Road at £15 an acre, and also 40 acres [Swan Location 429] (suburban land) for £4 an acre. Maria Gray began selling some of the land in mid-1896 and 'a few	Newspaper 1.1.1890 Newspaper

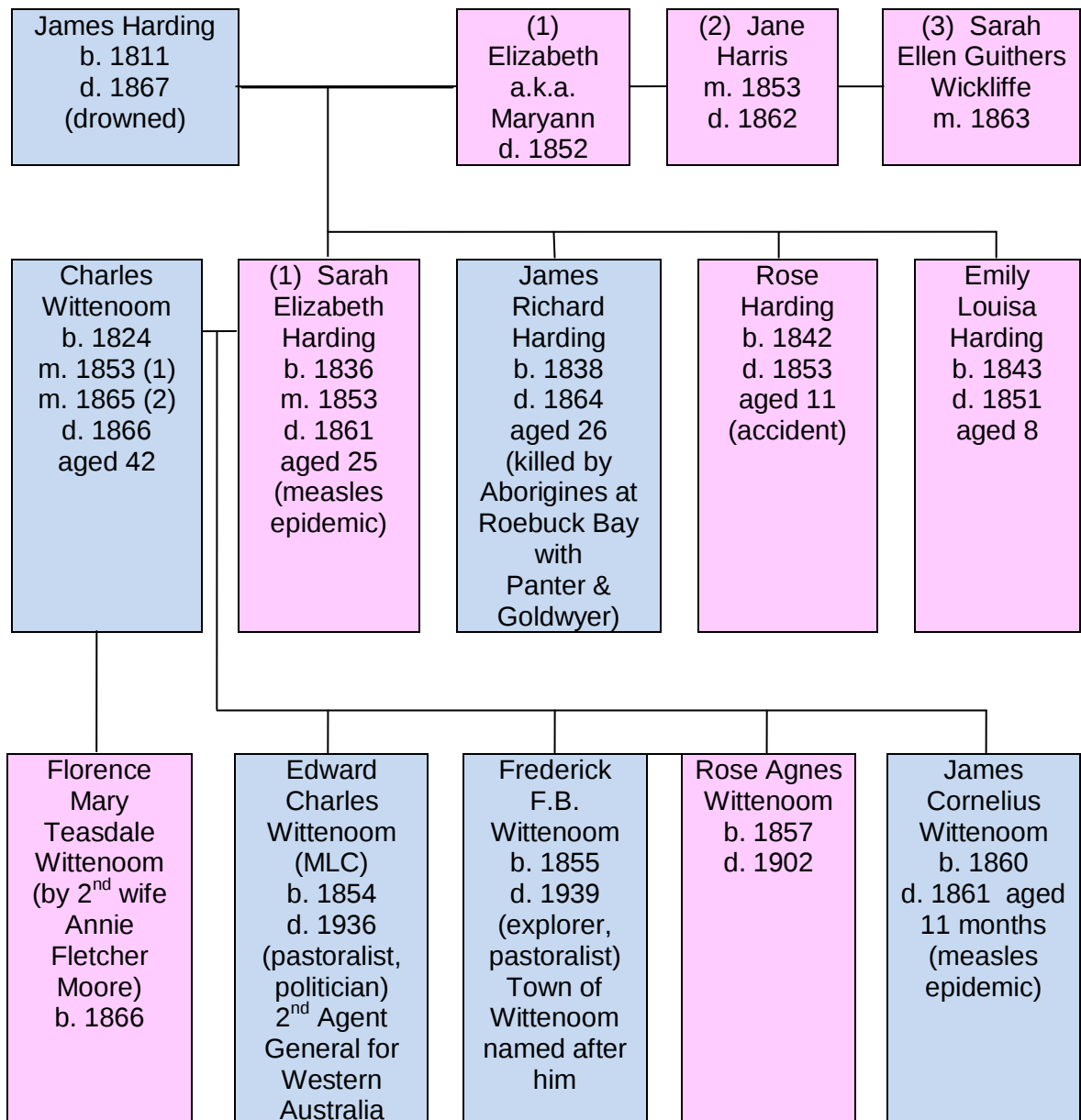
	blocks sold from £20 to £11 per block' at initial auction.	17.8.1896
Ferris & Forbes Land Agents in Claremont suggested name "Graylands".	Earliest use of name in newspapers is: THE GRAYLANDS ESTATE: Claremont, close to the Railway Station: LARGE FRONTAGES AND GOOD AREAS. B. C. WOOD & CO Auctioneer. Ferris & Forbes do not appear in newspaper advertisements until 1911 and in the Post Office Directory until 1912.	Newspaper 4.2.1896 PO Directory
Mrs Gray always lived with them in house she bought until she gave it to her maid Mrs Caporn.	Mrs Gray owned house on lot P233 Davies Road but rented it out to various warders, not recorded as occupier. Lived with Flintoffs in their house in Davies Road from 1912 when she left Fremantle, until they moved to Maylands in 1921.	Claremont rates books.
Family & Mrs Gray went to live in a house she owned in Thompson Road, Claremont.	No record of Mrs Gray owning house in Thompson Road, Claremont. However, son-in-law Thomas Flintoff owned house there; occupier listed as S.B. Caporn	Claremont rates books
Mrs Gray also owned 4 cottages near Roman Catholic Church, Fremantle	Lived in Adelaide Street cottage, near Roman Catholic Convent until 1912 and owned several other Fremantle properties until her death.	PO Directory Rates books
Part of Graylands Estate leased to Mr Fuller (Norton & Fuller, butchers)	Fuller, Naughton Ltd butchers opened premises in Fremantle 14 September 1907. Sold to Swan Meat Co. in July 1911. Have not found any link to Mrs Gray.	Trove.
'... mother bringing up her daughter alone ...'	Minnie born December 1879; John died June 1891 when she was 11 years old	Birth & death certs.
Mrs Gray's name was Maria	John Gray was a widower when he married Maria in 1872. The Mrs Gray who came with him to Australia in 1866 was named Isabella Kersey, married in Ipswich in 1853.	Marriage certificates

	Isabella's death not found in WA deaths register or cemetery records.	
Daughter's name was Minnie later Mrs Flintoff	Elizabeth Minnie married Thomas Flintoff in 1902	Marriage cert.
Information from Battye Historic Library: 1900-1902 Part Area 429 Maria Gray, Wife of a warder Fremantle Gaol. 429 is referred to in Richardson's Report as Graylands Estate in Claremont Library.	At this time Maria was widowed.	
Mrs Gray sold her Fremantle land to take Mrs Harding back to Ireland after her brother-in-law James Harding drowned in a boating accident. He was harbour master at Fremantle.	1863 – James Harding married Sarah Wickliffe in Fremantle. He drowned with four others in 1867 when attempting to assist the Ivy & the Strathmore, in distress in storm in Gage Roads. Sarah's death not recorded in WA deaths register or cemetery – maybe Ireland? Mrs Gray did not sell any Fremantle property at this time.	Newspaper 26.6.1867 Marriage cert.
Mrs Gray's mother had been a schoolteacher – she was a Wickens, all the Gray descendants carry the name	Maria's maiden name was Wickliffe, not Wickens. Wickliffe name given to all her grandchildren as middle name.	Marriage & birth certs.
Mrs Gray owned most of Butler's Swamp at one time (location is west of Davies Road)	On death of husband. Maria inherited 9½ acre lot P223 adjoining Butler's Swamp + 40 acres east of Davies Road (Swan Location 429)	John Gray's will in SRO
The drummer boy [John Gray] had to eat his boots to survive	Perhaps a family myth? He was invalided to Scutari Hospital for 3 months where conditions were grim: bare floors; only one meal a day; food was often old and rotten; no toilets; rats running around the wards; dirty and smelly.	Army records + http://history.pearfieldict.co.uk/victorians/the-crimean-war

APPENDIX 2

FAMILY TREE OF JAMES HARDING

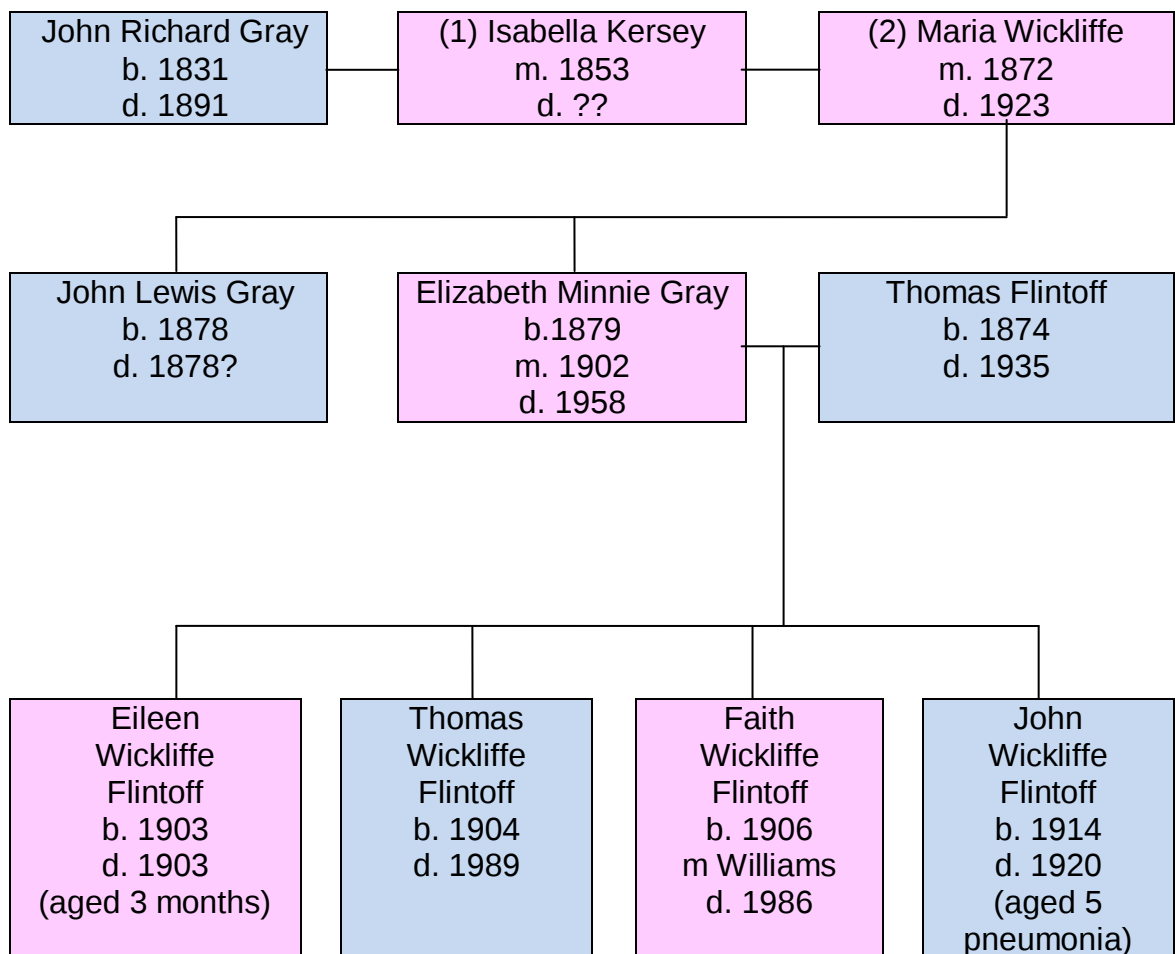
James Harding was the brother-in-law of Maria Gray (née Wickliffe) and in 1866 became the first owner of Swan Location 429, later known as Graylands. With his wife Elizabeth (a.k.a. Maryann) and their four children he arrived in Western Australia in 1846, went back to England in 1848 and returned to Fremantle in 1850. Between then and his own death (drowned at Fremantle in 1867), Harding suffered the deaths of his first and second wives, all of his four children, and an infant grandson. In 1863 he married Sarah Wickliffe, Maria Gray's sister. His son-in-law, Charles Wittenoom, was responsible for the Wittenoom line, though he himself died in 1866, leaving his children orphans.



APPENDIX 3

FAMILY TREE OF JOHN RICHARD GRAY

John Richard Gray was one of Tennyson's immortal 'six hundred' who rode in the Charge of the Light Brigade at the battle of Balaclava in the Crimean War in 1854. Accompanied by his first wife, he arrived in Western Australia aboard the *Belgravia* in 1866 and worked as a warder at Fremantle Prison. He was married a second time in 1872 to Maria Wickliffe. Her sister, Sarah, was married to James Harding, who owned Swan Location 429 and Lot 223 near Butlers Swamp at Claremont. On his death in 1867 these properties passed to his widow, Sarah, Maria's sister. They were later purchased by John Gray in 1890 and on his death the following year, passed in turn to his widow, Maria. She subsequently began to sell them in 1896 as the 'Graylands Estate', and her name lived on in the suburb of Graylands until 1985.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Building Management Authority

Conservation Plan for Swanbourne Hospital formerly Claremont Hospital for the Insane

Claremont Museum

Claremont Rates Books

Fremantle Local Studies Library

Fremantle Rates Books

Home Office [UK] Identity and Passport Service

General Register Office (GRO) - England, Scotland, Wales 1837-2006

Government of Western Australia – Department of the Attorney General

Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages

Landgate

Historical search summary report: Swan Location 429

Metropolitan Cemeteries Board

Grave searches and photographs

National Archives of Australia

Destination Australia

Nedlands Local Studies Library

Claremont Roads Board Minutes

Nedlands Council Minutes

Newspapers:

National Library of Australia – Trove Digitised Newspapers:
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper?q>

Inquirer

Perth Gazette and West Australian Times

Claremont-Nedlands POST

Sunday Times

The Argus

The Daily News

The Inquirer & Commercial News

The Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News

The West Australian

The Western Australian Times

The Western Mail

Western Suburbs Weekly

The London Gazette <http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/search>

State Library of WA

Maps

Metropolitan Street Directories

Photographs of Graylands Migrant Hostel

Photographs of Graylands Teachers' College

Photographs of Mrs Maria Gray and family

Photographs of State Housing Commission homes

Post Office Directories

Public Service Blue Books

The Western Australian Directory [Wise's]: 1946

State Records Office

Graylands Teachers' College correspondence

John XXIII correspondence

Land records

Nomenclature Road Names Greylands [sic] correspondence

Mrs Maria Gray assessment no, 825 correspondence
Probate records
Workers Homes Board correspondence

The National Archives London

Reports on the Crimean War

Western Australian Genealogical Society (WAGS)

Shipping records

SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES

Albrecht, Glenn. 'The age of solastalgia'. *The Conversation: in-depth analysis, research, news and ideas from leading academics and researchers*. (7 August 2012). <http://theconversation.com/the-age-of-solastalgia-8337>

Ashworth, Margaret and Debra Osborn. 'System Level Provision for the Gifted Child: A Western Australian Initiative'. *Gifted Education International*, Vol. 5, 1988.

Barker, David J. *Warders and Gaolers: a dictionary of Western Australian Prison Officers 1829-1879*. WA Genealogical Society Inc., 2000.

Berryman, Ian. *A Colony Detailed. The first census of Western Australia 1832*. Perth: Creative Research, 1979.

Bicknell, Leanne and Bill Cooper. *The Story of Davies Road, Claremont*. Curtin University Research Unit for Cultural Heritage, produced in association with Claremont Museum, Town of Claremont, 1998.

Birch, Helen. *A Guide to Historical Military Sites in the City of Nedlands*. Nedlands W.A.: Nedlands Library Service Local Studies Collection, 2004.

- Bolton, Geoffrey and Jenny Gregory. *Claremont: a history*. Nedlands, W.A.: UWA Press, 1999.
- Bolton, Geoffrey and Geraldine Byrne. *The campus that never stood still: Edith Cowan University, 1902-2002*. Churchlands, W.A.: The University, c2001.
- Broomhall F.H. *The Veterans. A History of the Enrolled Pensioner force in Western Australia, 1850-1880*. Carlisle W.A.: Hesperian Press 1985.
- Brown, Alyson. *English Society and the Prison: Time, Culture, and Politics in the Development of the Modern Prison, 1850-1920*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2003.
- Catomore, Russell. *Dan-Joo Together. Colonists, Convicts and Pensioner Guards*. Claremont Museum and the Town of Claremont. 1995.
- Cocks, Errol et al (eds.). *Under blue skies: the social construction of intellectual disability in Western Australia*. Joondalup, W.A.: Centre for Disability Research and Development, Faculty of Health and Human Services, Edith Cowan University, c1996.
- Cummins, Joseph. *The War Chronicles: From Flintlocks to Machine Guns. A global reference of all the major modern conflicts*. Beverley, MA: Fairwinds Press, 2009.
- Curthoys, Ann and Ann McGrath. *How to write history that people want to read*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009.
- Davies, Elizabeth. Review of Geoffrey Bolton and Jenny Gregory, *Claremont: a history*. Nedlands, W.A.: UWA Press (1999). In *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, Vol. 46, Issue 3 (2008). <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/prospero.murdoch.edu.au/doi/10.1111/1467-8497.00107/pdf>
- Dutton, Roy. *Forgotten Heroes, the Charge of the Light Brigade*. InfoDial Oxtou: Wirral Cheshire, 2007.
- Eden, Claire. *Second Avenue, Claremont. A story of two streets*. Curtin University Research Unit for Cultural Heritage, produced in association with Claremont Museum, Town of Claremont, 2000.

Ellis A.S. *Eloquent Testimony. The Story of Mental Health Services in Western Australia 1830-1975*. Nedlands: UWA Press 1984.

Erickson, Rica and Gillian O'Mara. *Convicts in Western Australia 1850-1887*. Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1994.

Erickson, Rica ed. *Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians Pre-1829-1888*. Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1988.

Erickson, Rica ed. *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914 Vol 3 Free 1850-1868*. Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1979.

Erickson, Rica. *The bride ships: experiences of immigrants arriving in Western Australia 1849-1889*. Carlisle, W.A: Hesperian Press, 1992.

Fox, Charlie ed. *Social policy in Western Australia*. Crawley, WA: Centre for Western Australian History in association with University of Western Australia Press, 2007.

Gibbs, Martin. 'The Archaeology of the Convict system in Western Australia.' *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 19 (2001).

Gothard, Jan. *Blue China: single female migration to colonial Australia*. Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2001

Graylands Primary School 1917-1979. Graylands School History. No author.

Gregory, Jenny. *City of light: a history of Perth since the 1950s*. Perth: City of Perth, 2003.

Gregory, Jenny ed. *On the home front: Western Australia and World War II*. Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1996.

Gregory, Jenny and Jan Gothard eds. *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia*. Crawley: University of Western Australia Press 2009.

Grose, Margaret J. 'Changing relationships in public open space and private open space in suburbs in south-western Australia'. *Landscape and Urban Planning*. Volume 92, Issue 1 (15 August 2009). <http://0->

www.sciencedirect.com/prospero.murdoch.edu.au/science/article/pii/S0169204609000334

Hammerton A. James and Alistair Thomson. *Ten pound Poms: Australia's invisible migrants*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Hart, Sue. 'Widows Wise to Opportunities in Early Days.' *Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 13, Part 2 (2008).

Health Education Council of Western Australia. *The Laying of Langley's Ghost. A story, with pictures that shows 150 years of Mental Health in Western Australia*. Date unknown.

Hitchcock, J.K. *A History of Fremantle 1829-1929*. Fremantle City Council 1929.

Johnson, Louise C. 'Style Wars: revolution in the suburbs?' *Australian Geographer*. Vol. 37, No. 2, (July 2006). <http://0-www.tandfonline.com/prospero.murdoch.edu.au/doi/pdf/10.1080/00049180600701935>

Jupp, James ed. *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*. Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Kennedy, Brian. *Australian Place Names*. Sydney: ABC Books, 2006.

Lack, John. *A history of Footscray*. North Melbourne: Hargreen Publishing in conjunction with the City of Footscray, 1991.

Lister, Dr J.A. Psychiatrist Superintendent, Graylands Hospital Report entitled *The Future of Graylands Hospital*, 1986.

May, Andrew. 'Ideas from Australian Cities: Relocating Urban and Suburban History'. *Australian Economic History Review*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (26 February 2009). <http://0-onlinelibrary.wiley.com/prospero.murdoch.edu.au/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8446.2009.00250.x/pdf>

Nancarrow, Amy. *Mengler Avenue: The Story of a Street in Claremont*. Curtin University Research Unit for Cultural Heritage, produced in association with Claremont Museum, Town of Claremont, 2002.

O'Keeffe, Dennis – Musician.

<http://www.convictcreations.com/culture/wisdom.htm>

O'Mara, Gillian. *Convict records of Western Australia: a research guide*.
Northbridge, W.A: Friends of Battye Library, 1990.

Partington, G. 'The Teachers Colleges and the Partridge Report in Western Australia: An End to Autonomy?' *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, Vol. 1, Issue 1 (1976).

Paul, Erin. *Growing up in Graylands: memories of Graylands Primary School, 1917-1960*. Mount Claremont, WA: Published for the Graylands Parents & Citizens Association by Personal Publishing Press Services, c1992.

Peters, Nonja, Fiona Bush and Jenny Gregory. *Graylands & Swanbourne Migrant Reception Centres*. Centre for Western Australian History. UWA Press 1996.

Popham, Daphne. *Reflections. Profile of 150 Women who helped make Western Australia's History*. Perth, W.A.: Carroll's, 1978.

Reece, R. ed. *Early days of Fremantle: J.K. Hitchcock*. Fremantle, W.A. 2010.

Reilly, J.T. *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Western Australia*. Perth: Sands & McDougall 1903.

Richards, Lyn. *Nobody's home: dreams and realities in a new suburb*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Rielly, [sic] C. W. (Campbell W.) *Non Nobis Solum The Graylands story*. Graylands, W.A.: Graylands Teachers College, 1979.

Sharp, Roma. 'A history of public housing in Western Australia : the Workers' Homes Board and State Housing Commission, precursors of Homeswest', Honours dissertation, Murdoch University (1993).

Shakespeare, William. 'Romeo and Juliet' in *The Illustrated Stratford Shakespeare*, London: Chancellor Press, 1982.

Stannage, C.T. ed. *A New History of Western Australia*. Perth: UWA Press 1981.

Stannage C.T. *The People Of Perth: A Social History Of Western Australia's Capital City*. Perth: Carroll's for Perth City Council, 1979.

Hugh Stretton. *Ideas for Australian cities*. Sydney, NSW: Transit Australia, 1989.

Western Australian Post Secondary Education Commission *Report on the future of Graylands Teachers College*. The Commission, [Perth], W.A, 1977.

Williams, A. E. *Nedlands: from Campsite to City*. City of Nedlands, 1984.

Yarrow, Stephen. *City of light: the stories behind 265 place names of metropolitan Perth*. Girrawheen, W.A.: Regency Publications, c1980.

GENEALOGY WEBSITES

ancestry.com.au <http://www.ancestry.com.au/>

FamilySearch.org <https://familysearch.org/>

findmypast.co.uk search with the experts <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/>

OTHER WEBSITES

4th Light Dragoons records
<http://shadowsoftime.co.nz/4ths/dragoong/gray6.html>

- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011 Census Quick Stats.
http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/SSC50524?opendocument&navpos=220
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2008.
<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3105.0.65.001.2008?OpenDocument>
- Australian Government Department of the Environment and Water Resources. Australian Heritage database. Bonegilla Migrant Camp – Block 19.
<http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/ahc/national-assessments/bonegilla/pubs/bonegilla.pdf>
- Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Fact Sheet 4 – More than 60 Years of Post-war Migration.
<http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/04fifty.htm>
- Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Immigration to Australia During the 20th Century – Historical Impacts on Immigration Intake, Population Size and Population Composition – A Timeline.
<http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/federation/timeline1.pdf>
- Australian Government Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities. Australian Heritage database. Graylands Migrant Reception and Training Centre (former), Lantana Av, Mount Claremont, WA, Australia. http://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl?mode=place_detail;place_id=100635
- Butler's Swamp. Monument Australia.
http://monumentaaustralia.org.au/monument_display.php?id=60269&image=0
- Convicts to Australia A Guide to Researching Your Convict Ancestors.
<http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/res-01.html>
- East Perth Cemeteries. Description of Grave: Panter, Harding, Goldwyer, Brown 1864, 1905.
<http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/graves/bio-27.htm#Top>
- Edith Cowan University. Graylands Teachers College Memorial Scholarship.
<http://www.ecu.edu.au/scholarships/scholarships-by->

[pathways/undergraduate/details/graylands-teachers-college-memorial-prize](#)

Faithfull, Arthur John. Photographs of 4 Motor Vehicles Trades Training Centre, 1943. Australian War Memorial collections.

http://www.awm.gov.au/search/collections/?mode=advanced&terms=phrase&field=related_places_text&q=Australia%3A+Western+Australia%2C+Perth%2C+Graylands

Government of Western Australia, Department of Health. Graylands Hospital.

<http://www.nursing.health.wa.gov.au/working/graylands.cfm>

Haynes, B.T., I.R. and P.M. Lantzke. *Lake Claremont Policy*. Town of Claremont, Western Australia (1992, rev. 1998).

<http://members.iinet.net.au/~mrfoster/LakePolicy1.html>

Health Directory Service – Organisation: Stubbs Terrace Hospital.

http://www.pmh.health.wa.gov.au/services/family_pathways/documents/7067.pdf

Heritage and the Town of Claremont.

http://www.claremont.wa.gov.au/Libraries/ContentDocs/Thematic_history_1.sflb.ashx

Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive. <http://hccda.anu.edu.au/>

John Curtin's Legacy: Aliens to Australians. *Land of Opportunity*.

<http://john.curtin.edu.au/legacyex/aliens.html>

John Curtin's Legacy. Families. <http://john.curtin.edu.au/legacyex/families.html>

John Curtin's Legacy. Leading Australia from War to Peace.

<http://john.curtin.edu.au/legacyex/index.html>

John XXIII College. <http://www.johnxxiii.edu.au>

Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002713027/>

Mount Claremont Primary School. <http://mountclare.schooljotter.com/About+Us>

Onthefhouse.com.au – Property Profile Report

http://www.onthefhouse.com.au/reports/property_profile/11277623/27_Alfred_Road_MOUNT_CLAREMONT_WA_6010

Perth DPS. Convicts to Australia A Guide to Researching Your Convict Ancestors. <http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/con-wa39.html#Top>

Photographs of Graylands Hostel.

<https://www.destinationaustralia.gov.au/site/search.php?clear=1&type=rec&t0=Graylands+Hostel>

Photographs of Graylands Teachers College 1972 – State Library Archives.

<http://innopac.slwa.wa.gov.au/record=b2441621>

Postcodes Australia

http://postcodes.qpzm.com.au/postcodes.cgi?search_suburb=graylands&search_state=wa&type=search&.x=21&.y=12 accessed 31.10.2012

Post-war housing crisis.

http://www.housing.wa.gov.au/HousingDocuments/Centenary_Post-war%20housing%20crisis%20sparks%20Royal%20Commission.pdf

Queensland Government Department of Housing and Public works.

<http://www.communities.qld.gov.au/housing/housing-services/social-housing>

Real Estate agencies

http://www.onthefhouse.com.au/reports/property_profile/11277623/27_Alfred_Road_MOUNT_CLAREMONT_WA_6010

<http://www.realestate.com.au/property-house-wa-claremont-111944455>

Sorrento Primary School PEAC information.

http://www.sorrentops.det.wa.edu.au/special_programs/peac/PEACmain.html

streetdirectory.com.au <http://www.street-directory.com.au/wa>

War and Peace: rationing and rebuilding. 1940s life in Cottesloe, Western Australia. <http://john.curtin.edu.au/1940s/populate/index.html>

Western Australian Amateur Football League. Terry O'Connor biography.
<http://www.waaf.com.au/history/119>

Whadjuk Trail Network, Brochures and Maps.
<http://whadjukwalkingtrails.org.au/brochures-and-maps/heritage-trails/Claremont-Meanders-Trail3.pdf>

Alison Xamon, MLC, 'Greens call for Government to come clean over Graylands future', 30 December 2012.
<http://alisonxamon.org.au/greens-call-government-come-clean-over-graylands-future>

AUDIO-VISUAL SOURCES

'Immigration nation: the secret history of us'. SBS. Directors Jacob Hickey and Ben Shackelford. Screen Australia, Film Victoria and Renegade Films (Australia) Pty. Ltd. 2010, Episode 2.
www.sbs.com.au/immigrationnation

OTHER

Personal archives.