Victoria Gardens, 361-381 High Street, Prahran

Heritage Place: Victoria Gardens Precinct
Address: 361-381 High Street, Prahran

HO Reference: HO153
Citation status: Final
Date Updated: 12 August 2024

Designer: William Sangster (1884-85), Edna Walling (1946)
Builder: Unknown

Year of Construction: 1884-1885, 1946



Photograph of Victoria Gardens entrance gate (source: Stonnington History Centre, 2020).



Location map and extent of HO153.

Heritage Group: Residential buildings
Heritage Type: Residential precinct

Key Theme: Building suburbs
Key Sub-theme: Creating public landscapes – Public health and municipal pride

Significance Level: Local

Controls:	☐	External paint controls	☐	Internal alteration controls	■	Tree controls (refer to Statement of Significance)
	☐	Include on Victorian Heritage Register	☐	Incorporated Plans	■	Outbuildings and fences not exempt
	☐	Prohibited uses may be permitted	☐	Aboriginal Heritage Place	☐	Solar energy system controls

Statement of Significance

What is significant?

The park at 361-381 High Street, Prahran (also known as Victoria Gardens), is significant. Specifically, the mature London plane (*Platanus* × *acerifolia*) trees planted around the perimeter of the oval, mature pine (*Pinus*) plantings along the perimeter of the High Street entrance, layout and landscaping of the late Victorian era urban park, along with its remnant decorative features, including the fountain, statues and rockeries is of local heritage significance. Remnant interwar improvements, including the 1927 High Street boundary fence and iron entrance gates, 1928-1929 Murray Street boundary fence and entrance gates, 1935-36 pergola and c.1947 path realignments designed by Edna Walling are also elements which contribute to the significance of the place. Later alterations and additions following this period are not significant.

How is it significant?

The Victoria Gardens is of local historical and aesthetic significance to the City of Stonnington.

Why is it significant?

The Victoria Gardens is of historical significance as a late Victorian urban park that was established in the populous area of Prahran during the boom period. Part of the Prahran Council's early program of parks and gardens, the development was tied to late nineteenth century understandings of health, which saw public parks as beneficial to residents' health and sanitation. Designed in the traditional English style, the aesthetically landscaped park not only served the recreational needs of locals, but also hosted a range of civic and entertainment activities, including outdoor performances and charity fetes. (Criterion A)

The Victoria Gardens is of aesthetic significance as a fine and intact example of a traditional English style park with sympathetic interwar era improvements. It incorporates several picturesque qualities associated with this landscape style, including curved serpentine pathways, mature London plane (*Platanus* × *acerifolia*) trees planted around the perimeter of the oval and mature pine (Pinus) plantings along the perimeter of the High Street entrance, both dating to the early to mid-twentieth century period, face red brick guttering, a central oval depression and decorative features including a three tired Renaissance style fountain, bronze pedestals and urn finials, and a prominent 'Victory' statue set atop a pedestal. These picturesque qualities are further enhanced by interwar improvements and additions, including path realignments, designed by noted landscape designer Edna Walling, allowing for wider views of the landscape, timber pergola at the High Street entrance, boundary fencing and ornate iron entrance gates at the High Street and Murray Street entrances respectively, retaining walls along the eastern edge of the sunken oval and remnant garden beds. Together, these elements combine to form an attractive landscaped public park and garden in the heart of Prahran. (Criterion E)

HERCON Criteria Assessment

A	*Importance to the course, or pattern of our cultural or natural history*	The Victoria Gardens is of historical significance as a late Victorian urban park that was established in the populous area of Prahran during the boom period. Part of the Prahran Council's early program of parks and gardens, the development was tied to late nineteenth century

		understandings of health, which saw public parks as beneficial to residents' health and sanitation. Designed in the traditional English style, the aesthetically landscaped park not only served the recreational needs of locals, but was also used for a range of civic and entertainment activities, including outdoor performances and charity fetes**.**
B	*Possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of our cultural or natural history*	This place does not meet this criterion.
C	*Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of our cultural or natural history*	This place does not meet this criterion.
D	*Important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of cultural or natural places or environments*	This place does not meet this criterion.
E	Importance *in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics*	The Victoria Gardens is of aesthetic significance as a fine and intact example of a traditional English style park with sympathetic interwar era improvements. It incorporates several picturesque qualities associated with this landscape style, including curved serpentine pathways, mature London plane (*Platanus* × *acerifolia*) trees planted around the perimeter of the oval and mature pine (*Pinus*) plantings along the perimeter of the High Street entrance, both dating to the early to mid-twentieth century period, face red brick guttering, a central oval depression and decorative features including a three tired Renaissance style fountain, bronze pedestals and urn finials, and a prominent 'Victory' statue set atop a pedestal. These picturesque qualities are further enhanced by interwar improvements and additions, including path realignments, designed by noted landscape designer Edna Walling, allowing for wider views of the landscape, timber pergola at the High Street entrance, boundary fencing and ornate iron entrance gates at the High Street and Murray Street entrances respectively, retaining walls along the eastern edge of

		the sunken oval and remnant garden beds. Together, these elements combine to form an attractive landscaped public park and garden in the heart of Prahran.
F	*Importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period*	This place does not meet this criterion.
G	*Strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons. This includes the significance of a place to Indigenous peoples as part of the continuing and developing cultural traditions*	This place does not meet this criterion.
H	*Special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in our history.*	This place does not meet this criterion.

Description

- ### Physical Analysis

Victoria Gardens is a late Victorian public park originally established between 1884-85. It fronts High Street to the south and Murray Street to the north and is accessible via footpath. As an urban park, it is surrounded by residential buildings fronting the streets of Murray Street, Trinian Street, High Street and Lewisham Road North.

Victoria Gardens was originally designed in a picturesque style with a sunken oval at the centre of the park. Stone steps and retaining walls with planter beds flanked by bronze pedestals and urn finials lead to the oval at the southern end. The northern end of the oval includes a second pair pedestals with urns and a bronze winged 'Victory' statue set atop a pedestal. The urns and statue are set along a central axis along the oval. The Victory statue is a copy of the Victory statue in Berlin, Germany commemorated to the Battle of Waterloo. A stone retaining wall with inset seating is located along the eastern side of the oval. A three-tiered circular fountain with a Renaissance design located at the head of the entrance path from High Street along the southern side of the oval.

The original symmetrical curved serpentine pathways were redesigned in 1946 to curve around the west side of the pergola and to join, off centre, the path encircling the oval. The pathways are presently laid with bitumen and edged with face red brick guttering. Garden beds surrounding the pathways throughout the park are edged with stone.

A timber pergola supported on schist rock piers and walls with inbuilt seating is located by the High Street entrance. The southwestern extent of the park includes the Lumley playground and an ANZAC memorial and flagpole consisting of a concrete laid section defined by a low masonry wall.

A paved circular parterre planted with ornamental shrubs is located at the northern extent of the park. The original circular fountain adjacent to the Murray Street entrance was repurposed as a raised garden bed.

The park features a number of significant mature trees including North American Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*), Tree Gardenia (*Gardenia thungergia*), Macadamia Nut (*Macadamia integrifolia*), Water Oak (*Quercus nigra*), and Bladder Nut (*Dispyros whyeana*). The perimeter of the oval are planted with London Plane trees (*Platanus x acerifolia*), and are of particular historical note due o their interwar provenance (see History).

The southern boundary along High Street is demarcated by a palisade fence supported on a low face basalt wall consisting of varied sized blocks creating a random pattern. The wall is recessed at the centre housing the main entrance gates. The northern boundary along Murray Street is demarcated by a palisade fence supported on a concrete foundation. The north and south entrances feature ornate wrought iron entrance gates flanked by tall, rendered masonry piers capped with a lantern.

The Victoria Gardens were extended to the north (in 1906 amd 1936) and substantially redesigned in the late 1940s. However, it retains key original features such as the sunken oval and decorative elements.

- Alterations and Additions

- Park extended to the north fronting Murray Street (1906 and 1936)
- Original fountain moved to Murray Street and subsequently decommissioned for use as a garden bed (1930)
- C.1912 heated glasshouse removed.
- Original picket fence along High Street removed and replaced with current wall (1927).
- Murray Street fence constructed (1928-1929)
- Original mound at the southeast corner removed and replaced with lawn and flowerbeds (1930)
- Pergola adjacent to the High Street entrance constructed (1935-1936).
- Rock seating on the eastern side of the oval constructed (1940-1941)
- Gardens redesigned and pathway realigned (c.1946).
- ANZAC memorial installed (1953) and recently refurbished.
- 1901 bandstand removed (1960)
- Gardeners' residence demolished (1960)
- Original terracotta urns and statue recast in bronze (1989 and 1990).
- Parterre installed adjacent to the Murray Street entrance (1990).

History

- Historical Context

The area presently known as Stonnington is the traditional home of the Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung and Bunurong peoples of the East Kulin Nation. Formerly characterised by pre-contact plains, grassy woodland, and floodplains on the banks of the Yarra River (Birrarung), Gardiners Creek (Kooyong Koot) and Hawksburn Creek (now channelised), this once thriving habitat provided Traditional Owners access to a range of water, plant, and animal resources integral to their way of life. The onset of colonialism not only saw the transformation of these landscapes, but also

Woi wurrung and Bunurong displacement through violence and land dispossession, as is evident in the establishment of George Langhorne's Aboriginal Mission Station Reserve along the southern banks of the Yarra River in present day Prahran and Toorak. Operating under the guise of 'protection', this reserve ultimately became a focal point for segregation, dislocation, and colonial control of Aboriginal people's lives (Context Pty Ltd 2009, 31).

Despite decades of ongoing dispossession, the rich cultural heritage of Traditional Owners in Stonnington has an enduring presence to this day. Through continued resistance and the passing down of Indigenous knowledge, the Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung and Bunurong people maintain an ongoing connection to, and care for Country.

European settlement in what would become the suburb of Prahran grew gradually following the 1849-1850 Crown Land Sales, which saw the subdivision of land bounded by present day Toorak Road, Orrong Road, Dandenong Road and Punt Road into fifty-one allotments (Context Pty Ltd 2009, 39). George Langhorne, the Commissioner of an 1837 Aboriginal mission in the area south of the Yarra River around Punt Hill, called this area 'Pura-ra-ran', a compound of two Bunurong words believed to mean land partially surrounded by water (O'Callaghan 1922, 54). In 1840 the name was changed to Prahran for official use.

While higher ground overlooking the Yarra to the north of Prahran was quickly acquired and settled by the colonial elite following the 1840 Crown Land Sales, the majority of present-day Prahran, being of poorly drained low-lying land characterised by wetlands, was primarily purchased by land speculators. These areas were subsequently and re-sold for farming, industry and housing the working classes. The high level of natural deposits of alluvial clay in the area meant that pockets of low-lying land were used as brickyards (Context Pty Ltd 2009, 17). By 1856, the land encompassing Prahran was primarily characterised by a scattered series of timber and brick workers cottages set on narrow allotments to the west of Williams Road, while land to the east and south remained undeveloped or in use as paddocks (Surveyor-General's Department 1856). The area was also distinguished by its strong market garden character during this period, with much of the land awaiting development being used for cultivation during the 1850s and 1860s (Malone 1983, 12).

The area underwent a period of rapid change following the 1880s land boom, which spurred the replacement of many small, mid-nineteenth century cottages with more ornate, single-fronted Victorian and Edwardian style terraces that could house the influx of factory workers as part of the area's growing brick manufacturing, food processing and textiles industries around Chapel Street and Commercial Road. Additionally, upper-middle class enclaves and mansion estates in the formerly undeveloped area of eastern Prahran were also developed to house the wealthy settling adjacent to the suburb of Armadale (Malone 2000, 20). Comprising higher ground with no major drainage problems, this area attracted comparably wealthier residents (Malone 2003, 1). These transformations were also compounded by the construction of impressively detailed shops along Chapel Street, solidifying the strip as a popular retail and commercial centre by the late nineteenth century (Allom Lovell 2000, 45).

Pockets of the suburb continued to be used as a centre for small-scale manufacturing into the early- and mid-twentieth centuries. Although business restructuring and trade liberalisation in the late twentieth century ultimately resulted in the closure and demolition of many of these factories, built remnants of this era can be seen at the c.1910 Former Kia-ora Cordial factory chimney at 181-187 High Street, Prahran and at the former milliner factory at Grattan Street,

Prahran (Context Pty Ltd 2009, 95). Today, Prahran's working-class history is best represented through the relatively modest late nineteenth and early twentieth century single fronted cottages and dwellings that dominate the suburb's building stock. Meanwhile, traces of late nineteenth century middle-class residential development are best seen in the grand Victorian dwellings adjacent to Armadale along Grandview Grove.

• Place History

The Victorian Gardens comprised Crown Portion 44 during the 1849-50 Crown Land Sales (Surveyor-General's Department 1849). Consisting of 34.5 acres of land bounded by present day Malvern Road, Williams Road, High Street and the north-south line of Lelia Street, the Lot was purchased as an investment property for land speculator R. A. Balbirnie (Malone 2001, 2). In contrast to the swampy, flood prone adjacent areas to the west, Lot 44 was naturally well-drained. Known as Balbirnie's Paddock, the Lot was portioned off and re-sold in 1851. While several buildings were subsequently erected the area surrounding the subject site, including the Wesleyan Church and Sunday School Hall and several dwellings along present day Trinian Street, the land that would later become the park remained predominantly vacant (Surveyor-General's Department 1855).



Figure 1. 1856 map showing the approximate location of present day Victoria Gardens (then predominantly vacant) in red, and scattered buildings on adjacent streets. *Source:* Public Record Office Victoria.

The most striking development took place following the sale of land belonging to the late Andrew Russell in 1884 (Nigel Lewis and Associates 1983). Encompassing present day Victoria Gardens, this land was purchased in the years following Balbirnie's initial 1851 sale. Russell left the area untended however, and by the 1880s, the land was being used as pastoral land by a grazier (Malone 2001, 2). Following Russell's death, the land was offered for sale by executors on 22 June 1884 (Nigel Lewis and Associates 1983). It was subsequently secured for 5,660 pounds by Mayor Councilor Templeton and Councilor Arkle on behalf of the City of Prahran. Bought specifically for use as public recreational gardens, the purchase incited backlash from

ratepayers, particularly those residing further away from the site who saw little benefit from the proposed development (Malone 2001, 29).

Despite public opposition, the proposed development went ahead, and in 1885, the Victoria Gardens, named after Mayor George Taylor's wife, was opened by Governor Sir Henry Loch and Lady Loch (The Colac Herald 1885, 2). Designed in the traditional English style by William Sangster, the five-acre site comprised a large oval depression in the centre and a symmetrical layout of curved paths leading from High Street to Murray Street (Nigel Lewis and Associates 1983; The Telegraph 1888, 5) (see Figure *2*). A leading landscape gardener in the late nineteenth century, William Sangster was also responsible for laying out the gardens of several noted properties, including Como House (HO26 City of Stonnington/ VHR H0205) and Ripponlea (HO36 City of Glen Eira/ VHR H0614). Other noted park features included a large Renaissance style fountain donated by Mayor George Taylor that was installed in 1888, statues and rockeries along the avenues of planted trees, as well as an elaborate wrought iron and stone fence fronting High Street (Nigel Lewis & Associates 1983; see Further Images).

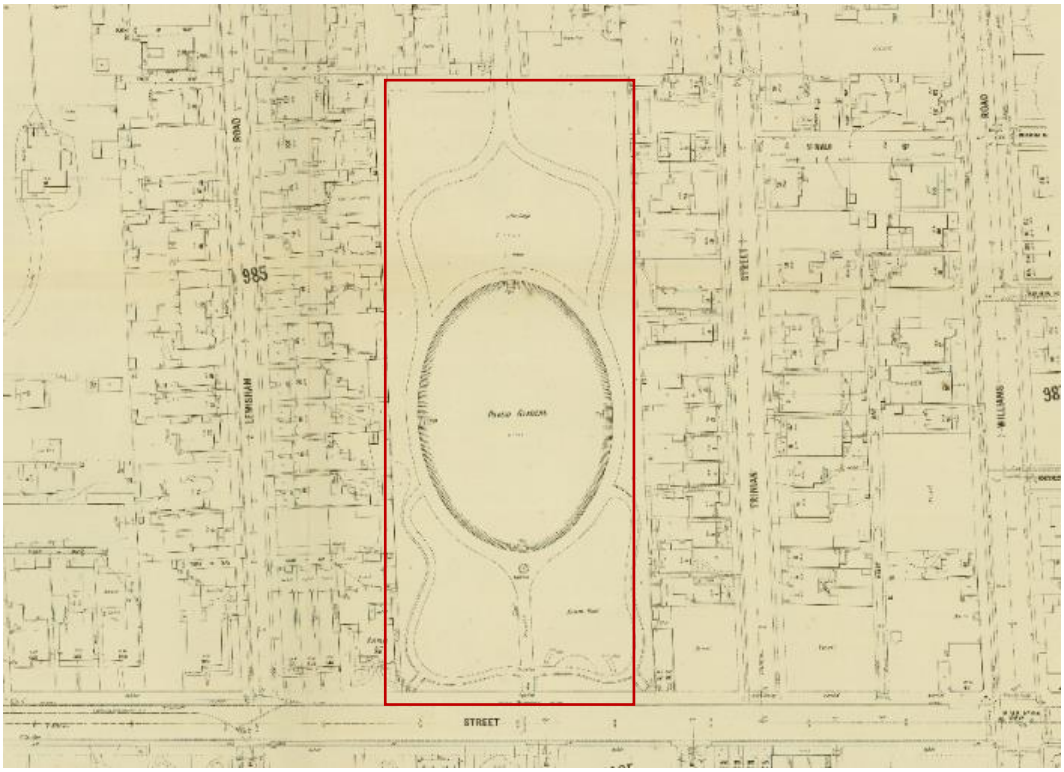


Figure 2. 1896 detail plan 985 showing Victoria Gardens in red. *Source:* State Library of Victoria.

Key additions to the Gardens following the initial 1890s period included the addition of a glasshouse, lily pond and ornamental clock in the early 1900s (Malone 2001, 20-23; Wilde 1993, 35; Malvern Standard 1912, 2; Prahran Chronicle 1905, 2; see Further Images). A now demolished rotunda was also erected in the centre of the oval in 1901, and the site became a focal point for family and community celebrations, school picnics and fundraising concerts (Context Pty Ltd 2009, 151; see Further Images). Moreover, in 1906, 50 feet of land facing Murray Street was purchased and incorporated into the Gardens. The straight path from Murray Street into the centre of the lawns was replaced with two curved paths. Meanwhile, the fountain

was moved to the Murray Street entrance between the new paths (Malvern Historical Society 2008; see Further Images).

A series of improvements also took place during the interwar period, and included the 1927 replacement of an existing picket fence along High Street with a pair of ornamental iron gates, which were hung from large, rendered piers crowned with electric lanterns (Malvern Historical Society 2008; see Further Images). The London plane (Platanus × acerifolia) tree plantings also appear to have been planted along the perimeter of the oval around this time, and are shown in a younger state in the 1931 aerial (see Figure 3). This was followed by the erection of a pair of iron gates at the Murray Street entrance in 1928-1929, as well as the installation of a pergola across the High Street entrance path in 1935-36 (Malvern Historical Society 2008). In 1936, a property on Murray Street was purchased and became the gardener's residence and the land at the rear was used as a nursery. The rock retaining wall with recesses for seats around the eastern edge of the sunken oval was constructed in 1940/4 (Malvern Historical Society 2008).



Figure 3. 1931 aerial showing Victoria Gardens in red. *Source*: Landata.

Following World War II, the gardens were re-designed by prominent landscape designer Edna Walling in 1946, who had established a reputation for incorporating stone walls and native plantings into her designs. Plantings were also added to the perimeter of the High Street entrance, including mature pine (Pinus) plantings (see Figure 4). Alterations to the park under Walling included changing the alignment of the entry path to High Street to curve around the west side of the pergola to adjoin the path encircling the oval. The garden beds were also enlarged, and the pergola was walled in and opened up. Critically, these changes allowed more expansive views of the garden upon entering (Malvern Historical Society 2008). Other mid twentieth century alterations include the addition of a ‘Field of Remembrance’ memorial along

the south-west corner of the gardens in 1953 (Malvern Historical Society 2008). The gardens were gradually run down from the 1950s, and it was not until 1989 whereby restoration works by a community group known as Friends of the Victoria Gardens commenced (Malone 2001, 20-23). Today, the substantially intact Victoria Gardens continues to remain in use as a public garden for locals and visitors alike.



Figure 4. 1951 aerial showing new plantings along the perimeter of the High Street entrance.

Comparative Analysis

As a late nineteenth century urban park, the Victoria Gardens is illustrative of Prahran Council's early program of parks and gardens in the more populous Prahran and Windsor areas during the 1880s land boom. This trend towards open green spaces was tied to nineteenth century understandings of health, which increasingly recognised the sanitary and health benefits associated with public parks (Context Pty Ltd 2009, 148). Within the City of Stonnington, there is only one substantially intact public park that was also established during the Victorian period:

- **Malvern Public Gardens, 2A Spring Road, Malvern (HO469).** Laid out by local gardener Thomas Pockett in 1888 following ongoing petitioning from what was then the Malvern Council, the Malvern Public Gardens comprises a substantially intact and aesthetic Victorian park defined by its mature plantings comprising a central avenue of oaks, a meandering path system, display shrubberies, lawns, and a pond. While larger and more impressive than Victoria Gardens owing to its Charles Robinette designed pond, grotto and fountain and diverse collection of rare, introduced plant species reflecting Victorian era tastes for strong evergreen and 'exotic' forms, it nevertheless compares in terms of its degree of intactness and late Victorian landscape character. Key analogous features include its layout

of curved pathways, expanses of lawn bordered by floral garden beds, remnant features including a fountain and rockeries, and mature evergreen plantings along the perimeter. Of the two, the Victorian Gardens is more formal in layout owing to its symmetrical plan.

The **Grattan Gardens, 40-50 Grattan Street, Prahran (not significant in HO126 Chapel Street Precinct)** was also established in the Victorian period in 1881. While it retains some remnant features, including a rotunda and central street gates, the garden landscaping has been substantially modified to include contemporary tiled garden beds and a centrally sited post-war building. The eastern extent of the former park has also been excised and developed upon.

Other extant late Victorian era parks that the subject site can be compared to are located outside of the municipality and include:

- **Barkly Gardens, Alain Bain Reserve, Coppin Street and, Mary Street, Richmond (significant in HO308 Barkly Gardens Precinct, City of Yarra).** Barkly Gardens comprises a central garden square flanked by housing that was also established during the nineteenth century. Although developed several decades prior in 1867, it nevertheless compares well as an urban park that incorporates traditional English garden features. Key comparative features include its relatively formal symmetrical layout stemming from serpentine pathways in a figure eight formation, as well as pathways lined with avenue plantings of mature oaks. It is overall less intact than the Victoria Gardens and is less ornamented owing to its absence of a formal entrance gate, civic fountains, rockeries and statues.
- **Darling Gardens, 237 Gold Street, Clifton Hill (significant in HO94 Clifton Hill Eastern Precinct, City of Yarra).** Officially laid out in the 1890s, the Darling Gardens comprises a park bisected by two diagonal asphalt paths with a basalt edge. It is comparable to the Victoria Gardens in terms of its mature deciduous trees planted along pathways and its perimeter, as well as its formal symmetrical layout. It is less akin to the picturesque style owing to its strong formality and absence of serpentine pathways and is also noticeably less intact due to the loss of several original landscaping features in the postwar period, including the grotto, rockery, and caretaker's cottage.

As the above comparative analysis has shown, Victoria Gardens comprises a substantially intact example of a Victorian era urban park. It encompasses the key characteristics associated with the traditional English public garden in the picturesque style, including curved serpentine paths, and picturesque features including statues, rockeries, fountain, and a formal entrance gate, and is readily comparative to similar examples currently included in the Heritage Overlay. Although not without alterations and additions, it is ultimately the one of the only Victorian era urban park within the municipality, along with the Malvern Public Gardens, that has retained a substantial portion of its Victorian landscape features.

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Limitations

1. Access to all heritage places was limited to a visual inspection from the public domain. The interiors of buildings and inaccessible areas such as rear gardens were not accessed as part of this heritage study.
2. Condition and site modification assessment was limited to a visual inspection undertaken from the public domain as well as desktop resources.
3. The historical notes provided for this citation are not considered to be an exhaustive history of the site.

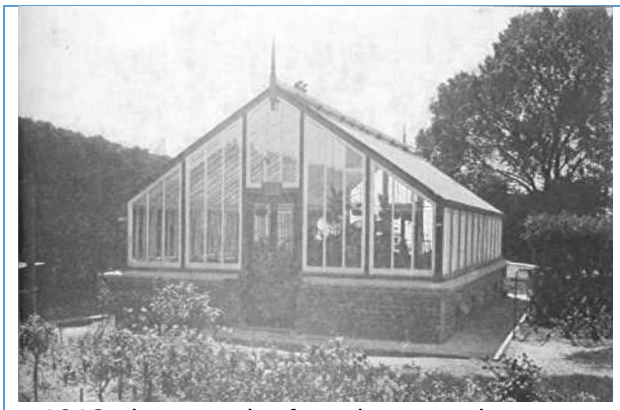
Images



c.1890 view of newly installed statue and urns at Victoria Gardens (source: Unknown. c.1890. Victoria Gardens. Graphic materials. Prahran Collections, ref no. PH2300. Stonnington History Centre).



c.1910 view of rotunda and urns at Victoria Gardens oval (source: Unknown. c.1910. High Street Gardens, Prahran, Melbourne. Graphic materials. Prahan Collections, ref no. PH12845. Stonnington History Centre).



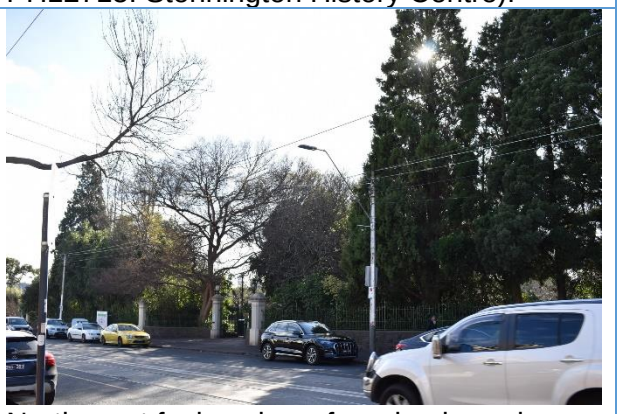
c.1913 photograph of newly erected glasshouse at Victoria Gardens (source: City of Prahran. 1912-1913. Glasshouse, Victoria Gardens, presented by Cr J.E. Morris. Graphic materials. Prahran Collections, ref no. PH9167).



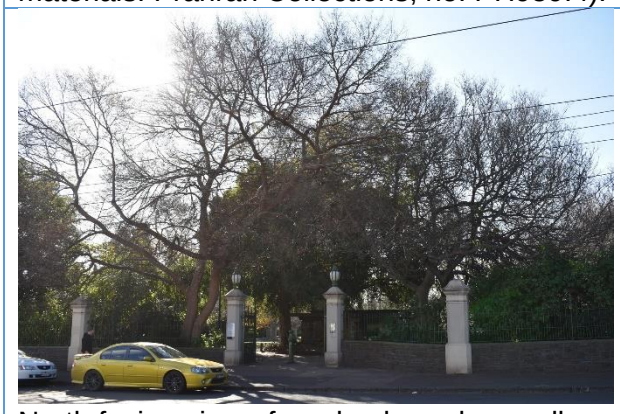
c. 1927 photograph of newly erected main entrance ornamental iron gates along High Street (source: City of Prahran. 1926-1927. Victoria Gardens main entrance. Graphic materials. Prahan Collections, ref no. PH12715. Stonnington History Centre).



c.1940 photograph of Murray Street entrance (source: City of Prahran. 1940. Victoria Gardens at Murray Street entrance. Graphic materials. Prahran Collections, no. PH959.4).



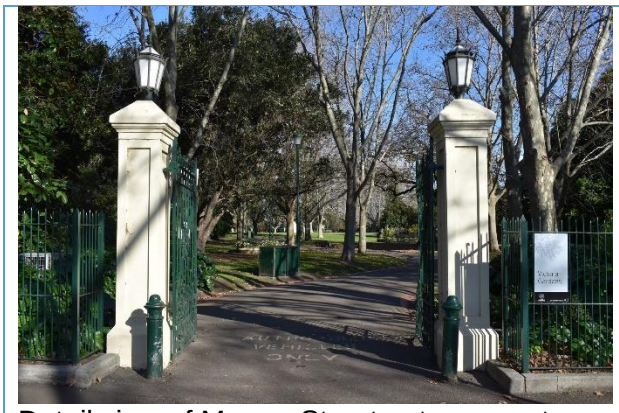
North-west facing view of garden boundary wall and plantings from High Street (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



North facing view of garden boundary wall and plantings from High Street (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



Detail view of High Street entrance gates and pergola (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



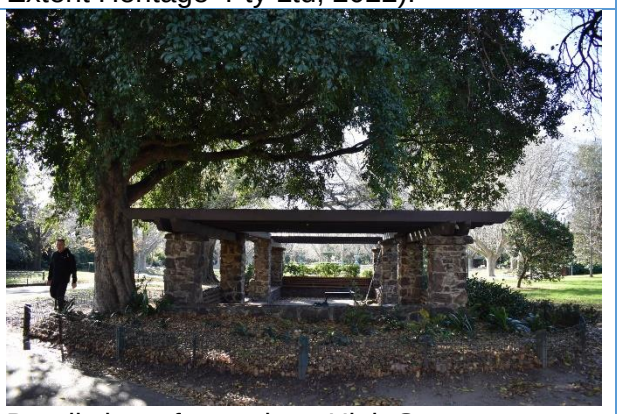
Detail view of Murray Street entrance gates (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



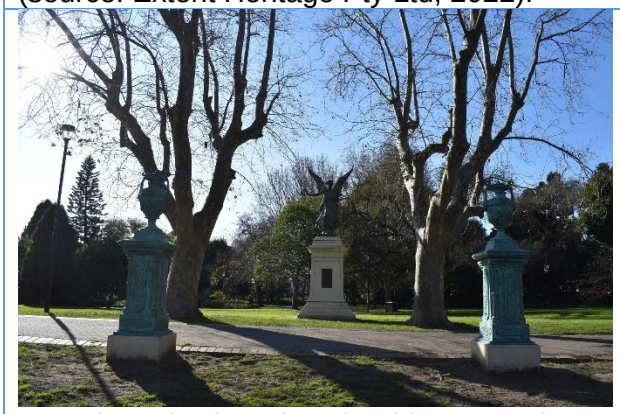
Three tiered Renaissance style fountain situated towards Murray Street (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



Detail view of pergola at High Street entrance (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



Detail view of pergola at High Street entrance (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



Overview of pair pedestals with urns and a bronze winged 'Victory' statue adjacent to oval at northern end (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



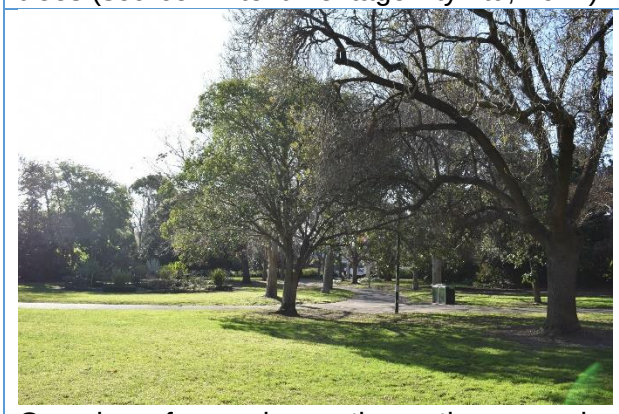
Overview of pair pedestals with urns at northern end (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



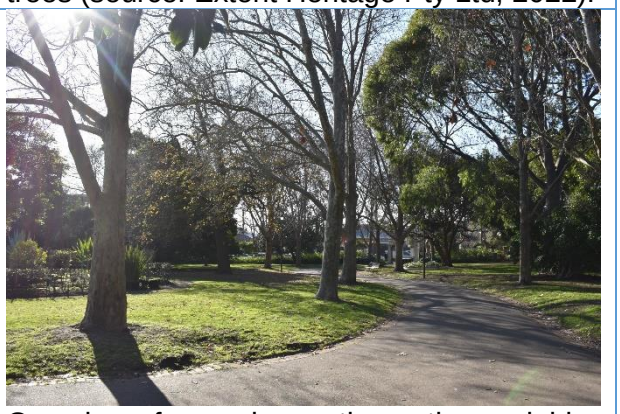
North facing overview of oval depression lined with avenues of mature London plane trees (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



North facing overview of oval depression lined with avenues of mature London plane trees (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



Overview of curved serpetine pathways and lawns (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).



Overview of curved serpetine pathways laid with bitumen (source: Extent Heritage Pty Ltd, 2022).

Authors

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