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# Former Lalor House

VHR 0211

293 CHURCH STREET RICHMOND

ADAPTIVE RE-USE WORKS FOR A PRIVATE RESIDENCE ETC

PERMIT APPLICATION

HERITAGE IMPACT STATEMENT

12 AUGUST 2016



## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

This report has been commissioned by Jeremy and Jeannie Quinn, who purchased the property from the Morton family in April 2016.

The works for which this permit is being sought is for an upgrade and alterations to the existing house for a family residence. Plans have been prepared for this by architects March Studio and this is addressed in Part 1 of the heritage impact assessment.

The owners are also redeveloping the rear of the site for apartments, and plans for this have been prepared by Padarc Architects. This will require a permit for the subdivision of the house from the rear, largely vacant, part of the allotment. This is addressed in Part 2 of this heritage impact assessment.

This heritage impact statement relates to the permit application for all the works as discussed on 20 July 2016 at Heritage Victoria offices with the owners and the two firms of architects. The extent of registration is also the subject of a formal review by Heritage Victoria.

## 2.0 HERITAGE ASSESSMENT

### 2.1 Victorian Heritage Register

The Former Lalor House is included on the Victorian Heritage Register. The Victorian Heritage Register (VHR) Number is H0211. The existing registration is only for the house, and does not extend to the whole allotment, as shown on the title. This is because it was one of the initial buildings placed on the register in 1974. Within about 10 years most registrations were made for the whole title boundary.



*c 1966 photograph [HV website and National Trust database]*

The VHR Statement of Significance is as follows:

*The Lalor residence at 293 Church Street Richmond was erected in 1888 for local medico, Dr. Joseph P Lalor, son of the celebrated Eureka Stockade leader and politician Peter Lalor. The arcaded, two storey brick, and stucco residence and surgery was designed in an original and exaggerated boom classicism style by American born, classically trained architect William George Wolf. The Lalor residence is an early career masterpiece of unknown but important boom period architect W G Wolf. The exemplary boom style classicism design, characterised by an innovative exaggerated use of massive classical motifs, harsh tonality and exuberant ornament, is rivalled only by Benvenuta at Carlton and Labassa at Caulfield for period architectural importance in Victoria. Peter Lalor died at this house in February 1889 after a short stay in confinement.*

*The Lalor residence and surgery has been used by the medical profession continuously from 1888-1973. The building remains intact and of high integrity externally. The iron palisade fence is preserved. The interior has not been closely inspected. –*

Reference HV website -

<http://vhd.heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/places/66998#sthash.2kwBlnOz.dpuf>

## 2.2 National Trust Heritage Register

The former Lalor House was classified on 10 March 1966, one of the earliest classifications for such a Boom Style building. The classification represented a broadening of the criteria adopted by the Trust at that time, 10 years after the Trust was founded.

The File Number is B 1093, and the Statement of Significance is the same as that adopted by the Victorian Heritage Register, see above.

It was among the properties that Rodney Davidson negotiated with Rupert Hamer and Allan Hunt in 1974 to include on the initial Register of Historic Buildings, under the provisions of the *Historic Buildings Act 1974*.

## 2.3 History

**1854:** Peter Lalor was the leader of the Eureka Stockade. Lalor married Alicia Dunne in 1855, and they had two children Annie born 1856 at Prahran, and Joseph Peter born at Port Melbourne in 1858.<sup>1</sup>

**1868:** The Lalor family moved to Goodwood Street Richmond from 1868. The children grew up there, staying until 1875, in a house designed by Lloyd Tayler. This was located on the south side extending to Rowena Parade, near the crest of Richmond Hill. This large house was set on a large allotment where Fordholm Court is now located, and was entitled *St Margaret's* in 1896. A Tudor style house, with an octagonal entrance hall with a roof lantern, its garden was described as 'one of the most handsome in the colony, with ornamental summer house and apiary, with handsome terrace under...'.<sup>2</sup> Peter Lalor moved in 14 years after the Eureka Stockade, and he lived there whilst being an MLA and a director of several gold mines, including a major mine at Clunes.

**1880:** Peter Lalor, as a prominent politician, was appointed speaker of the Legislative Assembly, a position he held until 1887, when his wife died. His daughter Annie Lempriere had died earlier in 1885.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <http://peopleaustralia.anu.edu.au/biography/lalor-joseph-peter-joe-15208>

<sup>2</sup> Miles Lewis, Melbourne Mansions Database, <http://fmpro.arbld.unimelb.edu.au/melbmansions/>

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix Two

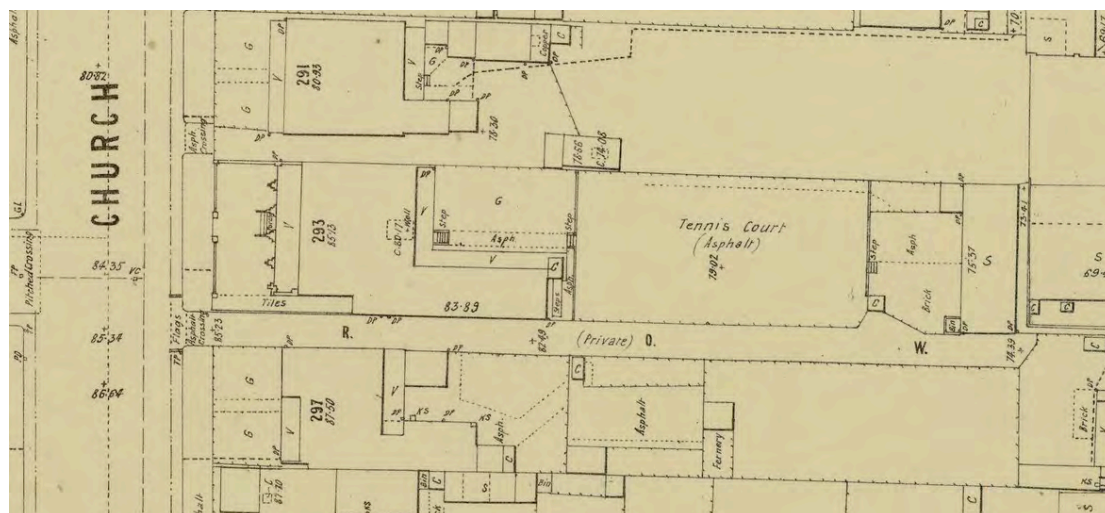
**1888:** The house at 293 Church Street was built for Dr. Joseph Peter Lalor (1858 – 1907) when he was 30. Peter Lalor died in the new house in 1989 after returning ill from an overseas trip.<sup>4</sup>

It is assumed Dr. Joseph Peter Lalor attended Xavier College, the school his sons attended.<sup>5</sup> One of them was Captain Joe Lalor who was born in 1884 and who died at Gallipoli in 1915. Another was a medical and mental health practitioner Dr. Peter Lalor (1888 – 1927).<sup>6</sup>

293 Church Street was designed by American born, classically trained architect William George Wolf. He worked with Lloyd Tayler when he arrived in Melbourne in 1877, and the Lalor house was one of his first commissions after he established his own practice. He may have been referred to Lalor junior by Tayler. Wolf had a prolific few years practising in Melbourne before the land boom crash forced him interstate, first to NSW, then to WA where he had a productive period designing some important buildings there.<sup>7</sup>

The house was purpose built as a doctor's residence with two entrances. The main entry was centrally located on the main facade, and the set back side entrance was for the doctor's surgery located on the setback projecting south wing which included the rear service wing. The house was built at the western extremity of the site with a small front garden, and a small rear garden contained by the main section of the house and the service wing.

**1898:** The MMBW Detail Plan for the house shows the external plan as it would have been likely to have been built, the house being only 10 years old.



MMBW Detail Plan No 1060 [SLV]

This plan shows the rear courtyard garden being set 6 risers down from the verandah. A cellar with external steps was located adjoining the NE corner of the service wing, and was accessed from the lane on the south side of the allotment. This private right of way between 293 and 297 extended the full depth of both allotments with a recessed gateway entry for 293. This laneway was clearly created to mainly service 293, as 297 did not have rear stables, or any indication of an entry. The small rear garden of 293 allowed room for an asphalt tennis court at the rear, a further 4 risers down from the garden and a stables yard at the rear of the allotment. Brick stables extended the width of the block, and were about 5 metres deep.

**1896:** Dr. Lalor left the house, and Dr. David Murray Morton began general practice from the house until 1909, when he relinquished general practice. He then became a prominent

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> <http://peopleaustralia.anu.edu.au/biography/lalor-joseph-peter-joe-15208>

<sup>6</sup> <http://peopleaustralia.anu.edu.au/biography/lalor-peter-15207>

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix One



surgeon.<sup>8</sup>

**1907:** Dr. Joseph Peter Lalor died on 2 September 1907, 'at his residence, "Lyndoch," Church Street, Richmond' (address not identified). The funeral was held at St Ignatius on 4 September and he was buried the Melbourne General Cemetery, where his father was buried.<sup>9</sup>

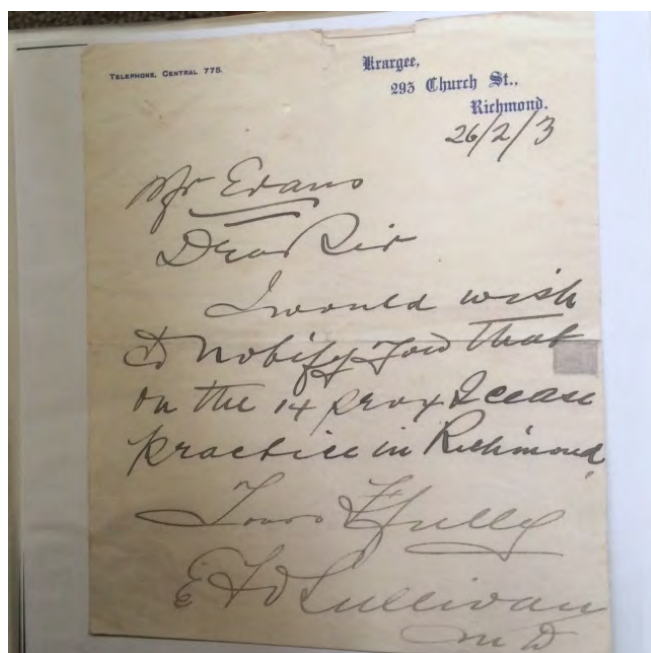
**1909/1911:** Dr. Edward Francis O'Sullivan commenced practice from 293<sup>10</sup>

1911: There was a court case where Dr. O'Sullivan sued Dr. Morton for damages.<sup>11</sup> This appears to indicate that O'Sullivan became the owner somewhere between 1909-1911.

1913: 25 February – solicitor's receipt for 204 pounds 4 shillings for 'full settlement of all claims and demands' related to the proceedings between Dr. O'Sullivan and Dr. Morton.<sup>12</sup>

1921: 18 April – receipt for 3 guineas from J.W. Fenton solicitor to Mrs. F.E. O'Sullivan for 'drawing of contract of sale with Dr. Ley and acting in the matter generally'<sup>13</sup>

**1923?:** Letter from D. O'Sullivan to a patient advising that he is ceasing practice in Richmond.



**1923-1930's:** Dr. Ley practiced at 293<sup>14</sup>

**1930's -40's:** The house became a boarding house,<sup>15</sup> the fate of many large 19<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>8</sup> Kenny, Sir Patrick, *The Founders of the Royal Australasian College of Surgeons*, Royal Australasian College of Surgeons, Melbourne 1984, pp. 29-30

<sup>9</sup> *The Argus* 3 September 1907 (Trove)

<sup>10</sup> Great grand daughter of Dr. O'Sullivan, pers. comm. to Jeannie Quinn, April 2016, the great grand daughter of Dr. O'Sullivan, contacted her and told her that O'Sullivan had renamed the property "Krangee" after his country property in the Riverina area. She also stated that Dr. Ley took over after Dr. O'Sullivan. She is also the source of the written documents cited, including the letter stating that O'Sullivan ceased practice in Richmond. It was not written in 1903 as he was not in practice in Richmond until 1909.

<sup>11</sup> *The Age* Melbourne, 2 June 1911

<sup>12</sup> see footnote 10

<sup>13</sup> see footnote 10

<sup>14</sup> see footnote 10

<sup>15</sup> pers. Comm., Morton family to Jeannie Quinn, April 2016

mansions in Melbourne at that time. The fall from favour of such architectural styles and the impact of the Great Depression were major factors for this trend. The medical surgery was retained, however.



*1945 Aerial photograph, this appears to show the tennis court and original stables, but with a large tree overhanging the tennis court on the north side, and possibly a large tree in the rear garden of the house [University of Melbourne archives]*

**1953:** Gordon Morton, a Richmond councilor from 1954 to 1960, purchased the house for 11,000 pounds, 'in a run down state with ivy growing all over it'.<sup>16</sup> It retained its use as a medical surgery until 1973.

**1954 – 2016:** Gordon Morton and his family occupied the house and much work was undertaken to return it to a family home. Internally the kitchen was substantially altered and modernised, as were all the bathrooms. Major changes were made to the décor, and many ceilings were replaced.

Externally major changes were made to the elevated garden terrace that is contained by the house. The ground level was raised by at least 1 metre to match the verandah floor level to create a concrete deck to provide the surrounds for a new swimming pool. The north-south verandah at the rear of the main section of the house was completely rebuilt as a wider, single storey structure in place of the original narrow two storey verandah. Changes were also made to the two storey east-west verandah that provided access to rooms in the service wing. The brick walls adjoining both verandahs were painted, and some changes were made to window openings.

The asphalt tennis court and fencing were replaced with lawn with a garden border. The large tree was retained, but later died and the main branches were removed. The stables at the rear were demolished, other than for a small section of wall at the north end of the east boundary, and new single storey out buildings constructed in the stable yard.



<sup>16</sup> *Clarion*, Richmond, 21 September 1983 held in NT files

A local history enthusiast, Morton featured in many articles about the house, and ensured it had a public profile. He was a member of the Urban Conservation Advisory Committee in 1983 - 1984 that oversaw the Richmond Conservation Study the council commissioned, which was completed in January 1985. This was at a time when the house had been erroneously claimed to be the home of Peter Lalor.<sup>17</sup>

## **2.4 Review of significance**

### **2.4.1 Introduction**

The current statement of significance does not adequately address the foregoing history, or the integrity of this place. These matters have been reviewed in this section and a suggested revised statement of significance concludes this section.

**Attachment One - Existing Conditions Survey** provides a detailed record of the integrity of the property. This survey provides the basis for the heritage impact assessment for both proposals, and is summarised below.

### **2.4.2 External integrity of the house and grounds**

Refer existing conditions plans for room numbers

#### **a. Principal facades**

The architectural character of the main street facades provides the key attribute for the heritage basis for the listing of this building, as well as the association with Peter Lalor. This is a landmark building in Church Street.

Overall, and the integrity as seen from Church Street is high. It is likely, however, to have had urns along the balustrade parapet.

The grandeur of the façade is enhanced by the patina of the unpainted render. It is now a rare survivor for a significant building in Melbourne when many unpainted very significant rendered buildings have been degraded by so-called restoration works. These include the South Melbourne Town Hall, the Trades Hall, the dome of the State Library and the former Conways Bakery in Johnston Street Collingwood.

Some restoration of the render is required, and the key issues are the structural integrity of members supported by corroded iron lintels.

The colour of the green paint has changed over years – it used to be a darker green in the 1970s, and is not original. There would probably have been dark colours and possibly some woodgraining.

The verandah interior spaces, Rooms 1 and 22, are also very intact at ground level, and partially at first floor level, as the floor and ceilings have been sheeted over.

The main section of the house has retained its slate roof, but the service wing has a corrugated iron roof. The whole roof is in very poor condition. The five original moulded rendered chimneys remain.

The original landscaping of the front garden would have been more elaborate.

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<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

The cement wash on the brickwork on the side walls may have been applied at a later date.

#### **b. Rear facades**

Only one wall is intact, the east wall of the service wing, although the return verandah has been removed from part of this wall.

The two storey north-south verandah of the main wing shown in the 1898 plan below has been demolished and replaced with a single storey verandah of a completely different, and wider design, with pseudo historic detailing.

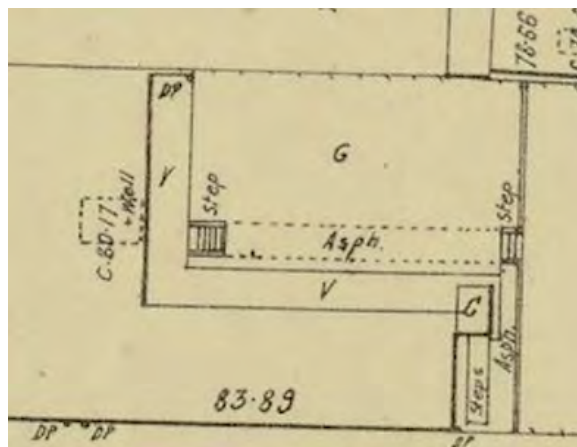
The east-west verandah has been substantially altered including the substantial loss of original sections at both ends. It has major structural problems, and the whole structure has dropped by at least 200mm at the east end.

The face brickwork of the north wall of this wing and the rear wall of the main wing of the house have had the painted. New openings have been made to the ground level of the service wing.

These two facades have been subject to numerous changes and they do not have a high degree of integrity.

#### **c. Rear garden of the house**

This private rear courtyard garden has been completely changed. The garden level was 1.184 metres below the main floor level of the house, as shown in the following detail from the 1898 MMBW plan, labelled 'G'. This shows two sets of gardens stairs linked by an asphalt path. It also shows the original verandah plan. A swimming pool now fills most of this space, surrounded by new elevated concrete slab about 0.100 metres below the floor level of the house. The 1898 plan shows a coal or wood cellar with steps leading down from near the right of way.



#### **e. Former tennis court**

The basic formation of the tennis court remains unchanged, but the asphalt surface and netting fence has been removed. There is still a step down to the area where the stables yard was located.

#### **d. Outbuilding compound**

The stables yard has been substantially altered, with the stables demolished other than for a short section of boundary wall. An extensive single storey brick outbuilding has replaced the stables. The brick and asphalt paving shown in 1898 has been fully or substantially removed, but the fence line to the tennis court has been retained.



### 2.4.3 Internal integrity

#### a. Main wing ground floor - Rooms 2 - 8

The principal features have been retained for the main living rooms and surgery– doors, window and other joinery; decorative glazing; plaster walls, some ceilings and moulded cornices and archways; and marble overmantels. The marble overmantels and stairs are intact. Several ceilings have been replaced. No decorative finishes have survived.

#### b. Main wing first floor – Rooms 21, 23 - 25

The principal features have been retained for all the bedrooms and bathroom on the main level of the first floor – doors, window and other joinery; decorative glazing; plaster walls, some moulded cornices, and archways. The marble overmantels and stairs are intact. However, all the ceilings have been replaced, and no decorative finishes have survived.

#### c. Service wing ground floor – Rooms 9 - 16

This wing comprises a series of rooms that have undergone considerable change. The breakfast room is the only exception, retaining the fireplace with its marble overmantel, and archway into the vestibule that may have been a butler's pantry. The kitchen has been completely transformed and major change made to the chimney breast that served the kitchen range. The service entrance from the laneway was a vestibule with a lower floor, and has now been converted to a pantry. The former scullery has been converted to a meals area, with the original pantry opening off it used for a store. The other door from the scullery opens to a vestibule from the verandah, and is now a laundry. Underneath the servants stairs is a bathroom that may have been the original laundry.

Apart from the breakfast room and original pantry, these rooms now have a low level of integrity with no remnant fittings.

#### d. Rear servants stairs

They were built to enable the servants to reach their bedrooms directly from the vestibule entrance from the laneway. They were not designed to provide separate access to the main bedrooms as is the case for most service stairs. This indicates a more egalitarian attitude to servants. This is the most intact internal space in the whole house with respect to finishes, retaining the original marbled wall finish and painted dado, as well as very intact stairs.

#### e. Service wing first floor – Rooms 26 - 28

This comprises three servant's bedrooms that open directly off the verandah, set two steps lower than the first floor rooms of the main wing. They are very modest, and have remained basically unchanged, apart from décor.

### 2.4.4 Review of statement of significance

The existing statement of significance is the same as the 1966 National Trust classification citation. The VHR Statement of Significance should now be amended as follows to take account of the significant values of the whole allotment, and the review of the history and integrity provided by this Heritage Impact Statement.

### **What is significant?**

*The former Lalor House, 293 Church Street Richmond, was erected in 1888 as a family residence and surgery for Joseph Peter Lalor. He was the medical practitioner son of the celebrated Eureka Stockade leader and politician Peter Lalor, who died in this house in February 1889 after a short confinement.*

*Dr. Lalor only lived in the house until 1896, before moving to another house, Lyndoch, also in Church Street. It was subsequently owned and occupied by a series of doctors who practiced there, and known for a time as Krargee. It became a boarding house in the 1930s and was bought by Richmond councillor Gordon Morton in 1953. His family retained ownership until 2016, and the surgery was leased to a local doctor until 1973.*

*The arcaded, two storey brick, and stucco residence and surgery was designed in an original and exaggerated boom classicism style by American born and classically trained architect William George Wolf. The Lalor residence was an early career masterpiece of Wolf, an important boom period architect, designed shortly after spending 10 years working with Lloyd Tayler.*

*The exemplary boom style classicism design, is characterised by an innovative exaggerated use of massive classical motifs, harsh tonality and exuberant ornament. It is rivalled only by Benvenuta at Carlton and Labassa at Caulfield for its boom period architectural importance to Victoria. It was built in the form of a town house built to both side boundaries, with a small front garden and private rear courtyard garden. The rear of the site was quite separate, being solely occupied by a tennis court and stables yard.*

*The building remains intact and of high integrity externally on the elevations visible from Church Street, including the iron palisade fence. The rear courtyard garden and rear service wing have been substantially altered, the stables demolished and tennis court replaced with lawn.*

*The main rooms of the interior are substantially intact, but the service rooms have all been altered.*

### **How is it significant?**

*The former Lalor House, is of historical and architectural significance to the State of Victoria.*

### **Why is it significant?**

*The former Lalor House, has historical significance for its association with prominent Eureka Stockade leader and politician Peter Lalor, and the Lalor family. It is of significance as a grand family home that incorporated a doctor's surgery, and for this combined use that continued until 1973.*

*The house has architectural significance as one of the best surviving houses in Victoria of this boom style classicism, and for its unpainted cement render.*

*It is an outstanding example of a boom style mansion in Melbourne. It is significant as an important early work of the prominent boom era architect William George Wolf.*

### 3.0 PART ONE: RESTORATION AND UPGRADE OF THE HOUSE

#### 3.1 Proposed works

This heritage impact statement has been prepared to assess the heritage impact of the proposed works designed by March Studio, as outlined below. In summary they are as follows:

##### ***External works***

New openings in the north wall of the service wing to allow expanded areas for an informal ground floor living area and first floor master bedroom;  
removal of the adjoining east-west section of the verandah and building a glazed enclosure and screen;  
rebuilding the north-south verandah with screen to its original two storeys, but with the increased width of the current verandah to form a new kitchen;  
replacement of the existing swimming pool with a landscaped terrace with a basement living area and garage beneath;  
roofing replacement;  
low intervention conservation of all the external render; and  
painting external joinery and iron fence in a new colour.

##### ***Internal works***

Internal wall removals in service wing on both levels;  
removal of doorway and enlarged opening between existing Room 3 and Room 9;  
removal of part of the west wall of the servants' stairs, while retaining the stairs and finishes on remaining walls; and  
removal of wall between existing Room 25 and Room 26.

Apart from preceding item, changes to the interior of the main section of house will be minimal, comprising repainting of non-original surfaces, upgrade bathrooms.

These works are shown on drawings prepared by March Studio, Project 1617, Drawing Package issued for Heritage Victoria: all Rev. A and dated 12 August 2016.

A001	Title and location plan	
A002	Land survey	1:200
A010	Existing site plan	1:150
A011	Existing plan - ground	1:150
A012	Existing plan - first floor	1:150
A021	Existing elevation - north	1:150
A022	Existing elevation - south	1:150
A023	Existing elevation - east	1:150
A024	Existing elevation - west	1:150
A041	Existing plan- ground floor demolition	1:150
A042	Existing plan- first floor demolition	1:150
A100	Proposed site and roof plan	1:100
A101	Proposed plan – basement	1:100
A102	Proposed plan – ground	1:100
A103	Proposed plan – first floor	1:100
A130	Proposed excavation plan	1:100
A201	Elevation – north	1:100
A202	Elevation – south	1:100
A203	Elevation – east	1:100
A204	Elevation – west	1:100
A302	Section	1:100
A820	Material schedule	1:100

## 3.2 Heritage impact assessment

### *External works*

#### *New openings in the north wall of the service wing*

These new openings are required to allow adequate space for the informal living area and master bedroom, as well as northern sunlight. There are no other opportunities for the north sun to enter the house. No other new external openings are proposed.

This will have a heritage impact, but this will be more than offset by the conservation of the most significant elements of the house – see below.

The brickwork to be removed is not intact, as it has already been painted, and new windows have been inserted at ground level.

A section will be retained around the servants stair doorway at the eastern end, and a section at the western end, and the paint will be removed from all the remaining painted brickwork.

Given that minimal changes are to be made to the most significant facades of the house, the changes previously made to the rear of the house, and the need to provide an upgraded standard of accommodation in this area with natural light, the heritage impact is considered acceptable.

#### *Removal of building the adjoining east-west section of the verandah*

This will involve the removal of the remaining sections of the east-west verandah, as well as the wider single storey north-south verandah dating from the 1950s or 1960s. The 1950s or 1960s verandah construction led to the adjoining section of the original east-west verandah to be demolished, or rebuilt. The section that extended past the service wing with a short return has also been demolished. The remnant section had been further altered with the replacement of the ground floor with concrete at a higher level, and the removal of all decorative detailing, brackets and balustrading, and the installation of a new solid balustrade with metal cladding. Furthermore it has dropped about 200 mm at the east end and is structurally unsound.

Given the low level of integrity and poor condition of this remnant section of verandah, the heritage impact is considered acceptable. Before demolition there will be a detailed recording made of the existing verandah.

#### *Building a glazed two storey enclosure with first floor screen in place of the existing east-west verandah, and a glazed two storey volume enclosure with first floor screen in place of the existing north-south verandah*

The new east-west structure will provide an extension to the ground floor living area and first floor master bedroom, with a walkway to the retained servants stairs. This will provide room sizes that are commensurate to the use of these important rooms.

The new north-south structure will replace the existing single storey verandah, and will re-establish the two storey nature of the missing north-south verandah. It will involve a first floor extension to the ground floor brick wing wall. It will retain the existing width of the single storey verandah, and provide a space for the construction of the new kitchen, with the whole restored east wall exposed in a soaring space above it. The framing and metal screen will have a black finish to provide a complementary colour to the restored brickwork.

The changes of the rear of the house will make a strong and well resolved architectural expression that will provide a dramatic response to the grandeur of the main part of the house. They will bring important functions back to this degraded and neglected section. However, these changes will not be visible from Church Street, other than the wing wall extension. Even views from the right of way will be very limited once the rear of the site is developed, and landscaping is in place. March Studio is a young and interesting practice. It has undertaken

many projects in Victoria, as well as Canberra and Paris, and has been the recipient of many awards.

#### *Replacement of the existing swimming pool with landscaped terraces over a basement living area and garage*

This area has been completely altered and possess little if any heritage value. The main proposed changes are the replacement of the pool with a terrace at a similar level as the existing pool surround. This represents a major improvement over the existing swimming pool area. There will be a narrow sunken garden along the northern boundary, which will extend down to the home theatre under the terrace, and allow landscaping to provide screen planting along the northern boundary. Behind the service wing a higher terrace will be built, 1200 mm higher, to serve the adjoining swimming pool on the northern boundary. This increased height allows clearance for a garage beneath, and avoids the need for an extensive pool fence. This raised structure will abut the service wing for about 2000 mm, the rest of the wing will adjoin a narrow garden and bin enclosure. This new structure will only have little if any heritage impact. The most important aspect is the landscaped strip along the whole of the proposed new eastern boundary. When suitably planted, it will screen the proposed apartments, and soften the view of the proposed rear development from Church Street.

#### *Roofing replacement*

The slate roof will be replaced with new slate where it is visible from Church Street. All other roof surfaces will be replaced with natural galvanised corrugated iron.

#### *Low intervention conservation of the external render*

Conservation works will be limited to treating defective iron lintels and repairing damage caused by them. An analysis of the render more generally will be undertaken to assess the minimum work required to ensure the longevity of the render. It is not proposed to reconstruct missing elements at this stage. All chimneys are to be retained. The rear chimney will be supported by steel within the roof space.

#### *Conservation of brickwork*

Brickwork will be repointed in matching mortar as required. Existing cement washes will be retained. Paint will be removed from face brickwork using suitable methods.

#### *External doors to the lane*

They will be retained, but locked in a closed position, with fixed glazing to weatherproof and protect them.

#### *Painting external joinery and iron fence*

Paint analysis will be undertaken to establish early colours. This information will be used to determine a policy basis for new colour schemes.

### ***Internal works***

#### *Internal wall removals in service wing on both levels*

On the ground floor, walls between Rooms 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 16 will be removed. The doorway between existing Room 3 and Room 9 will be removed, and the opening enlarged. The pantry shelves in Room 14 will be removed.



On the first floor, part of west wall of the servants' stairs will be removed, while retaining the stairs and finishes on remaining walls. The wall between existing Room 25 and Room 26 will be removed, including the built in wardrobe in Room 26.

The early but, not original, built in cabinet from Room 8, the former surgery, will be removed as there is no other place for a ground level bathroom.

Given that minimal changes are to be made to the most significant rooms of the house, the changes previously made to the rear of the house, and the need to provide an upgraded standard of accommodation in this area, the heritage impact is considered acceptable.

Apart from preceding items, changes to main section of house to be minimal. The works will include restoration of missing plaster ceilings, repainting of non-original surfaces, and upgrading bathrooms. All overmantels to fire places will be retained.

Original joinery will be retained, and all leaded glazing restored.

*Where all changes are to be made, interpretation will be used to balance the loss of fabric. Interpretation in the form of professional quality photography will be used to illustrate and interpret fabric of significance that are to be removed or compromised in the process of adaptive reuse. This photography will be lodged with Heritage Victoria, and also held on site in a proposed interpretive display.*

## **4.0 PART TWO: SUBDIVISION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE REAR OF THE SITE**

### **4.1 Subdivision**

It is proposed to create a subdivision to form one allotment with the existing house and 9 metres of land behind the service wing wall to comprise, and the balance of the rear of the site to form the second allotment.

### **4.2 Proposed development**

Demolition of the outbuildings, and excavation of the tennis court formation.  
Construction of six townhouses.

These works are shown on drawings prepared by Padarc Architects, Job PAD039, and all dated 15 August 2016.

HV.00 cover page,  
HV.02 Existing elevations,  
HV.03 Existing elevations,  
HV.04 Proposed site plans and elevations,  
HV.05 Proposed floor plans and analysis,  
HV.06 Proposed floor plans and analysis,  
HV.07 Proposed floor plans and elevations,  
HV.08 Proposed elevations

### **4.3 Heritage impact assessment**

#### **4.3.1 Subdivision**

The existing Statement of Significance is concerned only with the cultural heritage values of the house, and the current registration only includes the house. The suggested revised Statement of Significance notes that the house was built in the style of a town house. The tennis court and stables formed a separate entity from the house and its private rear courtyard garden. The tennis court made an abrupt termination to the curtilage of the house.

The changes to the tennis court have reduced its heritage values and now only the formation survives. The major changes to the stables area have further eroded the heritage values of this part of the site. The development of the adjoining sites in the 1960s or 1970s replaced the houses shown in the 1898 MMBW plan shown above. These extremely large developments have had a major impact on the aesthetic values of the whole site, and the rear section in particular.

The 9 metre setback for the subdivision is much greater than the existing 2.68 metres that currently separates the house from the tennis court. This retains a substantial curtilage for the house, and will read as a normal rear garden area.

Whether or not the whole site is included in the registration, the subdivision of this part of the site for a separate residential development will have little if any heritage impact on the values of the former Lalor House.

#### **4.3.1 Proposed development**

The demolition of the outbuildings constructed in the 1950s will have no heritage impact. It is proposed to keep part of the remaining section of the 1888 stables wall as a boundary wall, the demolition of the remaining original section will have only a minor heritage impact.

The changes to the tennis court formation, by cutting and filling, will also only have a minor heritage impact.

While the construction of six townhouses will represent a major change to the development pattern of the site, it should be considered in the site context of the adjoining developments. The limited view of this development from Church Street is the key issue of concern.

The landscaping of the strip of land across the site will allow screening vegetation to define the end of the land retained by the house. More importantly, it should be able to provide substantial screening of the new development from Church Street.

The development of the rear of the site will help enable expensive conservation works to be undertaken on the house, and to ensure its long term future.

Accordingly, the heritage impact for the new development is considered to be acceptable.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

### **Part one: Restoration and upgrade of the house**

The main features of the house that form the basis of its significance will not be subject to any change that will impact on this significance.

The heritage impact will be limited to the rear section of the house that has been greatly reduced by 1950s – 1960s works.

The forgoing assessment has established that this proposal will have an acceptable heritage impact.

### **Part two: Subdivision and development of the rear of the site**

The proposed subdivision will have little if any heritage impact on the values of the whole place.

The demolition of the outbuildings and tennis court formation will have little if any heritage impact on the values of the whole place.

The construction of the new units will make only a minor impact on views of the house as seen from Church Street, and are consistent with the development of adjoining sites.

The forgoing assessment has established that this proposal will have an acceptable heritage impact.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Nigel Lewis', with a stylized, cursive script.

NIGEL LEWIS  
12 August 2016

## APPENDIX ONE WILLIAM WOLF BIOGRAPHY

'William George Wolf (1855-1925)', Western Australian Architect Biographies, prepared by Dr John J. Taylor October 2010, Australian Institute of Architects, WA chapter  
<http://www.architecture.com.au/docs/default-source/wa-notable-buildings/wolf-william.pdf?sfvrsn=0>



*William George Wolf (Battye, J.S., Cyclopedia of Western Australia, Vol.1, 1912, p.636)*

Wolf, William George (1855-1925) was born 21 November 1855 in New York, where his father, highly likely to be of German origin, was involved in building work. Of all the ports of arrival in the USA, New York was by far the most active in terms of immigration at this time, and Germans made up a great percentage of the new arrivals in the 1850s – reaching nearly 50% in 1854. Later in life, Wolf noted that he was educated at Fort Lee in New Jersey, and then perhaps using language skills derived from his parents, at Heidelberg, Germany, where he ‘obtained his diploma as an architect’, although this claim is questionable given that there was no architectural education facility at Heidelberg. Moving to London, Wolf worked for a period in the office of Hewitt & Son in Euston Road. He migrated to Australia in 1877, working in Melbourne for Lloyd Tayler as a draftsman before progressing to independent practice. He first appeared in Melbourne directories in 1878, and was initially based at Richmond. Wolf completed a number of substantial hotels and coffee houses including the Grand Hotel at Burnley, the Auburn Hotel, the Family Hotel in Portarlington, and many villas, shops and terrace houses - including the Lalor House, Church Street Richmond in 1888; Nathan’s Terrace, Wellington & Shields Streets Flemington in 1889; and the Hawthorn mansion ‘Abergeldie’ in c.1890. Wolf took George Lewis into partnership at Collins Street in 1890, the commencement of what was to be a disastrous economic period in Victoria. ‘The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne’ in the 1880s and 1890s is renowned. Consequently Wolf moved to Sydney around 1892, where business activity also suffered a major decline, and from there to Western Australia’s gold boom in Perth, arriving 1 April 1896 with only £7 to support his family. Wolf was soon in business, with note of his important design for the McNess Arcade published in May 1896. This first substantial commission in Perth was followed with the laying of foundation stones for the impressive Brisbane Street Jewish Synagogue in October 1896, and the Swan River Mechanics Institute, Hay Street during June 1898.

Despite his initial success, Wolf’s tenuous financial position continued in Perth, and he was declared a bankrupt. By August 1898 he had six children aged from fourteen to two years old, and an outbreak of typhoid had led to major illness within his family. Attempting to explain his circumstances in the Supreme Court, Wolf claimed he had been unable to work for a period of eighteen weeks, and that his wife and children had been unwell for five months in total. Wolf’s major client Charles McNess had to employ another person to supervise completion of the Royal Arcade, finished in 1897. At the time of his bankruptcy Wolf owed around £470, most borrowed at exorbitant rate from money lender Albert Shaw. Wolf’s deposition to the court revealed he had been a bankrupt in Victoria c.1882, owing a similar amount, and in that instance claiming a partner ‘Campbell’ was the cause. Although he had suffered misfortune, the creditors listed in 1898 suggest that Wolf had fled both Melbourne and Sydney with other un-remitted borrowings, and he must be characterized as a man who employed sloppy



business practices, and lived beyond his means. Despite these failings, Wolf continued to secure further prominent commissions in Western Australia. It is likely that the Hyde Park (formerly Commonwealth) Hotel, North Perth, is his design. Wolf's most significant contribution to Australian architecture, the now revered His Majesty's Theatre and Hotel in Hay Street, Perth was completed in 1904, and Wolf soon completed four shops adjacent for the same client, Thomas Molloy. Mention was made in 1912 of Wolf's design for the new Theatre Royal, perhaps an update of the 1897 accommodation which has been erroneously attributed to him in the past. Wolf designed a number of prominent residences, including 'Avro' in Nicholson Road, Subiaco, and the Catholic Presbytery at McNeil Street, Peppermint Grove. Wolf had married Maria May Jordan in 1883, and biographical notes published in 1912 note the family had grown to include four sons and six daughters. As with any large family, there were ongoing joys and sorrows. The marriages of various sons and daughters were duly celebrated. However, in July 1913, William George Wolf junior, an analyst just 29 years of age, died at his father's 2 Onslow Road, Subiaco residence of 'paralysis of the brain'. Wolf's draftsman son Eugene was charged with theft in 1915, but was subsequently cleared by the testimony of his father and family, at that stage living in Hay Street, Subiaco. In October 1916 William and his wife were required to register as 'aliens', and Wolf may have been hindered from practicing effectively during the privations of the First World War. Despite this, there is note of at least one son, George, enlisting in the Australian Imperial Forces in 1918. Never seeming to settle for long at one address, William was at 603 Murray Street Perth at the time. George had been born at Richmond, Victoria during January 1900, perhaps during a family vacation, as records note the birth of two other children at Perth around that time, Olga in 1898 and Karl in 1902. William Wolf does not seem to have had any involvement with the West Australian Institute of Architects, formed in 1896, preferring in his pre-war advertisements to note membership of the 'Imperial German Institute of Architects'. Wolf was still practicing in the 1920s, as in March 1924 he was preparing plans for the Hotel Australia in Murray Street Perth (as with the Jewish Synagogue and Swan River Mechanics Institute, now demolished). This project may have led to his first registering with the Architects Board of Western Australia in April 1924. Research by His Majesty's Theatre historian David Hough has found that Wolfs moved to Adelaide to live with a daughter around this time. A heavy pipe smoker, Wolf had developed cancer of the tongue, and he died 28 June 1925, following which he was buried at the North Road Cemetery, Nailsworth SA.

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Contributing author: John Taylor

Heritage Committee meeting approval date: 14 October 2010

Last updated: 14 October 2010 William George Wolf by Dr John J. Taylor October 2010

## APPENDIX TWO PETER LALOR BIOGRAPHY

Written for the ADB by Professor Ian Turner (1922 – 1978), who lived nearby at the corner of Goodwood and Lennox Street Richmond, until his death.

### **Lalor, Peter (1827–1889)**

by Ian Turner

This article was published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 5, (MUP), 1974

Peter Lalor (1827-1889), Eureka stockade leader and politician, was born on 5 February 1827 in the parish of Raheen, Queen's County, Ireland, son of Patrick Lalor (pronounced Lawler) and his wife Ann, née Dillon. The family was descended from the O'Lalours, one of the Seven Septs of Leix who had fought against the English invasion of Ireland in the sixteenth century. The Lalors had leased the 700 acres (283 ha) of Tenakill since 1767 and remained fairly prosperous until the great famine of 1845. They were supporters of Ireland's freedom from British rule and of the rights of the Irish peasantry. In 1831 Patrick Lalor had led the resistance of the Leix peasants against the forcible collection of tithes for the established church and in 1832-35 represented Queen's County in the House of Commons where he was an ardent advocate for the repeal of the Act of Union. In 1853 he wrote: 'I have been for upwards of forty years struggling without ceasing in the cause of the people'.

The eldest of Patrick's eleven sons, James Fintan, became a leader of the Irish Confederation and the 'Young Ireland' movement of 1848. According to (Sir) Charles Gavan Duffy, he was 'the most original and intense ... of all the men who have preached revolutionary politics in Ireland'. In the *Nation* he expounded his belief in 'Ireland her own, from the sod to the sky'. He became co-editor of the *Irish Felon* in 1848 but was in Newgate prison during the uprising. On his release, he plunged into a new unsuccessful revolutionary conspiracy. He died in December 1849. Fintan had urged his brother Richard in 1848 to form Confederate clubs and engage a blacksmith to make pikes for the peasants. Fintan's letters record only the suggestion that Peter should join the *Felon* club and that Richard should bring him to Dublin to take part in the rising.

Peter's early years were overshadowed by these dramatic events and by the famine but no evidence shows that he was actively involved. Later he commented that 'from what he had seen of the mode of conducting politics in [Ireland] he had ... no inclination to mix himself up with them'. Educated at Carlow College and in Dublin, he became a civil engineer. The years after the famine saw a great emigration from Ireland. Three of the Lalor brothers went to America while Peter and Richard migrated to Victoria attracted by the gold discoveries. They arrived at Melbourne in October 1852 and Peter found work on the construction of the

Melbourne-Geelong railway; he and Richard also became partners with another Irishman as wine, spirits and provision merchants in Melbourne. In 1853 Peter left for the Ovens diggings. Early in 1854 he moved to Ballarat. Richard did not accompany him to the diggings and soon returned to Ireland where he became a member of parliament for Leix in 1880-92 and was an ardent Home Ruler and supporter of Parnell. Peter apparently saw himself as much merchant as digger, since he bought from the partnership over £800 worth of tobacco, spirits and other supplies; however, his departure for the goldfields ended his career as a city merchant.

At Ballarat Lalor staked a claim on the Eureka lead, where many Irish diggers were concentrated, although his own 'mate' was Duncan Gillies, a Scot. He was reported to be among the shrinking minority of Ballarat diggers who were having 'fair luck' on their claims; he was involved, although not prominently, in the agitations over the miners' licence and 'digger-hunting'. Later Lalor wrote, perhaps thinking of the wrongs of Ireland, 'the people were dissatisfied with the laws, because they excluded them from the possession of the land, from being represented in the Legislative Council, and imposed on them an odious poll-tax' (licence fee) which an arbitrary officialdom sought to collect from diggers.

The Ballarat Reform League arose from the agitation against the imprisonment of three diggers charged with the burning of Bentley's Hotel. The league's programme reflected the radical beliefs of its leaders: it was overtly Chartist in its demands and, some said, covertly republican. Lalor was a member of the committee, although he must have had reservations about parts of its programme. On 29 November 1854 the league called its first mass meeting to hear the report of its deputation to the governor. Sir Charles Hotham had promised an inquiry into the diggers' grievances but refused to accede to the diggers' 'demand' for the release of their mates. The mood of the 12,000 diggers who gathered on Bakery Hill for the first time under their Southern Cross flag was for physical resistance. Resolutions were carried calling on the diggers to burn their licences and pledging the protection of the 'united people' for any digger arrested for non-possession of a licence. Lalor's first public appearance was at this meeting: he moved for a further league meeting on 3 December in order to elect a central committee.

On 30 November the troops had undertaken a 'digger hunt' on Bakery Hill. The news of the resulting clash spread rapidly through the diggings to the Eureka, where Lalor was working in his shaft, 140 ft (43 m) below ground, with Timothy Hayes, chairman of the league, at the windlass above. Diggers rushed to the scene and, as the troops withdrew with their prisoners, occupied the hill where the flag was again raised. The diggers dispersed to gather strength and resolved to reassemble at 4 p.m. None of the regular spokesmen was then present and Lalor 'mounted the stump and proclaimed "Liberty".' He called on the men to arm themselves and to organize for self-defence. Some hundreds were enrolled and Lalor, according to Raffaello Carboni, 'knelt down, the head uncovered, and with the right hand pointing to the standard, exclaimed in a firm measured tone: "We swear by the Southern Cross to stand truly by each other to defend our rights and liberties". A universal well-rounded Amen, was the determined reply'. That night Lalor wrote to his fiancée, Alicia Dunne, a school-teacher in Geelong: 'the diggers ... in self-defence, have taken up arms and are *resolved to use them* ... I am one amongst them. You must not be unhappy on this account. I would be unworthy of being called

a man, I would be unworthy of myself, and, above all, I would be unworthy of you and of your love, were I base enough to desert my companions in danger'.

Next morning some 1500 diggers assembled on Bakery Hill and marched behind their flag to the Eureka. The leaders met and appointed Lalor commander. In response he said: 'I expected someone who is really well known to come forward and direct our movement. However, if you appoint me your commander-in-chief, I shall not shrink. I tell you, gentlemen, if once I pledge my hand to the diggers, I will neither defile it with treachery, nor render it contemptible with cowardice'.

In the next two days both sides continued their preparations. The diggers threw up a barricade of which Lalor wrote, 'it was nothing more than an enclosure to keep our own men together, and was never erected with an eye to military defence'; yet it closely resembled the fortified circular encampments planned by Fintan Lalor in 1848. Behind it, the men drilled and blacksmiths manufactured pikes. Lalor claimed no military expertise; he appointed a young American to look after the military side while he organized picketing and the procurement of arms, ammunition and other supplies. The government camp organized for action and infiltrated the stockade with spies.

Lalor did not expect an immediate attack and did not plan to confine defence to the stockade. By midnight on Saturday only about 120 men were left in the stockade, most of them Irish. Some hundreds had left to spend the night in their tents. At about 3 a.m., Sunday, 3 December, the troops and police attacked. They quickly stormed the flimsy stockade and its defences, killing thirty or more diggers and taking over a hundred prisoners. True to his pledge Lalor had stood his ground but was hit in the left arm and collapsed. He was hidden under logs and escaped the bayonets of the attackers. He was smuggled from the battlefield and eventually reached the home of Father Smyth, where his arm was amputated at the shoulder by a party of doctors. Legend has Lalor recovering consciousness during the operation and, seeing one doctor with signs of faintness, saying 'Courage! Courage! Take it off!'

Hotham offered a reward of £200 for information leading to the apprehension of a 'person of the name of Lawlor ... height 5 ft 11 ins [180 cm], age 35, hair dark brown, whiskers dark brown and shaved under the chin, no moustache, long face, rather good looking and ... a well made man' who at Ballarat 'did ... use certain TREASONABLE AND SEDITIOUS LANGUAGE, and incite Men to take up Arms, with a view to make war against Our Sovereign Lady the QUEEN'. There were no takers: public sympathy was overwhelmingly with the diggers. Lalor remained concealed in Ballarat for several weeks; from there he was taken by dray to Geelong, where he was cared for by Alicia Dunne and married her on 10 July 1855 at St Mary's Church.

Public subscriptions for the disabled Lalor raised enough money for him to buy '160 acres [65 ha] of very good land within 10 miles [16 km] of Ballaarat'; he emerged from hiding to bid for the land and was not arrested. In March the reward had been revoked, and in April the thirteen diggers charged with treason were acquitted. The colonists generally shared Lalor's judgment of the stockade: 'neither anarchy, bloodshed, nor plunder, were the objects of those

engaged ... Stern necessity alone forced us to do it'. One eye-witness reports Lalor as saying that his object as leader was 'independence'; if this were so, it would seem that the independence he wanted was from arbitrary rule, from encroachments by the Crown on 'British Liberty', and that granted by access to the land, rather than the 'independence' of a republican democracy.

With the adoption of the recommendation of the commissioners appointed by Hotham to inquire into the condition of the goldfields that the Legislative Council be enlarged to include elected representatives of the goldfields, Lalor was one of two diggers' leaders returned unopposed in November 1855 to represent Ballarat. He told his electors: 'I am in favour of such a system of law reform as will enable the poor man to obtain equal justice with the rich'. When the first parliament was elected under the new Constitution in 1856 Lalor was returned unopposed to the Legislative Assembly for North Grenville, a Ballarat seat. He was appointed an inspector of railways at a salary of £600, but was soon debarred from this post when legislation was passed prohibiting civil servants from sitting in parliament.

In the assembly Lalor spoke out for the interests of the diggers: he successfully advocated compensation for the victims of Eureka, and unsuccessfully the right of miners to enter private property in search of gold; in vain he opposed the appropriation of funds for a memorial to Hotham, saying, 'There was sufficient monument already existing in the graves of the thirty individuals slain at Ballarat'. Yet he aroused hostility among his digger constituents by supporting plural voting on a property franchise and a six-months' residency qualification for the franchise, and land legislation which radicals held to favour the squatters. In defence he said that he would never consent to deprive a freeholder of his right to vote in virtue of his freehold, and that the danger inherent in conferring the franchise on 'an unsettled population' should be balanced 'by infusing into the people a conservative element by attaching them to the land'. He denied that he was a democrat if that meant 'Chartism, Communism, or Republicanism', but asserted that 'if democracy means opposition to a tyrannical press, a tyrannical people or a tyrannical government, then I have ever been, I am still, and will ever remain, a democrat'. The diggers were not convinced, and Lalor wisely stood for South Grant in 1859. He was elected and became chairman of committees at a salary of £800.

Lalor's stance in parliament appeared puzzlingly inconsistent. He was an early advocate of protection of local industry, believing that it would provide work for men no longer able to make a living on the goldfields, but he also supported assisted immigration. Although a devout Roman Catholic, he opposed state aid to religion and supported a national education system provided that provision was made for religious teaching. He supported the 1860 and 1862 Land Acts providing for selection from the squatters' runs, but urged sale by auction of both freehold agricultural land and grazing leases, declaring that the creation of 'a middle class of landed proprietors' able to employ labourers at reasonable wages, was preferable to opening the land in small lots to men without capital. He supported reform of the Legislative Council but opposed payment to members. When the McCulloch government came into conflict with the council over the protectionist tariff and later the 'Darling grant', Lalor urged caution and abstained from voting on several of the government's vital measures, holding them to be unconstitutional.



Lalor's pursuit of his own judgment won him no friends in parliament, yet as a good local member with a strong personal following he topped the poll for South Grant in 1868. The ministry repaid his 'unsoundness' by refusing to reappoint him as chairman of committees. In the next three years Lalor virtually abandoned parliament for private business, attending only 31 of 174 divisions. He operated as a land and mining agent and was director of several mining companies, the most important being the New North Clunes. He was also chairman at a substantial salary of the Clunes Water Commission. On his initiative legislation was passed enabling the commission to borrow money for the construction of a water supply system for Clunes. The money was raised by the New North Clunes Mining Co. In 1873 the government bought the commission for £65,000, thus enabling New North Clunes to declare what the *Ballarat Star* described as the largest dividend ever paid by a mining company—£30 a share. It was also alleged that Lalor employed blacklegs to enforce a wage cut in one of his mines. Lalor was narrowly squeezed out of third place in the 1871 election by Jonas Levien whom he angrily described as 'a little jew boy' and against whom he pursued a vendetta.

The 1874 election was fought on the reform of the Legislative Council. Lalor was by now convinced that domination of the council by squatters made reform necessary, and that its powers should be limited to those enjoyed by the House of Lords. He was elected third member for South Grant. When (Sir) Graham Berry formed his first government in 1875, Lalor became commissioner for customs. The government was defeated after a few months but Berry was refused a dissolution by the governor and led his followers in a stonewalling campaign to disrupt the conduct of business. Lalor supported Berry's tactics wholeheartedly.

In the 1877 election Lalor again backed all Berry's policies, including payment of members. He won a landslide victory, and Lalor became postmaster-general and as commissioner for customs negotiated in vain with Sir Henry Parkes to remove the border duties between Victoria and New South Wales. When the council refused to accept the payment of members, Berry retaliated by sacking the colony's senior public servants. *Melbourne Punch* laid this 'Black Wednesday' at the door of Lalor who had been outspoken in denouncing the 'arrogant power' of the council. However, Lalor twice embarrassed the government and asserted his independence by voting against measures which Berry believed significant.

The Berry government was defeated in 1880 but Lalor topped the poll for South Grant as a Berryite. In a later election that year Berry won again and moved for the appointment of Lalor as Speaker. Although denounced by Thomas Bent as a 'rebel against the British crown' and as having been 'drunk on the floor of this House', Lalor was appointed unopposed. 'The first duty of a Speaker', he said, 'is to be a tyrant. Remove him if you like, but while he is in the chair obey him. The Speaker is the embodiment of the corporate honour of the House. He is above party. He is the greatest representative of the people'. Despite conservative fears that Lalor would lean towards his political friends he maintained the strength, dignity and impartiality of the chair, and was reappointed by successive parliaments until diabetes weakened his physique and impaired his judgment. The death of his only daughter and in May 1887 of his wife greatly affected him, and he resigned as Speaker in September.

The premier, Duncan Gillies, introduced a bill to grant Lalor £4000 to free him of financial worries in his last months. Despite party opposition in the assembly the bill was passed and later carried unanimously in the council. Earlier Lalor had refused the offer of a knighthood. In a bid to regain his health he took leave from parliament, but remained a member at the express wish of his constituents, and went by sea to San Francisco. On his return he became bedridden in the home of his only son, Joseph, where he died on 9 February 1889. Besides the requiem in Melbourne, flags were flown at half-mast and a special memorial service was held at Ballarat.

On entry into parliament Lalor had been described by the *Argus* as 'a bluff, straight forward gentleman who blurts out plain truths in a homely matter-of-fact style'. Certainly as diggers' leader and as parliamentarian he fought with courage, determination and often passion for the truth as he saw it. His loyalties were to principles rather than to individuals. The inconsistencies of his political stance can perhaps best be explained by the principles he consistently upheld: a well-ordered society based on a broad and prosperous land-holding class, governed by free men in the liberal institutions embodied in British constitutional procedures. Only when a class claimed exclusive and overbearing power and sought to impose its will arbitrarily was Lalor's anger aroused and turned him, however reluctantly, to action. Once committed to a course he did not waver from it. Neither a profound thinker nor a skilful politician, Lalor was a good fighter and a man of rectitude who came finally to earn the respect even of those whom he had most vehemently opposed on grounds of principle.

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- poem about Lalor, Broadford Courier (Vic), 7 April 1899, p 4
- a statue of Lalor is unveiled at Ballarat, Barrier Miner (Broken Hill, NSW), 9 February 1893, p 4
- larrikins paint his statue green, Daily News (Perth), 29 March 1894, p 3
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- trial of George Blythen, charged with damaging Peter Lalor's statue in Ballarat, Argus (Melbourne), 1 June 1916, p 9
- Lalor's sword was taken into battle at Gallipoli by his grandson; it is thought the sword is now somewhere in Turkey, Cairns Post (Qld), 17 April 1946, p 1
- Chips Rafferty is to play Lalor in the Australian film, Eureka Stockade, Advertiser (Adelaide), 11 January 1947, p 14

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