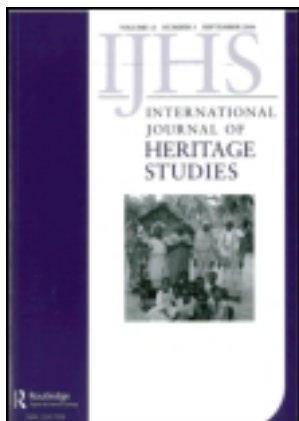


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Reproducing temples in Fremantle

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Reproducing temples in Fremantle

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This paper explores the production and reproduction of a sacred-soliciting built environment in the Western Australian port town of Fremantle, drawing attention to temple iconography produced in the first century of European settlement and its preservation and reproduction at the hands of local and national heritage movements since the 1970s. I show how Fremantle's High Street solicits a sense of the sacred in its visitors, operating in a similar fashion to temple complexes such as Sukuh in Java. From purifying passage through the Whalers Tunnel under the Round House (the temple's porch), the visitor will be guided up High Street through an assemblage of neoclassical facades to Kings Square (the temple's house) with its mix of artefacts for Anglican, Masonic and nation-building narratives. The reading continues up High Street to the War Memorial on Monument Hill (the temple's Holy of Holies) for which a draft conservation plan was released in 2010.

Keywords: heritage studies; urban planning; built environment; sacred-soliciting; temple architecture

The Empire required rituals, which old boys enthusiastically espoused. . . . These rituals kept millions of people in their place. To orchestrate them, the British imperialists became impresarios, directing a great worldwide extravaganza. Their outward appearance changed dramatically as the imperial pageant became more elaborate. (Rich 1989, p. 18)

On my initial visits to downtown Fremantle, I encountered something special, perhaps sacred, about the place beyond the effort that had gone into preserving a nineteenth to early twentieth century streetscape. The street plan cutting eastwards directly through Fremantle from Whalers Tunnel reminded me of the passage through Sukuh Temple in Central Java. The symbolic function of Sukuh's three terraces, through which I had passed, have been described by Duijker (2010, pp. 198–200): The first terrace, from the west, represented earth and the profane world; the second symbolized a middle world where the profane and sacred worlds met; and the third, in the direction of an eastern summit, represented a sacred upper world where 'the souls of deities and deified ancestors dwelt'. Entering Sukuh Temple, visitors passed over a floor sculpture of a phallus and vagina in a

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west-facing gateway in order to be purified. The National Library of Indonesia described the purification process at the temple gate:

It is believed that the sculptures serve as a *suwuk* (magic spell or medication) to purify (to heal and release) any dirt that reside in the heart. That is why the sculptures are engraved on the floor in the entrance gate. People will pass through them, and therefore, any dirt sticking to their body will be cleansed. (*Sukuh Temple*, 2003)

The cleansed visitor would walk through an eastward passage through three terraces surrounded to the north and south by carved-stone icons. The large rectangular architectural structures, statues and carved stone reliefs (see Figure 1) narrate the deeds of Bhima and other Hindu Javanese deities (Duijker 2010, pp. 176–180). Duiker argued (pp. 179–180) that these reliefs narrate the *Nawaruci* quest in which Bhima takes his initial step towards salvation by obtaining ‘the elixir of life’ through the magical conversion of boiling water. Beyond this terrace – continuing the eastward line from the purification gateway – the visitor can climb through to the top of a flat-topped pyramid upon which a large *lingga* (phallus) was installed.¹ This is the peak of the temple complex.

Fic (2003, pp. 49–54) argued that Sukuh Temple, built in 1437 at the site of a sanctuary devoted to ancestral mountain spirits since Neolithic times, was intended to provide divine protection for the Daha-Kadiri community within the waning Majapahit empire and to mobilize this community for war in defence of the core values and institutions of Hindu-Javanese civilization. The *lingga*, consecrated in 1440, elevated the Sukuh complex to the status of ‘state temple’ and bore the



Figure 1. Photograph of a child walking eastwards through Sukuh Temple, taken by the author on 13 January 2007.

inscription 'the ruler of the world' (Fic 2003, p. 53). Fic examined the Sukuh Temple complex for insight into the cultural organization of the Majapahit order.

The following reading of Fremantle was undertaken to provide insight into the cultural logic of an Australian port town with a heritage inventory of almost 4,000 entries (Hutchison 2006, p. 6) and a World Heritage listed prison (*Australian convict sites* 2010). Fremantle's built environment has been staunchly defended by locals (Davidson and Davidson 2010, pp. 36–157) who remain devoted to an idea of Fremantle (Nichol, 2010). Fremantle is not a temple, yet its built environment has been defended vigorously in recent decades as if it were sacred. Gelder and Jacobs (1998, pp. 22–25) argued that sacredness was experienced in modern Australia as something unfamiliar or uncanny; something that is in place yet out of place simultaneously. In investigating the Aboriginal sacred in modern Australia, Gelder and Jacobs demonstrated that a sense of the sacred, or sacred effect, is realized in audiences through the production of public secrets:

One always says to someone else that the sacred is secret. Its secrecy is always a matter of demonstration or performance. ... After all, secrets cannot be secrets unless they are spoken about as such. (Gelder and Jacobs 1998, p. 25)

To understand how a sense of the sacred is produced in Fremantle's audience, we should look for things in twenty-first century Fremantle that are in place but out of place. We should also identify secrets suggested by the built environment. The following reading identifies uncanny things and hints of secrets as it follows the line of High Street eastwards from the beach through Whalers Tunnel to Monument Hill and the Fremantle War Memorial. Equivalences are sought between High Street and the eastward passage through Sukuh Temple to support this process of identification.

Starting at the water's edge at the nineteenth-century landing place for new arrivals in Fremantle, we stand on Bather's Beach and then pass through the darkness of Whalers Tunnel, emerging directly under the Round House into the light, gazing directly down High Street to King's Square (Figure 2) and beyond.

Graham Nowland's (2006) examination of 75 novels containing passages about Fremantle reveals that novelists have focused on shifting states of consciousness at Fremantle's threshold between land and water. Nowland (2006, p. 147) argues that this threshold 'can be read as symbolically similar to the boundary between sleep and waking, the conscious and the unconscious'. Jon Stratton (2009, p. 61) takes this spatially induced limbo at the threshold of Australia a step further by arguing that those crossing it had to be reborn white while others were left outside in limbo or to drown. Stratton's and Nowland's awareness of rebirth at Australia's coastal threshold and the experience of emerging from Whalers Tunnel – constructed in 1837 at great effort by a barely performing company – suggest rebirth at what was once the threshold of the young Western Australian colony. The arrivals were reborn pure (and white by Stratton's argument) on the land side (Figure 2) of the tunnel, which was built at Henry Reveley's insistence to run directly under the Round House (see Figure 3) despite its additional weight (White 1976, p. 32). The tunnel and Round House function symbolically like the entrance, the porch, to King Solomon's Temple.

In the early years of the Fremantle settlement, arrivals would have emerged from the tunnel, perhaps blinking in the sunlight, gazing directly down High Street

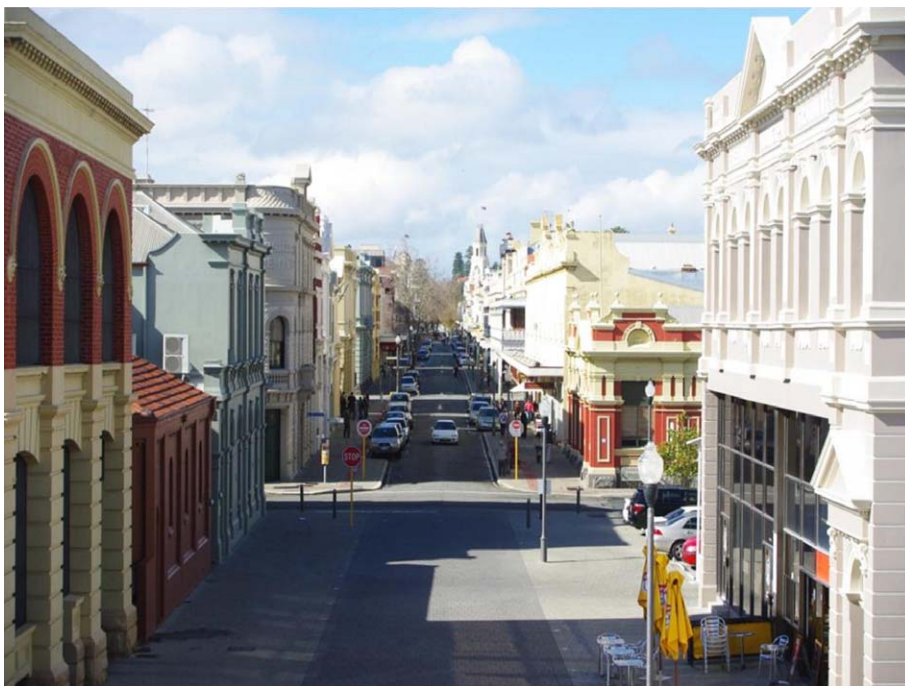


Figure 2. Photograph of view down High Street from above the mouth of the Whalers Tunnel, taken by the author at midday on 12 August 2010.

to the front doors of the Church of St John the Evangelist (the patron saint of Freemasons) in King's Square (see figure 4). The Round House gaol stood over them suggesting retribution while St John's Church at the other end of High Street would have offered redemption.

The Round House is presented by the City of Fremantle as the oldest remaining building in Western Australia. Visitors such as Kevin and Hillary in their travel blog (2009) describe it innocently as 'an old stone building that used to be a jail back in the day'. However, it was much more than that. The twelve-sided structure, which commands the western perspective down High Street, was built at the direction of the city's founders who wanted particular technologies for regulating people. Hudson-Rodd and Farrell (1998, p. 155) described the Round House as the first symbol of British colonial occupancy for anyone approaching the settlement from the sea, even though its functional focus was domesticity:

Here a gaol, which looked in on its own citizens, was built. The threat of disruption from 'natives', 'Lascars', 'locals', 'American sailors', 'China men' and 'lunatics' was deemed more important, it seems, than were attacks from outside intruders.

Hudson-Rodd and Farrell argued (1998, pp. 155–156) that the Round House was a colonial manager's attempt to control the local human population through secular rather than religious authority, and that its architect Reveley was greatly influenced by Jeremy Bentham and his panopticon prison design for efficient, absolute control of groups of humans. The Round House had insufficient scale for the Western Australia colonial project, and it became a temporary holding facility rather than a



Figure 3. Photograph of westward view along High Street to the Whalers Tunnel and Round House, taken by the author on 12 August 2010.

permanent prison through which many indigenous people passed en route to the Rottnest Island prison.² Heading inland up High Street, the first two blocks are now largely deserted on any day, enabling full view of a series of façades typically preserved to a neoclassical architectural peak. The original façades served the interests of their European owners in what was then a busy trading district. This 'aesthetics of elegance', disguising the presence of commercial enterprise, was replicated throughout the colonized world (Scollon and Scollon 2003, p. 150). Fremantle's façades continue to make their building functions secret, such as the open-air car parks hidden by reproduced heritage façades on Essex Street. The High Street façades symbolize a prosperous heritage stretching back under the Round House and across the ocean to the cradle of civilized knowledge in classical Europe. They enable the 21-year-old University of Notre Dame, operating behind many Fremantle heritage façades, to seem much older and European than it really is. These façades, with their mix of functionally redundant neoclassical columns and other icons, reproduce commitment to an imagined classical origin and imagined truth of European colonial thought.³ An example is the mock column mounted within a Masonic-temple triangle in the peak of the façade of the Fremantle Returned and Services League (R.S.L.) Club Wyola (see Figure 5) at 81 High Street.

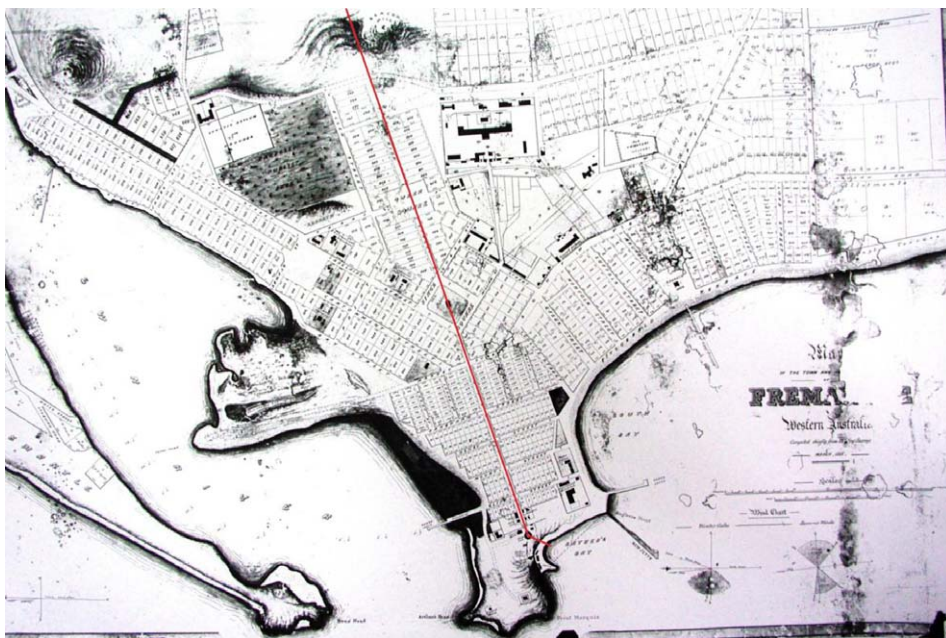


Figure 4. The Fremantle plan in 1865 with the author's red line showing the symbolic route for arrivals from Bather's Bay, through Whaler's Tunnel then up High Street to St John's Church and beyond.

The importance of columns and other part-temple icons guiding local Freemasons⁴ is shown clearly by the Western Australian Master Mason's Grand Lodge certificate of 1949, 'often called the Pillars Certificate' (Rose 2010, p. 64). Curl (1991, p. 117) argued that the lodge and its emblems enabled Freemasons to seek 'the memory of beginnings' and Solomon's Temple itself. The Fremantle Town Hall, the New Edition Bookshop façade (see Figure 6) and other temple iconography in High Street form a lingering Masonic style⁵ that was 'the essence of Neoclassicism' (Curl 1991, p. 229).

Just before Kings Square, a prominent slab mosaic in the centre of High Street is composed of mythical images telling stories of Fremantle. The central slab of the mosaic contains the Round House and Whalers Tunnel as the focal point of a mythological arrangement. Above the Round House there is a large flying angel with an open book, which is the icon 'etched into the memory of Fremantle city' according to The Flying Angel Club (*Tourism and links* n.d.); the Anglican mission to seafarers. The angel with the open book – who descends from heaven to land with 'his right foot upon the sea and his left foot on the earth' (Rev. 10:2) – is a principal character in the story in Revelations, the last chapter of the Bible, of the annihilation of urban fornication throughout the world and the rise of a New Jerusalem. This particular angel orders John, the narrator, to eat the book then 'Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship within' (Rev. 11:1). Despite the mosaic, Fremantle locals enjoy telling stories about the prostitution, illicit drugs and drunken brawls that have occurred on High Street because of its relation to the port. However, illegal activity has disappeared from public view in the undated, untitled and apparently un-authored mosaic; its recent production is



Figure 5. Photograph of the top of the façade of the Fremantle R.S.L. Club on High Street, taken by the author on 12 August 2010.

kept secret. Gazing past the idealized Round House, Whalers Tunnel and Flying Angel on the mosaic's slab surface down High Street, visitors are encouraged to consider Fremantle's metaphysical aspects.

Heading east from the High Street Mall, a pedestrian immediately encounters Kings Square – containing the new version of St John's Church and Fremantle Town Hall surrounded by several works of public art of and about European Australians. The square has been worked and reworked with artefacts, narrating Anglican, Masonic, local and national experience. On the eastern side of the square, a large circular mosaic about locals inducted into the Sport Australia Hall of Fame represents local contribution fanning out into the Australia nation-building project. (This is the circular pattern in the lower-left-hand corner of the 2011 image of King's Park in Figure 8; compare to the 1971 image in Figure 9.)

Kings Square was created in the colony as a public reserve at what was then the far eastern end of High Street. However, within the first decade of settlement the square had been appropriated by the Trustees of Church Property of St John's Church (Ewers 1971, pp. 29–30) upon which the first church was completed in 1843 and then reconstructed on the northern portion of the square in 1879 (Ewers 1971, p. 30). Fremantle Council purchased the triangular southern portion of Kings Square from the church to build the Town Hall, which was completed in 1887. These alterations enabled an unimpeded view and traffic flow along High Street from the Round House up to Monument Hill, and later the construction of a tram-line along this route. Brown (1996, p. 102) described the Town Hall as a 'grand monument of Victorian architecture' that opened up a metaphoric imperial respira-



Figure 6. Photograph of the façade of the New Edition Bookstore on High Street, taken by the author on 12 August 2010.

tory system within the town. The Town Hall's construction was sponsored by Fremantle's elite, which at that time was composed of 17 core business people 'united, with two exceptions, within the brotherhood of Freemasonry' (Brown 1996, p. 1). The influence of this elite merchant group slipped away with the industrialization of Fremantle in the twentieth century. The clear sacred-soliciting line of High Street was embellished as the town plan responded to the opening of Fremantle's inner harbour to the north of High Street at the turn of the century (Tull, 1997) and Bather's Bay ceased to be Fremantle's place of international arrival and departure. By the 1960s, a one-way road system had been constructed around the square and



Figure 7. Photograph of the Mosaic on High Street adjacent to Kings Square, taken by the author on 30 August 2010.

a car park built within the square, interrupting the High Street line (Figure 9). However, the car park has since been removed and High Street's passage through Kings Square has been cleared. The direct passage (Figure 4) along High Street from Bather's Bay to Monument Hill was restored by 2001 with the reopening of Whalers Tunnel to the public.

Heading out of the square and up the hill to the east along High Street, a visitor will catch a glimpse of Fremantle Prison, then a mix of institutional buildings and houses before the peak, where High Street opens up to the manicured lawns of Monument Hill Memorial Reserve.⁶ The Fremantle War Memorial stands upon this reserve, memorializing overseas warfare carried on in the name of empire and Australia. The memorial (phallus) seems to be something between a neoclassical column and an obelisk – an Egyptian symbol of defence through divine protection, which has been keenly reproduced in masonic/imperial architecture. The monument (see Figure 10) commemorates World War I, World War II, the Korean War, the Malayan Emergency and the Vietnam War (*Fremantle War Memorial* 2004). Its construction was completed in 1928, replacing a large obelisk built there in 1867 for navigation purposes (see Figure 11).

In producing the past in Fremantle, it seems that there has been a nationalist reworking of temple icons. This is indicated at the physical peak overlooking the city by the replacement of the old obelisk on Obelisk Hill (as it was described on the 1844 plan of Fremantle) with the Fremantle War Memorial on Monument Hill. If Fremantle is read in a Masonic light as a reproduction of King Solomon's Temple, the Whaler's Tunnel and Round House are its Porch, High Street is its House, and Monument Hill is its Holy of Holies (Curl 1991, pp. 81–88).⁷ Peter Lazar has described Freemasonry's influence on Australian culture through the membership of former Australian leaders, and argued that the movement could trace its roots to the building of King Solomon's Temple:

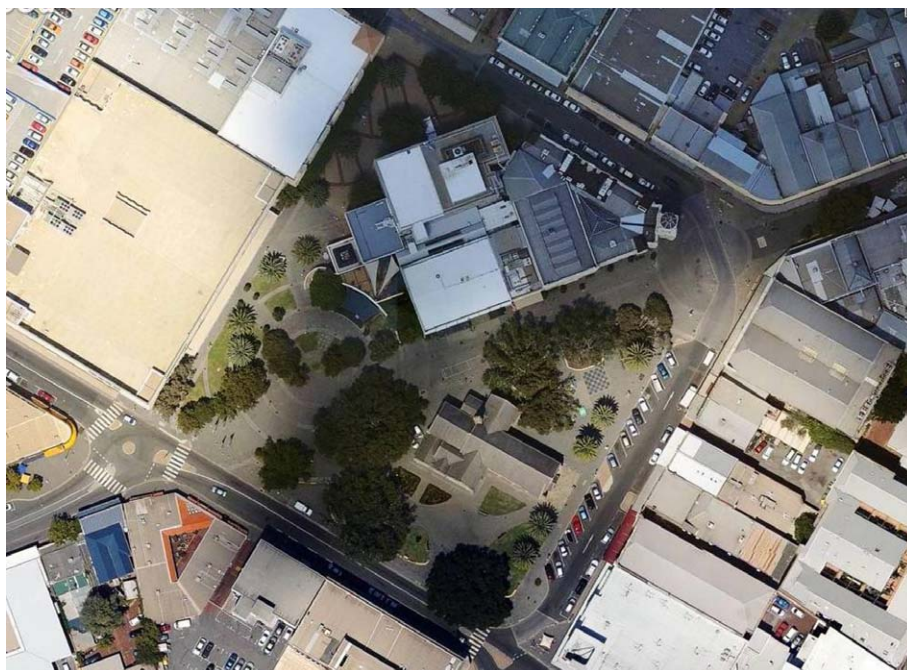


Figure 8. Satellite photograph of King's Square taken on 15 February 2011 (source: NearMap Pty Ltd 2011).

Remarkably strong links are maintained between those early stonemasons and the Freemasons of today, through allegorical teachings based on the design and construction of ancient structures. (Lazar 2009, p. 4)

Or at least that's what Lazar would like us to believe in relation to the movement's claims to essentialist knowledge; namely, that the relationship between Australia and ancient sacred knowledge is reproduced in structures such as the Fremantle War Memorial. Note that the monument memorializes international rather than domestic conflicts, and naturalizes defence of Australia as well as the provision of local people and resources for the defence of a larger imagined Australian community. It also naturalizes local participation in overseas conflicts at the behest of imperial power. Structures normalizing institutional violence occupy the high spatial and moral ground in Fremantle: the Round House naturalizes state violence against people domestically, while the war memorial naturalizes state violence against people overseas. Structures that work to normalize acts of colonial and imperial violence are well preserved in Fremantle. It is much harder to find structures or public artefacts in Fremantle that work to naturalize indigenous claims, resistance or even reconciliation. In the same way that London's Millennium Bridge was constructed over the River Thames to connect St Paul's Cathedral in a straight line with the Tate Modern galleries of modern and contemporary art (Millennium Bridge 2011), Fremantle's High Street connects Monument Hill with the Round House and the Indian Ocean through King's Square and Queen's Square. These cultural reproductions reconnect an imperial past with the present and the colonial world with the highest ground in London at the centre of British Empire, St Paul's Cathedral.

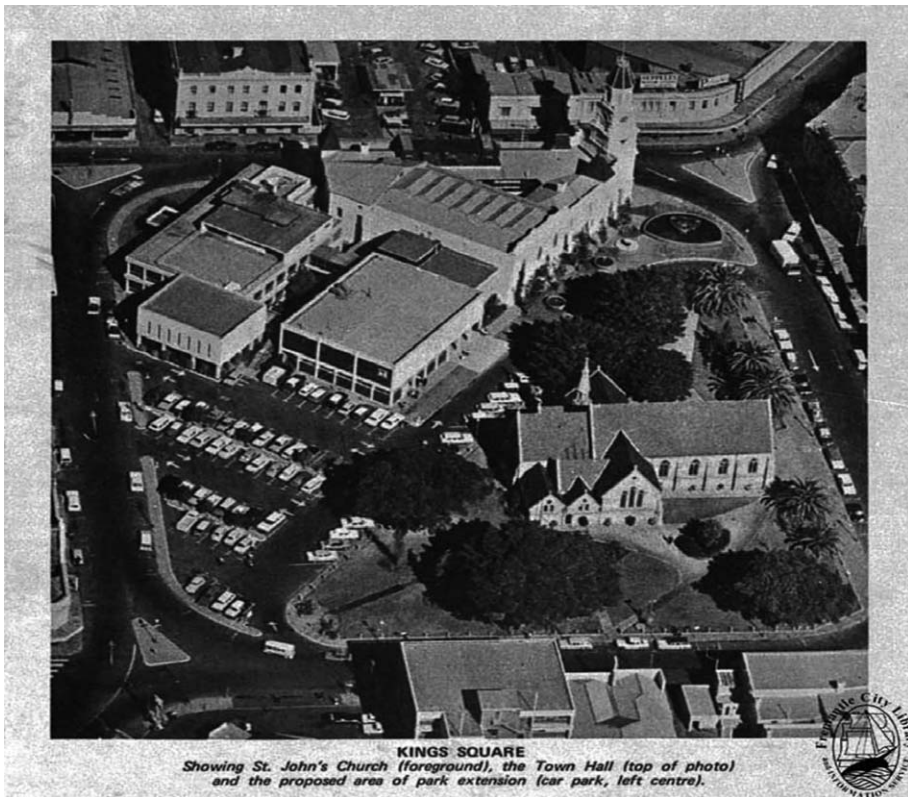


Figure 9. Aerial photograph of King's Square taken in 1971 (*Photograph 16, 1971*).

Architecture connecting empire and God has been regularly reproduced to keep members of the empire on the straight and narrow. This connection is shown clearly by the dominant position of St Paul's Cathedral in the Pioneer Window of Fremantle's Church of St John the Evangelist, which tells the story of emigration from England to Western Australia:

The importance placed on St Paul's Cathedral, the Church of the Commonwealth, is shown in its positioning. This grand structure of columns, central dome, and flanking towers is located at the pinnacle of the window, belonging solely to neither pre nor post ocean passage. (*Historical Treasures of St John's* n.d.)

Bennett (1995, p. 162) argued that the 'shape of the thinkable future' depended on representations of the past and representations of the present's relationship with the past. Bennett described (pp. 142–144) how in the 1960s and 1970s the membership of conservation and historical societies increased across Australia. Locally, the Fremantle Society was established in 1972 to protect the city's built environment and other cultural heritage. The society (*Welcome to the Fremantle Society* n.d.), supported by the National Trust, imagined Fremantle to be 'the Port City at the mouth of the Swan River in the Western most State of Australia'.

In 1972, the Labor Party, led by Gough Whitlam, won the Australian federal election, enabling the loyal Labor electorate of Fremantle to connect with a federal government introducing radical policies. Whitlam's new nationalism included



Figure 10. Photograph of Fremantle War Memorial on Monument Hill, taken by author on 11 September 2010.

heritage and environmental policies representing the people's wishes against the self-interest of local business elites, multinational corporations and sometimes state governments (Bennett 1995, p. 143). In a discourse of the people versus developers, the Whitlam government blamed degradation of the national estate on the elevation of private over public interest, and established the link that poor people suffered most from the loss of parkland and familiar urban landscapes. This link strengthened the populism and ultimately the power of the national heritage project. Heritage funds for Fremantle since the early 1970s have been directed towards memorializing the imperial/colonial movement within a nation-building context. This is indicated in the alteration of King's Square since 1971 to its current condition in which car parks have been removed and the sacred-soliciting geometry of High Street has become clearer. The aggressive reproduction of Fremantle's streetscape as a set of neoclassical façades signifying a glorious imperial, but over time increasingly nationalist, past ordered by geometry and God has developed a certain expectation of architectural appropriateness within the Fremantle community. To avoid transgression (Scollon and Scollon 2003, p. 149) in the eyes of this community, any large new architectural project in Fremantle should appear to be a reproduction of the imperial/Australian past or at least a close reworking of it. Fiske, Hodge, and Turner recognized that Australia's war memorials and other official monuments produce 'a foundation myth, a narrative which serves to legitimate the present order' (1987, p. 137). They argue that this project works in much the same way that Virgil's *Aeneid* was written to legitimate Augustan Roman rule in the Middle East by narrating a fake genealogy stretching back seven centuries. Similar to the Fremantle War Memorial, they describe Kings Park War Memorial,



Figure 11. Photograph of the old obelisk at today's Monument Hill site (Photograph 1372 n.d.).

erected on the highest ground in Perth, as defiantly asserting the power of men and the permanence of their nation:

The monument is, literally, a dominant point of view from which to make sense of both the history and the present Western Australia. The cultural dominance of this white, male, colonising history is expressed in the geographical dominance of the obelisk which embodies it. (Fiske *et al.* 1987, p. 143)

Although awe-inspiring, the Kings Park War Memorial would be symbolically impotent in terms of rejuvenating the empire if it was not connected to feminine representations in the landscape, such as Swan River in the background and the

constructed pond in the foreground, which bears an apparently eternal flame and the words 'LET SILENT CONTEMPLATION BE YOUR OFFERING'.

Sukuh Temple was constructed in relation to the presence of holy water and spirits on Mount Lawu in Java. Fic (2003, pp. 47–53) argued that the royal *lingga* (phallus) was installed on Sukuh Temple several years after its construction to symbolically inject semen into the holy water running from an underground spring through the temple and down the hillside to the west, thereby reinvigorating the community and the realm during a period of intense political and military pressure. Santoso (2008, p. 82) argued that the construction of sacred-soliciting architecture on hillsides symbolizing cultural regenerative processes (*rejavanisasi*) was common during the final phase of the Majapahit empire. Can any indications of equivalences be found at Monument Hill? Like the *lingga* installation, the Fremantle War Memorial was placed at the peak of an architectural complex during the final phase of (British) empire and decorated with icons (Rosy Crosses). Sukuh Temple was constructed on a hill offering the purest water to its followers, as was the War Memorial. A labyrinth of subterranean tunnels was constructed by Fremantle prison labourers in the late nineteenth century to pump water from under Monument Hill to a one-million-gallon reservoir for redistribution back through the town to ships at port. The video played to visitors about to tour these tunnels closes with the line: 'a place of imprisonment that released life-giving water'.⁸ Besides war and death, the Fremantle War Memorial suggests virility and birth. A plaque installed on the monument in 2010 by Fremantle Mayor Brad Pettitt symbolizes the relation of 'stress and strain' of birth through sacrificial death. This plaque contains the following quote:

The memorial is the first Australian object that will meet the eyes of travellers coming from the westward and it will serve . . . for all time as a dignified, silent, and reverent reminder of the stress and strain through which the peoples of the empire were called upon to pass, as well as a standing memorial to the sons of Fremantle and its districts who gave all they had, even to life itself, in service of their country.

This text on the plaque was extracted from a text written in 1928 by James Battye for inclusion in a secret time capsule placed inside the war memorial, which was discovered during renovation works and then returned to its resting place (Pettitt, 2010).

A draft conservation plan for the war memorial in Fremantle was prepared recently by Kelsall Binet Architects. The draft argued (*Monument Hill Memorial Reserve Fremantle Conservation Plan* 2009, p. 8) that a perceived 'lack of respect' towards the significance of the site as a war memorial had been a recurring theme throughout the monument's history. This lack of respect towards the 'sacredness' of the war memorial had been voiced in response to gambling, drinking, vandalism, football, fun and fireworks at the site (*Monument Hill Memorial Reserve Fremantle Conservation Plan* 2009, pp. 31–33). The architects of the draft plan were well aware of this issue and of its resolution through linking the memorialisation of war with a sense of the sacred. They looked to religion for an understanding of environments that solicited the sacred, and found that only minimal change to the existing memorial reserve would be required to ensure that it continued to stimulate appropriate senses in its audience (*Monument Hill Memorial Reserve Fremantle Conservation Plan* 2009, pp. 106–108). The plan indicates that the deliberate reproduction

of sacred-soliciting architecture along High Street will continue, albeit in a barely visible way.

This reading of High Street, Fremantle, has provided insight into the production and reproduction of a built environment for Anglican, Masonic, nation-building and empire-regenerating narratives. Since the 1970s, Fremantle's heritage movement has mobilized federal and local council resources to reopen High Street's direct line from the Indian Ocean, through Whalers Tunnel, through a series of temple façades to Monument Hill and the rising sun. This clarification of High Street's eastward line to Monument Hill supports a reading of equivalences between Fremantle's High Street and Java's Suku Temple. These equivalences can be grouped into three symbolic zones: the Round House/Whalers Tunnel and Suku Temple gateway, representing purification and birth; Fremantle neoclassical façades and Suku stone carvings, representing a meeting of profane and sacred worlds; Fremantle War Memorial and Suku Temple peak, representing the sacred realm where deified ancestors, God and deities ensure reproduction of their respective communities.

Notes on contributor

Thor Kerr is a PhD candidate at Curtin University's School of Media, Culture and Creative Arts. His thesis, supervised by Associate Professor Steve Mickler and Professor Niall Lucy, analyses representations of ecological threats and green urbanism in Fremantle, Western Australia. Thor managed a construction research and architectural publishing business in South-east Asia for more than a decade after working as a journalist and editor in the Netherlands and Indonesia.

Notes

1. The *lingga* is now held at the National Museum in Jakarta.
2. At least 500 of the 5,000 Aborigines transported to Rottnest Island died there (Mickler 1990, pp. 90–97).
3. Kaufman (1987) argued that Victorian architecture, particularly its façades, was intended to be read like books containing abstract images of history in which representation of the Classic, for instance, was reduced to an essentialist pattern of pillar, base and arch. Abstract representation of architectural strength lead to superfluous masonry: a pillar, for example, would be represented in a superfluous way to signify greater strength than the pillar physically had.
4. The Freemasons played a major role in the production of Fremantle's streetscape, indicated by the records of prominent people and buildings associated with Freemasonry in the local history photographic collection of the Fremantle City Library. For example, 'Charles Alexander Manning, 1807–1869, came to Western Australia in the very early days and became the largest landowner in Fremantle. He was the first Grand Master of Freemasonry and the first honorary keeper of records and collector of rates for the Fremantle Town Trust' (*Charles Alexander Manning* n.d.).
5. Watkin (1995, p. 407) argued that the rise in popularity of Freemasonry in Britain in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century may have been due to the membership of King George IV, his father and other royalty in Masonic orders and their patronage of Masonic architecture.
6. Opposite Monument Hill at 200 High Street is the former Anglican Fremantle Grammar School, founded and run from 1882 to 1897 by prominent Freemason and federationist Sir Henry Briggs (Manford, 1979).
7. This soliciting of the sacred on white male terms is anything but diminished by Solomon Street now running directly into Monument Hill along the Fremantle heights in the direction of the old Anglican Grammar School. The street name was changed on Fremantle maps from 'Mary Road' to 'Solomon Street' in 1951–1952 (*Atwell*, n.d.),

presumably because Elias Solomon had lived in the street at a house called Ocean View. Solomon was a prominent local businessman, founding president of the Fremantle Hebrew Congregation, and Fremantle's mayor in 1889–1891, 1896–1898 and 1900–1901 (*Ocean View*, n.d.).

8. I watched this video on 27 February 2011 in Fremantle Prison with other visitors before entering the tunnels under Monument Hill.

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