

Appendices to The Place Names of Our Land

In research, the horizon recedes as we advance, and is no nearer at sixty than it was at twenty. As the power of endurance weakens with age, the urge of the pursuit grows more intense ... and research is always incomplete.

(Mark Pattison, 1813-1884 - *Isaac Casaubon* - 1875)

Preface

As the year of 2011 proceeded towards a conclusion, my memory turned to many happenings over past decades when, apart from continuing my research into the nomenclature of South Australia, I was requested to give speeches in the presence of members of societies interested in the history of South Australia, coupled with invitations to research and write upon the social history of both Thebarton and Glenelg - unfortunately, the two latter projects did not proceed to publication. However, several chapters from those rejected works are to be found hereunder.

Further, having spent formative years in the South East during the 1930s, I ventured into private research into many aspects of that district's history in the 19th century. Sadly, upon the conclusion of this venture, I was unable to entice local government authorities to publish my completed work. The following appendices contain extracts from that manuscript and are encompassed in histories of the towns of Mount Gambier and Naracoorte and, further, residual information is to be found under the heading of 'South-East' in the nomenclature text and elsewhere.

Also, in my trilogy, *A Colonial Experience*, I researched, at length and, *inter alia*, colonial life in the suburb of Norwood, which held many childhood and ancestral memories.

Extracts from all the aforementioned endeavours are to be found among the 54 appendices hereunder; for example:

In his *Adelaide - 1836-1976 - A History of a Difference*, Derek Whitelock says that 'in the 1870s, according to Anthony Trollope, in his oft-quoted narrative, it was 'one of the pleasant towns among the colonies...' The squalor and degradation of the working class...' and the overcrowding of houses that was 'a dark blot on our boasted and civil morality' was apparently no worthwhile subject for appraisal by this 19th century paragon of perception from overseas.

Further, at that time South Australia, had the worst infant mortality rate in the Australia colonies and, in 1875, 'the death rate in the City of Adelaide was more than ten per cent greater than in the remainder of the colony' - mute evidence of the wanton neglect of Parliament and the City Council in framing and enforcing an adequate *Health Act*. Little wonder that James Penn Boucaut declared that: 'The whole State is controlled by a coterie of half a dozen men in Adelaide [that] has no love for any man who strives for fair play in the working classes. Our legislation and system of government studies entirely too much the interests of capital.' [See under 'Boucaut' in the nomenclature text.]

Another subject that attracted, and disturbed me, was the paucity of attention given to the past and ongoing plight of the indigenous people, who inhabited this land for thousands of years before the arrival of European interlopers. Inspired by the revelations contained in Henry Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, in Appendix 46 I endeavour to confine myself to an analysis of local incidents and, at same time, delve into the respective roles of George Fife Angas and the South Australian Company in the betrayal of the Aborigines in colonial South Australia, together with recording insightful comments from discerning and concerned citizens.

Finally, in Appendix 16, titled *Alms Across the Sea - a Tale of Two Towns*, I republish an essay that appeared first in the *Journal of the Historical Society of SA* in 1999 which tells the story of the adoption of the town of Dernancourt, in France after World War I.

In this respect, on 25 April 1999, I forwarded, *inter alia*, the following correspondence to the Editor of *The Advertiser* who did not respond, either by personal communication or publication in his editorial columns!

Anzac Day Remembrance

I note that our Premier has visited Villers-Bretonneux in France and, as an ex-serviceman, whose late father served in France during World War I, I am disappointed that our 'Primate' was not informed of Adelaide's affiliation with the town of Dernancourt that was 'adopted' by the City of Adelaide in 1920. Over the years 1920-1922 substantial assistance was given to the citizens of Dernancourt and, in response, its Mayor said, *inter alia*:

If the whole of France has rendered just and solemn homage to the bravery of Australian troops, Dernancourt is, nonetheless, one of the villages of the devastated regions rich in remembrance of their generous intervention. Owing to this gratitude the municipal council, when planning to reconstruct this ruined village, gave the name of Rue d'Australie to the street formerly called La Fontaine - a simple yet sincere expression of our gratitude to the Australians of our sentiments of admiration for their heroism... of keen sadness for their free-will offering of sacrifice. To all ladies of Adelaide, to all your fellow citizens, and to your committee, give our most profound gratitude and thanks and our imperishable remembrance.

We have distributed the seeds, so kindly sent by the curator of the Adelaide Botanic Gardens. If they thrive, as we hope they will, we shall plant the shrubs and trees on the graves of the Australian soldiers, so that the Australian soul, which hovers over their cemetery, will find an Australian oasis in the midst of France...

Mr Kennett, Premier of Victoria was, no doubt, pleased with our Premier's visit to Villers-Bretonneux, for that town was Melbourne's 'God-child' after World War I!

List of Appendices

For many years after the proclamation of South Australia the privilege of bestowing geographical names remained the prerogative of His Excellency, the Governor, but later a section was included in the Crown Lands Act transferring this authority to the Government of the day. This system gave free play for the exercise of much personal patronage, so much so that when I took stock of South Australia's nomenclature in 1908 I found that fifty per cent of our place names perpetuated those of men and women more or less deserving of such honour, while only fifteen per cent were traceable to the Aboriginal dialects.

(Rodney Cockburn, 1877-1932)

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Appendix 1

A Brief History of South Australian Nomenclature and an Analysis of Perpetuated Myths: 1893 -1990

*An address given by Geoffrey H. Manning at the Family History Award Dinner
of the SA Genealogy and Heraldry Society on 23 June 1990*

Introduction

A Canadian expert once said in respect of the science of toponymy - that is the study of place names - that:

The leading principle in an investigation is to trace their origin back through the documents to the very earliest discoverable form, if possible, to the first written form. Often this gives the origin at once, particularly if it is a name given by explorers.

Where it is not plain, reference to contemporary history usually shows the event and under whose patronage the exploration was undertaken.

In South Australia we are, indeed, fortunate that much primary source material is available for those attempting to seek the truth in respect of the origin of place names.

Unfortunately, however, in the past some South Australian nomenclators have accepted conjecture and hearsay and the aftermath of their less than deliberative conclusions has led to many fables being implanted as fact into the State's history.

Before embarking on a brief history of the State's nomenclature, I turn to an outline of the naming of geographical features in South Australia.

Early Exploration

In 1627 the *Gulden Zeepard*, under the command of Francois Thyssen, reached that area of the coastline known today as Murat Bay. Aided and abetted by his distinguished passenger, Peter Nuyts, the names 'Isle St Peter' and 'Isle St Francois' were affixed to two islands and subsequently anglicised to 'St Peter Island' and 'St Francis Island' by Matthew Flinders in 1802 when he named the local group of islands 'Nuyts Archipelago'.

While it is generally assumed that the two islands were named after the respective Saints it is interesting to note that they incorporate the Christian names of the two Dutchmen and the question must be asked - Was this the first instance of egotism in respect of South Australian place names which was to become a tendency of some Governors of the colony after 1836?

Of historical interest is the fact that, in 1717, a Frenchman, Jean Pierre Purry wrote a proposal that 'Nuyt's Land' be colonised, but without official backing his scheme collapsed. Nine years later the Irish author, Jonathon Swift, wrote a book, inspired, no doubt, by Purry's proposal and, in *Gulliver's Travels*, he tells of the unknown land of Lilliput, where the male population was only six inches in height; the latitude and longitude of this land were shown to fall exactly on Saint Peters Island.

No more names were added to the map of what is now South Australia until December 1800 when Lieutenant James Grant RN, in HMS *Lady Nelson*, named several features in the South-East whilst en-route to Sydney. In 1802 that extraordinary navigator and cartographer, Matthew Flinders, charted and named innumerable features along the whole coastline and faithfully recorded his choice of names and their origin, a practice not always followed by some of his successors in local exploration.

The French navigator, Nicolas Baudin, named features contemporaneously with Flinders and produced charts of doubtful accuracy. The names he applied were generally of a descriptive nature but, following his death on the return journey to France, his deputies, Peron and Freycinet, substituted most of their Commander's names with prominent people in Napoleon's court. Captain Sturt placed only two names on the map during his epic voyage along the River Murray in 1829-30, when he named the river itself and Lake Alexandrina.

In 1831, Collet Barker landed near present-day Glenelg and discovered and named Sturt Creek after his friend. Apparently, he met his death at the hand of Aborigines at the mouth of the River Murray. With the advent of settlement in 1836 many new place names appeared on maps: many were to be of Aboriginal origin following Governor Gawler's 1839 edict but, unfortunately, this initial enthusiasm did not extend to recording the translation of the names used.

Pioneer Nomenclators of South Australia

Apart from an address given to members of the Royal Geographical Society by Rodney Cockburn, circa 1930, on 'The Aboriginal Element in SA's Geographical Nomenclature' there has been little public discussion since 1893 on the complex and fascinating subject of the origin of place names.

Accordingly, I offer the following remarks based on my own personal experience with the subject, together with a little historical background, gleaned as I followed many tortuous paths in the search for truth in respect of South Australian nomenclature. However, I hasten to add that on the journey I travelled 'false lights glimmered every step of the way', some of which I have pointed out for the direction of future explorers. In undertaking research over the past six years the words of the famous Scottish nomenclator, Reverend James B. Johnston, were ever present in my mind - 'Bad guesses are sure to bring shame and confusion.'

In discussing toponymy in South Australia we must acknowledge two young surveyors who, I believe, were instrumental in having their peers and the general populace taking an interest in a small, but vital, part of our heritage. They were Charles Hope Harris and Horace Cobden Talbot who were employed in the Lands Department in the 1860s. They gained their surveyor's licences in 1869 and 1872, respectively, and as they mapped place names being implanted by settlers they, fortunately for posterity, recorded their findings.

In September 1893, C.H. Harris presented a paper to a meeting of 'The Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science' entitled Geographical Nomenclature of South Australia in which his main object was to:

Account for the introduction of well-known European names into South Australia, and to narrate incidents, both of geographical and historical interest, connected to them...

Some of the facts given are gathered from official sources, the remainder have been contributed by old residents, and authenticated by reference to documentary evidence contained in letters and diaries of early colonists.

In the course of his oration he castigated the habits of some Governors who had ignored:

The wealth of history and romance that is wrapped up in the names given by the natives to various natural features and localities; we have obliterated them for the sake of names more dear to vice-regal representatives, such as Alice, Caroline, Anna, Joanna, Julia, Laura, George, John and James...

We are said to be making history, but are we not lacking in courtesy in effacing the history of a less fortunate people whom we have displaced... It surely is not necessary to close the annals of this inoffensive simple race, certainly it is not generous of us to destroy their only records, nor is it wise to exclude from mental view the panorama of their past.

In examining a list of place names and their meanings he presented, it is evident that Mr Harris had not checked all the information supplied back to primary sources. For example, on page 24 he claims that Sibsey, Stickney and Spilsby Islands were named by Flinders after three of his crew drowned on 22 February 1802, when in fact they honour parishes in Lincolnshire, England: further, the date of the tragedy was 21 February.

H.C. Talbot did not publish any of his nomenclature records, which, today, are held in bound volumes in the Department of Lands and, as with C.H. Harris, he is guilty on occasions of accepting hearsay and instances are to be found throughout his work. However, he compiled and published a booklet entitled *The Early History of the South-East District of South Australia* in 1921 and one significant error in it has been perpetuated by Rodney Cockburn and local historians, namely, that the town of Mount Gambier (laid out, originally, as 'Gambierto[w]n') was created by Hastings Cunningham in 1854 when, indeed, a few minutes research at the General Registry Office would have elicited the fact that E.P.S. Sturt was the subdivider, circa 1849. (See Appendix 17)

The third and most lauded pioneer of nomenclature was Rodney Cockburn (1877-1932) who, as a young reporter with the *Register*, developed a healthy appetite for toponymy and, in 1908, published a book entitled *Nomenclature of South Australia* which was reprinted from a series of articles from the *Register*, *Observer* and *Evening Journal*.

As to its content the *London Daily Telegraph* opined that 'there can be no question of the value of the kind of information contained in these articles', but, as we shall see later, its publication saw a series of errors enter into local nomenclature which were to remain unchallenged for almost eighty years.

However, in 1940 the Nomenclature Committee, the predecessor of the present-day Geographical Names Board, did record in its minutes that:

Mr Cockburn's publication is a most useful reference and it is generally recognised as a very creditable production. Many names, however, are missing and further research has indicated that some of the references are not correct.

Following his death in 1932, his widow sold a revised manuscript and research notes to the Mitchell Library in Sydney and, later, a typed copy was acquired by the South Australian State Library and this was the basis for the book *What's in a Name* as published in 1984 by his son, Stewart Cockburn who, in a Preface, stated that it was 'a tribute to the quality of the author's research that so few mistakes have been discovered in it', to which any perceptive person may have been excused for posing the question as to whether any basic research back to primary sources had been undertaken over the period 1932-1984? - the answer, I suggest, would have been an unequivocal 'No'!

Rodney Cockburn's 'What's in a Name'

A facet of the publication of *What's in a Name* which deserves a mention is a review that appeared in *The Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* in 1985; the reviewer, Mr Graeme Pretty of the SA Museum and a member of the Geographical Names Board said, *inter alia*:

... [Rodney Cockburn]... now an acknowledged public authority on the subject and an adviser on it to parliament, obviously had access to the relevant government documentation. Finally, as he declares in his introduction, experience taught [him] the folly of presuming in an area where nothing short of rigid documentation is acceptable.



Rodney Cockburn (1877-1932)

It appears that this supposedly objective opinion was made without any specific detailed analysis being made of Rodney Cockburn's work which, as a result of my research over the past six years, I believe has an error factor of at least ten per cent. Further, another of the reviewer's statements, namely, 'We can safely regard the work as authoritative and in the future, as in the past, simply cite "Cockburn" as our source' appears to be the height of folly in view of the considered opinion expressed by the Nomenclature Committee in 1940. Mr Pretty concluded his review by saying:

We shall hope that the private papers of Rodney Cockburn now in the Mitchell Library, will prove to contain original correspondence upon which the published derivations are based and that Stewart Cockburn can find some time to incorporate references to them in future editions.

It would appear that the suggestion fell upon deaf ears for subsequent editions have been a facsimile of the first.

To the 1970s - The Work of Messrs Praite and Tolley

By 1970, Rodney Cockburn's work was deeply entrenched as the definitive work on the State's nomenclature, set apart as a most informative book and continually held out as the acme of perfection by learned historians. At this time two newcomers to the nomenclature field, Messrs R. Praite and K. Tolley, ventured into what must be defined as a veritable 'mine field' where pitfalls are ever present for both the amateur and professional historian. As a result of their research Rigby Ltd published *Place Names of South Australia*

A critique of this work appeared in an address given by a SA Government representative at an interstate conference of Geographical Names Boards when, *inter alia*, the following opinion was expressed:

... However, the book must be given its due that it filled a void and in my opinion the authors, who probably had had no experience in nomenclature, jumped in the deep end and judging from their reference sources and list of acknowledgements, endeavoured, if not successfully, to produce a reliable reference book. More stringent cross-checking and proof-reading would probably have achieved such a reference book.

To the 1980s - The Work of Geoffrey H. Manning

The late Justice Charles H. Bright in his introduction to *The Confidential Clerk* made some illuminating comments in respect of:

The tendency for later historians to continue to express the same views as their predecessors despite the later evidence. This is perhaps because the latter material often consists of scraps of circumstantial evidence which, considered singly, appear insignificant, but which, taken collectively, present a picture which is inconsistent with earlier views.

In a comprehensive and analytical review of this book which appeared in the *Advertiser* on 18 February 1984, Mr Stewart Cockburn who, at the time, was in the throes of publishing his late father's work on South Australian nomenclature, made the prediction that Mr Bright's book:

Is going to deliver a large jolt to professional writers of history and biography in Australia who have often taken in each other's washing and accepted secondary sources for their information, instead of going back to primary sources.

In a foreword Sir Walter Crocker was to conclude that:

Some errors, some of them enshrined in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and in our standard histories, are at length, cleared away.

Thus, the message to historians was loud and clear - seek out primary sources and avoid secondary sources, hearsay and conjecture as you would the plague!

I believe that it is the inherent duty for historians of each generation, be they amateur or professional, to 'constantly interpret the past' and reappraise the findings of their predecessors. Early in 1984, with the words of Messrs Bright and Stewart Cockburn ringing in my ears, I, tentatively, and I confess, with certain misgivings, approached Mr Max Medwell of the Department of Lands and Secretary of the Geographical Names Board with a view to obtaining expert advice as to where the truth might be found in respect of the derivation of place names in South Australia.

Following the publication of my *Romance of Place Names of South Australia* in 1986, Dr Brian Dickey, Reader in History at Flinders University, said:

Dictionaries of place names can be a great help - or they can authorise myths which though comforting have little relation to the truth. Manning corrects hundreds of myths given momentum by Cockburn, though in a drier style. There are none of the gentle essays on the state of things that made one tolerate Cockburn's loose scholarship. *The Romance of Place Names of South Australia* will therefore become our modern reference work on the subject.



Geoffrey H. Manning - ca. 1990

Taking umbrage, Mr Stewart Cockburn responded to this considered opinion and said that he was:

Sceptical of many of [Manning's] 'corrections' to my fathers work... I would rejoice at [the] opportunity to defend and promote the integrity of my late father's work and the accuracy with which he performed it. It would be a good opportunity to air, beside yours, the opinions of scholars of his own time who were more familiar with his life-long research than you appear to be.

Dr Dickey responded politely:

You and I may have disagreements about the relative qualities of Cockburn and Manning. Let me assure you that at no time did I entertain any other view of Cockburn's book than one of respect for an achievement well done in the years before World War I, combined with a certain mild concern that modern scholarship might pass it by.

When it was republished it was the best we had. Manning's book is clearly better, no question about that... Nothing I have said was intended to denigrate or put down Cockburn's book, except in the sense that I made it plain that I regard Manning's as better.

Potential buyers are entitled to such guidance...

I, too, have the greatest respect for the pioneering endeavours of my predecessors because it is their work that has provided a basis for later research. My own study has caused me to be grateful for those pioneers. But it has also revealed that they were not always correct and that the study of toponymy needs constant revision.

During the past six years I have been privileged to gain access to a vast array of historical resource material in the Department of Lands, Mortlock Library, Public Records Office, Australia Post and Education Department Archive and a plethora of local, district and family histories.

This new research information helped plot out the path of study before me, satisfied many of my own queries and clarified long-debated, long-held and erroneous information.

A Sample of Perpetuated Myths

In the following list*, selected on a random basis and representing in total less than half, I give examples of place names where I differ from the findings of Rodney Cockburn. The sources of my nomenclature may be found in my book *Manning's Place Names of South Australia*... My previous work has been revised and updated by an additional 800 place names. If any person should require prior information for the purpose of debate, I will be pleased to provide same. Indeed, the ever-changing nature of the availability of historical sources and the quest for historical fact necessitates continuing reappraisal of earlier works and I would sincerely hope that a future nomenclator subjects my work to such a process.

[* *The list contains approximately 100 place names and they, together with further comments on Cockburn's nomenclature, are to be found in the 'Source Notes' within this publication.*]

Conclusion

Our journey for historical knowledge is like the building of a path of stepping stones across a running stream. Each stone brings the searcher further on towards the goal. Such has been my aim and I find satisfaction in the fact that my work is another 'stepping stone' towards the goal of perfection in defining the origins of place names of South Australia.

Appendix 2

Extract From a Speech Given by G.H. Manning to the West Torrens Historical Society in May 2002

As long ago as 1839, Governor Gawler implored the local European populace to 'carefully and precisely' retain those Aboriginal names 'as most consistent with propriety and beauty of appellation' and to this suggestion Rodney Cockburn, the 'father' of local nomenclature research, was to comment in 1908 that 'all of our vice-regents have not shared Governor Gawler's love for native vocabularies' and, indeed, pronouncements over a century or more from State and local government authorities indicate all but universal dissent from the Governor's edict.

I am not alone in decrying the absence of action by those in authority - for example, a citizen of Adelaide said the following in 1876:

It's the practice [to foist] the unbaptised portion of the names of men more or less before the public on districts already known by native expressions, which, to say the least, are more euphonious and familiar... [This practice] will be sadly discovered a century hence, when puzzled topographers seek to know when and how certain places were so labelled.

May I add the word 'Amen!' and quote the words of another dissenter in 1882:

The memory of deadly battlefields and desperate sieges is preserved in the title of some beautiful hamlet; while the scattered inhabitants of a secluded village rejoice in the borrowed plumes of some crowded European city. English and colonial statesmen are immortalised in hundred, river or agricultural area and royalty has not been forgotten... It is a matter for gratitude that... some of the euphonious and appropriate native names have survived the ordeal.

Do Cockney names sound better than Nuccaleena, Angipena,... Paratoo, Kapunda, etc? ... There used to be a watercourse up north called 'Breakfast Time Creek' because the old bullock-drivers, starting early, always made it at tucker time. The natives called it 'Malthiecowie' (cool water) which was certainly as appropriate and much more musical...

Charles Hope Harris, an early SA surveyor and nomenclator, in an address given in 1893 to the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, said:

We are said to be making history, but are we not lacking in courtesy in effacing the history of a less unfortunate people whom we have displaced...

It, surely, is not necessary to close the annals of this inoffensive simple race; certainly, it is not generous of us to destroy their only records, nor is it wise to exclude from mental view the panorama of their past.

Coming closer to home; in October 1997 the *Weekly Times* had a headline - *Council Holds Back on Consummating Name* - and went on to say that 'Like a modern woman the West Torrens Thebarton Council is still umming and ahing over the make up of its double-barrelled name.'

A Hilton resident, Mr Mark Glazbrook suggested the 'City of Light', while Mr Kevin Kaeding of the Thebarton Historical Society, said that if the council was to abandon its original title it should consider taking an Aboriginal name such as 'Kawandilla', 'after the Kaurna aboriginal local district now known as Richmond and Cowandilla.' This, as we all know, was refused.

And this blatant neglect continues, the most recent example being the demise of 'Mudla Wirra' for 'Playford' in the Elizabeth/Salisbury area, while closer to home 'The City of Norwood, Payneham and Saint Peters' is said to be a stopgap name and I await anxiously if there is any support forthcoming for my plea that local anthropologists be consulted at the SA Museum with a view to obtaining a suitable Aboriginal appellation for the City - The Corporation of Norwood & Kensington was the first municipality outside the City of Adelaide, having received the grant of separate municipal government on 7 July 1853 and if the new body was to adopt an Aboriginal name it would be a 'first' within the inner metropolitan area. Of course, we have the recently created City of Onkaparinga, which embraces outer metropolitan and rural areas.

In my opinion South Australians have shown a deplorable lack of good taste and originality in the selection of names, especially those of suburbs. Native names with the exception of three (Taperoo, Medindie and Cowandilla) have been entirely discarded in favour of imported appellations, which destroy the identity of the place, while its imported names, from personal experience, has led to a Babel of increased confusion - There was another suburb created in 1927 and known as 'Waldaree Park' (Aboriginal for 'acacia'), but it was swallowed up in Gepps Cross.

[A copy of the complete speech is held by the author and will, in due course, be donated to the State Library of SA]

Appendix 3

Comments on South Australian Nomenclature

Extracts from the SA Register, 27 September 1861, page 3d

The best catalogue of names of eminent persons in this colony will be found by reference to a proclamation in an obscure newspaper termed the *Government Gazette*... In that list will be found the surnames of each of the then existing ministry... Take now the large number of musical and euphonious sounds which designate our large towns

in the North. How infinitely better are Kooringa and Kapunda... [they] are surely to be preferred to a thousand counties of Smith, Jonestowns or Snookvilles.

If outlandish names are to be taken to designate certain spots, then, by all means, let them be at least appropriate. To name rivers, counties or streets after Australian Governors may be pardonable, but the evil is the extent to which it is carried, and the same may be said of all other proper names affixed to places, for surely the inventive genius of the country must be dormant.

Extracts from SA Register, 7 October 1861, page 3c

Some of our names have apparently been given to the places by drunken bushmen and from our scrupulosity in interfering with the liberty of the subject, an inflection of no light character has to be borne by those who come after them. Sheaoak Log is passable... as it has an interesting historical association connected with it. But what shall we say for Skillogelee Creek? Are we ever to be reminded of thin gruel days at Dotheboy's Hall or the parish poor house? Who, Sir, would buy a section and build a house at Tolderol Point. I imagine Messrs Green, Parr and Luxmoore offering at an unheard of low price a charming building site at Tinpot.

But, jesting apart, such names must and do present us to other countries, especially the mother country, as a population in which blackguardism is so predominant that bullock drivers and runaway sailors are usually selected to decide upon the names of our localities.

Extract from the Border Watch, 10 January 1862

It has frequently been a matter of deep regret - we had almost said disgust - at the constant recurrence of inappropriate names given to new villages or towns in the various colonies of Australia... We submit that in naming a new locality reference should be made to some great feature or peculiarity in the same, and in most cases, not all certainly, the Native Names especially of South Australia, will be found euphonious, at any rate more expressive than those adopted by the settlers...

There are a few imported names unobjectionable and slightly descriptive, viz., McLaren Vale, Watervale. Mount Remarkable, etc., but leaving Adelaide and following any main road just glance at the stupid and inappropriate cognomens distributed on every hand... Kent Town in compliment to the original proprietor may not be deemed much amiss, but Stepney, Norwood and Kensington - who that retains any recollection of the first with its venerable church, the ancient tombstone connected with the legend of the Fish and the Ring - of the second with its shady walks and celebrated Gipsy, or of the last but not least - beautiful suburban Kensington, its forest like scenery, its music and gay promenaders, who, we would ask can trace the slightest resemblance between 'the old Love and the New'...

The most appropriate appellation given to any village in that locality is 'Klemzig', a name that would, from its derivation, at once indicate a row of dirty, ill contrived, lumbering cottages, gable ends, on to the single thoroughfare, embedded in mud, surrounded by pigsties and dunghills, every hovel ornamented with peculiarly fitted windows, here a dab of paper, there an unmentionable garment stuffed in the aperture, or occasionally an old hat or wisp of straw... Enough for the present, we have started our locality as Mount Gambier, and Mount Gambier it shall be, to the end of the chapter... Our thriving town is not to suffer under a misnomer because of the hallucinations of an interloping Victorian barrister and tho' the Post Office officials may, under the effects of circumlocution fever or red tape delirium, adhere for a time to this stupid term [Gambierton] we have little doubt, but ere long, they will return to the proper designation of this place as announced by the Sheriff on 19 December and recognised by the Act of the South Australian parliament, dated 29th November 1861, viz., Mount Gambier - twelve months ago we protested against this tasteless practice...

Extracts from SA Register, 3 August 1868, page 3c

Would it be too much to ask of the namers that any district having already a suitable native name should be allowed to keep it...? Who the Annas, Joannas and Carolines are, no one I suppose knows or cares to know; the... opinion in the bush is that they are the names of those kindly-disposed young ladies who so frequently call on Mr Beddome* in the forenoon... by-the-by I fear that something serious has happened to one of them as I see in the Gazette of July 16 the Surveyor-General refers to the 'west part of Blanche'.

And now Mr Editor... you know that nearly everybody in the colony pays you threepence daily to be saved the trouble of thinking for themselves. If then you agree with me that the native names should be retained, and will be so good as tell your readers so, it will prevent our future maps being disfigured with the names of any more Betsey Jones or Jemmimer Anna.

** He was a Special Magistrate - the inference, surely, alludes to prostitutes! - see Register, 1 July 1870, page 6b where he is confronted by 'ladies of the night'.*

Extract from the SA Register, 6 January 1869, page 2d

At last we have outgrown the Betsy-Jane style of christening of Hundreds; but it may be questioned if we have not run into the opposite extreme. The leaning of [the] Government [is] towards the American numerical system. Two new Hundreds, which are to be declared in the County of Flinders, are dubbed respectively No. 37 and No. 38. The first lies to the northward and the second to the southward of Coffin Bay.

Extract from SA Register, 10 October 1872, page 4f

We can scarcely imagine that [the Governor] is solely or even mainly responsible for such preposterous and disfiguring names on our maps as Jamestown, Georgetown, Laura, Hundred of Dublin and a dozen others equally objectionable.

Extract from the SA Advertiser, 26 June 1876, page 4f

It's the practice of foisting the unbaptised portion of the names of men more or less before the public on districts already known by native expressions, which, to say the least, are more euphonious and familiar... [this practice] will be sadly discovered a century hence, when puzzled topographers seek to know when and how certain places were so labelled.

Extracts from the SA Register, 16 December 1879, page 5f

When this earth of ours was all completed and made ready for the residence of man, a certain celebrated personage, Adam, was appointed nomenclator-in-chief of the animal world.

It is a great pity that some such officer is not appointed in this new land to give sensible names to the various Government townships as they are formed. Jamestown and Laura are sad enough as appellations for trading centres of agricultural districts, but absurd as are these names, we have lately beaten them for downright ridiculous snobbery.

To what brilliant genius of a topographical godfather or godmother does South Australia owe the classic designations bestowed upon the latest two Government townships, 'Arthurton' and 'Carrieton'... While human nature is what it is, however, it can only be expected that the member of Government, head of department or local 'great man' should thus endeavour to immortalise the names of his relatives. He likes it 'and so do his sisters and his cousins and his aunts'.

Extract from the SA Register, 16 July 1881 (supp.), page 3b

Allow me to protest against the absurd way the Government is altering the names of places in the North. When they changed Coonatto into Hammond, Wirreanda into Cradock and Wonoka into Hawker it was bad enough, but they are now confusing and misleading the general public in a worse way... Some forty five miles from Port Augusta there is a township joining the railway called Gordon, but the station itself, 100 yards away, is called Wirreanda.

The Hundred of Wirreanda is some distance away and Wirreanda itself is now called Cradock. About 114 miles from Port Augusta there is an outstation on the Edeowie Run that has from time immemorial been called the 'Meadows'. This place ... [has] now [been] rechristened Parachilna, although eleven miles away from that place...

Extract from the SA Advertiser, 20 December 1881, page 6b

Our geographical nomenclature bears rewriting. Think of Chapmanton, Amyton, Laura, Carrieton and a score of others, and blush for the poverty of resource they display. Unlike the traditional rose I believe they would smell sweeter had they some more original and acceptable name.

Extract from the SA Advertiser, 12 August 1882, page 7c

The memory of deadly battlefields and desperate sieges is preserved in the title of some beautiful hamlet; while the scattered inhabitants of a secluded village rejoice in the borrowed plumes of some crowded European city. English and colonial statesmen are immortalised in hundred, river or agricultural area and royalty has not been forgotten... It is a matter for gratitude that... some of the euphonious and appropriate native names have survived the ordeal.

Extract from the SA Register, 20 September 1887, page 7f

The founders of South Australia and their successors (in the soft-goods line) have covered our fair land with the names of their female relatives... I pass by Adelaide as the exception proving the good rule... I fail to see a Cromwell, a Shakespeare... nothing of the English history; nothing to tell the glories of our common race...

What argument can be offered for perpetuating at the cost of suffering the names of the placemen of the hour any more than those of Hog Bay or Jolly Town, or Sheoak Log, or of Carrie or Amy, and the other emasculated appellatives which disfigure our country's map?

Extracts from the Advertiser, 4 April 1888

Only recently our honest Premier owned that in apportioning a grant to the Stirling East District Council he was under the impression that the grant was being given to a council near Port Augusta. The mistake under the circumstances was not unpardonable, the fault being due to the similarity of names, or rather to the persons who permitted the anomaly of having three places in the same colony named Stirling, two of which are suitably named as far as positions are concerned. But a stranger to both localities in writing to either place is apt to omit a portion of the name, thinking that only one town of the same name will be found in the same province, and frequent annoyance is the result...

A person arriving in this colony, and wishing to join his friends at the Meadows, consults his railway guide, and finds that he has to take train for Quorn, *etc*; but after travelling some 200 miles north discovers that he has to retrace his journey to the city, and start again to the older village, something like 20 miles south of Adelaide. Many similar examples may be given...

It has been said that we have no history, but that statement is not true, as we are making our history daily. It would be wise for us individually to do our utmost by upright and generous actions to keep its pages unsoiled... It was on March 19, 1852, when every heart in the colony was gladdened by the return of the first [gold] escort with its rich treasure... there was a greater stir in Adelaide than when Stuart made his triumphal re-entry into our city of banks. Doubtless both events have been too momentous to disappear from the chronicles of our land.

Extract from the SA Register, 26 April 1890, page 7g

[I] protest against the indiscriminate changing of our beautiful native names and the substitution of names which have neither beauty nor appropriateness, such as Hopetoun for Innamincka... We shall all have to relearn our geography lessons...

Extracts from the SA Register, 25 July 1900, page 7d

The public will thank you for your timely article on the absurdity of so many of the names with which our localities in South Australia are humiliated. The places so handicapped are, like the unfortunate infants christened after certain celebrities, voiceless in the matter...

Some years ago, when a well-known explorer named a number of places after personal friends, the *Register* entered a good-humoured protest. When a township bearing a most musical native name was rechristened Hopetoun The *Register* quietly sent it to Coventry by persisting in printing its original title...

Do Cockney names sound better than Nuccaleena, Angipena ,... Paratoo, Kapunda, *etc?*... There used to be a watercourse up north called 'Breakfast Time Creek' because the old bullock-drivers, starting early, always made it at tucker time. The natives called it 'Malthiecowie' (cool water) which was certainly as appropriate and much more musical...

Extract from the Advertiser, 17 September 1900, page 4d

Many of the changes that have already taken place show that, despite early or local associations, improvements are commonly welcomed and gradually prevail. 'The Tinpot' which once described a considerable district has been practically displaced since a town in the locality was named 'Woodchester', which is infinitely better; and Glenburn was adopted as a substitute for 'The Stockyards'.

Yet we retain 'Shea Oak Log' with three capital letters, 'Thistle Beds' and 'Teatree Gully'... 'Tailem Bend' needs renaming quite as much, unless there is a sacredness in 'tail 'em' as a reminiscence of droving days. 'Snuggery' makes a considerable demand on the imagination, but nothing like 'Australia Plain' as a title for a postal town.

Extract from SA Register 16 July 1907, page 6h

South Australia has shown a deplorable lack of good taste and originality in her selection of names, especially those of suburbs. Native names with the exception of two (Medindie and Cowandilla) are entirely discarded in favour of imported appellations, which destroy the identity of the place. If South Australia must import her names, let her select those not likely to induce a babel of increased confusion.

(For comments on this exposition see Register, 18 and 20 July 1907, pages 6d & 11e.)

Appendix 4***Foreword to the Romance of Place Names of South Australia***

by

Sir Walter Crocker - November 1986

Good wine needs no bush; good books need no lengthy preface.

Place names have been the subject of scholarly studies in Europe for the last half century and a half. Historians of the rank of Stenton in England, Lognon in France, Förstemann in Germany gave much of their time to the subject. England, as usual, has had many enthusiastic amateurs, and in its Place Names Society has long had a repository of established knowledge and standards. Several countries in Europe have shown a comparable interest and have place name dictionaries.

The history of Europe has been deeply marked by mass movements of people. Thus the Celts, especially in their manifestation as Gauls, were scattered in pockets, many of considerable size, all the way from Ireland and Wales across to Asia Minor and from Belgium down to the Mediterranean. England itself, long after the Celtic invasions, received in turn the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, the Scandinavians and the French speaking Normans. Place names in England illustrate these incursions and migrations in innumerable instances. They illustrate too how topographical features are a main source for place names - rivers (Riverside), brooks (Brookside), fords (Oxford), bridges (Cambridge), moors (Sedgemoor) and so on. And they illustrate the strange changes brought about by one group being unable to get its tongue around the words of another: English peasants for instance turning the Norman French Beau Repair ('beautiful place') into Bear Park and Route du Roi in Hyde Park, into Rotten Row.

Place names in Australia illustrate all these phenomena. Our British forbears coming here often gave with understanding nostalgia the names of their English towns and villages to their new homes, thereby creating an odd patch work of neighbouring villages taking the names of somewhere in Scotland and a couple of miles away of somewhere in England or Wales or Ireland.

Our Pewsey Vale (from Wiltshire), for instance, adjoins the Barossa (from Spain). Both Governor Gawler and George Fife Angas, separately but with similar intelligence and sensitiveness urged the case for Aborigine names. This was to the good but it did result in mispronunciations and misunderstandings - almost with the same wild luxuriance as it did in anglicizing place names in India or Africa or America.

Mr Manning since his retirement as a bank official has been devoting his time to local history. He now adds to the four books he has brought out, this interesting and useful work. To it he brings the enthusiasm of the Stentons and the Lognons and not a little of their disciplined research. He has had the benefit of the work done by his three predecessors, to whom he makes generous acknowledgement, but his book is his own, the result of three years of study and many hours in the Department of Lands, the General Registry Office, the Public Records Office, the State

Library and Map Department, the Mortlock Library, the South Australian Museum for the Tindale papers and with the Geographical Names Board. He has also delved into various European gazetteers.

He is well aware that the last word has not yet been said on more than one South Australian place name, notably those of Aborigine or alleged Aborigine origin.

In addition to Mr Manning's text, which is as careful as it is modest and unpretentious, the reader will enjoy the collection of 180 well chosen photographs, seventeen original maps in facsimile, informative pieces by Mr Potter-Medwell on Early Pastoral Plans of South Australia and Mr William Watt on anomalies in South-East coast nomenclature and let it be said in this sesquicentenary year a fine example of book making by the century-old Adelaide firm of Gillingham.

Appendix 5

Foreword to Manning's Place Names of South Australia

by

Susan Marsden - September 1990

An interest in history and historical research often starts with an investigation of one's own family or local district. Soon, the links with South Australian and Australian history as a whole and with other countries become apparent and these may be explored in their turn. Geoff Manning's work reflects those widening interests and skills. Starting with family and local histories he has since explored the many connections between local place and the wider world, as expressed in South Australian place names.

Careful research resulted in the publication of *Romance of Place Names of South Australia* in 1986 but by then the search had become compelling and the information in the first book has been continually corrected and extended. *Manning's Place Names of South Australia* is the result.

Manning's Place Names will answer many questions about the origins of South Australian settlements and place names as the author continues his search for the more elusive answers. In this book the search is made as evident as the solutions and the reader gains a strong sense of the historian's craft which is almost as engrossing as the history itself.

For the book is a history, not simply a reference tool. Most entries describe the circumstances of the naming as well as the derivation of the name itself, and if this is not available, other historical detail is provided. In this way the book is a gazetteer setting out succinct histories of towns, suburbs, landscape features and other named localities in South Australia, past as well as present. The use of original records also exposes several inaccuracies in existing historical works.

In many other ways this study of place names reveals much about the history of South Australia. Each name expresses an aspect of that history. Such names as Eudunda and Gumeracha perpetuate both the ancient Aboriginal attachment to watering places and the reason for their displacement by Europeans. Local Aboriginal place names, altered though they may be, also throw light on the languages and preoccupations of a long-departed local people.

By contrast, many blunt British proper names honour the politicians and civil servants who ruled South Australia from afar as well as their local representatives. The explorers were responsible for many of those names although some major features, such as Eyre Peninsula and the Flinders Ranges, were named for the efforts of the explorers themselves. Tracing place names given by the governors yield a history in itself, indicating the extent of settlement during their administrations and recalling the exploratory journeys made by Grey and Robe (in the names of South East towns and features such as Lake Eliza, after Grey's wife). Gawler's name was attached to a town, river and range, and Blanche, the name of Governor MacDonnell's wife, was used 16 times during a period of great territorial expansion in the 1850s and 1860s.

From the 1870s until the 1920s when the government set out dozens of towns in new agricultural districts such personal names proliferated wildly across the landscape. By then the names included South Australian politicians and public servants, such as Cotton, Kingston, Loveday and Goyder. Governor Jervois made repeated use of mundane family or colleagues' names and that habit is proposed as the most likely derivation for Elliston than the popular and more romantic explanation.

In *Romance of Place Names* Sir Walter Crocker commented on place names which reflect ancient European origins but which in Australia all jumbled together. In South Australia the names of English suburbs are placed alongside Irish towns and next to German or Scottish hamlets. The original meanings of names such as Aldgate, Brompton, Cheltenham, Lobethal, Craighburn and Lochiel are given, together with their reuse in the new land. South Australian character was further enhanced by misspellings of other old names like Theberton, Lynedoch and Barrosa.

I have often regretted that, in their zeal to win favour or as an act of sentiment, most settlers preferred British proper names to the far more evocative Aboriginal or descriptive names. But many can be found here. Besides Aboriginal names for water, red gum forests and plains there is Dismal Swamp, Biscuit Flat, Black Forest, Dry Creek, Green Patch, Cockatoo Valley, Nullarbor Plain. And there are many place names which will vividly recall past events such as Memory Cove, Cape Adieu and Encounter Bay, Mount Hopeless and Mount Deception, Admella Dunes and Bunyip Reach, Coromandel Valley, Darke Peak, Accommodation Hill and Aero Park. The sailing ships which

brought nineteenth century officials and settlers to South Australia provided names like, Rapid, Pirie, Bolivar, Cygnet and Golden Grove. Distant wars which once touched the lives of South Australians are also commemorated in names such as Balaklava, Sedan, Birdwood and Monash.

Ernabella was named after Ernabella, who claimed traditional ownership of that country. Far more commonly, the names of British landowners or leaseholders were used (*see Angaston, Bowmans, Christies Beach*). The strength of family connections is made apparent in the many places named (mostly by men) after wives, children and other relatives. The author takes care to point out that these derivations are less certain; the entry for Ethelton is an example of his methodical weighing up of conflicting evidence.

Geoff Manning discusses who provided the names, when and why they did so, in the process revealing the varied backgrounds of the early settlers, their determination to profit from the new land and their mobility. That mobility, which is a major theme in Australian history, also represents a formidable difficulty for place names research. It is evident that many place names refer to people's relationships with individuals and localities on the far off side of the planet and in their previous lives, totally removed from life in South Australia. Geoff Manning has taken particular care to trace those connections.

One of the great pleasures of historical research is being given the opportunity to read original documents, and out of print publications. The author generously shares this pleasure by providing many quotations, such as the unusual obituary of the notorious Paddy Coglein, and some extravagant land sale advertisements. Some local prose was itself the origin of a place name: Glory Crossing perpetuates the thwarted hopes, failed effort and ironic humour of the defeated farmer which is such a characteristic Australian experience.

Geoff Manning also shares with the reader some little-known historical pictures. Several photographs are reproduced from private sources such as the Gillingham Collection.

The section on sources shows how fragments of information from many sources are gathered together gradually to form an explanation for a name. Sources include fundamental records such as surveyors' field books, certificates of title and pastoral lease maps as well as auction notices, parliamentary papers and references to Aboriginal nomenclature collected by anthropologists at the South Australian Museum. By contrast, some of the earlier explanations of place names relied heavily on hearsay. Geoff Manning estimates the 'error factor' in the nomenclature works published between 1908 and 1985 to lay between 10 and 15 per cent. The major errors are discussed in the sources section in *Manning's Place Names*.

Despite his respect for his predecessors, Geoff Manning makes it clear that toponymy - like any other area of historical research - needs constant revision as the researcher checks primary sources and discovers new evidence. His thoroughness, both in the research itself and his documentation of it, provides a model that many historians could well emulate.

Geoff Manning describes his work in toponymy as an exercise in patience and logic and one which he has found profoundly satisfying. The author's patience and logic have produced an invaluable historical reference work and his pleasure is apparent in a book which is a most satisfying read.

A Review of Manning's Place Names of South Australia

by

*Dr Rob Linn - Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia
Number 19 -1991*

For many years now I have held the opinion that South Australian researchers need more general information on the basic facts of the State's history - good reference guides. A number of books have appeared since 1966, like Andrew Peake's *Sources for South Australian History* and Peter Howell and Brian Dickey's really excellent *South Australia's Foundation, Select Documents* that assist with such information. Other books such as Elizabeth Kwan's *Living in South Australia: A Social History*, have also given us an amount of general research information.

Geoffrey Manning's new edition of this book on South Australia's nomenclature provided perhaps the best example yet of a fine reference volume for South Australian researchers. He has meticulously researched the origin of names of districts, towns, localities and the like. Moreover, he has given us the sources of information; a rare treat indeed. The book is more than mere nomenclature. A total read will give a feel for the history of the State's survey and settlement.

I first turned to one of the areas I knew most about: an area out of Truro on the east side of the ranges running to the Murray Flats. Manning had an entry for the particular property I had researched, Baldon Station; had noted the original name for the area (a very fitting one), The Dustholes; and had listed the most obvious geographical feature, Accommodation Hill. In each case Manning's reading of the Department of Land's sources was impeccable. Moreover, his cross references to other nomenclature on the area and properties connected with the major land owner in that part, Lachlan McBean, were 'spot on'. He explained where other sources of information stood on the nomenclature and opened up, in effect, a field of research on this one district and property.

My assumption after this test case was that if Manning was so scrupulously correct in an isolated instance for a little-known property, his work must have enormous merit. The first edition of this book, while good in itself, has here been fully updated. It beats any other publication on South Australia's nomenclature hollow and will – and

must – be the starting point for all research in this field. While there is a good deal of room for argument about whose version of South Australia's place names is correct - a debate I will not enter to in this review - Manning at least provides us with his logic for his choice and his research. This is all that can be asked of any writer.

All these good qualities are met with an excellent job of production. Gillingham Printers have provided a beautifully typeset and designed book that is a pleasure to read. The typeface is clear, eminently suited to such a large work, and the reproduction of many excellent maps and illustrations is first rate. The retail price is very reasonable for the quality of production.

So, if you want to have a read that will consume your mind for days and find out about South Australia from Aaron Creek to Zion Hill, as well as the origins of street names in Adelaide and North Adelaide, this book is a must. It is an outstanding contribution to the history of South Australia and a credit to Manning's dedication and thoroughness.

Appendix 6

Early Pastoral Plans of South Australia

by

M.R.R. Potter-Medwell

Secretary, Geographical Names Board of South Australia (1984)

The Colonisation and development of South Australia has been widely discussed and written about on many occasions, incorporating innumerable views and theories relating to South Australia of then and now.

Filed in the Surveyor-General's Division of the Department of Lands are little known and priceless records which can be used to depict the spread of settlement and which also record the original land features, vegetation and early improvements.

These records often show the first reference to the naming of many features, such as creeks, hills or cultural improvements like bores, wells and paddocks from which later geographical places or features adopted their names. The value of these plans is now only just beginning to be appreciated and by using modern digitising methods, simple indices showing the area covered by each plan are gradually being compiled, so that the information shown thereon can be assessed by historical and nomenclature authorities as well as heritage, botanical and environment researchers.

These plans either precede the survey diagram Hundred books or parallel them in the pastoral areas of the State and by their very nature, are unique. It is even doubtful if similar records would be available in other States or countries of the world. For this reason, their existence must be preserved for all time and yet they must still be made available for the avid researcher to examine in detail, in the interests of the past, the present and the future preservation of our heritage.

As early as 1840 graziers radiated out from Adelaide and other centres like Port Lincoln and Robe in search of good grazing land on which to raise their flocks. In 1842, the Waste Lands of the Crown Act was passed to regulate their situation by issuing Occupation Licences and in the Gazette of 7 November 1850 a proclamation was passed setting out regulations to enable fourteen year leases to be let over the Waste Lands of the Crown at a rental depending on the area and quality of the land involved, This necessitated a valuation and survey of the property.

Possibly some squatters in an effort to protect their interests, arranged a survey of their run prior to these regulations, for example, John Tennant engaged John McDouall Stuart in 1848 to prepare a plan of his run adjacent to and north of Tumby Bay on Eyre Peninsula.

The plan and those of the 1851 leases represent the start of the survey and mapping of the country lands of South Australia, excepting, of course, the few special surveys done for freeholding purposes. Although not tied to any trigonometrical stations, these runs when digitised and juggled or pieced together like a jigsaw fit reasonably well. They were frequently named after an Aboriginal locality name thus becoming a geographical place more readily identified within the State.

One such property near Mount Gambier was Mullel taken from the native name of a waterhole on the lease although this name is nowadays more readily recognised as Mil-Lel, a well-known cheese factory. Other run names were later retained for townships, hundreds, creeks or hills and so the nomenclature of South Australia grew, not only by the use of borrowed English place names or family names, but by the retention of early Aboriginal names, the phonetic spelling of which, frequently left much to be desired.

Between 1840-1842, Captain E.C. Frome, Royal Engineers set about establishing trigonometrical stations covering Eyre Peninsula, the Adelaide Plains and a strip northerly to Hallett. It was not until fifteen to twenty years later that further trigonometrical work was done in South Australia and this extended north of Hallett and into the Flinders Ranges.

These records have been well used and are known as the angle or observation books and the trig rack plans. Apparently as an offshoot to this work, a few large volumes of plans known as 'Starting Points of Runs and Fixings' and 'Sketches and Fixings' by A.T. Woods in 1866-1867 also evolved. These latter books contain some of the first survey data of early pastoral runs, as well as fixings to natural waters and improvements and may also show general

topographic and botanical detail. Nomenclature detail was now also starting to come to the fore in each and every plan prepared.

As the area of the State covered by the Trigonometrical surveys expanded through the 1860s, 70s and 80s, it became possible for the Pastoral Field Sketches (and valuations) of the runs to be accurately linked together and although only in most cases 'sketches', their accuracy is extremely good when compared with modern 1:250000 and 1:50000 topographical mapping. By the use of simple proportional dividers, improvements like wells, bores and huts or ruins previously not shown on modern mapping can be accurately located, verified and shown on future topographical mapping.

These plans are literally covered with a wealth of information, including not only place names that have survived into present day common usage, but descriptions of the country and enlargements of homesteads and buildings and their designation. This series, known as the 1888 Pastoral Field Sketches, commenced in 1884 and continued into the 1920s and could be said to be the basis for the old four mile to one inch Pastoral Plans of the State used to show land tenure in the outback regions, from which in turn, the GPS or general Plan of the State was also compiled.

In association with these plans, Valuation Papers (both surveyors and Arbitrators) were compiled detailing all improvements and their valuation to enable compensation to be paid to any outgoing lessee.

Within the better rainfall country many of these leases were not re-offered on expiry but were surveyed for closer settlement into the Hundreds and therefore the Hundred Survey Diagram Books showed similar, and later detail, but more accurately, as that depicted on the Pastoral Field Sketches.

The value of these records cannot be estimated in terms of money, only in terms of historical value for posterity and their worth to the researcher, be they for nomenclature, heritage or botanical research and yet they have no permanent, fireproof storage available. Some have been microfilmed but many have not, due to staffing and financial constraints in the Department of Lands.

Author's Note - Illustration of early pastoral plans and field sketches are reproduced in G.H. Manning, *Romance of Place Names of South Australia*.

Appendix 7

Anomalies in South-East Nomenclature

Abridged report prepared for presentation to the Geographical Names Board by W.H. Watt, Drafting Officer, Geographical Names Section, Department of Lands, regarding the alteration to the location of some of the names of French origin along the South-East coast of South Australia.

Introduction

During a routine nomenclature check of the 1:50000 scale topographical map sheet 6922-IV 'Buffon', it was noticed that there was a discrepancy with the name used for a particular cape on that map sheet and most other records held within the Department of Lands as compared with the name shown for said cape on the map prepared by Lieut. Louis Freycinet for the report prepared by Freycinet and Peron of the French Exploration Expedition to Australia led by Nicolas Baudin. Further research proved that a number of the names of coastal features in the South East Area as shown on the current topographical mapping and records of the Department of lands are not in the locations shown on the map prepared by Freycinet. It is felt that the matter should be forwarded to the Geographical Names Board for consideration.

To assist the Board in this matter the following information is supplied:

Background

Nicolas Baudin (1750-1803) was appointed commander of a French expedition instructed to explore the coast of Australia. Outwardly, this was a scientific expedition, concerned with the study of geography, botany, *etc.*, but it is felt in many areas, that there were underlying military reasons behind the expedition.

Baudin had under his command, two ships, being *Geographe*, a 30 gun corvette, and *Naturaliste*, a store ship. This party left the port of Havre on 19 October 1800, arriving off the west coast of New Holland (Australia) in May 1801. The actual exploration of the coast of South Australia did not commence until early 1802, for reasons that have no bearing on the matter in question.

Baudin proceeded along the coast of South Australia bestowing names on various coastal features as he travelled in a basically North-North-Westerly direction along the coast from the southern point of the State. The names given by Baudin were basically descriptive names, or names referring to the situation he found when arriving at a particular feature. However, the names given by Baudin as shown in his unofficial log were not those shown in official reports of the expedition as compiled by Peron (naturalist on the voyage) and Lieut. Freycinet (commander of *Naturaliste* and *Casuarina*) as detailed later.

As is well documented, Nicolas Baudin and Captain Matthew Flinders met at the area now known as Encounter Bay in April 1802. During the space of time the ships were together, Flinders and Baudin met twice and exchanged views and information regarding the exploration undertaken to that time. Then they parted company and proceeded on their voyages. Relating to the said meeting, Flinders noted in his journal the following comments:

At the above situation of 35° 40' south and 138° 58' east (Encounter Bay), the discoveries made by Captain Baudin upon the south coast have their termination to the west, as mine in the *Investigator* to the eastward.

I distinguish it by the name Encounter Bay. The succeeding part of the coast having been first discovered by the French navigator, I shall make use of the names in describing it which he or his countrymen have thought proper to apply that is, so far as the volume published enables me to make them out, but this volume being unaccompanied by charts and containing very few latitudes and longitudes by which the capes and bays can be identified, I must be excused should any errors be committed in the nomenclature (the volume referred to is the first publication of the record of the French expedition as prepared by Peron, the naturalist on said expedition).

Baudin's exploration continued, though beset with many difficulties and problems, to its termination at a point named by him as Point du Depart (shown as Cape Adieu on current mapping).

On the voyage home to France, Baudin died at what is now known as Mauritius (then known as Isle of France - the same place where Capt. Matthew Flinders was imprisoned for a period of some seven years on his voyage home).

The account of the voyage (entitled *Voyage de Decouvertes Aux Terres Australes* was issued at intervals, Volume I, edited by Peron was published in 1807, at Paris. Volume II, compiled by Peron until his death and completed by Freycinet was dated 1815 - this volume was accompanied by an atlas).

Problems of Nomenclature

It is felt that the problems of nomenclature associated with the French expedition can be divided into two sections:-

- (1) The alteration of names originally given by Baudin to those that appeared in the official accounts of the voyage prepared by Peron and Freycinet.
- (2) The alteration of the position of the names shown in the official record of the voyage compared to the locations shown on current mapping.

The first of these two sections, being the alteration of the names given by Baudin compared to the names appearing in the official account of the voyage, I do not regard as a problem. The reason for the alteration is reasonably clear, though perhaps not very flattering for Peron and Freycinet. When the expedition left France, Napoleon Bonaparte was just about to, or had just commenced, a term of some 7½ years as First Consul in the Republic of France. A few weeks prior to the return of the expedition (March 1804), Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor of France. This appeared to have a considerable effect on the nomenclature used in the official accounts of the voyage. The names used by Peron and Freycinet for the features along the coast were the names of the Napoleonic family and their supporters and favourites (Generals, Admirals, academics, *etc.*), most of whom were virtually unknown when the expedition first left France. Be that as it may, I feel the names that appear in the official accounts should be the names that are accepted for the following reasons:-

- (a) Whereas Baudin has bestowed certain names on the coastal features discovered by him, there is no guarantee that he would not have altered the names himself if he had returned to France, given the political situation existing in the country at the time the expedition returned. Whereas, he may not have used the same names, he may have used the same source of names.
- (b) There are many recorded instances where explorers have named a feature with a particular name in their unofficial logs or journals, and then altered the same completely in the official record. The reasons for these changes are generally unknown.

It is the second problem. being the alterations of the localities of some of the names as shown in the official accounts of the voyage, that is viewed with some concern. The alteration of the localities of the names has not been a sudden change, nor a constant alteration.

The seven plans on subsequent pages show the position of the names in question as taken from a series of maps and plans available within the Department of Lands. The coastal formation of the said maps was traced from the existing 1:250000 topographical map series produced by the National Mapping Authority. The above mentioned plans are in chronological order, commencing with the first names given in this area by Lieut. James Grant (commander of the *Lady Nelson*) in December 1800; to the establishment of the nomenclature as used on current mapping.

As can be seen from the said plans, the first dislocation of names occurred in the maps prepared by Capt. Flinders. However, this is understandable when the source of his information is considered. In fact, the possibility of such a mistake was anticipated by Flinders and an apology for same written into the text of his published journals (see the aforementioned quote). However, as can be seen from the within plans, the error made by Flinders was not duplicated in the early maps of the State, but over a period of some 26 years, alterations were made to the coastal nomenclature until the situation shown on Plan G (with the exception of the restoring of Cape Dombey to the point shown as Cape Lannes, and the placing of Cape Lannes to a small point south of Cape Dombey) was adopted. The nomenclature has since remained the same on all plans and maps prepared for this area (e.g., General Plans of the State, Hundred Plans, *etc.*)

No reason for these alterations can be established.

Conclusion

In most instances of scientific endeavour, where any naming is involved, importance is placed on the first name given. Whereas nomenclature of topographical features is somewhat different in that a certain amount of importance is placed on the local usage, I am not sure that the aspect of local usage covers this situation fully. In this particular case, it is not that another name from a different source has been substituted for the name originally given (as it happened in many occasions in both official and unofficial manner), but due to a series of alterations, the reasons for

which cannot be established, over a period of some 26 years which seem to have been initiated within the Department of Lands.

Comparison of nomenclature

as shown on the names from Baudin's Preliminary Charts,
the map published by Freycinet, and current mapping,
as taken from H.M. Cooper's *The Unknown Coast*.

Original Names upon Baudin's Preliminary Charts and Translations	Names upon Freycinet's Published Charts	Names upon Modern Maps and Charts
Cap Mt. Blanc	C. du Mt St. Bernard	Green Point
Pointe des Coreaux		
Les Charpentiers (The Whale Cutters)	Les Charpentiers	Carpenter Rocks
Les Doux Cousins (The Two Cousins; rocks)		Rocks near Cape Northumberland
Le Colombier (The Dove-cot)	Mt. St. Bernard	Mt. Schanck
Ance des Pecheurs (Fishermen's Cove)		Umpherstone Bay
Ance des Petrels (Petrels' Cove)		Blanche Bay
Cap du Chameau (Cape Camel)	C. Boufflers	Douglas Point
Point des Cordonniers (Skua Gulls' Point)		
Le Brilliant (The Diamond; an islet)		
Cap Bourru (Gloomy Cape)	C. Buffon	C. Banks
Pointe Marbree (Mottled Point)	C. Lannes	C. Buffon
Pointe Ripaille (Revelry Point)		
Baie de Quiberon (Quiberon Bay)	B. de Rivoli	Rivoli Bay
La Chaussee (The Causeway; reef)		Sherwood Rock
Cap Le Noir (Cape Black)	C. de Jaffa	Ringwood Reef, etc.
Pointe des Eponges (Point Sponges)		C. Martin
Pointe des Filoux (Rogues' Point?)		C. Lannes
Ance des Albatros (Albatrosses' Cove)	B. de Guichen	Guichen Bay
Cap Barre (Obstructed Cape)	C. Bernouilli	C. Jaffa
Baie des Orphelins (Bay of Orphans)	B. Lacepede	Lacepede Bay
Cap des Meduses (Jellyfishes' Cape)	C. Morad-de-Galles	
Pointe des Pigrieches (Magpies' Point)		
Pointe du Rossignol (Nightingale Point)		
Ance de La Perle (Pearl Cove)		
Ance des Becassinesx (Snipe Cove)		
Pointe du Papillon (Butterfly Point)	C. Fermat	
Pointe Basse Terre (Low Point)	C. Caffarelli	
Cap Le Lievre (Cape Hare)	C. Villars	
Baie des Invalides (Invalids' Bay)	Baie Mollien	Encounter Bay, part of*
Cap de La Rencontre (Encounter Cape)	C. Mollien	

Original Names upon Baudin's Preliminary Charts and Translations	Names upon Freycinet's Published Charts	Names upon Modern Maps and Charts
Baie des Mornes (Hillocks' Bay)	Baie Cretet	Near Middleton
Pointe aux Granits (Point Granites)	C. Montalivet	Newland Head
Isla Borda	Ile Decres	Kangaroo Id.*
Pointe de La Misere (Misery Point)	C. Dupleix	Porpoise Head
Cap de La Secheresse (Cape Barren)	C. D'Alembert	C. Jervis*
Golfe de La Misanthropie (Mankind-hater Gulf)	Golfe Josephine	Gulf St. Vincent*
Pointe aux Corbeaux (Crows' Point)	C. Seigne	Rapid Head
Ance des Savoyards (Savoyards' Cove)	Baie Hortense	Yankalilla Bay
Pointe aux Aigles (Eagles' Point)	C. Laetitia	Carrickalinga Head
Ance des Curieux (Cove of the Curious Ones)	Baie Vendonne	Aldinga Bay
Pointe Pittoresque (Picturesque Point)	C. Stephanie	Witton Bluff
Pointe des Ourcins (Sea-eggs' Point)	C. Nemours	Marino Point
Pointe des Bouquets (Aromas' Point)	C. Lafayette	Point Malcolm
Ance de La Verdure (Verdure Cove)		
Pointe aux Arbres (Trees' Point)	Pt. Victorine	Near Port Gawler
Pointe aux Islets (Islets' Point)	Pt. Mole	Yorke Point
Ance des Fumees (Cove of Smokes)		Marion Bay
Archip. de L'Est (Eastern Archipelago)	Is. Vauban	Althorpe Ids.*
Pointe des Malfaisants (Malicious Point)	Pt. Mornay	Cape Spencer*
Cap de L'Entree du Golfe de La Melomanie (Cape at the entrance of Melomanie Gulf)		West Cape
Pointe des Soupirs (The Point of Sighs)		Corny Point*
Golfe de La Melomanie (Music-mania Gulf)	Golfe Bonaparte	Spencers' Gulf*
Pointe de La Reprise (Renewal Point)		
Isles Sterile (The Arid Isles)	I. Dalberg	Wardang Id.
Cap de L'Abandon (Cape Relinquishment)		
Bruin (The Bear?)	I. Lagrange	Boston Id.*
Port de La Confiance (Port Safety)	Port Champagny	Port Lincoln*
Cap de La Sortie du Golfe de La Melomanie (Cape at the outlet of Music-mania Gulf)	C. Turenne	Waterhouse Point
La Parasol (The Umbrella)		Thistle Id.*
Pointe du Mondrain (Hillock Point)	I. Valbelle	North Neptune Id*
Ance des Nerlans	C. Grecoart	Cape Catastrophe*
Pointe du Bastion (Bastion Point)	Baie Lavoisier	Sleaford Bay*
Pointe du Regard (Prospect Point)	C. Vauquelin	Cape Wiles*
Isles du Corp de Garde (The Guard-House Isles)	C. de Mairan	Stuart Point
La Misere (Trouble Id.)	Is. Lacondamine	Whidbey Ids.*
	I. Le Gentil	Perforated Id.*

Original Names upon Baudin's Preliminary Charts and Translations	Names upon Freycinet's Published Charts	Names upon Modern Maps and Charts
Isle due Passage (Fairway Id.) Pointe aux Crabiers (Crab-eater's Point) Ance des Granits (Granites' Cove) Cap du Detour (Cape Detour) Cap du Montoir (Cape Horseblock) Pointe du Piton (Peak Point) Pointe de La Savane (Savannah Point) Pointe des Fourmies Ance des Touriourous (Land Crabs' Cove) Les Enfants Perdus (The Lost Children; islets) L'Hamecon (The Fish-hook; islet) La Basse Terre (The Low Land) Cap de L'Eteignoir (Cape Candle Extinguisher) Isles du Pelicant (Pelican Isles?) Pointe de La Chaussee (Reef Point) Baie des Charpentiers (Whale Cutters' Bay) Cap des Mesanges (Tit-mice Cape) Ance aux Lezards (Lizards' Cove) Pointe du Serpent (Serpent Bay) Le Postillon (The Postillion) Ance des Damiers (Chequer-boards' Cove) and Ance des Sperlans (Sprats' Cove) Pointe du Relai (Relay Point) Pointe des Aiguilles (Needle-fishes' Point) Pointe des Requins (Sharks' Point) Point des Sucets (Sucking-fishes' Point; Remora) Pointe aux Seiches (Cuttle-fishes' Point) Pointe de La Cigogne (Storke Point) Baie du Passage (Fairway Bay) and: Baie des Pangolins (Ant-eaters' Bay) Baie des Herissons (Hedgehogs' Bay) Isles St. Pierre (Isles of St. Peter) Pointe du Pincon (Chaffinch Point) Pointe des Bruans (Yellow-hammers' Point; a bird)	I. Pingre Pt. Feuille Baie Rochon C. Brune Pt. Desfontaines Pt. Laincourt C. du Veteran Is. du Veteran I. Andreossy C. Correa Is. Morio C. Halle Baie Lemonier C. Fernel Baie Corvisart C. Ambroise-Pare I. Cuvier S. and N. portions of Baie Louis C. Lavoisier S. and N. portion of Baie Treville B. Jean-Bart Is. St. Pierre C. Dudouchage	Price Id. Avoid Point* Avoid Bay* Whidbey Point* Point Sir Isaac* Near Mount Greenly* Pearson's Ids.* Top-gallant Ids* Flinders' Id.* Cape Finnis Waldegrave Ids.* Cape Radstock* Sceale's Bay Point Westall* Corvisart Bay Cape Bauer* Olive's Id.* S. and N. Portions of Streaky Bay* Lindsay Point De Mole Point Point Brown* S. and N. portion of Smoky Bay* N. portion of Smoky Bay* Franklin's Id.* Saddle Peak Point

Original Names upon Baudin's Preliminary Charts and Translations	Names upon Freycinet's Published Charts	Names upon Modern Maps and Charts
La Rembarde (Reef) (The Rampart) Pointe Defies-vous-en (Point Bear-away-from-it) Isle des Olives (Isle Of Olives) Le Pacifique (The Peaceful One) La Boudeuse (The Sulky One) L'Etoile (The Star) Isles St. Francois (Isles of St. Francis) Cap Bon Fond (Cape Good Anchorage) Baie des Saints (Bay of Saints) Pointe Sans Eau (Waterless Point) Pointe Continentale (Continental Point) Pointe des Capucins (Capucins' (Monks) Point) La Sentinelle (The Sentinel) La Baleine (Reef) (The Whale) Les Compagnons (Islets) (The Companions) Pointe du Tisseran (Weaver-bird Point) La Navette (Island) (The Little Ship) Pointe de La Navette (Little Ship Point) Islets du Toreau (Isles of The Bull) Le Taureau (Islet) (The Bull) Pointe des Cordonniers (Skua Gull's Point) Pointe du Berceau (Cradle Point) Pointe du Romarin (Rosemary Point) Pointe du Chat-huant (Screech-owl Point) Cap des Chauves-souris (Cape Flitter mice) Pointe du Racroc (Lucky Point) Pointe du Depart (Departure Point) Le Cabaret (The Tavern) Le Sauter (The Tumbler; islet) Les Musiciens (The Musicians; islets) Cap des Bourasques (Cape of Squalls) Pointe des Adieux (Point Farewells) Isles des Martins (Pastor-birds' Isles)	La Rambarde C. D'Estrees I. Eugene Iles St. Francois C. Thevenard Baie Murat C. Beaufort Pt. Jerome C. du Gay-Trouin I. Caroline Is. du Geographe C. Motard I. Coquebert C. Malouet Is. Rubens Pt. Vien C. Gerard C. Van-Spaendonck C. David C. Mansard C. Soufflet C. des Adieux I. Rameau One of Is. Labourdonnais Is. Labourdonnais Is. Montenotte?	Cape D'Estrees St. Peter Id.* Evans' Id.* Hart Id. Cannan Rocks (25 feet) Isles of St. Francis* Cape Thevenard Murat Bay Cape Beaufort Peter Point* James Point L'ound's Id.* Flinders' Reef Purdie's Id.* Rocky Point Point Bell* Sinclair's Rocks* One of Sinclair's Rocks* Point Sinclair Eyre's Bluff Point Fowler* C. Nuyts* Cape Adieu An unnamed rock (20' inside Nuyts' Reefs One of Nuyts' Reefs* Nuyts' Reefs* D'Entrecasteaux Reef
* Named by Matthew Flinders		

Appendix 8

Random Thoughts on South Australian Nomenclature

Presented by Geoffrey H. Manning on 17 May 2005 at a Meeting Sponsored by Holdfast Books of Glenelg.

In 1627, the Dutch vessel, *Gulden Zeepard*, en route to the Dutch East Indies, was blown off course by a violent storm near Cape Leeuwin, finally making landfall at a group of islands off modern-day Ceduna, two of which were named 'Isle St Peter' and 'Isle St Francois' - anglicised, later, to 'St Peter Island' and 'St Francis Island' by Matthew Flinders, in 1802, when he dubbed the group **Nuyts Archipelago**. Of historical interest is the fact that, in 1717, a Frenchman, Jean Pierre Purry, wrote a proposal that 'Nuyt's Land' be colonised, but without official backing his scheme collapsed. Nine years later the Irish author, Jonathon Swift, wrote a book, inspired, no doubt, by Purry's proposal and, in *Gulliver's Travels*, tells of the unknown land of Lilliput, where the male population was only six inches in height; the latitude and longitude of this land were shown to fall exactly on Saint Peters Island.

While it is assumed, generally, that the two islands honour the respective Saints it is interesting to note that they incorporate, also, the Christian names of two Dutchmen, namely Francois Thyssen, the ship's captain and Peter Nuyts, his distinguished passenger! Accordingly, the question might be asked - Was this the first instance of egotism in respect of South Australian place names which was to become a tendency of some Governors of the colony after 1836? As an example of this unfortunate Vice-regal habit one only has to look at towns named by Governor Jervois during the late 1870s and early 1880s. For example, **Hammond** named after his son, **Custon**, the surname of a daughter's husband and **Lucieton**, after another daughter, Lucy - following objections from local settlers the name was changed to **Tantanoola**. Occasionally, he wandered from this path and, in 1881, named a town **Miranda**, taken from a British naval vessel that happened to be visiting South Australia at that time. Governor MacDonnell was cast in a similar mould and names associated with his Scottish ancestry, together with Blanche, the Christian name of his wife, are plastered over the countryside of modern-day South Australia.

Following the *Gulden Zeepard*, Lt James Grant, en route to the convict colony in New South Wales aboard the *Lady Nelson*, made landfall off the South-East coast and recorded in the ship's log that:

On the evening of 2 December 1800 one of those long flies, known by the name of horse stingers, came on board and lighted on the mainsail where it continued for some time. This was a stronger proof of land being near us than any we had yet seen, as this insect could not exist for any length of time at sea. Though no land was seen I redoubled my watchfulness. In the evening it came on to blow with much sea during the night which obliged us to keep a very snug sail, in order to be enabled to haul, if necessary, close to the wind without losing time. It continued to blow, with heavy squalls of rain, until 4 in the morning of the 3rd when we had daylight after which I made all the sail I could.

At 8 a.m. saw the land from north to the East-North-East, the part that was right ahead appearing like unconnected islands, being four in number, which on our nearer approach turned out to be two capes and two high mountains a considerable way inshore. One of them was very like the Table Hill at the Cape of Good Hope; the other stands further in the country. Both are covered with large trees as is also the land, which is low and flat as far as the eye can reach. I named the first of these mountains Mount Schank and the other Gambier's Mountain. The first cape I called Cape Northumberland, after His Grace, the Duke of Northumberland, and another smaller but very conspicuous just off the land which we plainly saw when abreast of Cape Northumberland, I named Cape Banks.

The next on the scene was the French navigator, Nicolas Baudin, during 1802, who named features contemporaneously with Matthew Flinders and those applied were, generally, of a descriptive nature but, following his death on the return journey to France, his deputies, Peron and Freycinet, substituted most of them with either those of people prominent in Napoleon's court or distinguished French citizens. For example; Baie des Orphelins (Bay of Orphans) became B. Lacepede, Cap Borreu (Gloomy Cape) became Cape Buffon, etc.

Prior to the formal European settlement within South Australia in 1836, the first non-indigenous settler was Thomas Whalley, who left the whaling ship, *General Gates*, in 1816, and landed at modern-day **Rolls Point** (named after Captain Rolls of the *Cygnets*, the fifth emigrant ship that arrived on 11 September 1836) and, two years later, induced a man named Billy Day to leave a whaler anchored there and join him in a Robinson Crusoe life. In time, he acquired the title of 'Governor Whalley' from the inhabitants and took a man named George Cooper into partnership, following which they kidnapped some female Aborigines and established a small farm upon the **Three Well River**, afterwards called the **River Cygnets**.

Another early settler was John Stokes, who is recorded as arriving at Kangaroo Island, in 1817, and living at **Stokes Bay**. He was followed by Harry Smith, who arrived at American River, in 1819, with a tent, gun and food. Later, he lived at Cygnets River and, finally, set up a home at a bay that, today, is mapped as **Smith Bay**. Both these names appear, first, on Captain Bloomfield Douglas' map of 1857.

By 1834, Whalley was living, near what is now known as **Kingscote**, with a mate named Harvey, who decided to go off with a sealing expedition; Whalley walked to Cape Borda keeping watch for the boat and signalled it by smoke but, because landing at Cape Borda was impracticable, the cliffs being some 400 feet high, he was compelled

to search along the coast for a landing place and discovered the spot now known as **Harveys Return** - previously, it was called **Murrells Landing**, after Joseph Murrell, master of the *Eliza* that visited the island in 1834. Whalley was reported to be a man of some education and abilities and sent his son to Tasmania to be educated; he dropped dead in Adelaide in the 1860s.

The old residents upon the island were not the lawless set of men as sometimes represented to be. Indeed, their ranks were recruited at times by undesirable characters, but the example of Whalley, perhaps, and the natural honesty of the brave and reckless old salts, did not allow them to associate with runaway convicts, who, occasionally, tried to join them - these fellows were, generally, glad to reshuffle upon the first opportunity.

During his epic voyage along the River Murray in 1829-30, Captain Sturt placed two names, only, on the map namely, the river itself and **Lake Alexandrina**. He was followed in 1831 by Captain Collet Barker who landed near present-day Glenelg, discovered and named **Sturt River** after his friend, Charles Sturt, and from the summit of **Mount Lofty** sighted a prominence that was to be named **Mount Barker**. - Sturt had seen it, in 1830, but thought it was **Mount Lofty** but on hearing of Barker's discovery named it in his honour. At the same time he saw, to the east, an inlet to the sea which became known as **Barker Inlet**. Two years later, John Jones, a whaler, set out from Launceston, Tasmania, and sailed into St Vincent Gulf where he claimed the discovery of a fine harbour, sheltered by an island, on the eastern shore of the gulf - **Barker Inlet**, or **Jones Harbor**, was rediscovered by Lieut W.G. Field of the vessel *Rapid* on 25 September 1836 and, today, bears the name **Port Adelaide**.

With the advent of settlement in 1836 many European place names began to appear on the Adelaide Plains and the village of **Hindmarsh** was the first private town to be laid out in the colony on land owned by Governor Hindmarsh and, in 1838, sold to a company the members of which appear to have been related to the Governor who, it seems, acquired a dubious reputation by prohibiting squatting in the Park Lands, thus forcing people to acquire land in the subdivision. Among the villages that followed, in 1838, were **Thebarton, Prospect, Marion, Kensington and Walkerville**.

In 1839, the use of names of Aboriginal origin was prompted by an edict from Governor Gawler's in which he implored the local European populace to 'carefully and precisely' retain those Aboriginal names 'as most consistent with propriety and beauty of appellation'. To this suggestion Rodney Cockburn, the 'father' of local nomenclature research, was to comment in 1908 that, 'all of our vice-regents have not shared Governor Gawler's love for native vocabularies' and, indeed, pronouncements over a century or more from State and local government authorities indicate all but universal dissent from the Governor's edict.

It saddens me to reflect that, today, Adelaide's suburbs bear three Aboriginal names only, namely, **Cowandilla, Medindie** and **Taperoo**, while **Waldaree Park** and **Wallarano Vale** have been swallowed up by Gepps Cross and Yatala Vale, respectively. However, on a happier note, from recent research among Professor Tindale's papers at the SA Museum I was pleased to find that he attributes the suburb of **Marion** to be a corruption of a short form of the Aboriginal *wari-parin* and, in another note, relates it to *wari-paringga*, the Aboriginal name for the Sturt River and a root word in the nomenclature of **Warradale**.

I am not alone in decrying the absence of action by those in authority in ignoring Aboriginal names; for example, a citizen of Adelaide said the following in 1876:

It's the practice [to foist] the unbaptised portion of the names of men more or less before the public on districts already known by native expressions, which, to say the least, are more euphonious and familiar... [This practice] will be sadly discovered a century hence, when puzzled topographers seek to know when and how certain places were so labelled.

After 23 years of research into the State's place names, may I add the word 'Amen' to that declaration and quote the words of another two dissenters in 1882:

The memory of deadly battlefields and desperate sieges is preserved in the title of some beautiful hamlet; while the scattered inhabitants of a secluded village rejoice in the borrowed plumes of some crowded European city. English and colonial statesmen are immortalised in hundred, river or agricultural area and royalty has not been forgotten... It is a matter for gratitude that... some of the euphonious and appropriate native names have survived the ordeal.

Do Cockney names sound better than Nuccaleena, Angipena ... Paratoo, Kapunda, *etc?* ... There used to be a watercourse up north called 'Breakfast Time Creek' because the old bullock-drivers, starting early, always made it at tucker time. The natives called it 'Malthiecowie' (cool water) which was certainly as appropriate and much more musical...

Many stories can be told that encapsulate the spoliation of the natural woodlands and physical features of the Adelaide Plains and, to conclude, I would like to share with you the history of the 1880 subdivision of **Southend**, comprising 15 allotments, on section 105, Hundred of Yatala, amidst the former sandhills that stood up to 16 metres feet high and about 30 metres wide, a few kilometres south of Semaphore; today, it is included in the suburb of Tennyson.

Frederick Estcourt Bucknall arrived in South Australia and, with no apparent profession or training, it has been suggested that he relied on financial support from his father in England. Over the period 1860 to 1869 he lived at Port Adelaide where he did much to encourage an interest in boating activities and founded the South Australian Rowing Club. He built a boat shed near the site of the Jervois Bridge that, in time, became the headquarters of the Port Adelaide Yacht Club.

In 1874, his fortunes changed dramatically when he married Rosa Haussen (nee Catchlove), the widow of a wealthy brewer, Henry H. Haussen. His wife brought with her to the marriage a sum of money reputed to be in the vicinity of £40,000, together with nine children. The money did not last long and twelve years later Bucknall was in serious financial difficulties from which he never recovered and, today, the evidence of some of his liberal expenditure is evident still in the Grange district.

As steamers gradually replaced sailing ships in trade and the transport of immigrants, **Port Adelaide** proved to be inefficient because it was difficult to handle large steamers in such a confined space. Consequently, it often became the custom for overseas ships to discharge their South Australian cargo in Western Australia, for transshipment to Port Adelaide by smaller coastal vessels - an expensive and inconvenient procedure. Alternatively, overseas vessels anchored off Glenelg where there was no protection in stormy weather.

Accordingly, as the 1870s came to a close and with prosperity temporarily abroad in the community, a meeting of some capitalists hatched up a grandiose plan in respect of several sections of land in the Hundred of Yatala fronting the eastern bank of the Port River to the south of Semaphore. In April 1877, Mr Bucknall purchased section 903 from George Serle - today the West Course of the Grange Golf Club occupies this land and there is evidence, also, that he provided funds to the syndicate that laid out the township of **Henley Beach** in 1877, namely, Arthur Harvey, Henry S. Anthony and William P. Wicksteed.

On 26 June 1878, a prospectus of the Wharf and Land Company, Port Adelaide South Ltd appeared in the local press and among its aims were the construction of a wharf on section 929, deepening the river and making approaches to it and laying out adjoining allotments. At a later date, it was proposed to construct a graving dock and patent slip, connect the site with Adelaide by rail and to cut a canal to the sea and form an entrance for ships.

The company proposed to issue 30,000 shares at £3 each and, of special interest was the fact that two of its directors were two latter-day land speculators, David Murray and John Brodie Spence, while its secretary was Arthur Harvey - more will be said, later, in respect of their scandalous conduct in the creation of the village of **The Grange**. In 1879, the company purchased sections 452(part), 903(from Bucknall), 923, 927(part) and 928 on the western bank of the Port River, occupied today by the Grange Golf Club and the suburb of **West Lakes**.

At about the same time, Mr Bucknall purchased, in his own name, section 105, Hundred of Yatala and, in 1880, laid it out into building allotments as **Southend** and supplemented it with a request to the Marine Board for permission to 'erect two piers for a canal from the **Semaphore** to the Port River...' There appears to have been very little interest in the company's scheme and when it was wound up in 1886, the number of unsold acres was the same as the total number quoted in the prospectus.

In conjunction with this venture he subsidised, at a cost of about £20,000, the building, at Grange, of marine residences as a housing project for men working for the Wharf and Land Company - they stand today on the sea front about 100 yards north of the Grange Hotel. He then built Estcourt House at a cost of about £12,000, as an adjunct to the canal and harbour plan, entertained on a lavish scale and regaled his guests with visions of the maritime splendour to be seen when coastal and foreign ships utilised the canal at his front door.

Perched on the highest part of the sandhills, it continued to stand in lonely splendour and, following his financial difficulties in the 1880s, remained empty until 1894, being known as 'Bucknall's Folly'; in that year it was purchased for £3,000 by the James Brown Memorial Trust as a home for aged blind persons and crippled children.

As for James Brown; he held the 'Avenue Range Run' in the South-East from the mid-1840s and this was the source of the nomenclature of the town of **Avenue**, proclaimed as **Downer** in 1886 and taking its present name in 1940. In 1849, he was charged with shooting dead, nine Aboriginal people - an old man, five women and three children. Unable to find witnesses, the crown dropped the case and Brown was released without trial, but few doubted his guilt. According to a local district magistrate, there was 'little question of the butchery or of the butcher.'

A biography of Brown written in the mid-1920s made a brief reference to the events of 1849, noting that he was 'involved in a charge of poisoning [*sic*] a blackfellow, but emerged from the trial with a clean escutcheon...'

In the book *Fatal Collisions* the authors say that 'it is difficult to make a hero out of someone who shoots defenceless men, women and children. Poisoning, on the other hand, is a more passive "see and forget" type of crime, one in which the victims are complicit in their own demise through the act of stealing of flour... Accounts of Brown's involvement in the shooting murders ... circulated until about the turn of the century but were eventually erased from the social memory of both black and white communities. The mechanism of erasure was the filter of the pioneer legend. That stories like the one of James Brown evolved as they did, and circulated virtually uncontested, is testament of the influence of the "pioneer legend" in shaping White Australia's view of the past.'

He died at Glen Osmond on 7 February 1890 leaving a large sum to his widow who bequeathed it, through the Executor and Trustee Agency Company, for benevolent purposes as a memorial to her husband. This legacy was used to provide a home for crippled children and a consumptive home, Kalyra, Belair.'

In conclusion, interested persons are referred to my history of the Grange Golf Club at pp. 31-33 where it is reported that the promoters of the village of **The Grange**, namely, Messrs Murray, Spence and Harvey, with financial assistance from Mr Bucknall, formed the Grange Land and Investment Company in 1878 as a corollary to the canal and wharf scheme. Sections 900, 901, 1006 and 453 were purchased from the trustees of Charles Sturt's estate in May 1878 and, while the village scheme was a bold one, it was unfortunate that 'one of its primary features was the removal of several thousands of pounds from the pockets of the community for the benefit of the

[promoters]' who were subjected to criticism in a parliamentary debate when it was suggested that 'the house was asked to [repeat] a fraud upon the community', but wiser heads prevailed and voted against the speculators.

At the same time the morning press accused them of a 'barefaced endeavour to divert public funds' and that they were 'part of a conspiracy to get money from the State coffers...' While the machinations of this devious financial speculation took their tenuous course, the subdividers set about selling allotments and the first purchaser to register his title was James Miller Anderson, a name well-known for over a century in the commercial world of Adelaide.

I conclude with, perhaps, my favourite comment on local nomenclature made by an Adelaide citizen in 1879:

When this earth of ours was all completed and made ready for the residence of man, a certain celebrated personage, Adam, was appointed nomenclator-in-chief of the animal world. It is a great pity that some such officer is not appointed in this new land to give sensible names to the various Government townships as they are formed. Jamestown and Laura are sad enough as appellations for trading centres of agricultural districts, but absurd as are these names, we have lately beaten them for downright ridiculous snobbery.

To what brilliant genius of a topographical godfather or godmother does South Australia owe the classic designations bestowed upon the latest two Government townships, 'Arthurton' and 'Carrieton'?... While human nature is what it is, however, it can only be expected that the member of Government, head of department or local 'great man' should thus endeavour to immortalise the names of his relatives. He likes it 'and so do his sisters and his cousins and his aunts.'

Appendix 9

Twenty-Five Years of Searching South Australian Nomenclature

An Address Given to the Port Elliot Branch of the National Trust on 14 September 2006

I have been researching the origin of our place names for more than 20 years and the most important lesson I have learned is that the leading principle is to trace their origin back through the documents to the very earliest discoverable form, if possible, to the first written form. Often this gives the origin at once, particularly if it is a name given by explorers. For example, it has been recorded that the suburb of Marleston was named after a place in Berkshire, England. However, the certificate of title in respect of the land shows that John Marles created the subdivision in 1879.

Of course, in most cases the truth is not so simple to locate. For instance, in the mid-1970s I was researching a family history and discovered that one of my ancestors had settled at McLaren Vale and at that time recorded nomenclature by both H.C. Talbot and Rodney Cockburn said that it was named by David McLaren when on a trip to Happy Valley and Hurtle Vale in 1837, but no source for the opinion was given by either gentlemen. This was disputed by Mr J.D. Somerville, who quoted from J.C. Hawker's *Reminiscences*: '... The Valley of McLaren, named from Mr [John] McLaren, Land Office, who surveyed it.'

In support of this statement the *South Australian* of 7 October 1845 said: '... named from Mr McLaren, of the Survey Office, who surveyed it'. Indeed, it is most unlikely that the party travelling to Hurtle Vale in 1837 would have been far enough south to traverse the McLaren Vale.

In an effort to resolve the matter I corresponded with Mr David Elder, the author of *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, and he said:

As I understand it McLaren arrived at Kangaroo Island on 21 April 1837... and the *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* for 8 July 1837 included a paragraph or two welcoming McLaren to Adelaide... This makes me wonder if Talbot was right in thinking that McLaren led an expedition to this area so soon after his arrival in Adelaide...

Thus, the weight of the evidence suggests that it was named after the surveyor, John McLaren.

Going back in time, in 1627 the *Gulden Zeepard*, under the command of Francois Thyssen, reached that area of the coastline known today as Murat Bay. Aided and abetted by his distinguished passenger, Peter Nuyts, the names 'Isle St Peter' and 'Isle St Francois' were affixed to two islands and subsequently anglicised to 'St Peter Island' and 'St Francis Island' by Matthew Flinders in 1802 when he named the local group of islands 'Nuyts Archipelago'.

While it is generally assumed that the two islands were named after the respective Saints it is interesting to note that they incorporate the Christian names of the two Dutchmen and the question must be asked - Was this the first instance of egotism in respect of South Australian place names which was to become a tendency of some Governors of the colony after 1836?

Of historical interest is the fact that, in 1717, a Frenchman, Jean Pierre Purry wrote a proposal that 'Nuyt's Land' be colonised, but without official backing his scheme collapsed. Nine years later the Irish author, Jonathon Swift, wrote a book, inspired, no doubt, by Purry's proposal and, in *Gulliver's Travels*, he tells of the unknown land of Lilliput, where the male population was only six inches in height; the latitude and longitude of this land were shown to fall exactly on Saint Peters Island.

Prior to the formal European settlement within South Australia in 1836, the first non-indigenous settler was Thomas Whalley, who left the whaling ship, *General Gates*, in 1816, and landed at modern-day **Rolls Point** (named after

Captain Rolls of the *Cygnets*, the fifth emigrant ship that arrived on 11 September 1836) and, two years later, induced a man named Billy Day to leave a whaler anchored there and join him in a Robinson Crusoe life. In time, he acquired the title of 'Governor Whalley' from the inhabitants and took a man named George Cooper into partnership, following which they kidnapped some female Aborigines and established a small farm upon the **Three Well River**, afterwards called the **River Cygnets**.

Another early settler was John Stokes, who is recorded as arriving at Kangaroo Island, in 1817, and living at **Stokes Bay**. He was followed by Harry Smith, who arrived at American River, in 1819, with a tent, gun and food. Later, he lived at Cygnets River and, finally, set up a home at a bay that, today, is mapped as **Smith Bay**. Both these names appear, first, on Captain Bloomfield Douglas' map of 1857.

By 1834, Whalley was living, near what is now known as **Kingscote**, with a mate named Harvey, who decided to go off with a sealing expedition; Whalley walked to Cape Borda keeping watch for the boat and signalled it by smoke but, because landing at Cape Borda was impracticable, the cliffs being some 400 feet high, he was compelled to search along the coast for a landing place and discovered the spot now known as **Harveys Return** - previously, it was called **Murrells Landing**, after Joseph Murrell, master of the *Eliza* that visited the island in 1834. Whalley was reported to be a man of some education and abilities and sent his son to Tasmania to be educated; he dropped dead in Adelaide in the 1860s.

No more names were added to the map of what is now South Australia until December 1800 when Lieutenant James Grant RN in HMS *Lady Nelson* named several features in the South-East whilst en-route to Sydney. In 1802 that extraordinary navigator and cartographer, Matthew Flinders, charted and named innumerable features along the whole coastline and he faithfully recorded his choice of names and their origin, a practice not always followed by some of his successors in local exploration.

The French navigator, Nicolas Baudin, named features contemporaneously with Flinders and produced charts of doubtful accuracy. The names he applied were generally of a descriptive nature but, following his death on the return journey to France, his deputies, Peron and Freycinet, substituted most of those names with names of people prominent in Napoleon's court.

During his epic voyage along the River Murray in 1829-30, Captain Sturt placed two names, only, on the map namely, the river itself and **Lake Alexandrina**. He was followed in 1831 by Captain Collet Barker who landed near present-day Glenelg, discovered and named **Sturt River** after his friend, Charles Sturt, and from the summit of **Mount Lofty** sighted a prominence that was to be named **Mount Barker** - Sturt had seen it, in 1830, but thought it was **Mount Lofty** but on hearing of Barker's discovery named it in his honour. At the same time he saw, to the east, an inlet to the sea which became known as **Barker Inlet**. Two years later, John Jones, a whaler, set out from Launceston, Tasmania, and sailed into St Vincent Gulf where he claimed the discovery of a fine harbour, sheltered by an island, on the eastern shore of the gulf - **Barker Inlet**, or **Jones Harbor**, was rediscovered by Lieut W.G. Field of the vessel *Rapid* on 25 September 1836 and, today, bears the name **Port Adelaide**.

With the advent of settlement in 1836 many new place names appeared on maps: many were to be of Aboriginal origin following Governor Gawler's 1839 edict but, unfortunately, this initial enthusiasm did not extend to recording the translation of the names used. Governor Gawler implored the local European populace to 'carefully and precisely' retain those Aboriginal names 'as most consistent with propriety and beauty of appellation' and to this suggestion Rodney Cockburn, the 'father' of local nomenclature research, was to comment in 1908 that 'all of our vice-regents have not shared Governor Gawler's love for native vocabularies' and, indeed, pronouncements over a century or more from State and local government authorities indicate all but universal dissent from the Governor's edict.

It saddens me to reflect that, today, Adelaide's suburbs bear three Aboriginal names only, namely, **Cowandilla**, **Medindie** and **Taperoo**, while **Waldaree Park** and **Wallarano Vale** have been swallowed up by Gepps Cross and Yatala Vale, respectively. However, on a happier note, from recent research among Professor Tindale's papers at the SA Museum I was pleased to find that he attributes the suburb of **Marion** to be a corruption of a short form of the Aboriginal *wari-parin* and, in another note, relates it to *wari-paringga*, the Aboriginal name for the Sturt River and a root word in the nomenclature of **Warradale**.

I am not alone in decrying the absence of action by those in authority - for example, a citizen of Adelaide said the following in 1876:

It's the practice [to foist] the unbaptised portion of the names of men more or less before the public on districts already known by native expressions, which, to say the least, are more euphonious and familiar... [This practice] will be sadly discovered a century hence, when puzzled topographers seek to know when and how certain places were so labelled.

May I add the word 'Amen!' and quote the words of another dissenter in 1882:

The memory of deadly battlefields and desperate sieges is preserved in the title of some beautiful hamlet; while the scattered inhabitants of a secluded village rejoice in the borrowed plumes of some crowded European city. English and colonial statesmen are immortalised in hundred, river or agricultural area and royalty has not been forgotten... It is a matter for gratitude that... some of the euphonious and appropriate native names have survived the ordeal.

As an example of this unfortunate Vice-regal habit one only has to look at towns named by Governor Jervois during the late 1870s and early 1880s. For example, **Hammond** named after his son, **Custon**, the surname of a daughter's

husband and **Lucieton**, after another daughter, Lucy - following objections from local settlers the name was changed to **Tantanoola**. On other occasions he delved into his past and introduced names such as **Cradock** and **Beaufort** which have a South African flavour for he served there for two years as an army engineer or adopted the name of officers with whom he served, for example, **Owen** and **Simmonston**.

Occasionally, he wandered from this path and, in 1881, named a town **Miranda**, taken from a British naval vessel that happened to be visiting South Australia at that time. Governor MacDonnell was cast in a similar mould and names associated with his Scottish ancestry, together with Blanche, the Christian name of his wife, are plastered over the countryside of modern-day South Australia.

The latest contribution to the Australian scene is *Australian Place Names* published by the Australian Broadcasting Commission which, as far as South Australian nomenclature is concerned, was compiled, partially, following a unique collaboration between the authors and Mr Stewart Cockburn, for the former extended special thanks to the latter 'for permission to print some 20' names appearing in the 1984 publication. Apparently, no indication as to the authenticity of Rodney Cockburn's work was passed on to the unwary authors?

In such a new work which, apparently, passed through the hands of *The Australia Nation Place Names Survey* at the Macquarie University where 'helpful suggestions' were made, any reader should expect to receive many interesting sidelights to our history based on reliable research.

However, it is apparent that neither the author, nor the University 'experts', were aware of the ignominy heaped upon Cockburn's work. Surely, any author should studiously avoid guess-work for, as the Reverend James B. Johnston once said; 'bad guesses are sure to bring shame and confusion.'

The book is riddled with errors in respect of South Australian nomenclature and readers are offered a plethora of falsehoods and, it must be said that the proof-reading or, perhaps, ignorance of historical fact, leaves much to be desired, for example, under 'Lake Bonney, SE', the name 'Henry's' should read 'Henty's'. By basing their work on information to be found in local histories, government websites and those of a similar ilk, the authors have produced a book that, as far as South Australian nomenclature is concerned, contains a host of inaccuracies and errors of fact.

The authors have committed an historical disservice, as far as South Australian nomenclature is concerned, by, apparently, accepting, as fact, information emanating from secondary sources and undertaking little or no basic research within primary sources. It can only be hoped that the fruits of their research, that has resulted in an insubstantial presentation of a smattering of the State's total nomenclature, have not spilled over into other States and Territories. If it has, then, I would suggest that the book is all but worthless as an historical reference tool.

Appendix 10

A 2006 Excursion into 'Taking in the Washing' within South Australian Nomenclature

Toponymy, the study of place names, has been the subject of studious research for almost 200 years and historians, such as Stenton in England, Förstemann in Germany, Samuel Lewis, in England and Ireland and the Reverend James B. Johnston, in Scotland, together with many amateurs, have added considerably to the many worldwide repositories of knowledge on this subject.

Coming closer to home, the work of Rodney Cockburn was the first to be published in 1908 and this was followed by an extension of his findings by his son who, in 1984, in an updated publication titled *What's in a Name*, said that it was 'a tribute to the quality of the author's research that so few mistakes have been discovered in it.'

Much of Cockburn's work was challenged in 1986 when Geoffrey Manning published *The Romance of Place Names of South Australia* which, according to the then Reader in History at Flinders University, Brian Dickey, corrected 'hundreds of myths given momentum by Cockburn.' Earlier, in 1940, similar sentiments had been expressed by the then South Australian Nomenclature Committee.

The latest contribution to the Australian scene is *Australian Place Names* published by the Australian Broadcasting Commission which, as far as South Australian nomenclature is concerned, was compiled, partially, following a unique collaboration between the authors and Mr Stewart Cockburn, for the former extended special thanks to the latter 'for permission to print some 20' names appearing in the 1984 publication. Apparently, no indication as to the authenticity of Rodney Cockburn's work was passed on to the unwary authors?

In such a new work which, apparently, passed through the hands of *The Australia Nation Place Names Survey* at the Macquarie University where 'helpful suggestions' were made, any reader should expect to receive many interesting sidelights to our history based on reliable research. However, it is apparent that neither the author, nor the University 'experts', were aware of the ignominy heaped upon Cockburn's work.

Surely, any author should studiously avoid guess-work for, as the Reverend James B. Johnston once said; 'bad guesses are sure to bring shame and confusion'.

In August 2006, the following letter was forwarded to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, the publisher of the said book, with a copy for information purposes to the Australian National Place Names Survey, Sydney. No response has been forthcoming from either party!

Brian Kennedy's *Australian Place Names*

The study of place names is a useful discipline and gives many interesting sidelights to our State's history, but any person entering it must studiously avoid guess-work for, as the Reverend James B. Johnston once said; 'Bad guesses are sure to bring shame and confusion.' However, disciplined research affords many joys of discovery...

(Manning's *Place Names of South Australia* (1990))

I am a retired banker, aged 80 years and, for the past 20-odd years, have researched South Australian nomenclature and published three books on the subject, namely, in 1986, 1990 and 2006. Recently, I purchased a copy of Kennedy's *Australian Place Names* and, as your corporation is the publisher, I felt obliged to address you in respect of certain facets of the said publication.

I do not want to make an issue of possible plagiarism; indeed, my primary concern is that many myths flowing from the pen of Rodney Cockburn have been perpetuated by a partnership between two former journalists, namely, Mr Stewart Cockburn and Mr Brian Kennedy. While it is none of my business but, because I have an innate curiosity in respect of my State's published historical works, I would be pleased to be informed as to why the authors singled out *What's in a Name* as a supposed impeccable source on South Australian nomenclature; indeed, its many shortcomings were noted as early as 1940 by the SA Nomenclature Committee.

In passing, in a Preface to *What's in a Name* Mr Stewart Cockburn says, *inter alia*, 'It is a tribute to the quality of the author's research that so few mistakes have been discovered in it.' Today, he is fully aware of the shortcomings in his father's nomenclature, as evidenced hereunder, but has retained the comment in all subsequent editions of the book. Why he chose to become a party to the publication of tainted nomenclature is puzzling.

Accordingly, I append comments in respect of the South Australian nomenclature contained in *Australian Place Names*.

Cockburn's *What's in a Name*

The authors extend to Mr Stewart Cockburn thanks for 'permission to print some 20 of the historically significant place names collected by his late father...' Further, additional reading is recommended and, in respect of SA nomenclature, Praite and Tolley's work and Rodney Cockburn's *What's in a Name* are mentioned but my offerings over three decades were overlooked.

The quality of my research was commented upon by Brian Dickey, Associate Professor at Flinders University, following the publication of *The Romance of Place Names of South Australia* in 1986:

Dictionaries of place names can be a great help - or they can authorise myths which, though comforting, have little relation to the truth. Manning corrects hundreds of myths given momentum by Cockburn, though in a drier style. There are none of the gentle essays on the state of things that made one tolerate Cockburn's loose scholarship. *The Romance of Place Names of South Australia* will therefore become our modern reference work on the subject.

Taking umbrage, Mr Stewart Cockburn responded to this considered opinion and said that he was:

Sceptical of many of [Manning's] 'corrections' to my fathers work... I would rejoice at [the] opportunity to defend and promote the integrity of my late father's work and the accuracy with which he performed it. It would be a good opportunity to air, beside yours, the opinions of scholars of his own time who were more familiar with his lifelong research than you appear to be.

Since that statement was made in 1986, Mr Cockburn has been silent in respect of my published works!

Further, in a critique of *What's in a Name* in 1984 the reviewer, a member of the Geographical Names Board, said, *inter alia*:

[Rodney Cockburn]... now an acknowledged public authority on the subject and an adviser on it to parliament, obviously had access to the relevant government documentation. Finally, as he declares in his introduction, experience taught [him] the folly of presuming in an area where nothing short of rigid documentation is acceptable.

It appears that this supposedly objective opinion was made without any specific detailed analysis being made of Rodney Cockburn's work.

Further, another of the reviewer's statements, namely, 'we can safely regard the work as authoritative and in the future, as in the past, simply cite "Cockburn" as our source' appears to be the height of folly in view of the considered opinion expressed by the Nomenclature Committee in 1940, namely that:

Mr Cockburn's publication is a most useful reference and it is generally recognised as a very creditable production. Many names, however, are missing and further research has indicated that some of the references are not correct.

As regards Praite & Tolley's *Place Names of SA*, the Secretary of the Geographical Names Board, in a report on an interstate conference on place names, said:

[It] must be given its due that it filled a void and in my opinion the authors, who probably had had no experience in nomenclature, jumped in the deep end and, judging from their reference sources and list of acknowledgements, endeavoured, if not successfully, to produce a reliable reference book. More stringent cross-checking and proof-reading would probably have achieved such a reference book.

I have perused *Australian Place Names* and suggest that many myths are perpetuated therein and it is, indeed, unfortunate that the authors opted for Cockburn's version. Dissenting primary source evidence unearthed by me is narrated in *Manning's Place Names of SA* in 1990 - indeed, in my opinion, the authors have engaged in a classic case of 'taking in the washing' from *What's in a Name* and elsewhere. Three examples, out of many, back up my assertion:

Athelstone was not 'established and named by William and Charles and Dinham.' On 27 June 1840 A.J. Murray purchased Section 811 of Survey A and, in official records, is described as of **Atholstane** and **Athelstone**. On 19 May 1841, A.J. Murray entered into an agreement with Charles Dinham and, on that gentleman paying the sum of £2,550, Murray undertook 'to execute a title to the said property in Mr C. Dinham's favour on him demanding same.' Undeterred by his lack of legal title to the land, Dinham proceeded to erect the '**Athelstone** Flour Mill', completed in 1845, together with a dwelling he called '**Athelstone** House' - probably, this was an extension to A.J. Murray's abode of 1840 which, previously, had been described as a 'very good dwelling house'. (*For sources and additional information see Manning's Place Names of SA at pp. 17 and 373 and www.slsa.sa.gov.au/manning.*)

Burnside - The South Australian Company did not lay out the subdivision. The exposition in my published work is not intended to dispute the fact that Mr Peter Anderson named his property **Burnside**. However, I disagree with Cockburn's contention that Anderson laid out the village. A search at the General Registry Office revealed that he leased section 320, Hundred of Adelaide, from the SA Company and, on 27 January 1848, assigned his lease in respect of sixty-seven acres to William Randall who, on 27 October 1850, registered the purchase of the freehold of section 320 from the company and, on the same day, sold Lot 25 to F.A. McPherson for £56. This memorial recites 'which section has been subdivided by William Randall and laid out as the village of Burnside.' Earlier, on 25 August 1849, Nathaniel Hailes, land agent, had advertised it as 'Burnside the Beautiful', no doubt at the behest of Mr Randall. The primary source evidence is supported by a letter to the *Register* in 1908 when W.G. Randall (W. Randall's son) said, 'my father purchased a property at the foot of the hills and called it Burnside after my grandfather's estates in Northamptonshire.'

Croydon was not created by Mr Coglin. In June 1853, Alfred Watts and Philip Levi purchased section 374, Hundred of Yatala, and, in 1855, laid out the village of **Croydon**. It comprised of 'Croydon Farm' of 40 acres, the remainder being subdivided into lots of up to five acres. Philip Levi was born at Brixton Hill, Surrey, England, in 1822, and as a **Croydon** lies in that county the genesis of the present day suburb, no doubt, is explained thereby.

Others in this category could be Beaumont, Cheltenham, Erindale, Glenelg, Kurralta Park, Marryatville, Maylands, Medindie, Millswood (partial), Oaklands (YP), Prospect, Saint Mary's Peak, Uley, Walkerville and Wilpena. If this statement is correct, **18 of the selected places from Cockburn are spurious.** (*See under Miscellany, below for a selection of further alleged errors in Kennedy's work.*)

Sources for *Australian Place Names*

Under 'Acknowledgements' it is said that the sources for this work were gleaned from 'hundreds of local histories and historical societies' and 'State and territory names boards who have gave permission to quote from their online files'. May I, for the benefit of the authors, point out some of the errors I found in 'official' government records as expressed by me in a Preface to my latest work:

In *Romance of Place Names of South Australia*, at page 72, will be found an entry under 'Frew Hill'; the recorded information was taken from official files but, upon closer investigation, and following my conclusion that John McDouall Stuart had never explored in the region, it was conceded that, at some time in the past, a grave misinterpretation of the explorer's journals prompted a responsible officer in the Department to misconstrue 'Frew Springs' in the Northern Territory as relating to 'Frew Hill' in the Far North-East!

If this statement is considered to be beyond belief, I would refer readers to the nomenclature of the 'Hundred of Short' - again, logic defies the generally accepted judgement recorded in the Department since time immemorial, viz, that it was named after Arthur Short, MP, who, strangely, did not enter parliament until some ten years after it was created - such are some of the pitfalls of nomenclature research. [*Today, the SA government's online file acknowledges the error with a reference to my assertion that it was named after the first Bishop of Adelaide.*] [*In passing, Praite & Tolley opt for Arthur Short.*]

As for the reliability of 'local histories' and information emanating from 'historical societies', accepted as gospel by the authors, I could list a raft of inaccuracies in such sources; for example, see under 'Miscellany' below and 'Norwood' in my recently published work.

Further, until I discovered that the town of Gambierto(w)n (modern-day Mount Gambier) was laid out by E.P.S. Sturt, all histories of the district, including learned University theses, 'took in the washing' from Cockburn's flawed research and named Hastings Cunningham as the subdivider. The lesson to be learned here is to seek the truth in primary sources and avoid secondary sources, hearsay and conjecture as you would the plague!

I believe that much of the information contained in the following names might have come from *Manning's Place Names of SA* or the Website www.slsa.sa.gov.au/manning which I compiled in the 1990s and sold to the State Library during 2005 - what I believe to be two glaring examples are to be found under Ceduna and Coonawarra - in respect of the former the government's website does not have any reference to the information in the first two lines

of *Australian Place Names* while, in respect of Coonawarra the meaning of *kuneia-warama*, meaning 'to light a fire' appears to have come from my research.

Other names suspected of coming within this category are Albert Park Angle Vale, Balhannah, Beverley, Bramah Lodge, Bridgewater, Broadview, Cape Adieu, Coonalpyn, Darke Peak, Ernabella, Golden Grove, Hendon, Holden Hill, Maralinga, Meadows, Modbury, Monarto, Paracombe, Peachy Belt, Penfield, Poeppel Corner, Thorngate, West Lakes and Whyalla.

I have checked the SA government's website in respect of nomenclature for 50% of these names and there is nothing to be found to support statements made in *Australian Place Names*. As for local histories, etc., I would be pleased to be informed of the authors' specific sources if they do not agree with my assertions?

Miscellany

I estimate that the majority of the South Australian entries in the book contain either inaccuracies or are totally incorrect. Accordingly, I offer the following facts gleaned from my research over many years. A few entries recite additional information - wherever possible, and in the interests of brevity, my remarks address the essential differences I have with their findings. The results of my research, together with sources, are to be found in *Manning's Place Names of SA - From Aaron Creek to Zion Hill* (2006) published by Gould Books.

Allenby Gardens - It is not a suburb of Woodville but a suburb of Adelaide.

Andamooka - To the best of my knowledge the discoverer of the 'large waterhole' is still unresolved. At the inaugural meeting of the Royal Geographical Society (SA Branch) on 22 October 1887 Sir Samuel Davenport, in his address, said in contradiction that '[it] was found by Messrs Swinden and others in 1857.'

Ardrossan - The name comes from the Gaelic, *ardross* - 'high' and *rosa* - 'cape'.

Arkaba - It was the **Hundred of Arkaba** that was proclaimed on 18 January 1877, not **Arkaba**. There is an **Arkaba Creek**, while **Arkaba** was the name given to a pastoral station established by W.J. and J.H. Browne in 1851. SA Museum records state it is a corruption of the Aboriginal *akapa* - 'underground (or hidden) water.'

Barossa - In 1838, there was a notice in respect of Charles Flaxman referring to the **Barossa Range** - this is the earliest known mention of it with the incorrect spelling, while in 1848 it was said that, 'a very strange mistake has crept into the geography of the province which we fear is now irretrievable. Colonel Light named a range to the north **Barrosa** ('the hill of roses')... this name, however, is spelled **Barossa** in the maps and is so pronounced by our colonists.'

Of interest it the following - The spelling of the name was discussed, and editorial comment made, in 1870 and, in a response, a correspondent referred interested parties to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and Maunders' *Biographical Treasury* both of which render the foreign name as 'Barossa' - Frederick Barbarossa was a Holy Roman Emperor, engaged in the third Crusade and drowned while en route to the Middle East. On 31 January 1870 another person said that he was, 'inclined to search for the etymology in the name of Barbarossa (the terror of the Mediterranean in his day)...'

Another letter on the same day lists other authorities showing 'Barossa': 'With reference to 'Barossa' instead of 'Barrosa' I believe Light only followed the military rule - for in all military annals the battle is spoken of as that of the 'Heights of Barossa'. Barrosa itself was the name given to a signal station or town...'

Beaumont - The nomenclature is entwined with the history of the Davenport family for they occupied a house in Oxford, England, on the western side of the street and north of **Beaumont Street** - on contemporary maps **Beaumont** and **Beaumont Fields** are shown in the near vicinity.

Berri - The town was called *beri-beri* by the Aborigines, and thought to mean 'wide bend in the river', but this suggestion is unconvincing because there is no significant 'bend' in the river at this place. On early maps the name 'Beri Beri Hut' was shown and the 'Beri Beri Tribe' mentioned in 1906.

Blair Athol - Cockburn does not mention this place, while Praite and Tolley offer only the meaning of the Scottish name as a 'field cleared of trees'. The authors say it was the name of the home of the Magarey family, but I believe they are in error.

Following her marriage on 10 March 1886, Mary Ann Cameron married William Walter Warren and, in October of the same year, purchased a house situated at what is now 11 Hewitt Avenue, Rose Park, calling it 'Blair Athol'. In January 1905, she purchased land from the executors of the late Thomas Magarey and changed the name, 'Livingstone House', his family home on that property, to 'Blair Athol House'.

Her sons created the modern-day suburb in 1915.

In Scotland, the village of **Blair Athol** was, in ancient times, recorded as **Blair-Athole**, a reference to the prehistoric Earldom of Athole - the Gaelic *blar* means a 'plain', 'field' or 'battlefield'; thus, 'the field of Athol'.

Blinman - The date of 1859 cited by the authors relates to the discovery of the copper lode, not the laying out of the town. The township of **Blinman** was surveyed in 1864 on land south of the mine (changed to **Blinman South** on 20 March 1986) and three years later **Blinman North** was laid out nearer the mine; changed to **Blinman** on 20 March 1986.

Brighton - Matthew Smith was not the sole owner of the land when it was subdivided.

Brompton Park - Mr Coglin is remembered by the following nomenclature in SA - **Hundred of Coglin** and **Coglin Creek** - there is no town or other place called **Coglin**, (except street names) as asserted by the authors.

Burra - Other towns now included in Burra are Charleston, Coolinga, Millerton and Roach Town.

Campbelltown - Sections 309 and 310, Hundred of Adelaide, purchased in 1839 by S.G. Smith, were sold to Charles James Fox Campbell who subdivided section 310 in 1851 naming the village **Campbell Town** after himself. Today, it is rendered **Campbelltown**.

Cavan - In 1855, the first proprietor of the Cavan Arms Hotel was B. Gillick who was born, circa 1826, in County Cavan, Ireland; derived from the Gaelic *cabhan* - 'a cavity'.

Ceduna - Baudin did not name Murat Bay - he christened it *Baie de Saints* - Freycinet named it *Baie Murat* - see *Manning's Place Names of SA*, p. 216. There is another misstatement in the book. In the late 1890s, local residents presented several petitions for a town to be surveyed at Murat Bay and this was undertaken by W.G. Evans and **Ceduna** was proclaimed on 20 June 1901. In passing, Cockburn incorrectly designates it as a 'railway station'.

Cheltenham - Richard Day created it, not John Denman. Genealogical records show a John Denman living in Cheltenham, Adelaide, and having been born in Somerset. The grantee of the section was Charles William Stuart on 8 August 1838, not Denman. Apart from primary conveyancing documents supporting my contention, the reminiscences of life in South Australia by John Halliday said that, following his marriage in October 1850, 'we rented a house for one week... I then negotiated with Mr Richard Day, of Tam O'Shanter Belt, for a piece of land in Cheltenham.'

Coober Pedy - Norman Tindale says it derives from *kupa-piti* - 'boy's waterhole'. The initial mineral discovery in the district was made in 1904 when 'the geologist received from Mr Oliffe, the discoverer, specimens taken from the opal locality at Charley's Swamp, Stuart's Creek.' In 1915, James Hutchinson, his son William and Messrs Winch and McKenzie, while on a gold search, discovered opal at what is known now as **Coober Pedy** and the first claim was pegged on 9 February. Its post office was opened on 18 August 1920 as 'Stuart's Range Opal Fields'. The town of **Coober Pedy** was proclaimed on 27 March 1969; prior to this the land was occupied under licence.

Coorong - Records bequeathed to the SA Museum by the late Norman Tindale, under the heading of 'Mungkuli' says: '[It means] "fresh water", especially that of the Murray River applied to Lake Alexandrina... in contrast to *goolwa* - "brackish water" and *kurank* [Coorong] - "salt water".'

Crystal Brook - Professor Tindale says it derives from *murkawadi* - 'slate stone place'. SA Museum records show *merkawi* - *mer* meaning 'eye' and *kawi*, 'water'.

Encounter Bay - Nicolas Baudin did not name Encounter Bay 'Mollien Bay' [correctly *Baie Mollien*] - this was Freycinet's christening. Baudin applied *Baie de Invalids* to it. (See *Manning's Place Names of SA*, p. 107) Under this heading, Cockburn debunks Commander Stokes's comment in respect of 'a discarded township' but a newspaper report gives credence to it for, in 1838 - 'The town acres [had] been measured - a part of them two or three miles up a valley out of sight of the sea, and the rest of them, not opposite Victor Harbor, but all along the bay from Granite Island towards Rosetta Harbour where there is no anchorage for ships and no landing place for boats. The form of this town is to be about **three miles** in length and **seventy yards** in width.'

Erindale - Apparently, this entry was taken from Cockburn and is incorrect. The name is probably derived from the Irish words *Erin* (Ireland) and *dale* (valley), but, unfortunately, no documentary evidence can be found to support the suggestion; there is a town of 'Erindale' in County Carlow. However, it can be said with certainty that it was taken from a house of the same name for, 'in the 1850s Mr Henry William deMole built Erindale, Burnside, and with his family and unmarried brother, lived there for some years.' Ernest M. De Mole made additions to it in 1871 and the property passed through several hands including T.D. Fletcher, merchant, Mr Sison of the brewing firm of Syme & Sison and John Stuart Sanders, who planted an extensive orangery. In 1889, it was purchased and rebuilt by James Cowan. By 1908, portion of the land was owned by the South Australian Company and it laid out the suburb of **Erindale** (the plan is unnamed), with an extension being made by the same company in May 1910. (See *Evindale* below)

Eucla (WA) - I included this name in my books because the anthropologist, Norman Tindale, differed from Cockburn's offering. He said that it derives from the Aboriginal word *jirkila*, meaning 'rattle of flints' from the flint boulders on the seashore.

Evandale - Cockburn says it was created by Harry [sic] Woodcock in 1881, which date is correct, and goes on to say that the name dated back to an earlier period and nobody appealed to was 'able to supply the derivation'. My research shows that, in the early 1860s, William Bakewell purchased portion of section 279, Hundred of Adelaide, and subdivided it into one to twenty-acre blocks suitable for vineyards, calling it 'Bakewell Town'. On 1 January 1861, Henry Goss registered the purchase of lot 50 of the subdivision comprising 12 acres and, on it, built a house calling it 'Evandale House'. In 1876, Francis Opie subdivided lot 36 and called it **Evendale** (sic). In December 1881, Henry Woodcock created **Evandale** out of lots 37, 38 and 39.

Today, it is a suburb of Adelaide (post code 5069), not Saint Peters as stated by the authors.

Evindale - I believe this name is non-existent in SA. In their text the authors talk of 'Cowan estate at Burnside'. A confusion with **Erindale** is apparent here. (See above)

Findon - It was laid out in 1848 - see *Manning's Place Names of SA*, p. 381 for primary sources that confirm the date.

Flinders Ranges - They were named by Governor Gawler in July 1839. The inclusion of a comment on Edward John Eyre under this heading would, I believe, lead readers to assume that he named the feature.

Fulham Gardens - This entry is misleading. A subdivision named **Fulham** was laid out by William White in 1877 and is mentioned by Cockburn.

Glenelg - The Aboriginal name for the district, as recorded by Norman Tindale, was *kaunenna-dla* 'the locality of the waters'. As for the adoption of the name, the following extract from George Stevenson's diary appears in the *Royal Geographical Society Proceedings*, Vol. 30, p. 55.

Saturday, December 31 [1836] - 'The beautiful plains on which the tents are pitched had no name. I proposed that they should be called Glenelg, which was adopted by acclamation. The coast [near Holdfast Bay] is bold and rugged, with the exception of one small sandy bay into which a freshwater stream oozes... and here the beautiful and rich Glenelg Plains, on which the first tent was pitched, and where the province was proclaimed, may be said to commence...'

The authors say that the Old Gum Tree was where the proclamation of the colony was said to have been read. Modern-day scholarship has unearthed much new primary source evidence that swings the pendulum against a plethora of dissent made in past years. (See Appendix 13 & 14 in *Manning's Place Names of SA - From Aaron Creek to Zion Hill*.)

Goolwa - See note above under 'Coorong'.

Grange - A subdivision called **The Grange** was promoted by Messrs Murray, Spence and Harvey when they formed the Grange Land and Investment Company in 1878 - sections 900, 901, 1006 and 453 were purchased from the trustees of Charles Sturt's estate in May 1878. The subdivision of **Grange Township** was created when section 1006 was subdivided in 1882 by The Grange Railway and Investment Co Ltd. Later subdivisions were designated **Grange**. The **Grange** School opened in 1880.

Hackham - When Edward Castle purchased the land in 1850 he was described as 'of Hackham'.

Hampstead Gardens - As stated it is, today, the name of the official suburb and was a 1923 extension of the subdivision of **Hampstead Heath** created in 1854 by James Philcox; now included in Manningham. **Hampstead** was created in 1865; now included in Manningham. **Hampstead Gardens** was laid out by Clearview Ltd, who purchased the land from a descendant of James Philcox. The name derives from the Old English *hamstede* - 'homestead, manor'.

Hectorville - John Hector did not hold the land for 'a gentleman in England' - the owner was Jane Botting.

Hendon - There is an historical inaccuracy present under this heading - it did not become 'Adelaide's official airport' - the Hendon airport removed to Parafield in 1929 and today's facility lies between Brooklyn Park and Glenelg - this land was not part of Hendon. The author's err when stating that this is the 'city's international airport' because it also accommodates local traffic.

Highbury - Three subdivisions were made under this name - An 'unofficial' **Highbury**, laid out by John Baker, was advertised in 1851 on section 369, Hundred of Yatala. In 1882, the 'official' subdivision of **Highbury** was made on the same section. In 1916, the Nomenclature Committee suggested it be changed to 'Errabenie', Aboriginal for 'all together', so as to avoid confusion with another subdivision named **Highbury**, near Paradise, adopted, possibly, from the name of the home of Stephen George Dordoy (Dorday?).

Hilton - The authors say that the name, 'according to the South Australian nomenclature expert, the late Rodney Cockburn', was named after Matthew D. Hill, the original holder of the section. I do not dispute this, but Cockburn goes on to say the proper name was **Hillton**. Conveyancing documents and Application no. A16274 to bring the land under the provisions of *The Real Property Act* do not support the inference in your publication. **Hiltonia** was subdivided in 1912.

Kadina - Norman Tindale says it derives from *kadnina* - 'place for termites' from the presence of termite mounds on the plain south of the present town.

Kangaroo Island - Baudin called it *Isle Borda* and this name was superseded by Freycinet with *L'Isle Decres*.

Kapunda - Published remarks on the discovery of the copper ore provides a classic example of the lack of primary source evidence. Cockburn opts for Captain Bagot's son, but consideration must be given, also, to Mr F. Dutton's version which differs in some respects with Cockburn. (See my 2006 publication.)

Keith - The published nomenclature does not differentiate between the name of a Hundred and a town and is apparently taken from the work of Praite and Tolley which I believe is incorrect - one wonders why the authors did not quote from Cockburn in which case they would have been closer to what I believe is the truth. (See my 2006 publication.)

Kilburn - The allusion to the USA Chicago gangsters, etc., appears to be hearsay. The **Chicago** Post Office opened on 1 August 1911 and, five days later, the Deputy Postmaster-General said that there was 'no likelihood of it causing confusion with respect to correspondence intended for Chicago, USA.' Alas, time was to disprove that statement for, on 1 September 1930, it ceased to exist following complaints about mail going astray, while at the same time the suburb of **Chicago** was absorbed into **Kilburn** which had been created in 1915.

Kingswood - Apart from the Adelaide suburb the name occurs twice more in SA - The **Kingswood** railway station, in the Hundred of Palmer and a railway station on the Peterborough-Quorn line in the Hundred of Willochra.

Kurralt Park - Dr Wyatt bought **Kurralt Estate** at Burnside in 1843 and, in 1846, built a house on it calling it **Kurralt**, meaning 'on the hill'. The published nomenclature does not record the first instance of the

name in respect of the modern-day suburb - **Kurralta** was present in that area in 1849 when it was announced that Mr J.W. Cole, an agent on the 'Black Forest road', was offering for sale 3 to 4 acres of Section 52, Hundred of Adelaide. In 1894, **Kurralta** was applied, officially, to a subdivision of section 50, Hundred of Adelaide, by Henry Aldridge; now included in Marleston. The suburb of **Kurralta Park** was laid out in 1918 on Section 52 (the same section as the 1849 subdivision) by Henry Allchurch; portion of the land was once owned by Dr Wyatt.

Lake Cadabarrowirracanna - Another SA Museum record says it is Aboriginal for 'place for gum tree wooden scoops'. The Kaurna word *wirra* means 'in the midst of red gum trees'. See also *wirraparinga* - 'scrubby place by the river', *wirrawar* - 'high gum trees', etc.

Lake Frome - I believe the authors have made misstatements in their nomenclature. **River Frome**, near Copley, was discovered and named by E.J. Eyre on 27 August 1840. **Lake Frome** in the North-East was discovered by Captain E.C. Frome in July 1843 and named by Governor Grey; **Lake Frome**, in the South-East, was discovered and named by Thomas Burr on 4 May 1844.

Macclesfield - This explanation has been accepted for decades but Samuel Lewis, a UK nomenclator, casts doubts on the accepted nomenclature.

Mannum - Probably, the name is derived from the Aboriginal *manampangk* that was applied to an Aboriginal camp, the site of which is occupied now by the town. In addition to this explanation, and under a heading of *menum*, Professor Tindale said, 'the totem of horde [*sic*] at this place was *ngakara* or black duck (*Anas supeiciliosa*).'

Marion - In a startling comment in papers bequeathed to the SA Museum, Norman Tindale says, *inter alia*, under a heading of 'Waripari', '[on] section 145 (*sic*), Hundred of Adelaide, now called **Marion** as [a] short form of *wariparin*.' In another note he relates the word *wariparingga* to the Sturt River, particularly in the vicinity of section 145. (*See Warradale*)

Marryatville was not named by George Brunskill. He arrived in South Australia in 1839 and leased portion of section 290, Hundred of Adelaide (66 acres), from the South Australian Company with a right to purchase the freehold. However, only 46 acres were registered in his name on 31 August 1850 and, earlier, on 25 September 1848, the residual 20 acres were purchased by James Philcox who, according to memorials in the General Registry Office, laid out the 'Village of Marryatville'.

Maylands - The suggestion made by Rodney Cockburn that Mr Wadham was twice-married is dispelled by a 1913 obituary of Jane Wadham, 'the widow of the late W. Wadham.'

Medindie - In 1849, this Aboriginal word, probably corrupted from *medaindi*, the name of a local group of the Kaurna people, was given to a subdivision by Frederick Hansborough Dutton. The original plan lodged in the General Registry Office in 1860 was unnamed but, when Mr Dutton applied to have unsold allotments brought under the *Real Property Act* in 1876, a resurvey plan is headed 'Medinde' (*sic*). F.H. Dutton purchased part of the section (20 acres) from William H. Clark, in 1849, when it was described as 'west of the land now or late of Christopher Septimus Penny.' Cockburn opts for William Wadham as its creator and the authors have reproduced much of his nomenclature but, surely, it is obvious that, as a land agent, Wadham sold the property on Mr Dutton's behalf.

Melrose - The land on which the town stands was owned, firstly, by the Mount Remarkable Mining Company and one of the directors was Alexander Elder, an influential Scotsman in Adelaide. On 26 January 1853, the sections were put up for auction in Adelaide and shortly thereafter Mr Elder returned to Scotland. Therefore, there appears to be little doubt that it was named after Melrose in Roxburgh, Scotland.

Millswood - Samuel Mills did not donate the land for the Goodwood Institute - it was George Mills and the foundation stone mentions this fact. Today, **Ravenswood** is not an Adelaide suburb. The conclusion in *Manning's Place Names of SA* (1990) is incorrect - see my 2006 edition.

Moana Beach - The town of **Moana** is contiguous to **Moana Beach** which, according to the SA government's website, is not an official place name.

Modbury - While Mr Kelly's property was often written as 'Trehele' it was known generally as 'Modbury Farm.' The first land transaction in respect of the 'Town of Modbury', a lease of two acres to William Dinham who had applied for a licence for a public house 'to be called the Modbury Hotel', was registered in October 1857 and this was, apparently the genesis of the village. Mr Kelly, a builder by trade, probably erected the hotel. In passing, Cockburn's date of 1840 is, apparently, hearsay.

Monarto - The first instance of this name in its single form was in 1869 when it was applied to a post office. The settlement, 19 km west of Murray Bridge, arose on section 210, **Hundred of Monarto** which was proclaimed on 30 November 1847. The name comes from 'Queen Monarta', of the local Aboriginal people, and it is of interest that an Aboriginal custom was that if the fourth child born was a girl, she would be named 'Munato'.

Mount Barker - The first European to sight it was Captain Collet Barker on 19 April 1831 from the summit of Mount Lofty. During his 1830 expedition Sturt saw it but thought it was Mount Lofty; on hearing of Barker's discovery he named it in his honour.

Mount Gambier - *What's in a Name* does not contain some of the comments made on E.P.S. Sturt - e.g. 'issued leases to traders', etc.

Mount Lofty - I would query that the Aborigines called it 'Yure-Idla', 'place of ears'. In respect of the nearby town of Uraidla, Norman Tindale says that it is a corruption of the Aboriginal *jureidla* - 'two ears'. In Kaurna mythology the Mount Lofty Ranges was the body of a gigantic prostrate being *Wano* (sometimes recorded as *Moanana*) and Uraidla was considered to be the place of his ears. (See under *Marino*, *Nuriootpa*, *Willunga* & *Piccadilly* in *Manning's Place Names of SA* for further evidence of the creature.)

Mount Woodroffe - The Surveyor-General's name was, I believe, George Woodroffe Goyder.

Munno Para - Norman Tindale says it was taken from the Aboriginal *munapari*, a creek north of Adelaide - 'first stream'; another source opts for it being a Kaurna word meaning 'golden wattle creek'.

Murray Bridge - The first subdivision near the newly-erected bridge was **Bridgeport** in 1883 - the first sale of an allotment was registered on 10 August 1883. The government town of **Mobilong**, surveyed in November 1883, was proclaimed on 6 March 1884; on 27 May 1886, the district council added 'Murray Bridge' to the name and on 19 September 1940, it became **Murray Bridge**.

Naracoorte - Dr Gunning, who settled there in 1849, said the name should be *gnanga-kurt*, but did not give a meaning of it. Mr Magarey says his father, who was at Naracoorte in 1861, was told by the natives that the name was *nanna-coorta*. Mr McIntosh, the founder of 'Kincraig', the first subdivision there, (now included in Naracoorte), said the word meant 'large waterhole'. Correspondence in 1860 suggests that the creek on which the township is located was called *Naracoorta* by the Aborigines, while another letter refers to the new town of 'Naracoorta'.

Noarlunga - Norman Tindale says it derives from *nurlenga* - the name applied by Aborigines to the steep approach to the 'native crossing near section 80'.

Norwood - A 1911 history of the town and district says, 'in 1838 Samuel Reeves laid out a few allotments and nine years later he, with Messrs R. Miller, W.A. Bryden, W. Paxton and H. Collier formed a company and put on the market large blocks of land naming the principal streets after their families'; in 1919, another source said that it was laid out 'in the end of 1847'. The land on which the first subdivision was made, was granted to Charles Cortis on 7 March 1839 and remained in his possession until 27 November 1847 when he entered into an 'agreement to sell' to Samuel Reeves for £1,000. A conveyance dated 23 June 1848 recites that 'Reeves immediately after agreement entered into possession of the said land and laid it out into allotments called the village of **Norwood**'. It would appear that some of the text in your publication was adapted from Cockburn. I believe it to be hearsay.

Oaklands - The first subdivision of this name on Yorke Peninsula was where Johann Haby built the 'Oaklands Hotel' - C. von Bertouch and Co. subdivided 52 allotments for him as the town of **Oaklands**, conducting the auction in the hotel on 13 July 1876; two years later Ralph Anderson (1847-1909) laid out another seven blocks as **Oaklands West**.

O'Halloran Hill - The area between Chandler Hill and the Main South Road was subdivided in 1912 and called 'Glenthorne Estate' and resubdivided in 1960 as **O'Halloran Hill**. It is not a suburb of Marion but lies within the Marion council area. It is a suburb of Adelaide - Post Code 5158.

One Tree Hill - I have no primary source evidence that shows that the tree was cut down in the 1890s but have a secondary source opting for circa 1934.

Paracombe - Deposited Plan no. 98 shows **Paracombe**; Certificate of Title 47/178 shows **Parracombe** and **Paracombe Park Estate** is described in the *Advertiser*, 11 October 1873, page 5.

Paralowie - The suburb of **Paralowie**, proclaimed on 27 November 1980, took its name from a farm established in 1894 adjacent to Waterloo Corner Road and the Little Para River. It was an euphonious name given by Mr Frank A. Russell 'to his splendid orangery which is situated close to the railway station.'

Penola - A reference to **Panola** (*sic*) **Swamp**, is to be found on Henry Wade's 1848 survey map of the eastern State boundary and Professor Tindale links that place, declared as Water Reserve No. 2, to the Aboriginal word - *pano* - 'earth', hence 'earthy place'. I believe the authors are in error when they say that Alexander Cameron took up 'Penola Station'. However, he applied the name **Woakwine** to a sheep run, taken up in the 1840s. Later, he took up a lease at Limestone Ridge, dated 22 December 1855.

Peterborough - The Aboriginal name for the district was *nalta* - 'the circle', possibly from the situation of the place within a circle of hills.

Pewsey Vale - Joseph Gilbert was born in Wiltshire, England, in May 1800 where there is a 'Vale of Pewsey'.

Pewsey Vale Peak - It is on the boundary of sections 2987-88, Hundred of Barossa. Its original name was 'Mount Cone' and appears on William Jacob's survey map of 1840, while on a plan of the Wiltshire Special Survey it is shown as 'Mount Menge'.

Pichi Richi Pass - Apparently, the authors allude to Cockburn's nomenclature (1930 manuscript?) upon which Norman Tindale penned a mild admonition, namely, 'It is derived from *pitjiritji* to which is doubtfully inscribed by Mr Cockburn the meaning of *pitjuri*, a native narcotic (*duboisia*) found in the north of our State'. The name is included, also, in both his 1908 *Nomenclature of South Australia* and 1930 work, but was omitted by Mr Stewart Cockburn from *What's in a Name* - strangely, in this work there is a cross reference to the Pass under the entry for 'Richman's Pass'. Further, in the Preface to that book Cockburn, the younger, says that the 1984 publication was 'a facsimile of the hitherto unpublished record of his life's principal work'. We believe that the date of discovery by Mr Pinkerton was 1853, not 1843 as recorded. (See my 2006 work.)

Pooraka - It is also a suburb of Adelaide laid out by William A. Tough, in 1952.

Port Lincoln - The Aborigines called it *kallinyalla* - 'haunt of seagulls'. Baudin dubbed it *Port de la Confiance* ('Port Safety'), while Freycinet's charts show 'Port Champagny'. Jean Champagny (1756-1834) who, in 1799, was appointed Councillor of State by Napoleon, in 1804 Minister of the Interior and subsequently Minister of Foreign Affairs, where he succeeded the famous Talleyrand. .

Port Pirie - The 1870 subdivision listed by the authors should read '1871' or, perhaps, '1872'. It was a government town surveyed in December 1871 and offered for sale on 6 June 1872. Earlier, in May 1848, Matthew Smith and Emanuel Solomon obtained the grant of section 2, in the now Hundred of Pirie, which they subdivided; the *Register* of 29 October 1848 advertised it as '**Port Pirie Township**' (*See Solomontown in Manning's Place Names of SA for details of the private town of Port Pirie and under 'Source Notes'*.) It is unfortunate that the authors did not get permission from Mr Stewart Cockburn to include this place in the '20 of the 4,000 historically significant names', because the formation of the first settlement is covered at great length in *What's in a Name*.

Prospect - The date of subdivision of 1938 is incorrect and I would suggest that C. Johnson, as mentioned by Rodney Cockburn, was the conveyancer. On 25 July 1838, John Bradford, obtained the land grant of section 373, Hundred of Yatala, and cut it up into several eight-acre allotments. H.C. Talbot said, 'it was so named from the beautiful prospect, situated on the Adelaide Plains and being separated from North Adelaide by the Parklands, beautifully timbered with gum trees, wattles, etc.'

Radium Hill - I would place a question mark alongside the date of 1910. A place called 'Echo Camp', North-East of Arkaroola; was named in 1898 by W.B. Greenwood. He established a base camp there from which he prospected up and along what was, in 1910, to become known as **Radium Creek**.

Renmark - The answer to its nomenclature is to be found in the Tindale papers in the SA Museum which say that the Aborigines knew the area as *rengmako*, a name based on the presence of outcrops of rock called *chertmako* and it was here that 'Aboriginal men came on raids down the River Darling to get supplies of such stones for spears and knives.'

Rivoli Bay - Baudin did not name it - he christened it *Baie de Quiberon*.

Rostrevor - The name comes from a seaside resort in Ireland having the alternative name of 'Rosetrevor' that derives from Rose, youngest daughter of Sir Marmaduke Whitchurch. After her marriage with Trevor, Viscount Dungannon, the family seat of Iveagh Castle was called, invariably, 'Rostrevor' (*sic*). It is positive that Ross Thompson Reid spelt the name as **Rostrevor** because it appears as such in a family bible and, therefore, Rodney Cockburn's suggestion that it should be **Rosstrevor** appears to be apocryphal. Further, Samuel Lewis in his *Biographical Dictionary of Ireland* published in the 1830s says: 'Rostrevor or Rosetrevor - a seaport... seven miles from Newry...'

Roxby Downs - This name was not covered by Cockburn or Praise and Tolley and the only published sources of its nomenclature, prior to 2006, were, to the best of my knowledge, my two books on the subject, namely, *The Romance of Place Names of SA* and *Manning's Place Names of SA* - the latter contains what I believe to be the truth in respect of its nomenclature and most of the named sources in that work are supported by Mr N.A. Richardson's reminiscences in *The Mail*, 13 July 1912.

Royal Park - It was laid out by William Shierlaw and C.H. Matters in 1881.

Saint Mary's Peak - It was recorded first on a map drawn by the surveyor, Frederick Sinnett, in 1851, and therefore he must be credited with naming it.

Seacombe Heights, Seacombe Gardens - These names were not the first in the area - **Seacombe Park**, was laid out in 1920. The authors' recorded names came later. Apparently taken from either Cockburn's work or Praise & Tolley, the authors say that it was named after a place name in Cheshire. Strangely, they did not take heed of Cockburn's comment that the property once belonged to Edward Stephens who built a house [presumably called **Seacomb**] (*sic* - as stated in the heading of Cockburn's nomenclature) which, I believe, was called 'Seacombe Villa' meaning 'short steep valley near the sea'. In passing, Cockburn is at fault when he says that Edward Stephens died after a fall from a horse - the victim was his brother, Samuel Stephens who died, aged thirty-one, in January 1840.

Semaphore Park - The landholders were J.F., J. and T.F. Mellor.

Stirling - The town in the Mount Lofty Ranges was laid out, circa 1854, by Peter D. Pranker and Robert Stuckey. It was known first as **Stirling East** to avoid confusion with 'Stirling North'. It was advertised in the *Register* of 27 February 1854.

Tailem Bend - On 19 February 1846 the *Government Gazette* recorded that occupation licenses had been issued to Messrs Archibald Cooke, John Morphett and John Gifford over land in the near vicinity. Of interest, also, is the fact that Donald Gollan called his sheep run 'Taleam'. Professor N.B. Tindale says it derives from *teigalang*; *teigai* - 'to miss aim' for it was here that *Ngurunderi*, an Aboriginal ancient spirit, failed for a second time to kill the giant Murray Cod, *Ponde*.

Tantanoola - Regarding its nomenclature, the Tindale papers in the South Australian Museum contain two possible derivations: 'One of the last South-East Aborigines told me that the name of the district was "tentunola", meaning "boxwood hill" or "boxwood camp".' In a later explanation he says *tantangola* was the

name of a camp near the town and derives from *tantan* - "little people" and *ngola* - "camp". Similar names implying an elusive dwarf are spread widely in Aboriginal myths.'

Tea Tree Gully -The **Steventon** Post Office opened in 1851 and became **Tea Tree Gully** circa 1871.The first subdivision in the gully was **Steventon Estate** created by John Stevens, circa 1853. In 1889, Peter D. Prankerd extended **Steventon Estate** when he laid out **Steventon**; they are now included in Tea Tree Gully. The first subdivision called **Tea Tree Gully** was laid out in 1951.

Thorngate - There are some facts missing in this entry - In 1882, William E. Churcher and George Churcher of Southampton, England, were the trustees of the estate of the late William Thorngate and, as such, the registered proprietors of sections 2064-65, Hundred of Yatala. Subsequently, they leased portion of section 2065 to Messrs E.R. Simpson, W. Gilbert and C. Wilcox who subdivided it as **Fitzroy** and, as registered lessees, disposed of the subdivision by underlease under the 'old system' of land tenure. The suburb of **Thorngate** was created in 1913, when G. and W.E. Churcher subdivided part of section 2064 into 59 allotments. Today, both **Thorngate** and **Fitzroy** are Adelaide suburbs. Of interest is that under the heading of **Fitzroy**, Cockburn alludes to Charles Willcox (*sic*), the 'last surviving member of the syndicate' - this entry apparently eluded the authors.

Torrens River - The Aborigines called it *karrau-wirra-parri* - 'red gum forest river' and subsequently dubbed the 'River Torrens' by Governor Hindmarsh, not Colonel Light as stated; it was gazetted on 3 June 1837.

Tranmere - The name was applied first to the subdivision of **Tranmere Park** by A.S. Jackman and C.H. Treloar in 1914. However, while having no connection with David Wylie's property, in 1872 there was an advertisement for the sale of 'lots 86 and 87 on [Lefevre] Peninsula to be laid out as **Tranmere**.' In 1260 the name was written as *tranemor* - 'cranes' sandbank' (Old Norman *trani* - 'crane' and *melr* - 'sandbank').

Truro - It is derived from either *tre-rhiew* - 'the dwelling on the slope', or *tre-ru* - 'the castle on the water'.

Uley - There appears to be some confusion in the nomenclature of these two places:

(1) Moses Bendle Garlick took up land in the hills that reminded him of his native Cotswolds and named the district **Uley Bury** - a *bury* being the Gloucestershire name for a tree-covered plateau. In 1851, he built the **Uley** Chapel. The SA Directory of 1864 lists 'W.A. Garlick, farmer, **Uley Bury**.' In 1942, the name was abandoned as a separate postal district because so much of the residents' mail was directed to Unley and, in 1943, it was recommended that '**Uley** School' be changed to 'One Tree Hill School'. The suburb of **Uleybury** was laid out in 1974.

(2) The fact that, in 1851, Mr Sinclair's pastoral lease was designated '**Uley**, Port Lincoln', it is evident that it is a corruption of an Aboriginal name and adopted by Governor Fergusson when naming the Hundred. James Stuart Sinclair hailed from Scotland, discounting any suggestion of an affiliation with **Uley** in Gloucestershire. Of interest is a poem entitled 'Aboriginal Nomenclature - By a Native', appearing in 1893. The last lines of one stanza reads:

Eulfy (by the land-locked bay), - [Coffin Bay is close to the Hundred of Uley]

We gathered oysters here.

Cockburn's statement that Sinclair had two partners is not supported by primary sources. Mr Symes had an occupation licence 'at Port Lincoln' from 30 September 1847, while Mr Spicer held licences in the Coorong, on Yorke Peninsula and at Mount Gambier from 1846.

Waikerie - Norman Tindale says that it is a corruption of the Aboriginal *weikari* (or *waikere*) given to a species of ghost moth that, at a certain season each year, appeared in thousands among the river red gums, at which time they provided valuable food for the Aborigines.

Walkerville - There appears to be an historical inaccuracy present under this heading for 'in December 1838 John Hindmarsh (1820-1902), a surveyor and son of the Governor, and his wife Susanna Wilson Hindmarsh, sold section 476, 'Survey A', to Arthur Fyde Lindsay, surveyor, for £1,100 and, jointly, they surveyed 100 blocks.'

Wallaroo - Another version of its meaning comes from Edward Snell who spent several months of 1850 on Yorke Peninsula and he has recorded that the Aboriginal word for wallaby was *wallah*, while *wallarue allimaree* meant 'come on'.

West Torrens - It is not an official place name. The statement under this heading that the River Torrens was named by Colonel Light is incorrect. See comment under **Torrens River**, above.

Whyalla - The town of **Whyalla** was proclaimed on 16 April 1914. Education records show 'Hummock Hill' school opening in 1916 (another source says '1905'), becoming **Whyalla** in 1919. In 1906, it was reported that 'Hummocks (*sic*) Hill' was situated on the western side of Spencer Gulf where there was 'a small contented community consisting almost entirely of workmen employed in connection with the BHP company's ironstone quarries at Iron Knob...' **Whyalla-Jenkins** was gazetted on 22 September 1977; **Whyalla-Norrie** and **Whyalla-Playford**, on 2 September 1977, **Whyalla-Stuart**, on 22 September 1977.

Wilpena - The most likely discoverer was William Chace. In 1850, W.J. Browne and George Marchant, while on the lookout for likely pastoral land, were turned back by heavy rain while exploring towards Wilpena. They refer to Chace and it was said that Chace, 'piloted by natives pursued the course we had to abandon', and that he, 'within fifteen miles of our last camp, found the Wilpena and Arkaba Creeks'. It has been said that C.M. (*sic*) Bagot (I believe it should read C.N. Bagot), son of Captain C.H. Bagot, discovered the pound. However,

in 1846 (*sic*) he, with Francis Dutton, applied for an occupation licence between Mt Arden and Mt Eyre, but there is no evidence that he ever took up the run; details of any exploration undertaken by him has not been recorded but a search through records of the Department of Lands discounts this date and provides evidence to support the view that Chace explored Wilpena before Bagot. The Browne's - Chace's employers - applied for leases in the locality in December 1850; Bagot did not apply until April 1851.

Woodforde - To confuse the matter further, in 1853 the *Register* said: 'Woodford [*sic*], section 341 [*sic*] adjoining Magill.' The **Woodforde** Post Office '293 miles west of Adelaide' opened in December 1880; it closed in May 1905.

Woodside - It is a common place name in Mr Johnston's native Scotland, one in particular being in close proximity to Oakbank, their place of employment prior to departure for South Australia.

Woodville - An advertisement for its sale says that the area was 'richly wooded' with the 'most luxuriant growth of timber.' A place called 'The Pinery', was located some miles away south of Port Adelaide and, today, is mainly occupied by the Grange Golf Club. In the early days of the colony the name 'Pinery' was often given to land which contained extensive clumps of native pines that flourished in deep, sandy soils - this description is not applicable to the Woodville district.

Finally, there are several typographical (?) errors in the book but they are outside the ambit of this discussion. For example, under 'Enfield' they talk of a Mr Hecox - apparently, taken from Cockburn's work. According to primary source land documents the name is 'Hickox'. Under Stonyfell the name 'W. Edwin' should probably read 'Charles Edlin'. Under Lake Bonney, SE, the name 'Henry's' should read 'Henty's'. In Aberfoyle Park the name should read 'Sauerbier'.

Conclusion

I have no desire to enter into a debate on the matters I have covered above but, in closing, say, without prejudice, that, in my opinion, the authors have done, as far as South Australia is concerned, an historical disservice by, apparently, accepting as fact information emanating from secondary sources and undertaking little or no basic research from primary sources. I only hope that their research methods that resulted in a superficial analysis of my State's nomenclature have not spilled over into other States and Territories. If it has, then, I would suggest that the book is all but worthless as an historical reference tool.

In conclusion, I assure you that I do not hold myself out as a paragon in respect of South Australian nomenclature, but merely an old man, with a measure of intelligence, tenacity and resolve.

As I have been seeking the truth over all but 25 years, I repeat a quote from the Preface to my 1990 work:

It is probable that even more material will surface and the study of toponymy begun by the late 19th and early 20th century workers will be open to revision yet again; indeed, my own work must almost certainly be placed in that category. These are exciting possibilities and reveal that our journey for historical knowledge is like building a path of stepping stones across a running stream; each stone brings the searcher further towards the goal of ultimate perfection.

Australian Place Names has not added to the fulfilment of these sentiments!

Footnote: Another approach was made to the ABC in November 2007 traversing 'the essence of my misgivings as to the alleged errors and omissions within Mr Kennedy's *Australian Place Names* and the apparent antipathy of the ABC.' My letter remains unanswered!

Appendix 11

Author's Preface to the 2006 Edition as published by Gould Books

In July 1984 a minute recorded by the Geographical Names Board stated that 'the Secretary [Mr. Max Medwell] advised that a Mr. Geoff Manning was at present searching the Board's records, seeking the origin of place names not included in the Cockburn reprint *What's in a Name* as it was his intention, in conjunction with Mr. Stewart Cockburn, to publish a supplement to the volume when a reprint is warranted. The Board ratified the Secretary's action in allowing Mr Manning access to the records. The Chairman to investigate the proposal from a Departmental point of view.'

Later, Mr. Cockburn was averse to an intermingling of my findings with his late father's work and, following the publication of my *Romance of Place Names of South Australia*, in 1986, I received consolation in respect of its obvious imperfections from Mr. Hans Mincham, author of the monumental work, *The Story of the Flinders Ranges*, when he confessed to me that he was still striving for perfection, even after several reprints and revisions.

By 1990, as put succinctly by Ms Susan Marsden in her foreword to Manning's *Place Names of South Australia*, '[my] search had become compelling' - thus, the secondary stage of the work was completed, albeit not without certain, to use printers' parlance, 'literals' and other errors - some due to deficiencies in my own basic research and others found within the Department of Lands that had remained unchallenged for decades.

An example of both these aberrations may be of interest to future explorers in this 'minefield' known as toponymical research:

The Department of Lands loose leaf nomenclature records show 'Dockville' as being included in 'Peterhead', whereas in fact it is 'Rosewater' - this was one of several such errors located. (This type of error was discovered when checking 'street names' on original plans to modern-day 'street guides'; of course, in extenuation, there has been rezoning over the years).

In the General Registry Office the indices under the 'Old System' of land tenure show Joshua Gurr selling the allotments that comprise the 'Village of Watervale' - alas, I was less than thorough in this instance because the creator was one David Davies who, after selling two allotments, was subjected to foreclosure by his mortgagee, the purchaser of the remainder of the village being Joshua Gurr. The lesson to be learned here is to sight, on every occasion, relevant applications to bring land under the *Real Property Act* and not rely on what appears to be *prima facie* evidence in memorial books.

At the risk of being adjudged pedantic I must record that, in other areas, the records in the Department of Lands have, in respect of accuracy, been debased over past decades by less than deliberative interpretation of known facts. One example will, I trust, prove the point: In *Romance of Place Names of South Australia*, at page 72, will be found an entry under 'Frew Hill'; the recorded information was taken from official files but, upon closer investigation, and following my conclusion that John McDouall Stuart had never explored in the region, it was conceded that, at some time in the past, a grave misinterpretation of the explorer's journals prompted a responsible officer in the Department to misconstrue 'Frew Springs' in the Northern Territory as relating to 'Frew Hill' in the Far North-East!

If this statement is considered to be beyond belief I would refer readers to the nomenclature of the 'Hundred of Short' - again, logic defies the generally accepted judgement recorded in the Department since time immemorial, viz, that it was named after Arthur Short, MP, who, strangely, did not enter parliament until some ten years after it was created - such are some of the pitfalls of nomenclature research.

During the decade after 1990, while poring over newspapers in the Mortlock Library, I came upon snippets of history, many of which are possibly unknown to modern day historians and, hopefully, will be of interest to the general public, while at the same time having a direct correlation to my primary interest, the place names of South Australia. The fruits of my research are in *The Manning Index of South Australian History* (available now on the State Library's Website) and fragments from that work are to be found in this updated version of *Manning's Place Names of South Australia*, in addition to further research information and comments from certain citizens on my previous works. Interested readers are referred, also, to my *A Colonial Experience* published in 2001 by Gillingham Printers Pty Ltd of Holbrooks Road, Underdale, Adelaide.

Accordingly, this work is a conglomerate of toponymical and historical research and, as to the former aspect, I am again indebted to my friend Mr George Daws who, through sheer dogged persistence, coupled with innate skills and a love of our history, applied himself assiduously to endless months of tedious research. The results of his labours are self-evident in the published findings of such place names as Balgowan, Bligh, Cobham, Hatherleigh, Mount Fitton, Rendelsham and others.

The Tindale papers, bequeathed to the SA Museum in the mid-1990s, resolved many puzzles of Aboriginal nomenclature and I can still hear the delighted response from Mrs Elizabeth Nicholls, a devoted 'Mallee' historian, when I informed her that the derivation of Marmon Jabuk had, at last, been defined by the late Norman Tindale in his fascinating panorama of an anthropological history of the original owners of the land, known today as South Australia.

I place on record my sincere thanks to Mrs Julie Evans and Mr Dean Kelly, whom I had the pleasure of meeting within in the confines of the Mortlock Library in the course of our various historical pursuits; their contributions to various facets of our history enhance this book. The late Mr Reg Sprigg, formerly of Arkaroola, added, also, in many ways by providing information in respect of his forbears, namely, the pastoralists of his paternal ancestry and the seafaring Germein family. Mr John Andrewartha kindly supplied additional material upon many subdivisions within the City of West Torrens and Mr Reg Munchenberg, of Truro, generously provided names he had unearthed during many years of historical research.

My sincere thanks are extended again to Mr Hans Mincham for past courtesies and permission to quote extensively from his epic work, *The Story of the Flinders Ranges*, Mr Max Medwell, former Secretary of the Geographical Names Board, to whom I am indebted for many past courtesies and advice, and the staff of the Land Services Group (Geographical Names Section). Mr Peter Whittington and Neil Cocking at the General Registry Office, together with Mr Michael Sincock at the Lands Title Office, were most helpful in supplying information gleaned from official records, while the historian, Mr Reg Butler, was ever ready to assist me with data he had extracted within that office from the veritable 'mountain' of applications to bring land under the Real Property Act. For most of the information recorded in respect of South Australian jetties I am indebted to Mr Neville Collins of Woodside, author of *The Jetties of South Australia - Past And Present*, and my thanks is extended to him, also, for supplying facts surrounding several place names not mentioned in my previous works.

In May 2007, while holidaying at Murray's Cottages out of Coonawara, I had, before, during and after a most convivial dinner, the pleasure of discoursing with Mr Peter Rymill who has researched and written extensively on the history of the Lower South East; some of his contributions to the district's nomenclature have been interposed with previously published nomenclature by Gould Genealogy.

All photographs reproduced in the nomenclature text come from the extensive collection held by the History Trust of South Australia and I extend my sincere thanks to that body for the many courtesies extended to me during the production of this book and for a monetary grant of \$2,000 that has been expended on the cost of publication.

Unlike Nellie Melba, with her interminable 'last appearances', this is my final epistle on nomenclature and I would, indeed, be remiss if I did not express again my appreciation of the encouragement and financial considerations accorded me by Gillingham Printers of Underdale, Adelaide, over four decades. I can record no greater appreciation to that Company other than to repeat those monumental words of Henry Lawson when, in introducing C.J. Dennis's *The Sentimental Bloke* to the world in October 1915, he said, with due deference, 'I dips me lid - and stand aside.'

Appendix 12

Rob Linn's Foreword to the 2006 Edition titled Manning's Place Names of South Australia – From Aaron Creek to Zion Hill

All human cultures leave their mark on the landscape they inhabit. Their settlements; their production of and search for food; their trade with other people; and their attempts to understand a spiritual world all contribute to their impact on the environment. Moreover, people provide names for parts of the natural world to give life to their culture. Those names reflect the very heart of these human beings and their attempts to order the world around them. Place names are part of the human search for understanding of the natural and spiritual worlds.

Indigenous culture in Australia, for example, often relates the naming of places to significant spiritual occurrences and features and creatures of the natural world. Immigrant cultures, such as the Europeans who came to South Australia, may also provide place names with similar intent. Some of those names also reveal much about the world, and its traditions, that immigrants have left behind. Others are given with a sense of humour, or pathos. Others again are named after those individuals who brought their Northern Hemisphere ways to that place.

Nothing is more certain than behind every place name there is a story.

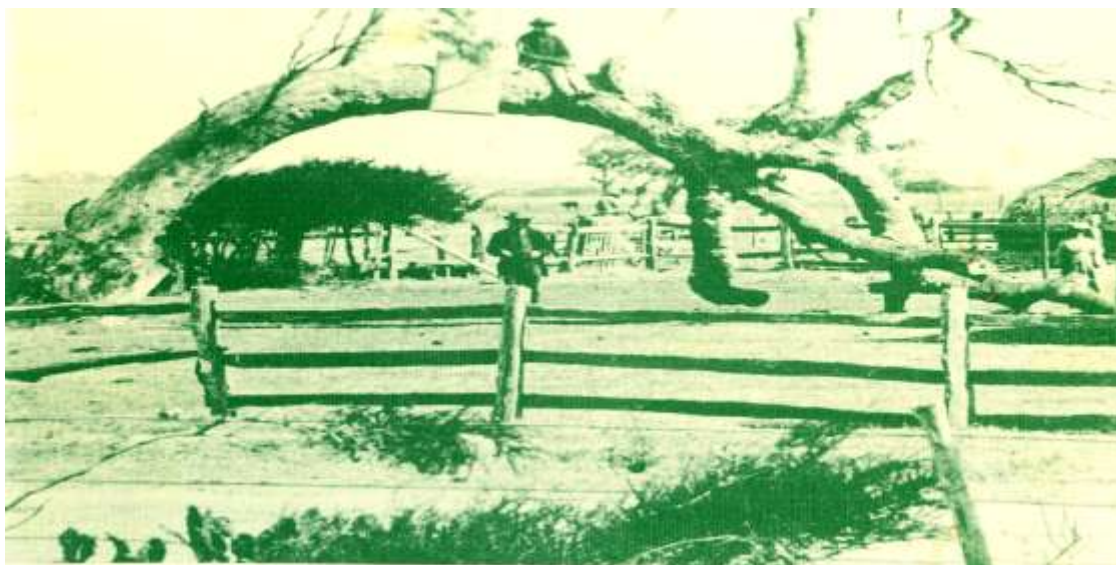
Geoff Manning's great gift to the people of South Australia is the clue to understanding the background to these stories. His extraordinarily thorough and painstaking research over decades has built on the foundation of earlier writers to create a wonderful fabric of colour, vitality and human endeavour. In so doing, he has created his own story that interweaves the fabric as we go from place name to place name with personal insights, discoveries and dilemmas. It is a delight to read his piquant thoughts.

From my reading of his first publication of South Australian place names to this present, updated work, I have never ceased to be amazed by his skill and craftsmanship. *From Aaron Creek to Zion Hill: Place Names of South Australia* is made to be read, not just used as a reference. I can only urge everyone with an interest in South Australia to rediscover their own State by reading it. Geoff Manning's achievement is truly remarkable.

Appendix 13

The Old Gum Tree at Glenelg - Historical Place or Myth?

Startling New Primary Source Evidence Discovered



When the present generation has passed away, those that follow will, we hope, keep alive the remembrance of that important day when beneath the old gum tree... South Australia was first proclaimed a colony.

(Register, 28 December 1865)



Since the colony of South Australia was founded on the plains of Holdfast Bay on 28 December 1836, an ongoing wrangle has persisted and various historical bodies, together with interested historians, professional and otherwise, have churned out their opinions upon this vexed subject. For example, the eminent historian, Reverend John Blacket, in an article entitled 'Is the Old Gum Tree Genuine?', said, 'I know from personal study of the surroundings of the tree, compared with early documents, that the tree marks the spot of the proclamation.'

On the other hand, at the time of the State's centenary the Royal Geographical Society of A/asia (SA Branch) undertook a comprehensive examination of available primary and secondary sources surrounding the event and concluded:

... This evidence is distinctly in support of Gouger's diary record and drawing and definitely against the idea that the proclamation was read under the old bent tree... the available evidence is of so direct, positive and reliable character, that no amount of subsequent discussion can change or invalidate it...

Invariably, the protagonists against the Old Gum Tree (OGT) as the venue turn to Mary Thomas, wife of the Editor and Publisher of the *SA Gazette & Colonial Register*, as an impeccable source as to the events of the day but, strangely, her diary entry of 28 December 1836 makes no mention of a 'proclamation tree' - it reads, in part - '... the G. Sec. read the proclamation and a party of marines from the Buffalo fired a *feu-de-joie*.'

Inexplicably, this reference was tampered with and reproduced in the *Observer* of 2 January 1858 as follows: 'The Governor's private secretary read the proclamation **under a huge gumtree, a flag was hoisted** and a party of marines fired a *feu-de-joie*...' [*added words emphasised*]. The motive for this distortion of her earlier pronouncement is unknown. However, it must be said that the alteration appears to be a clumsy attempt at deception and, as such, it appears in her reminiscences published in 1866.

It is a remarkable circumstance that immediately after the colony's 'coming of age' ceremony at Glenelg in 1857, she was the solitary dissenter to the OGT as the ceremonial place. At that time there must have been many surviving colonists who had witnessed the 'Proclamation', but no other objection to the remarks made at the 1857 ceremony by the Governor was forthcoming. One might be excused for concluding that the OGT **was** the 'place' and that Mary Thomas had either a lapse of memory, or hidden agenda, when the words in her 1836 diary were tampered with in January 1858.

To add to the century-old controversy, today, historians cannot agree as to whether the 'Proclamation' was read by George Stevenson, the Governor's private secretary, Robert Gouger the Colonial Secretary, or by both of them at different times. Indeed, early in the 20th century, an investigative reporter of *The Advertiser*, after examining pertinent evidence, arrived at the following conclusion, which is persuasive, but not without an element of conjecture:

It is more likely the document read to the people in front of Mr Gouger's tent was the original manuscript copy of the formal Orders in Council adopted at that first Executive Council meeting held within the tent and that after the printed copies had emerged from the press of Mr Robert Thomas, in his reed hut near the beach, it was one of these that was officially read out to the assembly by Mr Stevenson at the Old Gum Tree nearby. [*The reporter then quotes from Stevenson's editorial in the SA Gazette & Mining Journal of 29 December 1849 as substantive proof of his findings.*] We can therefore pay our respects at the Old Gum Tree to the original pioneers of the State...

In recent times several historians have, unfortunately, regurgitated the findings of those who bitterly opposed the OGT as an historical place. For example, in *The Advertiser* of 28 January 1997 it was said, *inter alia*: '... the story that the colony was proclaimed on that day and that this occurred under the Old Gum Tree is apocryphal' and the author proceeded to support this contention with a series of statements that do not stand up under close scrutiny.

Further, in September 2002 the editor of a newsletter of a State-wide historical society, quoting from the fallible reminiscences of Mary Thomas and other sources, some of a secondary character, told his readers that:

It is clear from the available evidence that the arched 'Old Gum Tree' was some distance away from where Hindmarsh's first proclamation was read, and could not have provided either shade or sufficient space beneath it for the assembly of colonists.

It is an indisputable fact that, apart from Mary Thomas, not another dissenter was forthcoming in respect of comments made in the *Adelaide Times* of 30 November 1857:

[A] public meeting was held... at the Saint Leonard's Hotel, Glenelg, to take into consideration the most desirable means of celebrating on this spot, under the old gum tree at Glenelg, the arrival of this colony at the twenty-first year of its existence... It is desirable to commemorate the event by a public celebration under 'The Old Colonists' Tree'... the name of the tree under which the colony was proclaimed.

The other known eyewitnesses, objecting at a later date, were Helen Mantegani, daughter of Mary Thomas (aged 12 years in 1836), and Giles Strangways, who demurred in the *Adelaide Observer*, 26 December 1896 when he said: 'The ceremony was not performed under [the Old Gum Tree] as so many would like to believe, but not far away...'

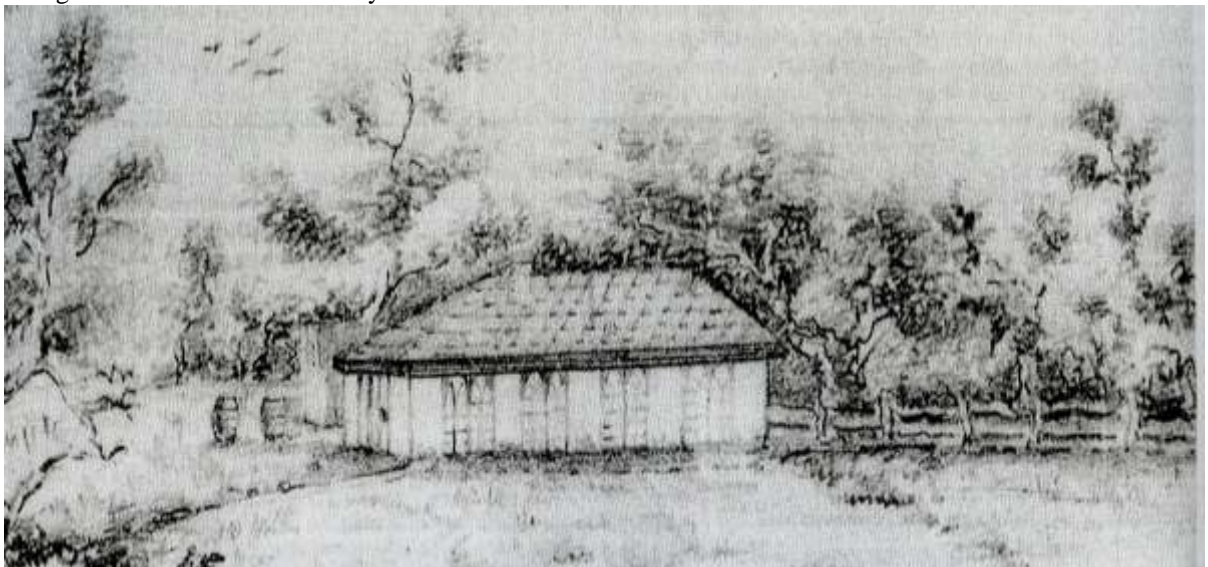
On the other hand, there were those adamantly opposed to these sentiments, among whom were John Morphet, James Hurtle Fisher, George Stevenson and a host of others, including R.G. Symonds, an assistant-surveyor to Colonel Light, who recalled that:

Mr Gouger's tent was partly supported on the southern end and upwards by this... tree now called the 'memorial tree' ... Inside Mr Gouger's tent Governor Hindmarsh met the other members of the Council. The proclamation was first read and all the members of the Council were sworn in.

This was all done inside the tent and, in the presence of about 270 persons, the proclamation was read by... Mr Gouger... No special provision was made for shelter from the sun... The tree, I recollect, however, threw a little shade over the table outside the tent, which was furnished with light refreshments from HMS Buffalo...

This statement is supported by a hitherto unpublished sketch of Elizabeth Fisher in 1837 of Gouger's quarters at Glenelg where, to a discerning eye, the faint outline of portion of an arched tree may be seen at the rear.

The original is held in the Art Gallery of South Australia - Accession No. 731HP1.



A magnification of portion of a sketch by Elizabeth Fisher of Robert Gouger's establishment in 1837 Art Gallery 731HP1

With the introduction of the unassailable evidence from this sketch, coupled with the words of R.G. Symonds, there can be no doubt that the pendulum has swung away from those who, in the past, denigrated the OGT as a South Australian historical icon.

Therefore, South Australians may, we believe, proclaim it to be the ceremonial site of 1836 and placate nonbelievers with the following words from Mr J.W. Billiatt, a member of John McD. Stuart's epic overland expedition, and Henry Gawler, son of Governor George Gawler:

As one who has for the past 17 years hoarded with veneration a piece of 'The Old Gum Tree' and has presented pieces to friends in England under the firm belief that the tradition was true, I should like to see this either verified or the contrary. Mr (now Captain) J.W. Hurst, Peckham, England, was present when the proclamation was read and well remembered [it]... I have conversed with some who were present and they affirm that 'the old gum tree' is the one. If it be not the one, why was not the protest made when Sir R. MacDonnell affixed the bow [sic]? - old colonists being present at the time...

My father and family landed at Holdfast Bay on October 12, 1838, camping at that place for a few days and I distinctly recollect Mr George M. Stephen... and others pointing out, as being naturally an object of interest to the new Governor, the present gum tree upon which doubts have been thrown...



Planting of young trees, June 1887. Central figures include John Saul, Town Clerk; W. L. Beare, a "Duke of York" pioneer, 1836; Miss Marianne Fisher ("Buffalo", 1836); Mayor Stock, Lady Morphett, Sir John Morphett; and at right, Lance Corporal Allchurch.

Footnote

The dissertation above on the pros and cons of the Old Gum Tree at Glenelg as the 'Proclamation Tree', and the ongoing debate surrounding this gnarled icon of South Australian history which commenced in 1857, is an extract from various articles on the subject by Geoffrey H. Manning following all but 20 years of part time research upon the subject. They are all available for perusal at the State Library of South Australia. (See Appendix 14)



A sketch attributed to Robert Gouger as to the location of his quarters at Glenelg in 1836



A painting by J.D. Stone in 1901 stating that the tent and hut on the left are those of Robert Gouger

Addendum

On 3 June 2009 the following appeared in the columns of *The Advertiser*:

MARGORIE Brown's letter regarding the myth surrounding Light's Vision (*The Advertiser*, yesterday) highlights the need for the South Australian Society for Historical Accuracy (SASHA).

History is pointless if it is inaccurate:

COLONEL Barker never visited the site of the Hills town named after him - despite a monument to the contrary.

UNLEY is allegedly named after an English town - which doesn't exist.

COLONEL William Light is

very likely not buried under the plinth supposedly marking his resting place.

THE farce of Glenelg's "Proclamation" Day just won't go away, despite proof that the famous tree was chopped up for housing timber back in the 1840s, despite the fact that it wasn't the proclamation document which was read out, and despite the fact it's also held on the wrong date.

SA was "proclaimed" many months before - in England.

The list is depressingly long. It needs to be shortened.

MIKE HUDSON, Parkside.

The following response was made but was refused publication:

Our Distorted History

Having spent more than a quarter of a century in researching and writing upon SA history, I must respond to the apparent pedantry evident in Mr Hudson's letter under today's date. In respect of Mount Barker, Unley and the demise of Colonel Light I would refer him to www.slsa.sa.gov.au/manning, *Manning's Place Names of South Australia - From Aaron Creek to Zion Hill* (Gould Genealogy - 2006) and *A Colonial Experience* (Gillingham Printers, 2001) for objective comments based on primary sources which, I trust, will give him further information for consideration and belie some of his conclusions!

As for his alleged 'farce' in respect of the Old Gum Tree being the scene of the 'proclamation', which term, as he correctly states, is facetious, I bring the following little known **FACTS** to his attention:

1. Mr R.G. Symonds, an assistant-surveyor to Colonel Light said: 'Mr Gouger's tent was partly supported on the southern end and upwards by this... tree now called the 'memorial tree'... Inside Mr Gouger's tent Governor Hindmarsh met the other members of the Council. The proclamation [sic] was first read and all the members of the Council were sworn in...'
2. An informative letter from Elizabeth Fisher to an Aunt in England on 10 February 1837 is reproduced in the *Observer*, 2 January 1858 - for obvious reasons, superimposed relevant italicised comments are made upon her narrative:

We first proceeded to the Colonial Secretary's hut and as soon as all the gentlemen were assembled the ladies adjourned to another hut, belonging to Mr Brown... and remained there until the Governor had taken the oath of allegiance [*in Mr Gouger's hut/tent?*]. When that ceremony was over we again joined the gentlemen [*in Mr Gouger's hut/tent?*] and **Mr Stevenson, His Excellency's Secretary, read the proclamation aloud** [*outside the hut/tent?*]

3. An all but unknown sketch by Elizabeth Fisher of Robert Gouger's quarters at Glenelg where an 'arched' tree is shown behind same - Art Gallery of SA ref. no, 731 HP1.

Mr Hudson's statement that the 'Proclamation' tree was 'chopped up in the 1840s' has never been substantiated by primary source evidence. To the best of my knowledge this 'furphy' was last presented in the September 2002 issue of the *Newsletter* of The Historical Society of South Australia when the Editor, under his own name, published an article on the Old Gum Tree titled 'Not the Proclamation and not the Tree' and I would commend it to Mr Hudson for closer examination together with my response that was refused publication by the said Society, a copy of which is now housed in the State Library.

Appendix 14

A Dispute with the Historical Society of South Australia in Respect of Editorial Integrity

Introduction

The dissertation under this heading on the pros and cons of the Old Gum Tree at Glenelg, as the 'Proclamation Tree', and the ongoing debate surrounding this gnarled icon of South Australian history which commenced in 1857,

including a difference of opinion with the Editor of the *Newsletter* of The Historical Society of South Australia, was compiled by Geoffrey H. Manning following all but 20 years of part-time research upon the subject.

During the course of correspondence with both the Editor of the Society's *Newsletter*, Mr John Healey, and its President, Mr David Cornish, all facets of evidence unearthed over two decades by Geoffrey H. Manning are discussed at length.

The views of Council members of the Historical Society of SA, or that body as a whole, as to the veracity of Manning's conclusions *vis a vis* Mr Healey's, are unknown; indeed, his last two letters to that body in January 2003 remain unanswered.

The Dispute Unfolds

In the September 2002 issue of the *Newsletter* of The Historical Society of South Australia the Editor, Mr John Healey, under his own name, published an article on the Old Gum Tree titled 'Not **the** Proclamation and not **the** Tree.' (Pertinent extracts reproduced hereunder.)

I disagreed with many of the conclusions he reached, queried the secondary nature of some of his named 'sources' and an apparent paucity of research into primary sources readily available to him, and forwarded my comments to the said gentleman, who refused to publish them when he said, *inter alia*, that they were 'not substantial enough'.

In January 2003, representations were made to the Council of The Historical Society of SA in the form of two letters, where pleas were made for a judgment to be made on the bewildering action of Mr Healey - neither an acknowledgement nor a response were received from its President, Mr David Cornish!

The rebuttal of Mr Healey's conclusions are appended hereunder and I leave the reader to make his or her own judgement as to where the truth lies in respect of the authenticity, or otherwise, of the Old Gum Tree as the 'Proclamation' place on 28 December 1836.

Relative correspondence has been lodged with the State Library of SA - Personal Record Group 412.

Extracts from Mr John Healey's 'Not the Proclamation and not the Tree' as published in September 2002

(Portions of his article, believed to be fallible, are **emphasised**; comments are in brackets, thus [...] and italicised.)

The identification of the bent trunk that is still being touted as the 'proclamation tree' with the one under which Governor Hindmarsh's first [*sic*] proclamation was read **has been disputed by many of the settlers who were there on the day.** [*This statement is misleading; indeed, the author does not provide evidence from eye-witnesses who agreed with the OGT as the 'proclamation' site - this was freely available at the State Library.*]

Thomas' wife, Mary, revisited the site for the 21st anniversary ceremony in 1857 and **wrote the following account in her reminiscences.**...[*At length, she recounts her memories of the occasion and states categorically that the OGT was not the site of the ceremony, but this account cannot be reconciled with her original diary entry of 1836.*]

A number of other eye-witness accounts were collated by J.S. Rees and published in 1949 in his booklet *The Old Gum Tree, Glenelg*. **Almost all reports support Mary Thomas' contention.** Mr Giles Strangways, for example, a passenger on the *Buffalo*, was present... [*Evidence, both primary and secondary, unearthed by Manning over 20 years of research, show conclusively that those in favour of the OGT as the 'proclamation' place, are far in excess of dissenters.*]

Mr T.B. Strangways, another eye-witness was reported in the *Observer* of 13th February 1897 as having said '... the proclamation was made under the shade of a clump of gumtrees...' [*This evidence is secondary in character and was recited by H.B.T. Strangways in the Register on 6 February 1897.*]

And Helen Mantegani, the youngest daughter of Mary Thomas, said in the *Observer* of 16 May 1914:

... **I do not know who first asserted that the old bent tree was the Proclamation Tree, but it was not any one of the earliest pioneers.**... [*Mr Healey does not present any eye-witness accounts from any person who was present but if he had ventured within the Mortlock Library he would have found that there are at least six such declarations as opposed to three in opposition, namely, Giles Strangways, Mary Thomas and Helen Mantegani - evidence from the latter two is subjected to close scrutiny hereunder and declared to be fallible.*]

The Old Gumtree is not the proclamation tree. The real tree was nearer the beach by 50 or 100 yards... It was a beautiful, large, shady tree, and most likely suffered the fate of being cut down for the splendid wood it contained. [*Ms Mantegani's evidence, as presented by Mr Healey, and other statements by her not considered by that gentleman, are analysed, at length, hereunder and rejected as being fallible because many of her statements can be countered by evidence from other parties. Mr Healey also ignored to comment on other published reminiscences from Ms Mantegani in February and December 1896, her assertions in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, in 1902, and the conclusion reached in an investigative analysis of her evidence in 1923.*]

Convincing evidence that the real proclamation tree was in fact cut down not long after the settlers arrived has recently come to light... The photo came from the studio of W.M. Nixon & Son, travelling photographers of Wellington, and was taken in about 1870... [*This evidence is secondary in character and, as such, fallible.*]

But the **most compelling evidence** for distinguishing between the Old Gum Tree and the 'true' proclamation tree is to be found in a water colour... painted by John Michael Skipper in 1837... [*This*

statement is not compelling because, for instance, another sketch of the scene by Elizabeth Fisher early in 1837, and not considered by Mr Healey in his deliberations, must, assuredly, place doubts upon this assertion.]

Thus, **it is clear from the available evidence that the arched ‘Old Gum Tree’ was some distance away from where Hindmarsh’s first [sic] proclamation was read**, and could not have provided either shade or sufficient space beneath it for the assembly of colonists. *[Readers are left to draw their own conclusions as to the reliability of this assertion after digesting the pros and cons of the subject as presented and discussed hereunder.]*

Extract from a letter by G.H. Manning to Mr Healey dated 19 September 2002

Following the publication of my second work on the nomenclature of South Australia in 1990, I spent the next 10 years formulating an index of Adelaide’s newspapers...

During that time I came across many references to the controversy surrounding the Old Gum Tree (OGT) and, accordingly, I would like to share with you a summation of my findings taken from my data base and the following sources:

- (1) *Taking in Washing - The Enemy of Truth* (Association of Professional Historian's Newsletter, July 1993.)
- (2) G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*, pp. 35-39 (Gillingham Printers, November 2001)
- (3) Text of a speech given at a public meeting at Partridge House, Glenelg. I hold a copy which was produced in booklet form by the Corporation of the City of Glenelg.

Note: All sources relative to my findings are annotated in these documents.

Where does the reality lie in respect of the site of the foundation ceremony at Holdfast Bay on 28 December 1836 and was the OGT, a once resplendent arched gum tree, the site? At the time of the State’s centenary the Royal Geographical Society of A/asia (SA Branch) undertook a comprehensive examination of available primary and secondary sources surrounding that event and concluded:

... This evidence is distinctly in support of Gouger’s diary record and drawing* and definitely against the idea that the proclamation was read under the old bent tree... the available evidence is of so direct, positive and reliable character, that no amount of subsequent discussion can change or invalidate it...

** This statement is disproved hereunder for it was drawn by Mary Hindmarsh.*

Bold words, indeed, but, in my opinion, both untrue and unwise! Commencing in 1857 an intermittent wrangle has ensued as to whether the modern-day ‘Old Gum Tree’ was, in fact, the scene of the historic event surrounding the ceremony of 28 December 1836.

Startling new evidence in the form of an 1837 sketch of Gouger’s hut and tent by Elizabeth Fisher, showing an arched tree immediately at the rear, together with a statement from Mr R.G. Symonds, assistant surveyor to Colonel Light, that Gouger’s tent was attached to that tree, and a hitherto unreported letter from Elizabeth Fisher dated 10 February 1837, confirming the location of Gouger’s abode, must cast strong doubts upon the findings of the Royal Geographical Society and, perhaps, lead to the acceptance of the OGT as the ceremonial site.

In the following appraisal, a brief repetition of facts is necessary on occasions in the interest of supporting a logical and sequential argument as to the events of that day at Holdfast Bay.

Comment on Mr Healey’s ‘History SA’ Article - September 2002

(Taken from a letter to Mr Healey dated 19 September 2002)

Mary Thomas’s Pronouncements

You quote from Mary Thomas’s *Reminiscences*, completed in 1866, where she discounts the proposition that the OGT was the ‘Proclamation Tree’, but a decade earlier evidence of certain chicanery as to her recall of events was abroad.

Invariably, the protagonists against the OGT as the venue look to her as an impeccable source as to the events of the day but, strangely, her diary* entry of 28 December 1836 makes no mention of a ‘proclamation tree’ - it reads, in part – ‘... the G. Sec. read the proclamation and a party of marines from the *Buffalo* fired a feu-de-joie.’

[* The diary is in the Mortlock Library - ref. no. V 5 8 9.]

Inexplicably, this reference was tampered with and reproduced in the *Observer* of 2 January 1858 as follows: ‘The Governor’s private secretary read the proclamation **under a huge gumtree, a flag was hoisted** and a party of marines fired a *feu-de-joie*...’ *[added words emphasised]*. The motive for this distortion of her earlier pronouncement is unknown.

However, it must be said that the alteration appears to be a clumsy attempt at deception. While casting no aspersions on any person, it must be noted that her son was joint proprietor of the *Observer* at the time of the unfortunate, and indeed misleading, variation to the prime source document.

It is a remarkable circumstance that immediately after the ceremony at Glenelg in 1857, the solitary dissenter to the OGT as the ceremonial place was Mary Thomas.

At that time there must have been many surviving colonists who had been present, but no other objection to the remarks made at the 1857 ceremony by the Governor was forthcoming. One might be excused for concluding that the OGT was the ‘place’ and that Mary Thomas had either a lapse of memory, or hidden agenda, when the words in her 1836 diary were tampered with in January 1858.

The Work of J.S. Rees

While this gentleman introduced new evidence into the debate, I believe his findings contain several errors and false conclusions, one of which compromises his ultimate assertion that the OGT was not the 'proclamation' tree.

He concluded his treatise as follows:

From the information gathered, the co-ordinance of definite views and the circumstances attendant on the ceremony on the 28/12/1836, the collator admits his conversion to the opposition... [but] it was so close to the actual site as to warrant its preservation.

I believe the following aberrations appear in his booklet:

On page 10 the sketch is said to have been made by Robert Gouger, is incorrect - See Mortlock Library ref. A 1128 where it is attributed to Mary Hindmarsh. (*See below*).

The reference to an interview with 'boatswain John A. Hill' in 1893 is incorrect - John Hill (that was his full name), the boatswain of the *Buffalo*, died in 1885. The interviewee was Joseph A. Hill. (*See below*).

He implies that the evidence tendered by Mrs deMole (*see below under 'Secondary Sources'*) is suspect because of her age (11 years) at the time of her corroborating evidence, but is prepared to accept the extensive rambling and wide-ranging opinions of Helen Mantegani who was aged about 12 years in December 1836.

The quotation attributed to Mr Symonds is incorrect - it is an alleged statement taken from an obituary in the *Observer*, 9 May 1896, page 46a - see *Register*, 12 February 1886, page 3 and below, for Mr Symonds' informative version of the 'proclamation' ceremony.

Evidence from T.B. Strangways

At best, this statement can only be classified as a secondary source (I have more to say on this subject later) - The relative newspaper report is in the form of a letter written by H.B.T. Strangways.

It appears in the *Register*, 6 February 1897 at page 6f and says, *inter alia*:

I first saw this old tree in November 1853, when I was staying at Glenelg with my relative, the late Thomas Bewes Strangways, who was present at the proclamation ceremony. He told me that the proclamation was made under the shade of a clump of gum trees, some of which were very large, and that the main body of that clump was North-Easterly of that old tree. He pointed out to me the locality, and at that time some of the stumps of some large gumtrees were still on the ground. He said that the old stump called the old colonists' tree was probably part of that clump, but he did not remember it...

Reminiscences of Helen Mantegani

The *Register* of 11 February 1886 at page 7g has the following letter from Helen Mantegani, daughter of Mr & Mrs Robert Thomas:

The real tree was a fine one in full foliage, which stood near the tent of Mr Gouger... I was present that day with my parents and well remember incidents [of the day]. The so-called 'memorial tree' stood very near my father's tent and some distance away from the real one. It was dead + ... and it was not likely that the Governor would choose* a fallen tree without any shade for a gathering of people on a hot day...

+ In Skipper's sketch (see below) the tree appears to be flourishing!

* The Governor, no doubt, chose Gouger's tent as the scene for his deliberations with other executive officers and others have suggested that Robert Gouger and George Stevenson delivered a 'proclamation' oration outside the tent as a matter of convenience.

See hereunder for an ambiguity in Gouger's journal and the conclusion that Stevenson was solely responsible for the oration.

The *Observer* of 26 December 1896 and 16 May 1914 published her reminiscences in respect of the tree and, at a later date, an investigative reporter of the *Register* (see 28 December 1923, page 9) said:

The original Proclamation Tree is represented by the first immigrants as being a 'large one'. Mrs Mantegani says as a child she climbed it as far as she dared, as well as played under it. That being so, there must have been something peculiar in its growth. To a certain extent the tree must have been in a recumbent position to allow a girl of about 12 years of age to climb it at all.

In the *Observer* of 26 December 1896, page 2d (supp.) she is reported as saying:

A little way in front of [the Old Gum Tree]* stood the reed hut where the first printing was done...

* The reed hut is not shown in either Skipper's or Miss Fisher's sketch.

and in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Session 1901-1902, Volume 5 she says:

The Old Gum Tree... was not near Mr Gouger's tent, but was very close to Mr Thomas's' encampment... (If Skipper's painting (see comment below) of the scene is accepted as being representative of the location of the old tree and Gouger's tent and hut, it disproves both the above statements.

Conversely, if she is correct was not Skipper 'guilty' of artistic licence? See Miss Fisher's sketch where an arched tree is partially visible behind Gouger's abode.

Comment on the Evidence of Helen Mantegani

If J.M. Skipper's painting of the scene in circa January 1837 is accepted as being representative of the location of the OGT and Gouger's tent and hut, it disproves her statement.

If her claim that the 'old gum tree was dead' prior to and at the 'proclamation' is accepted as fact, it disproves the accuracy of Skipper's portrait.

In resting my case against the validity of her version of events, I must challenge its competency and conclude that her mother had a great influence on her published recall of events. Further, I believe that Mrs Mantegani's childhood 'memories', made some 50 years or more after the event, do not stand up against the statements of many adults who witnessed the events of 28 December 1836!

As a matter of interest a young citizen made the following comment in the *Register*, 25 August 1915, page 6f:

It is evident that persons alive at the present time who witnessed the ceremony must have been very young at the time [and] their memories cannot be relied upon [*For example - Helen Mantegani?*], and taken in preference to the testimony of those who erected a memorial to an event which occurred only 21 years previously.

Reminiscences of Elizabeth Fisher

The memories of John Cummins Morphett in 1924 in respect of his mother's (Elizabeth Morphett *nee* Fisher) presence at the ceremony are, I suggest, secondary in character.

Indeed, if the provenance of a sketch of Robert Gouger's hut and tent held by the SA Art Gallery, and attributed to her (Accession no. 731HP1), is accepted as being correct her recall was obviously flawed.*

[* See below where her reminiscences, as related to her son, are at odds with a letter she wrote on 10 February 1837.]

Wood 'believed' to be from the 'Proclamation' Tree

No specific reference as to the source of the 'story' is provided in your article. The photograph was taken about 1870 and therefore the notation upon the reverse was made at that time or later. Is there a 'primary source' reference, such as a newspaper report, or other documentation as to Mr Bennett's demolition of the supposed 'Proclamation Tree'?

If not, this 'convincing evidence' as you assert might, reasonably, I suggest, be classified as a secondary source.

If further evidence is required as to the damage done by 'hearsay' to our history, I refer [you] to *Manning's Place Names of South Australia* where, in the 'Sources' section, such meandering on the part of early nomenclators is discussed.

Painting of John Michael Skipper

You conclude that 'the most compelling evidence for distinguishing between the Old Gum Tree and the "true" proclamation tree is to be found in a water colour painted by John Michael Skipper...' I refer [you] to a sketch made by Elizabeth Fisher early in 1837 purporting to be Robert Gouger's tent and hut at Glenelg (see comments above and below). There is little similarity in these sketches - If both are accepted as being authentic in respect of the topography of the early settlement on the Holdfast Bay plain, might I pose the question - Which artist employed 'artistic' licence? (See under the next two headings for further comment on contemporary sketches).

The alleged words of Robert Gouger, on the reverse of this painting which you conclude are 'believed to be either in Gouger's hand or a later copy', are, I suggest, inconclusive and a future explorer into the OGT saga may care to make a comparison between this handwriting and that contained in Robert Gouger's journal?

Paintings of the Old Gum Tree

You quote the late Dr John Tregenza as saying that Skipper's work was 'the only contemporary visual record showing the relationship between the 'Old Gum Tree'... and the true proclamation tree which stood outside Gouger's tent and provided welcome shade...'

However, there is another, in addition to that of Miss Fisher, which I discuss above - I refer you to J.S. Rees, *The Old Gum Tree*, where there is a sketch purporting to have been drawn by Robert Gouger, but the caption is incorrect as it is attributed to Mary Hindmarsh - see Mortlock Library ref. A 1128.

The Validity of Contemporary Sketches (Mr Skipper and Miss Hindmarsh) as to Detail

(Taken from a letter to Mr Healey dated 19 September 2002)

For ease of assimilation the following comments are set down in tabular form:

If R.G. Symonds' written evidence (see below) is factual in respect of the location of the OGT then both Skipper and Mary Hindmarsh are at fault in their sketches.

If Skipper's portrait is factual, Helen Mantegani's written evidence in respect of the OGT's location is false.

If Helen Mantegani's statement as to the location of the OGT is correct, then Skipper's portrait and R.G. Symond's written version are false.

If Mary Hindmarsh's sketch of the Gouger abode, and Skipper's view of the wider scene, are correct, Symond's version is wrong for there is no OGT shown as supporting Gouger's tent.

Logic demands that the respective versions of the overall scene were subjected to artistic licence and, accordingly, are misleading.

Indeed, a casual glance at both the Hindmarsh and Skipper sketches supports this contention. Further evidence from Elizabeth Fisher, discussed under the next heading, confirms that Gouger's tent was contiguous to the OGT.

If Symonds' statement that Gouger's tent was 'partly supported on the southern end and upwards' by the OGT is factual, the tree must have been obscured partially by Gouger's tent which, quite probably, may have led Mary Hindmarsh to expunge it from her sketch because of an inordinate imbalance, and Skipper to 'shift' it to the left of its precise location, thus adding balance to his overall scene.

This theory is supported by Elizabeth Fisher's sketch, where an arched tree is visible behind Gouger's tent!

The Old Gum Tree - Was it the Site of the Foundation Ceremony?

(Taken from a letter to Mr Healey dated 19 September 2002)

A vital question remains to be answered - Where was Gouger's tent in relation to the Old Gum Tree? In 1893 a newspaper reporter opined of Mr R.G. Symonds that 'his frequent contributions to the press have already indicated his individuality and force of character.' Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that he was in possession of his faculties and a person whose word could be relied upon. He was present at the ceremony and said:

Mr Gouger's tent was partly supported on the southern end and upwards by this... tree now called the 'memorial tree'... Inside Mr Gouger's tent Governor Hindmarsh met the other members of the Council.

The proclamation was first read and all the members of the Council were sworn in. This was all done inside the tent and, in the presence of about 270 persons, the proclamation was read by... Mr Gouger... No special provision was made for shelter from the sun... The tree, I recollect, however, threw a little shade over the table outside the tent, which was furnished with light refreshments from HMS *Buffalo*...

(Mr Symond's statement is supported in the *Advertiser*, 29 December 1905, page 5f - 'The tent of Mr Gouger [was] pitched under the now historic "old gum tree".')

[Note that he is at variance with Elizabeth Fisher as to the identity of the 'proclaimer'.]

We are now left with two definitive sites for the OGT, namely, by Helen Mantegani and Mr Symonds. If the latter's is accepted as fact then it is indisputable that someone read a proclamation in front of it about 3 pm on 28 December 1836. Alternatively, if Mrs Mantegani's site is correct it was close to the hut housing the Stanhope press on which a 'proclamation' was printed under the guidance of Robert Thomas. The evidence provided by the Fisher sketch adds further weight to the location of the tree to be behind Mr Gouger's tent and supports Mr Symond's statement.

Further, an informative letter from Elizabeth Fisher to an Aunt in England on 10 February 1837 is reproduced in the *Observer*, 2 January 1858, page 6e and, as it was written shortly after the 'proclamation' ceremony when her memory was 'fresh', I believe it to be a vitally important historical statement and, indeed, it confirms Symonds' assertion as to the precise location of Gouger's tent. I have, for obvious reasons, superimposed relevant italicised comments upon her narrative:

We first proceeded to the Colonial Secretary's hut* and as soon as all the gentlemen were assembled the ladies adjourned to another hut, belonging to Mr Brown... and remained there until the Governor had taken the oath of allegiance [*in Mr Gouger's hut/tent?*]. When that ceremony was over we again joined the gentlemen [*in Mr Gouger's hut/tent?*] and **Mr Stevenson, His Excellency's Secretary, read the proclamation aloud** [*outside the hut/tent?*] [*my emphasis*] after which a party of marines (which had been sent on shore from the *Buffalo*) fired a 'feu de joie' and we proceeded to where a cold collation+ had been prepared for us under a large gum tree [*the spurious 'Proclamation' tree?*] ...

* Note that in the Fisher sketch the larger of the two premises has the appearance of a hut, rather than a tent. Her comment about Stevenson is puzzling, as discussed elsewhere. - but see comments below in respect of an ambiguity in Gouger's journal.

+ Note that the venue for the 'cold collation' is not the same as related to her son in 1924 - see next para.

In Elizabeth Fisher's reminiscences, as recorded in your piece, she says - '... the bent tree was used as the entrance to the "tent" [*Gouger's?*] in which the cold collation was served...' This statement is, in respect of the 'cold collations' venue, according to the recall of all 'eyewitnesses' who mention the repast, false - Note that Mr Symonds' contends that about 270 people were present and they would have been hard pressed to congregate in a settler's tent.

However, of primary importance is that she states, quite clearly, both in her 1837 letter and reminiscences, and as portrayed in her contemporaneous sketch, **that Gouger's hut (tent?) was contiguous to the OGT**, thus supporting the remarks of R.G. Symonds. Her letter is, I believe, vital in resolving the vexed question before us because:

1. It was written within six weeks of the ceremony and, as such, must be given credence over and above the memories of such persons as Helen Mantegani, Mary Thomas and Giles Strangways.

2. She identifies Gouger's hut/tent as the meeting place and puts Stevenson in front of it reading the 'proclamation'. I confess, freely, that this statement is puzzling, because it is generally believed that Gouger was the first to read it.* Coupled with the OGT being shown in her January 1837 sketch, I would suggest that this is powerful evidence in favour of the OGT as the ceremonial place.

* See under 'The Proclamation' below, where I suggest that Gouger's journal is not specific as to the fact that he actually read the 'proclamation' after the initial meeting of executive officers in his quarters.

The primary source evidence supporting the contention that the old bent tree is the 'proclamation tree' is overwhelming and hereunder are more of the eye-witnesses' recall of the events of that memorable day.

Messrs J.H. Fisher and John Morphet

These two gentlemen were influential members of the executive and capitalist classes in the infant colony and were present at Holdfast Bay on 28 December 1836 at the so-called 'Proclamation' ceremony.

At an official luncheon held near the Old Gum Tree on 28 December 1857 it was reported that both of them were guest speakers and in a reflective mood said, respectively:

Here we stood, and, under the formalities of that memorable hour, swore allegiance to our Sovereign, vowed fidelity to our common interests as an organised community.

... ever since the colony was proclaimed... on the spot where they now were...

Again, in later years, Sir John Morphett was to reaffirm his avowal on two occasions as to the authenticity of the Old Gum Tree as the ceremonial place:

[I] can affirm that it was done at the spot marked by the Old Gum Tree... which was then alive and flourishing...

It was more than fifty years since Sir John Hindmarsh [sic], under that tree, proclaimed the country to be a province.

Charles Moon, A Seaman on HMS Buffalo

He was aged 23 years in 1836; his reminiscences appear in the *Register*, 27 June 1892, page 6c where he claims:

The proclamation was read by the Governor [sic], the flag, which I had carried from the boat, being unfurled by him under what is called the Proclamation tree - a remarkable, low, stunted blue gum, sloping to the west and standing quite alone, close to the landing place.

Joseph A. Hill

An interview with Mr J.A. Hill, the District Clerk of the Booyoolie Council, who arrived in the colony in the *Africaine* in 1836, is reported in the *Advertiser*, 28 December 1893, page 5d:

'Do you know anything about the proclamation ceremony and the old gum tree... and is your memory clear about [it].'

'Yes, it is. I know what you are going to ask, whether the proclamation was read under that tree.'

'Exactly.'

'Yes, it was, I could not make a mistake with such a tree, and you can take my word for it, although the assertion has been doubted, that it is where the proclamation was read.'

Robert Wright

He arrived in the *Cygnets*, aged 17 years, and was present at the ceremony; in the *Register* of 10 January 1894, page 6c he states:

Gov. Hindmarsh and the Chief Secretary took the stand beneath the 'Temple Bar' tree and the marines were drawn up in line on one side and the natives on the other...

To the best of my knowledge the only people claiming to be present on the memorable day and dissenting personally, were:

(1) Giles Strangways, who came out in the *Buffalo*, said in the *Observer*, 26 December 1896, page 2e (supp.):

The ceremony was not performed under [the Old Gum Tree] as so many would like to believe, but not far away...

(2) Mary Thomas and her daughter, Helen Mantegani, - their respective depositions, have been considered under separate headings above. The following appears in the *Register*, 31 May 1877, page 6g and it must all but certainly be attributed to Mary Thomas, because there is a marked similarity of expression to other statements made by her. (See, for example, J.S. Rees, *The Old Gum Tree, Glenelg*, pp. 16-17 & 20.):

The tree in question is not the one under which the colony was proclaimed, I having been present... The real tree was a fine, large umbrageous specimen... The suppositious one was nearly destitute of foliage and was only remarkable from its having fallen in the position of an arch, which caused it to be facetiously named 'Temple Bar'... (Signed - 'A Colonist of 1836')

(This concluded the majority of my evidence in rebuttal of many of Mr Healey's conclusions as recited in his article of September 2002. (A précis of my findings forwarded later to Mr Healey for publication was rejected as being 'Not substantial enough'). I concluded with comments on known 'secondary' sources, the 'proclamation' ceremony and a post script suggesting all available evidence be reproduced in one article for the benefit of future researchers.)

Secondary Sources

(Taken from a letter to Mr Healey dated 19 September 2002)

[Note that Mr Healey's article of September 2002 is based, to a great extent, on such sources, but the majority of those quoted below were completely ignored by him, together with many 'primary' sources, all of which were available to him within the State Library.]

For what they are worth I reproduce hereunder all 'secondary' sources I have located over the past 20 years - note that those in favour of the OGT are far in excess of the dissenters!

Henry Gawler made the following comments in the *Register*, 9 February 1886, page 7d:

My father and family landed at Holdfast Bay on October 12, 1838, camping at that place for a few days and I distinctly recollect Mr George M. Stephen... and others pointing out, as being naturally an object of interest to the new Governor, the present gum tree upon which doubts have been thrown...

In May 1836, George Stevenson accepted an offer from Governor Hindmarsh to become his private secretary and many years later Mrs de Mole added to her father's version (see above) of events in a spirited defence of his past declaration:

I was not born until 1844, and my father died in 1856, but the year before his death he, my mother and myself were staying... at the Glenelg Inn... [Mr Osmond Gilles] drove my father and myself to see the old tree.

There was no mistaking the tree and at that time it was a beautiful object, very different from the miserable arched log of the last 30 years... I remember perfectly the fact of these two men standing there and talking of the 28th, 1836...

John Hill was the former boatswain of HMS *Buffalo* and it was his proud boast that:

I was the first person that hoisted the Union Jack of Old England on that ever memorable occasion...

Many years later a correspondent to the *Register* contended that Mr Hill raised the Union Jack at the State's foundation ceremony in 1836:

[He] visited Glenelg on the day the province attained its 21st year and again hoisted the ensign on the old gum tree, and then identified the particular tree which has since been preserved as the first landmark of the early settlers.

This statement is confirmed in a newspaper advertisement in 1857:

His Excellency the Governor will then attach a plate to the Tree commemorating the event of the day, when the Flag of our Native Land will be unfurled [on the Old Gum Tree] by John Hill, boatswain of the *Buffalo*.

The *Register* of 30 November 1857, page 2h reports a comment made by the Mayor of Glenelg in respect of the tree:

It was the same around which the early colonists assembled in the year 1836... and was still in perfect preservation.

On 28 February 1858 the Editor of the *Register* says:

With regard to the tree itself, there were warm disputes going on [during the celebrations] as to whether this was the real patriarch...

(Strangely, not a word was forthcoming in ensuing weeks from any disputant, either supporting the claim or dissenting from it.)

The *Adelaide Times* of 30 November 1857, page 2e says:

[A] public meeting was held... at the Saint Leonard's Hotel, Glenelg, to take into consideration the most desirable means of celebrating on this spot, under the old gum tree at Glenelg, the arrival of this colony at the twenty-first year of its existence... It is desirable to commemorate the event by a public celebration under 'The Old Colonists' Tree'... the name of the tree under which the colony was proclaimed.

(No dissent was forthcoming from readers to this forthright statement.)

The *Adelaide Times* of 23 December 1857, page 1e carries an advertisement in respect of proposed festivities 'on the site of the Old Gum Tree' and on 29 December 1857, page 2c it said:

At twelve o'clock [yesterday] a number of persons congregated at the 'Old Tree'... [they broke] a few bottles on the devoted stem of the tree...

The *Observer* of 2 January 1858, page 3a says:

The venerable relic in question stands about a quarter of a mile from the beach... it forms a complete arch about 12 feet high, along which here and there are still a few signs of vegetation.

The *Register* of 28 December 1865, page 2g has an editorial which says:

When the present generation has passed away, those that follow will, we hope, keep alive the remembrance of that important day when beneath the old gum tree... South Australia was first proclaimed a colony.

A correspondent to the *Register* on 2 January 1866, page 3b says:

The magnificent gum tree under which the proclamation actually took place not only partly overshadowed the tent of Mr Gouger... but also furnished a natural canopy for the open air banquet... A copy of the proclamation was nailed to it at the time...

([Signed] – 'A Colonist of November 1836' [Mary Thomas?])

The reminiscences of Mrs Elizabeth A. Foulger are in the *Advertiser*, 18 December 1918, page 7c where she says, *inter alia*:

I was born under that tree... Some people have said that this tree is not the one under which the proclamation was read. They are wrong. It is the same tree - my father has often told me so.

The *Register* of 28 December 1923, page 9 traverses the 'pros and cons' of the debate as to the authenticity or otherwise of the 'Old Gum Tree' and concludes:

Unmistakably, this testimony, when our province was only 13 years of age, points to the Old Gum Tree that we see today as being the identical tree around which the pioneers of 1836 gathered...

A letter concerning the validity of 'the old gum tree', being that under which the 'proclamation' was read, appears in the *Register*, 4 June 1877, page 6e:

As one who has for the past 17 years hoarded with veneration a piece of 'The Old Gum Tree' and has presented pieces to friends in England under the firm belief that the tradition was true, I should like to see this either verified or the contrary. Mr (now Captain) J.W. Hurst, Peckham, England, was present when the proclamation was read and well remembered [it]. ([Signed] - J.W. Billiatt).

J.W. Billiatt has some further words on this subject - see *Register*, 25 May 1881, page 7b:

I have conversed with some who were present and they affirm that 'the old gum tree' is the one. If it be not the one, why was not the protest made when Sir R. MacDonnell affixed the bow [sic]? - old colonists being present at the time...

The *Chronicle* of 31 August 1895, page 5c reproduces an interview with Mr John Thorn, 'A Member of Colonel Light's Staff':

It was not read under the arched tree as is supposed... [but] under a straight gum tree some four or five chains* away. [Mr Thorn's obituary is in the *Chronicle*, 14 July 1900, page 33e.]

* Note that Helen Mantegani contends that 'the real tree was a fine one in full foliage, which stood near the tent of Mr Gouger...'

An obituary of Daniel Wickham is in the *Observer*, 14 October 1911, page 34b; it includes the following:

He often visited the locality... and maintained firmly that the arched old stump was the identical one under which the historical ceremony took place...

'Is the Old Gum Tree Genuine?', by Rev John Blacket, is in *The News*, 1 January 1935, page 4f:

I know from personal study of the surroundings of the tree, compared with early documents, that the tree marks the spot of the proclamation.

A letter written by H.J. Hindmarsh, a great grandson of the Governor, in which he supports the tree as being the site of a 'proclamation' is in the *Chronicle*, 13 June 1935, page 48d.

'Proclamation Tree Controversy', an article produced by the Royal Geographical Society, is in the *Advertiser*, 3 July 1936, page 20h:

... This evidence is distinctly in support of Gouger's diary records and drawing, and definitely against the idea that the Proclamation was read under the old bent tree...

The 'Proclamation'

[Taken from a letter to Mr Healey dated 19 September 2002]

Dependent upon the interpretation of Robert Gouger's words in his journal as to the events of the day, coupled with George Stevenson's assertion as to his participation, it can be deduced that the so called 'proclamation' was read twice. In his journal, Robert Gouger says:

Before, however, reading the commission in public, I took the necessary oaths of office... We then held a council for the purpose of agreeing upon a proclamation... The commission was then read in public.*

*(*Author's Note*) If my reading of his journal is correct there is a certain ambiguity present. In the opening sentence he implies he was going to read the 'proclamation', but this is negated by his words 'The commission was then read in public' - this is quite impersonal, which might, reasonably, lead to a conclusion that he was prevailed upon by the Governor to give George Stevenson the honour? If this is so, the whole 'proclamation' scene is simplified.

In 1849 George Stevenson contended that:

It was yesterday, thirteen years since, that the writer of these lines in his official capacity as Clerk of the Council, read [a proclamation]* to about two hundred persons, then nearly the entire population, standing around or in the shade of a gum tree on the plain of Glenelg, still to be seen there - a large crooked arch, remarkable for its appearance...

* His statement is confirmed by Elizabeth Fisher in her letter of February 1837.

An investigative reporter of the *Advertiser*, early in the 20th century, after examining pertinent evidence, arrived at the following conclusion, which is persuasive but not without an element of conjecture:

It is more likely the document read to the people in front of Mr Gouger's tent was the original manuscript copy of the formal Orders in Council adopted at that first Executive Council meeting held within the tent and that after the printed copies had emerged from the press of Mr Robert Thomas, in his reed hut near the beach, it was one of these that was officially read out to the assembly by Mr Stevenson at the Old Gum Tree nearby.

[The reporter then quotes from Stevenson's editorial in the *SA Gazette & Mining Journal* of 29 December 1849 as substantive proof of his findings.]

We can therefore pay our respects at the Old Gum Tree to the original pioneers of the State...*

* After due deliberation I believe this proposition to be false - see comment under 'The OGT - was it the Site of the "Proclamation".'

Conclusion

[Taken from a letter to Mr Healey dated 19 September 2002]

May I suggest that several of your *Newsletter* pronouncements are based on secondary sources, and therefore open to criticism as to their veracity, and the statement 'that the "Old Gum Tree" was some distance away from where Hindmarsh's first proclamation was read...' is, in my opinion, not proven.

Further, you record that '[The OGT] could not have provided either shade...' - An eyewitness, Mr R.G. Symonds (see above), addresses this matter - while the remainder of the aforesaid quotation speaks of the lack of 'sufficient

pace beneath* it for the assembly of colonists' which, I believe, cannot have any possible place in a logical debate concerning the precise location of the erstwhile 'Proclamation Tree'.

* I suggest the spectators would have assembled in front of Gouger's tent which was fixed by ropes to the OGT, thus preventing any one from standing underneath the tree.

I would suggest that the matter is not as clear cut as you suggest and your statement - 'Not the Tree' - is, perhaps, a little premature. Indeed, you and I are poles apart in our respective conclusions, and any discerning reader might conclude that the dilemma has not been resolved.

However, the convincing evidence of R.G. Symonds, which is supported by the Elizabeth Fisher's letter and reminiscences, the Fisher sketch and the hitherto unnoticed evidence of Charles Moon, Joseph A. Hill and Robert Wright, has, surely, swung the pendulum away from past edicts. Further, the evidence of Mary Thomas and Helen Mantegani has, I suggest, been proven to be suspect and so I suggest that, reasonably, it may be claimed today that the site of the 'proclamation' was the OGT.

Finally, may I risk eternal perdition and suggest that from the evidence and explanations presented above one might reasonably assume that the facts were simply as follows: An executive meeting took place in Gouger's quarters contiguous to the OGT and, following the determination of the so-called 'proclamation', Governor Hindmarsh directed his private secretary, George Stevenson, to make an appropriate announcement outside the Colonial Secretary's hut/tent.

You will appreciate that, in compiling, this summary, I have had occasion to make many judgements as to the efficacy, or otherwise, of the available evidence and, accordingly, I beg forbearance for any errors or omissions in my deliberations. However, I sincerely hope that the source material brought forward will be a catalyst for further research. Indeed, my quiver is empty except for the attached appendix.

PS: Please feel free to publish this in any form as you desire, but I would request that it be published in full without any editing. I enclose a magnetic disk (Word for Windows 95) of the text and a copy of Elizabeth Fisher's sketch - please return it to me at your earliest convenience.

The Fisher sketch is held by the Art Gallery of SA - Accession no. 731HP1 and it is said that it was drawn in January 1837 by Elizabeth Fisher as a representation of Robert Gouger's tent and hut at Glenelg. It was gifted to the gallery in 1973 by a Miss Bonnear, an antiquarian dealer.

My epistle contains over 8,000 words and may be considered too long for the HS *Newsletter*? If so might I suggest either a 'special edition' of the newsletter or pass it on to the Editors of the HS Journal.

In my opinion, a 'special edition' could make for an interesting historical record if you incorporated all of the available sketches, etc., including that of Mary Hindmarsh?

You may even consider it worthwhile to reproduce your findings on the OGT, J.S. Rees's deliberations and Norris Iannou's *Old Icon's Twisted Past*, thus putting a wealth of material 'under one roof' for the benefit of future explorers?

Extracts from Mr Healey's letter to G.H. Manning dated 26 September 2002

I really can't see an arched tree in the sketch by Elizabeth Fisher... The Old Gum Tree is only about six feet high at the centre of the arch now... There could not have been room under it to have pitched a tent... [*Every person who has been shown the sketch, except Mr Healey, has confirmed that there is evidence of an arched tree at the rear of Gouger's abode, while the Observer of 2 January 1858 says 'The venerable relic... forms a complete arch about 12 feet high.'*]

As far as publication of your article is concerned there is no way I can print it in the *Newsletter* as it is way too long and I could not justify to Council the expense of printing and posting one person's articles as a special edition. I will, however, pass the disk copy on to the Editorial Committee of the *Journal* for consideration.

Extract from a letter from G.H. Manning to Mr Healey dated 28 September 2002

[This letter is a condensed version of my first submission and I requested publication of same and concluded by saying]:

I would suggest that the matter is not as clear cut as you suggest and your statement - 'Not the Tree' - is, perhaps, a little premature. Indeed, in my opinion the convincing statement of R.G. Symonds, which is supported by Elizabeth Fisher's letter/reminiscences and the hitherto unquoted evidence of John Morphet, Hurtle Fisher, Charles Moon, Joseph A. Hill and Robert Wright has, surely, swung the pendulum away from past edicts. Finally, I have written at length on this subject and interested readers are referred to Personal Record Group 412 at the State Library.

Extract from a letter to G.H. Manning from Mr Healey dated 3 October 2002

I have to say that I don't think your evidence holds up under scrutiny. Let me take it point by point [*there follows a page or so of dissenting opinions upon my findings - I comment on his dissertation in a letter to the Historical Society dated 17 October 2002 (see below) - and he concluded by saying*]:

I don't think the evidence you present is substantial enough, nor does it hang together cohesively enough to warrant it being printed in the newsletter... I just don't think your evidence holds up.

(I then sought redress via the Council of the Historical Society of SA.)

Extracts from a letter - Manning to the Historical Society of South Australia (copy to Mr Healey) - 17 October 2002

I offered the fruits of my research to the Editor of the HSA Newsletter. However, it was refused publication when he said, inter alia, 'I don't think that the evidence you produce is substantial enough.' In my opinion this comment could be applied to certain aspects of his summation of events surrounding the ceremony as appearing in a recent Newsletter in which he concluded that 'it is clear from the available evidence that the arched Old Gum Tree was some distance away from where Hindmarsh's first proclamation was read and could not have provided shade or sufficient space beneath it for the assembly of colonists.'

To my mind this statement is, firstly, a little premature when evidence not sighted by your Editor is taken into account and, secondly, is ambiguous and open to debate because it can be argued that the spectators could have assembled in front of Gouger's abode when it was read by either Robert Gouger or George Stevenson - I have more to say on this aspect of the ceremony hereunder.

At the outset, I repeat my commentary on your editor's findings taken from recent correspondence to him.

Mary Thomas's Pronouncements

[Mr Healey quotes] from Mary Thomas's reminiscences, completed in 1866, where she discounts the proposition that the OGT is the 'Proclamation Tree', but a decade earlier evidence of certain chicanery as to her recall of events was abroad... One might be excused for concluding that the OGT was the 'place' and that Mary Thomas had either a lapse of memory, or hidden agenda, when the words in her 1836 diary were tampered with in January 1858.

My research shows that those in favour of the OGT as the ceremonial place, gleaned from both primary and secondary sources, are far greater in number than dissenters... but your Editor, in a strange exercise in logic, dismisses my primary sources as being tainted, while his, some secondary in character, are held out to be the acme of perfection! May I be excused for concluding that his evidence... is, to repeat his derogatory statement, 'not substantial enough' in certain areas?

I refer you to his letter of 3 October 2002 where I consider several ill-considered statements are made. For example, he states that comments made by Joseph Hill and Robert Wright were made 'over fifty years later'... Note that in respect of two of his protagonists, Giles Strangways and T.B. Strangways, there is not a vestige of censure present in his epistle as to the quality of their 'evidence'.

The Work of J.S. Rees

While this gentleman introduced new evidence into the debate, I believe his findings contain several errors and false conclusions, one of which compromises his ultimate assertion that the OGT was not the 'proclamation' tree.

Evidence from T. B. Strangways

At best, this statement can only be classified as a secondary source - The relative newspaper report is in the form of a letter written by H.B.T. Strangways. It appears in the *Register*, 12 February 1886, page 3.

Reminiscences of Helen Mantegani

Some of her comments are to be found in the *Register* of 11 April 1886 at page 7g, *Observer* of 26 December 1896 and 16 May 1914 and *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Session 1901-1902, Volume 5.

I would question the validity of her remarks and suggest that her mother (Mary Thomas) had a great influence on her published recall. Further, I believe that Mrs Mantegani's childhood 'memories', made some 50 years or more after the event, do not stand up against the statements of many adults who witnessed the events of 28 December 1836.

An investigative reporter of the *Register* (see 28 December 1923, page 9), said:

The original proclamation tree is represented by first immigrants as being a 'large one'. Mrs Mantegani says as a child she climbed it as far as she dared, as well as played under it. That being so, there must have been something peculiar in its growth. To a certain extent the tree must have been in a recumbent position to allow a girl of about 12 years of age to climb it at all.

As a matter of interest, a young citizen made the following comment in the *Register*, 25 August 1915, page 6:

It is evident that persons alive at the present time who witnessed the ceremony must have been very young at the time [and] their memories cannot be relied upon and taken in preference to the testimony of those who erected a memorial to an event which occurred only 21 years previously.

Wood 'believed' to be from the 'Proclamation' Tree

No specific reference as to the source of the 'story' is provided in your article. The photograph was taken about 1870 and therefore the notation upon the reverse was made at that time or later. Is there a 'primary' source reference, such as a newspaper report, or other documentation as to [the] demolition of the supposed 'Proclamation Tree'? If not, this 'convincing evidence' as you assert might, reasonably, I suggest, be classified as a secondary source.

If further evidence is required as to the damage done by 'hearsay' to our history, I refer [you] to *Manning's Place Names of South Australia* where, in the 'Sources' section, such meandering on the part of early nomenclators is discussed.

Painting of John Michael Skipper

I refer [you] to a sketch made by Elizabeth Fisher early in 1837 purporting to be Robert Gouger's hut and tent at Glenelg... There is little similarity in these sketches... If both are accepted as being authentic in respect of the

topography of the early settlement on the Holdfast Bay plain, might I pose the question - Which artist employed 'artistic' licence? [The Skipper sketch, held by the Dixon Gallery, Sydney, is endorsed - 'Tent and Hut at Glenelg, South Australia. The temporary residence of Robert Gouger. The Government was proclaimed at this site...']

In the *Observer* of 26 December 1896, page 2d (supp.) [Mrs Mantegani] is reported as saying - 'A little in front of [the Old Gum Tree] stood the reed hut where the first printing was done.' (The reed hut is not shown in either Skipper's or Miss Fisher's sketch.) If Skipper's painting of the scene is accepted as being representative of the location of the OGT and Gouger's tent and hut, it disproves [her statement].

Comments on Your Editor's Modus Operandi and 'Taking in the Washing'

In his initial response to me your Editor avoided any direct comment on the majority of the reservations I had on his article and, finally, concluded his 'refusal' letter to me with these sullen words, 'I don't think that the evidence you present is substantial enough. Nor does it hang together cohesively enough to warrant its being printed in the Newsletter... I just don't think your evidence holds up.'

In response to this blunt, but perhaps obtuse, opinion I can do no better than quote from my letters to your Editor where I traversed, at length, all primary and secondary source material I have located over the past two decades - note that his named sources are, except for one, all secondary in character:

I would suggest that the matter is not as clear cut as you suggest and your statement - 'Not the Tree' - is, perhaps, a little premature. Indeed, in my opinion the convincing statement of R.G. Symonds, which is supported by the Elizabeth Fisher's letter/reminiscences, and the hitherto unquoted evidence of John Morphett, Hurtle Fisher, Charles Moon, Joseph A. Hill and Robert Wright, has, surely, swung the pendulum away from past edicts. Finally, I have written at length on this subject and interested readers are referred to Personal Record Group 412 at the State Library...

You will appreciate that, in compiling, this summary, I have had occasion to make many judgements as to the efficacy, or otherwise, of the available evidence and, accordingly, I beg forbearance for any errors or omissions in my deliberations. However, I sincerely hope that the source material brought forward will be a catalyst for further research. Indeed, my quiver is empty except for the attached appendix [*not reproduced here*].

(Please note that, unlike your Editor, I do not hold myself out as a paragon of infallibility, but merely produce evidence from primary sources and, hopefully, conclude with a few reasoned observations.)

In contrast to these temperate remarks it should be noted that, in my opinion, your Editor's article on the subject is, in many respects, quite dogmatic and from the tenor of his words it is apparent he believes his version of events to be beyond reproach and, for reasons not clear to me, he neglects to cite an iota of evidence, much of which was available to him, which dissent against his assertions. May I ask why he, apparently, confined his 'research' to 'taking in washing' from Messrs F.L. Parker, J.D. Somerville, J.S. Rees, etc., when with a little forensic endeavour he could have unearthed further relevant material within the Mortlock Library?

Indeed, my research shows that those in favour of the OGT as the ceremonial place, gleaned from both primary and secondary sources, are far greater in number than dissenters (refer to my letter of 19 September 2002), but your Editor, in a strange exercise in logic, dismisses my primary sources as being tainted, while his, some secondary in character, are held out to be the acme of perfection! May I be excused for concluding that his evidence, as discussed above, is, to repeat his derogatory pronouncement, not 'substantial enough' in certain areas.

I refer you to his letter to me of 3 October 2002 where I consider several ill-considered statements are made. For example, he states that comments made by Joseph Hill and Robert Wright were made 'over fifty years later' and suggests that if I 'reject Helen Mantegani's evidence, you have to reject these. You can't have it both ways.'

In fact, what I said was, 'I believe that Mrs Mantegani's childhood "memories", made some 50 years or more after the event, do not stand up against the statements of many adults who witnessed the events of 28 December 1836!' Note that in respect of two of his protagonists, Giles Strangways and T.B. Strangways, there is not a vestige of censure present in his epistle as to the quality of their 'evidence'!

Surely, if he deems it necessary to castigate my offerings on this aspect of the ceremony, some mention should have been made in his article as to the possible deficiency in the statements of those two men? May I pose a question for your deliberation - Do you consider your Editor's comment a fair one or might it have been made in an attempt to cover flaws in his own basic 'research' in respect of the evidence of Helen Mantegani which I have reviewed above?

Having been employed in the commercial world for more than 40 years, might I suggest that a more courteous response to my submission would have been for the Editor to publish it and, in disagreement, totally or otherwise, present his objections concisely and politely?

I honestly believe that this controversy will never be resolved because of the plethora of conflicting evidence and that your Editor could, indeed, be subjected to a certain amount of ridicule if he persists with his perceived belief that the evidence he presents in respect of the events of 28 December 1836 is without blemish. Indeed, I have admitted to him that my epistle of 19 September 2002 has possible shortcomings but, overall, I believe it casts many doubts upon the conclusion he reached. Accordingly - and I say this not in a carping sense but as advice a concerned father might have for a wayward son - I advise your editor that in the realm of human relations the traits of impartiality and probity are to be preferred over dogmatism and enmity.

In a philosophical mode in my 77th year on this mortal coil, and with eleven books published on various aspects of South Australian history behind me, may I quote from an article by the eminent journalist, Stewart Cockburn, on 18

February 1984 when an article appeared in the *Advertiser* entitled 'A Challenge to the Angas Legend'. In it he debunked much of past history written about George Fife Angas and, in respect of Sir Charles Bright's *The Confidential Clerk*, opined that it 'challenges versions of local "history" which have prevailed for a century or more' and wryly concluded '... the Angas family is not going to like it.'

Further, the learned journalist was firmly of the opinion that the published result of Bright's research would:

Deliver a sharp jolt to professional writers of history and biography in Australia who have often taken in each other's washing and accepted secondary sources for their information instead of going back to primary sources.

I hold no academic qualifications in respect of history and, accordingly, am loath to give advice to my peers, but I would place on record my concern at the paucity of basic research being undertaken by compilers of history in this State, many of whom are satisfied by 'taking in the washing' from their predecessors and, indeed, personal 'primary source' research appears to be anathema to them.

Finally, I proffer the following words, taken from the *Register* of 16 July 1920, for the edification of your Editor and interested members of your committee:

What is history and tradition worth when only 21 years after the event South Australians could not agree whether the proclamation was or was not read under the Temple Bar 'cripple'.

As evidenced by the epistle emanating from your Editor's 'research', and the dissent of your humble correspondent in respect of certain aspects of his prognostications, the 'tradition' continues.

Extracts from Correspondence - Healey to Manning - 16 January 2003

... The articles you submitted were judged solely on their merit, as is anything submitted to the *Newsletter*. I suggest that you accept the rejection gracefully. Your allegations... may be just within the bounds of legality if your letters are regarded as private communications between yourself and David Cornish.

I warn you, however, that if you repeat any of these insults in public, either verbally or in writing, I will most definitely take you to court and sue you for slander or libel. Be warned, Mr Manning. Be very careful.

Extracts from Correspondence - Manning to Healey - 20 January 2003

I thank you for your considered response of 16 January to a solitary aspect of matters raised in previous correspondence to both yourself and the President of your Society. As you confined your dissertation to one matter only, dare I opine that your ongoing silence in respect of other facets of my complaint implies:

- (1) You agree that you have stifled historical debate among Society members and as such abrogated a stated 'Object' of that body.
- (2) You agree your research methods for the OGT monograph were, generally, non-forensic and comprise, in the main, remnants of other historians' 'washing' and, further, you were remiss in not informing your readers of views and evidence contrary to yours which are readily available in the State Library of SA.
- (3) You agree that some of your 'sources', held out to be infallible, may be tainted, and my suggestion that several of them were 'secondary' in nature, and therefore 'suspect', was a fair and reasonable statement.
- (4) The OGT, as contended by the *Observer* in the late 1850s, was 'about 12 feet high' and your comment as to it being but 'about 6 feet high' was ill-founded and, therefore, as I opined, Gouger's tent could have been contiguous to same.
- (5) The work of J.S. Rees (one of your sources) is flawed and contains a conclusion that compromises his assertion that the OGT was not the 'proclamation' tree.
- (6) You agree that the weight of the available evidence, both primary and secondary, could lead to a conclusion that the OGT was the site of the 'proclamation'.
- (7) You agree that you were subject to an unfortunate aberration when you extolled your 'sources' (primary and secondary), but condemned some of mine because they were made 'over 50 years later' - Were not some of yours in a similar category? If so, should you not have made mention of your reservations on their import in your epistle?
- (8) You agree that my comment that 'the matter is not as clear cut as you suggest' is correct and that your statement - 'Not the Tree' - was a little premature.
- (9) You are in accord with my suggestion that many of your comments on aspects of my rebuttal evidence were irresponsible.
- (10) Finally, you, apparently, in recent times, made explanations to Mr Cornish in respect of my concerns at your questionable actions but, apparently, lacked a commitment to confront me with them.

Have you the will to respond to what I have had to say in preceding paragraphs in respect of 'editorial responsibility'?

If you decline to comment on this facet and/or (1) to (10) above, will you please, answer the following queries - **Do you consider your epistle, as published in September 2002, to be infallible? If not, are your readers entitled to have other thoughts on the matter presented to them?**

Extracts from Correspondence - Healey to Manning - 22 January 2003

Just because I do not reply to every point in your petulant ramblings does not mean that I agree with any of them. Silence does not necessarily mean consent. In this case it means contempt. Why do you continue to send your letters to me? You are clearly writing them only to boost your own ego...

Extracts from Correspondence - The Historical Society of SA to Manning - 8 January 2003

... It is not the role of Council to adjudicate in matters historical between contributors to its publications and the editors appointed to manage those publications on Council's behalf.

I am prepared to pass on your correspondence to the Society's editorial committee for their consideration...

Extracts from Correspondence - Manning to The Historical Society of SA - 14 January 2003

In my letter of 17 October 2002 I requested that a copy be given to each Council member with the belief that, as people interested in the history of this State, they could digest what I had to say and arrive at a considered opinion as to whether your Editor's published epistle on the Old Gum Tree was either infallible or open to criticism and, further, if he was considered to be remiss in refusing publication of my rebuttal? Additionally, may I enquire why the request in respect of the distribution of my letter was refused?

While your 'Council' has a 'policy' in respect of editorial practice... I would hope that its members are not automatons and without an opinion on the validity, or otherwise, of matters raised in my letter to your Society?

I extended to you the courtesy of documenting my 'version' of events fully in respect of differences with your Editor and **would ask you to do likewise and elucidate on his 'official' reaction**, as opposed to his previous condemnatory remarks to the factual evidence I produced which, as suggested in previous correspondence, casts doubts upon his alleged dogmatic epistle taken in, apparently, from a conglomerate of several historians' 'washing'. The query I raised as to his forensic investigation was, I believe, worthy of comment from your Council but, unfortunately, **my apprehension surrounding his dubious 'research' methods failed to move that body to voice an opinion. Why, may I ask?**

Indeed, one might be excused for concluding that your Society, in this instance, is more concerned with protecting its Editor from calumny, as opposed to assessing, objectively, side by side, my rebuttal and his monograph which, I believe, is, to use his derogatory terminology, 'not substantial enough.'

May I enquire, politely, whether you and your Council members, collectively and/or individually, have a considered opinion on this aspect of my grievance?

If you agree that your Editor's epistle is open to objective criticism, should he not have published my rebuttal? Conversely, if you are of the opinion that his offering is not in that category will you please tell me where I have erred?

I would be remiss if I did not applaud the work done by Council members and past office holders. Indeed, I served for a term, about 20 years ago. As men and women of 'many talents', am I asking too much of them to **give me a considered response to my grievance?** I urge them to reflect upon the elements of probity and impartiality, coupled with the legal requirement of equity, which are part and parcel of the field of human relations crying out here for a democratic process of arbitration and/or conciliation.

In a nutshell - **Is your Council for or against the publishing of views contrary to those espoused by your Editor or is it content to allow the incumbent in that position to be both judge and jury? - I believe this is a question, among others posed above, to which I am entitled to have an answer.**

Finally, I, and other concerned members of your society, believe your Editor's action was detrimental to worthwhile discussion on the history of our State. Indeed, this is incorporated in the stated objects of your society, namely - 'To arouse interest in and promote the study and discussion of history...' **I humbly suggest that, by his actions, your Editor has nullified that noble sentiment. To this invocation I invite your Council's response.**

[Neither an acknowledgement nor a response was received to this letter.]

Extracts from Correspondence - Manning to The Historical Society of SA - 20 January 2003

I do not intend to enter into any further correspondence with either your Society or Mr Healey. I have produced substantive evidence showing that the content of his monograph on the Old Gum Tree is fallible, made my case against his inexplicable and unwarranted censorship of my rebuttal, fully documented the evidence indicative of his editorial aberrations, expressed my views on what I consider to be the inherent responsibilities of editors at large, and sought remedial action from your Council. I now return to more productive work in the field of our history.

In particular, during your deliberations I would ask you to ponder the queries I have raised in my letter to Mr Healey and designated (1) to (10) and two emphasised ancillary questions.

They are at the core of the dispute and, I believe, cast your Editor in such a way that, if your Council agrees with my contentions, he should be asked to furnish explanations and, if they are not forthcoming in a satisfactory manner then, surely, my charge against him is substantiated.

I thank you for considering my complaint against your Editor and would hope that your Council will see fit to oversee future contributions to your *Newsletter* to ensure that those worthy of publication are not emasculated, and that the commendable 'Objects' of your Society are adhered to and not become a travesty through the actions of an irresponsible Editor.

[Neither an acknowledgement nor a response was received to this letter - During the course of this unproductive discourse with the Council I tendered my resignation from the Society to which I had been a regular contributor over past years.]

A 2004 postscript - It is understood that during 2004 Mr Healey vacated the position as Editor of the Society's Newsletter.

Appendix 15

Extracts from an Address given by Geoffrey H. Manning to the Kensington & Norwood Historical Society at the Norwood Town Hall on 5 November 2003 Incorporating Reminiscences of his Life over Eight Decades

Part I - Introduction

John Ruskin, that pillar of English literature, is reported as saying that:

The only history worth reading is that written at the time of which it treats, the history of what was done and seen, heard out of the mouths of the men who did and saw .

For myself, I believe in the truism that when we get older, and no longer have the energy of past years, we are compelled to find other means of filling in the idle hours of retirement. Indeed, in such circumstances time can hang most heavily so may I, with a deal of trepidation and misgivings, recite to you a little of my history since I arrived on this mortal coil in 1926 at Waikerie, South Australia, and share with you some of the fruits of my 'hobby' since I retired in 1982.

It is a pleasure to have my two daughters and son in the audience tonight but I must say, in all sincerity, that while they have extended every encouragement to me in the foibles of my retirement, they are yet to inform me that they have digested a single paragraph of my outpourings over the past three decades. And, might I suggest, here lies a warning for budding family historians who do not have any record of their past - seek information from your aged ancestors before they depart this troubled planet!

My prepared speech runs to some 63,000 words and it is not my intention to inflict the whole of it upon you tonight. However, I have prepared a magnetic tape of it for your Society and the Editor of your Newsletter is welcome to publish it in any form whatsoever as he or she sees fit in the future.

Further, I do not desire to bore you with diverse accounts of the idiosyncrasies of the Manning clan, both maternal and paternal, since the dawn of time. As I stand before you, I can only be described as a conglomerate of a number of races - Maternally, I have German and Swiss blood flowing through my veins and, conversely, on the paternal side the glory of the English grandparent is missing, because those wonderful ancestors were, respectively, of Irish and Australian extraction.

As for the 'Manning' clan I have told the story at length in books such as *Hope Farm - Cradle of the McLaren Vale Industry* and *Hope Farm Chronicle* but, tonight, I would like to digress and look at my maternal ancestors who were in a much lower class, and I use that word in the sense it was recognised in the Victorian era, when they landed on our shores.

Firstly, my grandfather August George Heinrich Hein, arrived from Hamburg, Germany, in the 1870s, aged ten years, with his parents and at that time there was a universal cry from the South East of the colony that labour was required on the fertile lands in that developing district.

Further afield in Queensland a young girl, one Annie Graf, born in Switzerland in the late 1860s, arrived in those tropical climes. She had departed from Europe with her mother, a widow of an officer in the Austrian army but, her future life in this new country was to be put in jeopardy because her mother died on passage. Fortuitously, she was 'adopted' by fellow passengers and they settled at a place called Sleepy Creek, near Roma, in what was to be called the 'brigalow country.'

In the meantime, August Hein, together with his family upon arrival in the colony were diverted to Port MacDonnell where there was a crying need for labour on both the vast freehold properties owned by squatters and yeoman farmers. There they toiled for many years until the aforementioned 'brigalow' country in Queensland was opened up for selection and, gathering up their few chattels, they proceeded by sea to this new 'Garden of Eden.' There he met Annie Graf and, following their marriage, circa 1890, two daughters were born before they realised that their fortune did not lay at Sleepy Creek.

Returning to Mount Gambier at the turn of the 20th century they were, in turn, engaged in pastoral labours for the proprietor of the Limestone Ridge Run, out of Penola, until they settled at OB Flat where he engaged in the occupation of a market gardener and it was there that the last four children of the marriage were born, including my mother, Grace Maude Hein, in 1901.

Part II - Memories from South Australia - World War I and Beyond

Germans in South Australia - 1914-1918

The years of 1914-1918 were a trying time for those citizens of South Australia of German descent and my grandfather recounted many of his experiences to me but, before discussing the more horrific sides of local paranoia, I should recount a story he told me which is not without a little pathos and attendant droll humour. His family were bakers by trade and in the early days of the war his father, then working at Carr's bakery in Commercial Street, Mount Gambier, was directed that, in future, the name of his 'German' cake was to be changed to 'Belgian' cake!

On a more serious note may I recite to you a few comments made in the Adelaide press during the war years in respect of expatriate Germans residing within South Australia:

As an Australian who has committed the crime of allowing German blood to flow in his veins - a crime to which the whole Royal family of England and Prince Louis of Battenberg must plead guilty - allow me to

assure you and all other sane and level headed Australians of the sincere loyalty of German- Australians, naturalised and natural born, to their King and country of their choice or birth.. (*Register*, 12 September 1914, p. 10.)

A petition with 49,000 signatures was presented to the Chief Secretary from the All British League urging immediate and complete action against Germans in the community. The objects of the petition were to disenfranchise persons of enemy origin, to remove such persons from the rolls of justices of the peace, to remove enemy persons from official positions and fill their places with British people and to close German schools. (*Register*, 4 September 1916, p. 5.)

At a rally of that league in September 1917 it was stated that its object was 'to see that in future there would be no German members in Parliament and no German votes to put them into the legislature', while one of the speakers, Hon J.P. Wilson, MLC, said he advocated the disenfranchisement of Germans and public notification of all persons of alien origin who changed their names. (*Register*, 3 September 1917, p. 6.)

Once more, as a true Britisher, I enter my protest against the pesty, spiteful and indiscriminate persecution of people who are as innocent of this diabolical war as are the members of the so-called 'All-British League'. The conduct of those who are leading an indiscriminate crusade against all our German colonists reminds me of the 'Jew-baiting' that was common on the Continent not many years ago...

I know a German husband and wife who have given to this war three sons two of whom will never return... (Rev John Blacket, 7 May 1918.)

Rev John Blacket in commending the Editor of the *Register* on a leading article on 'Reprisals' said:

'We do not take our moral code from Germany. That country is an outlaw among the nations, obsessed by the powers that make for evil. Because the Germans do devilish deeds that is no reason why we should proceed to do the same...' (*Register*, 29 June 1917, p. 9.)

I am completely isolated from humanity because my grandmother was a German and she died in England 50 years ago. Surely it is not fair play; and how ashamed the people here ought to be when peace is declared, and we are again able to greet such good men as those who are now spurned in our midst.

It is lamentable to see men emulating the example of the informers in ancient Rome, microscopically searching for shreds of evidence to poison the minds of the community against all our German colonists... The most cruel, cutting and infamous aspersions are cast indiscriminately upon the whole of our German population...

As for the German place names affixed to the map of South Australia the following comments may be of interest in the wake of insistence from a certain strata of society that they should be removed:

What, for instance, has 'Hahndorf' done to deserve annihilation? What had it to do with the brutality in Belgium?... Let the name stand by all means...

I hope to see the loyal spirit of all South Australians so great that they will be quite prepared to change the names of the German towns, and if we cannot find English names sufficiently suitable, then for Heaven's sake let us go back to Aboriginal nomenclature.

But, surely, the greatest injustice was inflicted in respect of German place names in South Australia when the Hundred of Pflaum was expunged from our map to become 'Geegeela' in 1918. Mr F.J.T. Pflaum, MP (1902-1915), was born in Germany in 1846 and came to South Australia in 1867, when he opened a general store at Lyndoch, removing to Blumberg (now Birdwood) in 1886 when, with his brother, he built up a successful business, adding a wattle bark mill and, later, a flour and chaff mill. Four of his brother's sons served in the AIF and two were killed on the western front in France (An obituary of a son, Lt T.M. Pflaum, is in *The Mail*, 6 October 1917, page 6f.)

The following tribute was paid to his brother's memory by Lord Birdwood:

He really was such a very dear old man - one of those old-fashioned, really honest and whole-hearted believers in an Almighty Providence in whom he had the complete confidence in watching over and guiding us poor mortals. In a letter from him some few months ago he wrote - 'Well, I am now well over 90 and know it cannot be long before I must be called on to face my Maker, and when I do so I will be sure to tell him about you'.

I suppose he would be called a Fundamentalist - certainly he had a heart of gold, and ever since Blumberg did me the great honour of adopting my name it has been a real pleasure to have kept in close touch with its leading citizen, T. Pflaum. As you may know, I give an annual prize to the school children there. I wonder who will take the old man's place? He once told me: 'I was born a Dane. Germany and Austria attacked and split up my country and I became Austrian. Germany attacked and defeated Austria and I became a German. When old enough, my brother and I were called up to enlist at 1½d a day. We said 'Nothing doing', and at once came to Australia where we have been very happy and never regretted our freedom here. My sons were with you in Gallipoli.' Dear old man. He rests in peace I am sure.

Letters from Mr Pflaum in respect of German place names are in the *Advertiser*, 20 and 23 November 1929, pages 24c and 22d; also see 26 November 1929, page 22d:

I came from Germany when about 20 years of age, having to sacrifice home and the people dear to me there, to get away from the tyrannical Prussian militarism with no opportunity for a future in life and to get

into a free country under the British flag... I would be most ungrateful if I did not recognise the many blessings that have come to me and many other Germans in this free country... Many German place names erased from the map during World War I have been restored; surely it is time for 'Geegeela' to be replaced by 'Pflaum'! [See under *Pflaum*, *Hundred of*]



A World War I Tale of the Savings Bank of SA

Talking of the World War I, it would be remiss of me if I did not recite to you the skulduggery of the Trustees of the Savings Bank of SA in respect members of their staff volunteering for military service - one instance will suffice in respect of employees volunteering for the armed services, who wished to have a guarantee that, upon their return, the bank would re-employ them. The trustees, however, did not share this view and, in a letter to one young employee, said that they had resolved unanimously that:

Those who volunteer for active service must do so without any implied responsibility as to reinstatement, since the savings bank is an institution of public service, which may render it impossible at the time to do so.

The young man protested to a higher echelon and the Trustees, in due course, received a letter from the Premier, Hon. A.H. Peake, seeking clarification of the alleged decision of the trustees who, in a face saving gesture changed the avowed policy to one which read: 'That the clerks who go into active service should be granted leave of absence, any difference in salary to be made up by the bank.'

In a response to the Premier the Trustees stated that - 'You may be assured of the hearty cooperation of the Bank in this matter', but no mention was made of their original position and even today I wonder as to their reaction if one or more of their employees had been found guilty of similar subterfuge in their day to day dealings with either the bank's depositors or their superiors in the bank.

To follow through the story of the officer, he returned physically unharmed and was promoted to the managership of the Port Adelaide branch where he remained until the 1930s. He retired in 1943 from managerial duties in a large city branch.

Indeed, with the benefit of hindsight there is no doubt that from its inception the bank was a bastion for the disciples of Protestantism and devotees of Freemasonry; for instance, it was not until the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 that the first male of the Roman Catholic faith was appointed within those hallowed halls - and this only came to pass because of a shortage of clerical labour. Allow me to give you an indication of the 'class' society prevalent in those far off days.

Here is an extract from a branch inspector's report of 1910 in respect of a junior clerk's adolescent habits:

He is polite to depositors and others doing business with the bank. He is obedient to superiors and is always willing to perform his office duties. His habits are not altogether those required by an officer of the bank. I learn that his great failing is standing at street corners talking to boys and girls of an inferior class. I suggest that he be given a further probationary term of three months

Following this extension of time the same inspector reported:

Having a large circle of companions of an undesirable character, from whom he seems to have no desire to stand aloof, I do not feel justified in recommending him for an appointment as an officer of the bank.

Upon receiving the news of her son's transgression against the bank's prevailing moral and social code, his widowed mother requested a further opportunity be given to him. He was subsequently transferred to Adelaide, finally retiring in the 1950s as a respected manager of a large suburban branch - and I make that comment with first hand knowledge because he was my boss at Hindmarsh in the late 1940s after I returned from war service.

A Government Fiasco

The Great War erupted in 1914 and saw the enlistment of 35,000 men in South Australia, 28,000 of whom saw active service; 6,000 gave their lives for 'King and Country.' These statistics were taken up by historians and others, but little was told of the wounded, whether physically or mentally, who returned and experienced the traumas of re-entry to 'normal' civilian life. For example, in Great Britain there was much talk of 'Homes Fit for Heroes' but little eventuated; much the same occurred in South Australia with the much-vaunted, but ultimately disappointing, 'Soldiers Settlement Scheme.'

The scheme began with the passing of the *Returned Soldiers Settlement Act* of 1915 that was replaced by the *Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act* some two years later. The latter enabled the government to reserve Crown land for discharged servicemen and to lend money to them. For those without experience, training farms were set up at Pompoota and Melrose and the trainees paid a living allowance. After an energetic beginning the scheme became troubled with falling prices, poor seasons and the world depression of the 1930s.

In July 1917, much of 'The Pinery' lying between Grange and Alberton was purchased by the Vaughan government for the purpose of soldier settlement at a price of £19 per acre, *vis a vis* a contemporary land tax valuation of £5.5s. per acre. Before the ink was dry on the contract floods inundated the area:

From Beach Street to Jetty Street ran the Grand Canal (usually known as Sturt Street) and a little Panama Canal has been cut through Jetty Street to a depth of about six feet. All along Sturt Street the houses were standing in water and there was [*sic*] some fowls roosting on the roof of an adjacent shed... The domestic ducks suffered no such embarrassment and wild ducks appeared to be plentiful in the flooded grazing areas of the district.

At the same time, within 'The Pinery' itself:

Government parties were working surveying the land and at one spot three men, with trousers tucked over their knees, were wading through a considerable depth of water in the process of their duties - sandy, porous land with here and there a belt of gum and pine trees relieving the monotony of the landscape.

In mid-July 1917 *The Mail* proclaimed in a banner headline - 'That Soldier Settlement - Colossal Official Bungling.' The editor then proceeded to berate the government. At the outset he cited a Mr Messenger, a self-avowed expert on soils, who ventured the opinion that the area 'would not keep one horse for twelve months on its own natural grasses.' He concluded by suggesting that the:

Government should give one of the prominent business men involved in the slick deal ten acres of the best land and see if he could make it pay, as the Government expected the poor returned servicemen to do.

Mr Messenger, together with a reporter, toured the area in a trap and, while moving through the vast expanses of water, he asked several of the surveyors whether they had applied for a lease of a soldier settlement block. The reply was: 'We've put in for one mate', said a bronze-tanned son of Australia, 'but we don't want it right here. Why, it will take a power of money to do anything with this...'

They noted a bore from which water was being pumped and Messenger observed: 'Talk about magnesia. Look at the rust on the side of the tank. Why, it would eat through a bullock in time!' Finally, Mr Messenger concluded: 'I do not wish to be harsh on the Government which has been misled. All I wish to do is to prevent a repetition of such colossal bungling.'

In other quarters the government was accused of deliberately encouraging high land valuations in order to foster a 'boom' or allowing 'boodling' (profiteering). All that existed there at the time was a property utilised in the exercising of horses under the watchful eyes of a Mr Matson, a horse trainer, who ran a few chickens and tended a struggling barley crop.

On the same day as the virulent attack in *The Mail*, 'A Farmer's Wife' wrote of the proposal:

The land is not suitable for the returned men, for nothing will grow there, and it will cost too much for grading and putting down bores, for it would be necessary to go down 400 or 500 feet to get a bountiful supply of water...

Much better if good land was purchased at even three times the amount paid, for one acre of good land is worth ten acres of that sand and swamp.

To A.T. Saunders must be ascribed a good deal of the responsibility for unearthing what became known as 'The Land Scandals'. By articles and advertisements he so influenced public opinion that an enquiry was undertaken.

He told *The Mail*:

I only started on this land scandal business when Mr Fred Howell, an old school mate, who, like myself, knew the Pinery from childhood, told me that it had been purchased to plant returned soldiers on, and that £19 per acre had been paid for it.

That politicians and officials should buy unsuitable and useless land at enormous prices did not worry or astonish me, but when I saw maimed soldiers were to be simply pawns in the money-making games, I started a campaign.

Earlier in 1917, Saunders gave a description of some of the land and it is worthy of reproduction here for it contains some interesting district history and, further, gave a fair account of the lands perceived worth for closer settlement:

Last Sunday I walked from the Grange to the Semaphore via the Military Road, where it was not under water, to again see this land which Mr Gardiner is reclaiming. It is Section 104, Yatala, that was once the residence of Sir Samuel Davenport and owned by the Hon. John Lewis.

It is now occupied by Mr Matson, a horse trainer, and the land is used, so I am told, on which to exercise horses. Some poultry are reared on the land which must be a payable proposition with wheat at five shillings a bushel and eggs at one shilling a dozen.

There is a crop of barley or wheat on part of the 'reclaimed' land, but it does not look up to much. The reclamation of a few acres is a joke. Sand has been carted from the sandhills to the west and heaped up round a few acres. Between the Grange and the Semaphore there is not one family living wholly from the land.

Deslandes' Jersey farm is about the only attempt in that direction. It is true that Section 104 is opposite Section 928, and it is not more than a mile from the dry land to the dry land as the crow flies, but to get from one to the other a man has to go north to Jervois Bridge, or south to the Grange Bridge, and back on the other side, which means miles of travelling...

I believe that 13 or 14 years ago there was talk of buying this land for the Port Adelaide race course... It is said that there were once market gardens on some of the 523 acres I mention, and old Mr Simmonds' name is connected therewith. These market gardens are mythical and Mr Simmonds' place was east of the 523 acres, and he was a milkman, not a market gardener.

This sad and sorry saga was taken up again in June 1924 when, in an article entitled 'The Grange and the Pinery - Government's Curious Deal', C.E. Owen-Smyth recalled earlier times when he was involved in levelling some sandhills north of the cable station, which was the northern-most building on the seafront at that time. His words are nonetheless germane today:

It is terribly easy to be wise after the event but Europeans blithely removed the long row of sandhills from what is now Outer Harbor to Marino and are now suffering the consequences of what was an act of vandalism against nature.

At this time the newly-formed Returned Servicemen's League was scathing in its attacks upon government, both state and federal, for it was firmly of the belief that those who had served were being shabbily treated. Owen-Smyth was clearly at one with the League:

As I stood on the site of the levelled sandhills I looked north and North-East over the famous Pinery, famous for its wickedness displayed by a Labour Government in its purchase... The lame excuse for the purchase was that the land was necessary for the settlement of returned soldiers thereon.

Poor returned soldiers! What kind friends they had in the Labour Government... So far as I can make out, the place until recently only carried a caretaker who was expected to pay a small rental - but never paid... Recently a tenant has been secured at £200 per annum, including the homestead, a fine return for the Government's outlay of £15,345.

The property, when first acquired, had some boundary and subdivision fences, but my friend and I drove in through a gap and out through another, and the Pines to the northward had been sadly thinned, and it is doubtful the State is receiving any revenue therefrom...

The South Australian taxpayer should keep his eyes skinned to prevent any such further acquirements for the benefit of returned soldiers. The best is not too good for those gallant fellows - at least the majority of them.

Although this particular government scheme was a complete disaster, not only were two magnificent golf courses developed on this land, once deemed all but useless, but some market gardens were successful. In the 1920s, the land between Alberton and Grange was known as 'The Pinery'. It consisted of:

A sandy, slightly raised ridge, a consolidated sand dune, stretching several miles, close to the east bank of the Port River. It has very interesting flora and fauna and contains a few plants which are rare...

The author of these words went on to describe the many species of shrubs and grasses on 'The Pinery' that included drooping sheoak, silver banksia, black tea tree, South Australian blue gum and native pine; middle canopy shrubs included quandong, golden wattle, umbrella bush, kangaroo thorn, boobialla and hop bush.

He pointed out that the Royal Adelaide Golf Club at Seaton was partly situated on these consolidated sand dunes, although a little to the east of the area he had described. He went on:

There are still fringes of these paper-bark teatrees in places, and parts of the thickets still remain in places between Glanville and The Grange. During the last two or three years, with the onset of bad times, the greater portion has been cut down for firewood and the salt-water swamps left without the protection of these trees.

Today, portion of 'The Pinery' is the site of the Grange Golf Club while, from the 1970s onward, the remainder was swallowed up by suburbia in the form of the up-market suburb of West Lakes.

Much of the original vegetation still grows on the courses; the area now known locally as 'The Pinery' (the fenced area between the 11th and 12th holes, East Course and the rough between the 1st hole, West Course, and 16th hole, East Course, still preserves fine stands of these natives, as does the rough on the north side of the 12th hole, East Course). However, there are only three black tea trees remaining, the largest standing at the rear of the 1st green, West Course, and only two kangaroo thorn bushes. The greatest loss has been amongst the lower layer shrubs and ground-cover species.

Nevertheless, an interesting variety still remains, including one species of bluebell, two species of Guinea flower, paper flower, common everlasting, black-anther flax lily, a chocolate lily, muntries (one of the edible Australian

fruits), running postman and a character plant of the area, holly-leaved grevillea. There are also four species of saltbush, two of bluebush and samphire (indicative of saline soils) and five species of native grasses.

Of all the sand belt courses, Grange now preserves the largest representation of plants that once grew on these red sand dunes. Its status is even greater when it is realised that no conservation parks are located on any portion of these ancient bastions. This is only a handful of locations in the Adelaide region where remnants of pre-European settlement vegetation can be found.

Bird life is also dependent on the vegetation and, during the period, 1992-1995, forty-eight species were recorded on the course. Of particular note are the breeding populations of white-browed babblers (there are only two other isolated breeding populations in the Adelaide region), Port Lincoln ring-necks and yellow-rumped thornbills. These birds would not exist in the area without the habitat provided on the course. The lakes also provide an added dimension and a number of water birds now reside there and breed in the fringing vegetation.

The River Murray Locks

Following the cessation of hostilities in World War I my grandfather perceived greener pastures along the River Murray amidst the newly-founded irrigation colonies and, in the early 1920s, he and his family commenced an overland trek that ended at Waikerie.

At that time locks were being constructed on the River Murray and at Lock 2, below Waikerie it was reported that:

The huge lock basin is finished... and the men are working on a concrete navigable passway... They inspected the machine sheds, carpenters' and blacksmiths' shops, men's barracks and mess rooms, where over 100 meals, with cook and two assistants, are provided... The married men can buy food at a very little over wholesale prices and the single men's cubicles [are] provided with stretchers, light and wood, and no rent to pay... The town is laid out in streets and there are 66 galvanised houses with canvas or iron lean-to's. Water in abundance is laid on and this has inspired the thrifty and the flower-lover to enclose little gardens of vegetables and flowers. The school has 10 children on the roll and there have been at least 10 babies playing in the sand. There is a local football club, billiard club, tennis club and cricket clubs. A piano is in the schoolroom where weekly dances are held, the proceeds going to different clubs...

No more need be said other than my mother met my father, an itinerant carpenter at the lock, and following their marriage I arrived on the scene in 1926 at Waikerie.

Part III - Reminiscences of World War II and my Working Life

Service in the Royal Australian Navy

I now jump forward many years and take you to the year 1945 when, I was serving in the Royal Australian Navy on the corvette HMAS *Pirie*. On 28 August 1945 in a letter home to my Mother I said:

We are still at sea and as censorship regulations have been lifted I can now tell you where we are. At present we are about 300 miles off Tokyo and expect to go into Tokyo Bay in a few days. Since we left Australia in June we have had a fair amount of sea time for we have had 62 days at sea and four in harbour at Manus Island, so you can see we have been very busy. While the fleet was shelling Japan we were always a couple of hundred miles away waiting for them to come back and refuel...

We entered Tokyo Bay on 31 August 1945 where we awaited the ultimate conclusion of the war with Japan in the form of the official surrender which was signed on USS *Missouri* on 2 September.

In letters home to my Mother this is what I had to say:

Here I am anchored in Tokyo Bay. We arrived here this morning after 20 days at sea. We left Manus Island on the 11th August escorting tankers to refuel the British Pacific Fleet about 300 miles south of here. As you can imagine it was a great occasion when we entered this morning. We were the third Australian ship and the first corvette to enter the bay. Two destroyers came in yesterday.

Everybody on board was up and out of their hammocks early to have their first look at Japan. Our first sight of it was a very rugged mountain and coastline with dark clouds hanging around the higher peaks. On the southern shore I noticed some rock quarries but saw no sign of life but British and American Ensigns were flying. On the beaches were a number of damaged and sunken ships. On the mainland large white flags were flying - white is a Japanese symbol of mourning.

We are anchored in Yokohama which is, or was, the chief port of Tokyo and we can see it quite clearly. I was amazed to see the number of chimneys over the factories... It hasn't been a very pleasant day as just after we anchored it started to rain and has continued all day. I hope it clears up tomorrow.

As for the events of 2 September 1945 I leave it to another member of the crew to give his impressions of that momentous day - this sailor was the oldest man on the lower deck and had reached the grand old age of 28 years - the crew's average age was about 21 years:

We did not see the Emperor's barge as it was originally suggested because the USS *Missouri* moved up the Bay. We were all disappointed that the battleship did not stay near us for the signing. Anyway we were all thrilled that we should have the great privilege of being in Tokyo for such an auspicious occasion.

At about 0945 this morning there was a terrific roar coming from the direction of Tokyo and everybody raced out to see what it was all about. What a sight it was - thousands of aircraft coming towards us from as far away as we could see. First of all came a wave of about 50 super fortresses. This was followed by of about 20 supers. Then came several small groups - about 5 or 6 in each. A few minutes later came a huge group of fighters and bombers. I am not exaggerating when I say there were more than 500 planes in the

group and what a din they made when they went overhead. The whole ship vibrated with the noise they made. It was truly an impressive sight to see so many huge planes in the air at one time

We were able to listen to the speeches made by President Truman and General McArthur after the signing of the peace. In fact we heard the whole show from start to finish. I thought it was very impressive... Just before the ceremony started to come through a couple of our stokers got a very bright idea. They got an envelope and after putting the necessary address on it they went around and asked everyone to sign it for them. It was not very long before there were others doing the same thing...

As for myself, I sent two such envelopes home to Australia and the one to my Mother survives and is now housed in the War Memorial in Canberra and is reproduced in the book *The Corvettes*, by Iris Nesdale. My war time letters are also in the museum and are, in the main, all reproduced in a book entitled *The HMAS Pirie Story* which was published privately in 2000. [In due course, my copy will be lodged in the State Library.]

On the 4th September 1945 an aircraft carrier left Tokyo Bay with former Australian prisoners of war (POW) on board and this is what I had to say to my Mother:

I only wish you were here yesterday, Mum, to see the first of the prisoners of war proceeding out of Tokyo Bay on board a British aircraft carrier. They were lined up in orderly fashion on the flight deck dressed in various types of clothing and the Aussie slouch hat was evident amongst them. The carrier steamed among all the British ships anchored in the Bay. The ships' companies lined up and gave them a terrific welcome. On board we kicked up a hell of a row, singing Waltzing Matilda, waving flags and ringing the ship's bell. For our size we made considerable noise.

The ex-POW responded with cheering. It was a soul rending sight to see the lads on their way home. There was an appeal for the POWs who were badly in need of cigarettes the other day and we offered 10,000 and they were delivered to the hospital ship on which they were being comforted. This morning a signal was received from the captain of the carrier expressing his sincere thanks for the gift.

Following our departure from Japan the *Pirie* was engaged in various chores around the Pacific Ocean at Hong Kong, Morotai and New Guinea and writing from Hong Kong late in September 1945 I said:

The ship's company learned that some Aussie POW's were on a Carrier in the harbour and only allowed 20 cigarettes a day. We got hold of a mail bag and the boys put in all they could spare. The response was A1 as the bag was full when we finished and three mates and I took it over to them. We only stayed half an hour as our boat was waiting for us. In the short time we were there we did plenty of talking at they pounded us with questions about Aussie and what things were like back home.

We did our best to bring them up to date. You can imagine what a thrill it will be for these chaps to get back home again after so many years in captivity. They told tales of Japanese atrocities and many aspects of camp life - Enough to make your blood curdle...

I was appalled at the sight of them with their flesh hanging from their bones and the general emaciated condition of their bodies. However, today, I do not cast the sins of World War II on the souls of later generations of Japanese people, but the sights I saw in Hong Kong will be with me forever.

To conclude my navy reminiscences, may I share with you some comments I made on my war service during the 1990s when I reflected upon my first sea trip from Fremantle to Melbourne in January 1945:

By January 1945 I had reached the grand old age of 18 years and some five months. I believe I grew to early manhood in a conglomerate atmosphere of comradeship and apprehension... I can see myself now in daylight hours huddled around the 'stack' [ship's funnel] seeking warmth and comfort from the icy blasts emanating from Antarctica... As I recall, the several days traversing the Great Australian Bight were a nightmare for the 'old salt' and 'macker' [young sailor] alike and must be compared with the typhoon off Okinawa during the invasion of that island.

Finally, as the sea settled into a welcome calm we found the ship off the South-East coast of South Australia near Cape Northumberland. The twinkle of its lighthouse, and the fact that my Mother was only miles away at Mount Gambier, prompted me to think that my country, and indeed my life, would be better served by returning home to the comfort of a family hearth and the immediate love of kith and kin.

The typhoon I alluded to is one I shall remember for the rest of my days - I might add that it was so severe that an American destroyer was lost when a freak wave turned it over. Here is what I and a shipmate had to say about it:

Left Leyte 29 March with three tankers, etc, going to rendezvous off the northern tip of Luzon to fuel the British Task Force that was operating off Sakashima Gunto in support of the Okinawa operation. The second day out the weather came up rough and continued to get rougher and rougher. It was the worst trip I've done - you couldn't eat a meal in peace or get a decent night's sleep; every morning the mess deck was a shambles, gear from the blokes' lockers, water and foodstuffs all over the deck.

Running with a heavy sea at night has its own hard-worn loveliness. The long streaks of foam are lit eerily by moonlight; the enormous pile up of water which collects, hissing and roaring under the bow, seems suddenly to explode into a broad phosphorous smother which in a moment is left behind. Looking aft one sees the stern cant up, before a black wall of water overtakes, slides underneath, goes past and breaks at the bow, its attack spent.

The ship yaws and the compass swings, the quartermaster mutters curses as he braces his feet and hauls the wheel to meet the next ponderous weight of sea.

We had a very tough time the other day and the old tub was doing a 45 degree roll - The safety limit is 47 degrees. We were in fear of rolling beyond this limit but strange to say we managed to stay on top...

The flat-bottomed Corvettes, in any kind of seaway, were capable of the most violent, unpredictable and hair-raising aquabatics. The cross section profile of their hull amidships would be almost identical to the fore and aft contour of a surfboard. This gave them an exciting facility of 'hanging five' down the sloping face of a mid-ocean greybeard wave, while travelling sideways and downwards, until steered over the crest to snap roll the other way.

I conclude my Navy reminiscences with a description of Christmas Day at sea on HMAS *Pirie* in 1944 written by a shipmate:

We had been struggling across the Great Australian Bight for a week and making little headway in the teeth of a storm none of us will ever forget. Later, we were caught in typhoons off Okinawa but none matched our home grown gale. Christmas Day dawned and, out of sight of land, we expected to round Cape Leeuwin that evening.

There was nothing to be seen from the upper deck but mountainous waves bearing down on us, the ship rising then plunging down like a surf boat, to smash into the next wave lifting tons of water over the deck - the ship was smaller than a Manly ferry. Below decks you could hear the water rushing overhead and only hope the ship would rise again. Life lines were rigged for those who had to move on the upper deck. They were few, a skeleton crew manning the bridge as there was nothing to do but wrestle the ship's bow into the wind and waves and adjust the engine revolutions.

Except for the engine and boiler room hands all others were idle, confined under battened hatches. Thus this Christmas day we spent in a kind of stupor born of the airless condition between decks and lack of sleep and continual tension, any movement having to be made with careful deliberation.

Not many felt like eating, so even if the cooks could have prepared a special treat, there would have been few takers. As it was cooking was impossible in a galley, where pots and pans clattered to the deck rendering a decidedly un-Christmas carol. Otherwise the decks were hushed.

Everything that could be was tied down. A less festive occasion could hardly be imagined. Christmas dinner is memorable in that I don't remember what we had. Probably bread and butter and tinned fish and vegetables which we had to open ourselves at our mess deck tables. There was one cheering note in all this mayhem. An albatross had flown with us stationed on our starboard yard throughout the voyage. All Christmas day it accompanied us. Even in our miserable circumstances we realised that we were better off than many of our fellows on the Earth. All in all it was a Christmas to forget but I shan't until my dying day.

Part VII – Conclusion (Parts IV to VI excluded)

And so, today, in my 78th year, I continue the pleasurable hobby of researching and writing upon South Australian history and am currently engaged in a 19th century social history of the Lower South East, where I spent some childhood days from 1936 to 1941.

Accordingly, I append my proposed introduction to that work, primarily for the benefit of my children but trust that there is a snippet or two of history which may be of interest to readers of this meandering epistle.

In July 1936 my father, aged 40 years and a survivor of three years in the trenches of France, died from prostate cancer at Gloucester Terrace, Norwood. A bereft mother, together with three young children, of which I was the intermediate, aged 10, were obliged to seek shelter at the home of my maternal grandfather, August Hein, at 16 Wehl Street, Mount Gambier.

He had come to Port MacDonnell in the 1870s as a young boy with his parents as emigrants from Hamburg, Germany, when his father became engaged in the baking industry. In the late 1880s he was lured to the 'Brigalow' country near Roma in Queensland where he met his future wife but, unimpressed with his future in that country, he returned to the South East of South Australia, finally settling at OB Flat where he grew vegetables for the local market.

In 2003, at the age of 77 years, I recall, vividly, the removal to the South East - across the punt at Wellington and a long haul through an unpaved Coorong, together with sundry stops to permit the ancient 'Diamantina' removal van's engine to recover from a disturbing series of over-heating. Thus, a new family life evolved in Mount Gambier with Mother supporting us by engaging in multifarious laundry duties for the 'upper class' of the town.

Pleasant childhood memories abound - weekends spent with my mother's kith and kin at Mil Lel and Yahl in the form of Gertrude and Tom White and Mabel and Jim Hill, respectively. As to the former, the Australian 'slanguage' from the cow yard still redounds in my memory, together with wonderful excursions with ferrets, when rabbits were enticed from their burrows only to find their way on to the family's festive board.

At Yahl I can visualise now the rows of maize standing in excess of six feet high where we children played hide and seek, while close at hand was a depression filled with water all year round abounding with tadpoles - a treat indeed for a young boy to take home and tend to their well being until they reached 'frogship' when they were released into their parent's previous domain.

Occasionally, I was invited to go with my Aunt and Uncle, Martha and Reuben Walker, a pioneer garage proprietor in the town and a man of estimable qualities, to spend a day or two at their retreat at Donovan's Landing and, in 1937, his 'week-ender' and Tom Donovan's house, in which was housed the 'Tantanoola Tiger', were the only residences within miles. There I spent many carefree days fishing, swimming and generally appreciating the glory of

the natural bush land surrounding the place and being amazed at the life style of Mr Charles Hirth who, hermit-like, eked out a living as a fisherman in a shanty on the banks of the river a little upstream from the landing..

And so my teenage years arrived; I entered the Mount Gambier High School in 1939 under the tutelage of Mr Carthew and a band of wonderful teachers of whom I recall the names of Misses Liebing, Clode and MacDonald, Messrs Hurd, Green, Jolly, Lewis, Magor, Whitelaw and Staude - with today's class room overcrowding I remember that, in the Leaving Class of 1941, there were but twelve pupils spread equally among the sexes - the names I recall of that class are Patricia Delanty, Margaret Carthew, Merle Healy, Keith Dudley, Brian Mara, Alan Hyde, Murray Richardson and Robert Mohr (later a Judge of the Supreme Court - his father was manager of the E.S. & A. Bank).

After school activities including sweeping out the Capitol Theatre for no recompense other than a free pass to the movies at any time during the week except Saturday nights, and being a member of the Mount Gambier Junior Citizens' Brass Band under the baton of Mr McKenzie. Sport was an integral part of my youth and I played cricket and baseball, the latter of which was introduced into Mount Gambier by Mr Byrom Ascione who, as I recall, was employed by the SA Railways. In the early days of the war the game was given a boost when a team was entered into the association from the RAAF training unit (No 2 AOS) and, together with one from the local Banks and the Federals, under the patronage of Fred Hill, many a spirited game was held on Frew Park.

To earn a little pocket money I acted as a caddy at the Attamurra golf links and recall a two-hole course constructed by two friends and myself on vacant ground between Vansittart Park and Eglington Terrace where we learned, collectively, many a lesson in humility. The park, itself, was where I was castigated by a minister of religion for kicking a football (a birthday present) on a Sunday morning while, on another occasion, I recall scaling the galvanised iron fence of an all but impregnable Frew Park on a Sabbath day following Christmas Day, aided and abetted by two school mates, Ray Wilson and Peter Boase. There, in earshot of pealing bells from local churches and resplendent with a new cricket bat and 'compo' ball, appropriate tests of the equipment were undertaken on the slate pitch, *sans* coir matting, following which a strategic withdrawal was made over the eastern fence, surreptitiously, without interference from either civic or ecclesiastical authority.

I left the town at the end of 1941 and proceeded to Adelaide where I was taken under the wing of the Legacy Club in the form of Mr Scott, who had served with my father in the 43rd Battalion in France during World War I. Following war service in the Royal Australian Navy I returned to Mount Gambier, briefly, in the late 1940s in my employment with The Savings Bank of SA, where the manager was Mr Vernon Day and fellow staff members were two ex-school compatriots, Ralph Aston and Evan Laslett. It was at this time I played in the local cricket association and players I shall not forget are the Ellis brothers, McGregor brothers, Sid and Jack Shepherdson, Les Hill, Bill Bowering, 'Chappy' Burton, Fred Pick and Gordon Lord.

Man is a history making creature who can neither repeat his past nor leave it behind. (W. H. Auden - 1907-1973)

Appendix 16

Alms Across the Sea - A Tale of Two Towns

By Geoffrey H. Manning

and as published in the Journal of the Historical Society of SA- Number 27, 1999

Introduction

During World War I a form of repartee common among the French people, with whom our soldiers talked that curious language called 'entente', was 'Après la guerre.' Like many catchwords it expressed, unwittingly, a national attitude. The thing that mattered, it cheerfully implied, was to push on, in spite of wounds and loss towards a goal - Afterwards there would be time again for pleasure, prosperity, and all the lighter sides of life. And after the war - what?

For many of them it was a heartbreaking prospect. Of 6,000,000 acres of devastated land in Northern France, half a million would never again, as suggested in 1920, be fit for cultivation; another million could be used only after great expense. Further, at least a million acres of forest was utterly destroyed.

In important manufacturing districts hardly one stone had been left on another; machinery had been removed, factories dismantled, coal mines flooded. Every establishment that might be considered likely to compete with German businesses was utterly destroyed. It was one vast picture of desolation with a poignantly human side - the blackened hearths, the ruined farms, the heap of stones where cottages had been. With all the national spirit so splendidly displayed in war, the French quietly set to work to build up their towns and villages again.

Out of their brave efforts arose the proposal that the more prosperous British towns should give organised assistance by 'adopting' a town or village. The idea was enthusiastically received and, for months, the big British cities rendered substantial help. Late in 1920, the idea spread to Australia. In the euphoric days following the dawn of 1919, and in common with the rest of the civilised world, Australia, it was said, owed a great debt to France.

Glory was shared equally among the allies, but in the great catastrophe that overtook civilisation in 1914, it was France who first bared her bosom to the common foe.

Readily and gallantly Australian men took their places at her side, but - our homes never suffered. We were never to witness the most heartbreaking sight of war - non-combatants taking their poor household goods and leaving their homes, drifting helplessly before a catastrophe entirely beyond their comprehension. It was in saving those homes that Australian soldiers played one of their finest parts in the war. 'Great was the link thus forged between them and the people of France in the days of the Armistice in November 1918.'

At many a French fireside an 'Aussie' was welcome, many an Australian grave was piously tended by those who had recognised in the boys from over the seas the 'very brothers of their own gay and unconquerable spirit.'

Events in England

Following the Armistice on 11 November 1918, M. Marce Braibant, Consul-General of the Ardennes in France, visited London to coordinate individual efforts to help his country, and at whose suggestion a scheme commenced for the 'adoption' of devastated towns and villages.

The object was not to relieve Germany of her obligations by raising money to rebuild shattered France, but to extend from one town to another such personal help and sympathy as are given naturally by friend to friend.

The headquarters of the central committee was in London, where it played the part of liaison officer, placing the God-parent town into touch with its French protégé and thereafter taking no part in the arrangement, unless specially asked for its advice or assistance. At its height the people of Great Britain extended a helping hand to nearly a hundred French towns and, in due course, Dominion 'adoptions' included Poilcourt by Sydney, Villers-Bretonneux by Melbourne and Dernancourt by Adelaide.

Action in Adelaide

In August 1920 the Editor of the *SA Register* suggested that:

In view of the magnificent part played by Australian divisions on the western front, and the intimate ties which link Commonwealth peoples to that region and its heroic populations, it is highly desirable that Australians should follow the lead of their kindred in the Motherland and render appreciable assistance to our heroic allies.

He concluded by saying that:

This State is quite able to take under its foster care at least one of the considerable towns especially memorable in connection with our boys' brilliant and noble exploits in the decisive arena of the war.

At a meeting of the Society d'Assistance Maternelle et Infantile at the Adelaide Town Hall in October 1920, a proposal was made that an endeavour should be made to adopt one of the French towns for which Australians had fought with grim determination and courage to save. Such adoption would provide the means to help clear land for farmers and, when families returned to their former homes, provide clothes, furniture, one horse and cow and farm implements.

Two French women, Berthe Mouchette and Marie Lion, were the prime movers and said they accepted the responsibility of starting the new activity with the fervent hope that more influential persons within the community would become involved. The towns of Bapaume, Dernancourt and Morlancourt were suggested together with Hamel and Neuville. The Lord Mayor of Adelaide, Mr. F.B. Moulden, who presided, urged that before putting the matter before the public, it would be wise to find out exactly what the responsibilities of such an adoption would be.

His advice was to approach the French government through the Consul-General in Sydney and find out what 'adoption' really meant. In passing he mentioned that the society had forwarded about £600 and eighteen boxes of garments for charitable work in France.

Positive responses emanated from the public following the promulgation of these proceedings. One correspondent, under a *nom-de-plume* of 'Josephine', said that:

As worthy are the many memorial schemes in our own land, it would surely be a fitting method of perpetuating the great deeds of the Australian abroad to help the people reconstruct their homes on some site where the Australians distinguished themselves. The scheme is as far removed from mere 'charity' as was the great and never-to-be-forgotten kindness of the French people to our men during the war; and those ties of friendship will be drawn closer yet if we can make some small acknowledgment.

Another correspondent reminded readers that Melbourne had formed a committee, with General Sir John Monash as President, and Villers-Bretonneux was adopted, with enthusiastic support being promised by the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League. Further, it was hoped that many towns in Victoria would follow the example of the metropolis.

Dernancourt, France - South Australia's God-Child

The Adelaide committee, following an exchange of letters with appropriate French authorities, agreed upon Dernancourt as its God-child and proposed to collect funds and forward the money to the Mayor of that village, M. Fernand Belison, who undertook to distribute it among distressed villagers.

In a letter the Mayor extolled the courage and morale of Australian troops and his informative, heart-rending remarks are reproduced in an abridged form:

If the whole of France has rendered just and solemn homage to the bravery of the Australian troops, Dernancourt is nonetheless one of the villages of the devastated regions rich in remembrance of their generous intervention. Owing to this gratitude the municipal council, when planning to reconstruct this

ruined village, gave the name of Rue d'Australie to the street formerly called La Fontaine - a simple yet sincere expression of our gratitude, expressive to the Australians of our sentiments of admiration for their heroism..., of keen sadness for their free-will offering of sacrifice.

Dernancourt, 336 inhabitants, in the valley of the Ancre, was in 1914 to 1916 about six kilometres from the enemy's lines... Dernancourt seems to be the heart of all Australians for it was from here that all the Australian 'waves' started which pushed back the Germans in 1916 and 1917, and had such dire punishment in 1918...

Until July 1917, the Australian troops progressed steadily but, on May 1917, the 4th division left the district to go and share in the attack on Flanders; it came back to Dernancourt in March 1918. Between times, the population, superbly courageous, with their morale well kept up by the Australian officers and soldiers, forced itself to endeavour to cultivate the fields, and restore in a measure the normal state of the land occupied by war materials and 'behind the lines' services which had followed the onward moves.

Dernancourt became a rest camp for the troops. The Australian military authorities offered their help to the farmers who had so little manpower, and the unforgettable spectacle was seen of soldiers, yesterday in the trenches, helping in the work in the fields, carting, sowing, planting and reaping with warm enjoyment. It seemed as if these soldiers were working for themselves.

There was a general joy in the return to our fields at a common table; there was only one family, and this family was complete, for photographs of loved ones passed from hand to hand. What happiness there was for the children who had in each soldier an adopted father to replace the real parent at the front, and which were the happier? Those who received the help, or those who gave it?

History has never recorded, in ancient or modern times, facts with such deep moral and far-reaching effect. Then came the unhappy events of March 1918; the enemy was 10 kilometres from Dernancourt. For three nights the Boche' planes shelled the village trying to destroy Dernancourt and its important railway junctions. On the night of March 25 we had to evacuate the town...

Yes, indeed, the Boche tried to advance to Dernancourt... The Australians would not allow it... At last on August 8, the Australian bravery fought against German tenacity, the Boche gave way and from then his retreat was precipitate... The village was but a heap of ruins; 28 inhabitants came back in May 1919.

There are, today, 212 in miserable shanties, made hastily with what materials they could find. There is not a tree in this valley formerly so smiling. The Australians loved it and knew its desolation, because they sent us from Gippsland photographs of our ruins. Frequent letters show that they do not forget us, nor we them, for, alas, we are the guardians of the blood which they have shed on our soil. Out of the 2,250 graves which are in the military cemetery, there are 361 Australian officers and soldiers, whose names are known, and 40 unidentified.

The village cemetery also has several other graves, Captain Leane and Lt-Colonel Leane, [sic] a marble stone on the latter grave bears this inscription - 'Erected by his men and officers.' On 2 November 1919, the municipal council and the children, in procession, escorted by the populace, placed flowers and crowns on all the tombs, and extolled the valour and heroism of the Australian troops.

No, Dernancourt will never forget, for the municipality has offered its services for the care and upkeep of these graves which are for the present generation what they will remain for those later born, the expression of our gratitude towards Australia and its armies in the great war which has bled, but liberated humanity.

At the foot of this letter in the newspaper is an announcement that the committee had arranged to 'sell badges at the show on Friday in order to raise money... The badge is to be inscribed with neat letters - "Dernancourt, the God-child of South Australia" and is mounted with a French flag.'

Events in South Australia

In May 1921, a dance was organised for the evening of Adelaide Cup Day when Osborne Hall was 'particularly festive' with over 200 people enjoying themselves. The event was organised by Mrs Herbert Rymill and Jack Fewster's jazz orchestra 'played irresistible music', their services being given gratuitously. There were two or three tables for bridge at one end of the supper room that were occupied all the evening.

At 8.45 the Consul for France (Mr Frank Moulden) and Lady Hackett arrived and the 'Marseillaise' was played in their honour and, at 10 o'clock, 'God Save the King' heralded the arrival of the Governor, Sir Archibald Weigall; Lady Weigall was not well enough to be present.

By June 1921, the sum of £200 and parcels of clothes had been forwarded to Dernancourt and this prompted a gracious letter from M. Belison:

I have the honour to inform you that your kind letter of March 9 last has been communicated first to the municipal council and then to the population of our unhappy village. The news has contributed greatly to the re-establishment of 'morale', which has had many blows from the lack of faith observed by the Germans in keeping their promises. But the arrival of woollen clothes made by the ladies of Adelaide, the reception of a cheque, the promise of other tokens of your care for us, have greatly increased the grateful feelings of all my fellow citizens.

We loved having your soldiers here for the safety which they guaranteed and we also admire and revere those women who, after long years of uncertainty, while still mourning their dead, so kindly wish to alleviate the immense distress of those who cannot yet foresee the end of their privations. To all the ladies

of Adelaide, to all your fellow citizens, and to your committee, give our most profound gratitude and thanks and our imperishable remembrance.

Fund raising activities continued on a monthly basis and, in June 1921, the Queen's Hall was the venue for a musical and/or elocutionary recital. The performers included the pianist, Miss Coralie Goodman, who contributed two instrumental solos 'in pleasing style', Mr E. Fairhurst Derbyshire sang 'The Trumpeter' and 'The Two Grenadiers' 'with marked effect' and Mr Edward Reeves gave the 'Exploits of Brigadier Gerard', by Conan Doyle, in his 'usual masterful manner.'

Miss Lily Butler exhibited a French victory flag, one of 50 issued and the only specimen in Australia, and spoke of the gratification felt by the people of France for what Australia had done during and since the war. The general arrangements were made by Messrs N.H. Taylor and S. Price Weir, assisted by a committee, of which Mrs d'Arenberg was secretary.

A Visit to Dernancourt

Samuel Lunn, MBE, a prolific fund raiser during the Great War, while on a visit to England in 1922, was requested by the South Australian committee to visit Dernancourt, to call on the Mayor, and deliver a box containing children's clothes, boomerangs and sweets. In an interview with the Mayor, 'Sammy' Lunn was told how thankful the people of Dernancourt were, for on that day they had received a further £150. Mr Lunn observed:

With the inspector of police of Albert I reached Dernancourt and went out to the fields. The Mayor was dressed in moleskin trousers and wide-brimmed straw hat and using a coloured handkerchief to mop his face. He was on a load of hay, working very hard. Through an interpreter he said he wished to inform the people of South Australia that although he had been through the university and had plenty of money to live on, he, like many other Mayors of ruined towns, thought it his duty to get out into the fields and help his people. I also visited the school, where I met the teacher who could speak a little English.

The dear little kiddies were so delighted to meet me and saluted me with 'Bon jour, Australien'. Then I gave each of them some sweets... I must say I do love the French people. They seem to be such a pleasant race, and speak very highly of the Australian soldiers...

Delay in France

Towards the close of 1921, anxiety was felt concerning the fate of a box of presents sent to Dernancourt because it was confiscated by French customs officials pending the payment of duty. However, due to the efforts of the Mayor of Dernancourt and protests by the press and the Minister of Reconstruction the presents were released without the payment of an impost.

Monsieur Belison took up his pen and informed Madame Mouchette of Rose Park of later events:

After many vicissitudes we received on January 3 the box and basket containing the presents collected by you, Mrs A.J. McLachlan, Mrs Gaynor and many other benefactresses of Adelaide. The distribution was made yesterday to our 63 children, including 16 girls, by the Municipal Council and the ladies of the school committee. It was a great success. It was, indeed, a touching spectacle to see our children, who could not believe their own eyes and who, besides the toys, each received a packet of sweets and a cake. Our 34 returned soldiers - of the 49 who went to war - also participated in the distribution of the gifts. That which caused the greatest sensation was your magnificent oil painting, 'Ecce Homo'.

From the eleven pounds sent for the fete we spent 150 francs for cakes and kept the balance for 'Adelaide Day' of which I spoke in my last letter. We distributed yesterday only the toys, garments, sweets and small objects, keeping the prizes destined for the best scholars of the school.

At the forthcoming fete there will be, in the morning, a solemn commemoration service in honour of the Australian soldiers. In the afternoon every Dernancourt family will go in procession, and will bring flowers and wreaths to be placed on the graves of the soldiers from our antipodes...

My wife and daughter are preparing, with the help of the girls, a quantity of Australian flags to decorate the newly-erected huts and the ruins; but beforehand I am asked to be the medium through which to thank you and your friends who have brought such a wave of joy into their homes. Our returned soldiers have received the tobacco, cocoa, coffee, biscuits and preserves that you sent. They are sorry that they had not had the opportunity of fraternising more with their Australian comrades in arms during the war, they being on other fronts, but they are conscious of having lived the same life in the trenches...

Yesterday will be an epoch in the life of each one of us. We shall always remember it, and for it I can only say 'Merci'! That word in all its simplicity covers our emotions and our gratitude... We have distributed the seeds so kindly sent by the curator of the Adelaide Botanic Gardens. If they thrive, as we hope they will, we shall plant the shrubs and the trees on the graves of the Australian soldiers, so that the Australian soul, which hovers over their cemetery, will find an Australian oasis in the midst of France.

Country Participation in South Australia

Several country towns participated in the 'adoption' and, in March 1922, Mrs E.W. Hawker of 'Calcania', Clare, received a letter from the Mayor of Dernancourt:

Clare is very far from us; too far for our liking, but not far enough, however, to prevent coming to us upon the wings of the wind and the waves of the briny ocean, the echo of the splendid fete organised at Clare... and where the generosity of the people poured out copiously. How can I express to you effectively and completely our gratitude, and that of your municipal council and the entire population? We owe to

Australia an immense sacred debt for the blood that she shed in coming to our help, and you have increased, still further, that debt in aiding us towards the restoration of our ruins.

Being unable for the present to do anything in a material or tangible form, we will endeavour in the near future to prove to you that our heart is full of thought for you, as we intend to transmit to our posterity the precious souvenir of your affectionate sympathy.

We will exhibit in a prominent place in the Salle d'Honneur of our new municipal offices your photograph and that of your committee as well as of our benefactors. This will show to future generations that in the hour of our great distress we found at Clare a source of powerful comfort. We ask you to convey to all those who have been kind enough to second your efforts our deepest gratitude, and to beg you to accept personally the homage of our respectful sentiments and eternal gratitude.

At the same time the Mayor addressed his villagers' benefactors in Adelaide:

It comforts us in our troubles to know that you are thinking of us, for we really have no luck in our farm work. Last year we had only wheat, the dry summer spoiled the oats, the beetroot and the feed for the animals. This year the severe winter has destroyed part of our wheat. We really need two or three years to allow us to form a little reserve and to ensure feed for our cattle.

Still we must not be discouraged and must redouble our efforts in hope of better days. We are passing through troublesome times. A cyclone visited us last week and destroyed much reconstruction work in the fields, already hindered by winter. It seems as if we are in a place accursed.

Madame Berthe Mouchette Reports

In June 1922 Madame Mouchette informed the daily press in respect of Adelaide's adopted village:

During 1921, as the result of efforts in the city, £192 was forwarded to the communal authorities and a bazaar and fete at Clare produced £103... In a letter recently received... the Dernancourt authorities said that what was now most needed was a threshing machine to enable the villagers to reap their harvest. They have been able to cultivate and sow about 1,600 acres, but have no implements to take off the crop. As the harvest occurs about the middle of August, we have no time to lose if we are to assist them. This need for haste precludes the idea of raising money by the usual methods of sales, fetes, amusements, etc., so it is decided to make a direct appeal... Of [Dernancourt's] 110 houses, 107 were completely destroyed and the inhabitants are at present living in huts built from material recovered from the trenches. The population is entirely agricultural and depends on its crops for its livelihood. The fact that there was a number of deserving charities before the public is not lost sight of, but it is hoped that a sufficient number of The Register's readers will be interested enough to assist in raising the desired sum [of about £150 to £200].

On the same day the Editor of *The Register* lent his support to the appeal and urged former members of battalions that fought in France, and sympathisers, to raise money by small contributions which could be cabled to Dernancourt in time to purchase the 'needy implements before the harvest is ready.'

The Premier Visits France and Belgium

Sir Henry Barwell travelled abroad in 1922 and, while in France, he and Lady Barwell visited some battlefields, including Amiens, Peronne, Bapaume and Pozieres and other towns and villages, including Dernancourt. There they were received kindly by the Mayor, who asked him to convey to the people of South Australia the thanks of the inhabitants for the assistance that had already been given. The Premier said that:

The village has suffered very considerably as a result of shell fire. The money received has been distributed, firstly in the supply of clothes and the necessities of life, and secondly, in the erection of buildings, including a pavilion, which is used for school and other public purposes. The village is still in need of a considerable sum of money for repairing the damage that has been done and for providing the necessities of life for the people, many of whom lost everything they were possessed of. In Belgium we visited the town of Liege, which has been assisted by a grant from the South Australian Belgium Relief Fund. Here again we were enthusiastically welcomed by the Mayor...

They conducted us over a small model suburb which is being built, partly with South Australian subscriptions, and to which the name of 'South Australia' has been given...

A Franco-Australian Fete

A French newspaper sent to Madame Mouchette gave an interesting report of a fete held on 16 June 1922; *La Gazette*, Peronne, stated:

Dernancourt, the little village in the valley of the Ancre, which was completely razed to the ground in 1918, but which has already begun to rise from its ruins, organised on June 16, a manifestation of gratitude in honour of its Australian God-mother, Adelaide.

Favoured with beautiful weather, the fete attracted visitors from miles around, who were both pleased and astonished at the successful efforts made by the inhabitants to conceal their ruins with foliage and flowers. Every building, broken or whole, was gay with colour, the French and Australian flags everywhere floated to the breeze, and all helped to render Dernancourt worthy of the occasion.

M. Belison, the Mayor of Dernancourt, was the originator and moving spirit of the fete, and was ably assisted by the various patriotic and welfare societies in the district. In the morning a memorial service was held in honor of the 300 Australian soldiers who repose in the military cemetery in the village. Canon Vaquetts of Amiens Cathedral, who was born at Dernancourt, officiated and delivered an eloquent and

inspired address. The music was supplied by the Albert Symphony Society. At 1.30 p.m. the procession formed up in the Place Marshall Foch and moved off preceded by the band.

At the farther end of the Rue Georges Clemenceau the young folk had erected a triumphal arch, decorated with foliage and bearing the words 'Adelaide, Merci.' Here each group of the truly imposing cortege halted for a few seconds to be photographed.

First came a body of horsemen, each wearing a special badge, the bridles and manes of their horses bright with ribbons and flowers, then a group of cyclists, also gay with colours.

Then an Australian soldier, mounted and carrying the Australian flag. This was one of the features of the procession. He looked superb in his Australian uniform, carrying his proud flag. A bystander approached him. 'Please sir, your name?'

He replied, 'Compris, very well. Je m'appelle, Boucher Alcide, laitier a Dernancourt, of soldat dans la Grand Guerre.' (My name is Alcide Boucher, dairyman, of Dernancourt, and soldier in the Great War.) He was a Frenchman.

Following the Australian [*sic*] came three young soldiers, representing the French army, then the school children, the little girls carrying bouquets, the boys bearing flags. At a short distance followed 'France in Mourning' represented by a charming young girl, who, clad in the garments of grief, and accompanied by three Red Cross nurses, stirred the emotions of all with memories of our wounded, our mutilated, our dead. 'France Victorious' struck a gayer note.

A young girl proudly carried the Palm of Victory. At her side walked another handsome girl, portraying 'Australia succouring France.' Next came the group 'On ne passe pas' (no admittance), composed of men of the village who served at Verdun, in the Champagne, in Artois and in Flanders. 'There were more of us in 1914', said one of them. Yes, there were more of them then. Some stayed behind on the field, but they denied admittance to the invader.

Then followed three maidens representing Alsace and three for Lorraine, dressed in the costume of the provinces, then the municipal council and the welfare committee. These preceded a group typifying 'France at Peace and Work' consisting of a decorated waggon containing a little girl dressed as France and bearing a banner inscribed 'Pax'.

Accompanying her were children, representing the industries of peace, harvesters, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc. After this group followed the remainder of the inhabitants, all carrying bouquets of flowers.

The procession passed along the Rue Clemenceau to the Military Cemetery which contains some 3,000 graves, and there ranged itself beside the graves of the Australian soldiers. The members of the symbolic groups and the school children placed their flowers on the graves, while the spectators stood in an attitude of reverence. A move was then made to the General Cemetery, where flowers were placed on the graves of French soldiers.

The municipal council proceeded to an Australian grave, the only one in the General Cemetery. Here lies Colonel Leane, brother of Brigadier-General Leane, president of the Dernancourt adoption committee in Adelaide. Here the Mayor delivered a stirring oration in which he thanked his fellow citizens for having placed flowers on all the Australian, English and French graves.

'It is but right', said he, 'to include in your gratitude those who were associated in their sacrifice. And your council have deemed it their duty to assemble at the grave of Colonel Leane May the wreaths of flowers that we place here symbolise our admiration towards those heroes and represent to General Leane, to the Adelaide committee, and to all who continue towards us in peace, that generous assistance they rendered us in war, the assurance of our lasting gratitude.'

The procession returned by the Rue Marechal Petain passing beneath an arch inscribed 'Australia For Ever' and dispersed in the Rue Marechal Foch. At 4 p.m. a number of gifts, specially sent by the ladies of South Australia, were distributed to the school children and to the mothers of large families to whom they proved very acceptable. This pleasing ceremony was followed by tea of which all partook with relish.

At 6 p.m. a free lottery enabled each family to obtain a souvenir of the occasion. The fete was a great success and was much enjoyed by all. It was designed to show in some way the lasting thanks of the inhabitants of Dernancourt towards its Australian God-mother, and it will long live in their memory, coupled with the name of Adelaide.

A Final Plea

Mrs Eva Roubel d'Arenberg, honorary secretary of the 'adoption' committee put forward a final plea in September 1922 when she said:

The winter is approaching and clothes, and above all, money will be needed, as the houses are still in a dilapidated condition. Mr G. Anstey, Glenelg, as the honorary treasurer, and Miss Macdonald, Grand Coffee Palace will receive any parcels of clothes, new or second hand. Clothes for babies are not required, but men's and women's are, urgently...

Madame Mouchette - A Biography

Born at Forcalquier, Bas Aples, France, she travelled in her early years with her father who was a civil engineer. While in her teens she passed the examinations qualifying her to hold the position of teacher of painting in the National Art Schools of France. Her husband, having been ordered abroad for reasons of health, decided to come to

Australia and they arrived in Melbourne in the summer of 1881, Monsieur Mouchette having been appointed secretary of the French Consulate.

Shortly after their arrival Madame engaged in the teaching of painting and exhibitions of her own and pupils' work earned flattering press notices and, encouraged by this success, she established a college for girls that grew to a flourishing institution, necessitating the employment, at one time, of thirty teachers.

Monsieur Mouchette, however, became involved in the great land boom and when this collapsed, his health, never too robust, gave way and he succumbed to heart failure. Madame Mouchette found herself practically ruined and with a few meagre possessions arrived in Adelaide in 1891. During her residence here she engaged in teaching painting and French and Spanish languages, ably assisted by her gifted sister Madame Marie Lion. For some years Madame Mouchette conducted the oral examinations in French at the University of Adelaide.

They proved themselves good citizens and lived up to the noblest ideals of their race and upbringing. During the war the sisters proceeded to France where Mlle Lion took up nursing in a military hospital and Madame Mouchette pursued her teaching activities as a means of providing funds to carry on their charitable work. Returning to Adelaide she took an active part in the work of 'Societe Maternelle et Infantile' whose object was to render aid to the mothers and children of France stricken by the war. She also took a keen interest in the village of Dernancourt.

She was one of the promoters and a foundation member of the Alliance Francaise of South Australia. Deeply patriotic, she retained, even in the darkest hours of the war, an unshaken confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Allies. A number of her kinsmen made the supreme sacrifice upon the stricken fields of France.

Mlle Marie Lion died at Rose Park in 1922 and, in September of that year, her sister left for France to spend the eve of her days with her relatives. Upon her departure the Adelaide press said:

Though well advanced in years, Madame Mouchette is in full possession of all her faculties; indeed, until a few days ago she was actively engaged in her profession. Her adieu to Adelaide will cause the deepest regret in a wide circle of friends, who honour her for her exceptional gifts, and revere her for her many acts of self abnegation in worthy causes, as well as to assist, in every possible way, in the cultivation of an aesthetic sense in the life of the people among whom she had cast her lot.

Fais ce que doit, advienne que pourra - 'Do your duty come what may' was the motto of 'the famille Lion', the remarkably talented members of which came to this State many years ago and entered into the intellectual and artistic life of the community.

Dame Nellie Melba Intervenes

Madame Mouchette left for France in RMS *Narkunda* in September 1922 and from Bombay she wrote to a friend in Adelaide:

During the stay... at Bombay I took advantage of the embarkation there of Dame Nellie Melba at the end of her Indian tour, by enlisting her practical sympathy in the organization of a concert for the benefit of Dernancourt... Nothing could have been more auspicious than the presence of the diva, and most willingly and graciously she entered whole-heartedly into the arrangements for an entertainment which produced a surprisingly good result for Dernancourt.

The concert was ably managed by the manager of Mr Charles Workman's Australian D'Oyley Carte Company and a most attractive programme arranged. Dame Melba, who had kindly consented to collect funds, was so pleased with the amount raised, that to stimulate still greater contribution, graciously sang four songs - 'Chanson Triste' (Duparc), 'Papillons' (Chausson), 'Adieu' (from La Boheme) and 'Home, Sweet Home'.

The marvellous vocalization of Melba was a revelation to some who had not heard her before. Dame Melba took up the collection, plate in hand, and she was most ably seconded by the chief officer. They were able to hand one hundred pounds to me, a sum to help increase the amount still wanted for Dernancourt's new tractor...

As from this time the newspapers of the day are silent and it must be assumed that Madame Mouchette's visit to France was a finale to the 'adoption' of Dernancourt.

Dernancourt - Adelaide

In 1923, Richard Arthur Hobby, of Campbelltown, created the suburb of Dernancourt within the Hundred of Yatala, the first sale of an allotment being registered early in 1924. While there is no substantive evidence to support the contention, as the name 'Dernancourt' was before the public in respect of fund raising activities over the period 1920-1922, it is reasonable to assume that the nomenclature was suggested to Mr Hobby from a sense of national and civic pride.

Another significant event was the war service of Leslie R. Hobby, a cousin of R.A. Hobby. Aged eighteen years, he volunteered for army service and joined the South Australian 27th Battalion that entered the battlefields of Belgium in June 1916. In one of the many battles that followed he won the Military Medal for bravery in action, while the battalion's history says:

Leaving St Laurence Farm at 8 p.m. on April 16 [1918] we moved into the front line and relieved the 25th battalion in our previously occupied position...

Our artillery support was steadily increasing, and from time to time an annihilating fire was brought to bear upon all likely concentration areas from which an enemy attack could be launched, two particularly destructive shoots taking place during the early morning, when daylight disclosed the fact that the remnant

of Ville-Sur-Ancre Church tower was missing and the ruins of Dernancourt and Morlancourt were burning...

Leslie Hobby returned to Australia in December 1918 and died at Woodville on 25 November 1976.

Conclusion

‘Charity never faileth’ - Rarely has this Biblical truism been so splendidly exemplified nationally as in the provision of practical help to innocent sufferers from the Great War of 1914-1918. Heavier and still increasing burdens of taxation did not prevent South Australians contributing lavishly, again and again, to various war funds.

In view of the magnificent part played by Australian divisions in France and Belgium, the help given to Dernancourt assisted in cementing the Anglo-French Entente into what was hoped, in the 1920s, to be an ‘imperishable friendship.’

In some respects this dream has been shattered over past decades!

However, it is, perhaps, fitting to close this evocative historical chronicle with a poem entitled ‘Children of Dernancourt’ that appeared in the Adelaide press in 1921:

*The little gardens bright with flowers
We played in thro’ the sunny hours
Are gone! Poor Dernancourt! They say,
How it was pretty! and so gay-
Before They Came.*

*They came-they shelled our little town,
And all our houses tumbled down -
Our little homes, they were not there;
And we could only stand and stare
At Dernancourt!*

*But now they say (our mothers say),
That in a land that’s far away,
Kind people think of us, and send
Money, to help us mend
Our broken Dernancourt!*

*Our father’s gone! Our brothers too -
That died for France! What else to do?-
But France lives! France! What joy to give
To that dear land. And we shall live
Again in Dernancourt!*

Acknowledgment

The research assistance of Mr George Daws in respect of the Hobby family, is gratefully acknowledged.

Author’s Note

Sources for this Appendix are to be found in the *Journal of the Historical Society of SA* – Number 27, 1999.

Appendix 17

A Social History of Mount Gambier in the 19th Century

The whole district was supposed to be one vast area of alluvial land ‘waiting merely to be tickled with the hoe to bring forth abundantly’. Competitors eagerly attended the sales and land, good, bad and indifferent, was sold to eager purchasers at high prices. Some large capitalists, however, by buying off competitors and other diverse means, were able to secure an immense quantity at a little over the upset price.

Many persons, however, could not afford to purchase outright and went to the capitalist, who was ready to accommodate them with inferior land at high rental, which crippled their energies and blasted their prospects. Year by year they struggled on until insolvency reduced them to the ranks of the labouring class, bringing down in their fall some of those tradesmen who had too eagerly supplied them with credit.

(Register, 3 & 11 February 1875)

Prologue

The land occupied by the town of Mount Gambier and environs was once a hunting ground for the Booandik people who roamed the countryside leading a nomadic life; at the core of their belief was an understanding of a certain spirituality attached to the land - they perceived themselves as the stewards of creation.

The disposition of their land was, generally, met with apathy by the European invaders as evidenced by the words of the Colonial Secretary, Robert Gouger, who suggested that ‘no legal purchase of land on their behalf, or in any other mode, has yet been made, nor do I think that with proper care it is at all necessary.’

However, discerning settlers with a hint of Christian principles were to say that, in the midst of colonists growing hundreds of bushels of wheat on Aboriginal hunting grounds, they denied them the ‘crumbs that fell from the table.’ They posed a profound question in the *Adelaide Times* in May 1851 - ‘How can God’s all-seeing eye approve of this?’ Sage words, indeed, in modern-day Australia where the ‘Mabo’ and ‘Wik’ decisions in respect of Aboriginal land tenure are the subject of ongoing debate.

On the other hand, the European interlopers were urged in terms borrowed from the Old Testament, 'to be not slothful to go, and enter and possess the land. When ye go, ye shall come unto a large land, a place where there is no want of anything that is in the earth.'

Thus, the invading colonists saw the country as an environmental and social wilderness over which they were to preside as 'godly stewards', with the primary task of bringing the land into production.

The early European occupiers of the South-East land, generally, entertained exaggerated notions of the right of property over all others. Further, none but the most luxuriant, grassy lands were settled upon and even these places were selected with caution, because there was no running water to be found and many of the swamps showed signs of drying up at certain times of the year.

In but a few years following their intrusion, the reign of brute force over the indigenous people became ascendant, as opposed to that of justice and equity. Gradually, the Booandik people dwindled away in misery, poverty and wretchedness, whilst around them the squatters' wealth increased upon the Aboriginal's decay and death.

The Catholic priest, Tenison Woods, who served his church in the area, was to say that he had 'seen them dying to starvation within a stone's throw of abundance and luxury' and named only four pastoralists who had 'cared for the blacks'. (See Appendix 46 & 48)

Introduction

This part of our territory is in a rather anomalous position. Politically it is part of South Australia but commercially and socially it is part of New South Wales. The settlers all occupy South Australian land for which they pay a licence and an assessment to our Government, but in other respects they are members of the Port Philip community. All their flour and other provisions, their wool bags, their wines, spirits and tobacco are supplied by the merchants of Melbourne and Portland. Thus are the best lands of the colony occupied by aliens who contribute very little to the support of our government and by taking their liquors and tobacco from Portland Bay actually deprive us of revenue

(*Southern Australian*, 18 May 1849)

Prior to the examination and charting of the coastline of the south-eastern coast of modern-day South Australia by Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders, and the historical meeting of those seafarers in Encounter Bay in April 1802, Lieutenant James Grant in HMS *Nelson*, en route to the convict colony in New South Wales in December 1800, recorded in the ship's log:

On the evening of 2 December 1800 one of those long flies, known by the name of horse stingers, came on board and lighted on the mainsail where it continued for some time. This was a stronger proof of land being near us than any we had yet seen, as this insect could not exist for any length of time at sea.

Though no land was seen I redoubled my watchfulness. In the evening it came on to blow with much sea during the night which obliged us to keep a very snug sail, in order to be enabled to haul, if necessary, close to the wind without losing time. It continued to blow, with heavy squalls of rain, until 4 in the morning of the 3rd when we had daylight after which I made all the sail I could.

At 8 a.m. saw the land from north to the east-north-east, the part that was right ahead appearing like unconnected islands, being four in number, which on our nearer approach turned out to be two capes and two high mountains a considerable way inshore. One of them was very like the Table Hill at the Cape of Good Hope; the other stands further in the country. Both are covered with large trees as is also the land, which is low and flat as far as the eye can reach. I named the first of these mountains Mount Schank and the other Gambier's Mountain. The first cape I called Cape Northumberland, after His Grace, the Duke of Northumberland, and another smaller but very conspicuous just off the land which we plainly saw when abreast of Cape Northumberland, I named Cape Banks.

Lord Gambier, had a seat in Admiralty, when the *Investigator* was fitted out; later, in 1807, he commanded the British fleet at the second battle of Copenhagen. Lt. Grant was promoted to the rank of Commander, in 1805, with a pension for gallantry in a spirited naval action off Holland, when he was badly wounded. He died in 1833, aged 61.

As for the first white men to see Mount Gambier from landward, Major William Mitchell, when on his celebrated expedition, saw it from a hill on the banks of the River Wannon, while on 19 August 1836, on which day he discovered the Glenelg River and Discovery Bay, he confirmed that observation by climbing a tree on the banks of the river.

Earlier, in far-off England, Thomas Henty, banker and sheep farmer, decided that some of his family should emigrate, so three of his sons, James, John and Stephen, went out to Western Australia in 1829 taking with them 40 servants, together with horses, cattle and sheep. By 1831, the settlement was a disappointment to them so they decided to seek greener pastures and, accordingly, removed to Van Diemen's Land and it was in that year that Thomas Henty decided to join his sons. Accompanied by his wife and three more sons, Charles, Edward and Frank, he sailed for Australia. An examination of the holding at Swan River convinced him that in seeking a change of locality his boys had done the wise thing, but, of course, this involved a considerable loss of capital.

In July 1833, Edward Henty sailed from Van Diemen's Land in the *Thistle* to examine the South Australian coast where he ventured as far as Port Lincoln and, on his return, called in at Portland Bay where a whaling station was located. The place challenged his attention, but did not appeal as an ideal spot to settle. However, in July 1834 he returned in a schooner captained by John Hart [see '*Glanville*' in *nomenclature text*] and, in due time, his father, Thomas Henty, inspected the place and the outcome was that, in 1836, the family decided to seek their fortune there.

Buildings were erected and other improvements made, according to historical research by Rev John Blacket in the 1920s, to the extent of some £8,000. It was here that Thomas Henty died in 1839.

At this time a vast forest wilderness lay between the settled parts of Victoria and South Australia and this country, comprised of tertiary limestone, was, in most parts, covered with sand; thus it was for all practical purposes, a desert. A rough wiry grass, some coarse timber, with an abundance of wild flowers met the eye; but any prospective farmer, despairingly, would have turned from it. However, where the sand disappeared and rock showed itself, a greener, richer reward was found for there was soil of the most fertile description. Trees of varied kinds grew in luxuriance and an oasis of beauty arose.

In 1839, another son, Stephen Henty, seeking suitable land for pastoral purposes went on an exploring trip with two companions in the direction of Mount Gambier and, finding a little rise in the vicinity of the Valley Lake, built a hut. In the fullness of time, at the behest of local citizenry, a suitable block of Mount Schank basalt rock was inscribed with the words: 'S.G. Henty, 1839, Henty's Hut, 1841' and unveiled at this site.

At an address given on the occasion, Mr Crouch intimated that Henty had another hut near the modern-day Cave Garden Reserve in the centre of the town, and went on to say that the men who assisted him in establishing the run, by driving livestock overland, were Jim Sneyd, Joe Frost, a native of Sydney named McCoy and Paddy Hann, an old soldier, as cook.

At a later time, writing to the Governor Latrobe of New South Wales, Stephen Henty said:

To those who have not seen Mount Gambier it may seem strange when I say I ascended it on the north-east side and was scarcely aware of my exact position until I reached the brink of an enormous lake which I can never forget - quite beyond my powers of description. At this time I was not certain whether this beautiful country belonged to the South Australian colony or I should have applied for a special survey in that locality for at this time I believe no European had ever seen the country but my own party.

Alexander Tolmer mentions the presence of Henty's station in 1844 and of interest is the fact that, on 25 July of that year, an occupation licence was granted to Edward Henty; later, a complaint was made that he was 'depasturing sheep near Lake Mundy on the licensed run of L. & C. McKinnon,' while a Penola historian, Mr Peter Rymill, records that, in December 1845, E.P.S. Sturt advised Charles Bonney in Adelaide that, 'through Mr Hunter, I succeeded in purchasing Mr Henty's interest in Mount Gambier, which I now occupy...' and continued:

Given [this fact], Stephen Henty's later claim in a letter to Governor Latrobe that 'we were subsequently deprived by the chicanery of some unprincipled individuals' is curious. Furthermore, Edward Henty, from Muntham, seems to have been the brother most involved in the Mt Gambier district (or perhaps the most prolific correspondent). There is no mention of Stephen from the time of his initial 1839 reconnoitre until his sheep are taken to Lalee in 1849...

The *Border Watch* of 26 February 1879 reported that 'the first settlers made their camp at the Valley Lake which was then of smaller dimensions than it is now. At that time there was no lake to the west of it and their first stockyard was made in what has since become Dr Browne's Lake and the remains of it may still be seen, for aught we know, many feet under water. It will take several dry years to dry up this lake.'

The first pioneer to really open up the South East was Charles Bonney who, in 1839, in company with nine Europeans and two Aborigines brought 300 cattle, several horses and two bullock drays overland and, in the process, discovered and named Lake Hawdon, Mount Muirhead and Mount Benson.

Water being scarce and the weather intensely hot, the trip was exhausting and, on one occasion, the party had to kill a calf and drink its blood to assuage their thirsts. Later, Bonney recorded that:

I mounted the strongest horse we had got and rode off towards the natives' smoke hoping to find water there. I had to cross an extensively reedy flat, and coming to a slight hollow, saw water glistening among the reeds. I quickly got off my horse to taste the water which I found, to my great delight, was drinkable, though a little brackish. Filling an India-rubber bag I had with me I rode to the men as soon as I could.

Whilst I was away they had discovered a native well, and were engaged in making damper with some flour we had with us. Our troubles were thus ended.

Later, the residents of the South East made a presentation of £700 to him as an acknowledgement of the successful manner in which he had parcelled out the waste lands of the district in his capacity of Commissioner of Public Works in the first representative South Australian government in 1857.

Among those who signed the address to him were Messrs Edward and Robert Leake, John McIntyre, Hastings Cunningham, William Vansittart and George Glen.

In a letter to the Governor on 23 July 1842, the Colonial Secretary, Charles Sturt, reported that he had:

Much pleasure in forwarding a letter received just as I was leaving this [office] and which I did not open until I got home... I need make no observation on the language of praise used by Mr Whyte in discussing this tract of country but I am sure Your Excellency will be as glad as I am to learn that the peninsula of Cape Jervis is not our only oasis in the desert.

Would it not be as well to [search] under the direction of Mr [Bowman?] as regards squatting licences for conflicting interests may clash when the knowledge of such a valuable tract of land of country existing in so favourable a position becomes generally known. The character of the country must be remarkable... and I have no doubt the country Your Excellency saw in your late excursion to the southward is a continuation of that described by Mr Whyte. May I request you to return Mr Whyte's letter with your thanks...

Further, on 2 August 1842 the *Southern Australian* stated that:

It is with unfeigned pleasure we have to announce the discovery of a splendid tract of country within the boundaries of the province, 90 miles in length by 30 miles across, stretching along the western bank of the Glenelg and extending along the western bank of the Glenelg and extending westwards as far as Rivoli Bay, the whole admirably adapted for purposes of grazing or agriculture...

About 10 miles from Mount Schank there is a good harbour which the discoverer says must eventually be the shipping place of Australia Felix. The whole of this splendid tract of country is said to resemble a nobleman's park on a large scale and is well watered.

From the description given, it cannot contain less than two million acres of available land or, in other words, nearly as much as has been discovered in the province. Already parties from Victoria are thinking of establishing themselves in this new territory and a further exploration of it, we presume, will be immediately ordered.

Apparently, quoting from a Victorian source, the *Southern Australian* of 19 December 1843 said that:

There are several parties already across the SA boundary; among them Henty has a cattle station; a Mr Arthur with sheep and cattle; also a Mr Wallace with sheep and cattle belonging to the Hon. [Lord] Talbot.

These are the principal settlers; others will shortly follow, as our runs are getting very crowded.

The first governor to visit the district was Governor George Grey in 1844 when he was accompanied by Mr Charles Bonney, Mr Thomas Burr, the Deputy Surveyor General, Mr Gisborne and Mr George French Angas. Also in the party were five mounted constables, two sappers and miners, together with two drays loaded with provisions for two months. They started from the River Bremer on March 10 and reached Mount Gambier on 5 April and, near Mount Schank, found a Mr Arthur, one of two brothers, who had brought over a flock of sheep from New South Wales. Mr Arthur received the party in a beard of twelve months and, surrounded by his magpies, cockatoos and dogs, appeared to be a modern-day Robinson Crusoe. He did not sit on a chair for his stools, and nearly everything else, were carved out of the coralline limestone.

In the same year E.P.S. Sturt took up his run he was to name 'Compton' and two brothers, Edward John and Robert Rowland Leake, took possession of Glencoe Station where, in the course of a few years, the former died and his brother became the sole proprietor - in 1857, he was elected to the House of Assembly as a member for the seat of Victoria.

In 1837, Evelyn P.S. Sturt was Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Murray district in New South Wales and, following his resignation, went to Bathurst from whence he drove a mob of sheep to the infant colony of South Australia. In company with Messrs Hardy, Campbell and Stein he departed, in 1839, with 24 men and about 24,000 sheep, the trip taking three months. He regarded himself as one of the most fortunate overlanders, not having any serious collision with the Aborigines.

Following his occupation of land in the South East in 1844, an early reference we have of him is from the pen of Alexander Tolmer who described his trip to get evidence against a convict and when he thought it necessary to apply to Mr Sturt for summonses. In order to do this Tolmer left Henty's hut and, under the guidance of Mr Cohen, Henty's overseer, set out for the homestead of Sturt's station in the vicinity of modern-day Compton. However, he was unsuccessful for Sturt informed him that he had not been sworn in as a magistrate.

Describing his experiences in the South East, Sturt said:

When I fixed on the site for my new homestead I had not a shilling in the world but, thanks to the success attending sheep farming, I outlived my difficulties... There was a singular feature in the country. There were many holes and caves. The caves appear endless and it required some degree of nerve to head an exploring expedition in those subterranean territories...

I never discovered any petrifications in these caverns, but I thought once to have discovered something that would have handed down my name in posterity. In one of these niches I observed the figure of a man, bent as in an attitude of thought, his elbows resting upon his knees... Anxiously I examined it and took an arm and hand which were loose to the open air for inspection.

I then found it had more the appearance of a mummy, the skin having become hard dry and containing nothing but dust. It, however, merited closer inspection, but I had some miles to ride and determined to defer such examination to another time. Since then I never returned to the spot.

In the same decade, and into the 1850s, pastoral runs were taken up in what was then called the 'New Country' near the border and settled by squatters who came from either Victoria to spy out the land, or trekked overland from settled areas contiguous to Adelaide. They were more than pleased with what they saw and many of them and their descendants remained there at the turn of the 20th century, having accumulated great wealth.

The Founders of Gambierton/Mount Gambier

We hear that a Government Township will be laid out in the Adelaide District in the immediate vicinity of Mount Gambier, and on the splendid site now occupied as a grazing station, by Edward Henty, Esq.

(*Portland Examiner*, 15 January 1845)

The first sale of freehold land took place in 1847 when four sections from 1100 to 1103, inclusive, were granted to Mr Evelyn P.S. Sturt at £80.1s. per section and he remained in occupation until the mid-1850s when he left to take up the position of Chief Inspector of Police in Melbourne. In the interim period he laid out the town of 'Gambierton'

which, at the outset 'comprised of three leased allotments, a public house, a store and a blacksmith's shop.' Evelyn, Sturt and Compton Streets commemorate his association with the district.

According to Alfred Hayes, who came to the district in 1846, the hotel was opened by John Byng on Saint Patrick's Day 1847 and, to celebrate the occasion, a few 'races' were arranged by the locals at which:

There was plenty of fighting; in fact there was hardly a man who did not have a fight that day. These were the days when men came in with their cheques and did not stop drinking until the whole was gone.

John Byng was a huge man tipping the scales at about 18 stone and boasting of biceps in excess of 17 inches and, late in 1845, he commenced building an Inn, composed of slabs with a bark roof, on land occupied today by Jens' Hotel - the terms of his occupation *vis a vis* Sturt is unknown:

There the modern coloured Falstaff, assisted by a white wife and a family of several children, used to take his portly ease or dispense liquors to surrounding settlers and stockmen.

In 1847, a complaint was levelled against the 'new publican' when a correspondent to the Adelaide press said:

Selling six glasses of liquor and a cigar for seven shillings is what we should call a rather good percentage. We would advise the publicans not to show themselves so greedy of gain; as, at their future appeals to the Magistrates and the public, their exorbitant charges, or what our correspondent calls a downright robbery, may prove far more disadvantageous to themselves than they may imagine.

Early in 1849, leasehold arrangements were registered with Byng as to allotments numbered 98 and 99 in the township and with Patrick Moore in respect of the general store which he conducted on allotment 97.

Charles Hay was the second hotelier when he erected a modest structure that was superseded by the South Australian Hotel building and at the time it was reported that:

Penola was more populous than Mount Gambier and Mr Cullen declares that on one occasion he was unable to get a piece of rope at Paddy Moore's store and had to walk all the way to Penola to make the purchase.

Little progress was evident at Mount Gambier during the 1840s, while the discovery of the Victorian goldfields in 1851 resulted in a reduction of the town's population and, until 1855, it was practically unsettled for 'the pioneers led a sleepy life, minding their flocks, or yarding their herds and seldom was the old-time silence of the place disturbed by the sounds of busy men.'

In October 1854, Sturt sold the four sections to Hastings Cunningham for £1,500 following which the new owner sold allotments the last, in an instrument dated 14 September 1855 being registered on 26 May 1859 in respect of Lot 19. On 13 July 1860, Cunningham sold the four sections excluding, of course, previously sold allotments in Gambier to, to Alexander Mitchell for £2,500. Mitchell then brought the land under the provisions of the Real Property Act and proceeded to subdivide section 1101 as 'Mount Gambier'.

Sometimes named, erroneously, as the founder of the township, Hastings Cunningham was of Scotch ancestry, while his father was an officer in the British Army located in India, where he was born. In 1856, he donated land in Sturt Street for a new school that opened in 1858 with James Smith in charge; it closed when a new public school opened in Wehl Street in 1878. Mr Cunningham was one of the first to interest himself in the export of frozen mutton to England and, in conjunction with Messrs Freebairn and Armitage, shipped a cargo by the steamer *Strathleven* in 1871. He died at St. Kilda, Melbourne on 21 September 1908 in his eighty-third year.

Nomenclature of the Town

In respect of the nomenclature of 'Gambierton' the *Border Watch*, of 10 January 1862, had this to say:

It has frequently been a matter of deep regret - we had almost said disgust - at the constant recurrence of inappropriate names given to new villages or towns in the various colonies of Australia... We submit that in naming a new locality reference should be made to some great feature or peculiarity in the same, and in most cases, not all certainly, the Native Names especially of South Australia, will be found euphonious, at any rate more expressive than those adopted by the settlers...

There are a few imported names unobjectionable and slightly descriptive, viz., McLaren Vale, Watervale. Mount Remarkable, etc., but leaving Adelaide and following any main road just glance at the stupid and inappropriate cognomens distributed on every hand... Kent Town in compliment to the original proprietor may not be deemed much amiss, but Stepney, Norwood and Kensington - who that retains any recollection of the first with its venerable church, the ancient tombstone connected with the legend of the Fish and the Ring - of the second with its shady walks and celebrated Gipsy, or of the last but not least - beautiful suburban Kensington, its forest like scenery, its music and gay promenaders, who, we would ask can trace the slightest resemblance between 'the old Love and the New.'

The most appropriate appellation given to any village in that locality is 'Klemzig', a name that would, from its derivation, at once indicate a row of dirty, ill contrived, lumbering cottages, gable ends, on to the single thoroughfare, embedded in mud, surrounded by pigsties and dunghills, every hovel ornamented with peculiarly fitted windows, here a dab of paper, there an unmentionable garment stuffed in the aperture, or occasionally an old hat or wisp of straw...

Enough for the present, we have started our locality as Mount Gambier, and Mount Gambier it shall be, to the end of the chapter... Our thriving town is not to suffer under a misnomer because of the hallucinations of an interloping Victorian barrister and tho' the Post Office officials may, under the effects of circumlocution fever or red tape delirium, adhere for a time to this stupid term [Gambierton] we have little

doubt, but ere long, they will return to the proper designation of this place as announced by the Sheriff on 19 December and recognised by the Act of the South Australian parliament, dated 29th November 1861, viz., Mount Gambier.

Growth of the Town

Keats was not far wrong when he said 'A thing of beauty is a joy forever.' Nor was that unknown author in error when he described the South-Eastern district of South Australia as the 'garden of the colony'. Mount Gambier is the gem of the South East as Damascus is the pearl of the East.

The charm of it is in its almost infinite variety and if one should seek to dismiss it from his pen after dwelling on its physical features, its trade and its prospects I feel how numerous are its attractions and how varied are the things for which it is remembered by those who have lived there at some time.

(Register, 13 January 1881)

The First Two Decades

As men, our police of Mount Gambier are respectable, educated and enlightened and should be treated, not as a felon constabulary or the offscourings of a penal colony, but as become orderly men of laudable and honourable behaviour.

Instead of this we have them lodged in a hovel that is absolutely not fit for the accommodation of well-bred boys; and unless they expend a portion of their stipend towards repairing it (as they have done on several occasions...), they might wallow in a mire...

(Register, 20 May 1851)

It was not until Mr Hastings Cunningham began selling allotments that people in search of employment began to flock to the site and it was then that two or three stores were opened and the 'adventurous blacksmiths erected their anvils.' In the 1850s, the town was a mere hamlet - a bush village - where shepherds came to 'knock down' an entire year's wages in a week and where a man who had gone to 'melt his cheque' invited all passers by to drink with him.

Then there were the 'larks' on week days, horse racing on Sundays and, occasionally, a wild, barbarous fight, in which men battered and bruised one another:

A prizefight took place in the neighbourhood of Mount Gambier for a purse of £20 between 'a man of colour' named Young Sambo and an Irishman named Ned McMahon. At the end of the 43rd round and after an hour and twenty minutes Maloney *[sic]* was beat.

From ancient records it is apparent that about the year 1850 the infant settlement had a visit from a clergyman and the traditional opinion is that he came from Geelong, though why he should have ventured there is not apparent. From the same source it is clear that a clergyman of the Church of England visited the village in 1854 from Coleraine and was followed by Bishop Augustus Short in 1855 who conducted services under the verandah of a little wooden public house.

In 1856, the Rev W.B. Andrews had a roving commission to serve the missionary district of Penola and Mount Gambier when he was appointed missionary curate to the settlers on the Mosquito Plains and at Penola and Mount Gambier. He also visited sheep stations on the Glenelg River and the rising town of Robe.

Early Anglican services were held in a school house in Sturt Street and, in 1858, the Rev John Sheldon was licensed as a deacon, while in 1865 Rev Richard W. Needham was appointed as a resident clergyman at Mount Gambier.

In respect of the Lutheran Church, from 1845 to 1850 Rev Schurmann visited the district periodically, coming from Hamilton in Victoria when services were held in private houses. A church was opened for divine service in the town in October 1862. In pioneer times there were two Lutheran congregations connected with different Synods. One was served by Pastor Schurmann and the other by Pastor Meischel. At a later period Pastor Matchoss was stationed at the town and the two congregations coalesced.

It would appear that the second clergyman of any religious denomination to visit the town was Father Ryan of the Roman Catholic Church in about 1853. His itinerary was long and arduous - from Adelaide to Willunga, Port Elliot and Goolwa. Here he crossed the River Murray, going along the Coorong to Kingston and then to Robe before making his way across swampy country to Mount Gambier.

The centre from which he worked was a station at Dismal Swamp owned by Mr Anthony Sutton. Later on, Father Powell was the missionary, his headquarters being at Penola where he was followed by Father J.E. Tenison Woods. The first church in Mount Gambier was a log hut constructed by members of the faith who sawed the slabs walls, laid the slab floor and covered the structure with a bark roof, the interior being lined with canvas.

The town's first medical man was Dr Johann D.E. Wehl; he arrived in 1849 when it consisted of a slab public house kept by 'Black Byng' and W.A. Crouch's store and a blacksmith's shop. His practice, if not lucrative, was widely extended and he spent many weary hours on dismal bush tracks through country in possession of the squatters.

In 1852, he left for the Victorian gold diggings and, upon his return, resumed his practice, taking at the same time a deep interest in industrial pursuits. In 1857, he established the first flour mill in the district driven by hand power, substituted by horse power in 1858, while in 1859 he introduced steam power to the industry in a mill erected in Commercial Road contiguous to the street that remembers his name.

He also ventured into farming and purchased 3,000 acres at Gambier East. The land being expensive to clear and rather poor, caused him to incur heavy losses but, undeterred, he introduced various grasses, grew flax and hemp some of which, after treatment, was sent to the Paris and Melbourne Exhibitions securing, on one occasion, a bronze

medal. (See Appendix 52) Through failing health he gave up his practice in 1874 when he was entertained at a dinner and presented with a tea and coffee service and a bag of sovereigns.

Among the early arrivals in the infant town were Messrs Fidler and Webb; the former arrived in Adelaide in 1851 coming from Newbury, England. He purchased land at Islington and began farming; selling out after two years he opened a store at Aldinga where he remained for seven years. Removing from this place he bought a few sections at Mount Gambier and settled upon them, opening a store and doing business there until the township was established when he removed his store to a more central position.

He was one of the first to combine sheep keeping with farming and a pioneer experimenter with English grasses. At the time of his death in 1874 it was recorded by the press that he 'did with his might whatever his hands found to do.' There is a faithfully descriptive tablet to his memory in the Methodist Church.

Mr Webb was associated with Mr Fidler and came to the town in 1852 and, for many years, took an active part in local affairs. He was one of the first councillors of the corporation and, subsequently, Mayor and he presented two drinking fountains to the town in Commercial Street and Watson Terrace. He died in April 1911.

A traveller in the early 1850s described the town as containing about 100 inhabitants and 'throughout this oasis, for ten miles round, a number of farmers raised their crops and fed their cattle.' Most of them were Germans or Scots, the former from the Adelaide side and the latter from Portland, away in Victoria.

The latter place was the nearest market over a fearful road through the sandy waste for 60 miles; thence their produce was shipped off to the colonial capitals.

Among the early citizens were Messrs Davies, Cullen and McArthur, while Mr Robert Cock was, in 1854, reputed to be the first to grow corn when he cultivated a small portion of land within the town's boundary – the former two gentlemen were reputed to have walked from Melbourne in 1846.

Then came chapels and schools and a humane baker, Springer by name, [who] arrived on the Mount to bake the people's bread; Fidler and Webb opened their stores; grave, respectable Mr Tuite followed in providing for both the inward and the outer man; and our friend, Ingram, whose anvil is singing in our ears as we write, came to share the business of the Mount with the other three blacksmiths and wheelwrights already established, McKay, Barrett & Heinneman and Wyatt.

To the public houses Mitchell's, Long's and South's were added the regular Board and Lodging House established by John Allen. But the crowning feature was the towering steam flour mill of Mr Burcham and that of Dr Wehl - the brother of the doctor managed the mill. The doctor himself and Dr Graham comprised the town's medical men. Also in the town were shoemakers, a watchmaker and tailor, Mr William Humphrey, while in the *Border Watch* a notice appeared calling for the presence of a barber.

Mr Crouch kept a large store where auctions were held, while a model shop, with double windows set out Melbourne fashion, was conducted by Mr Brown, the chemist.

The schoolhouse at the 'foot of an extinct volcano' was built of slabs of timber roughly put together to make the sides of the building. Numerous apertures in the walls and roof did not increase the comfort of the school. The floor was nearly as rough as the sides and by no means in order for a carpet, while the furniture was in keeping with the rest of this rustic simplicity. The children were taught in the essential branches of instruction and, as to natural history, they could study that in the surrounding country; as for geology there was the 'mount for the igneous' and a splendid cave close to the school door gave capital lessons in stratification and the formation of flinty layers.

The master of this 'academy of the wilds' was a curious type of the old school of teachers. His zeal in temperance and religion had raised an enemy in the chief proprietor of the township proper, who was the publican:

The simplicity of this man won the regard of many and his very blundering provoked a smile, rather than a reproach. His singing demonstration in school was less remarkable for harmony than noise; but, as it pleased the children and exalted the master, any criticism would have been unkind or useless.

He loved the dear children and taught them what was sufficient and pleaded with them tearfully and lovingly to act as lambs of Christ's flock - his ungainly gait, his grotesque dress and his lack of science, could be smiled at and forgiven.

In 1861, the town's main street was all but an impassable bog, without drainage or regulations for the removal of the foul unsanitary nuisances that 'choked the very doors':

Though the men may knock through the mud, the women are imprisoned at home; we have scarcely any social life and until something is done all of us might as well be clothed in bear skins and imagine ourselves the denizens of that doleful region, of which as Dante, the Italian poet, sings, [where] there is inscribed on the portals - 'All hope abandon ye who enter here.'

As a consequence, in the winter streets were condemned frequently and, to avoid the mud hazards, citizens resorted to riding their horses on the footpaths thus 'driving men, women and children inside the paddock fence and causing them to trespass on ploughed ground where the crop [was] just rising above the soil.' The remedy for this state of affairs was addressed when, in 1863, a district council was formed and its first meeting held in the old Telegraph Station. Within a few years there were two district councils controlling the affairs of the district - Mount Gambier East and Mount Gambier West, one being responsible for over 60 square miles and the other more than 100.

Summer months saw an 'arising from dust' that was more serious. On windy days, people on the streets were begrimed like chimney sweeps by a fine, black volcanic powder and not only were clothes destroyed, but particles

of dust inhaled and 'proved the seed of pulmonary disease' and, in the interests of the public, the local authorities were asked that a substance less liable to be converted into dust be laid on the main thoroughfares.

Indeed, apart from such nuisances, it was considered a lawless town because it was without the operation of the Police Act, or the 'presence of any authority exercising a check upon the drunken mad riot so frequently witnessed, and without prospect of amendment.'

These were not the only evils to be complained of because a long list could have been made out with every one having a just claim for notice, for the Editor of the *Border Watch* was to complain:

The worst aspect of the matter is that 'the orange is being squeezed nearly dry' and there is little hope for now that there are no more lands to be sold. Had we a 'Wallaroo' to boast of, where the personnel of the Ministry might quietly invest or speculate, we could then hope for some attention; but because we can only show the vigorous buildings of that substantial interest which has for years past been the backbone of the colony - which tends to settle the country with a respectable, honest and industrious population; which creates and reproduces wealth more certainly than any other interest in the colony - because, in short, we are an agricultural community, simply, we must be left to shift for ourselves.

The present population here is about 2,000 souls; this time next year it is estimated that there will be at least 4,000 people in this locality, with a vastly increased power of production of exportable goods. The question is now therefore - will the government allow the existing state of things to continue - will they allow themselves to remain so ignorant of the real principles and duties of state craft, as to stultify the growth of a promising district, depress its trade and ruin its settlers, for the want of a little timely attention?...

Were any argument needed we have only to point to our Police Court report... The number of drunken and ruffianly characters seem to increase with the increase of population and it is ridiculous to suppose that the same number of police protectors that guarded the town when it was a little village... can do the duty efficiently now. The police cells are inconveniently situated and the necessity of walking a rowdy prisoner to them often leaves the town wholly unprotected for a lengthened period...

<i>Two mills and two doctors stand up on the Mount,</i>	<i>A cobbler who lives in a hole like a mouse,</i>
<i>And also nine stores, if right I can count,</i>	<i>A carpenter man that ne'er lifted a hammer,</i>
<i>Five shoemakers, too, who say, nothing's like leather,</i>	<i>And a learned schoolmaster that studies his grammar,</i>
<i>For keeping you dry in the wettest of weather;</i>	<i>A dandified clerk that knows nothing but figures,</i>
<i>Wheelwrights and a watchmaker, who don't go upon wheels,</i>	<i>Men that walk out on Sundays with guns that have triggers,</i>
<i>And able any day to put tips on your heels,</i>	<i>Little boys and girls all chattering like monkeys,</i>
<i>A blacksmith, strong, rather weak in the brains</i>	<i>And overgrown lads as heavy as donkeys.</i>
<i>A baker who sells all the bread that remains,</i>	<i>A very great bank to cash all your cheques,</i>
<i>A tailor who dines on his cabbage and goose,</i>	<i>And plenty of doors that shut only with 'snecks'.</i>
<i>A barber, with a razor keen, who, as you may well suppose,</i>	
<i>Can take your beard off very clean, while he holds you by the nose.</i>	
<i>A chemist, too, the only one, I think, who is upon the town,</i>	
<i>And if you want a dose of salts, go ask for Mister Brown,</i>	
<i>Three public houses, and three churches, too,</i>	
<i>Stand out distinct and patent to your view,</i>	
<i>Whereas I heard a teetotalter say,</i>	
<i>(Shouting aloud from the other side of the way):</i>	
<i>Wherever God erects a House of Prayer,</i>	
<i>The Devil always builds a chapel there!</i>	

(*Border Watch*, 25 April 1862)

In November 1861, a newly formed cricket club played its first game on a flat 'near the National School' where rain and wind interfered with proceedings and it was reported that, after a few hours play, they 'all seemed glad to become homeward bound.' The first inter-town match was played on 6 March 1862 when the Mount Gambier team was successful by 27 runs.

When tobacco growing was first undertaken in the Mount Gambier district in the early 1860s by Mr John Watt, near the Wesleyan Chapel where he had 200 plants 'all strong and healthy', the censorious editor of the *Border Watch* decreed that he opposed its cultivation because 'its scourging and deleterious properties might seriously interfere with our cereals.'

At the time local tobacco was selling as high as 3s. 6d. per pound but 'the weed was not of the best sort - not being pure Virginian and the rudest means were employed in the growing and manufacture.' However, by May 1863 the first sale of any considerable quantity of tobacco was effected when Mr G.C. Crouch of Portland purchased same from a Mr Grosser.

By 1866, the Temperance Cricket Club showed the most vitality of any of the clubs existing in Mount Gambier, while others were Traders and Mount Gambier, the main sporting venue being Mrs Mitchell's paddock at Hedley Park and, among the members of the first named, was a pure-blooded Aborigine named John Short, aged about 12 years, 'who astonished everyone at the style in which he wielded the willow, scoring in the first innings 14 and in the second, six runs.'

Invariably, visitors to the town were surprised by the buildings constructed from limestone and one discerning man commented that:

This limestone being inexhaustible the agricultural lands, near and far, can never become impoverished so long as a farmer will be at the trouble of burning the stone and with other manures spreading it judiciously for manure. As an agricultural country, this mineral made Scotland what she is.

However, a matter for concern was the ill-chosen town site for it was laid out on low land and, therefore, subjected to 'cold chilling fogs that never visit[ed] the higher ground.' In winter it was very damp and, from the nature of the building stone, there was 'scarcely a house in it that was not more or less damp.'

On a more mundane level, and of great concern to many citizens, was the number of vicious dogs roaming the town; indeed, by 1867, if found on the street without a collar and licence tag, they were shot on sight:

Some of these animals are starved and neglected by their owners and they prowl about and plunder any kitchen that has an open door; others set up each night such a yelping and howling that sleep is banished from many a pillow, while others have the dangerous propensity of rushing suddenly at the heels of horses entering the township...

Within two years the local canines were even more adventurous when they interfered with the dispensation of justice in the town:

As a rule two or three quarrelsome brutes make their way to the Court every sitting and catching, we suppose, the infection of the place, do their best to interrupt the business and to bring the Court into contempt. Persons having business at Court are advised to leave their dogs at home to prevent these unseemly rows.

The first circuit court was held in the town in 1862, with Mr Justice Gwynne presiding; his orderly was Adam Lindsay Gordon and, it was at this time, the latter gentleman made the sensational leap which is so celebrated today by an obelisk near the spot at the Blue Lake. He rode a horse named 'Cadger' and those who saw the historic leap were the aforementioned Judge, 'Mr Burton, Mr Tom Wells, the sheriff, Mr W.R. Boothby, Sergeant Young and Trainor, who was a groom or jockey to Captain Lyons.'

While mentioning the literature of this part of the country, the Reverend Julian E. Woods should not be passed over for his book *History of Australian Exploration* was, for many years, the most exhaustive work upon the subject and there was nothing written in Australia which contained better, or more melodious, prose than his *Geological Observations in South Australia* published in 1862. (See Appendix 48)

He was a staunch advocate for the government to undertake the drainage of the South-East and, on this subject, of course, there were dissenters and, decidedly, Mr R.D. Hanson opposed the suggestion. However, Father Woods, at Penola, declared that the reclaimed land would be highly valuable and on 18 September 1865 he addressed the Commissioner of Crown Lands:

I have the honor to place at the disposal of the government a report upon the Geology, Physical ... drainage and mineralogy of the South Eastern district. I have been induced to do this because I believe information upon these subjects is much wanted now that the government is about to spend large sums upon the district. I have been further encouraged to the task as the published information at the disposal of the government is of the most unsatisfactory kind, drawn up under every disadvantage and with necessarily only slender information.

Having travelled over every part of the district for the last nine years I believe I have been thoroughly augmented with its physical features and as my studies have otherwise lain in the same direction I have thought that my conclusions and opinions would be of some value. I have treated the subject entirely in its utilitarian form principally keeping in view the drainage, road making, the opening of quarries and the quality of the soils.

With regard to my remuneration for these papers I would rather leave such a matter to the consideration of the government, but as I am informed that money would be spent upon drainage at once provided there were definite information on the subject as to the situation and quality of land to be benefited by it, I think remuneration to me should be laid aside rather than any delay should take place in the publication of these papers and maps, especially as they may be very useful to the engineers and contractors of the district.

As there is no geological survey for the colony, I believe that the maps and sections will do all that will be required for this portion of the colony for a very long time and even obviate the necessity for the enormous expense of any such survey.

In October 1866 he was offered fifty pounds for his plans and given 25 copies of same.

The inns in the town were of a superior character, Mitchell's was declared to be 'clean and good and charges not excessive', while Long's establishment was the favourite haunt of judges from Adelaide when attending the circuit court and, as for the quality of the beer, it was declared to be 'the best I have tasted in Australia and it is of colonial manufacture, being brewed at Castlemaine.'

The Plight of the Aborigines

In May 1862, a poor blackfellow named Jim Crow was lying in the police paddock at Mount Gambier for several days in a pitiable condition from a severe attack of inflammation of the lungs and had no shelter beyond a piece of bark and no covering except a remnant of a blanket. To this event the Editor of the *Border Watch* opined that, 'in the midst of a Christian community, it was a pity that he had to lie outside and die like a dog' and had it not been for the

kindness of Mrs Wehl he would have remained there. Taking umbrage at this report Mr Egan, the Crown Ranger at Tarpeena and responsible locally for the Aborigines' general welfare, addressed the *Border Watch*:

The lady deserves much praise who not only saved poor Jim Crow from 'joining his old companions in the land of spirits' but saved the good, pious people of Mount Gambier from the serious charge of allowing one poor blackfellow taken suddenly ill... to die from starvation at their doors...

You forgot to mention there is a depot at Tarpeena, where all sick, infirm and destitute aborigines who choose to go there are daily supplied with rations, and a blanket given to them... Jim Crow is well acquainted with that fact as you are for he has been there with his lubra, Louie, and they have had rations and a blanket given to them. It is therefore his own fault that he is destitute... On the 3rd of this month I visited the blacks in the police paddock there. I offered to remove old King Charley to Tarpeena in a cart. I saw Jim Crow and he appeared to be in good health then...

To this heartless epistle the Editor responded:

Mr Egan truly says that the blackfellow prefers his mia-mia in the bush, and his wandering mode of life, to the most comfortable mansion that can be prepared for him. We have no desire to see mansions erected for the accommodation of these creatures while they are in a state of health, but we certainly think an asylum is the most suitable place for them when they are sick.

No doubt they are very tenderly cared for and nursed at Tarpeena but then they do not happen to be at Tarpeena when they fall sick... Does Mr Egan mean that [Jim Crow] was in a fit state to go there? Or does he mean us to infer that Jim should have had a few days notice of his approaching illness and should have started off immediately to that happy retreat...

In June 1863 the Editor of the *Border Watch* informed his readers of further evidence of the apparent neglect of Mr Egan:

We print the following for [his] benefit... and to show that our remarks on the condition of the sick blacks were not out of place. In a letter to Mr Egan, Dr Graham said:

I address this note to you hoping you will do something for a poor black woman that has got her hip out of joint. She has lain for a month and cannot walk at all. If you do something for her it will be a great charity. This black woman has been lying for a month within a few miles of Allandale [*sic*] and yet her case has not attracted the attention of the Ranger...

This state of affairs prompted a citizen with a modicum of Christian charity to say:

There are a large number of them continually wandering around Mount Gambier dependent in a great measure for relief upon the beneficence of charitably-disposed persons. In the face of these things, then, the establishment of an asylum for Aborigines at Mount Gambier is the only means by which these miserable and unfortunate creatures can obtain that relief to which they are entitled at the hands of government...

However, this suggestion did not meet with the approval of Dr Clindening, the medical officer in the Mount Gambier district, who was of the opinion that no additional depot should be established because it would entail a great deal of additional labour on the officers and would, in no way, add to the comfort of the natives, and further:

All the able bodied men found employment in wood cutting, but their habits were so migratory and their movements so uncertain that they cannot be depended upon for any length of time and on this account the greater number of them were unemployed.

Great misery was caused among them by the fact that irresponsible settlers provided them with intoxicating drink which caused fighting and quarrelling among them.

By 1863, there were but a few Aborigines remaining in the immediate district and, throughout the winter months, they suffered a good deal when Dr Byass, with a degree of humanity, administered medicine to them free of charge and the local correspondent again raised the name of their supposed 'Protector', Mr Egan:

I feel satisfied that my bringing their case under the notice of Mr Egan will at once induce him to order a supply of rations for their use and see that in future they have regular medical attendance now that we have a resident doctor...

A 'well-known blackfellow', Bobby, died at Benaira [*sic*] station in May 1864 where he had been suffering from a lingering disease for several months:

He was one of the most intelligent of the blacks and had considerable knowledge of the Scriptures and of a future state. Before dying a considerable number of the blacks gathered around him and he warned them very earnestly of the evil of their ways and advised them to give up swearing and drinking. He expressed a firm hope of going to heaven himself and wished them all to be good and get there too.

The year 1865 saw many Aborigines frequenting the town where their favourite camp sites were the police paddock and a property owned by Mrs Mitchell at Hedley Park and, in March of that year, two of them died and were buried in Mrs Mitchell's paddock the first being 'Old Polly' who was generally 'well liked here as being very handy and good tempered.' The next was Neddy McRae, belonging to the Casterton district, and he was in the town receiving medical treatment having had the cap of his knee knocked out.

In the same month, at the Licensing Court the magistrate, Mr Lyon, informed the applicants that the government was determined to stop the practice of supplying drink to the blacks and that if any of them transgressed they would have their licence taken away. He referred to an orgy on Benara Station, where 20 or 30 drunken blacks set to and broke one another's skulls and suggested that if it became a weekly occurrence the race would soon be exterminated.

He concluded with the comment that: 'Will not the outrage of the Avenue [Range station] find many a parallel when drink becomes abundant?' (*See under 'Avenue Range' in nomenclature text.*)

Later, Mr Egan commented on this episode:

As is customary a good many of them were employed about the sheep during the shearing; they earned about £25... All the money was invested in grog [which they] obtained from stores where they could get whisky and rum at £1 per gallon. Many of the shearers and other workmen brought bottles of spirits as a decoy to the lubras and took them into the scrub for an improper purpose...

I have recommended in a former letter that the government should give no encouragement to these poor creatures to remain about towns where they have every facility for obtaining grog...

To these sad events a concerned citizen addressed his neighbours with a gentle lecture on Christian ethics and the fate of two further ill-fated Aborigines:

There is something melancholy in the thought that the Aborigines... are rapidly passing away and that the work of extermination seems in great measure to be owing to passive neglect of the people who occupy their lands. It is true that in their semi-civilised state they are rendered more liable to disease, especially rheumatism and consumption, than in their primitive condition when the opossum rug took the place of the blanket, and hunting and fishing supplied their wants liberally; but yet kind and persevering efforts in the localities they resort to could teach them, and teach to the young at least, something that might elevate their social and moral condition...

Two interesting youths of the Rivoli Bay tribe known as Harry and the Duke of Wellington, each aged 19 years, affected with diseases of the lungs lived for some time in a mia-mia near the site of the new jail in the police paddock. Their subsistence was very precarious, being absent from their tribe, and but for the sympathy and kindness of some good neighbours they would probably have perished as they were unable to do much for themselves.

Mrs Smith... supplied them with many comforts and eventually, at their request, [having referred] to her as 'their Mother', had them brought to her homestead on her dray a few days prior to their removal by death which occurred 12 or 14 hours [later]... Harry, alarmed at his friend's death... before morning called out, 'Come, come, I die.' They did all they could to restore him but he quickly sank and died, first witnessing that 'the great sinner was washed from his sins and forgiven' and his last words were, 'Tell them', (that is the blacks), 'what Jesus did.' and died... Two little mounds besides the late Mr Smith's homestead mark the graves of these young men. They were wrapped in their blankets and thus lowered to the grave as no provision had been made for either a coffin or free burial in the cemetery.



The home of Mr & Mrs Smith in Mount Gambier, built in 1855

This appeal prompted a suggestion that:

Before the winter sets in could not some money be collected to erect a shed in the police paddock to shelter these poor people from the severity of the weather? Five or six have died since February and in almost every case from disease of the lungs - contracted from their exposure in the wretched hovels they put up - lying on damp ground with wet blankets and wind and rain penetrating their wurlies...

At this time, it was more than evident that the Aborigines use of the land, together with customs going back for thousands of years, were slowly, but surely, being all but exterminated by the intrusion of the British settler and the accompanying laws and diseases of their so-called 'civilisation'. (*See Appendix 46*)

A concerned citizen opined that the white 'invaders' had taken their country and:

Brought amongst them all the vices of civilization with very little of its virtues. These vices have been carrying them off wholesale and at no distant day the black man will be as much a curiosity as the bunyip. Why should we accelerate the pace? Why should we be recklessly guilty in the matter? We may not be able to avert the extinction of the race, but in common humanity, we should do what little we can to stay the rate of mortality and at least extend to the black the attentions we give even the brute creation...

Additional Social Matters in the 1860s

A new gaol was built in the late 1860s when it was noted that cases of drunkenness had increased by 50% in the preceding six months and this was due to the 'introduction of the sixpenny nobbler.'

The gaol was a plain looking building, and evidently designed before the fashion was adopted of making the public pay through the nose for architectural filigree in Government buildings. It comprised two sections, each having a spacious yard, 160 feet by 100, with five cells attached to the one and six to the other. These were intended for male and female departments, but the sex, usually privileged, was made to give way to debtors under arrest.

The whole place was badly arranged and very insecure. Indeed, one prisoner had escaped at Guichen Bay by boring a hole through the walls and, therefore, the cells were lined immediately with iron plates, but no such provision was undertaken at Mount Gambier. They were badly ventilated; there was no provision made for sick prisoners, nor any means of enabling those sentenced to hard labour, to perform it.

By August 1868, prisoners sentenced to hard labour at the gaol:

Passed their time in eating, drinking and sleeping without doing the slightest work to relieve the government of the burden of their support but this situation was remedied when the District Council of Gambier West sought their services in breaking metal

When Dr Peel came to the town in the mid-1860s, the authorities had chosen a site for the hospital near the gaol on the lower slopes of the Mount and within the influence of the heavy fogs prevailing in the valley at its foot, in which the town stood. He recognised, at once, the advantages of having it on a higher level and urged his opinion so strongly that it was adopted and his choice of position accepted. The foundation stone was laid on 12 February 1867 by Mr James C. Lyon.

By 1869, it comprised one wing and its architecture was of the Italian Gothic order. There was a tower in the centre of each wing and another in the centre of the main front:

Neither of them, judging from the design, is worthy of the name and the one that is erected is eminently suggestive of a compromise between the top of a pepper castor and an extinguisher. Three such abortions would make hideous a finer pile of masonry than even this hospital will... when completed it had a capacity of 72 beds present. However, there is good accommodation inside.

In January 1867, the most disastrous fire that ever visited the district swept in upon Mount Gambier from the west. During the previous ten days bush fires raged on the Glencoe run and, on more than one occasion, they came up to the boundary of the farms but were always 'beat back without doing any harm.' But on Saturday, 12 January, the wind blew, as if from a furnace, from the North West and, towards the afternoon, from the South West. This change was the cause of a good deal of extra injury for the fire was whirled about in a most unexpected manner.

At about midday the inhabitants of the town looked with alarm at a dense column of smoke rising over Compton but, as no messenger came with evil tidings, they began to feel reassured that the fire was in the Glencoe scrubs. This comfortable assurance was dispelled rudely when Mr Varley drove into the town shouting 'Fire'. Large troops of citizens hurried off to the scene - four to seven miles distant - and lent a willing aid to check its progress. The damage done was estimated at upwards of £10,000.

In hindsight, Mr James Umpherston, Chairman of the Mount Gambier East District Council, said:

This fire shows the absurdity of keeping Rangers who give more annoyance to the settlers than all the good they do; and by saving the feed on the roads render them the greatest source of danger the district has. In this case it is affirmed that but for the district road from Compton to Vause's being in such a rough state with feed, the fire could easily have been stopped at Leake's fences.

Mr Vause went a little further and said he had applied to the police and asked for an inquest to be held because, on the morning of the fire, 'Old Buonaparte', one of Mr Leake's shepherds, had attempted to burn the grass round his hut when it got away from him and it was this fire that 'came in and burned the Compton farms.'

However, if the fire was the result of an incendiary the offender was never prosecuted, but a warning was issued to smokers when the Editor of the *Border Watch* informed his readers that a man had been 'fined 30 shillings for smoking his pipe in a stubble field.' At this time, the Institute was housed in a wooden building whose principal room - used as a reading room - was of a fair size, but a visitor complained that:

I am at a loss to imagine what possible temptation there can be to resort to it. On the table I saw copies of two Mount Gambier newspapers, a Portland and one or two other Victorian newspapers and there were an imperfect file of the *Adelaide Observer*, one or two numbers of *Punch* and odd numbers of other newspapers. But there was not a single magazine, review or other periodical lying on the table - the explanation of this being that members had been in the habit of walking off with them. The library was locked away in another room... It was with regret that I heard of the prevalence of insobriety for there were no fewer than 180 convictions for drunkenness during the preceding 12 months in and around the township.

A Government grant of £1,000 was forthcoming in 1866 and attempts were made to raise the additional £600 required to erect a building by concerts etc., but insufficient funds were forthcoming.

On the domestic front, in May 1867 a town crier appeared in the form of a youth who, with bell in hand, and the aid of powerful lungs, announced that a sale was to be held 'at the O and F Hall', while Mr Sellwood, watchmaker, erected, in front of his premises, a large clock to intimate the time of day to which the *Border Watch* proudly proclaimed that it would 'indicate Mount Gambier time'.

In the realm of sport, football teams were fielded by the respective cricket clubs and games played on a 'green' at the rear of Clark's foundry but, in August 1867, the Mount Gambier Football Club was formed closely followed by the Tradesmen's Football Club in May 1868 - eleven from each club met late in August 1867 (*sic*), the former team

winning by four goals to nil. The match was not without an argument or two when one goal became the subject of a slight contention 'bearing out the remarks we have made on several occasions that no match should be played without an umpire having been appointed, thereby preventing the bickering...'

By June 1868, there were three 'clocks' in the town, namely, Mr Clarke's bell 'which guides so many', at the Telegraph Office, and one over the door at Mr Cochrane's establishment. However, much confusion was caused due to the disparity in the times displayed by them. In November 1868, the government erected a clock 'in front of the Telegraph Office' and the local press suggested that it was 'something of an anomaly that what may be looked upon as a town clock should give Adelaide [instead] of Mount Gambier time...'

By way of explanation, in Queensland a *Standard Time Act* came into force on 1 January 1895, while those passed in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia became effective on 1 February 1895. From that day when the hour of the day was noon in any part of Western Australia it was one o'clock in any part of South Australia and two o'clock in all portions of the three eastern states; Tasmania was, presumably, included in this zone, but was not mentioned specifically.

The observance of standard time in South Australia caused considerable inconvenience, delay and confusion on the part of business people and others, while our mercantile firms were placed at a great disadvantage when conducting interstate business. Further, sporting, athletic people and the agricultural community were known to favour a reduction of the hour difference with the eastern states. Accordingly, as from 1 May 1899 the difference was reduced to half an hour.

Returning to the local scene; home gardens were subjected to depredations of opossums and 'notwithstanding that during the full of the moon hundreds [were] shot nightly, there [was] not any perceptible diminution in their numbers.' Another hazard was uncleared chimneys and, although the town possessed a professional chimney sweep, many residents failed to clear their houses of accumulated soot and, accordingly, it was not uncommon to find 'fire pouring forth' from chimneys and, as there was no organised fire brigade, most fires of any magnitude were just left to burn themselves out.

As for home gardens and the slug menace, Mr W.A. Crouch of Lowan advised all interested residents of a remedy, namely, 'sprinkling redgum sawdust over the parts affected by the pest.' The housewife also suffered on other fronts because firewood became scarce and expensive due to the 'improvidence of those who, in clearing their land in this district resorted to burning off instead of topping and tailing the fallen timber and stacking the butts which sooner or later could bring them a very handsome sum', while the winter months saw the return of the dreaded whooping cough among children, a remedy for which was described as follows:

Take a bundle of water cress and put it with about two tablespoons of crystallized sugar, bruise them well together, then strain off the juice, of which give a dose regularly.

A few years later an outbreak of diphtheria caused considerable alarm and Dr Jackson advised the residents to see that the ventilation of every house was thoroughly attended to and 'to open all windows and keep them open and to visit all cesspools and other places emitting unpleasant smells and disinfect them with either chloride of lime, carbolic acid, or Burnett's disinfectant or Condy's fluid.'

At the same time, an Editor of the Adelaide press commented that, 'as this disease has occasionally manifested itself in the colony before' he reproduced a letter from the *London Times* that included an alleged cure:

Chlorine gas, administered in doses of from five to 20 minims of a saturated solution, in an ounce of water, with a little syrup added seems to exert a most beneficial influence on the march and progress of the disease... The external treatment consists in the application of sinapisms, vinegar toasts, or spirits of turpentine, by means of a warm flannel.

In respect of civic morality, the year of 1867 saw reports of the 'social evil' obtaining dimensions in the town:

It is self evident that persons following their lawful avocations and proceeding homewards, as many are obliged to after dark, are either to be mobbed or solicited by a number of abandoned women to their very disgust. This kind of thing must be put down...

Carried out by mail guards, a mail delivery to private residences commenced from 3 November 1867, but many nuisances were confronted as they perambulated the streets of Mount Gambier.

For example, a disgruntled citizen enquired:

Is it a nuisance to have pigs, goats, cows and horses running about the streets and entering people's gardens? I think so. Is it a nuisance to throw out baskets full of oyster shells on the streets, piles of old leather and other debris?

I think so. I may be singular in my opinion for the aforesaid four-legged nuisances are to be met with all over the town, while the latter abounds at the well known rookery that now graces the centre of the town.

A decade later the problem still persisted:

The Inspector of Public Nuisances gave notice to several owners of pigs to clean out their styes. In one instance the owner had been ill of typhoid for about three weeks and could not attend to it. His wife has sold the pig and cleaned out the sty...

In April 1868 the English sparrow, described as 'this impudent little bird', was introduced to Mount Gambier by Mr Long of the South Australian Hotel when he released seven of them, expressing a wish that 'sportsmen will not shoot nor boys entrap these little feathered strangers who, although they will take toll of the orchard, are found to be an invaluable friend to the farmer.'

The Editor of the *Border Watch* supported Mr Long and hoped the birds would receive the protection of those whose society they 'may seek and not be wantonly shot down under a pretext of their predatory habits.' A month later, a Mr Stapleton let loose a further fifteen birds and, by January 1869, over 30 sparrows were found disporting themselves in the yard of the Commercial Mill and as 'they are to be found in other parts of the district it is clear that the Mount is found to be most congenial to their habits.' By late October 1875 a cave in the town, enlarged by quarrying for stone, was frequented by thousands of sparrows and used as a nesting place.

Not to be outdone, twelve months later Mr Riddoch, MP, purchased some pheasants in Adelaide and hoped that 'like the English sparrows at Mount Gambier, [would] take kindly to the soil and climate and increase abundantly.' However, he only had moderate success in rearing young birds because, in the first season, only six were added to his flock from a total of 120 eggs that were set.

However, within two decades growers of barley, within easy reach of the town, were complaining bitterly of the ravages of the sparrows which:

Appeared to be extremely partial to barley and set to work in the most methodical way to strip the heads...
They have already polished off Mr Umpherston's crop at the Caves... It is clear something must be done
and the protected Farmers' Club might deal with this matter if established.

The inaugural meeting of the desired body was held in the Council Chambers in May 1880 when it was resolved that if 30 members were not secured within three weeks the club would lapse. Indeed, a fortnight later not a single name had been received and this prompted the Editor of the *Border Watch* to proclaim that 'the immovable apathy on the part of our farmers is extraordinary.'

As for the sparrows, in Adelaide, a few found their way there and were 'welcomed, cherished and encouraged to do their best to replenish the earth' while 'a cosy nursery' was found for them at the Botanic Gardens. However, away from this sanctuary they were considered to be pests with 'at least one redeeming point' in that they were fond of locusts while their size 'precluded the use of them in a pie.'

By October 1881, sparrows were present in great numbers throughout the district and ate most of the soft fruits and cherries long before they were ripe and it was useless to attempt to grow fruit without covering the trees with netting. Sergeant Field was responsible with the duty of distributing the government reward for their destruction together with their eggs - he advised that he could not take neither less than 100 eggs nor 60 heads.

At the end of the year he reported that he had 'paid out for 4,600 eggs and 348 heads - £6-9-6 since the government offered a reward.'

In 1869, the main corner of the town was occupied by a hotel built by Mr Mitchell and conducted by Mr McKay.

Opposite stood the National Bank, while the others were occupied by the Post Office 'quite unworthy of the architectural style sustained by private house owners' and the English, Scottish and Australian Chartered Bank. Turning eastward the principal buildings and places of business were the new Institute and Hall, the *Mount Gambier Standard* and *Border Watch* offices, Long's South Australian Hotel, a row of handsome shops occupied by Mr Oubrey, J.M. Nobe's Furniture and Land Mart, Mr William's mill, other shops occupied by Brooks and Muirhead, A. Macgeorge, W.A. Cronde [*sic* - Crouch?], N.A. Lord, etc., and Finlay McKay's foundry.

The Institute was entitled to precedence, both from spirit and liberality with which it is supported, and the practical advantages it affords. At suitable seasons of the year periodical literary and musical entertainment afforded a constant source of intellectual enjoyment.

They were usually held once a fortnight, admission was sixpence and the proceeds which averaged about £100 per annum were, of course, devoted to the purpose of the Institute.

The subscribers to the Institute were called together to decide whether card playing should be added as new feature to its attractions... A section of the members for the time being have no more right to make of it a retreat for card players than they would have to convert their churches into concert halls or theatres.

It is community of ideas that gather people together in sections - bird of a feather flock together - and we would no more like to see cards, dice and billiards engrafted on the programmes of our Institutes than we would on our schools and churches... The legislature wisely prohibits card playing in public houses. They were there found to be a source of evil, they would be far more so in an Institute...

To the westward of the junction were Blackwell Brothers' extensive premises, Clark's iron foundry, Wehl & Co's mills, some handsome private residences and a great variety of other buildings devoted to innumerable purposes of trade. Going southward there were the telegraph offices, Christ Church - one of the handsomest edifices of the kind in the colony - the Court House which was 'equally ugly and inconvenient' and the Police Station.

Prominent among new buildings in the town were Mr Maas's with a commodious billiard room at the back, Mr McGuigan, tobacconist, Mr Hiller, tailor and Mr Williams, butcher. A Saturday market commenced on 12 March 1870 but, after five weeks, the holders of produce found it all but impossible to effect sales even at ruinously low rates - 'as a consequence money [was] "tight" and among all classes there was more or less monetary pressure.'

Higher on the rise was Hedley Park, the elegant residence of Mrs Mitchell who, from the extent of her landed possessions in and around the town, could have been considered the 'lady of the manor' in Mount Gambier, the residence of E.H. Derrington and, finally, the hospital.

The velocipede made its first appearance in Commercial Street on 3 July 1869 by courtesy of Mr Charles Clark of the Mount Gambier Foundry. The machine was a tricycle and a trial showed it had weak framework and he stated his intention to devote 'attention to the production of a first-class article.'

Two weeks later Mr Williams, of the South Eastern Foundry, propelled his creation around the town following which he offered to run his velocipede against Mr Clark's.

The challenge never eventuated but, in September 1869, the citizens were shown the capabilities of the 'bicycle' when several members of Burton's Circus, at the request of Mr Clark who supplied the machine, took an airing on it along the road to Penola:

The new steed does not impress us favourably, but it is right to state that two of the gentlemen who took a turn on it showed great expertness in its management and drove it around in a circle with almost as much ease as they would on a circus horse.

Within a month they were the subject of comment from the Council of Gambier West which had written to owners of machines with a view to inducing them to ride them in less frequented streets than Commercial Street:

It is short of a miracle that some serious accident has not already happened from the way they have been driven about and if the lads who use them do not have some respect for the public wish in the matter they need not be surprised if they get into trouble some day over the matter.

Several complaints were received in March 1870 from Bay Road carters of 'the serious annoyance' caused by a man riding a velocipede when several mishaps occurred and they hoped that he would 'take his exercise on a less frequented road.'

At this time, innocent amusements were provided by travelling entertainers and among the treats provided was a roundabout located on a vacant allotment opposite the Mount Gambier Hotel where it:

Provided a considerable amusement, not only to children but to those of larger growth who may be seen occasionally booted and spurred seated on one of the wooden horses and going around the circle with a gravity of countenance that proves highly refreshing to the spectator. Judging from the fee demanded and the amount of custom we should consider the roundabout a very profitable affair.

All was well, provided such events did not take place on a Sunday. Indeed, in colonial South Australia the Protestant churches regarded Sunday public entertainments as unhealthy signs of a threat to the sacredness of the day. They contended that the Sabbath day was 'instituted by God for man's sake and it might be said that it was a law of nature. Laws of nature were laws of God and to violate the laws of holiness led to man suffering.'

Therefore, in the interests of the working man, it was of primary importance to preserve, without violation, the sacredness of the Lord's Day.

In June 1869, a correspondent, who undoubtedly supported the edicts emanating from the clergy, wrote to the *Border Watch* expressing his horror at Sunday desecration within the township:

I look upon it as the duty of the press, when the pulpit fails, to bring before the public notice a practice which in itself is very reprehensible. Scarcely a Sunday passes in Mount Gambier, but a scene is enacted on the road to or near the Blue Lake. Young men and overgrown boys have been seen indulging in all sorts of 'little games' much to the annoyance of those who take a legitimate walk in that locality on a Sunday afternoon. I had hoped that the time for racing and other pastimes in Mount Gambier had been limited to week days without infringing on the Sundays - which should be devoted to other pursuits.

Ten years later, Mr Louis G. Ehret announced that he intended to run a pleasure bus to Port MacDonnell on Sundays and, in reply to a complaint made in the *South Eastern Star*, he said that, as a public servant for many years, he had to deliver Her Majesty's mails on Sunday and pointed out that excursion trains also ran on the Sabbath day and concluded that, being a German by birth, it was the 'custom of his country to go to church, do his duty to God and then enjoy the gifts of nature.'

From the early days of the colony an irresponsible section of the youth, not having any wedding bells to ring upon the occasion of a local marriage, achieved no little note throughout the length and breadth of the land for the 'brilliant way in which they triumphed over difficulties and, lacking bells, religiously devoted their whole energies to a proper observance of the tin-kettling ceremony.'

That the performance invariably gave dire offence to the parties, whom it is intended to honour, did not, for a moment, induce those sticklers for etiquette to abate one iota their whole hideous programme, and the victims of the unwelcome serenade, together with their disturbed neighbours, were obliged to grin and bear it - 'Tis a custom of the country', and therefore to be winked at by the police.

In September 1869, two men belonging to the tin-kettling brigade, who were anxious to do honour to the host of the Globe Inn on the occasion of his entering the matrimonial state, received a salutary lesson when the magistrate ordered them to pay a fine of ten shillings each for the offence. To this, the Editor of the *Border Watch* hoped that it would act as a warning for the future and that the 'good old custom' would be allowed to fall into disuse.

Two months later, on 5 November 1869, Guy Fawkes' Day was honoured by troops of school children, bearing more or less fantastically dressed Guy's and levying blackmail on the good natured for more exciting fun in the evening. At the same time, the employees and men about Mount Schank, to the number of nearly 100, did honour to the event by burning the effigy of the illustrious political offender - 'The figure of Guy was an excellent representation and was accompanied by a nondescript band got up especially the occasion.'

At this time in South Australia, where complete toleration and the absence of all official connection between the Church and the State, were two principles firmly engrafted upon the national constitution, there would be just as much reason in denouncing by effigy-burning, or similar displays, the spirit of bigotry and persecution that prevailed in the early years of the 17th century, as in committing to the flames quantities of old clothes intended to represent a

man who suffered on the scaffold for criminal designs which were really the outcome of the same spirit of hatred and intolerance.

What would the renegade zealot, mouldering to dust while the centuries have passed over his sorry grave, have said could he but have seen this modern burlesque of himself? How cruelly ironical that the austere religious Englishman, whose whole life was steeped in renunciation and grim severity, should come down through the ages as a clown, a mountebank, an object of scorn and derision and doomed to eternal burlesque so long as there were children on the earth to chant that ridiculous doggerel:

*Guy, guy, guy. Put him up high -
Put him on a lamp post and there let him die.*

However, the yearly incidence of 'nerve-shattering, money-wasting and senseless celebration' suggested to many that the 'celebration' should be abandoned and that:

The juvenile population would be much better employed in celebrating Foundation Day or Empire Day with more patriotism and less noise. Australians, however, are the last people in the world to relinquish a custom which provides pleasure and excitement; and, unless the sale of crackers and similar 'instruments of the dead' should be legally forbidden, Guy Fawkes Day will die as slowly as rich men, whose sorrowful relatives are waiting to step into their shoes.

Later, in November 1880, the Police Court administered a timely warning to two boys, Henry Stafford and Donald McPherson, and fined them five shillings each for igniting fire crackers in the street, while some boys 'of the larrikin class,' who were addicted to 'stand in dark corners in the evening and throw fireworks on ladies as they passed by,' were warned that the police had 'received strict instructions to arrest all offenders they might find.'

On 6 January 1869, a sports day was held near the Farmers' Inn where there was, inter alia, catching a pig with a greasy tail, climbing a greasy pole having upon the top a new bridle, the reward of the successful aspirant, jumping in sacks, wheeling barrows blindfolded, grinning through a horse collar, etc.

Mount Gambier & its Water Supply

Twice or thrice they nearly got water laid on to the town - once they even got the pipes out from England, but they were sent away from the Mount to Adelaide.

Two or three times they nearly got gas, but the scheme exploded and in 1883 the subject was raised again and as the water pipes were spreading throughout the town they may summon up unanimity to go in for gas.

(Register, 5 February 1883)

In 1868, Mr James Barrow, a resident of the town, proposed a system utilising artesian wells, the main argument against the Blue Lake as a source of supply was simply one of economy:

There are several beautiful lakes in the vicinity in addition to underground streams and there is a rugged cavern in the centre of the town containing a mass of water which, however, is very odorous. The tradespeople and residents obtain their ordinary supplies from wells 80 to 100 feet deep by means in most cases of that primitive appliance the windlass. The water thus obtained is neither profuse in quantity nor super excellent in quality...

Ten years later, the same gentleman took levels of the Blue Lake with a view of enabling the estimates for the work to be laid before parliament and, shortly thereafter, the Hydraulic Engineer visited the town and caused much concern when he announced that he was satisfied that the water of the Valley Lake could be utilised because it was considerably purer than that supplied to Adelaide. The pumping works were to be behind the hospital where the lake was about 60 feet deep.

By 1878, it had been suggested that the town's water supply could be satisfied by utilising Lake Leake and a scheme was submitted by Messrs Davey & Co. of Melbourne but rejected because the lake's water was of bad quality and the cost estimated at £64,000. At this time the district was drought stricken, tanks were all but dry, wells 'giving out' while water carting had become a regular trade.

The corporation objected to the venue because it would interfere with bathing, boating, etc. but, undeterred, the government drilled an experimental shaft in the bank of the Valley Lake behind the hospital to test whether the water could be reached at that point without coming in contact with the hard lava trap that surrounded it. Accordingly, it was considered that no alteration could be made in the selection of the site for the water supply because 'serious engineering difficulties would have to be overcome elsewhere.'

Further, the site selected was 'well suited for getting a plentiful and cheap supply of wholesome water' and, of course, the citizens were assured that lake would be 'securely enclosed as a water reserve.'

Following debate at public meetings the citizens declared in favour of a regular water supply from one of the lakes and Parliament approved a scheme; a loan of £20,000 was sanctioned, the pipes ordered from England and landed at Port Adelaide.

The first idea was to take the water from the Valley Lake, but that sheet of water having been used for watering cattle and bathing purposes for many years, the inhabitants protested against the scheme.

The government then determined to pump water from the Blue Lake to a reservoir above and then let it flow down to the town by way of pipes. To meet the cost a special rate was suggested to meet this expenditure. This, however, dampened the ardour of the ratepayers and although the government offered not to charge interest for some years, the offer was not accepted.

A government engineer, Oswald Brown, gave Mount Gambier water from the Blue Lake with a pumping station and reservoir, while Christopher Jobson carried out this work and the reticulation. Finally, in 1883 the water was laid on at Mount Gambier:

The level of water in the Blue Lake was 80 feet below the post office in the town so that it was necessary to pump it up to a reservoir on the highest point of the lip of the crater. On a jutting promontory of the lake a picturesque building was erected. Two or three attempts were made to put a boat on the lake but the unfortunate propensity of the larrikins to destroy everything useful thwarted all efforts to maintain a boat. Sometimes cattle slipped into it and, in May 1885, a carcass had to be dragged with ropes to a place where it could be cut up and removed. This was accomplished at great risk to life and limb to those who were engaged in the novel operation, which could have been avoided if a boat was at hand. .

The Cultivation of Sugar Beet

In March 1870 a meeting was held at Mount Gambier of persons interested in sugar beet cultivation, but it was not until 8 July 1871 at a gathering of interested persons in the Gambier West Council Chamber that it was stated that promises had been obtained for 2,000 shares to be taken up in the proposed company.

Accordingly, a prospectus was issued on 19 July 1871 for the Mount Gambier Beet Sugar Company Limited with a nominal capital of £10,000 the promoters being C. Fidler, N.A. Lord, A.F. Barrett, A.W. McGregor, E.H. Derrington, W. Paltridge, J. Frew, T. Williams, C. Clark, J.K. Bors and C. Engelbrecht.

The government of South Australia voted £1,000 as a bonus for the first 100 tons of sugar manufactured in the colony, while the Secretary of the Sugar Beet Committee offered £5 towards the analysing of sugar beet grown in the district.

A favourable letter was received in respect of the progress of a Melbourne company and it was resolved to distribute a quantity of pure beet seed among the shareholders and, accordingly, about 60 acres of sugar beet were planted in the 1871 season. Later, a sample of sugar was sent to Melbourne for analysis and yields from 5 to 11 lbs. per hundredweight were reported and this result was deemed to be very favourable when compared with sugar beet produced in European countries.

To assist in getting the infant industry off the ground a local farmer, Mr J.F. Hirth, said he was anxious to see a manufacturing plant established and prepared to place at its disposal from 20 to 40 acres of first class land for beet growing and to lease up to 10 acres for the erection of a factory, while the Editor of the *Border Watch* was of the opinion that:

Our soil is becoming exhausted and foul - a crop is wanted that will yield something like a fair return for putting the land in heart again and getting rid of the weeds. It now looks as if it were to be - beet and prosperity and progress; or no beet, and the gradual abandonment of agricultural operations.

Unfortunately, within 15 months the scheme had collapsed and:

The truth of the matter is that a beet-sugar factory cannot be established at an expense less than some £8,000 or £10,000 and to raise that amount it is necessary that the moneyed men of the colony should come forward and take up shares. But unfortunately, this is the sort of thing that they are disinclined to do.

Therefore, in October 1872 the company was wound up and, having a final tilt at inherent foibles within management, the *Border Watch* proclaimed that:

Its promoters ran well but it was not long before they discovered that they had started before they were ready.

The company was scarcely floated when the directors found they were all at sea as to the work before them.

They had to open up communications with Europe as to machinery, method of working, etc., and it is not at all wonderful that the year of grace allowed them by the *Limited Liability Act* expired ere they had mastered the situation and were ready for a start...

For the remainder of the 19th century the press is silent but, in 1912 at a public meeting in Mount Gambier, it was resolved to seek the assistance of the local branch of the Agricultural Bureau in planting experimental plots and, by 1921, they were established at Millicent and Penola and proved so successful that the construction of a factory was mooted.

Into the 1870s

Potatoes are an excellent feed for both horses and cattle. For dairy cows they improve both the quality and quantity of milk... At Mount Gambier cows almost universally eat potatoes and many of them are so fond them that they will go to considerable trouble to get them when opportunity offers.

(*Border Watch*, 7 October 1876)

With the coming of this decade, a depression settled upon the district for crops suffered severely but not to the extent of other parts of the colony where over-cropping, since the early days of settlement, had made the land 'wheat sick'.

A brass band, comprising fifteen members, was formed in 1870 under the leadership of Herr Wackeldiene and, on the Prince of Wales birthday, celebrated on 9 September, it paraded the town at 10 a.m. playing 'favourite airs', while in the afternoon its venue was the Lakes where the great centre of attraction was a German picnic.

On New Year's Eve the band marched along Commercial Street playing spirited marches and, precisely at midnight, there was a 'general discharge of musketry... which was kept up for several minutes. Happily, there were no larrikin tricks committed to annoy the public as on the previous New Year's celebrations.'

Earlier, Mr W.J. Browne, of Moorak, offered to present a gift of £10 to the first band formed at Mount Gambier playing at his residence and, in February 1871, members of the Union Brass Band proceeded to that place and 'carried off the prize.'

It was during these festive celebrations that Mr John Purchase was engaged by 'a few spirited individuals' to patrol the town and keep a lookout for evil doers, after the 'regular guardians of the peace had retired' and he announced that he prevented many petty thefts and had no doubt would make the place 'too hot for prowlers'.

The aforementioned brass band had but a short life; however, in February 1874 a Temperance Brass Band was formed when it was said that 'it will be an acquisition to the place if, unlike the bands that have preceded it, it can only manage to keep together.'

Alas, this was not to be for, at a meeting held at the Globe Hotel in September 1874, it was resolved to form a brass band of 15 players under the 'able management of Herr F. Draeger' while, in September 1880, the Union Band was reformed with Mr Gust as the leader, Mr A. Hirth, secretary, and comprising 13 members.

During the night of 22 and 23 February 1871 Mount Gambier experienced a deluge when nearly 2½ inches of rain fell in about an hour resulting in the lower parts of the town being several feet under water. In one or two instances the torrent in the streets overflowed the footpaths and inundated several business premises.

A tremendous storm of wind and rain hit during the early morning of 6 May 1873 when it blew down scores of gigantic trees in its path, overturned chimneys and did much damage. Messrs Norman's mill was swayed to an angle of about 75 degrees and bore a resemblance to the leaning tower of Pisa; two windows in Mr Varley's house in the same street were blown into atoms; one of the chimneys of the South Australian Hotel, belonging to Mrs Long in Sturt Street, laid prostrate across the footpath and, beyond the town to the eastward, a blackwood tree was blown on to Mr J. Sutton's house and completely wrecked it. Larrikinism was rife and Dr Wehl suffered much inconvenience when his horses were let out of their stable on a systematic basis.

Determined to rectify the matter, a watchman was armed with a gun loaded with powder and saltpetre. Early on a Sunday morning the intruders were noticed crawling cautiously into the stable and, as they opened the door, a shot rang out causing the intruders to make a desperate leap that was followed by loud screaming and a disappearance into the darkness. It was conjectured that they would for some time 'have to practice standing up at meals, etc.'

During 1874, the rural scene was disturbed when Mr Williams of the Telegraph Mills introduced windmills to the district when he had one made by Mr Hinckley of Naracoorte and erected it on his farm at Yahl.

The following year Mr Charles Clark, of the Mount Gambier foundry, announced that he was to commence manufacturing windmills and his first machine was demonstrated on Mr George Shelton's farm and, with pump complete, erected at a cost of £50.

In August 1870, the Provincial Gas Company addressed a circular to a number of leading residents making enquiries as to the possibility of establishing gas works and, in April 1874, a resident of the town suggested that before the winter months arrived arrangements should be made to light the streets with kerosene lamps.

The following month Mr Varley brought up the question of lighting Commercial Street before the Gambier West Council and his idea was that a half dozen lamps, in addition to those then lit by the publicans and chemists, would be sufficient for the purpose.

To this the Editor of the *Border Watch* suggested that the postmaster might be asked, fairly, to maintain a lamp in front of the post office and another at the telegraph office but:

Our friends at Hamilton found it a very expensive undertaking with kerosene because the repairing and cleaning of lamps, breakage of chimneys, etc., was such a serious item that it had induced them to turn their attention to the question of supplying the town with gas.

At this time it was estimated that it would take 93 lamps to light the town at an initial cost of £250; the yearly cost of oil per lamp would be £4 per lamp and the cost of lighting, cleaning, etc., £2.10s. per lamp. The first response to the matter was in November 1874 when a 'handsome lamp post' was erected outside the post office and orders given for a lamp to be affixed to the pole opposite the telegraph office. By the close of 1874, a great scourge of the young - diphtheria - had assumed alarming proportions and the most fatal cases were brought into the town from Allandale (*sic*) where this fatal disease had settled down 'like a plague'. This ingress of patients alarmed the citizens of Mount Gambier because, when such outbreaks of contagious diseases occurred, the hospital had no provision for their reception and, in fact, they were excluded and accommodation found for them within the town.

To alleviate the problem a concerned resident of Millicent proffered the following remedy:

Take half an ounce of camphor; add half a pint of common brown vinegar; boil slowly with the lid on for 4 or 5 minutes. Then dip a piece of flannel in and wrap around the throat; also apply to chest and back, between shoulders as hot as bearable; one or two applications will be sufficient. Allow flannels to remain on for two or three hours. In all cases that have come to my notice I found that almost instantaneous relief was obtained...

At the same time a correspondent to the *Border Watch* drew attention to the need for sanitary reform and suggested that if there was a local Board of Health it would find 'enough dirt and filth in some localities to feed a plague' and he hoped that residents would aid the council inspector 'by suppressing what nuisances may be within their power':

If there is a slaughter house inspector, what is he about to allow Lee's slaughter yard to be kept in such a disgraceful state as it is in. There has been enough said about vegetable matter to accumulate, but I fancy if some of the reformers had stepped up our way they would have talked about animal matter too. The stench is frightful and during the late hot weather has been enough to breed a pestilence...

In neighbouring Claraville a resident had a complaint of a different kind:

For some time the inhabitants have been sadly annoyed and disgusted by the conduct of several prostitutes of the worst type who have located themselves there. It is no unusual thing to see these degraded wretches lying about the roads helplessly intoxicated or, what is worse, just drunk enough to insult with their blasphemous and filthy language whomsoever they chance to meet.

As the inhabitants of Claraville are for the most part mechanics with large families, and as there are only two public schools there - one of them only an allotment between it and a brothel - there can only be one opinion as to the importance of having these characters removed from the locality without delay...

I have seen a number of youths (some of them full-blown larrikins, others just budding) who should have been at home busy with their lessons, listening, instead, in great glee to the drunken rows in these dens...

Five years later, Mr M. Duigan, an Inspector engaged by the Board of Health, said that a complaint had been made by six ratepayers in Charles Street about Mrs Leammey's property, alleging that it was a 'house of ill-fame.' On a less contentious note he advised that permission had been given to the railway station master to use night soil collected there for manuring purposes.

Later, he was to upbraid several publicans who were asked to take remedial measures to prevent the overflow from urinals running onto the footpaths. In March 1881, Elizabeth Reedy was convicted for keeping a house of ill-fame in Commercial Street.

In 1874, there were four licensed schools in the town - one of them the property of the government and the other three owned or rented by the teachers. They were too small for the number of pupils attending them and, in one case, the overcrowding was so great that the teacher was warned by the Board of Education to either enlarge his premises or reduce the number of scholars.

By the close of this year, the public school was considered to be a relic of early Mount Gambier architecture, but completely out of date. It was ill-adapted for receiving additions - 'in fact it was like the old garment of scripture - a building that it would be a sheer waste of money to attempt to improve.' The absurd regulation of the Board of Education restricting the cost of government schools (including teachers' residences) to a sum not exceeding £400 had a most prejudicial effect on progress and was a 'hindrance to the establishment of small schools and small buildings to accommodate them.'

Fortunately, this rule was modified in late 1874 and, in January 1877, the tender of Robert Haig of £5,300 was accepted for the construction of a new State school and its foundation stone laid on 18 April 1877 by Mrs Watson, wife of the Mayor and formally opened by the Chief Secretary, Hon. William Morgan, on 12 January 1878.

October 1875 heralded the opening of the new carriage drive round the Blue Lake, when a procession led by a reformed Temperance Band and, followed by members of friendly societies, together with five or six vehicles of various descriptions, the leading one containing district councillors of the Gambier West body, the 'ensemble completed the circuit' amidst the noise of 'cannons' being fired on the north side of the lake, where a crowd was assembled and refreshments, both solid and liquid, provided liberally at two large booths.

Mr W.A. Crouch, one of the oldest inhabitants, advised that at the celebration of the new drive it was proposed to call it Boopik Terrace, the native name for a hill. He considered the name inappropriate and suggested that it should be *Warr Warr*, their name for the Blue Lake. At the same time he provided the following local nomenclature: Mount Gambier, *Powpee*; Valley Lake, *Yart-lumbow*; Punchbowl, *Thaduway*; Dr Browne's (Moorak), *Curralwaddie*; Mount Schank, *Parreen*; Township Cave, *Tuirchee*; Umpherston Cave, *Ballambull*; Mrs Mitchell's cave, *Cowan*.

By January 1876, another hazard, in the form of hay stack building in close proximity to houses in the town was condemned as being a fire risk and it was hoped that, when the corporation came into being, it would 'give early attention to the subject.'

On a happier note Messrs Watson & Wedd introduced a number of improvements to their photographic studio, including a solar camera by means of which the negatives could be enlarged to life size.

Invariably, typhoid fever followed the setting in of winter rains and Mr Varley, of the Gambier West Council, suggested this was due to the fact that residents dispensed with their well water and used that caught from the roofs which 'was not wholesome owing to it having filtered through unwholesome matter at the bottom of the tanks.'

His suggestion was commented upon in Adelaide by the Central Board of Health which concluded that 'zymotic diseases are so often traceable to impure water that all possible care should be taken to prevent its use for domestic purposes.'

The need for a corporate body, to look after the needs of the town, was canvassed in the local press following a public meeting held in the Gambier West Council chamber in July 1875 to consider the matter:

One of the most crying arguments for its formation is the necessity of sanitary reform... Medical men tell us that the accumulation of filth breed certain diseases and feeds other where they make their appearance and death reaps his largest harvest when sanitary laws are most set at defiance...

Other advantages that might be secured [is] a copious supply of good wholesome water... [further], greater security from fire would have the effect of reducing insurance premiums...

At first it had more advocates than opponents and, at a meeting late in August 1875, a proposal for incorporation was carried and no serious objection raised against the change and, at a subsequent meeting, 'the inhabitants stuck sturdily to "Mount Gambier" in spite of the apparent determination of the government departments to dub it "Gambierton" - the government will have to give way and call us by the name we have deliberately chosen.'

A census taken in 1876 showed that the town's population had decreased since 1871 – from 5,519 it had been reduced to 4,874 and, on 25 May 1876 the Corporation of the Town of Mount Gambier was gazetted and, 'inclusive of the lakes and forest reserve, it contained 2,048 acres and was about two miles in length from north to south and about a mile and a half in breadth from east to west.'

Some of the first tasks undertaken were to arrange with the Road Board to spread metal on the main roads running through the Corporation, calling tenders for the grubbing of trees and stumps in the Recreation Reserve, fencing the Cemetery Reserve and planting it with trees, planting a belt of gum trees in the Cave Reserve and prohibiting young boys from playing football thereon and instructing the surveyor to define the footpath on South Terrace from the Bay Road to the cemetery.

A little distance outside the corporation's boundary was the cemetery consisting of 17 acres, five of which were enclosed for burial purposes and, in October 1862, Mrs Newlands, the wife of the superintendent at Glencoe, 'died in childbed' and, for her burial, a hearse was used in Mount Gambier for the first time. This addition to the town's sophistication prompted the Editor of the *Border Watch* to pronounce that it was 'one of the indications of our social progress 'and conducting 'our funerals with the show of decency and respect.'

Among the monumental stones were many costly ones, not the least conspicuous of which was an obelisk erected by the ladies of Mount Gambier to the memory of 'Mary Jane Buchan, aged 19, who fell victim to the hands of an assassin, July 11, 1875' - the assassin being her 'lover' - the scene of the murder was a paddock, but a few yards from the public thoroughfare, where passers-by heard the screams of the unfortunate, but virtuous girl.

During the first half of 1876, the district suffered a severe depression and it was remembered that, in 1873, an attempt had been made by several farmers to compete with Warrnambool in the growth of potatoes. The speculation proved to be a success beyond the expectations of the most sanguine.

Large prices were realised by every producer and, in the face of extensive emigration to Horsham in Victoria where freehold land was obtainable on easy terms, there were many who believed that this new enterprise would establish the prosperity of the town on a firm basis.

Possessing the best land in the district, the soil surrounding the town bore comparison with the finest in Europe and was rushed, with 'fabulous rents' being demanded. House rents went up and many untenanted properties were soon occupied. Almost everything was sacrificed by the farmers to the new mania; pigs were done away with as a nuisance by many, while wheat growing was looked upon as something to be despised.

The next season turned out to be particularly dry and the crop was a partial failure. A good price, however, was obtained for what was sent to market. Nothing daunted, the following season saw every available piece of country for miles around covered with 'spuds'.

The season produced an enormous crop and bags stood in rows looking like 'many regiments of soldiers in perfect military order.'

Unfortunately, the shipping facilities at Port MacDonnell were not equal to the requirements at certain times of the year. This, combined with the open nature of the port and the many storms that swept over it, rendered the sending of produce a precarious matter and, for this reason, many tons of potatoes had to be destroyed. From the same cause many tons lay in the ground undug and it was hoped that that 'one of the first lines pushed forward by the government will be the Rivoli Bay railway.'

One of the great unsatisfied needs of the town was a public park and, to alleviate the problem, in November 1876 Dr W.J. Browne of Moorak offered to assist the corporation in purchasing a suitable block and it was suggested that negotiations be opened with the view of securing 'that section belonging to Mr Vansittart opposite the Grammar School.'

By 1877, many citizens were to complain about cows wandering about the town at night. Indeed, the Telegraph Office garden was a regular sufferer, while Mr Varley said that 'six foragers had broken into his garden' and did considerable damage and expressed deep concern that 'people habitually turned their cows out at night to graze on the streets.'

Ever watchful to his profession as a land agent and auctioneer, Mr Nobes introduced the African boxthorn hedge plant, 'which had lately come into favour in Victoria', to the district and opined that 'neither cats, hens, sheep nor bullocks would think of attempting to penetrate through the barrier of immensely strong, horrid spines.'

During the season of 1877, Mr Nobes raised 2,000 plants which he offered to the public and the author has recollections of the 1930s of a boxthorn hedge fronting 16 Wehl Street and what a bane it was to his life while attempting to keep it within bounds with the aid of clippers, ill adapted for the purpose.

There was no drainage in the town and every household was obliged to get rid of its waste as best it could and the most common plan was to dig a deep hole and let the offensive matter run into it. If this hole was sufficiently distant from the dwelling no great harm resulted but, as the blocks of the town got built upon, they got closer together and so much under the nose of residents that they were not only offensive, but dangerous to health. Indeed, there was no doubt that many back yards were no less than 'hot beds of disease' and many outbreaks of typhoid and kindred diseases that occurred periodically were due solely to their presence.

In an attempt to obviate this nuisance the corporation invoked the provisions of the *Health Act* and 'some butchers thought it little short of an infringement on their liberty that an Inspector looks them up occasionally and tries to keep the stench they make within bounds.'

Drunkenness was also a problem and, by early 1878, the *Border Watch* was to proclaim that:

A large number of people with money to spend come in from the country and many of them got rid of their cash by converting themselves into 'drunk and incapables'. But for the distance between the police cells and the centre of business a great many apprehensions would be made... [The police] suggest that a cell should be provided in the central part of the town...

Early in 1878, a public meeting was held in the council chamber to consider the desirability of forming a company for lighting the town with gas and a canvas of the room was made and 180 shares pledged to be taken up. In March of that year Mr Bowman, the engineer of the Hamilton gas works, made a preliminary survey, a prospectus was published for a company with a nominal capital of £6,000, its Articles of Association submitted to a meeting of shareholders and approved and a site for the gasworks purchased.

Following a poll of ratepayers the corporation was authorised to borrow £1,000 for investment in gas company shares but this was thwarted when a legal opinion from an eminent Queen's Counsel stated that such an act would be illegal, while in January 1879 a resident opined that:

An attempt was made some time ago to float a company to light the town but whether it failed through want of encouragement or otherwise the result is the same, our streets are still in darkness and kerosene is triumphant.

In January 1879, 'gas operations were postponed for six months' and, in August, the first general meeting of a gas company was reported when 'half of the required capital was subscribed' but beyond purchasing a site and preparing plans and specifications nothing else had been done. The main causes for the delay was an adverse opinion given by counsel on the decision of rate payers that the Corporation should become a large shareholder and another doubt occasioned by the discoveries of electric light which, it was supposed, would supplant gas to a large extent. Finally, a company was formed but it was wound up because of a want of confidence in the scheme.

In May 1878, Mr Charles Todd, aided by Mr W. Attiwell of Penola, favoured a large number of residents with a series of telephone experiments and their senses were bewildered when:

Cooees, crows, coughs and other loud noises could be heard easily at a distance of two or three feet from the instrument and conversation could be readily heard when placing the instrument to the ear... Some one at Penola sang 'Come birdie Come' and Mr Maytum sang a verse... and Messrs Hopkins and H.

Rubenkonig also tried their voices...

From the time of the town's foundation the citizens received entertainment in various forms and the local newspapers recount, at length, the doings of circuses, itinerant musicians, gymnasts, etc. while, in June 1878, Mr Albert Stubbs proffered the following comments:

I have watched with interest the various entertainments which have been held in Mount Gambier during the last two years and a distinction has occurred to me... Entertainments may be roughly divided into two classes; those given by strolling players, the proceeds of which are taken from the town for ever and a day, and those which are local in their purpose. Not only are the former a drain upon our financial resources but many of them [are]... questionable in their tendency. On the other hand, local entertainments especially when instructive in character and praiseworthy in object should be encouraged on the ground that however great their success the town is not impoverished thereby.

Take the entertainment on Charles Kingsley as a case in point. The total proceeds amounted to £12. 10s. which will be divided as follows; Institute Hall, £1.5s.; *Border Watch*, £2.16s.; *SE Star*, £1.13s.; Wesleyan Circuit, £6.15s.6d. Apart from the spirit of such an entertainment the simplest will see that the financial results are absorbed by the Institute, the Press and the Church.

On these grounds alone - that such entertainments as 'An Evening with Charles Kingsley' are calculated to foster and develop a literary taste and enrich our local institutions - I think them worthy of the most generous commendation and liberal support.

In October 1878, some curiosity was aroused in the town when an 'orthodox cab' appeared in Commercial Street; its owner had come from Hamilton to try his luck in Mount Gambier and it was envisaged that when the railway to Beachport was completed the increased economic activity in the town and district would, no doubt, be a fillip to his enterprise. By the close of 1878 the town was connected by railway to the seaboard at Beachport.

The 15th of January 1879 was declared 'Black Wednesday' in the Mount Gambier district for it opened with a fierce hot wind which grew into a gale and on all sides heavy bushfires raged, while the town was enveloped frequently in clouds of dust and smoke.

The most dangerous proved to be near Compton where it broke through into farms. It burned out much grass on Mingbool station, while country around Yahl and within the Hundred of Caroline was all ablaze. In Commercial Street the temperature was recorded as exceeding 100 degrees, while in the sun the maximum was 124.

The aftermath of this fire was an exposure of the defenceless state of the town in the event of 'any serious conflagration breaking out' and it was suggested that a voluntary fire brigade should be formed by the joint effort of the three local bodies in purchasing an engine to be placed 'under the charge of the police.'

In the wake of this tragedy grasshoppers attacked vegetable gardens, shrubs and fruit and ornamental trees and Mr C.E. Roberts of Attamurra was prompted to exhibit an example of their ravenous behaviour in the office of the

Border Watch, while a few days later Mr John Jacob, of Red Camp, brought in branches of trees and vines completely divested of all growth. In addition his 'cabbages had been devoured, onions shelled, potatoes eaten and a start had been made on the thistles.' Further, he reported that 'in shady spots it [was] scarcely possible to get through the flights of grasshoppers...'

Another hazard in the form of reckless driving was becoming a nuisance within the town and, while a corporation by-law provided that the maximum speed when driving a vehicle around a corner was to be at a pace 'no quicker than four miles an hour', it, unfortunately, was a 'dead letter' because speeds of up to 12 miles per hour were undertaken with impunity but, finally, the long arm of the law prevailed when Mr Vears, butcher, was fined five shillings for exceeding the speed limit.

During the early months of 1879, Ned Kelly and his gang were keeping the police busy in Victoria and New South Wales and it was at this time that Captain Standish, Commissioner of Police in Victoria, communicated with his counterpart in Adelaide, Mr George Hamilton, advising that a letter addressed to Edward Kelly, and signed Pat Morrissy, had been intercepted at Beechworth. The writer congratulated Kelly and his mates on their heroic conduct, suggested that they should clear out from their present haunts and would have no difficulty sticking up the two banks at Mount Gambier, as they were easily accessible.

Later, another letter was received from Captain Standish stating it was supposed the Kelly's were trying to get away by sea and, alarmed at this prospect, the banks at Mount Gambier made representations to Mr Hamilton that they needed additional police protection.

Accordingly, five metropolitan police were sent to the town and three special constables sworn in:

For some weeks the banks took extra precautions to prevent a surprise; but this [was] deemed 'more necessary as against imitators' than against the desperadoes of the Strathbogie ranges [but] in order to reduce the risk a good deal of gold held by the banks in the South East [was] sent to Adelaide. The visit of Inspector Currie of the Bank of South Australia with three persons who are known to be detectives was simply in connection with the removal of spare specie of that bank.

Convened by several Presbyterian clergymen of the town, 70 young men met in July 1879 with the object of forming the Mount Gambier Young Men's Christian Association in order to promote Biblical studies, lectures, essays, debates, elocution, conversations, and social and musical entertainments.

A few weeks later, the 6th of August 1879 was a public holiday to celebrate the Duke of Edinburgh's birthday and, to honour it, a large party, attracted by the excursion fares, went on the railway to Beachport for the sale of Messrs Millar's contractor's plant. Two carriages 'that constituted the rolling stock available for passengers were found to be too small so a couple of trucks were added.'

At about the same time, Mr Mawson, dentist, paid a short visit to the town bringing with him a novelty in the shape of a new material for setting teeth called 'celluloid' which, in colour, was a very good imitation of natural gums and possessed the merits of great strength and lightness 'and judging by appearances it must be superior to any of the old, as they were to the clumsy pig contrivances still used in China.' Later, in April 1881 Messrs Thwaites & Marriot, dentists of Warrnambool, following visits to the town twice since October 1880, decided that because business was 'so satisfactory' they had decided to establish a branch office in the town.

Messrs Ehret & Co offered their yards as a public market in October 1879 and no expense was spared at its opening, following which farmers brought fowls, butter and other produce and sold out at good prices. Indeed, the official luncheon, by no means a dry affair, was graced by the Mayor who said that similar institutions had proved successes in Adelaide and Melbourne.

Two new business firms opened in December 1879 when Messrs Cock and Millhouse took over the old-established South-Eastern foundry from Mr Clark, both gentlemen having been employed there for many years, while Mr A. Kieselbach, late of Millicent, commenced a bakery and confectionery near the South Australian Hotel and showed that he was determined to succeed by advertising bread for sale over the counter at threepence for a two pound loaf. A few months later in April 1880, Mr Robert Hood set up as a stationer, bookseller, etc. and, in the following month, advertised that he was 'prepared to tune and regulate pianos and other musical instruments.'

The Mount Gambier Forest Reserve

Fools destroy trees; wise men plant them. As there are at least as many fools as wise men in a community and as a fool can do more mischief in a minute than a wise man can repair in a lifetime, the trees suffer, and the country suffers too.

(*Register*, 6 March 1914)

South Australia was the pioneer State among the Australian group to undertake the work of government afforestation - a subject on which the people generally exhibited a strange apathy, notwithstanding its vital importance to the whole population. As late as the 1870s colonists were allowed to slash about the woods to their heart's content and, until the early 1880s, there was no effort made to protect our few forests and, accordingly, wanton destruction occurred.

Upon payment of a small sum any person could be licensed to cut as much timber as he pleased, to leave as much refuse as he liked. It was illegal to light fires in the open air except under stringent regulations, but it was common practice with settlers in scrub and timbered country to 'have a good burn' whenever the weather was dry and warm enough. The effect of all this was that all young trees were killed and the old ones gradually destroyed.

Mr. F.E.H.W. Krichauff rendered a distinct service to posterity when, on 7 September 1870 in the House of Assembly, he moved for reports on the best size of reserves for forest purposes, where they should be made, the best and most economical means of preserving the native timber on them and of planting and replanting the reserves as permanent state forests. He said that all other states were 'endowed by Nature, but this colony was, to a large extent, covered with stunted eucalyptus and other species of little or no commercial value, interspersed with comparatively small areas of good quality red gum, blue gum and stringy bark.' On 10 November 1875, a forestry board was appointed while, in 1876, Mr J. Curnow was nominated as nurseryman at Wirrabara and Mr C. Beale at Mount Gambier, who was employed as a ranger in laying out the nursery in the valley:

Close to the Leg-of-Mutton Lake and forming a pathway to the top of the bank down to it... A neat, commodious and well appointed residence will be erected for the caretaker on the top of the bank, south east of the hospital... [It] will contain four rooms and will be provided with an underground tank... Mr T. Haig is the contractor...

To South Australia is due the credit of demonstrating the commercial possibilities of *Pinus insignis*, or Monterey pine, and it is interesting to note that in 1878 forty acres were planted at Wirrabara Forest and, in 1881, thirty acres at Mount Gambier. It was not until 1910 that the full value of *Pinus radiata* was realised, chiefly because of its quick growing qualities. From that time the annual planting of that species increased until about 1924 when private enterprise became interested. Subsequently, a Royal Commission found that *Pinus radiata* could supply about 65 per cent of Australia's softwood requirements and that South Australia could plant, with safety, 3,000 acres of that timber annually, 'of which about 2,500 acres should be in the South East.'

In the South East the prevailing indigenous trees near the coast were *Banksia marginata*, *Casuarina quadreivalis* and several species of *Melaleuca* - all indicative of poor and swampy soil. Some of the ridges were covered with stringybark and the margins of the running swamps had a few redgums, but as a rule the banksias (honeysuckles) were the principal trees.

As the higher lands were reached, especially towards Naracoorte, between there and Mount Gambier, and from that line up to Border Town, there were a great number of gum trees of various kinds and of good height and girth.

In September 1873, Mr Goyder, accompanied by Mr Smith, a nurseryman of Adelaide, made an inspection of the Lake Reserve, including the Botanic Garden Reserve and he reported upon it as a suitable location for a forest reserve and it was understood he recommended it as a site for a forest nursery and one or two blocks for planting with forest trees. In due course it was gazetted as a forest reserve and included the best grazing ground and the only accessible watering places.

At this time, land contiguous to the Leg of Mutton Lake was covered with native box bushes that looked well in the flowering season; other parts were bare except for a few struggling sheoaks and frequent landslips that denuded the bedrock of much of its gravelly covering. In 1878, the Mount Gambier Forest Reserve was created on the southern slope of the extinct volcano, including the Leg of Mutton Lake and a nice sheltered valley, where the nursery propagated indigenous and exotic trees.

In 1884, 1,000 plants were put out; they were *Pinus insignis* with a few eucalyptus but only 700 survived. The following year the whole reserve was planted with about 63,000 eucalypts of various kinds, 11,000 oaks, 8,000 pines and a miscellaneous lot of catalpas, planes, Queensland box, ash, cork elms, etc. However, the ravages of opossums, hares, wallabies and kangaroos necessitated regular plantings each year to offset the losses.

The forest was in charge of Mr Charles Beale, well known formerly as a gardener to Mr G.S. Fowler. His residence was perched on the top of a rise above the lake and regular visitors were members of the local gun club seeking permission to hunt game and animals within the forest and, considering that in one year Mr Beale killed 300 opossums, 200 hares and 50 kangaroos they 'always had a fair chance for sport.'

In 1880, an attempt was made to crown the brow of the mountain by a wreath in the form of stately trees, some 200,000 being sown or planted under the direction of the Forest Board over preceding years [this subject is discussed in greater depth above]

On the side of the mount nearest the town was a Reserve, 15 acres in extent, but still in a state of nature - previously, in March 1872, the site for the Botanic Garden - had been recommended to be on that portion of the government reserve between the hospital and the Bay Road, extending as far south as to include the 'little lake near the road' but, at a meeting on 11 March 1872, it was resolved that 'only the town slope be applied for which will comprise some 17 to 18 acres.'

For many years, a carriage-way existed from a gate on the Port MacDonnell road cutting to within a chain [22 yards] of the edge of the lake and, in 1878, a new 'walk-way' was created around the southern and western banks until it reached the nursery enclosure. Two fixed seats, each some 10 to 12 feet long were erected on the walk and, in April 1887, it was formally opened for local and tourist traffic.

The 1880s - Spoliation of the Environment

The lover of beautiful scenery will not soon forget the magnificent views obtained from the top of the mount and looked down at the lakes at his feet, and the picturesque little town surrounded as it was by the 'richest plot of ground to be found in the colony', whereon were grown all the hops produced in South Australia, over twenty per cent of its sown grasses and more than half of its potatoes.

(Register, 13 January 1881)

Scarlatina broke out in two families in Commercial Street in January 1880 and it was said that the outbreak owed its origin to some clothing preserved since the disease had visited the town some years before. Fifteen months later, Mrs W.E. Burton and some of her children, were stricken with typhoid fever and, a few days later, Norah Crowe of Rosaville, aged 14, became seriously ill and succumbed, following which the Editor of the *Border Watch* suggested that residents should attend to their water tanks in order that 'any impure and poisonous matter might be prevented from entering them from cesspits or dirty spouts', while the Local Board of Health inspector recommended that all runaway holes, attached to houses for the reception of soapsuds, etc., and all cesspits, not in compliance with the *Health Act*, be prohibited.

In April 1880, the same gentleman reported on a slab house in Crouch Street that had a roof full of holes and inhabited by ten people, including children. The landlord, Mr John Drysdale, was absent in Victoria and, accordingly, the tenants were given notice to quit within seven days.

At the same time, all local butchers were advised that they were prohibited from carrying any offensive matter in carts through the streets after 6 a.m. Further, as Mr Hayes had refused to pay for the burial of a dead horse that had died in Commercial Street, the board decided to sue him for the cost, namely 15 shillings.

To all these nuisances the Editor of the *Border Watch* opined:

What can we do at Mount Gambier? We can set our backyards in order, fill up our polluted runaway holes, cleanse and disinfect our water closets and we can be specially careful in seeing that the grounds and conveniences attached to our schools are kept in a wholesome state. The Board of Health should organise a system of scavenging and make provision that all business premises shall have their closets on the earth principle. In Melbourne the dustman visits every house once or twice a week and removes the impurities. We want a similar arrangement for portion of the town and till it is provided there will be considerable difficulty in carrying out a reform that would be wise and beneficial... The enemy is at the door. Let us bolt it against him and lay the foundation of a barrier that will prove effectual in preventing his future visits.

The Dry Earth Closet was invented by Henry Moule who, in 1873, took out a patent for it, in England. 'This was a compact neat wooden structure with a removal bucket. Concealed within a frame at the back of the seat was a container for dry earth that was released into a bucket by a lever system operated by the right hand.'

In April 1881, concern was expressed at the fact that several dead bodies of cattle had been left at the lakes and become a 'great nuisance'. At the same time, several residents of Rosaville were castigated that 'more pigs were kept on their properties than should be.'

On a happier note, a few months earlier in February, a proposal to build a Town Hall at a cost of about £2,000 was discussed and the general consensus of opinion was that 'we must be careful not to get a white elephant' while, in April 1880, Messrs Haig were busy in getting the new bell for the Presbyterian Church in position in the church tower. Weighing nine hundredweight it was manufactured by J.S. Radler and Sons in Hildesheim, Hanover, Germany.

The provision of lighting the streets was still before the civic authorities at this time when a concerned citizen opined that:

Mount Gambier has three disadvantages for it has no gas, either to light the streets or the houses; no water supply, except from wells and no system of drainage, beyond the natural flow into the caves and subterranean water courses which exist below the town. There was a gas company formed before 1880, but the people preferred to sit in darkness - or in the dim light of kerosene lamps - until it should be proved whether Mr Pitman's atomic gas theory or Mr Edison's electric light could be made to supersede the 'old order' of gaslights. I am glad to hear there is a probability of the gas company director's arousing themselves and the shareholders and calling for tenders for the construction of the necessary works.

At a meeting in August 1872, the Gambier West Council had after taking into account the expense attending the declaration of trust in connection with the land, and the inability of the council to devote any of its funds towards opening and maintaining the project and the improbability of the government undertaking the expense, resolved to let the matter 'lie over for a time.' Shortly thereafter the government informed the council that it was prepared to convey the land free of cost.

In April 1880, a report of the shooting of a 'native bear' at Yahl, 'as it was displaying its agility by climbing a tree', was callously dismissed with the comment that 'these animals were fairly numerous in this district many years ago, but of late they are rarely seen' while, within the township, a correspondent under the *nom de plume* of 'Onward' said that if a few gentlemen of the town would club together and get the necessary instruments for the formation of a fife and drum band he would undertake the tuition *gratis*.

A week later, a Mr Peate interested himself in the matter and said he 'had secured the services of an efficient teacher' and proposed to raise the necessary funds by public subscription.

The ever-thoughtful Editor of the local press came to the aid of local housewives in July 1880 when he supplied them with the necessary instructions to make a washing machine:

Get a galvanised washhand basin about 12 inches in diameter; punch from the outside six holes round the bilge and four holes in the bottom, each hole about the size of a pea. Place the basin in an inverted position on the bottom of the washing copper or boiler; fill up the boiler with water containing the usual quantity of soap or soda, and the clothes to be washed. The clothes are better for being soaked overnight and well soaped. Boil from 20 to 30 minutes, stirring occasionally with potstick and keeping a good fire under the

boiler all the time. The clothes will then require no rubbing, either by hand or on the washing board, will be found perfectly clean and require only rinsing and bluing in the usual manner.

An example of the degradation of the Booandik people was evident in February 1881 when an Aboriginal corroboree was held on the Exhibition Ground where about thirteen of them, the majority of the survivors of the once numerous tribe, assembled and, having 'dressed' themselves in the original corroboree costume, admitted the intending spectators on payment of sixpence a head. No one, except boys attempted to cheat and as there were about 150 in the enclosures the amount received must have been nearly £4. 'Tiger seemed to act as manager of the event and Old Billy was singer and master of ceremonies. A lubra with a bag of sand acted as drummer.

'For a time they danced without a fire but afterwards one was lit and they danced around it, beating their sticks vigorously all the while. There is to be another tonight.'

To expand upon comments made earlier, and above, on the decimation of the Aboriginal people, it might be fitting to quote from a report in the *Border Watch* in 1875, the *Observer* in 1883 and an editorial in the *Advertiser* in 1903:

Gunarmin, better known as Old Kitty Livingston, who was generally regarded as the oldest surviving Aboriginal female member of the once numerous and powerful Boandik tribe, died at Mount Gambier on 5 May 1875. Old Kitty was aunt to Old Caroline, well known in the district, and left two sons - Bobby Livingston and Long Jimmy - who resided near the border. Before her death she was very weak and debilitated and 'seemed to derive no pleasure from anything in life but her dogs.' ['Queen Caroline'], the oldest Aboriginal woman died at her wurley in Hedley Park'

The aboriginal natives of this district are gradually dying out. Last week two of them disappeared from this mundane sphere. One was an aged member of the Booandik tribe, well known in the district as Old Tom, who died at the Up and Down Rocks... [He] was always an abstainer from the white man's 'firewater' and to this fact he was in a great measure indebted for his length of days. His last request was one to Mrs Smith, the local protectress, to give his blanket, etc., to a young native attendant who was his nurse for a long time...

The inaction in respect to the strengthening of the existing law for safeguarding the rights of the blacks, who is [sic] practically helpless to redress his own wrongs, except by such acts of reprisal as are natural to the savage, and who is often incapable of understanding the extent of injury done to himself and his race, contrasts unpleasantly with the attempts to secure his complete subjugation... The object of authorising whipping in addition to punishment by imprisonment for cattle raiding is not likely to meet with much favour... There is something [about it]... too strongly reminiscent of the middle ages... [See Appendix 46]

By August of 1880, sketch plans of the proposed municipal buildings were completed by Mr J.S. Jenkins, municipal architect of Richmond, Melbourne, who took particular care to ensure that it harmonised with the Institute and the adjoining buildings. At the same time, residents of Rosaville were alarmed when a large hole formed suddenly at the junction of Commercial Road and a street 'near Mr Goymour's residence'. Apparently, a lava crust gave way and a chasm, 10 feet in diameter and nearly 10 feet deep, was formed destroying portion of both footpaths.

The annual inspection of the Mount Gambier Rifle Company took place late in August 1880 when its members met in the Oddfellows's Hall and marched, 26 strong, to the cricket ground where Colonel Downes inspected them, their exercises being conducted by Captains Bolte and Lieuts. Daniel and McKenzie.

By October 1880, the town's population had risen to about 2,000; the State school had 372 pupils, while the Institute held 2,800 books and could seat 500 persons. But the town had three disadvantages - it had no gas, either to light the streets or the houses; no water supply except from wells, and no system of drainage beyond the natural flow into the caves and subterranean watercourses that existed below the town.

At this time the proprietors of several firms, namely, Messrs Barratt & Andrews, Cock & Millhouse, McNamara & Drew, F. Hammer and C. Krummel advised their employees that the eight-hour system, in force since September 1875, was to be abolished because in Adelaide the labour in their trades was 51 hours a week (8½ hours a day), while in some Victorian towns the men worked nearly 10 hours per day. An anticipated strike came to a partial collapse when the majority of the men decided to accept their master's terms - to work nine hours a day with the allowance of an hour on Saturdays, or 53 hours a week.

On a happier note, a meeting was held in the Institute Hall when the Mount Gambier Philharmonic Society was formed. Mr G.B. Scott was appointed President, Mr Vaudrey, Vice-President, Mr Strang, Treasurer, Mr Lilly, Secretary, and the Revs Dr Craig, and R.A Caldwell, Dr Jackson and Messrs Maytum, Jones, Broad, Ritter, Lilly, Ridings, Price and Hood, Committeemen.

In February 1881, Mr T.R. Walters, a road contractor, while returning from Penola was overtaken by a heavy downpour with a large mixture of young frogs in it. When it stopped the road was literally alive with them. The shower, no doubt, was due to an unusually violent whirlwind lapping up the water in an adjacent swamp.

A week later, for the benefit of local 'loungers and idlers', who were observed within the town 'lounging at shop fronts and street corners', a visitor suggested that they should be flogged into 'discreet behaviour' when they would soon learn to 'shrink and cower into some semblance of decent behaviour instead of careering through the streets with yells and ribald laughter.'

The next month saw the Fife and Drum Band make great progress under bandmaster Mr E.E. Carey when it was strengthened by the addition of six B flat piccolos, thereby increasing the band to 26 members while, in April, the

butchers of the town held their inaugural picnic and ball, the venues being Mr J. Sutton's paddock, east of the town, and the Oddfellows' Hall, respectively:

There were about 120 present and the day was spent in games of various kinds, racing, dancing, etc.

Seventy couples attended the ball where 'pleasure was supreme until early on Thursday morning.'

The 1881 census revealed that the district's population was 5,097 and the town's 2403 while buildings numbered 456 in the latter place.

A 'second trial of the fire engine' was made in October 1881 and a report made that 'the labor is very hard and the rapidity with which the handles have to be worked will, in the event of any large fire, necessitate considerably more than five men being put on'; a fortnight later the council decided that the equipment should be returned because its cost was about £300 and the estimated annual expense much more and it was pointed out that 'this was a matter in which the various insurance companies interested in the town might very properly take the initiative.'

Later, in October 1882, Mr Ehret's bazaar bell was rung furiously and a crowd of about 60 persons assembled thinking that there was a fire to be extinguished, but they soon learned that the reason for the supposed alarm was to assemble people there to consider starting a voluntary fire brigade which Mr Ehret has been endeavouring to promote. Finally, it was resolved that Mr Ehret be President and Treasurer. Mr M. Duigan, Secretary and Mr C. Jobson, Captain.

At the same time, and on a happier note, Dr Craig offered a prize of two guineas for the best kept cottage garden which was defined as

(1) As that of a man who earns his living by hand labor of any kind, at home or for others.

(2) The whole garden to be considered - flowers, fruit trees, vegetables, hedges, etc.

There were seven entries - Mrs Bunge and Messrs E. Case, J. Cocks, R. Pickering, E. Parsons, Rackham and Schmidt, who was considered by the judges as 'superior both as regards arrangement and content.'

By the close of 1881, it was evident that the spoliation of the environment continued for it was reported that, in respect of cesspits for the reception of soap suds and other foul fluids attached to many dwellings, the 'noxious gases emitted therefrom were doubtless the cause of typhoid fever and other diseases.' The remedy suggested was for 'stink pipes' to be put down in back yards

By April 1882, the Editor of the Border Watch opined that although the town appeared to be clean it 'owed more to the porous absorbent character of the soil than for any provision for keeping it so.' Further, the drainage arrangements in many places were woefully defective and 'but that people are able to turn it under the ground in their backyards their premises would be nothing short of fever beds...' He suggested that there should be regular scavenging of the streets and noted that 'at present the Council daymen, when the drains in Commercial Street get choked up with horse droppings and other refuse, go round with their brooms and clean them out.'

In October 1882 the residents were entertained by the appearance of the *Aurora Australis* when the southern sky assumed a 'ruddy tint' the principal colour varying from a deep red to a bright rose tint with streamers of pale green shooting up through it.

The display continued for about three hours before paling gradually. A month later, Mr Charles Jones, a veteran of the Afghan campaign of 1842, announced that he was now in charge of Mr Davison's boat on the Blue Lake and would 'be happy to attend upon pleasure parties who may wish to use it.'

In colonial South Australia, there were perennial decrees 'thundered' from the pulpits of both the Methodist and Presbyterian churches reviling the 'insidious' practice of imbibing intoxicating liquors. However, in the latter half of the 19th century they were, strangely, silent in respect of 'the dangerous but seductive practice of nobbler-drinking during the forenoon.'

This oversight prompted an avid teetotaler to proclaim that it had:

Reached to an extent in this province fearful to behold, and although its baneful results cross our path in every direction, seldom is any voice heard in its reprehension. The pulpit is silent upon it, the press reports the daily - almost hourly - fearful accidents and loss of life caused by it, but it stops there...

It was evident that such 'sinful' behaviour and other excesses were practiced within Mount Gambier and environs when, in June 1885, a droll correspondent to the *Advertiser* stated that hydatids (*sic*) were 'a terror of the South East' and that whisky was said to be an excellent antidote and 'freely prescribed by the hospitable citizenry both for their visitors and themselves. There is more whisky consumed per head there than in any other part of the colony.'

During 1872, Messrs Fidler & Webb imported from England a few pounds of a new variety of potato named 'Sutton's red skin Flourball' and it was said that it had proved to be free from disease, kept well and had splendid cooking qualities. Indeed, in the 1874 season it proved to be an excellent cropper in the Mount Gambier district when it was estimated that 12,000 tons were raised in the district out of which 9,000 tons were exported bringing to the community about £30,000.

It was found by experiment that the only bar to successful potato culture, the frost, could be avoided by planting in November. Indeed, one acre of potatoes was reckoned as six acres of wheat under the cultivation clauses of the Lands Act and many of the farmers took advantage of this and put potatoes in instead of cereals. (*See Moorak*)

Accordingly, by 1885, nearly all vacant allotments facing the principal streets grew potatoes and the owners got out of the tubers a great deal more than the rates they had to pay but, by 1889, the industry was considered to be a speculative enterprise because for one owner of the soil, who put in his own crop, there were at least 20 growers who did not own a foot of land on which the 'farinaceous beauties were brought to fruition.'

By 1886, Gambierton had about 500 houses and a population of 2,450 and the principal thoroughfares were paved and drained and footpaths curbed with dressed stone. There were numerous well cultivated gardens planted with fruit and other trees which, from their luxuriant growth, gave the town an attractive appearance. A number of 'runaway holes' were sunk in several places to assist in carrying off surface liquids. Water was laid on from the Blue Lake, but in the eastern portion of the town wells up to 90 feet deep were still being used.

There was no regular rubbish collection, but the principal streets were cleaned and refuse removed once a fortnight. Accordingly, householders had to make their own arrangements with the result that much unsanitary offal, etc., was allowed to accumulate to the detriment of public health. Prior to water being laid on in the town the Local Board of Health encouraged the use of the pan system in privies, but as carried out they were unsatisfactory. Where cesspits were used some were well constructed and others merely holes sunk through the lava to various depths.

Piggeries abounded about the town and became a considerable nuisance, many of them being in an unsatisfactory condition. A by-law was in force limiting to three the number of pigs to be kept by one person, but a closer inspection would have revealed that many citizens kept as many as ten. Rosaville contained 50 houses with a population of about 250 and its streets were narrow, while the township was laid out in small allotments. Consequently, the dwellings were crowded and necessary outbuildings unavoidably close to the dwellings.

The site was rather flat but, as the soil had an absorbent surface, liquids disappeared quickly. The water supply was from wells 70 feet deep from a series of underground streams which could be tapped at that depth all over the district and found to have a current in the direction of the sea.

The year of 1887 opened with a gloomy pronouncement from the Editor of the *Border Watch* when he proclaimed that the past forty-nine years had not been 'plain sailing' and during which the pioneers had experienced many difficulties and trials:

What with bickerings among officers, bungling as to the form of government and the pig-headedness of Governors we have no doubt that many of them pretty well despaired of ever seeing the colony do much good.

This fit of melancholy was, no doubt, due to the fact that, during the 1880s, no person with the slightest power of observation could visit the South East without being struck by the strong Victorian flavour there was in everything in the border towns. Victorian papers circulated widely, Melbourne travellers were ever on the alert to outbid their Adelaide rivals for the favour of local storekeepers.

The government had neglected the South East and a wide spread impression seemed to prevail that, with the Ninety Mile Desert on the north side and the Dismal Swamp on the south, all the good land had been purchased by the squatters and, accordingly, passed for ever out of the hands of the agriculturists

But although decided changes had taken place, a great deal of ignorance prevailed in Adelaide, and throughout the colony, as to the condition and prospects of the South East

The 1890s - The Town Languishes

By 1891, Mount Gambier was not the place it was a few years before as witnessed by the closed business places. It was on a down grade and no one could wonder because it was hemmed in by locked lands in the hands of squatters and a visiting reporter expressed the view that:

Truly a progressive land tax is sorely needed in this, the garden of Australia. Let the most rabid opponent of the scheme only visit the place and look dispassionately at the position and he must come to the conclusion that a discriminating tax is not only desirable but necessary... The estates contain land sufficient to settle hundreds of families and put thousands of pounds in circulation annually.

This is a matter that concerns people as a whole for in a few years we will have federation and, unless we get our industries firmly established and railway freights reduced, Warnambool, having then no duty to pay as at present, will swamp the market with produce to the injury of the Mount Gambier people... Now is the time to take action or we will find when too late that we have allowed ourselves to drift with the tide and are upon the rocks without hope.

Settle the people upon the land, give them good laws, fair terms, long leases, quick transit and cheap freights on the railways, which are the property of the public and which the people have the right to expect to be worked to some extent to foster colonial industry, then South Australia will take her proper place with the neighbouring colonies and not play second fiddle...

The census of 1891 showed that the population of the Hundreds of Gambier and Blanche as 5,850 and of the town, 2,657 while the building numbered 520 in the latter place.

Epilogue

At the turn of the 20th century the government, in its wisdom, started to acquire compulsorily the extensive estates of the squatters and Naracoorte furnished a patent instance of the benefits accruing from the cutting up of estates for closer settlement. Before the Naracoorte Station was subdivided the place was in exactly the same position as it had occupied for years past, but signs of animation became visible at the time.

When the estate was purchased from Mr Thomas Magarey the announcement of the sale gave unbounded satisfaction to the residents of the district and the townspeople saw in it an expansion of the town for which they had pined for many decades.

(G.H. Manning, A Social History of Naracoorte and District in the 19th Century)

By the turn of the 20th century, and with the pending federation of the Australian colonies in 1901, the citizens of the South-East were considering the desirability of seceding and becoming part of Victoria and many grievances were aired in support of their desire. Firstly, they stated that if they had a broad gauge railway all the way to Adelaide they could increase the productivity of their holdings, for the loss of time occasioned by the break of gauge at Wolseley, and the double handling, were fatal to much of the perishable products forwarded to the city markets.

If this was to be denied, they considered that a railway line to Victoria connecting them with Portland would enable them 'to transfer our business and our sympathies to Victoria.' Indeed, in the late 1890s, a cry for a railway extension from Casterton to Mount Gambier was taken up on the Victorian side while, at the same time, Portland was working hard in the same direction and Melbourne merchants were sending their travellers to the district where prices were cut for the purpose of obtaining orders.

The advocates of a railway connection with Portland, of an improvement of the waterway at Beachport or of a uniform gauge of line between Adelaide and Mt Gambier can find one subject in common and that was the importance of fostering local industries whether they were connected with the rabbits, with the pig, with beer, oatmeal or leather.

The district was referred to as 'The Garden of the South', but it was more than that for it also produced livestock of the finest quality - cattle, horses, sheep and pigs and more time was being devoted to the dairying industry, to say nothing of rabbits. With an assured rainfall of over 20 inches, splendid soil and a good climate, there was no limit to which the stockowner or farmer would fear going, provided they had a guaranteed outlet.

Gradually, land holdings became smaller as some of the large pastoral stations were subdivided and intense culture adopted where, previously, only a few sheep were running. County Grey was the largest producer of cheese and potatoes in the colony and second in respect of the growing of oats and, in one season, about 15,000 lambs were purchased for export.

Large estates had been cut up into agricultural holdings and the transformation from practically untitled soil to richly bearing land was noticeable as a result of closer settlement. Where previously a few sheep were to be seen on thousands of acres there were now 'smiling homesteads' where the crops of lucerne, wheat, barley and oats 'waved to the breeze and invited the humming stripper to prove that they could yield a record harvest.'

For this land farmers paid as much as £7 an acre and their success was so great that they could easily secure £4 or £5 an acre on their bargains. Visitors to the South East could not fail to be impressed by the change in the appearance of the country along the railway line brought about by the government policy of land repurchase and closer settlement and those who left the railway line and drove into some of the back country found the same beneficent results from private enterprise in a similar direction.

The call then went out - 'Shall we hold what we already have, or let it pass into the hands of others?' In other words, should the trade of the South East be retained by South Australia, which had for more than 60 years been responsible for its public works, or should it be absorbed quietly by Victoria and become a perquisite of Melbourne merchants? Federation was to expose, both as a State and traders, the fullest competition on the part of neighbouring rivals. The barriers were to be broken down and, in a commercial sense, the race was to be swift and the battle strong.

Fortunately, there was no fear that a united Australia would lose its colonies in the way France lost Alsace and Lorraine but, as far as the trade of the South East was concerned, it was all but certain that unless improved facilities were provided for the encouragement of the flow of traffic westward, the ultimate result would be much the same as if the most fertile province of South Australia had been overrun and appropriated by Victoria.

Indeed, merchants the world over found it necessary to employ some of the methods of aggression described by Wordsworth over Rob Roy's grave:

<i>Because the good old rule</i>	<i>That they should take whose have the power</i>
<i>Sufficeth them, the simple plan -</i>	<i>And they should keep who can.</i>

By 1906, visitors to the district could not fail to be impressed by the change in the appearance of the country along the railway line brought about by the government policy of land repurchase and closer settlement. Indeed, those who left the railway line and drove into some of the back country found the same beneficent results from private enterprise in a similar direction. The only difference was that on lands privately disposed of, the settlers were fairly well off whereas government tenants, who had their land under covenant to purchase, would not have been on the land were it not for the easy terms granted to them. Indeed, many of these tenants entered the land without capital and some, without experience, struggled on in the neighbourhood of the Coonawarra Fruit Colony. Nearly every town between Wolseley and Mount Gambier could boast of the benefits of closer settlement and Penola was expecting even greater results from the purchase by the government of 16,000 acres of the Yallum Estate.

And so we come to the end of this history and, perhaps, a fitting closure could be a citizen's eulogy delivered early in the 20th century:

Australia - A Song

<i>Thou hast no past to sing;-</i>	<i>The unwritten page lies there-</i>
<i>Let future history ring</i>	<i>Oh write the record fair</i>
<i>With praise to thee.</i>	<i>Let noble deeds declare -</i>
	<i>Australia!</i>

(A verse from a poem by Mrs Carleton circa 1858)

Appendix 18

A Social History of Naracoorte in the 19th Century

Part I - Two Villages Emerge

Kincraig, Naracoorte [sic], Skye Town and Mosquito Plains [have set] an example worthy of adoption by other portions of the colony. These several names refer to one township, but they have confused students... so it has been unanimously decided to... adopt the one name of Naracoorte [sic].

(Observer, 12 June 1869)

The Early Subdivisions

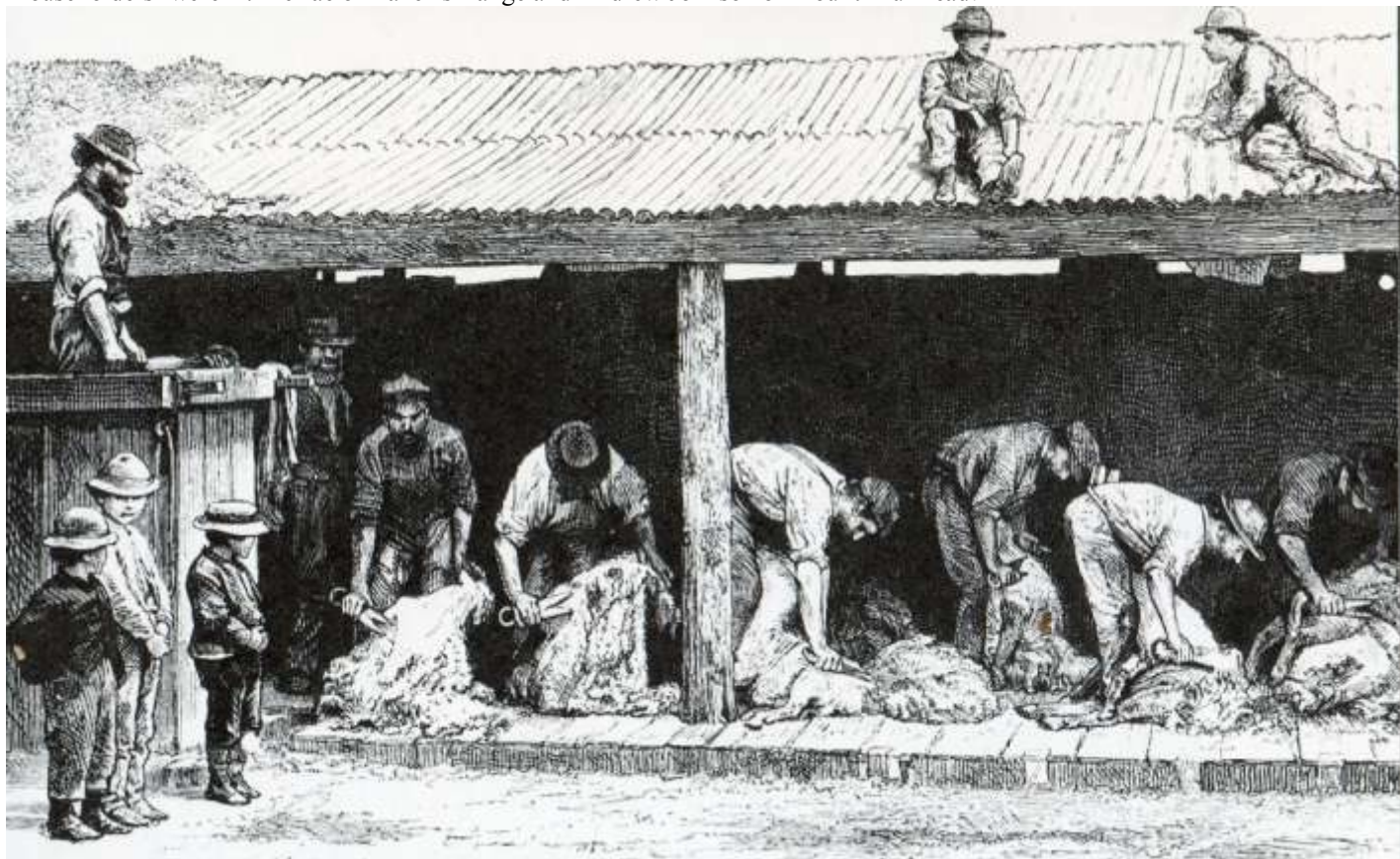
In general it may be said that the dwellings of early colonists took the following rotation - A tent; a sod-house (walls built with blocks of earth dug out and placed on top of one another) with a thatch roof; a clay and rubble building with a thatch roof; a slab wattle and daub cottage, with shingles for roofing; a lime-concrete domicile with slate roof; a brick house with a covering of galvanised iron and, finally, a stone house with galvanised roof.

(G.H. Manning, A Colonial Experience)

In 1849, seven sections were surveyed along the Naracoorte/Narracoorta/Woorlirtina Creek by E. Bellairs, those numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4 (344 acres in total) being granted to George Ormerod, a pastoralist in the district from 1845, number 7 (80 acres) to Alexander Stewart and 5 and 6 to William MacIntosh who, at one time, was the owner of a great part of the Hundred that was proclaimed on 24 October 1867. Indeed, at various periods in his life, there passed through his possession a few of the richest squatting properties in the colony, including Moy Hall which, by 1880, carried 20,000 sheep on 20,000 acres and part of the Naracoorte station shearing 25,000 sheep annually.

Early Robe Court records show that he applied for a hotel licence on 24 November 1849, when the 'householders' supporting his application were George Ormerod and Alexander Stewart, of Mosquito Plains and John Robertson of Robertson Plains. Accordingly, following the receipt of the Land Grant of section 5 on 16 March 1850 he erected the 'Merino Inn' which, when completed, comprised a bar and taproom, 6 bedrooms, 4 sitting rooms, 6 stalls in a stable and 2 stockyards supplied with hay and corn.

Mrs Jones, nee Caton, remembered it as a 'little primitive wooden inn with rooms neatly lined with calico, ceiling to match with small pigeon holes (bedrooms) leading from it, also very clean and lined to correspond with small square windows.' Charles McKinnon took over the licence as from 12 February 1858 when his supporting 'householders' were D. McRae of Baker's Range and Andrew Johnson of Mount Muirhead.



Shearing in 1876

The erection of improvements, before a formal subdivision of land, was not uncommon in South Australia. Indeed, in 1860 when the survey plan of 'Kincraig' was deposited in the General Registry Office, the earlier improvements, not included in the new creation, were known locally as 'Skye Town'.

Other Early Hotels

I presume it is not generally known that those who have no town residences are compelled - both for rest, refreshment and transaction of business - to go to inns, where their ears are often assailed and their feelings horrified, by the utterance of language one would think impossible to enter into the imagination, or to pass human lips, even in a brothel.

To suppose that the monsters who thus outrage public decency were ever baptised, that they were ever seen in a place of worship, that they were ever married, that they ever entered a drawing room... would be to libel Christianity...

(South Australian, 3 November 1846)

The 'Caledonian Inn' was built at the behest of John Campbell who, writing from Melbourne on 1 October 1847 to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, advised that he had asked George Ormerod for permission to erect a public house on his run and went on to say that he had approached Mr Robertson on the same subject when he was 'readily granted permission to select a spot on his run.' He concluded by saying that he understood that the government would require him to purchase an 80 acre section upon which he should erect his Inn. The next day he wrote again begging permission to erect a public house on one of the runs mentioned previously.

On 24 February 1849, he applied for a licence for the Inn on the Mosquito Plains when the Lieutenant-Governor approved of the 'exclusion of the sections referred to from the runs of Messrs Robertson [*sic*]' together with the following comment:

His Excellency has no objection to grant you permission to occupy the land you are desirous of purchasing [but you will] have no claim to compensation for any improvements you may make... in the event of the land being purchased by any other than yourself when exposed to auction...

The statement relating to Mr Robertson is obviously a mistake because the Inn was erected on part of what was to become Mr Ormerod's freehold land, namely section 4, 'along the Naracoorte Creek' - Campbell had apparently applied for portion of this section that was taken up, subsequently, by William MacIntosh following Campbell's departure from the district.

George Ormerod was displeased with the decision emanating from the Commissioner of Crown Lands because he considered the Inn's advent as an open invitation to the 'men of the roughest kind from both sides of the border' and, indeed, his own personal interests and those of his employees were, certainly, according to his judgement, to be placed in jeopardy.

The events of ensuing months are set down in a letter to the Commissioner of Crown lands from John Campbell dated 28 April 1849:

After getting my licence I unfortunately suggested to the wife of a shoemaker, Edward Baines, to assist in the Inn until I could get a couple from town. The arrival of this couple was the cause of great envy [*sic*] and the discontinuance of the woman's service was the consequence. From that time I met with the determined and treacherous hostility of Mr Baines who endeavoured by every means to excite all persons that came here to commit acts of violence...

I went to Mount Gambier to get him dislodged and during my absence a robbery was committed... The house at the time, owing to the scarcity of labour during the sheep shearing, could not boast of superior accommodation but sawyers were busily employed cutting [timber] for a 16 roomed house.

A sketch plan, completed by Mr Campbell, showed the Inn to be located due east of Ormerod's residence, about 40 yards from Naracoorte/Woorlirtina Creek and an 'old mill' that stood on its southern bank, contiguous to which was the main road from Adelaide passing 'Ormerod's, Oliver's, Ballantine's [*sic*] and south end of the Grampians.'

When completed, the establishment was described by an Inspector of Public Houses as of slab construction with one sitting room, four small bedrooms, slab stable partitioned off into stalls with water supplied from a creek - 'untouched and unfinished appearance with a tolerable supply of provisions but badly managed; prices exorbitant'. Further, it was alleged to be a 'haven for bad characters from both sides of the border' and 'was utterly devoid of accommodation', filthy, and a haven for 'ruffianism of the worst character.'

This opinion, no doubt, received support from the District Magistrate, Mr E.P.S. Sturt of Compton Station who, according to Mr Campbell, while investigating the robbery, was, from personal observation, dissatisfied with the accommodation provided.

Further, Mr Campbell intimated that he had received 'no friendly palliation' from Mr Ormerod in 'whose place [Sturt] was stopping'.

Upon his return to the quieter realm of 'Compton', Sturt lodged 'an information against the Inn' with Captain Butler, the Government Resident at Robe Town, which, according to Campbell, 'combined with a mistake of mine... lost me the licence' the reason for which was described later as being 'on a technicality'.

Mr Butler informed me that I need not proceed with any improvements as the public licence could not be granted in that quarter. Thus my arrangement for a new building was rendered entirely abortive... I have converted the present house into a store and have been recommended by many of the neighbouring settlers to memorialise the government for a renewal of the licence for a New House. I intend shortly to apply for it...

It is rumoured that Mr Ormerod intends to apply to you to have the 80 acres allotted to me by the government included in his next squatter's licence. If such is the case I hope you will not look on his application as concurring with my wishes...

The aforementioned robbery was one involving Campbell's barman who, during the fracas, grabbed his pistol and shot the ringleader, one Christopher Cook. Thus, the unfortunate proprietor returned to a situation worse than that initiated by Mr Baines. However, from evil deeds there is sometimes a moral outcome - Following the inquest into the slaying, Mr Sturt brought down a judgement of 'justifiable homicide' and this edict was followed by a request from Captain Butler that a police station be erected at Ormerod's station.

In respect of early hotels within the district, it is interesting to note that Mr John Munro built a hotel at 'Lindsay' on the border, but encountered a certain problem as indicated by a letter written to the Commissioner for Crown Lands from 'Breakpole Marsh' in May 1847 following the delineation of the Victorian boundary by the surveyors Wade and White:

As I have unfortunately built a place on the Adelaide side of the boundary line under the impression that I was in Port Philip and made application there for a publican's license, I hope you will be good enough to let me remove any [belongings] as I am a poor man with a family and cannot sustain such a loss in the beginnings of an enterprise.

This circumstance is explained in a letter from Mr C. Thomas of 'Kilbride Station, Lake Mundy':

In consequence of [the surveyors] having started from a point 2½ miles west of the mouth of the river, the line of course does not pass as I expected, 4 miles east of our old Home station, but 1½ miles only to the eastward of it; about 50 chains west of Nangwarry (Henty's Water Hole).

An incisive comment on the problems associated with the precise location of the Victorian boundary was made by the Penola historian, Peter Rymill:

I always find it intriguing how accurate [the] early settlers were in locating the 141st degree of longitude – often better than the surveyors themselves. I suspect that many, like the Henty's, had a nautical background, and could take astronomical observations. On the other hand, Major Mitchell, despite all his traveling circus, was 15 miles out. [*See under 'South Australia' in the nomenclature text.*]

Early Policing Days

To keep up the respectability of the force, I have never forgiven any man found drunk on his beat or any other duty, or asleep on his beat, or absent from it. Indeed, every heinous offence is best visited with instant dismissal.

(Advertiser, 31 January 1867)

Introduction

There was hardly a man in the force who had not been a soldier. Most of them were illiterate, neither able to read nor write, and unable to tell the time by the clock. The population was small and the men never intended to stay in the force. They joined today and were gone tomorrow...

(*Reminiscences of Inspector Denis Sullivan – Mortlock Library*)

Governor John Hindmarsh retained ten marines from HMS *Buffalo* both as protectors for the embryo settlement and vice-regal guards. In the first task they were a signal failure and, with the second, a dubious success, for they were a roisterous, rioting crew who did as they liked, drank when they could and, like the praetorian guards of ancient Rome, would almost have taken control of the colony had not the Governor occasionally tied their ringleaders to a tree for a time to 'sober the brain and dampen the spirit'. Sly grog shanty keepers were the only mourners when those blunderers left in the *Alligator* in 1838.

While complaints rose high against the depredations of the armed banditry, that sallied forth nightly on infant Adelaide, peace officers had to be appointed to control the roistering *Buffalo* marines, the nominal guardians of the law. Yet, from such a paradox South Australia's police force sprang.

A placard nailed to a tree trunk in a camp in Adelaide heralded the police force's beginnings and its genesis is an engrossing story:

NOTICE

Wanted for the Police Force about to be raised, twenty active young men. Persons desirous of entering this service are requested to make application at this office.

T. Bewes Strangways,
Colonial Secretary, pro tem
April 12, 1838.

A fortnight later the local press had its say on the subject:

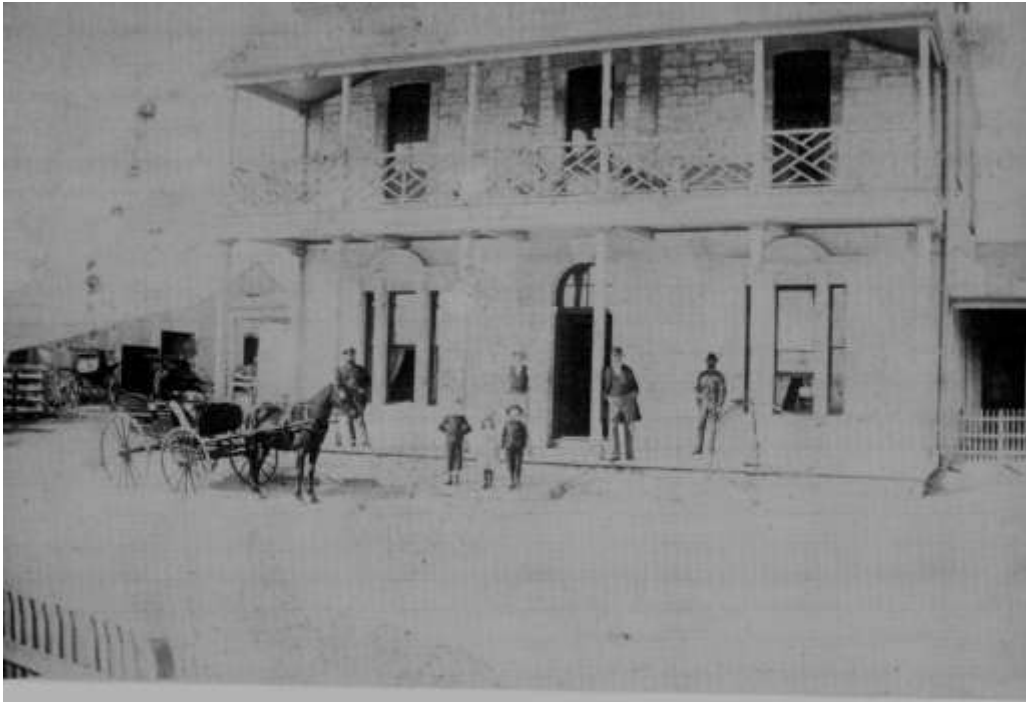
We have just heard that His Excellency the Governor has determined to embody a police force to consist of a horse patrol and a certain number of watchmen. It is said that the Resident Commissioner objects to [these] views on the score of expense. But surely the colonists are entitled to protection for their lives and properties whatever Mr. Fisher may think.

We are glad to announce the formation of an efficient police force and one which we trust will enable the colony to get rid of the worthless and desperate vagabonds who have lately been congregating in such numbers from the neighboring colonies...

Whatever the genesis, Governor Hindmarsh had a force of 20 policemen in fair organisation less than two years after his landing at Holdfast Bay and a year later it had grown to 53 men, with Major O'Halloran as commissioner. It was beset by dissension. The Resident Commissioner, J.H. Fisher, refused to draw bills to provide for payment of the force, but the governor, zealous of his band, drew on the Colonial Commissioners for £1,000, without authority, and was commended for his action.

Adventure and hazards, which the career of a trooper promised in such stirring days, made an irresistible appeal to the youth of the colony, particularly the younger ones and erstwhile military officers sent out to repair their fortunes and, had Hindmarsh wished, he might have filled the mounted section of his force three times over with eligible, daring spirits. Heirs to English titles, Germans and men with degrees sank their identity as trooper, while the poet, Adam Lindsay Gordon, spent some of the happiest months of his ill-starred life as Trooper Gordon, groom to the Commissioner of Police at the barracks.

In the wider field the force had an important part to play. The country stations, whose absence Governor Gawler had deplored, came into being with the set of the tide towards prosperity and, reassured by outstations at the Burra, Port Augusta, Mosquito Plains (near Naracoorte) and Mount Gambier, squatters penetrated with their flocks and herds, hundreds of miles to the north and south.



Assheton's Commercial Hotel, Naracoorte

Police Protection in the Early Days at Naracoorte

Men having no claim to any degree of respectability beyond muscular frames and fat cheeks are at once admitted without undergoing any of the wonted scrutiny... The old hands are leaving as fast as ever they can possibly better themselves, being thoroughly disgusted with the titt-tatt thus forced upon them from associates. All the best men have either left, or about to leave, and dissatisfaction appears to prevail on all sides. The smallness of pay is in many instances the cause; in others, tyranny in the officers is ascribed as reasons for the discontent.

(Register, 4 August 1847, 5 August 1852)

In 1849, the first police station on the Mosquito Plains was built of slabs near Mr Ormerod's homestead, and erected by that gentleman at an approved cost of £50. Inspector Tolmer visited the district in 1853 and reported that it was in a state of dilapidation and rendered 'perfectly untenable' and as its position was 'central and in a district populous and rich', he suggested 'the expediency of a suitable stone building being erected and converting the present hut, after undergoing proper repairs, into a stable building; stone and other materials can be obtained on the spot; the well, which is at present dry, will likewise require deepening and putting in repair.' A new building was constructed in 1855 and, today, this land is occupied by the Naracoorte High School.

William MacIntosh, writing from the Merino Inn in July 1852, expressed annoyance at some of the mounted police stationed there because 'when they are very short of funds we are obliged to give them credit for what necessities they may require and when payment is demanded those that are not willing to pay make a string of excuses... Trooper Dignum who left here a few days ago is indebted to me for the amount of £6-0-6.'

At the same time Mr Ormerod lodged a complaint against the same constable for an injury done by him to his sheep: 'He deliberately took possession of part of a flock of ewes and lambs pasturing in the neighbourhood of the police station. He has, also, having been supplied with sheep to the value of £3-16-0 told me this evening that he did not intend to pay the account.'

To these complaints, William Rose, Senior Inspector of the Gold Escort, reported to the Commissioner of Police that he had been stationed in the Mosquito Plains for two years and was of the opinion that both the complainants were, on all occasions, ready and willing to supply the police and would have continued to do so but for the circumstances of those officers who contracted debts and left them unpaid. He concluded by saying that when he last saw the two gentlemen they informed him that 'owing to the police having left in their debt they were not inclined to furnish them with supplies in the future.'

This, inexplicably, created a furore in the corridors of the Commissioner of Police and, in due course, both MacIntosh and Ormerod denied having made the statements. Apparently, the letter from Rose had been written for him because he had injured his hand and it was 'read over to him' before he signed it and, subsequently the following comment was appended to the relevant docket:

[Rose] made a statement one day and flatly denies it the next – such extraordinary and unheard of conduct is explained however by the fact that since his promotion to the post of Inspector he has been greatly addicted to drink to excess.

The police headquarters were relocated when a new building was erected in MacDonnell Street in 1865 but, by 1875, local citizens were complaining of its distance from the town (about a mile) and 'the inconvenience attendant thereby':

The two troopers stationed there... do their level best but they have more work imposed upon them than they ought to have... As to the special constables their offices are frequently mere sinecures, nor should they exist at all. They generally reside far apart and could never be depended upon, or perhaps found when wanted...

Notoriously troublesome characters are constantly in the district and the peace of the place is endangered thereby...

The term 'special constable' came into existence in 1852 when a system of local police was authorised giving civic authorities the right to nominate a sufficient number of persons to be sworn in. Disobedience of orders or breach of duty were punishable by a fine, while services were recompensed by a fee payable on account of a particular service in which a constable may have been engaged.

However, it was clear that neither the District Council Acts nor the Police Acts contained any definite statement of the functions which a district constable might exercise. A code of instructions was issued in 1860, but there was good reason to believe that the directions it contained were *ultra vires*.

For instance, a district constable arrested a man for a breach of the peace and when tried before a special magistrate in Adelaide 'Mr Beddome decided that the law was against him and Mr Downer, on appeal, upheld that decision but only inflicted a nominal fine, as the constable had evidently acted *bona fides* and without evil intention.'

Thus, with a simple desire to properly discharge his duty, a special constable could make arrests in the manner directed in the semi-official 'instructions' and find himself exposed to the discomfort and loss of an adverse action at law if his authority was called into question.



Police Station and Court House – circa 1880 – A mail coach is in the foreground

A matter for consternation in March 1879 was a report that Ned Kelly and his gang were heading for the South East with the intention of robbing local banks; accordingly, five metropolitan police were sent to Mount Gambier and three special constables sworn in:

For some weeks the banks took extra precautions to prevent a surprise; but this [was] deemed 'more necessary as against imitators' than against the desperadoes of the Strathbogie ranges [but] in order to reduce the risk a good deal of gold held by the banks in the South East [was] sent to Adelaide.

The visit of Inspector Currie of the Bank of South Australia with three persons who are known to be detectives was simply in connection with the removal of spare specie of that bank.

To the north, residents were thrown into considerable excitement by a report that the Kelly's were on their way; accordingly:

All the available force of policemen and detectives, together with their secret aids were ruthlessly roused from their cosy beds. Mac's Hotel was surrounded and revolvers were so freely pointed at the windows that at one period matters began to assume a serious aspect, but it soon all ended in smoke and the knowing ones enjoyed a hearty laugh at the expense of the blues.

It appears that the Victorian correspondent to the *Border Watch*, along with three other 'tolerably mounted-men', whom he had fallen in with on the road, galloped into Penola and hence the alarm while, from Naracoorte, a report emanated that Penola police chased four men 'on fine steeds' who were reputed to be the Kelly Gang.

The alleged bushrangers were overtaken about eight miles from Penola on the Naracoorte road but, alas, the constabulary 'had not the opportunity of handing their names down for daring deeds.' Indeed, so it was said, one of the pursuing policemen 'turned round and coolly told them that if they had believed them to be the outlaws they would not have come after them.'

The Foundation of Kincraig

The 1860s was a decade of growth in the twin townships, with two new hotels, a flour mill, numerous shops and the first moves towards a District Council.

(*Naracoorte Herald*, 1 May 2000)

Following the erection of a Presbyterian Church in 1856, on land provided by Mr MacIntosh, Reverend Dugald McCalman came from Portland, when he preached in both Gaelic and English, and arranged for a school to be opened. An examination of its pupils was held on 21st December 1860 and the prize list reads:

First Form, J.R. Beauchamp, J. Matthews, Eliza Agar; **Second Form**, Agnes Morris, Dugald MacLauchlan, Margaret Campbell, Wm. Watkins, W. Barrett; **Third Form**, Flora McFayden, Agnes McNeil, Mary Nicholson, J. MacInnes, C. MacInnes; **Fifth Form**, Catherine Mackay, Malcolm MacDougall, Donald Campbell, Alexander Mackay...

The first teacher was John Watson who left in 1863 to become proprietor and editor of the *Border Watch* and his brother filled the vacancy while, in April 1871, Robert Peake applied for a teacher's licence and stated that he had opened a school at the commencement of that year and had an attendance of 35 boys and five girls together with an evening class for elder youths. The schoolroom was 27 feet by 18 feet six inches and 18 feet high built at the rear of the Presbyterian Church.

This matter was held in abeyance until June when the local Board of Advice comprising Dr Gunning, J.P., Rev D. McCalman, Messrs T. Hinckley, J.P., A. Grieve and A. Attiwill expressed regret that it was the 'intention to withdraw the licence from Mr Watson the teacher of the National School who had occupied the position for many years to the satisfaction of all. However, because he could not maintain the required level of attendance his livelihood was in jeopardy.' Mr Peake's licence was granted in June 1871.

This summary of events was taken from newspaper reports emanating from the education authority in Adelaide and, apparently, is in conflict with previously recorded history that states that he lost his licence in March 1871 'because the school was too small'.

In February 1877, Misses Fish and Botterill opened a school for young ladies 'at the late residence of Mr E.R. Peake in Ormerod Street' and this prompted the Editor of the *Naracoorte Herald* to complain that the town was being 'utterly ignored in the matter of public education' and wanted to know why steps were not being taken to 'supply us with a decent structure in which our children can be educated?'

His wish was satisfied some eight years later when the Naracoorte Public School was opened on 20 January 1879 by the Minister of Education, Hon. Thomas King, the 'new teacher' being Mr Wainwright. The stone used for building purposes was hard white limestone obtained in small blocks in quarries about two miles away and a good deal of ornamentation was done with a yellow sandstone.

Norman Wallace, in his book of reminiscences, *Bush Lawyer*, recalls trekking to school in the early 1900s through the stringybark scrub, playing games at recess time and eating a lunch comprising of either jam or fried-egg sandwiches in a galvanised iron shed at the rear of the school. Returning home in the summer months a wary eye was kept out for snakes lurking in the undergrowth of bracken fern.



The Wallace family home 'Buona Vista' on Jenkins Terrace

Earlier, in 1860, ever watchful to matters relating to the pocket, William MacIntosh saw his chance to further his monetary/social position in the local community and proceeded to seek an official blessing upon his earlier informal creation of 'Skye Town'. Indeed, there is little doubt that the establishment of the new village of Kincraig was prompted by the inflow of wealth flowing from the Victorian gold rush and an increase in the local population following the resumption of many pastoral stations.

Accordingly, he lodged a plan of 'Kincraig' (named after his birthplace on the River Spey, Inverness, Scotland) in the General Registry Office, the first sales being registered on 28 January 1861 (Lots 27, 28 and 43). About two

years later George Ormerod, then firmly entrenched at Robe in his capacity as a 'Merchant', purchased the unsold allotments for £500 and, for a time, the vendor, William MacIntosh, acted as his agent.

The property was described as being 'romantically situated in a vale lying at the edge of the beautiful plains':

The Highland lairds, the founders of the village, are blessed with a happy, contented and prosperous tenantry... Temperance and general conduct of the tenantry must be ascribed to the good influence of the [MacIntosh] brothers who move among the people taking a kind interest in their welfare so as to be entitled to be designated 'The Brothers Cheerybyle of the Plains.'

The Woorlirtina/Naracoorte Creek, on which the village stood, commenced near Beneyo and emptied into Garey Swamp. Once a fine stream, it ran bank high for three or four months of the year and, usually, had large waterholes remaining in the bed. In the early days of the township it drove a flour mill operated by George Ormerod, but a cycle of dry years set in and it stopped running in the 1870s and, thereafter, was used as a rubbish dump.



The Globe Hotel - circa 1880

Part 2 - The Government Town

Intellect is not a matter of inheritance. The cottager is endowed by nature with capacities equal to the peer. Turn them both to the plough and they will be nothing else but ploughmen to the end of their days; but open up the book of knowledge to them - give them a fair start in the race - and the chances will be equal for the prize.

(Register, 15 March 1850)

As for the government town of Naracoorte, surveyed in 1859, the first sale of allotments was made on 21 August 1862 when 12 were sold at an average price of about £5-5-0 – the purchasers were - William Roper, bushman of Kincaig; Peter D. Pranker, land agent of Adelaide; Charles Tidemann, land agent of Adelaide; William Tall, dealer of Mitcham; Henry Smith and Thomas Agars, storekeepers of Kincaig; Horatio T. Jones, storekeeper of Kincaig. At this time a single allotment in Kincaig was selling for about £30.

Dr Gunning, who settled there in 1849, said the name should be *Gnanga-Kurt*, but did not give a meaning of it while Mr Magarey advised that his father, who was at Naracoorte in 1861, was told by the natives that the name was *nanna-coorta*. Mr William MacIntosh said the word meant 'large waterhole' while correspondence in 1860 suggests that the creek on which the township is located was called *Naracoorta* by the Aborigines, while another letter refers to the new town of 'Naracoorte'. Further, the Land Grant of Section 3 to George Ormerod in November 1850 describes the location as 'Naracoorta Creek'.

To add to the confusion, a report in the *Register* on 11 June 1859 said that:

The village of Narricourt [*sic*], the property of McIntosh [*sic*] Brothers is romantically situated in a vale lying at the edge of these beautiful [Mosquito] plains... Adjacent to Mr McIntosh's residence a Government township is laid out...

In his reminiscences, Norman V. Wallace recounts another version told to him by Malcolm Nicholson who was born 'just over the border in the early days':

Once, when some Aborigines were fishing in the creek that caught a yellow-bellied fish and were asked what they called it; and they had said something like 'naracoorta' which the surveyors translated into the name of the creek.

In contrast to these opinions, correspondence from Messrs Sherratt and Ormerod on 8 October 1845 to the Commissioner of Crown Lands describes their run as being on 'Woorlirtina Creek' where 'the south west angle of the block has been cut off to meet [the] proposed boundary of Mr Sanders' run. In order to make it a compact block we have had to enclose a considerable proportion of waste swampy land now under water, also part of the stringy bark range.'

This primary source evidence negates, to a certain extent, past secondary source explanations as to the name of the creek and the Penola historian, Peter Rymill, found it most interesting as it places another early pastoralist,

Benjamin Sanders 'still west of Naracoorte [at Moyhall]' who 'hadn't yet moved to Morambro' and, as for the name 'Woorlirtina', he opined that the town may have to be renamed!

Growth of the Village

In the early days of the colony wooden shingles were used all but universally for roofing purposes... By 1858 [they] had all but disappeared, slate and galvanised iron then became the fashion... Few of the early stone houses would pass the scrutiny of a surveyor without prompt condemnation, built as they were of round, rubbly limestone and with untempered mortar, and badly founded.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

The most unpardonable blundering took place when the site for a post office and courthouse was fixed at the very end of the new township, more than half a mile from the centre of business. The result of this folly was in the establishment of a second post and telegraph office in Kincaig. This building adjoined the store of Mr J.H. Cunningham who had a good deal to do with its establishment and deserved the thanks of the community because 90 per cent of the letters were expected to go there against 10 per cent to the district post office.



Bush Hut on Naracoorte Station

The real Naracoorte was a little group of houses, besides the local court house, the post office and telegraph station, a flour mill and one store. The township, where nearly all business was done, was a little distance away and named Kincaig and the inhabitants referred to it as 'Naracoorte'. Newspaper correspondents followed the same rule and thus Kincaig when named at all, was done by strangers. It boasted of some handsome buildings, including two banks, Jones's Hotel and some excellent stores.

Naracoorte was built in the middle of a sheep run and similar properties surrounded it on all sides and yet some of the people were not happy because they felt that these large estates were a 'drag on their wheels of progress'.

They thought of what the town could have been and quoted the words of Oliver Goldsmith:

*Ill fares that land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.*

But, really, there was no need for despondency, for their town was second in importance in the South East and its sun had not set, nor was it likely to when the railway was completed to the Tatiara and the bulk of local produce taken to Kingston direct. A large amount of land around Naracoorte was not good enough for remunerative wheat growing, unless some of it was used for that purpose by the capitalists who owned it. Indeed, they were as fond of large profits as the farmer, or any one else, and the only reason why they did not cultivate it was because, in the long run, sheep farming was more profitable.

The town owed its existence to the force of circumstances. In the course of years, first a public house, the Merino Inn, was built while a blacksmith shop and other dwellings followed in rapid succession. Soon, the current of events made it appear that, in the centre of this run, nature had decreed that a town of some considerable importance must arise. Time went on and building after building was erected, each better than its predecessor, until the little scattered village of a few years previously began to show the symptoms of changing its character, rapidly, into a rising town.

Part 3 - The First 20 Years

The depopulating process had all but ceased by early 1875 and from Naracoorte to Penola, a distance of over 30 miles, there was barely an acre of cultivated land to be seen, except around squatter's homesteads, where hay was grown for home use. The country was all in the hands of large proprietors - Magarey, Robertson, MacDonald, MacArthur and Riddoch, etc. They owned nearly all of it and good country it was, full of grass, well watered and timbered and just as good, or better, than the first day the white man put a foot upon it.

(G.H. Manning, *A Social History of the Lower South East in the 19th Century*)

Expansion of the Settlement

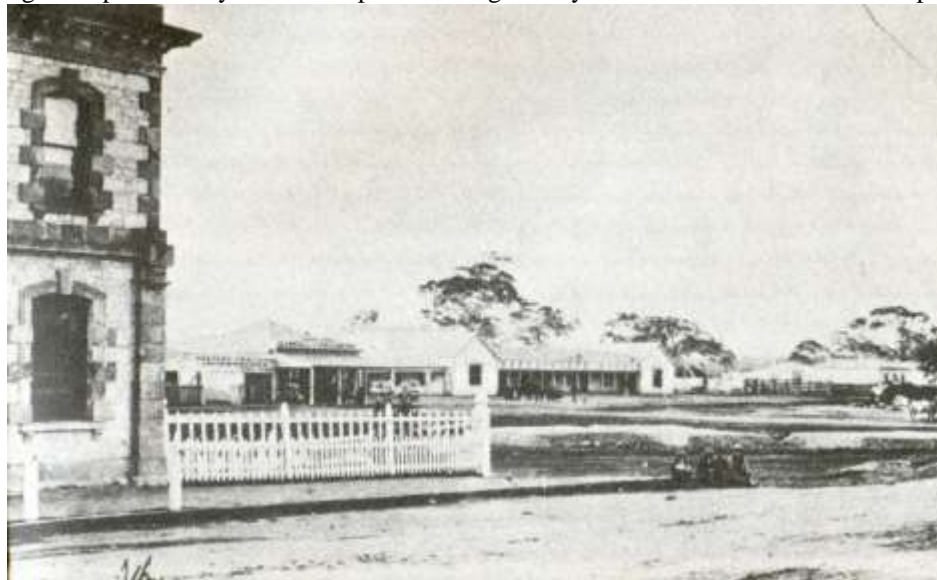
The settlers in the south east have adopted many means to put down the [kangaroo] nuisance.

They have declared war to the knife against the marsupial tribe. They have, again and again, raised a posse of armed men - blacks and whites - who, accompanied by dogs of the noblest breeds, have taken the field with vengeance in their hearts, determined to extirpate the useless vermin.

Thousands have been driven into enclosed spaces from which there was no exit and incontinently knocked on the head in cold blood. In some instances the slaughter has been immense and their bodies, deprived of skin and tail have been burned like a gigantic holocaust.

(Border Watch, 11 & 29 July 1868)

By 1866, the case of the proposed District Council of Narracoorte was a striking illustration of the beauty of the implanted land system. On the one side could be seen a wealthy man, who has been fortunate enough to secure the privilege of running large flocks of sheep for a long series of years over all the surrounding country, by which he realised universal profits, monopolising as he did the whole grass of the place, for his sheep ran up to the very doors of the townsfolk. On the other hand the population of the village was hemmed in and could barely keep a cow to milk, as during the greater part of the year the sheep left nothing for any other class of animal to exist upon.



Smith Street in the 1860s showing the Bank of South Australia and MacIntosh's general store

This situation was to change when, in 1867, Thomas Magarey laid out 'Kincraig Extension' on part sections 4 and 5 – part 4 was owned originally by Ormerod, who sold to MacIntosh in 1858 – Magarey purchased it on 11 July 1861, while part 5 was purchased from MacIntosh on the same day.

It is apparent from a notation on the 1867 plan that Mr Magarey had contemplated a subdivision in 1862. However, the first registered sale of an allotment was not made until 14 December 1866 to Robert George.

This subdivision was followed by 'Naracoorte East', laid out by Thomas Hinckley in 1868 on part sections 5 and 6, the first registered sale of an allotment being made on 1 February 1869 to George Platt.

By the late 1860s, the conglomerate settlement had four large stores and, of course, all this development could not have taken place without causing a demand for additional building allotments, which want Mr Magarey was not slow in supplying at the 'moderate rate of about £30 an acre.' In addition, he leased most of his land at good rentals.

This suited the distant proprietor who, residing in Adelaide, drew a magnificent income from his run, sold his land which cost £1 an acre at thirty times the price, kept an overseer and a few men at 15 shillings a week - the sole occupants of an immense country, except the townspeople who were huddled together on land altogether insufficient for their requirements.

As time went on the increasing trade and population of the place caused the streets to be cut up; the black soil on which the solitary bullock once dragged its sluggish length along, became black mud of the most objectionable kind. The roads became impassable and some of the houses were all but cut off from approach by a sea of black mud in front.

People wanted roads and footpaths made - the neighbours would not join in - 'it can't be done and mud reigns triumphant' - someone suggests a district council - a meeting was called - a unanimous vote was taken in its favour - not a voice was raised against it until, one fine morning, when a counter memorial appeared from Mr Magarey stating that he had bought some 2,000 acres of land near Naracoorte at upwards of £1 per acre and that if he was rated by the council it would make his sheep less remunerative. He failed to make any mention of having sold portion of a township at high prices which probably reimbursed the station for all the land bought originally.

It was then that the government had to decide whether sheep runs or men were to rule the country and if the latter were to be denied the ordinary comforts of civilisation in order that the former could be made to pay a little better.

Daily Life in the Village and District

At Naracoorte the 'cockatoos' sold out, the number of farmer's homesteads diminished and the great grazing properties grew larger. This was not owing, except in a limited degree, to dummyism, but to the character of the soil surrounding Naracoorte.

It was good grass country but would not stand many croppings, whereas farmers required land where he could grow wheat on year after year, and often without rest.

(Advertiser, 12 October 1875)

On 9 November 1866 - the Prince of Wales birthday - all stores were closed and business suspended in the town. A small party visited the caves while others went kangaroo hunting, but the principal attraction was the annual picnic in connection with the National and Sunday Schools held on a spot about a mile and a half out of the town adjoining the Manse Paddock, beautifully shaded by large silver wattle trees.

At this time, a visitor left a recollection of the style of horse coaches employed on mail runs and the men who engaged in the industry:

I ascended at the door of Rogers' Inn, Naracoorte, from a nondescript conveyance provided by Mr Rounsevell for the conveyance of HM mails from the South East to Adelaide. The vehicle - a square box on wheels - looked very clumsy and suggestive of aching bones and the couple of horses provided by the contractor were poor, rawboned, hungry looking brutes, who seemed to have very little go in them. The living occupants of the vehicle were the driver, a smart young fellow of considerable humour and good nature; the mail guard, not a bad fellow to travel with and myself. Another mail left at the same hour for Border Town.

Highland games were held on the local racecourse over two days following Christmas 1866, the first day being confined to running, jumping, vaulting, throwing the stone and hammer, tossing the caber, etc. The second day was devoted to sports interspersed by horse races. There was an instrumental band and a piper on the ground that played during both days.



Naracoorte Caves - 1862

Sketched by Rev J. Tenison Woods

The Blanche caves were considered to be one of the natural wonders of South Australia, although by 1872 they had been all but denuded of their pristine beauty by the characteristic destruction of tourists. Nearly every stalactite in the cave had been carried off and several stalagmites had been thrown down. One large cavernous chamber was called Robertson's Ballroom and was lighted up at the further end by an aperture in the roof where the soil, unsupported from below, had fallen in.

In the early 1870s, the government issued licences to enable the removal of guano from the caves but, without warning, the local Ranger 'put the broad arrow on it' thereby depriving some poor men of the value of many months work. A meeting was called which condemned the salutary impounding action of the government's representative in the district:

The sale of guano... Took place on Saturday last. It was confidently expected that the auctioneer would be 'mobbed' and the rumour was going the rounds that the government was going to provide him with a detachment of police in case anything should happen... One of the parties, who possessed a licence and had raised one of the lots of guano... which were offered for sale, entered a protest against it being sold and handed in his licence as sufficient proof of the illegal action of the government.

The auctioneer, Mr James Cameron, said he could take no notice of the protest because the government had authorised him to sell it. Competition for the various lots was very spirited and most of them fell to local buyers... Some of those who raised guano intend to take further action...

In days gone by there were myriads of bats flying about the caves but today there is not one to be seen. The guano, consisting of the bones of millions of little animals - bats, rodents or whatever they may be - is still there in apparently inexhaustible quantities, the company formed for the purpose of removing it for sale having found the process of raising it too expensive. At present the most beautiful cave is one which has to be entered through a hole less than two feet wide and by means of a limb of a tree up and down which the sightseer must climb and slide

Under the auspices of the Mosquito Plains Coursing Club a coursing meeting, stated to be the first regular one ever held in Australia, was held on 22 June 1867 when:

The courses were long and well contested, the game was plenty (wallaby), the ground was good and the only thing wanting to make the next meeting a first class one, is for the gentlemen to remember that they come not for the sake of riding, but of racing for a stake with dogs, not horses.

There is more of a good day's sport in coursing than in horse racing - the excitement lasts all day and each owner of a dog has such an interest in the day's sport that it well repays him for all his trouble. Again, there is less room for any dirty work in coursing than in racing, you can not make a dog run any way but his best, a horse can be 'ridden to orders'.

By 1868, Naracoorte, or more properly speaking, Kincaid - for the Government buildings were still alone in their glory on the Government township - began to fill with visitors pending a coursing meeting:

Private hospitality and hotel accommodation combined, scarcely sufficed to bear the strain occasioned by the unwonted influx... Local tradesmen were to some extent perplexed at novel demands... Certainly, every care was bestowed by the competitors upon the training of their dogs... The Melbourne dogs were, perhaps, at a great disadvantage, inasmuch as they suffered severely during a stormy passage by sea to MacDonnell Bay...

At this time the dray traffic to and from Port MacDonnell in the wool season was large and valuable and constant stoppages at Mount Gambier assisted the development of that town and, when returning, the drays transported stores at remunerative prices, for there was no opposition. Lacepede Bay was hardly known and, in the 1870s, the road from Naracoorte was, impassable, and consequently Naracoorte and district was a feeder to the wealth of Mount Gambier.



Ormerod Street - circa 1865

The roads in the Naracoorte district were groaning under the injustice of the government in not repairing them and were 'silently protesting against their unfair treatment by capsizing and bogging the farmers' drays, whilst some of our worthy citizens here upset the order of things by driving along the footpaths to avoid the roads, placing the lives of pedestrians in imminent danger.'

Other menaces included stray goats and pigs and, because the *Police Act* did not extend to that part of the colony, 'any quantity of them [were] straying about and becoming a positive nuisance.'

By 1870, the near environs of Naracoorte could not be called a farming district because only a few colonists tilled the land, for it was a fact that the land not taken up was inferior. Indeed, if the few farmers who had selected good land could have taken up inferior sections, the situation might have been stabilised but, unfortunately, they were all hemmed in by 'dummies'. (See under '*Riddoch, Hundred of*' in the nomenclature text.)

Within the last three months large numbers of bona fide settlers have visited Narracoorte [*sic*] hoping to be able to make selections in that locality; but as all the more valuable sites were selected at an early date the great majority have gone back disappointed or have gone on to Victoria to make a choice in that country.

In a case of this sort, decisive steps should be taken and large tracts of country should be thrown open for selection in the South East... and at the same time constructing a railway which will develop the resources of that portion of the colony and convey the produce to market.

A few miles away at Penola the prosperity and settlement of the neighbourhood with agriculturists was of a steady and permanent character until the passing of the Victorian Land Bill, after which many of the 'best residents' selected land there and, by April 1870, were upon the eve of leaving to settle on it:

The present state of things has the direct tendency to demoralize the whole community and is steadily undermining our social and political fabric.

Misery has overtaken us and there is more in preparation for us... Our case is so bad that nothing but an extreme remedy will suffice to cure it... When all the truth is told it is discovered that the extreme and reckless system of credit hitherto in operation here has resulted in giving fictitious price to everything, land and money not excepted...

In September 1870, the district's first ploughing match was held in Mr Matthews' paddock and attracted an attendance of about 150. Athletic games were 'got up' and running, jumping, putting the stone events, etc, were engaged in, while twelve ploughs started, eight in the men's class and four boys, the first prizes going to W. Foster and J. Foster, respectively.

When the Hundred of Naracoorte was opened for selection under the Strangway's Act in 1867 a good deal of it was taken up by men who only meant to sell it and their land was purchased by the station holders. Consequently, by the close of the 1870s, farming was a thing of the past near Naracoorte and for some distance around the township one could see ruined homesteads and old wheat paddocks, the traces of a time that once promised great things for Naracoorte. Indeed, you had to go seven miles towards Morambro, and nearly 20 towards Binnun, before you met with any farms except Mr T. Hinckley's, close to the town.

In February 1871, a cricket club was formed with 30 members and a month later a match was played on a vacant piece of land on Mr Hinckley's farm against a 'country' team made up of players who lived within a distance of 20 miles. The latter won by an innings and 38 runs:

The greatest good feeling pervaded the whole match and there was nothing to mar the whole affair; every man bowed to the decision of the umpires without a murmur and there was exhibited that amount of gentlemanliness that is always exhibited, or ought to be, on a cricket field.

At the same time, it was reported that the youths of Naracoorte had an inventive faculty:

I have heard of top, marble, button, cricket, ball and other seasons among boys, but I never heard of the 'whip' season before. It is instituted here greatly to the annoyance of the inhabitants and to the danger of equestrians. Go where you will there is half a dozen young boys smacking whips, standing on feet and head, smacking their whips on the ground and in the air and running the chance of cutting out their playmates' eyes; playing horses in the road and doing their best to get killed by a passing vehicle; smacking their whips on the brink of the creek and losing balance in their zeal consequently coming to grief in the shape of mud or dust, and finally trying their skill to kill flies on windows with their whips and breaking the glass instead of killing the flies.

The boys will not leave of their whip practice even on Sundays. I caught one little urchin and asked him if he knew his duty towards his neighbour but he returned no answer but broke away from me in a wild manner and smacked his whip in triumph.

A meeting was held on 10 May 1872 for the purpose of forming a football club, the elected officers being: President, Mr David Simpson; Secretary/Treasurer, Mr Frederick Kidd and a committee of twelve. By August 1872 it had been disbanded 'owing to a want of energy on the part of those who had promised their assistance, for although a few were willing to do their utmost the majority of those who had promised to join remained aloof from it and for want of a sufficient number of players it has fallen through.'

In May 1873, another club was established, 'the Melbourne rules adopted' and it was anticipated that the first match would be played 'during coursing week'. Players included Messrs B. Laurie, Affleck (2), McGillivray (2), Botterill, J. Robertson, Nash, A. Mclean, Pollock, A. Mcleod, Craker, C. McInnes, A. McInnes.

In the early days of the game in Adelaide the 'old Kensington rules' drawn up in Adelaide were in force, some being similar to the Victorian laws from which the modern-day game has evolved. One of the main differences between these two sets of rules applied to picking up the ball from the ground - under the Kensington rules a player could not take the ball from the turf and the ball had to be bouncing and many players were adept at patting the ball to make it bounce and thus keep within the law.

The first Naracoorte show was held in August 1873 and nine months later an incidence of larrikinism was reported when:

A gang of youths assembled on the town bridge on a Sunday evening and made 'quite a disturbance' by using filthy and disgusting language. Not content with that they disturbed the worship of one congregation by ringing the bell during the service...

This was followed by an attack on a clock outside Mr Wheeler's shop and considered 'part and parcel' of Naracoorte because its citizens were 'so accustomed to its warning tones.' Accordingly, when a vandal smashed it, a

public subscription was taken up and the sum of £10 presented to the proprietor, not only to recoup his loss but to show, also, 'the estimation in which his endeavour to supply the town with a clock was held.'

During 1874, the rural scene was disturbed when Mr Williams of the Telegraph Mills at Mount Gambier introduced windmills to the district when he had one made by Mr Hinckley of Naracoorte and erected it on his farm at Yahl. The following year Mr Charles Clark, of the Mount Gambier foundry, announced that he was to commence manufacturing windmills and his first machine was demonstrated on Mr George Shelton's farm and, with pump complete, erected at a cost of £50.

With the opening up of the land for agriculture the district was visited by many government employees two of whom recorded their impressions:

The township is about 200 feet above sea level, situated on a small creek running seaward into the marshes passed through on the road. On an elevated timbered rise above the proposed [railway] terminus stands the new Presbyterian Church of art-union fame - a very fine building - and there are two banks...

There is a flour mill, two good hotels, a large post and telegraph office and a number of good stores... The land however only patchy fair grazing country, alternating with agricultural land of middling quality and that as a rule purchased by the squatter.

The district has been a stronghold for the pastoral lessees and selectors have, in various detached localities, effected a lodgment with much trouble, the influence brought to bear in the matters of hindering agricultural settlement and favouring squatter monopoly, having been very strong.

Within an area of some fifteen miles surrounding the township all the best land has been alienated mostly at the upset price to Messrs J. Robertson of Mosquito Plains station who owns 80,000 acres; Affleck about 30,000; T. Magarey, 20,000; W. Robertson of Moy Hall, 20,000; A. Smith of Hynam, 35,000 and so on...

The streets are wide and the township would have a cheerful look were it not, like the black fellow's campment, stuck down in a hollow by a creek. It is said to be unhealthy in comparison with other towns in the colony and in summer time the heat is as oppressive as on the Adelaide plains. Centrally situated in a large pastoral district it necessarily has a considerable trade which latterly has been increased by the settlement of wheat growers who are fast exhausting their lands.

The government township has been a continual and futile effort on the part of successive administrations to divert the trade from the old township... Recently the Kincaigites have had to agitate against a fresh injustice in connection with the terminus of the railway which the government proposes to fix 25 chains away from the western boundary of Kincaig. The arrangement will not even suit Narracoorte for the site is some 15 or 16 chains south of the flour mill and store which are the only two business establishments at that location.

Farming in the neighbourhood of Narracoorte seems pretty certain to die out. We found no difference of opinion on this subject among all the residents of the district... The cockatoos are selling out, the number of agricultural homesteads diminishing and the great grazing properties growing larger. This is not owing, except in limited degree to dummieing, but to the character of the soil which is sandy and comparatively poor. It is good grass country but will not stand many croppings...

The country is very monotonous; undulating, but with each low range and valley exactly like the last passed over and the one immediately ahead.

Not a single land mark appears in any direction for many miles; there is just the same unvarying succession of rises and flats, wooded with honeysuckle and sheoak, with a few blackwoods, whitewoods and mimosas by way of variety.

At the same time, the town suffered an epidemic of dysentery that caused many deaths among both children and adults and, in nearly every house, there were sufferers prompting a comment that 'the religious bodies should institute a day of fasting and prayer and that the Almighty may be pleased to remove the affliction from us.'

However, a report to the local council suggested that the remedy might be with the citizens themselves when the following health hazards were taken into account:

1. The closet at the court house and telegraph office were close to the buildings and sent forth a most frightful stench. In winter it was filled with water from surface drainage and contained about 300 cubic feet of the most offensive matter. Five yards distant was a well into which much of this effluvia flowed.
2. The police horses were watered at this well and when a trough was filled and allowed to stand all night a nasty oily scum could be seen on the surface and the horses would not drink it.
3. Thirty pigs or more were kept in a large yard and offal was lying about and the neighbours complained of offensive smells. Two deaths occurred in adjoining premises.
4. In the town there were six cottages which had the joint use of one cess pit and the surface drainage was similar to the court house. A well was situated 11 yards distant.
5. Not less than 500 cubic feet of faecal matter found its way into surface springs and these fed into the general water supply of the town - illness or death occurred in almost every house west of this point, etc., etc.

Indeed, there was no drainage in the town and every household was obliged to get rid of its waste as best it could and the most common plan was to dig a deep hole and let the offensive matter run into it. If this hole was sufficiently distant from the dwelling no great harm resulted but, as the blocks of the town got built upon, they got closer together and so much under the nose of residents that they were not only offensive, but dangerous to health.

Indeed, there was no doubt that many back yards were no less than 'hot beds of disease' and many outbreaks of typhoid and kindred diseases that occurred periodically were due solely to their presence.



McFayden & Peake's Store in Smith Street in 1878



Presbyterian Kirk in the late 1870s

Accordingly, it was little wonder that the underground water of Naracoorte was thoroughly polluted and easy to understand why the people who used it - especially young children - were visited by the plague and 'carried off wholesale'. Comments from the *Border Watch* included one suggesting that the citizens should 'take it to heart that one-half the ills to which flesh is heir spring from foul air and bad water.'

To these trials and tribulations Mr Thomas Hinckley offered the following remedy for dysentery;

Take four to six drops of spirits of camphor on a bit of sugar at intervals from 10 minutes to an hour or more - I was cured in a very short time... From my experience I still deem it to be one of the most valuable medicines for this class of disease.

As a matter of interest, the death rate of Adelaide for the half-year ended 31 March 1875 was 34.8 per thousand - an amount of mortality almost unknown in any town in England and double that of the rest of the colony:

This high rate of mortality is said to be due solely to bad drainage and thus 500 persons are sent to their graves annually in the metropolis whose lives might be saved were the city kept as it ought to be... But the sad calamity at Naracoorte shows that it is necessary for small towns... to observe the laws of sanitation. If they do not the soil they are built upon gets charged with the filth they accumulate around them and eventually the source of water supply must get poisoned...

Complaints about the general well-being of the village persisted and, early in 1876, a citizen complained that while 'passing over the Creek bridge into the township' his 'olfactory nerves were somewhat tested by the stench that arose' from the watercourse.

Further, on another occasion, he reported that 'on certain private premises in the centre of the town there were three cess-pits brimful' from which 'the combined odour on a close hot night was somewhat disgusting in the extreme.'

Later, in March 1876, another concerned resident addressed the Editor of the *Naracoorte Herald*:

What a jolly little town Naracoorte has become lately can only be conceived by those living in it.

Everyone here enjoys perfect freedom, only excepting Border tariffs. Today, whilst I was looking through a window I saw no less than 10 pigs quietly saunter down the street, grunting in the most self-satisfied manner, with another three in the rear...

Amongst other things I visited the Creek - alas! only to find it a mess of festering corruption and whilst standing there my attention became riveted on a hoary old gum tree, nailed to which was a most ominous notice containing the most alarming threats which have never been acted upon.

In 1879, a laudable attempt was made to reclaim thousands of acres of swampy land lying useless in the Hundreds of Robertson and Naracoorte but, owing to local opposition and some misunderstanding, the Bill was shelved. The proposal was to drain Bool Lagoon, Garey Swamp and other land and make them fit for agriculture and pastoral purposes. About 18,000 acres would have been reclaimed and surplus water taken off an area five times greater in size. The plans were drawn up by Mr T. Hinckley and the proposal to form a company received favourably, about half the required capital of £50,000 being subscribed readily.

The government gave its sanction to the scheme and all went merrily for a time until opposition came from farmers around Lake Ormerod, for they had commonage rights and objected to being disturbed by the drainage company, or anybody else. They petitioned Parliament and, with support forthcoming from the squatters, the Bill was shelved, but was subject to revival in the 20th century.

By repute, according to Adelaide's morning press, the township was once famous for whisky and wool but temperance people put a stop to that and, by 1879, it was pronounced to be the soberest village in the South-East where four temperance societies were 'progressing well' but it struck one observer that 'if every soul in the township was a teetotaler, fewer would be an advantage.'

At this time, a visitor from Adelaide could not have failed to be impressed with the 'Melbournised' character of the inhabitants for they took quite as much, if not more, interest in Victorian matters than in South Australian. Many of the residents had never seen Adelaide and, apparently, did not care whether they were ever to be so favoured. Victorian newspapers were as frequently met with as the local counterparts; even the lucifer matches used were of wax vestas, so common on the other side of the Border instead of the 'tandstickers' used so generally within South Australia.

Part 4 - Life in Naracoorte in the Last Two Decades of the 19th Century

In 1885, it was a village isolated in a vast expanse of scrub, swamp and forest ...It was landlocked, confined in its valley by the broad square miles of the Naracoorte Station. The station owner would not sell a foot of land to the townsfolk, reputedly because the village dogs mauled his sheep and lambs.

(Norman V. Wallace, *Bush Lawyer*)

The 1880s

Better homes on higher ground had to be built on odd selections up to two miles or more from the town centre. Even the little hospital had to be located on a hilly patch of bracken-fern scrub a mile out of town.

(Norman V. Wallace, *Bush Lawyer*)

Religion was prosperous in Naracoorte and, by 1880, there were three churches and a fourth being erected for the Episcopalians. In respect of attention to worship on the Sabbath day, by 1853 there was not a single minister of religion in the district and the only means of religious instruction to the settlers was furnished during visits made occasionally by a clergyman of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Further, when Governor MacDonnell visited Mosquito Plains in 1856, this situation still prevailed and, to alleviate the problem, a liberal offer of Messrs H. and D. Jones guaranteed a salary of £100 to any minister of the Established Church appointed within the district.

By the close of the 19th century it was evident that the Church had not kept in touch with social problems and its action in standing aloof from the economic questions of the day showed a want of sympathy with the workers in their desire to improve their social conditions.

It seemed to many that the Church would not touch anything that had the slightest relationship to everyday life and, regretfully, professing Christians, as a rule, looked upon their work as complete in nursing their pastor and their pastor's work in nursing them. One continual round of preaching, hymn singing, bazaars, Sunday school treats, and nicely distributed kid-gloved charity, seemed to be the aim of the orthodox churches.

The general antipathy of many within the working class was put classically by an itinerant carpenter when he voiced his protest:

Do I go to Church? Well, no, I don't. Seems to me Churches weren't intended for poor folk; at least not Protestant Churches.

You have to dress up to go to Church; and that is all well enough when you have clothes to dress up in. In a Roman Catholic place you can go in the most seedy-looking turnout and kneel down and say your prayers and nobody takes any notice of you except the One you are praying to.

‘Our Father’ sounds as though he were kind of responsible for his children’s poverty. I don’t like sermons and I ain’t going to give you one.

The common people ‘heard Christ gladly’. That’s more than they do to the ministers nowadays. Is it all the common people’s fault? Your churches are too respectable and your parsons too one-sided for us. And supposing you go to Church, the chances are that you see some fellow, or other, tiptoeing around with the plate, or going up and whispering to the minister, and looking as solemn as though he had, like Moses, charge of the Ten Commandments that you know to be harsh and exacting as a master, and it makes you feel real bad at once.

The grandest town building was the Presbyterian Church, rumour suggesting that it was funded by an Art Union lottery and a writer in the local newspaper related this theory as fact, when it was pure fiction, or at least a half truth which, as Tennyson says, ‘is ever the blackest of lies.’

The facts were that the committee originally intended to raise £700 towards the cost by an art union, but wiser counsel prevailed and John Robertson and his brother paid off the whole sum.

There were three banks - National, South Australian and Commercial - the first named being ‘large and handsome enough for a city’ - three hotels, three ‘country’ stores, one wholesale store (Grice & Co.), a mill owned by Mr D. Simpson and the Herald newspaper office. The government school had 120 scholars and the scarcely less useful Institute, built at a cost of £2,000.

Unfortunately, it was badly lighted and ventilated and the means of exit and entrance not ‘what they might have been’. Its library contained about 1,200 books and boasted of about 100 subscribers.

The town had one ‘white elephant’ in the form of its hospital built on a commanding site and, in 1880, it was said:

Here it stands unoccupied and as a monument to the folly of those who built it. Its situation (although it is too far away from the town) is charming, its design is good and its construction a credit to the builder. But it is so big that all available funds have been absorbed in stone and mortar

This edifice had been mooted for many years but it was not until 1876 that a public meeting was held at Jones’s Hotel where Mr William Oliver, of Morambro, offered 25 guineas toward its construction and in an attempt to match that munificence it was resolved to open a public subscription. Later, the government offered to supplement all subscriptions pound for pound, while Mr Robertson of Moy Hall promised to give an annual subscription of £10.

It started its existence in February 1881 when, after long delays some furniture was procured and one room set up as an accident ward.

The first patient, Daniel Fogarty, was admitted with a crushed leg following the first accident on the railway line to the Tatiara. He died a few days later following which the remark was made that ‘the railway line was being pushed on quickly and a good lot of men work on Sundays, notwithstanding the row that was made about it.’



State School in the early 1900s

This remark deserves an explanation because, in the fledgling colony of South Australia, many spokesmen for several religious denominations demanded that the Sabbath day be observed in the time-honoured manner of Great Britain. Boots and shoes had to be cleaned the day before and as little cooking as possible done on the day - in some homes the potatoes were peeled and the peas shelled on the Saturday.

After attending church in the morning, Sunday school in the afternoon and church again in the evening, the family gathered around the piano and sang hymns with much fervour, before bedding down no later than 10 p.m. Sunday was, assuredly, a day of prayer and rest!

This dogmatic stance stemmed from the two most potent religious movements of the nineteenth century, namely those adhering to the faith of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, whose followers shared a common piety, a strict church discipline and a total way of life that avoided 'frivolous entertainments and all worldly pleasures.'

Their creed included the stipulation that the Sabbath day was to be one devoted to worship and meditation and that any act, such as engaging in sporting activity, hiking or visiting public institutions, that included libraries, art galleries, museums, *etc.*, was sinful and a direct challenge to the traditions and sacredness of the day.

Indeed, in those far off days, excessively serious men and women denied themselves the occasional luxury of an innocent dance, the mental refreshment of a good play, the soothing influence of the cigar or the relaxation of a cheerful rubber of whist.

But it was possible that they could have succeeded in doing their duty sufficiently in this world, and getting to Heaven in the end, without subjecting themselves to those minor penances of a belated asceticism.



Cutting leading into the town with the Council Chambers in the background - circa 1875

The next casualty to receive attention at the hospital was a Chinaman who died there a fortnight later following a railway accident when he was run over by some ballast trucks. Apparently, he had been in the district looking for a market garden.

The ever-thoughtful Editor of the *Border Watch* came to the aid of local housewives in July 1880 when he supplied them with the necessary instructions to make a washing machine:

Get a galvanised washhand basin about 12 inches in diameter; punch from the outside six holes round the bilge and four holes in the bottom, each hole about the size of a pea. Place the basin in an inverted position on the bottom of the washing copper or boiler; fill up the boiler with water containing the usual quantity of soap or soda, and the clothes to be washed.

The clothes are better for being soaked overnight and well soaped. Boil from 20 to 30 minutes stirring occasionally with potstick and keeping a good fire under the boiler all the time. The clothes will then require no rubbing, either by hand or on the washing board, will be found perfectly clean and require only rinsing and bluing in the usual manner.

By 1881, and as in the past, the general health of the townspeople was an ongoing problem and this state of affairs was exacerbated by a small depression near the Presbyterian Church that was filled with tins, broken bottles and mixed rubbish to which a barb was aimed at the local corporation:

The Council should prevent that and similar accumulations. But [it] thinks their only end is to make roads. They don't care a dash if we all have the fever or not.

Indeed, by the close of 1881 it was evident that the spoliation of the environment continued for it was reported that, in respect of cesspits for the reception of soap suds and other foul fluids attached to many dwellings, the 'noxious gases emitted therefrom were doubtless the cause of typhoid fever and other diseases.' The remedy suggested was for 'stink pipes' to be put down in back yards.

By 1885, the citizens were to complain, vehemently, about the main road opposite the post office which was such a quagmire of mud that that a foot passenger crossing the street had to make a considerable detour to avoid getting up to his knees in slush.

At this time, the last remnant of the Aboriginal population was encamped at Kay's Swamp and Jack Peake was to recall that, as a young boy, he had watched 'an Aboriginal corpse being placed on a bark sheet in the upper branches of a large red gum tree.' Mrs Grieve, wife of the local blacksmith, said that, in the early days, tribes from all over the south east district assembled on Church Hill where they held corroborees.

With a lament about the prevalence of rabbits, 1885 closed; indeed, the district had been alive with them and, at any one time, it was easy to find 50 to 100 in places where a dozen could not be in the previous June or July; indeed, in December, the Penola Reserve was alive with the vermin.

In 1875, a Bill to provide for the suppression of the rabbit nuisance had been introduced into the South Australian Parliament and, in 1887, both the Victorian and South Australian governments collaborated in building a rabbit proof fence extending for 290 miles.

Cost and maintenance was considerable and the fence did not do what was expected of it. Gates were left open, and drift vegetation and sand made the netting useless.

To give some idea of the rabbit population, statistics show that in 1932 three quarters of a million carcasses were exported to the United Kingdom from South Australia alone, and in the same time, 380,000 lbs of rabbit skins were sold at Adelaide sales. It took about seven or eight skins to make a pound, so the weight sold represented about 3,000,000 rabbits.

Following the enactment of the *Vermin Destruction Act* of 1879, official government parties were employed throughout the infested areas of the colony under the command of inspectors. The main method of eradication was the use of bisulphide of carbon which was pumped into warrens; traps, dogs and snares were also resorted to, together with arsenicised sandalwood leaves and phosphorised grain.

During the period from September to April the eradication parties worked upon Crown and leasehold land from 5 to 11 a.m., rested until 3 p.m. and worked again from that hour until it was dark, excepting on Saturdays when the hours were from 5 a.m. until 1 p.m.

By this arrangement the men were employed during the time that the rabbits came out to feed; from May 1 until August 31 the hours were 7 a.m. until 5 p.m. At the same time the inspectors in charge were instructed to induce local farmers to institute simultaneous action for the destruction of the rabbits and burrows existing upon their land.

Following representations from local councils the government advised that six eradication parties were to be sent by ship to Kingston from whence they would proceed further afield - four of them to be employed in the Hundred of Naracoorte, one on the Stewart Range and the other on lands in the survey west of Killanoola.

But, alas, by August 1886, following the constant shifting of the eradicators, the *Naracoorte Herald* proclaimed that:

It is now three months since the [rabbit] parties were shifted from Lochaber and we protested against the action of the Chief Inspector... before they had cleared the rabbits off unoccupied lands... Some of the farmers are fearing that they won't be able to save their crops from the swarms of rabbits that flock onto them of a night from adjoining lands...

At the same time the Adelaide press presented a description of their work:

A rabbit trappers' camp is about five miles from Morambro Station in the Hundred of Lochaber. It consisted of eight men who had two tents and a 'caboose' in which to dine and this was also the cook's sleeping quarters. A large separate tent was occupied by the sub-inspector for the district.

The ground being operated upon consisted of forfeited selections infested with rabbits. The rabbit was unknown to exist in the area in the late 1870s and some idea of the rapidity with which the animal bred and their disastrous invasion of crops and grasses were more than evident.

Punctually at 7 a.m. the men left the camp accompanied by a dozen or more dogs of various breeds. One of the men carried a can - dubbed by them a 'stink pot' - containing carbon bisulphide and the rest carried spades.

Arriving at the section they were to work the men spread out and walked over the ground in parallel lines about 10 yards apart.

They would examine every burrow which had been closed previously, to see whether it had been reopened, and either on finding a reopened burrow or a new one the man would call out 'stink pot' and upon its arrival, a large stick with cotton waste at one end was dipped in the poison and then thrust into the burrow which was then closed with a mound of soil. Where practicable stones were thrown into the burrow and placed on the mouth to prevent egress and ingress.

On a lighter note, in January 1886 it was announced that the first polo game ever played in the district was conducted on the 'old racecourse to the west of Penola about a mile from Naracoorte' when the local team comprised of Messrs G.S. Harris, Andrew Hutchinson, Neil and Walter Attiwill, W. Hutchinson, Adam Smith, - T. Williams and J. Morris were umpires and A. Attiwill, jnr., field umpire.

They ran out victorious against a Mount Gambier team following which a dinner was held at the Naracoorte Hotel when 'sundry toasts were honoured in champagne.'

During February 1886, an inspector from the Central Board of Health produced a report on the conduct of council and citizens which did little to assuage previous complaints about the town's neglect of certain sanitary matters:

There are about 200 dwellings - many considerably scattered - and a population of about 1,000. The site is a good one, the township being built on a gentle rise which slopes to the Naracoorte Creek; this creek carries flood water and the natural drainage.

Drains from several buildings are discharged into the street water tables, liquids are then carried underground in wooden shutles [*sic*]; these empty into a main drain in the centre of the township and finally into the creek.

For a considerable distance the banks and bed of this creek are made the receptacle for all sorts of refuse and general rubbish. Water from the creek is never used for domestic purposes and it finally disappears in the flats at a distance from the township.

Large quantities of surface refuse and rubbish are allowed to accumulate about the dwellings and many backyards were completely littered with bones, rotten rags, etc. A depot has been fixed by the council for deposit of refuse but the residents do not avail themselves of this.

The water supply is obtained from wells and tanks... wells are an average depth of 20 to 35 feet; they are fairly well covered over and are almost without exception built round with stone. Some years ago there was an epidemic of English cholera and since that time many of the privy cesspits, which were used then, have been filled in and the pan system resorted to.

In the majority of places most unsuitable receptacles are used, being wooden boxes principally placed on the surface of the ground. No dry earth or other deodorant was to be seen and they were more or less in a much neglected condition.

Another aspect of life at this time was a relentless attack from 'Quacks' through the medium of the advertising pages in the *Naracoorte Herald*; for example:

Reuter's Life Syrup

A positive and radical cure for every form of scrofula, syphilis, scrofulous sores, affection of the skin and scalp, with loss of hair, and all diseases of the blood, liver and kidneys. Guaranteed to purify, enrich and vitalise the blood and renovate the whole system.

To this edict, and a veritable flood of similar injunctions, an Editor of an Adelaide newspaper presented a warning to an unsuspecting public:

There is something in the moral aspect of a secret remedy that ought to put mankind on their guard against it.

The possession of health is so valuable and to the poor so necessary; pain and suffering are so dreadful that it is the duty of everyone to communicate every assistance in his power to relieve it.

With all the industry and accumulated knowledge of [our] age, there are too many diseases which baffle all the skill of the profession, and there must be something suspicious about those who, affirming themselves to be in possession of a remedy for cancer or consumption, conceal the knowledge of it in their own bosoms.

Some patent medicines are harmless and insignificant, and their only effect is to amuse the patient with delusive hopes, and to trifle away the time during which the constitution could bear the employment of active remedies.

In other cases, by the alacrity and hope they inspire, they impart a salutary energy to the mind; and hypochondriacs may be brought to use rational methods of cure, whilst they expect everything from their boasted specific. Some patent medicines are merely those which every physician prescribes and which every druggist sells; but which quacks disguise, and multiply the price in a manifold manner.

Drugs of the same composition as Anderson's pills, Barclay's anti-bilious pills and James's analeptic pills could all be purchased at a much cheaper rate.

In February 1886, 'some excitement' was caused in the town when it became known that the local branch of the Commercial Bank of South Australia had suspended payment and that the premises had been closed. Earlier, in 1878, inspired by the success of the Bank of Adelaide, this bank was formed but, after a few years of steady progress, a new manager started to lend recklessly and kept his directors uninformed of his nefarious banking practice.

Inevitably, the crash came and, at a meeting of shareholders in the Adelaide Town Hall, a director cried out, mournfully, in respect of the defaulter - 'What are we to do with this man?' to which a voice from the hall responded 'Lynch the bastard!' Eventually, its directors were accused of negligence and the manager gaoled for eight years.

July 1886 saw the first practice meeting of the Naracoorte Lawn Tennis Club on a piece of ground in Hinckley Street - Ladies were admitted as honorary members! Its first match was to be played against Kingston in August when the local representatives were to be Messrs Purnell, Swan, Peake, Russell, Litchfield and Stuckey, but stormy weather prevented any play.

The Salvation Army established itself in Adelaide in the early 1880s and it was not long before complaints were made in the press about its presence on the byways of the city and suburbs:

I have no objection to the Salvation Army travelling to Heaven upon a road of their own making providing always they do not interfere or annoy others in doing so.

[On a Mitcham tramcar they] occupied nearly all the seats up top; struck up the Hallelujah... Between the noise of discordant voices and the infernal sound of brass and other instruments I was forced to beat a hasty retreat...

The Army appears to be able to take possession of any town and proceed to annoy, under the name of religion, the peace and quiet-loving residents...

However, there were others with different opinions that could, today, be repeated with certitude:

It cannot be denied that the Army in spite of its vagaries is an influence for good amongst a class of the population that has sunk to the lowest depths of degradation...

Whatever any one may say of the idiosyncrasies of the Salvation Army no one can dispute that the organisation has given birth to the most marvellous and interesting religious movement.

By August 1886, this 'new religious movement' had infiltrated into Naracoorte thereby prompting an Editorial response from the *Naracoorte Herald*:

In the matter of noise Naracoorte has been equal to most places in Australia - Every Saturday night there has been what some people perhaps think the soothing strains of the Salvation Army Band and during the

past two weeks there has been nightly street processions and singing by the evangelical mission which is being carried on in connection with the Wesleyan Church.

These two drive dullness from the streets between sunset and bedtime, but the climax of noisiness was reached last Saturday night when, in addition to the customary entertainment, the Naracoorte Brass Band was playing in front of the Institute hall.

The band plays very well but what it was playing that night could not be distinguished as it was overpowered by the Salvationists whose band was even more drummy than usual.

For a long time the Army conducted its devotional exercise with immense vigour in front of the hotel and, as far as could be heard, the general drift of the prayers was mingled contempt for and intercession on behalf of the inmates and frequenters of the hotel.

Underneath the hotel verandah there were 60 or 70 men (presumably the sinners the Army shouters were inviting to the barracks and salvation) and from their midst the music of secular tunes played on squeakily and, it is to be feared unsanctified accordions made it very uncertain whether the Salvationists' melody was 'Lift up the Banner High' or 'There's one for You and Another for Me.'

Satiated with these pleasures, those inhabitants, who had so far escaped annexation by the various organizations which are labouring for our social alteration, at last went to bed thinking they would sleep it out on the Sunday morning.

But, alas, on the Sabbath morning:

Their rest was broken by the Salvation Army going around the streets roaring out the eternal 'Lift up the Banner High',

In the same month William Waugh, Archibald McLean, Andrew Mitchell, R. Higgins, R. Wignell, S. Rule and Catherine Coles were fined £2 each for having unregistered dogs in their possession

On Christmas Eve the town's stores stayed open until 10 p.m. when many had their verandahs covered with boughs and young gum trees, but this decoration did not last long, some local larrikins deeming it necessary to pull them down and scatter them over the footpath. On a happier note, Christmas Day was ushered in by carol singing by the Church of England choir in the streets and, on the Holy day, picnics were held at Lochaber, Yalla Creek and elsewhere, while some went boating on Lake Ormerod.

By January 1887, rabbits were swarming around Naracoorte and two were killed in the garden of a house on the main street. During the same week a snake was disposed of in the Naracoorte Hotel and, the next day, a three foot black snake entered Fullarton and Blackwell's store where it was eliminated.

As for the vermin that infested the district the *Naracoorte Herald* said, *inter alia*:

The case is quite hopeless for those unfortunate farmers and others who are suffering severely from the rabbits. The only result of the visit of the Commissioner of Crown Lands will be a doubling of the rabbits - all that was wished was to get a plain answer from him but in this the deputation was not very successful.

Subsequently, the four remaining Government parties in the district were broken up and the men paid off, to which the Editor proclaimed that 'this is the grossest instance of Government incapacity that Australia has furnished for a long time.'

Mr Harry Smith, the contractor for raising guano commenced operations at the Naracoorte Caves in March 1887 when he erected a staging at the entrance of the Bat cave and constructed a tramway 180 feet long - in an advertisement he said that he was prepared to deliver the guano at 35 shillings per ton.

The 1890s

The jingle of glasses and the maudlin songs of toppers which are heard issuing from some so-called hotels every Saturday night serve just as well the purpose of attracting those who are incapable of resisting the attractions of strong drink.

(Register, 20 March 1896)



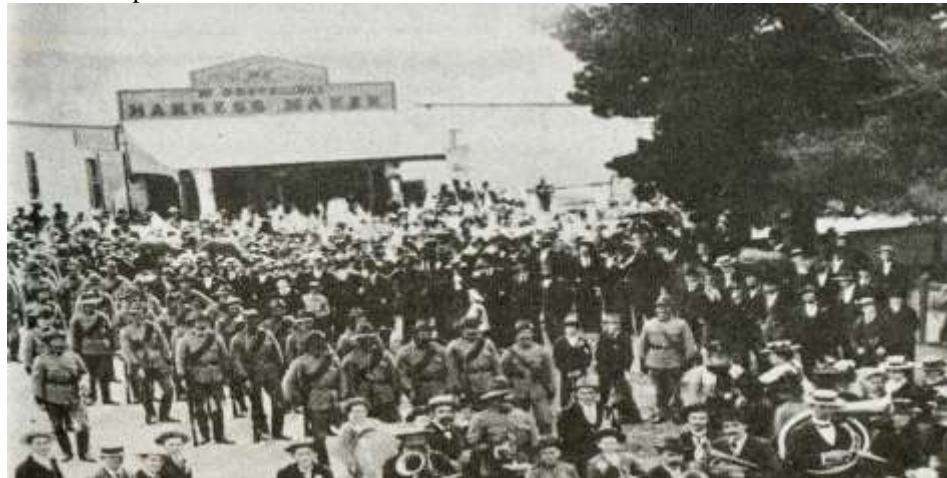
A procession of the Mosquito Plains Lodge of Oddfellows in Smith Street – circa 1890

By 1891, Naracoorte was not the place it was a few years before as witnessed by the closed business places. It was on a down grade and no one could wonder because it was hemmed in by locked lands in the hands of squatters and a visiting reporter expressed the view that:

Truly a progressive land tax is sorely needed in this, the garden of Australia. Let the most rabid opponent of the scheme only visit the place and look dispassionately at the position and he must come to the conclusion that a discriminating tax is not only desirable but necessary... The estates contain land sufficient to settle hundreds of families and put thousands of pounds in circulation annually.

This is a matter that concerns people as a whole for in a few years we will have federation and, unless we get our industries firmly established and railway freights reduced, Warnambool, having then no duty to pay as at present, will swamp the market with produce to the injury of the [district]...

Now is the time to take action or we will find when too late that we have allowed ourselves to drift with the tide and are upon the rocks without hope



Celebration of the relief of Mafeking in 1900



100 years separate these photographs – Smith Street in 1875 and 1975

Appendix 19

The Good Samaritan

During my lifetime I have, on occasions, ventured into the role of a 'Good Samaritan' but, at all times, have been fully aware of the message contained in an ancient moral that: 'People who rush into things without using judgment run into strange and unexpected dangers.'

Recently, while in the throes of tidying up a quarter century of correspondence in relation to my research into the place names of South Australia, I came across two letters written in the 1990s by a South-East historian who had written and published a book on the Naracoorte district.

As I had accumulated a wealth of additional information on the nomenclature of the town, I stepped into the shoes of the 'Good Samaritan' and forwarded an Email that contained the following dissertation:

To some early nomenclators 'Naracoorte' was believed to be a corruption of an Aboriginal name for the local creek, while correspondence in 1860 suggested that it was called *Naracoorta* by the Aborigines; but see below where this statement is disputed; another letter referred to the new town of 'Narracoorta'.

Dr Gunning, who settled there in 1849, said the name should be *Gnanga-Kurt*, but did not give a meaning of it while Mr Magarey said his father, who was at Naracoorte in 1861, was told by the natives that the name was *nanna-coorta* and that this name was 'given to the public by the Press'; Mr McIntosh said the word meant 'large waterhole'. [See *Magarey Park*]

In 1908, there was a reference that said that James Mclean, a Sheriff's officer, mentioned 'Nancoota Springs' in one of his reports while Alexander Tolmer recorded 'Narcoota Springs'.

Further, in his reminiscences, Norman V. Wallace recounted another version told to him by Malcolm Nicholson who was born 'just over the border in the early days':

Once, when some Aborigines were fishing in the creek that caught a yellow-bellied fish and were asked what they called it; and they had said something like 'naracoorta' which the surveyors translated into the name of the creek.

The local historian, who shall remain unnamed, advised the author that:

I have never been satisfied with the attempts to find the meaning if, indeed, there is one for the name 'Naracoorte'. The references to water seem quite inappropriate, as the Naracoorte Creek is a largely seasonal stream - or was until the 1897 earthquake opened springs... The only place within a short distance... with Aboriginal links is 'Garey's Swamp', which again was highly seasonal... The reference to water just doesn't make much sense...

[Another local historian, Peter Rymill, believes 'the creek was of prime importance as stock water to the early settlers, and Ormerod's Waterhole was the principal datum point in the early surveys.']

Someone, and it was not a local, told me that it should be *Ngarga Coota* - 'place of the stone'. Garey's Swamp was known to be a place where Aboriginal corroborees were held. An old resident recalled several in her childhood. She told us people came from all around, not just the locals... It was known that ceremonial meetings for trade and marriage arrangements were part of the South East culture.

Is it not then possible that trading for stone axes took place there, in an area where no suitable stone existed?

In contrast to these opinions, correspondence from Messrs Sherratt and Ormerod on 8 October 1845, to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, describes their run as being on Woorlirtina Creek where 'the south west angle of the block has been cut off to meet [the] proposed boundary of Mr Sanders' run. In order to make it a compact block we have had to enclose a considerable proportion of waste swampy land now under water, also part of the stringy bark range.'

This primary source evidence negates, to a certain extent, the above secondary source explanations as to the name of the creek and the Penola historian, Peter Rymill, found it most interesting as it places another early pastoralist, Benjamin Sanders 'still west of Naracoorte [at Moyhall]' who 'hadn't yet moved to Morambro' and, as for the name 'Woorlirtina', he opined that the town may have to be renamed!

This recital prompted a chastisement that belied my years of research:

I received your email and the many interesting attachments with interest. I do not accept your point that the so-called primary sources are more believable than the 'secondary' source I quoted... I believe that you have used the authority of Tindale yourself a number of times, and he gained his information from Aborigines of the region, applying his understanding of their language, which none of the others you referred to could do... if they are primary sources, then he most certainly is also. As for the creek name, it is interesting, but seems quite out of place in this area... much more at home in the Flinders. I will pursue this myself further.

It was apparent to me that this 'broadside' was a reprehensible interpretation of my submission and I replied as follows:

I acknowledge your response to my recent Email and, at the outset, must say, as politely as possible, that I cannot reconcile some of your comments with the content and inherent intent of my 'Naracoorte nomenclature'.

(1) You say, *inter alia*:

'I do not accept your point that the so-called primary sources are more believable than the 'secondary' source I quoted...'

Please read my Email again.

I was neither disparaging of your comments on nomenclature, nor any others I listed, nor did I offer an opinion on the relative merits of such sources. – My comment namely - "This primary source evidence negates, to a certain extent, the above secondary source explanations' referred only to '**the name of the creek**' as clearly **stated in my text.**

(2) Forgive me, but I cannot comprehend your comment, namely:

'As for the creek name, it is interesting, but seems quite out of place in this area... much more at home in the Flinders. I will pursue this myself further.'

I said – 'correspondence from Messrs Sherratt and Ormerod on 8 October 1845, to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, describes their run as being on Woorlirtina Creek and described the land as being "60 miles north of Rivoli Bay known as the run country".' This letter is to be found in the State Records Office and, therefore, for you to dismiss it in such a peremptory manner is, to my mind, inexplicable.

(3) You say:

'I believe that you have used the authority of Tindale yourself a number of times, and he gained his information from Aborigines of the region, applying his understanding of their language, which none of the others you referred to could do... if they are primary sources, then he most certainly is also.'

I am most confused by this comment because my Email did not mention Tindale's name nor did I make any reference to any nomenclature of Naracoorte emanating from him. Your gentle remonstrance is, therefore, bewildering, to say the least.

By this statement you, to my mind, suggest that 'your' nomenclature is partially (?) based on his work? However, your 1996 letters to me indicate otherwise – you name a gentleman from the SA Museum – a 'Bob Edwards', I believe! You did not Mention 'Tindale' at any time in your 1996 letters to me!

According to my research, Tindale did comment on 'Naracoorte' in which he refers to Tolmer's nomenclature. Tindale suggested *Ngarangurt* as the root word and said the name was probably corrupted and applied to the nearby 'Narcoot (*sic*) Waterhole'. (Tolmer refers to 'Narcoota Springs'.)

My idle ramblings on this subject are of no great consequence and, accordingly, I have no desire to enter into any correspondence in respect of any of my findings which, I assure you, were not 'conjured' up but came from methodical research at the State Library, State Records Office, General Registry Office, local newspapers of Mt Gambier and Naracoorte and consultation with several of your fellow-historians in the South East.

I extend my best wishes to in your ongoing research and advise that I have discussed much of my work with Mr Peter Rymill of Old Penola Station who has been most helpful. Further, he has copies of some of the more 'interesting' and 'controversial' documents (for example, Mr Campbell's sketch of the location of the Caledonian Inn on Ormerod's Run) I found, some of which raise doubts as to the veracity of some of the district's recorded history - You may also find the following website to be of assistance - www.slsa.sa.gov.au/manning

No response was received and, accordingly, I have vowed that, in the future, to 'coin a phrase' 'neither a lender nor a Good Samaritan shall I be!'

Appendix 20

The Township of Glenelg - 1839-1904

The country looked more like land in the possession of persons of property rather than that left to the course of nature alone. [There were] no bounds to the flats of fine rich looking country with an abundance of fresh water lagoons.

(Colonel Light, 1836)

The mark of civilisation having been set upon that part of our coast, now known as the Corporate Town of Glenelg, but where formerly existed only a naked beach and dreary sandhills, the original coastline is scarcely, if at all, possible of recognition. Art has stepped in and supplanted the rude dominion of nature, dotting all over the barren stretch, with comfortable homesteads and superior edifices.

(Chronicle, 2 April 1859)

Introduction

At the dawn I rise and in my pyjamas betake me to the open to witness the creation of a new day. All is silence except the cascade from the waves as they boom along the sand. My nostrils inhale the iodine from Patawalonga Creek... Presently I hear a flutter in the air; it is my male magpie, who alights on the fence before me...

(Register, 5 June 1888)

The name 'Glenelg' honours Lord Glenelg, whose baptismal name was Charles Grant. Born at Kidderpore, Bengal, India, on 26 October 1778, he went to England in 1790 and, at the time of founding of South Australia, was Secretary of State for the Colonies; he died in 1866. The name was suggested by George Stevenson, the Governor's private secretary, and appeared first in print in the 'Proclamation' that is discussed elsewhere. As to the infant village, and remnants of the original settlement, in correspondence to the *Adelaide Observer*, in 1877, Mr W.H. Leigh provided extracts from a letter written in 1839:

The situation of this place as a settlement will never do unless immense expense be incurred by draining. There is here on the beach a kind of hovel called a store, as empty as the pockets of the man who keeps it, and that, added to some half a dozen miserable and comfortless looking slab huts, is the town of Glenelg... They find it does not answer and are about to desert it.

The four families who had fixed their residences here when lo! the place of their rest was surrounded in the night by a torrent of four or five feet deep and all hands were forced to run for their lives. Dr Everard, who from being so utterly surrounded by water was unable to fly, got upon a table and with his family waited until daylight, when he turned out and dug a trench in the distance which carried off some of the flood. He had now a kind of embankment around his hut. On the right is a swamp, filling around the remainder of his dwelling which swarms with mosquitoes and bullfrogs and keep up their music day and night. 'Oh', quoth the doctor when I visited him, 'these are the beauties of emigration.'

In *Place of Waters*, Dulcie Perry says that:

Little is known of the fate of the buildings first erected at Glenelg. The Commissioner's store survived the departure of the first settlers and provided shelter for Hutchinson when, as an Emigration Officer, he stayed overnight there. Some time during 1838 there was erected 'The Reed Hut' amid the sandhills near the corner of the present Anzac Highway and Colley Terrace.

It had walls of native pine and a thatched roof of reeds; its length was thirty feet and width ten feet. Although not licensed until 1839 to Francis Fenden, this primitive inn opened its doors to the wayfarer as early as June of the previous year.

In 1839, the South Australian Government called tenders for the purchase of 65 acres of land at Glenelg for £1 per acre when more than 1,000 tenders were submitted and the winner drawn subsequently by ballot. One barrel containing blanks with the exception of one bearing the word 'Glenelg', were drawn by the Colonial Chaplain, and a second, containing the names of the applicants, by Mr (later Sir) John Morphett. William Finke was the holder of the lucky paper and one of a syndicate of six comprising Osmond Gilles (the Colonial Treasurer), Miss Emily Blunden (Mr Gilles's ward), J. Oakden (Mr Gilles's nephew), H.R. Wigley SM, Matthew Smith, solicitor and Mr Finke, who was the Chief Clerk in the Treasury. The land grant was issued to W. Finke on 23 March 1839.

This land was north of today's Jetty Road and an interested settler, John Bond Phipson, was to recall:

On the occasion of the drawing at Glenelg - it was made a gala day - champagne flowed freely, the sun shone brightly, but brighter still were the black and blue eyes of the admiring fair ones who gave their fascinating attendance to add splendour to the scene; but, alas, in the afternoon showers came down in a deluge and so much wet was taken inside and outside by a majority of the gentlemen as to qualify themselves to be inmates of the cheerful and shady [inebriates'] retreat at Belair, had it been built...

In alienating the Glenelg section, care was taken to reserve an acre for a Custom House for government purposes and, on the same day that Finke's tender for the section of Glenelg was accepted formally, on 9 February 1839, a contract for its construction was secured by Messrs East and Breeze who, by November 1839, were reported to have all but completed the work - the contract price was £340. It was at this time that Governor Gawler requested the proprietors to name the church 'St Peter's' and the public square 'Torrens'.

Close to the Custom House was a flagstaff serving as a Signal Station for the announcement of the arrival of ships. John Anthony, Customs Officer, hoisted a flag whenever a vessel was sighted coming up the Gulf and had instructions that, at the same time, he was to fire one or two guns - one signified the arrival of a ship from one of the her colonies and two, of a vessel from England.

The Village Emerges

Little flocks of geese are kept by householders for no other apparent purpose than to annoy and endanger passers-by... We have seen a horse driven almost into a state of frenzy... by the open-mouthed assault of one of these hissing, cackling tribes.

(Register, 26 February 1859)

A plan is held in the Lands Department showing the 'Township of Glenelg' as designed and surveyed by Messrs Light and Finniss and Co. in 1839 and approved by Governor Gawler. However, it shows the road pattern only and not the allotments and covers the land granted to Mr Finke, only. On 22 January 1855, a document, certified by R.B. Colley, Henry R. Wigley, Osmond Gilles and Matthew Smith as being a correct plan was deposited in the General Registry Office, showing the allotments and covering the same area as Light's plan.

By the years 1841-1842, there were about half a dozen houses erected at the Bay and any one of the owners could have turned out his horse at night and caught it readily next morning. At that time there was no bridge across the River Sturt and, when its waters rose, a resident of Glenelg had no alternative other than remain there until they subsided. Accordingly, Sir John Morphett, H.R. Wigley and a few others clubbed together to build the first wooden bridge at a cost of about £45.

By 1845, it was in a dangerous state and the residents felt obliged to ask the government for assistance to which a parsimonious answer suggested that the necessary funds should be sought from the complainants. Incensed, Mr Wigley, the resident magistrate, entered into lengthy negotiations with the Colonial Engineer and was rewarded with the munificent sum of £5 to eliminate the inherent danger. By 1849, the bridge was in a ruinous state and, following much wrangling between Glenelg citizens and the government, coupled with personal debt problems of the contractor, John Wilson, the new structure was duly opened in July of that year.

Nathaniel Hailes visited the incipient village in 1842 and recalled that:

It was not the Glenelg of today, with railway, pier, etc.; nor was it the Glenelg at which I had landed three years before; for then it was a mere beach, whereas now a few cottages were sprinkled among or behind the sandhills.

The most considerable of them was occupied by Mr Wigley, the Resident Magistrate of Adelaide. That house was always open to me, and besides partaking of Mr Wigley's hospitality, I learned much...

By the spring of 1843, it was declared that the pleasant little watering place could, truly, be called a growing township, although its advances had not been made with such 'rapid strides as anticipated by its founders.' Within six months this 'pleasant marine township' was a favourite resort for sea bathing with upwards of 20 houses occupied chiefly by 'respectable families both from town and country' and it was said that two or three additional bathing machines were to be provided for the ensuing season and that a new host and hostess would greet visitors at the Glenelg Hotel:

Glenelg is not without its share in the widespread tillage of the province; and if it cannot boast of its very extensive enclosures, the well-fenced sections and allotments in its neighbourhood give evidence of great care and skill and the promise of a rich harvest. The Sturt has become a powerful stream and the flats in the neighbourhood have been extensively flooded, imparting to the picturesque estate and residence of John Morphett, Esquire, (as seen from some points of view), a striking appearance of insularity. Glenelg evidently possesses some peculiar characteristics and capabilities of an important character are imputed to its locality as an eligible future secondary port...

In 1844, taking advantage of circumstances, Mr Green established himself in the 'large and handsome inn and boarding house called the Glenelg Hotel.' This building replaced Mr Frances Fenden's licensed premises, the 'Reed Hut', which was well situated and commanded a beautiful view.

The licensee had a number of boarders, many visitors and a great name for 'liquors and *vivres*, accommodation, attendance, and above all, for reasonable charges.' Another hotel, the Saint Leonards Inn, was built by John McDonald and licensed in 1848 on land facing the Adelaide Road and east of the Government Reserve.

By the close of 1845, many houses were available for rental purposes and, during the summer months, all available places were engaged and some of them even taken for a year; accordingly, some holidaying families were obliged to board at the hotel.

At this time, the permanent residents of the village included the families of Messrs Mundy, Giles, Birrell, H.W. Phillips, King (Gawler Town), Bickford, Fleming, J. Stephens and Mrs Howard. In an effort to extol the attractions of the resort a roving reporter opined that 'we believe no shark has been seen since the foundation of the colony.'

In September 1849, it was reported that the invalids of Adelaide were taking advantage of the 'salubrious air of this delightful marine township', while shooting, fishing, bathing, boating, drives and strolls, 'enabled one to pass away

the time most agreeably.' The township, extended during the preceding year, had been embellished with several most substantial edifices. Further, it boasted of a chapel, boarding school, three small stores and two large inns.

The town's first shopping centre emerged in 1851 on each side of Adelaide Road; Peter Cook had a butcher's shop on the eastern side of Sturt Street with contiguous slaughter yards, while Henry Trevenen engaged in the same trade near the Saint Leonards Inn. Philip Lee erected a bakery on the corner of Sturt Street and Adelaide Road where it was conducted by Samuel Nelson and, east of this establishment, the Berkshire Hotel was built. Nearby, William Hitchcox conducted a pharmacy on the eastern corner of Nile Street and, further to the east, stood several residences, Beck's Bakery and Kennett's General Store.

At the same time, the town consisted of sixty houses and more than 200 inhabitants, while a new township called 'New Glenelg' was laid out to the south of the existing one:

Glenelg is set on both sides of the Bay Road and skirts the base of the sand hills on the south side of the creek, which enters here, sand stretches along the east of that creek on the north side of the road overlooking Holdfast Bay... New Glenelg was being laid out [and] we could not discover its exact locality unassisted and were advised by one individual who pointed it out to us, to provide a boat if we intended to purchase land there, but this advice another individual of more liberality seemed to consider as founded on exaggeration.

Within ten years the mere township of former days had become a corporate town and the 'splendid pier erected at the public expense being the point of arrival and departure for the English mails and of passengers to and from the ocean steamships.' A Custom House had been established and Captain Duff appointed Harbour Master and Collector of Customs. By the time of the proclamation of Glenelg as a municipality on 23 August 1855, the area within its boundaries accommodated about 100 houses, two churches, three inns, a slaughter yard with contiguous boiling down works, a general store, two bakeries, a pharmacy, two butcher shops, a pound and a forge.

Years of Progress

Like all small and isolated communities [we have] passed through an Eatanswill state of development... full of its own importance ... impressed with the dignity of its increasing wealth, on familiar terms with all leading citizens, and tormented by a morbid passion for local news.

(Register, 11 June 1868)

Visitors to the Bay in March 1857 would have observed a huge machine opposite Government Cottage and a quantity of heavy timber lying adjacent thereto. It was driving piles for a bridge to lead over the creek at Saint Leonards, while the telegraph line from Adelaide was 'quietly opened' on 3 September 1859, when messages were exchanged between the Governor and Mayor of Glenelg. William Jewell became the resident superintendent and conducted telegraph services continuously, except between 10 p.m. on Saturday and 2 a.m. on Sunday.

There are three good hotels and numerous lodging houses, with board and supplies of all kinds... Several capacious and handsome omnibuses ply throughout the day and fares being only a shilling up or down... While for those who dislike locomotion, the telegraph presents the requisite facilities for rapid communication with distant parts of the province and the neighbouring colonies... Glenelg offers many inducements...



Government Cottage

The late 1850s heralded the first instance of civic concern about spoliation of the environment when the local chemist, Mr Hitchcox, lodged a complaint against two tradesmen claiming that they were throwing offal into a creek contiguous to his premises, but a subsequent investigation by David Davie, the local constable, failed to establish a case against the alleged offenders. Later, Mr Trevenen, butcher and local councillor, was embarrassed when served with a notice to clean out his pig sties. This was a forerunner to the promulgation of a local by-law banning the slaughtering of cattle and the keeping of pigs within the township but, as related later, it was not strictly enforced.

You, the reader, may well ask as to what solutions were brought forward to counter these and other perceived evils - they are appended in tabular form:

Empty the cesspools, cleanse the yards, and streets,
Banish fellmongers and pigs, burn or bury all filth,
Do not allow two butchers, greengrocers or candle-makers to carry on trade on the same acre,
Cause the eaves of the houses to be furnished with gutters, the footways to be paved,

The cesspools to be covered over and provided with stink-traps,

Allow no slaughtering of any description within the town, and, until proper sewers can be constructed let wells be sunk at the corners of each street, into which gutters containing the refuse water should be directed,

Water should be laid on to each house as early as possible.

Appoint an officer with power to inspect premises and enforce cleanliness, repairs of drains and gutters and burial of filth, *etc.*,

Appoint public scavengers and nightmen to act under him [*sic*],

Require all future erections to have back, as well as front entrances, and to have at least one window and a chimney in each room,

Houses to be roofed with slate and be furnished with proper drains, closets, *etc.*

By 1858, the extensive plain, that stretched away from the sandhills, was 'dotted over with neat and comfortable homesteads, long lines of hedgerows and regular fencing, with green patches of fruit trees, vines and grass, indicating an order of things that, 22 years before, would not have been imagined':

The wurleys of the nomadic Aboriginal had given way to the settled home of the white man and pretty cottages and elegant mansions were to be seen at frequent intervals for the entire distance between the Glenelg creek and the rocks below Brighton, affording promise that the dry and sandy beach would become one long site of several flourishing villages.

Prior to the close of the 1850s, the majority of the houses 'built for persons of small means were constructed mainly of nine-inch brickwork, the roofing being, generally, shingles from Van Diemen's Land', while the population stood at 724. By October 1863, many new buildings, comprising large residences, as well as several of the cottage order, had been completed. Their style was a great improvement on those of their predecessors, for in the early days of the colony mud walls were predominant, a few cottages being of wood and, still fewer, of inferior bricks.

Later, a 'sort of soft stone' found in the immediate neighbourhood was used commonly. Its appearance was good and some of the houses thus constructed had an imposing look; but there was evidence to show that it would soon decay. For example, the walls of two promenades above the beach gave evidence of this as the stones were seen to be 'absolutely retiring from the mortar'.

The same was the case with those of several large buildings, in the construction of which 'economy rather than utility had been consulted.' But some houses then being erected were, in more than one case, built of Glen Osmond stone, while many cottages had walls of that material 18 inches thick.

With the erection of more costly buildings, Glenelg developed a mind for insurance, the agents, in their enthusiasm, undertaking the maintenance of a fire brigade in Adelaide, whose amateur members were attired in scarlet and ran up the street at an alarm, putting on their uniforms as they progressed. Often they arrived when a building was long past salvation and it was no novelty for them to be greeted with hisses and groans by a long-gathered crowd.

The brigade's responsibilities spread beyond the four terraces and things reached such a pass that, when the police engine took nearly two hours to reach the burning Union Bank at Port Adelaide in 1851, Peter Warburton, the Commissioner, was asked for a report that concluded with the comment that 'the police have more police duties than they can well get through and it [was] not to be expected that they can, while numerically so weak, do firemen's and police duties.'

Having drawn too many blanks in the lottery, the fire assurers became restive of maintaining reels and hoses unassisted. This was remedied in the 1850s when the Adelaide corporation provided 'an admirable engine' in the form of a corrugated iron tank and cistern mounted on a cart body with a force pump to which was attached a long leather hose and a ladder.

There were spry fellows in those days who recognised the value of publicity. In a conspicuous place on every house that was insured, the company affixed its metal plaque, resplendent with a crown or rising sun. The burnished plate, gleaming in the flames, was a cogent reminder of the value of insurance and a guide to the insurance man who rushed to the scene. If his plate was on the building he could work with a will to save it. If it were not, the matter was of no concern to him.

Late in the 1870s the companies, further disgruntled at paying for the protection, not only of property in which they might be interested, insured or uninsured, approached the government, which had valuable property at stake, for aid. An arrangement was then inaugurated by which the companies, the government and the municipalities each paid a moiety. The introduction of a brigade at Glenelg in 1876 is discussed elsewhere.

Fish and oysters were abundant at Glenelg, but the supply was 'fitful and uncertain'. To meet this difficulty, the landlord of the principal hotel provided himself with a large floating reservoir, divided into eight compartments in which he kept several varieties of fish, including crayfish and oysters; this was moored to the jetty. Other requisites of life were well furnished - the meat, bread and milk were excellent, while vegetable carts traversed the streets daily with garden produce as good as could be bought in Adelaide.

A fierce gale struck Glenelg on 13 May 1865 when the earthworks at the entrance of the jetty were washed away, while the sea made havoc among the bathing houses, several of which were destroyed; some were turned around completely and stood with their doors open facing the promenade. The large boathouse near the pier was 'wholly beaten down', but the *Argus* boats in it received no injury. In Jetty Road, the water rose as far as the steps and nearly reached the front doors of the Pier Hotel.

Further south, the stone pillar at the corner of Mr Jaffrey's land (occupied later by Mr J.B. Neales) was carried away. The sandhills were cleared off for a considerable distance and, instead of sloping gently to the strand, formed perpendicular cliffs, in some instances about ten feet high. A bathing house erected a little beyond Mr Scott's road was broken up and its fragments lodged on the south sea wall near the Pier Hotel, while the creek rose to an unusual height and the little footbridge over the watercourse near the Town Hall was carried away entirely.



Massey's Bakery built in the 1860s

David Shepard, son of Captain Thomas Shepard of the South Australian Company, spent his boyhood at Glenelg in the pre-railway days; served for a time on Warcowie sheep station, was a midshipman on Sir Thomas Elder's ship *Collingrove* and, in later life, owned pleasure boats on Torrens Lake.

In his reminiscences he mentions no dates, but does provide us with this clue - He and a friend, for a time, briefly impersonated the Royal Princes, Albert Victor and George, at their arrival on Glenelg jetty, which suggests that the writer was in his late teens at the time of the Royal Visit in 1881:

I was born at Glenelg, next door to old Peter Cook's butcher shop, and not far from the old Patawalonga Creek. As far back as I can remember, I went to a school that was facing the mouth of the creek. The master's name was Sweetman at the time... In those days Glenelg was so different to the Glenelg of today. Everybody was known to each other, and were awfully good - 'even your next door neighbours.' I never remember hearing anyone getting into serious trouble, girl or boy. There were no charabancs to take young people into the hills, no moving picture shows, or anything of that kind, perhaps that partly accounts for it.

There were three hotels - The Pier, Saint Leonards and the Berkshire - south-east of the Berkshire and facing Sandison's paddock stood a little chapel with a porch entrance to it. Never in my memory was it open for service - at the back of it, fenced in, was [*sic*] about fifty tombstones over graves. The front and back doors and windows were covered with cobwebs, and the porch with swallows' nests.

Then there came the time when some big horses came down from town and carted those tombstones away and it was rumoured in the town that the bodies were taken also and buried in one big hole in West Terrace - whether that was true I am not in a position to say, but I do know that many things were done then that would not be allowed now.

There were only three shops; Hitchcox, whose shop was the Post Office and chemist shop combined - he sold groceries also. Next to this was Temple's grocery and drapery; then came Mrs Humphries bun shop - that was the shop us boys knew best. Oh! how many times did we look with longing eyes at the buns and lick the steam off the window.

As I said before, Glenelg was so different to the Glenelg of today. There was [*sic*] no sea baths. The old creek had not been sheet piled or lock gates put across the mouth which proved such a white elephant to the town folk and killed the natural channel into the bargain. The bridge was a narrow footbridge.

By the end of 1865, the 'utter failure of the commercial anticipations once entertained with reference to the port of Glenelg', suggested, forcibly, the desirability of an undertaking to render it increasingly attractive as a watering place. It was being realised that Glenelg could not wrest away the marine trade from Port Adelaide while, conversely, Port Adelaide could not compete with Glenelg as a watering place and summer retreat for the citizens of the metropolis and its suburbs - that is supposing justice was done to Glenelg, and an irate 'Glenelgite', with lingering doubts on this subject, cast some of the blame squarely upon the shoulders of council members:

With the absurd regulations prohibiting bathing at a bathing place and what with sharks, which appear now and then to cooperate with [Police] Sergeant Badman, Glenelg is virtually shut up. Only think of a bathing place where you must not take a dip, except in the dead of night; of a bathing place where there is no protection against sharks in the water, and no 'bobbies' on shore. A fine idea of a marine retreat! People who want sea bathing must provide themselves with bottles and carry home the precious fluid for dressing room ablutions...

Glenelg had, however, improved much in preceding years in spite of cold neglect and want of enterprise in certain quarters. There were good shops, good inns and good lodging houses, handsome churches and good schools. The township had improved, but it was the beach that was neglected and yet it was there that the township had to look for progress:

Either by private enterprise or by corporate funds proper bathing grounds should be laid out and every inducement offered to visitors, tired of the heat and dust of the city and longing for a cool invigorating plunge, secure alike from the bite of a shark or the grasp of a peeler...

At this time innocent amusements were provided by travelling entertainers and among the treats provided was a roundabout located on a vacant allotment:

It provided a considerable amusement, not only to children but to those of larger growth who may be seen occasionally booted and spurred seated on one of the wooden horses and going around the circle with a gravity of countenance that proves highly refreshing to the spectator. Judging from the fee demanded and the amount of custom we should consider the roundabout a very profitable affair.

All was well, provided such events did not take place on a Sunday. Indeed, in colonial South Australia the Protestant churches regarded Sunday public entertainments as unhealthy signs of a threat to the sacredness of the day. They contended that the Sabbath day was 'instituted by God for man's sake and it might be said that it was a law of nature. Laws of nature were laws of God and to violate the laws of holiness led to man suffering.' Therefore, in the interests of the working man, it was of primary importance to preserve, without violation, the sacredness of the Lord's day. By the close of the 1860s the population of the town had increased to 1,324.



A view across College and Moseley Streets looking east in 1865

Floods and Noxious Odours

It seems a pity in a territory so broad as that of South Australia, that we must run up anti-malaria ramparts; and even in the sultry myths of summer seal ourselves hermetically in our houses to avoid inhaling poison... In many of the centre streets of Adelaide the air is powerfully impregnated with what, under favourable meteorological conditions, may prove to be the seeds of typhus and other epidemic diseases... [The suburbs] are all in turn subjected to the most loathsome smells that it is possible to conceive.

(Advertiser, 17 January 1871)

A decade of expansion followed, but in its wake came further spoliation of the environment, coupled with an increase in noxious odours and outbreaks of fatal diseases. In June 1875, Glenelg, with a population of about 2,000, was turned into a watering place in an extremely unpleasant sense of the word for much of the municipality was converted into a large lagoon in which houses, fences and other permanent objects stood out like dreary landmarks, roughly indicating the course of the streets, the boundaries of properties and serving as indices of the depth of the water.

Many residents had to seek shelter elsewhere, houses being injured permanently and the roads seriously damaged. But this was not the worst of the evil for there was an alarming prospect of the watery visitation proving a further source of danger to the community, for the presence of so much stagnant water must have 'eventuated to the generation of miasma highly prejudicial to the health of the citizens.'

Mr H.R. Wigley was of the opinion that the only remedial action available was to remove obstructions out of the way of the free course of the water down the River Sturt and 'this work the Corporation cannot perform... The matter should receive prompt attention at the hands of the government.'



Jetty Road in the 1870s

The aftermath of this inundation came in the form of a warning given to the citizens of Glenelg in September 1875: Glenelg will have to look to its laurels. It has been frequented in summer because of its salubrity, and for nothing else. Even the acknowledged benefits of the railway and jetty will not suffice to overcome prejudices created by one or two severe local epidemics.

At Glenelg, as at the Reedbeds and elsewhere along the coast, there has been received for centuries the drainage of the hills and if nothing is done to prevent the accumulation of water, the chief watering place of the province will become absolutely unhealthy in proportion as population increases...

It is enough for us to know that under the various names of bronchitis, scarlatina, typhoid and other fevers, we are visited by summer epidemics that appear to be becoming intensified in their character... Thorough drainage for Glenelg seems to imperatively called for...

Four years later the enterprising Editor of the *Register* assigned one of his reporters to visit the villages stretching along the coast from Semaphore to Marino and, in respect of Glenelg and near environs, he said:

Reaching Glenelg, where steady building improvements are in progress, we turn southward along the line of country partially traversed by the South Coast line. New Glenelg, as may be expected, is filling up surely if slowly; but as we advance we find few signs of animation in the building trade. Hastings, a pleasant sea front on the southern limit of Somerton, which was cut up some considerable time ago, remains a township, but in name only. The same may be said of the various groups of allotments between Somerton and the further end of Brighton and of Victor, adjoining the Thatched House Tavern; though at several points the Corporation of Brighton are cutting approaches through the sandhills to the line of railway which runs along the beach.

This line, which is convenient enough for casual visitors inclined to spend a day on the sea coast, or to explore the hitherto almost inaccessible 'rocks' to which locomotion now extends, is undoubtedly constructed at an inconvenient distance from the main portion of Brighton. As a consequence we find that the old line of conveyances maintain their footing and supply the main requirements of residents.

The long established (on paper) townships of Shoreham, New Brighton and Marino have not as yet shaken the lethargy of years. Building sites of convenient sizes, and in many cases of choice position, are in plenty; but population, permanent or migratory, is conspicuous by its absence,

The delightful slopes of the Adelaide range, as it dips into the gulf at this point, are tenanted by a few appreciative spirits; and even the newly opened railway has, up to the present, caused no influx of residents.

The absence of any hotel accommodation at or near the terminus of the line is inconvenient for casual visitors, who, unless forewarned and providentially forearmed, are fain to take an early opportunity of availing themselves of the earliest means of return to the centre of civilisation and beer.

We may yet look forward hopefully to the time when the enterprise of the projectors of the coast line may be rewarded by settlement of the strip of land abutting on the railway, and on this part of the Gulf, and by the appearance of ample attractions, in addition to those of nature, for the holiday public.

If the track survives the rough winter, which we are promised during the forthcoming season, another summer will probably direct more attention in this direction.



'Blanche Villa' built in 1856 – the 1880s photograph shows students of a school conducted by the Misses Stanton

Sanitary Problems

When it is considered how many people live within a few feet of the most vile-smelling pits, and how many of the water closets are never attended to or emptied... the wonder is that more sickness does not exist. The sources of those foul odours with which citizens... have become familiar still remain untouched... But this is not all or even the worst of the evil... The effluvium arising from water tables, cesspits, and vegetable refuse left to rot in backyards, or in the open streets, bears constant and pungent witness to the defective scavenging arrangements...

(Observer, 15 March 1873, Register, 13 December 1882)

It was at this time the 'Health of Towns' became the subject of parliamentary debate until, finally, it was realised that the public health was paramount and that no private interests ought to stand in the way of extensive reforms. At that time Adelaide and environs, including Glenelg, were the scene of fetid gutters, putrefying rubbish heaps, stagnant pools, stinking cellars, noxious trades and disease producing food. Further, many school rooms were ill-ventilated, while many dwellings were unsuitable for the climate, for they protected their inmates from neither winter cold nor summer heat.

In the early 1880s, another problem at Glenelg was reported as follows: 'The Chinaman's place is very bad; there are ten men living in one hut, and they are a dirty lot; there are two very filthy holes on their ground and when spoken to about it they say, "no savvy".' Further, local butchers boiled offal and fat and used the residual bones as fuel, while another of the same ilk sold residue from similar operations as manure, some of which found its way on to a garden in Moseley Street, thus causing malodorous vapours to waft over the neighbourhood.

The strongest objection against sanitary reforms was the cost, for they could not be accomplished without considerable expenditure. Of course, that meant increased taxation to which, unfortunately, most people had a great antipathy and, undoubtedly, this was the one reason above all that prevented the carrying out of some grand scheme of drainage in Adelaide and suburbs.

The ratepayers dreaded the cost and, so long as disease and death kept at a distance, they were willing to stand on the brink of danger that could break out at any moment, rather than tax themselves to a moderate amount in order to avert that danger. It was well known that nothing was more expensive in a family than sickness, and the cost of one attack of fever might be more in pounds than a sanitary rate would be in pence. That the public shut their eyes, generally, to remedial action was the greatest of all follies.

The best system for Glenelg was a matter for experts and professional men to determine but, at the time, the consensus of opinion was for the implementation of a system of deep drainage, than with mere scavenging. All other methods were dirty and offensive, but any would have been an improvement over the apology for the one then operating.

During following years, the importance of sanitary improvement was impressed upon the people, together with the fact that the soil upon which houses and shops were built was being permeated and poisoned by noxious refuse which, instead of being removed, was allowed to sink into the earth.

Accordingly, it was to the credit of the government that the question was taken up, for there was not a more important question to claim the attention of the legislature.



South Esplanade in 1875 – Seafield Tower at right

At Glenelg, and elsewhere, there were slaughterhouses to be met with, that were merely wooden sheds left uncleansed for years past. Yet they abutted upon streets used by residents and discharged their impurities, without gutter or drainage of any kind, upon the public roads. Pigsties were to be seen, also, in the same unwholesome state and there were localities where, on account of these causes, property was depreciated considerably in value.

For example, members of a nearby suburban council received an eye-opener with regard to the rearing of pigs for market during their inspection of local piggeries. Later, several councillors proclaimed that they would never eat pork again. Several sties were comparatively clean, but the majority were in a disgraceful state, while the abodes of the owners of the animals were, in one or two instances, as bad as - if not worse than - the sties themselves.

Two of the piggeries inspected were the cause of many wry faces and the scent that assailed the nostrils of the diligent inspectors was in marked contrast to eau de cologne - a drop of which one councillor earnestly requested, but did not receive. 'Happily for the pride of the British race the owners of these piggeries were not descendants of John Bull, both being of foreign extraction':

In a small two-roomed house, with scarcely room to turn around, lived a man, his wife and seven children. The floor of the apartment in which the children slept had unmistakable evidence of the recent presence of poultry and pigs. The state of the house was a fair indication of the condition of the sties. The other habitation was also a two-roomed house. The man and his wife occupied one of the rooms, while five children slept in the other.

The owners of these properties were served with notices to abate the unsanitary conditions, while it was noted that most of the piggeries in the district were as clean as man could keep them and earned for their owners the commendation of the councillors.

There was no excuse for such nuisances because land existed in the vicinity that was readily available for the proper conduct of every trade and where no one needed to be a source of trouble and inconvenience to neighbours. But, since there were persons who would not do this, it was necessary for the corporation to interfere, thereby preventing the neighbourhood from obtaining a bad character in sanitary matters and concomitant trauma in respect of its inhabitants.

By 1875, the death rate in South Australia was, substantially, above the average for the preceding ten years with infant mortality being the largest single contributor - it reached the staggering total of 1,113, *i.e.*, 30% of all deaths in the colony. This death rate was the worst in the Australian colonies and, at this time, 'in the City of Adelaide [it] was more than 40 per cent greater than in the remainder of the colony' - mute evidence of the wanton neglect of Parliament and Councils in framing and enforcing an adequate Health Act. A concerned citizen opined that:

Our colony compares very unfavourably with the others... it is clearly the duty of the legislature by passing an effective Health Act to arrest this enormous destruction of life... We cannot accept the verdict 'Died by the visitation of God' when the true cause is human neglect... That the causes of this excessive mortality are not far to seek any one will admit who has been familiar by experience with the vile stenches that pervade our streets, the utter want of drainage throughout ... and the plague spots in the shape of foul slaughterhouses and ruinous overcrowded habitations, reeking with pestilence...

Where sewers were not connected, the cemented and watertight cesspits were a menace to the public health and the authorities suggested that these pits should only be cemented at the sides, leaving the bottoms free. The liquids could then escape and the free use of dry earth, wood ashes, dry slack lime, or even carbonised sawdust, would be a great preventative of 'unpleasantness'.

One of the most dangerous customs of the day practised in some households was the habit of throwing the dirty water, etc., into the backyard. The recommended plan was to have a series of holes into which it should be emptied, with the hole being covered frequently and fresh ones provided. In the case of large gardens, where there was no underground drainage, the water was conveyed over the garden by drains made of brick and tarred over.

Further, it was recommended that all kitchen refuse be collected carefully and burned or carted away. With reference to milk and water, it was absolutely necessary that the former be boiled and water either boiled or filtered; boiled water was potable for two days only. The ordinary filters used in households consisted of alternate layers of sand, gravel and charcoal, the water having passed first through a sponge; unfortunately, many householders failed to clean the filters regularly with the result that they became ineffective.



Glenelg in 1884 looking south from the roof of the Pier Hotel.
The Family Hotel, demolished in 1984, is in the foreground

No positive action was taken at Glenelg until 23 June 1879 when a meeting of citizens was held. Previously, the government, following a request from the council for an appropriate sum to be placed on the Estimates, had refused to subsidise any expenditure spent on drainage works at Glenelg. The government was adamant and it appeared that the only alternative would be to secure the cost of such a scheme against the rates of the township. However, an editor of the Adelaide press had certain misgivings as to the capabilities of council members who, 'unfortunately, do not appear to work together very harmoniously, and it is questionable whether, under any circumstances, it would be wise to leave such an important work to their management and control':

On the other hand, it is certain, if the existing sanitary neglect is continued, Glenelg will speedily get a bad name which will keep away intending visitors and probably frighten out of the town some of the present inhabitants. This of course would quickly lead to a diminution of trade and to a very serious fall in the value of property...

A scheme has, it will be remembered, been prepared by Mr Chamier which... would meet the requirements of the case. Judging from the past the members of the local council are not all of one mind in the matter and continued dissension may seriously prejudice..., if not absolutely prevent, the accomplishment of the undertaking... It is high time that the sanitary requirements of the colony were recognised as they should be.

At the public meeting, Mr George Chamier, a civil engineer, said the scheme would cost about £7,000 and that similar schemes in England had reduced the incidence of typhoid fever by 60%. Accordingly, Mr Nicholson moved that the council 'take immediate steps to provide for the drainage of Glenelg' because eminent medical men had given evidence that it was in an unhealthy state from defective drainage and, as health was of paramount importance, it 'behoved everyone to do what was in their power to support the scheme.' Mr H.R. Wigley then rose to his feet and said that the unhealthy condition of Glenelg was caused mainly by the overflow of the River Sturt which the doctors said caused much ill health and, further, it must not be forgotten that the 'government had been most liberal in the past in keeping back its waters that inundated the place on an annual basis.'

Finally, it was decided that a copy of Mr Chamier's report be furnished to all ratepayers and that the matter be reconsidered at a later date which, in respect of a deep drainage scheme, turned out to be some 21 years! - namely, 22 February 1900, when Mr F.W. Ralph moved that 'although the present sanitary system is satisfactory, a committee be appointed to enquire as to the advisableness of introducing deep drainage.' At this time the population approximated 3,700 souls.

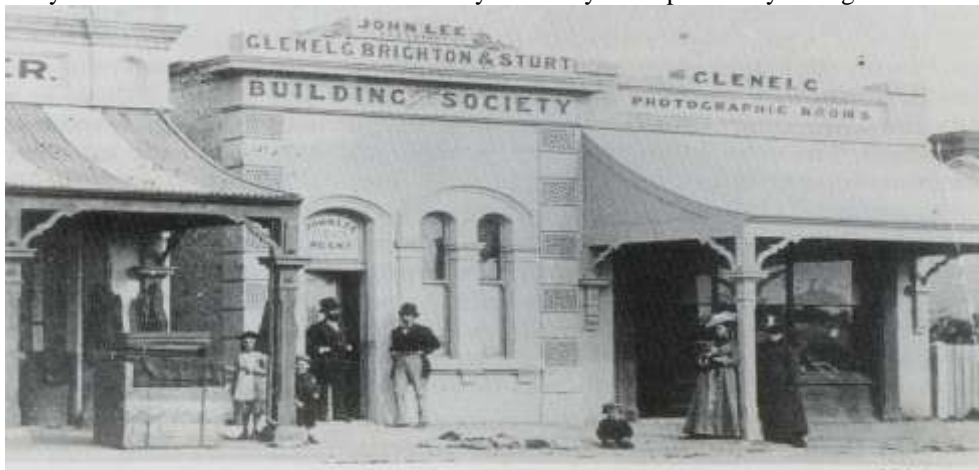
Reminiscing in 1905, a former Mayor in 1880-1882, W.B. Rounsevell said that he had advocated deep drainage for the town thereby displeasing many ratepayers who 'did him the honour of burning him in effigy.'

An outbreak of typhoid fever occurred in May 1884 and 'it was very prevalent around the district' and attributed to by the fact that, while watercourses carried all excess water from North Glenelg to the sea via the Patawalonga at South Glenelg, flood waters were trapped behind the sandhills, thereby creating stagnant pools:

In an endeavour to alleviate the problem a scheme was presented to clear the Sturt drain and to form two main drains running along St Ann's Terrace to Spencer Terrace and along Adelaide Road to Osmond Terrace. From these it was planned to lay sub-radial drains 18 inches wide to Pasquin Street; the main drains to be 24 inches wide, with an outflow to Patawalonga Creek.

In January 1885, at a meeting of the Glenelg Local Board of Health, the subject of a 'closet system' for about 3,000 residents was discussed as a means to 'supplement the system now in vogue in the town.' Mr Sabine thought that a dry earth system should be introduced and made compulsory, while the Chairman suggested that all existing cesspits be examined and that faulty ones be condemned and converted to the dry earth system at a cost from 15 shillings to £4. It was resolved that, 'as soon as 50 householders signified their intention to adopt the new system, the Local Board of Health should take steps to cause such a system to be adopted.'

The Dry Earth Closet was invented by Henry Moule and he took out a patent for it in 1873 in England. 'This was a compact neat wooden structure with a removal bucket. Concealed within a frame at the back of the seat was a container for dry earth that was released into a bucket by a lever system operated by the right hand.'



Jetty Road shops in the 1880s

In an interregnum, from 1885 until 1900, 'unsavoury smells were to be met in every street', while letters from Messrs Wigley, Lee and Dr Ferguson provided an interesting and, at times, amusing insight into the opinions of Glenelg citizens as to the oversight of the town's general health environment:

Whenever Glenelg is assailed, our pugnacious apothecary [Mr Hitchcox] comes to the fore with caustic pen to do battle on her behalf... I [Mr Wigley] have lived [by the side of the creek] over thirty years and at one time for nearly six weeks had Dr Bayer as a regular visitor, and on his leaving he always required some spiritual comfort to keep his 'purge from rising', as he said, against the perfume from the creek. I admit I have heard him say that it was a cheap emetic for an overloaded stomach; also, that the iodine (which Mr Hitchcox knows, as a chemist, is an irritant poison) which comes from the seaweed, somewhat counterbalanced the effect of sulphuretted hydrogen. One time, when the mouth of the creek was stopped, and the smell became very bad in consequence, one of the plagues of Egypt came upon us in the shape of blanes [*sic*] and boils. Personally, I was a walking advertisement of Bates's salve from the crop I had...

However, there is no denying that the matter from the creek makes splendid manure for crops and I have often pondered whether the iodine and hydrogen was [*sic*] the cause of the parsley beds in its vicinity being so prolific. But joking aside, let us see how far Dr Ferguson is supported. Dr Whittel, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on November 5 last on the Patawalonga Improvement Bill, said that he had frequently noticed an offensive smell arising from it - 'even at my residence, which is a mile distant, we have to close the doors and windows to shut out the smell.' The creek nuisance has been notorious for ages... [we should] get rid of that which is not only a private but a public cause of unhealthiness in our midst...

I [Dr Ferguson] saw the first case of typhoid fever in Gawler Place, Saint Leonards on April 7... With regard to the Patawalonga Creek all products of decomposition, specially if in large quantities, must be injurious to health, in spite of what Dr Bayer has said.

The late Dr Gosse and Dr Whittel and other competent medical men are of the same opinion as myself that the sulphuretted hydrogen given off from the creek is inimical to good health, and the sooner the decomposing seaweed is removed the better it will be for all who live in Glenelg and its neighbourhood...

Mr Wigley has lived thirty years on the shores of the Patawalonga and yet survives. Doubtless the infirmities of age begin to crowd upon him, and perhaps to this and not to the 'creek's foul smells' must be attributed the lamentable weakness of intelligence manifest in his reply to Mr Hitchcox... Re the Patawalonga - the dangerous smells are all bunkum. You may smile, Sir, but I [John Lee] tell you as an absolute fact that I know a gentleman who, before going to bed, goes into the open air and takes a good, hearty smell of this selfsame smell...

Mr Wigley has reared a large family in its vicinity; a fashionable boarding house is situated within its immediate influence; our keen-witted and progressive Judge Boucaut daily inhales its perfume; the controlling genius of one of our largest shipping lines (Mr S. Cornish) lives in the thick of it; and our gigantic Rounsevell, whose utterances have often made governments tremble, nightly feeds upon its aroma. Do these suffer? No, the men are strong and keen-witted and the children healthy and graceful and the mothers all that could be desired...

If it can be shown that the Patawalonga is injurious to health, I presume the government would be obliged to subsidise the damming, or undertake the job itself, but we need not damn the bay to dam the creek. There can be no doubt that if the Patawalonga weeds are not soon cleared away they will become the (as the population increases and drainage drifts that way) receptacle of many germs to life most deadly; but at the present time Glenelg still continues [as] the sanitarium of South Australia.

A poll was held on 1 December 1902 when ratepayers authorised a scheme, but nothing eventuated until July 1903 when 183 ratepayers wrote to the Commissioner of Public Works requesting that the necessary work be undertaken without any further delay. Subsequently, a public meeting was held when Mr H.D. Gell spoke out against it and said that Glenelg was one of the three healthiest towns in the State, while Mr Thomas Pickup moved for its introduction - this motion was carried by 56 votes to 25, with Mr Gell and five other ratepayers demanding a poll.

The Mayor ruled this demand out of order as the 'question had been decided on 1 December 1902 at a poll.' Work commenced in April 1904, when it was expected that 'the drainage scheme would be completed within twelve months' thereby providing decent sanitary arrangements for about 4,000 residents.

Conclusion

To the idea also that gave birth to the villa residence we owe much for our present standard of health and comfort... There is noticeable here a distinct moral and religious atmosphere that cannot but have an elevating effect upon the rising generation.

(Register, 21 January 1905)

And so we come to the end of Glenelg's 65th year and, perhaps, a fitting close to this chapter could be a citizen's eulogy delivered in 1906, an opinion of the town rendered in 1908 and a comment on the progress of the colony made at the close of the 19th century:

Sitting on the beach one can conjure up thoughts of the fierce tribal fights and corroborees, the feasts that followed victories. Where are the victors now? Swept away by the march of civilisation. The battlefield has given way to palatial seaside residences and the poor native with untutored mind who went underground to the accompaniment of a crack from a stout waddy, will marvel when judgment day comes along, to see the trains pouring their hundreds and thousands of holiday makers to the beach.

We want this town for ourselves - a quiet, clean, orderly residential place; not a hurdy-gurdy pleasure resort for every Tom, Dick and Harry. There are plenty of places along the gulf for the holiday crowd. Let us keep the place for ourselves.

Unfortunately, owing to the working of unjust laws and institutions which we have copied from the older countries, and which creates privileges and monopolies, the possession of the soil and other means of production now accumulate in the hands of one class of the community... We must remember that it is only unjust laws, not superior merit, that causes the wealth to accumulate in the hands of a few...

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Appendix 21

Recreation at Glenelg

Laws are frequently arbitrary enactments, passed, repealed and forgotten, but the amusements of the people are of national growth and universal influence. Recreation is a necessity of our existence and the person who devised a means of healthful, rational, moral amusement was deemed to be a benefactor of society.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

Introduction

I used to attend the theatre in my youth. When I became seriously religious I forsook the theatre, as I found by experience that the theatre did not favour piety, but the reverse... The brevity of the dresses of girls in the ballet is notorious...

(*Register*, 12 October 1885)

By the close of the 19th century, it was realised in South Australia that the public must have recreation and that the 'quality of the recreation supplied went as far as most other influences in forming and modifying the character.' Popular sports, also, were not overlooked by the social economist. Indeed, there was great knowledge of human nature implied in the famous remark: 'Let me make the people's ballads and I care not who makes their laws.'

In the halcyon days of the British Empire, in all places where Britons congregated, a watering place soon became a necessity. They could not exist long in comfort without a periodical run to the seaside where they might breathe the refreshing breath of the ocean and disport themselves like amphibious animals in and out of the water. London had its Ramsgate and Margate to which dusty and smoke-dried citizens repaired annually to have the accumulated cobwebs blown away from them.

In Adelaide, and adjoining suburbs, there were entertainments in considerable variety but, often, they were unsuitable and costly. The Institute in Adelaide was out of the way and its accommodation strictly limited, so it was natural for the most convenient place of resort to be the most frequented. This situation was remedied in suitable suburban locations by the provision of well-lighted and well-ventilated rooms, where a supply of periodicals was kept, a smoking room provided, provision made for those who chose to indulge in a quiet game of draughts or chess, and the essential matters of cleanliness and warmth duly attended to.

Clearly, however, religious people did not always perceive the importance of employing auxiliary measures to assist them in their undertakings. Indeed, much good could have been done other than by sermons in places other than churches, and at times other than on Sundays.

As for temperance bodies their motives were, no doubt, well-meaning, but whether their methods were directed as wisely as might have been was always open to considerable question because the complaint was made that, after so many years of toil, the vice of intemperance had not been checked sensibly and the blame laid on the number and attractiveness of public houses.

Drunkenness is mournfully prevalent at this neighbourhood. There are too many hotels here... some of them are conducted in a respectable manner, in others every art is used to induce men to drink...

Our young men are being hurried to destruction at a railway speed... I am well assured that in this place there will not be another such disgusting scene enacted as a man being drunk, drowned and buried in a day.

If those pious souls had attempted to outbid the hotels, by providing a greater attraction at a lower cost, they would have ensured public patronage and support, and if they had provided suitable resorts for the working man on the

principles of temperance, with materials for social enjoyment and mental improvement, would have gained a larger amount of credit than what was achieved by wordy agitation.

Recreation at Glenelg

The time is not long past when mock modesty was a fashionable virtue. Newspapers, in obedience to a popular prejudice, abstained from the mention of topics not then considered proper to be discussed in polite society. The moral ostrich had his head in the sand, while every form of vice flourished exceedingly, in what was thought to be a decent seclusion.

(*Register*, 18 October 1928)

From the first, as if by common consent, Glenelg was chosen as the summer residence of Adelaide citizens for it possessed advantages not found at other places. It was near the city; the bay was open, the sands broad and beautiful and, from the time of the construction of the jetty in the 1850s, a pleasant promenade for visitors. The one drawback was that there was no vegetation, for not a solitary tree was to be seen near the coast.

Despite this, by 1866 the place had grown in importance on its own merits. However, nothing was done to force it into notice. Indeed, it could have been said that it had been culpably and foolishly neglected. The people living there were content to go on in an easy, humdrum sort of way, living quietly and leaving the township to take care of itself. The feeling of a stranger visiting it was that it was a dull, scattered, uninteresting place, with no amusements, and no attempts made to attract visitors.

A watering place without amusements of some kind was, as a matter of course, very slow. There was not even a circulating library, that invariable concomitant of English marine towns and villages:

Long walks on the sands or cheerful promenades on the jetty might have sufficed for a few days, but by about the third or fourth day strangers were apt to be bitten by the 'black dog' of ennui. Angling off the jetty could put a day away and an occasional sail in the bay was sometimes to be enjoyed. The landing of passengers from the omnibuses, or the arrival of a fishing boat loaded with snapper, soon palled on the not over-delicate nerves of visitors. But for the evenings there was no amusement. Churches and chapels opened their doors for one or two nights, but, judging from the number of the congregations, 'week night' services were not very popular at the Bay. There were no concerts, no balls, no band to discourse eloquent music. Glenelg wanted a large public room where people could sit comfortably together and be amused.

By the mid-1850s, regattas were being held together with the 'merry sport of a duck hunt' and, not infrequently, horse racing on the beach - both these aspects of life at the Bay are discussed elsewhere. In 1866, there were miscellaneous sports advertised to take place and many visitors were attracted by the 'ambiguous programme' which 'as usual turned out to be rather mythical in character':

Deposited tenderly and civilly in front of the Pier Hotel we spent some time admiring the display of bunting which waved on the roof... Leaving that institution we got onto the pier... For our own part we don't think that Glenelg would ever have grown to half its present size but for the pier... When we got half way along we encountered a crowd of Portonians just discharged from the *Eleanor*. They seemed to be in the highest spirits, notwithstanding that there was no appearance of the hack races, nor even of preparations for the duck hunt... There being, as we have said, no regular games, the principal amusement of the people consisted in looking at each other, varied by an occasional shy-off in the direction of Moseley's, ending in shandy gaff or some other complement of the season. Those of an artistic turn of mind found a real, though not a very exciting kind of pleasure, in surveying the green venetian shutters of the nobbish houses or in counting the different colours of galvanised iron on the verandahs. There was no other civic decoration that we can remember about the place unless it was the flagstaff which, however, did not take a prominent part in the festivities of the day, the mail steamer having been expected in every minute:

Taking a retrospective view of the event, we believe the best way to enjoy a holiday at the Bay is to drive down in your own buggy, with your own dinner and your own wine packed under the seats... To select a quiet spot on the beach and there and then hold a little domestic picnic...

The only drawback to such a pleasure is the danger of being run over by shop-boys and journeymen tailors out on the spree, who have managed to hire an old horse for the afternoon and are afraid they won't get value for their money unless they keep him galloping about two-thirds of the time and kicking the other third...



The Pier Hotel in 1890

A Trip in the *Eleanor*

For many clubs an end of season 'treat' of the 1870s was in the form of a sea excursion to Edithburgh aboard the steamer *Eleanor*. Proceeding to Glenelg by rail the players and supporters boarded the ship at 7 a.m. and went across Saint Vincent Gulf arriving at noon.

A picnic match was played against a local team and outside the cricket reserve people engaged in varied amusements, while the Concordia Band, brought from Adelaide especially for the occasion, played lively music and 'dancing was kept up with spirit.' Other more sedate excursioners went for a hike or tried their luck at fishing from the jetty

(Register, 17 January 1876)

Following Christmas celebrations in 1864, on Boxing Day family parties caught the 11.15 a.m. train from Adelaide to Port Adelaide. Crammed into 13 passenger carriages, 600 holiday-makers embarked on the steamer, *Eleanor*, upon arrival and departed on an excursion down the creek and St Vincent Gulf to Glenelg:

The wind blew somewhat stiffly, but the trip was one of unalloyed joy. We met the schooner *Daphne* and the *Omeo*, both of which crossed our bows under full sail and the usual salute was given and returned. Soon after a gipsy party was descried encamped upon Lefevre Peninsula and were hailed with three hearty cheers.

At midday we passed the quarantine station, which for a time suggested ideas respecting cholera, typhus, etc., but these emotions were evanescent. Having passed the North Arm and entered Light's Passage, the next object that attracted the attention was the steamer *Wonga Wonga* lying at anchor waiting for the outgoing mail to King George's Sound. [See '*Wonga Shoal*' in the nomenclature text.]

About this time a general desire was expressed for a dance when, *presto*, a violinist suddenly made his appearance and in a few minutes many of the passengers were threading the intricate mazes of the dance to the measured cadences of the fiddle. About an hour after leaving the Port we were abreast the lightship and about this time a singular phenomenon was observed, for which I am unable to account upon.

As the steamer was now fairly out at sea, and the waves were running something like three feet above the sea level, the reflection of the 'azure main' produced a singularly pallid hue upon the countenances of several of the passengers and many were seen to rush to the ship's side - but never mind.

Captain Wells, with his assistants, did everything necessary to secure the comfort of the numerous passengers. We arrived at Glenelg and secured alongside the jetty at a little after three o'clock and left three hours later, half an hour before the announced time - much to the gratification of the Glenelg bus drivers, who thereby secured a few additional passengers for Adelaide! On our arrival back at the Port a special train conveyed us back to the city.

The *Eleanor* was a model vessel of her class and was built by Palmer Brothers and her engines at South Shields, on the River Tyne, England. She was completed in March 1864 and sailed for South Australia rigged as a three-masted schooner; the passage was made in 120 days. She was then placed on Fletcher's slip, where her engines were fitted. Her length was 130 feet at the water line and 140 feet overall; breadth, 20 feet; depth of hold, 11 feet 6 inches.

Regattas

The lovers of aquatic sports... were gratified by Captains Hart of the *Porcher* and Cook of the *Eden* with a novel spectacle of boat racing... [at Port Adelaide].

(Register, 22 September 1838)

Billed as 'the best affair of the kind that has taken place in South Australia', a regatta was held on 9 November 1855 in honour of the birthday of Prince Edward - another report says it commemorated the proclamation of the municipality of Glenelg on 23 August 1855. The organisers arranged with the proprietor of the Saint Leonards Hotel for the erection of a 'grand booth' opposite the Government Cottage; a German Band was in attendance and an ample luncheon was provided at 'a nominal consideration.' In addition, there were many publicans' booths placed strategically along the beach, while three steamers were engaged to convey Portonians to the scene:

The visitors flocked together in such numbers that for the first time in its existence, perhaps, Glenelg was brought to a knowledge of the fact that, however pleasant and healthy it may be as a place of residence, its boundaries, as well as its accommodations, are but limited.

The sea beach presented a very lively scene being thickly studded with refreshment booths and tents, vehicles innumerable, groups of ladies and gentlemen, all engaged as busily as possible in resisting the rather boisterous wind and keeping the clouds of sand out of their eyes.

On the eminence was the sailing committee's tent and opposite, moored at some little distance from the shore, lay the *Yatala* schooner, appointed as flagship for the occasion. Around her were various small craft, principally the boats entered for the match... The concourse of persons at one time numbered between 4,000 and 5,000.

Among the professionals who contributed to the amusements, the performances of the Tyrolese Minstrels drew a numerous and enthusiastic audience. Unfortunately, a grand ball planned for the evening had to be cancelled because the wind increased to hurricane force, while the streets of the town were all but deserted.

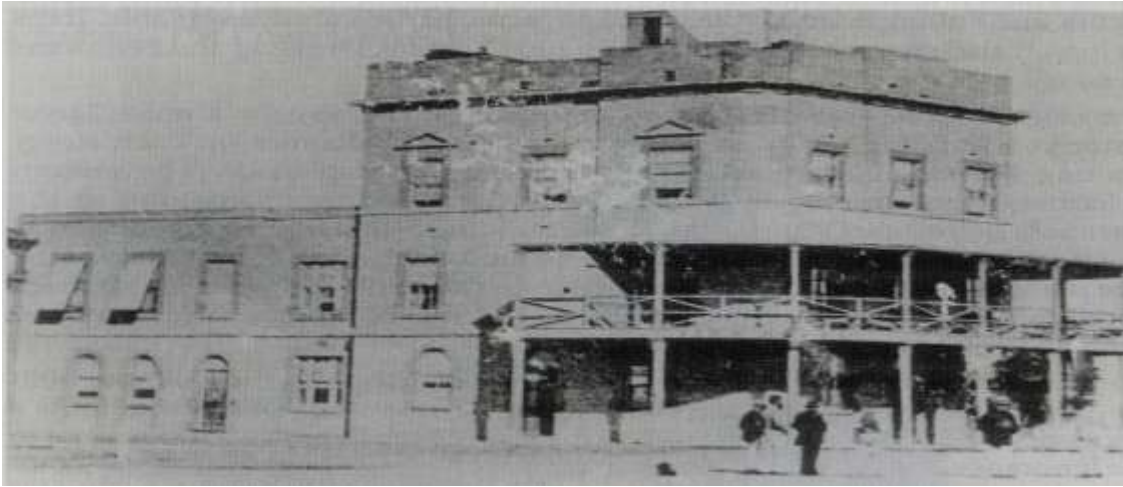
The yachts competing in the 1857 event were *Victory*, *Alma* and *Picciola*, the latter being built for the Thames Regatta Club and owned by Mr Hart:

There was every possible style of turnout to be seen from the dashing barouche to the costermonger's cart, from the magnificent blood to the drayman's Dobbin; and in the afternoon more than one knot of loiterers were

scattered by Rounsevell of the Pirie Street repository who came out in 'all pomp and circumstance' of four-in-hand. The strains of the brass band loaded the air with harmony and 'wrinkled care' seemed banished from the gay groups that sat on the sandhills or promenaded the beach below...

Visitors arriving for the 1859 regatta were greeted by a township decorated at various points. The Pier Hotel was crested with banners while, from the balcony, the 'enlivening strains of superior band music spread its stirring influence over the crowds beneath and beyond.'

The jetty was adorned with Marryat signal flags and, by midday, positively crowded.



The original Pier Hotel built in 1856

The beach was covered here and there with picnicking families who were waiting for the various amusements advertised for the occasion. Far away in the distance of Semaphore, the rifle corps could be seen at target practice and almost as far, in the opposite direction, were carriages and horsemen upon the beach where the horse racing was to take place.

Rifle shooting was a novel feature and the target was fixed about a mile from the jetty in the direction of Semaphore and, during the first two hours, the firing was interrupted by persons coming within range of the direction of the Reedbeds - a contingency that had not been provided against. The winner of this event was Mr F.C. Singleton.

A Kangaroo Hunt

The method of hunting in South Australia differed slightly from that pursued in England for the prey in the form of dingoes and kangaroos had no particular cover... and, when easily run into, [the kangaroo] defends itself with its hind feet, and is quite as ugly as a deer with his antlers.

(South Australian Magazine, 1841-1842)

On 9 August 1862, about 70 people, including about 30 horsemen, gathered at the Saint Leonards Inn to engage in a kangaroo hunt in Host McDonald's paddock, where an old kangaroo and two young ones were let loose. Mr Jewell acted as official starter.

The unfortunate animals, having been for a long time in confinement, were in anything but a fit state to make good sport and one only succeeded in getting away fairly; the other two were unable to escape from the paddock. One was killed by a blow from a whip in an endeavour to get him to start, while the escapee, chased by two kangaroo dogs, ran into Mr Colley's section and thence Mr Morphet's, but, eventually, both this and the remaining one were caught alive and 'intended to start again the following Saturday, when it was hoped they would be more inclined to run. Several spills occurred, some panels of fences broken and one kangaroo was set free by Mr Jewell; it turned on him immediately, to the great amusement of the spectators.'

Walking on the Seabed

For a considerable distance shanties of all sizes, shapes and colour destroy the beauty of the locality... and monopolise the driest part of the beach.

(Register, 17 June 1914)

An exhibition, 'as new to genuine South Australians, of a man doing business at the bottom of the sea, walking, breathing and giving directions with water over his head' drew a large crowd at Glenelg on 18 January 1873:

Mr Putwain donned the costume in a boat lying off the first steps on the north side of the jetty... Dressing completed he descended a ladder, entered the water and proceeded to walk towards the end of the jetty, the boat containing the air-pumping apparatus going along with him and serving to indicate his whereabouts... This portion of the programme being completed the explosion of a torpedo became the subject of interest...

Mr Putwain having placed it at the bottom of 12 or 14 feet of water some little distance from the jetty and connected the wire; a gun was fired onshore as an intimation that the explosion would speedily take place, but the efforts made to explode the torpedo were fruitless [so] a fuse, connected with the buoy indicating the position of the torpedo, was lit and a minute or two having elapsed it burst, throwing up a volume of water to a height of about 20 feet. According to announcement, aquatic sports were to follow the explosion but none took place owing, no doubt, to the great delay in carrying out the former part of the programme.

An 1875 Public Holiday

Of course larrikins were present in strong force, but beyond two or three scrimmages or free fights there was nothing to complain of...

(Register, 4 October 1889)

A visitor to the Bay in 1875 has left us with a brief insight as to some of the events of the day:

The Glenelg trains of nine carriages with two engines, running every hour or so, carried crowds to swell the multitude, whilst the steamers *Eleanor* and *Sophie* brought scores from the Port, till the numbers swelled to upwards of 9,000.

Vehicles of every sort, from the stylish carriage to the humble cart and the family cruelty van, drawn by a patient steed, whose holiday was something like a sailor's 'knock off work to carry bricks', were seen on all sides making an interesting study for any observer of human nature.

The sports were to a certain extent a fiction as there was only one sailing match of any importance and three horse races were added. Other amusements inseparable from a public holiday there certainly were, but they did not create even as much wild excitement as a ploughing match.

Old Aunt Sally still had a melancholy smile amidst her injuries and the familiar voice of the three-throws-a penny-man chimed harmoniously with the persevering organ murdering 'Annie Laurie' on the esplanade. One pugnacious person expressed an absorbing desire to 'smash somebody', but there was not a 'fightist' handy to operate upon, not even his wife. Many excursionists availed themselves of the sailing boats for a trip around the hulk, and the steamers, including the *Derwent* and *Fairy*, were more or less liberally patronised.

Each returning train was rushed by crowds of individuals 'whose manners had not that repose that stamps the cast of vere de vere' and had it not been for the promptitude and unfailing good humour of the guards somebody must have suffered, as without any regard for the fitness of things, round fat people tried to get through square windows and three people sought ingress where two had failed.

Free Concerts on the Jetty

Apart from the probability of the weather being oppressively hot, December 25 is specially devoted by most Englishmen to social festivities and family gatherings. The feast of roast goose and the flow of sacred music are regarded by most connoisseurs as slightly heterogeneous.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

The first of a series of free concerts was given by the Concordia Band at the end of the jetty in January 1878. The weather was delightfully fine and, as the mail steamer was anchored in the Bay, there was a large attendance of visitors in the afternoon and earlier part of the evening. These numbers were augmented on the arrival of the 7.30 p.m. train by which the band also arrived. From that time, up to the starting of the 10 o'clock train, the end of the jetty was thronged with people who listened to an attractive programme that included selections from various operas followed by dance and other music. On the following Sunday evening a concert of sacred music was played and 'the National Anthem terminated an enjoyable evening':

We think, however, that the Marine Board ought to do something towards repairing the jetty, particularly at the shore end, where many of the boards have rotted away and left dangerous holes... If the jetty made any pretensions of being a commercial one the existing state of affairs might not be so much wondered at; but it is almost entirely a promenade and therefore the claims for keeping it in an efficient state of repair are the greater, especially when it is considered what large numbers of people visit Glenelg.

Promenade Concerts

My first visit to this form of entertainment was in 1864 when my family attended a crowded midday performance on a Saturday. The reserved seats were occupied by many families of highly respectable colonists, including a Cabinet Minister, the other parts of the pavilion being available to those of a lowlier station in the colonial hierarchy.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

Early in 1881, a subscription list was circulated in the town for the purpose of defraying costs of promenade concerts the first of which occurred on 11 February, when a military band, under the baton of Lieutenant Oughton, played an interesting programme consisting of marches, dance music, overtures and selections from the great composers at a venue on the pier.

Seaside Family Picnics

A dressing enclosure is to be used... and 'no person shall play cards, dice or other games therein' - not even marbles presumably...

(Register, 26 December 1914)

Proclamation Day was a favourite time for family picnics at the Bay in the 19th century and the trials and tribulations of such an outing were recounted, in chronological order and in a humorous vein, in the Adelaide press in January 1886:

1. A hurried breakfast with the head of the family grumpy and the mother worried.
2. A muddle as to which time the tramcar passes and which train it catches; father of the family sarcastic on the subject of wifely management; mother worried; children fretty about spades and buckets and all eager to start.
3. A rush out of the tram and a scramble back for a youngster left behind.

4. Tram is crowded; no chance of getting away by it.
5. Watch for another, crush all children in; lunch left behind in the hurry; father furious, mother bothered out of her life.
6. Reached train - chock full, people standing on steps; rush off for the Holdfast Bay line; crowd waiting there also; everybody scowling at everybody else as an intruder; scramble for carriage; paterfamilias has bought a first class ticket and finds himself in a second class carriage - threatens to write to the 'Register'; gets chaffed by 'Arry and his larrikin friends for exhibiting temper.
7. Get to the Bay and find a motley multitude on the shore and jetty and is met with a deluge of people from the Port steamers; rails at the committee for fencing off the north end of the T-head; finds no rest for his bones on seat or step; baby squawls at the noise and confusion; Tommy gets lost; Polly is knocked down and another gets separated from the family.
8. All instinctively adjourn to the police station in search of the lost youngsters; father, a little flushed with - well, refreshments; mother hot and anxious; children fretty and they find Tommy bellowing his best amongst a lot of small fry in the Sergeant's room. Tommy, the lately lost and mourned over, is solidly spanked and yells harder than ever; father swears, mother lets out at last, her patience exhausted and peace is patched up with buns and ginger beer.
9. Family make for a restaurant; the place is crowded, the tea is weak, the pastry has been rebaking in the sun all day and paterfamilias, now hotter, more tired, more savage than ever; mother more weary, and children howling; tries to get into the train, and after the back buttons are torn off father's coat, mother's bonnet crushed completely and children squeezed to forty-yell power in the crush, they all get to town and make for home having had their holiday. Oh yes! Very much.



Off to the Beach



Return from the Beach

And yet the same people will go again the next year as if it were a religious duty - in fact they would not patiently endure half the heat and discomfort at church; not they. I have come to the conclusion that real heroism may be found in full bloom on the 28th at the Bay amongst the customary crowd.

The women, indeed, are true heroines, for you find them after hours of anxiety, heat, hurry and worry, still patient, abstemious and enduring to a degree, nursing their fretting offspring uncomplainingly, while many of the men have been drowning their troubles in colonial ale:

*Oh! Woman, in our holidays,
So fond of toilet and delays,
But when the weary day is o'er,
Still equal to enduring more.
While men are putting down pale ale.*

*You dost not in thy duty fail,
But keepest calm amidst the noise,
And watchest o'er thy girls and boys,
Whilst thy strong husband unbeset
Is trifling still with heavy wet.*

Another disgruntled parent had many misgivings about the facilities at the Bay and lodged his complaint in January 1887:

Of course when children are taken to the Bay one expects to find water on the jetty, and something to drink the water out of, but whilst there was plenty of water running to waste there was no such thing as a mug attached, so the children had to cry and cry.

There was no alternative but to go to the nearest hotel and purchase drinks [and although it being a Sunday] we obtained without being interrogated whether we were travellers or no. In fact, Glenelg enjoys an immunity from the restrictions so prevalent in the city, judging by the many fruit and confectionery shops open...

And what is more strange, the shameful neglect... of the munificent gift of the late W. Townsend, MP, viz., the drinking fountain which is allowed to go to ruin for want of a little care... We tried to get water from this once beautiful fountain, but from some cause no water came...

We reluctantly bade farewell to the Bay, leaving it in the arms of the Salvation Army with their big drum and its [commander] who one minute blesses the Lord... and the next exhorts his hearers, who throng the jetty, to throw down their silver or coppers...

Christmas Day – 1891

The pleasure seekers... who found conveyances to the beach of various styles, busses [*sic*], however, [were] most extensively patronised. There were also buggies and gigs, drays and pairs, tandem and family trap, until the sands were trodden by crowds of gay and festive people, who seemed to enjoy a peep at the 'briny' and some, more venturesome than others, ventured afloat - for the day was delightfully fine - and the horse marine, a juvenile well known for his nautical proclivities catered for the public at a low rate.

Picnic parties in all directions and dancing sets kept the good humour of the crowd at tip-top pitch until it becomes late in the afternoon, when the beach resumed its wonted appearance. It was worthy of note that the absence of drinking booths was a great advantage...

(Register, 27 December 1869)

Back in 1891, when clothing was voluminous and even shirt sleeves bordered on the indecent, Glenelg must have been an uncomfortable place on a hot day. In 1935, Mr W.A. Cook, an old-time showman, supplied a photograph of Glenelg on Christmas Day, 1891, to the Editor of *The Mail*.

A few venturesome children are seen bathing, while two small ice-cream stands invited patronage. Beyond the jetty lay a steamer that made hourly pleasure cruises and another is to be seen embarking passengers.

All the people among the tents, excepting a stall holder or two, are seen to be wearing their Sunday best. Straw hats, high collars, long sleeves, trailing skirts, beards - yet it was a very hot day! In front of two big tents, housing the freak shows, stands Mr Cook upon a trestle. Over his head he holds a sunshade to guard against the onslaught of the sun, while he 'spruiks' to the assembly.

The freak show was a good one containing, among other items, a five-legged lamb, a three-legged lamb, a duck with rooster's spurs and claws and a stallion with eight hooves distributed among his four legs. The suspended cable in the foreground was an affair of thrills. The adventurer hung by two handles to a pulley wheel that rode on the cable whence he was shot through the air until he butted into a suspended sandbag and finished the journey.

Seaside Amusements in 1896

The object of the promoters is to cater for family parties - mother and father, and Sissy and Johnny - but properly clad and seemingly respectable couples will not be denied admission. Strict measures will be taken to avoid the importation of the rough element... The experiment should be worth watching, although surreptitious dips of a semi-rationalistic character have taken place along the beaches...

(Register, 17 January 1906)

The steam merry-go-round continued to go around much to the delight of a large crowd of men, women and children. In times gone by this class of amusement was considered to be only suitable for the small fry but, at the close of the 19th century, adults were more numerous on them. Close by was a shooting gallery where 'budding defenders of our hearths and houses' tried their skills in attempting to hit a bullseye.

Almost above their heads, Blondin walked the tightrope with as much ease as if he were on the spacious jetty. It was hard to conceive anything more daring, or needing greater nerve, than his feats and many persons went to see him, feeling somewhat fearful of an accident. If Blondin was a denizen of fairyland and possessed the power of aerial locomotion, the danger of his falling could scarcely be less than it was then.

So thoroughly at home did he appear from the time he first set his feet on the rope, to the final bicycle performance, that spectators were inspired with something akin to the confidence of this consummate performer who tripped along his lofty path gracefully and easily.

Throughout his performance on a tightrope, some sixty feet above the ground, the veteran was greeted with admiring cheers at frequent intervals. The feat of going blindfold across testified almost more than any other performances to his sureness of feet.

After bandaging his eyes, so that he could not possibly see, he enveloped his head in a sack that reached to the knees, leaving holes only for the arms.

Further, after an apparent difficulty in mounting the aerial pathway, he trod with a great show of caution until the centre was reached.

Here he made a feint of losing his balance, staggered wildly for a second or two, then fell extended upon his back, crossing his feet and stretching his arms, so that he had no means of support beyond the narrow rope beneath him and his trusty balancing pole.

One would have expected that some difficulty would have been experienced in gaining an upright position, but, while the onlooker was thinking of it, Blondin sat astride the rope quickly, looked around and downward, raised one foot and elevated himself calmly.

Having cast aside his bandage the Chevalier, attired in a brilliant costume, tripped from one side to the other to the accompaniment of band music.

Standing on one leg, he bent forwards, backwards, and, indeed, placed himself in the most awkward positions, he sat on the slender pathway and then placed his head upon it. He raised his body gradually until, literally, he stood on his head and, extending his legs straight upwards, clapped his feet in unison with the plaudits of the audience.

The balancing pole that remained resting partially on the rope was grasped and, with its aid, Blondin managed the difficult operation of lowering himself. He also lay at full length, balancing himself without the pole.

On the middle of the rope a light iron frame was placed and, having strapped a large cooking-stove on his back, he carried it there and deposited it. This was preparatory to the feat of cooking an omelette.

The clever performer, who was dressed like a pastry-cook, brushed the stove smartly with a broom and, with a cloth, removed real or imaginary dust, and then made much ado about cleansing the plates produced from inside the oven.

Half a dozen eggs were broken and the shells thrown to the ground. Having been duly whisked and seasoned, the ingredients were put into a frying-pan and then on the fire that he had lit and blown up with bellows. Dense smoke emerging from the funnel dispelled any doubt as to the genuineness of the proceeding and, in due course, the omelette was tossed and finished.

A small bottle of champagne was opened, some was taken, and a tray with the omelette and wine having been lowered to an assistant was taken around to the audience. Several ladies tasted the production that was said to be highly creditable to the Chevalier's cooking abilities. Managing the difficult task of getting the stove on his back unaided, Blondin retired to his platform.

After the chair feat, that was one of the most astonishing of the performances, the Chevalier carried his secretary across with the utmost ease. On the way, he balanced himself upon one foot, while the living burden waved his hat to the crowd.

Blondin affected by trying to shake off his weight, but upon second thoughts took him to the end of the seemingly perilous journey. Faith is an element wanting in human character, but in Blondin's secretary it must have been strongly developed.

During a velocipede journey the King of Hemp stopped in the centre, moved backwards for 20 or 30 yards, and, finally, went forward at a quick place to his dressing room on the landing. Many find it hard to ride upon a bicycle on the level earth, yet Blondin did it with perfect *sang froid* on a cord at a height sufficient to make persons giddy. He did not, as has been supposed, avoid looking earthwards. On the contrary, he often bowed and glanced beneath him.

Additional amusements such as swingboats were provided on the sands for those who cared for sensational amusement, while the *Lady Diana*, with a band on board, did good business taking people for trips out to sea. For those who preferred promenading or resting on the jetty, Sotaro's Canary and Rago's String and Vocal Bands contributed popular selections almost every evening, while on Thursday nights the talented Holdfast Bay Band gave delightful concerts at the shore end of the jetty waiting, no doubt, for somebody to come forward and offer to build them a rotunda.

The Cinematograph

Less than twenty years ago the first moving pictures exhibited in Adelaide were shown in a shop in Rundle Street west which had been leased for the occasion by the McMahon Brothers, who were well known in theatrical circles.

(Advertiser, 5 October 1909)

In February 1898, and probably for the first time in Australia, the cinematograph was shown in the open air on the north side of the Glenelg Town Hall and facing the sea:

There will be twenty-four views, all of which will be worth seeing. Such pictures as the milkman's mishap, the hurdle race, starting the fire, lighting the fire, the pillow fight and the widow's kiss are sure to excite admiration. Excursion fares will be in force on the Glenelg line and a large crowd is expected. There will be no collection boxes and none of the views will partake of the nature of an advertisement.

Buried Alive in the Sand

For a considerable distance shanties of all sizes, shapes and colour destroy the beauty of the locality... and monopolise the driest part of the beach.

(*Register*, 17 June 1914)

A more bizarre form of entertainment for the seashiders occurred in December 1906 in the presence of several Glenelg citizens when Mr Williams, 'recently arrived from America', was placed in a grave in the sand near the baths and, having been hypnotised by his wife, left to lie in his tomb for five days.

The event took place in a tent and among those admitted were Mr Denny, MP, and Doctors O'Leary and Hogan together with representatives of the press...

Before he was put into his trance he remarked that he would not be awakened until New Year's night and during the interval all the functions of his body, except the action of the heart and lungs, would be stopped. Following the hypnotism ritual a boarding, with two funnel holes to allow of a free circulation of air, was placed about a foot over the prostrate figure; the sand was then filled in, but through a wide funnel the people could see his head and shoulders.

Theatres and Dancing Halls

In public dance halls and in private houses (to the shame of mothers) girls are made half-drunk, and at times despoiled of some at least of their all-too scanty raiment.

(*The News*, 27 September 1926)

Dancing in Early Colonial Days

I know of three cases within this last year of young women who attend dance rooms being seduced and cruelly deserted in their hour of need by the men who brought them to those places. One young woman died a week after her confinement through a broken heart. Her heartless seducer is up to the present attending dance rooms twice a week...

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

Commencing in 1839, the upper echelons of colonial society were introduced to ballroom dancing and, without any utterances from the pulpit to deter them from their pirouetting, Government House became a venue for fashionable balls, while citizens such as Messrs Jacobs and Thornborough opened 'superior' premises in which they conducted monthly balls. A band, supper and refreshments were all supplied for about six shillings a double ticket.

These dances were generally referred to as 'quadrille parties', although the dancing repertoire included waltzes and Spanish and country dances. These social events usually concluded about 4 a.m. with the old-time country dance known as Sir Roger de Coverley - a spirited dance, all but unknown today.

Fancy dress balls were introduced by the wife of the Colonial Surgeon, Dr Nash, the first being held in a makeshift structure in Hindmarsh Square. At the outset these events caused the ladies to exercise ingenuity in respect of suitable costumes because appropriate material was difficult to acquire but, according to reports, they 'seemed well able to sustain the characters they represented.' When the Queen's Theatre was established such difficulties ceased as costumes of all nations could be hired from that place but, to one concerned citizen it was:

A hotbed of demoralization whose impure precinct no lady could enter without contamination, at which no man could sit out a performance without being disgusted, and from which all parents were bound to exclude their children.

By the close of the 1860s, the new colonial gentry had distinguished itself from the lower echelons of society by life styles 'based on wealth and an inordinate use of free time', and one of the requisite skills was the art of dancing Quadrilles, Polkas, Lancers and the Albert, besides the daring waltz, where couples danced at close quarters - this art was taught at various academies, in and around, Adelaide and nurtured at the palatial mansions of the upper class of colonial society and this form of recreation went unchallenged by the clergy and the 'Mother Grundy's' within the community.

A young lady who is experiencing the whirling rapture of movements to the accompaniment of the strains of the late lamented Strauss is probably unconscious of the religious genesis of her favourite amusement. As it seems hopeless either to abolish dancing, or reconquer it for pious ends, the question must be whether the exercise is to be opposed or guided wisely.

The common-sense answer is obvious. Nothing is to be gained by careful treatment. Let dancing, like every other form of amusement, be treated as a matter of discretion and degree.

In the early 1900s, a debate was abroad within the community upon the alleged inherent sins of dancing and this controversy had waxed and waned from the early 1870s when the 'working class', aided and abetted by enterprising entrepreneurs, found themselves being attracted to 'dancing saloons' in metropolitan Adelaide and suffering consequential browbeating from the pulpit, and elsewhere, for their perceived 'sins' against Christian dogma and transgressions against 'public decency':

The ballroom is a charnel-house, where those who attend brush shoulders with wantons. Dances are the atmosphere in which the spirit of wantonness thrives.

Many fair-minded responses said that dancing was not only a strong instinct of the human mind but, as Herbert Spencer reported, had a religious origin:

Did not Miriam dance on the shores of the Red Sea when the Egyptians were destroyed; and did not King David dance before the Ark? Mr Spencer, having diligently explored all religions,

civilised and uncivilised, proves that dancing finds a place in the early history of them all, and was employed as a channel for the expression of devotional feelings.

From Greece and Judea, to Abyssinia and Madagascar, proofs are multiplied that dancing was a form of worship. In a word, it is a religious exercise which has, somehow, forgotten its original inspiration and become, as some in our society suggest, unpleasantly secular. Though the dancing dervishes of Constantinople are conscious of a religious emotion, dancing, with the generality of mankind, has lost its power to excite any feeling other than one of mere physical enjoyment.

Theatres and Dancing at Glenelg

It was with interest that I read of the deputation to the Premier with regard to dancing saloons...

They think they have found out an evil. Perhaps so, but no more in the dancing saloons than in our churches.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

By 1910, beach theatres had been established at Semaphore and Glenelg and, in November of that year, on the sands of Glenelg 'the dainty soubrette, Nellie Holder and the talented soprano, Phyllis Clay, with Brenda Ive as accompanist, presented several items. Carr Grey, a versatile humourist, and two eccentric Carlyons, added humour and vivacity to a generous programme'.

Glenelg's first moving picture show was held in the Town Hall in 1910 and conducted by five individuals, namely, Jack Cardwell, Jack Hopwood, Frank Jackson, Jack Kenny and James Liddle. They were followed a little later by the Glenelg Animated Picture Company that bought out the interest of the pioneer projectionists.

On 11 February 1911 at the Glenelg Beach Pavilion, 'a fine and well-selected range of films' was screened, including comic, educational, scenic and dramatic subjects and the machine used completely obviated 'the objectionable flicker' and a 'clean and sharp' picture was produced. Seat bookings were made at Patterson's on Jetty Road while excursionists from the city, by asking for Pierrot combination tickets, were carried to Glenelg and admitted to the reserved chairs in the theatre for one shilling. This theatre known as 'The Brit' was converted into a fun parlour in 1916 and, subsequently, destroyed by a fire.

A new theatre in Althorpe Place and fronting Colley Reserve was opened on 23 August 1917 when a first class programme of pictures was screened on 3 September, the principal film being a 5,000 feet production featuring Ethel Clayton and entitled 'Man's Woman'. The matter of providing suitable music caused the management much concern and, after exhaustive enquiries, they decided to install an American 'fotoplayer' specially imported by the Pianola Company. It had a combination of instruments equal to a full orchestra and no fewer than 30 stops to control the various combinations, which were all worked electrically.

The Glenelg Palais was erected as a dance hall by Mr T. Eslick it being but a shell, the structure being composed of wood and iron. There was no ceiling to the building and the ventilation supplied was more than ample, especially on cold, wintery nights. With a gradual exodus of paying customers from this venue the Palais de Danse was opened on 27 December 1920 in premises on Jetty Road, within a short distance from Miller's Corner railway station.

The jarrah floor was treated specially by an electric sand-papering machine being the same preparation as that employed in the Adelaide Palais on North Terrace - the quality of this dancing surface prompted the Prince of Wales to speak in such complimentary terms of it when he visited the State in 1920 in the *Renown* - hence the suburb of Renown Park that exists today.

A cafe was provided at the southern end of the building capable of seating 300 persons while, on the western side, an open air garden for parties 'desirous of sitting out smokers, and so on' was located. Its presence in the social structure of Glenelg was not accepted by many citizens who, individually, complained that:

There were couples dancing face to face sandwiched together in a fashion that requires the expression indecent to be applied in the fullest and widest sense of the word. Not one spark of modesty could be credited to a girl who allows herself to be embraced in the low-down, vulgar fashion that the male partner adopts in this degenerate style of dancing.

Why not place our dance halls... under supervision and effectually curb the indecent propensities of the present-day young lords of creation, who, with a decent suit of clothes and a coin tendered at the door, can purchase a three or four hours licence to maul modest girls...

'Onlooker', in referring to old dances, forgets to mention that couples, instead of dancing right through to 2 a.m., very often spent a large part of time 'sitting-out' dances in some excluded spot, where the positions were almost invariably worse than any that are now adopted at dances.

A girl, pure-minded and innocent, 'comes out' at a public ball, where all sorts and conditions congregate, where the worst men in the city may be met (for sin is worse in the upper than the lower classes, being covered with hypocritical refinement) and she has to dance with those by whose touch at ordinary times her mother would think her contaminated.

Other citizens dissented against such excursions into wowserism

Where are the poor heathens to turn for some harmless recreation? We may not dance; we may not go to the theatre; we cannot send five shillings to Tattersalls Sweeps, even if you have it (the Government have stopped that, and besides it is immoral); we may not attend a horse race; we may not sing, except psalms and through our noses; we may not look at statuary or pictures unless they are what would seem to be representations of fully dressed tailors' dummies; our glass of lemon squash must be served to us by a spectacled and wrinkled

spinster of anything between 40 and 80 summers... As reasonable men and women is it not time we swept away all this false prudery and smug saintliness.

If... will look up the files of *The Register* she will find that Sunday school teachers and parsons have led young girls from the paths of virtue and, in some instances to hide their crime, have murdered their victims... My first recollection of a dance is a good old Minister acting as M.C. and a kind smiling school teacher aiding and abetting him. Old folks and young folks danced together... If dancing is a sin are not 'kiss in the ring' and hide and seek, played after anniversary meetings?

The Glenelg Palais Picture Theatre was opened on 23 January 1922 by the Mayor, Mr W. Patterson, on the site of the former Palais de Danse. In the front of it, and facing Jetty Road, four shops were erected and over them was a commodious billiard hall capable of holding four tables. The contractors for the whole complex were Messrs J.R. McNeil and H.B. Witty under the supervision of Mr C.A. Smith, who designed the York Theatre in Rundle Street and a fine picture palace at Kadina. In 1927, its then owner, Glenelg Theatres Ltd, decided to expend £6,000 in the transformation of the Palais and thus 'The Strand' came into being, the contract being entrusted to Messrs Silver and Ollrich of Torrensville.



Rundle Street near the York Theatre

On 22 December 1924 the Maison de Danse was opened by the Mayor, Mr H. Tassie, when the orchestra, under Mr Walter Barrett, 'played delightful dance music', but the devout Methodists of Glenelg, and other dissenters, were again to the fore in the condemnation of 'dancing saloons':

Dancing has nothing to commend it, if one may judge by the results it has next day on those who frequent the ballroom. It may truly be termed a dangerous exercise which robs many of their health and vigor and, later, of their virtue also.

The sex problem was the most profound with which they had to deal.

Every wise man knew that if he wanted to keep within bounds he must not walk in the vestibule or the approaches of evil.

However, all was not doom and gloom for an active participant in the dance floor gyrations declared that:

The wonderful convention which governs dancing seems able to transform an act which would otherwise be the grossest insult and familiarity into the merest commonplace. The theatre, properly conducted, is a help to the pulpit, having more influence on some than the latter, the language of drama being more eloquent and impressive than the majority of sermons.

The turf contributes [more] to charitable purposes than many of the religious societies. Do not the Psalms tell us to praise Him with the 'cymbals and dances?'

We praise God by our actions as well as our mouths in the thankful enjoyment of innocent pleasures He has provided for us in our journey through this world.

Finally, discerning correspondents to the local press posed a question or two while others poured their scorn upon the devotees of the dance floor:

Why should the rich try to deprive the poor of perhaps the only enjoyment they get through the week? These rich people go to their parties and balls two or three nights in the week, but, oh, it is a crime if the poorer people do such things...

Does it never occur to these saintly and pious souls who cry aloud on the housetops and keep the aforementioned meetings, Endeavours, rallies, revivals and the other societies going, that they are really responsible for much of the increase of crime, which I have no doubt they deplore... Do they not see that the hysterical shriekings, their rushings to and fro, their perpetual restlessness, their filling the Press with their increasing rhetoric, sets an example which is followed all down the scale.

Why should they enjoy themselves with these violent and engrossing amusements and occupations and expect that the grade below them to remain quiet in humdrum goody-goodness?

Miss 1928, we are assured, is a very abandoned young person. She has so far forgotten what shame should be and she flaunts her vices in the face of all mankind. Her most blatant offence, however, is her nonchalant exhibition of her knees.

No sane person would attempt to deny that... dancing has proved an evil. The wrecked lives of many is prima facie evidence of this.

The Ozone Theatre was opened by the Mayor, Mr W. Fisk, on 5 November 1937 and a unique feature of it was the provision of a 'crying room' providing accommodation for about 25 people and catering especially for mothers whose children, when crying in the theatre, could be taken to the soundproof room, while at the same time the dutiful mothers could see the pictures through a specially constructed glass screen.

The Coney Island of South Australia

The average man must have a diversion of some kind, even if it be only a 'knocking off work to carry bricks.' If he does not obtain physical exercise in his daily toil, or in devotion to a hobby, he ought to refresh his brain and strengthen his body by some recreative pastime... The man or nation that neglects truly recreative sport incurs a risk of becoming a chronic invalid...

(Register, 15 October 1898)

The merry-go-round, conducted by Messrs J.S. Geddes and W.L. Smith, was an attractive amusement at Glenelg in 1895, when they rented land on the beach south of the yacht club boat house. However, many disgruntled residents complained of the resultant noise that interfered with meetings held in the Town Hall. They were succeeded by Mr William Bleby who conducted the business as a 'steam circus' and, in 1904, he was followed by Mr F.W. Baxter who added swings and a shooting gallery to the existing complex.

By 1910, Glenelg was being labelled as the 'Coney Island' of South Australia and one of the early site holders was Mr E.A. Brown. It could not, of course, bear comparison with New York's great harbour resort, the opening of which was attended by upwards of a million people. One could not find a Luna Park or Steeplechase Park at Glenelg, with all their accompanying sensations, nor did the local council permit mixed bathing, that characterised life at both Coney Island, and Manly and Bondi in Sydney.

Showmen, however, realised that there was great spending power at Glenelg and scores of them set up for a regular season there. In that respect the Bay had developed markedly since the coming of the 20th century. In January 1910, nearly 20 acres of corporation controlled beaches and reserves were occupied with sideshows of the variety best calculated to attract and amuse holiday crowds.

The greatest boon in the show line for this season was in the 'Hoopla' game introduced from America. To the cry of 'Hoopla, a clock or cruet for a penny', prospective customers pressed around the 13 stands devoted to it. The stalls were railed around and equipped with an array of fancy goods and a better class of article in the form of alarm clocks and four-bottle cruets.

Wooden hoops were supplied and sold at a penny a piece and the buyers were given any article on the stand that they could encircle with the ring. One man, whose skill was suggestive of a close acquaintance with rope quoits, carried off nearly 50 clocks in one day but the proprietors were not perturbed for his success tempted many less skillful people to try their hand.

Walking further along you would have met up with the familiar merry-go-round and close by was the giant wheel revolving with its human freight. There were five shooting galleries, six cheapjacks, three vaudeville shows, two moving picture entertainments, 12 hoopla rings, one 'ocean wave', one big wheel, a petrified woman from Pompei, [*sic*] a boxing tent, an Aunt Sally and a kicking donkey, all doing boom business.

There were three merry-go-rounds, one of the most popular being that owned by Mr E.A. Brown who, with commendable enterprise, had the machine illuminated brilliantly by electricity. The organ, specially improved for rendering classical music, was lit up with three lights and the twelve spokes of the machine were illuminated with coloured lights with fancy shades - a spectacle that was a tribute to the electrician, Tom Farrelly. Five attendants in neat uniforms were employed and their civility and attention, combined with the excellent music, was a source of pleasure to patrons.

Untouched by this glamour, numerous classes of people were on the Esplanade. They picnicked on the beach and couch grass lawns and responded well to the call, 'Deck chairs, tuppence an hour.' Sheets and blankets were hung up tent-like everywhere and family hampers, supplemented with billies of boiling water, purchased from the owners of various coppers, graced the beach.

Bathing Beauty Contests

It is difficult to endow with the proper qualities of a queen of beauty a young person who openly attributes her complexion to a specific brand of soap, her shapely neck to excessive indulgence in some magical patent medicine and the strength and straightness of her nether limbs to Sandow's developer...

(Register, 26 October 1926)

A bathing beauty contest was reported in February 1914 when Miss Betty Ballantyne won the Wondergraph Lady Bathers' Competition. This was the catalyst for an acceleration of 'women's liberation' for, at this time, women commenced to bob their hair, adorn themselves with lipstick, smoke cigarettes and imbibe alcoholic liquors in public, kiss men publicly and dance cheek to cheek with them.

The 1920s was the decade of the Charleston, a frenetic dance imported from the United States of America, jazz music and the proliferation of bathing beauty contests and they all added a new dimension to Glenelg's social activities but, of course, there were dissenters in the midst of the participants:

Although the beauty competition cult will probably face this under the weight of the dollar, there are more cogent reasons still why it ought not to continue to demonstrate the uglier truth of the remark 'beauty is but a vain and doubtful good.' I was surprised, however, to note an entire absence of discrimination between the graceful, poetic and healthful exercise, devoid of undue familiarities, which our parents and we in our younger days knew as dancing, and the ugly, unpoetic, slithering, embracing and hugging, at times in semi-darkness (to an accompaniment of weird and strange noises) which now mainly does duty under that name... It has developed into a mere sensuous indulgence.

Criticism continued and, in 1927, Rev. John Blacket, theologian and historian, wrote a censorious letter to the morning press in respect of perceived evils of the era:

The desecration of the Lord's Day, the growth of the gambling mania, the hunger and thirst for the merely sensuous, a disregard for the moral law, a loss of modesty on the part of women, upon whom really the future of society depends, are painful and admonitory features in our national life. To the list of evils that threaten to carry us over Niagara must now be added so-called 'beauty contests'.

Beauty contests... contribute to the vitiation of beauty itself by encouraging among the lightly clad contestants the special weaknesses to which the fairest sex is heir, of which the greatest is vanity and the worst immodesty.

Entertainment in 1923

This precious 'artists' ball' may help to enable Australians to realise the folly of supposing that perfection of artistic technique can convert what is essentially bad into something desirable.

(Register, 4 and 9 September 1924)

In 1923, the latest craze at Glenelg was to be found at 'Chocolate Town' where the public were attracted to a balloon game, prizes for which were boxes of chocolates. There were 14 'handles' - wheels with a handle - attached to pumps that operated on 14 balloons. A charge of sixpence was made to turn on one of the 'handles', the first to inflate a balloon to its fullest extent receiving a prize. The balloon, when full, touched a small button that rang a bell and by this means the winner was indicated. So big were the inroads into the business of confectionery shops in the town, a deputation was obliged to wait on the Corporation and complain that 'our trade in chocolates is ruined and at this time of the year it is more especially hard, as summer is our harvest. The balloon sideshow goes at Easter and leaves us to face the winter when custom is poor.'



A 1913 Sideshow Alley

Foreshore Amusements - 1926

I suggest that a place for those old folks [who object to the bathing attire] could be found along the banks of the Torrens, where the fig leaf fashions would not interrupt them.

(Advertiser, 28 December 1929)

From being a holiday season feature, in the five years from 1921, Glenelg beach sideshows became a seasonal fixture. In days gone by at the Bay a host of peripatetic showmen assembled on the foreshore at Christmas, to disappear almost as soon as the holiday period had ended. But, from the beginning of November 1926, a multitude of them were doing brisk business and continued to do so until the end of April. A list of attractions included:

<i>Bagatelle</i>	<i>Gee Gees</i>	<i>Olympic race game</i>
<i>Balloon game</i>	<i>Luna land</i>	<i>Toddling tanks</i>
<i>Billiard bagatelle</i>	<i>Love in a Tub</i>	<i>Three of a kind</i>
<i>Box ball</i>	<i>Merry-go-Round</i>	<i>Rainbow game</i>
<i>Ferris wheel</i>	<i>Miniature railway</i>	<i>Spinette</i>
<i>Googley Moe</i>	<i>Pennant bowls</i>	<i>Whizzy whirl</i>

Luna Park

Blue sea and 'fits of blues' will all be left safely below on Wednesday (a public holiday) when Luna Park... will be officially opened. With its thousand and one thrills and surprises, Luna Park will jolt jaded citizens back to a realisation that it is still possible to enjoy life.

New zest, it is prophesied, will be given to life on the waterfront by the gigantic toy, which covers the dimensions of a small town, and cost a sum to build that is painfully reminiscent of the new budget.

(*The Mail*, 4 October 1930)

For those among the working class, who were fortunate enough to have a job, one of the favourite pleasure resorts was at Glenelg where, in 1929, upon reclaimed land, the council granted a lease over portion of it to Luna Park (Glenelg) Limited for the purpose of establishing a place for public entertainment similar to that which had been operating at St Kilda in Melbourne for many years.

Accordingly, in February 1930 it was announced that a Luna Park, at a cost of 'at least £25,000' was to be erected and chief among the entertainments were to be the Big Dipper, an aerial railway consisting of long climbs to dizzy heights and breath taking descents, the Noah's Ark, a nightmare representation of that of Biblical fame, the River Caves, providing underground water trips in cool darkness, broken at each corner by spectacular scenes, and a Goofy House, where natural laws of gravity would be defied.

The park was opened by Hon. W.J. Denny on 8 October 1930, the local Manager being Mr D. Atkins. Mr Denny cut the ribbons and the first official trainload of passengers went over the Big Dipper; later the governing director, Mr Herman [*sic*] Phillips, presided at an official luncheon at the Hotel St Vincent.

The park itself had the appearance of the design of a Moorish palace and was illuminated at night by 5,000 coloured electric globes, while 40 uniformed attendants in scarlet and gold uniforms were employed to run it. Entrance was free and a small charge made for participation in various sideshows.

The Big Dipper ran over 2,200 feet of track at a speed that reached 60 miles per hour and each car was strung with 30 lights and, 'like glowworms', glided and climbed about the shadowy structure making a spectacle well worth the journey to see. Unfortunately, it was the scene of a fatal New Year's accident in January 1932 when Mrs Lillian Higgs, aged 26, died in the Adelaide hospital after falling from it.



The 'Big Dipper' at Luna Park in 1930

The River Caves were built under the Big Dipper and entrance was made through the mouth of a large, water-washed cavern, where customers stepped into a slow moving boat that meandered quietly on its way driven by a sluggish current. The stream that accommodated the boats was 1,100 feet long and contained 50,000 gallons of water. The journey took about ten minutes during which there were seventeen changes of scenery.

The caves first setting depicted an Arctic scene where glistening ice spears hung from the walls and ice animals were 'so realistically mounted', that it was expected to see them shuffle away at any moment. In one corner a full-rigged whaler, caught in the grip of the ice pack, sank slowly, while around the bend was a sealing party of small,

brown-skinned Eskimos muffled to the ears in furry coats. Nearby lay a seal bleeding from an arrow while behind an iceberg a huge polar bear squatted.

Then the boat turned and here was the African jungle with brilliant multicoloured birds and great beasts of prey. Chattering monkeys hung low from the tree branches, while a little distance away a lion crouched over the fallen body of an antelope.

The next scene was a treat for children known as Toyland, where a pert Mickey the Mouse played a saxophone as large as himself and Dismal Desmond contemplated the watery flow beneath him, while a huge teddy bear squatted in the centre of the group. Other scenes followed in rapid succession.

A subterranean picture, with Father Neptune on an enormous shell surrounded by a bevy of fair mermaids; a lean, grey wolf howling dolefully to a yellow moon; a Japanese tea garden complete with dainty Geisha girls and gay with peach blossoms and wisteria. The settings of the caves were designed and modelled by Messrs J. & W. Rowell, of Melbourne, who came specially to Adelaide to superintend the building of the decorations.

Noah's Ark was perched high and dry at the top of Mount Ararat - carefully modelled from plaster. The climb to the ark was tedious and many spectators were inclined to clamour for their entrance money to be returned, but to reach the ground again they had to return through the mountain by a different route and it was there they experienced more thrills than a night in a haunted house. In dark winding passages, steps dropped suddenly and rose quite unexpectedly.

Whirling boards spun the visitor so vigorously they were set off in a different direction. There were floors that ran backwards and any attempt to walk swiftly was in vain; floors vanished from beneath, whistles and hooters wailed dolefully in the cars, dark doorways opened silently before your eyes to reveal fearsome shapes.

In the Goofy House, at times attendees thought, perhaps, they had strayed out of their path and landed on Mars, for the laws of gravity were stood completely on their head. Drop a pencil from your pocket and it rolled up an inclined plane, water poured into a sloping trough and flowed upwards.

You sat in a chair out of which it took all your strength to rise. Dropped articles rose instead of falling to the floor and so on until you felt like running to the nearest psychoanalyst to have your reflexes tested. Here was confusion, thrills, fun and laughter.

From the outset the company was hard pressed to make a profit because of the prevailing economic conditions and the corporation was obliged to lower the rental from £1,000 to £800 per annum, but four years later the directors asked for a rent-free tenure and, following a series of conferences, it was released from its obligations, when the 'Big Dipper' was taken to Sydney.

What remained was a conglomerate of tin sheds where a variety of amusements were dispensed along what was known locally as 'Sideshow Alley'.

An Aquarium for Glenelg

It needs but a stroll along North Terrace to realise the truth of the aphorism as far as Adelaide is concerned. In regular sequence are the various public buildings and the Botanical Gardens, while at a little distance are the Zoological Gardens.

Thus, there is a galaxy of educational institutions, perhaps more closely assembled than in any other part of the world. The omission of an aquarium, however, shows that South Australia is behind the times because of the absence of such an establishment.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

The thought of establishing an aquarium at Glenelg was first mooted in 1875 but an opinion was expressed that 'the corporation will be unable to carry out the idea' because of the funds required for such a project. The promoter of the venture was Mr D. Murray who sought information from England as to the practicability of establishing an aquarium at the seaside.

The venture was considered to be of some public importance and, in support of the idea, the Editor of the *Express & Telegraph* decided to publicise the matter in August 1876:

The project for the erection of a public aquarium at Glenelg seems to have ended in talk, and it is a pity it should. Why do not some of the enterprising residents there agitate the matter? We are quite sure that if they did so South Australia might have the honour of showing the lead in this, as she has often done before, to the sister provinces of Australasia.

Surely, the men who have raised Glenelg to its present position of importance - who have supplied it with all the conveniences of a well-ordered town, who have secured the erection of a fine Institute, who have built good public baths, who are now seeking legislative authority to improve the Patawalonga River, and who have shown other evidences of a thoroughly go-ahead spirit, will not be satisfied until they have added to the other 'lions' of this fashionable watering place the very attractive necessary of a public aquarium...

At a meeting of the Glenelg council on 12 March 1886 plans were laid on the table by Councillor Soward for an aquarium and winter garden. The promoter, Mr J. Moule, MP, had made an application for a lease of a piece of land on the Patawalonga Reserve, opposite Althorpe Place.

On the ground floor of the proposed building were to be an aquarium, restaurant and oyster rooms and, on the first floor, a winter garden forming a hall for concerts, promenading and a billiard room. The building was estimated to cost £2,000, while plans were prepared by Messrs English and Soward. A few days later an ebullient reporter commented that:

All lovers of natural history should wish every success to the projected aquarium at Glenelg. When the Semaphore budded out in the Institute line an aquarium was supposed to be a part of the design, but the enthusiasm waned and it now remains for Glenelg to show what can be done. The beautiful specimens of fish frequently secured shows how conclusively that the waters of the gulf will furnish ample material...

It appears that the first thought for the introduction of an aquarium into the city of Adelaide was made in 1888 by Mr J. Henderson of Currie Street on behalf of a company, that wrote to the city council with reference to the use of a piece of corporation land between Victoria Road and the River Torrens 'about 700 feet from King William Road.' Nothing came of this venture nor the one at Glenelg.

A special meeting of the Glenelg council was held on 19 October 1893 when the Mayor, Mr E. Smith, said that a scheme was in the hands of a Mr Haslam who had expressed an interest in erecting an aquarium at Glenelg, together with other facilities to accommodate a skating rink, concert hall, toboggan slide and other attractions. On the same night a similar meeting was held at Semaphore and it was evident that any project could be postponed because of local jealousies.

In 1893, Mr Alfred Wyburd, proprietor and manager of the Bondi Aquarium in Sydney, NSW, visited Adelaide with the idea of making enquiries as to the prospects of profit that would accrue from erecting an aquarium and pleasure grounds on the seacoast within easy access by rail of Adelaide. He examined suggested sites at Glenelg, Largs Bay, Henley Beach and Semaphore. This proposal also proved to be a 'pie in the sky'.

In November 1893, Mr Haslam said he had opened up negotiations with a land owner for a lease of land and requested the council to undertake to pay half the cost of a footbridge across the Patawalonga, but at a public meeting held on 17 November 1893 it was evident that the council would not assist the promoter of the scheme. After further negotiations and altercations with Mr W. Gray, in respect of land use, the Mayor reported that 'the Corporation had no further power in the matter, which therefore lays in abeyance.'

Speaking before the Field Naturalists' Society on 13 December 1921, Mr Edgar R. Waite, the Director of the Museum and President of the Aquarium Society, said that when he came to South Australia he planned to establish an aquarium and for that purpose the Zoological Society had placed a room at his disposal and 'it would have borne fruit, but like other projects had to be abandoned because of the war.' He then urged the establishment of an aquarium at Glenelg where 'it could be a tremendous asset to the place.'

In March 1922, a large party of field naturalists visited Glenelg at the invitation of the Mayor and the position favoured was at the landward end of the abandoned breakwater where solid concrete foundations would have made an ideal basis for the structure and the hope was expressed that some public spirited wealthy men would contribute substantially to 'so worthy an object.'

A committee was formed, representing the various bodies and, at a meeting on 28 June 1922, the Mayor, Mr J. Patterson, surprised members by exhibiting an architect's drawing of the Glenelg Aquarium executed in 1893. The Mayor then announced that the council would be prepared to petition Parliament to provide a suitable site on the foreshore and concluded by saying that its erection 'would provide a source of education and interest hitherto unknown in our State and prove an added attraction to the charms of Glenelg.' Further, it was suggested that, when erected, it could be dedicated as a memorial to the late Sir Ross Smith.

This venture foundered like its predecessors and, in 1927, a pessimistic Mr Waite commented that he 'regretted that several seaside municipalities had not more strongly supported the ventures' made largely at the instance of the Aquarium Society, but was pleased to announce that plans prepared by Messrs Kenneth Milne and Evans, at the behest of the promoter Mr T.H. Murch, were to be used at a site at Semaphore directly south of the pier. This venture also failed. Finally, the Harbors Board granted a lease of part of the Glenelg jetty to Mr Keith Minchin and it was there that he built an aquarium in 1929.

The years rolled by until the State's centenary year of 1936 dawned, when the Editor of the *Advertiser* suggested that it was largely through the enterprise of individuals that the State had accumulated unique collections of native flowers and of fish, the latter being owned by Mr P. A. Geisler of Kent Town who offered his aquarium to the State, provided a suitable building was erected to display it:

If we have a pride and faith in our city... we should seize such chances as this, They never come twice. The whole community would endorse acceptance by the government.

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Appendix 22

Sport at Glenelg

Professionalism in sport is as inevitable as in other spheres of life. Its dangers are obvious. Its valuable potentialities, too, are great. Its tendency is to divert life into sport, instead of making sport serve life... It would be an equally interesting enquiry to discover what working efficiency is lost owing to the moral and spiritual disregard of the Sabbath.

(Advertiser, 26 May 1924)

Introduction

The government's suppression Bill having been shorn of its most objectionable feature and the abolition of barmaids' Bill 'gone bung', it behoves the 80 goody-goodies, Bishops and parsons and others... to further interfere with and restrict the pleasures and amusements of the people.

(Register, 28 December 1907)

The colony of South Australia was planned as 'a new Britannia in the antipodes' by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and other theorists. This edict envisaged it becoming an 'entire British community' with the rigid class structure of the 'Mother' country and, to this end, the colonial gentry strove to adopt a lifestyle similar to which they had aspired in England. This trait was exemplified, for example, in Adelaide and infant villages, such as Kensington and Glenelg, where they built gracious villas, formed literary and scientific associations and became members of the exclusive Adelaide Club.

By 1846, Francis Dutton was to proclaim that 'all the purely English sports are kept up... and are... much patronised.' To achieve this end the 'superior class' among the colonists imported horses from India for polo and from Arabia, or England, for horse racing and hunting, at which the wild dog and kangaroo replaced the fox and deer. Later, they cruised the placid waters of Saint Vincent Gulf and went cycling when it was considered to be the 'proper' thing to do, all of which could be considered to be, more or less, affirmations of status:

A tricycle is not as dangerous as a horse, avoids the jolting and consequent soreness of the muscles, is more modest and graceful and gives quite as much inspiration; besides, it can without difficulty be propelled as fast as the fastest horse... The amusement is indulged in with an excess of ardor by persons whose constitutions are not fitted to bear the strain... [However] ladies who in dancing can cover from ten to twelve miles a night in a ballroom... need not fear a bicycle ride of two or three times the distance in an invigorating atmosphere.

In time, other elite sports such as rowing, yachting and archery came to the fore, while the noble game of golf became fashionable at the end of the 1860s when a course was laid out in the vicinity of the modern-day Victoria Park racecourse:

On opening day twenty foundation members 'of status and wealth', all of whom sported traditional red coats, joined a varied assortment of Adelaide citizenry who had turned up 'to see the fun.' In those long-gone days anything out of the ordinary, which was participated in by so-called 'Swells', was considered amusing by the lower strata of society. The first games were played in the presence of a highly amused gallery. If a player missed the ball the crowd roared. If he hit it, they laughed just the same - on principle it seemed.

But the crowd soon tired of the novelty and the golfers were left in peace as far as the gallery went. A further hazard was the presence of young boys who, despite the engagement of fore-caddies by the players, stole many of the expensive 'feathery' balls...

When tennis became popular at the close of the 1870s, the gentry adopted the game and the gracious homes of Adelaide became the venue for a 'linking' of the sexes at garden parties, where the term 'lawn tennis clique' described those aspiring to be numbered among the upper echelons of colonial society. Thus, sports were looked upon as 'symbolic displays of status' at which members of the new gentry derived confidence from the activities of others of a similar ilk doing similar grand things.

The relatively impecunious workers had less time and money to engage in sporting activities. They displayed a complete indifference to the activities of the gentry and resorted to games on a lower rung of the social scale. Some publicans made the most of the available opportunities by providing venues and promoting games such as cricket, football, boxing, wrestling and skittles in close proximity to, or within the confines of, their places of business.

It was here that labourers were found playing cricket on the worn footways beside the public houses and having side wagers on the result. As for fisticuffs, colonial gentry condemned their perceived inferiors for their participation in such brutal amusements:

Prize-fighting is most objectionable under whatever conditions it may be waged. The spectacle of two sane men deliberately battering each other for the sake of money... is little else than disgusting and degrading... To tolerate prize-fighting now we must change our natures, and it is a reassuring circumstance that the attempt of a professedly civilised community to renew the vicious past has elicited universal reprobation.

By the close of the 1850s, organised sport was, essentially, in the hands of the 'superior classes' or 'leading colonists' striving consciously to emulate English provincial gentry. They engaged in horse racing, hunting to the hounds, shooting pigeons for £20 a side and gambling heavily and, in this respect the law differentiated between the social classes; for instance, a member of the Tattersalls Club could place a bet with ease on those premises and the law would take no action, but if a workingman was seen placing a bet in a tobacco shop he would be prosecuted:

The person who would consider it a sin to risk his money on the chances of a horse race will with an easy conscience speculate on the Stock Exchange in a manner that cannot be distinguished from pure gambling...

Virtually the law shuts its eyes to private gambling, as beyond the region of its proper interference, but it treats public gambling as an offence against common decency.

A stroll around Adelaide at this time would have revealed splendid houses of worship, elegant public buildings and grand commercial establishments reflecting great credit on the spirit, enterprise and energy of the inhabitants. But, amidst all this was an absence of anything like innocent amusement and recreation. Indeed, it appeared that prosperous circumstances and liberal salaries, without ample means of rational entertainment, tended to demoralise the colony rather than improve it.

At this time, the prevailing idea of a *summum bonum* seemed to be intoxication, in proof of which was the extraordinary number of public houses devoid of any claim to patronage other than the vending of strong drink, supported by a thin population. With the exception of the Hotel Europe there was no place where a person might 'enjoy the comfort of a quiet glass and charms of good music'.

The following comment was made in 1858 by a concerned reader of the *Register*:

The dangerous but seductive practice of nobbler-drinking during the forenoon [which] has reached to an extent in this province is fearful to behold, and although its baleful results cross our path in every direction, seldom is any voice heard in its reprehension.

The pulpit is silent upon it, the press reports the daily - almost hourly - fearful accidents and loss of life caused by it, but it stops there...

As to the mere worldly aspect of the question, there was little doubt in the minds of many reasonable citizens that a fair expenditure of government resources, for the purpose of procuring rational and harmless amusements for the people, would have been a highly reproductive investment of public funds, and a means of enticing many youths to cease the immoderate use of strong drink and frequenting dancing saloons of alleged questionable repute.

In 1865, with the advent of the Saturday half-holiday, the working man acquired the leisure time necessary to play games on a regular basis, while the closing of many shops and other places of business on Wednesday afternoons was achieved by direct representations from the working class, with a view to securing practice time for club sport:

For the last four or five months I have been hoping that the Russians would come, having heard that they compel people to keep good hours... It never enters into [an employer's] head that we are flesh and blood... We are expected to stand behind the counter from morning till night... only on Sundays catching a glimpse of the sun...

Why should we never be able to see a cricket or football match...? Do please, Mr Editor, do your best for us as we are a long-suffering people.

The employers of labour, who consented to these new working conditions, deserved the thanks of the community at large. It was easy to point out the advantage of holidays and recreation in promoting the morality of society, for there was an instinct within refusing to be satisfied with ordinary occupations and yearning for amusement as a necessity of being.

It was 'not confined to childhood, with its frisking life and joyous gambol; it [ran] through every age and condition, save where it [was] smothered to death by the selfishness of business or the austerities of religion.'

By the general adoption of the eight-hours system in the mid-1870s, and the increased rate of wages consequent upon the demand for all kinds of labour, the position of a large number of working men and their families improved materially. However, the mere possession of additional leisure and increased income was of little value unless both were turned to good account:

When Saturday night arrives we are nearly half-stupid on account of the excessive pressure upon our brain power; and Sir, in my case I feel so languid (not being of a very strong constitution) that I am not able to rise on Sunday mornings in time to reach the house of prayer...

Some had a taste for reading and a desire for self-improvement, while others were glad to improve the condition of their homes, promote the welfare of their families and, as such, the opportunity of gratifying their inclination was invaluable. Many were connected with various religious organisations and found in them useful employment of service to the community.

But, after making all due allowance, there remained a large class without these resources and to whom the improved condition of the labour market brought no corresponding advantage and, accordingly, unoccupied time was apt to hang very heavily. Workmen's homes were not always rendered as attractive as they might have been and, sometimes, the head of the family was almost compelled to seek comfort elsewhere, while unmarried men, of

course, had to go abroad for recreation. Under these circumstances it was no great wonder that amusement was sought in a way neither salutary nor profitable. For instance, the *Observer* of 2 July 1870 reported that:

The police... have made very strenuous endeavours to lessen the glaring vices of the street... Rundle Street after dark between the Beehive and the Globe... has been for months the recognised rendezvous of our young... of both sexes, and fallen men and fallen women [revel] in conduct and converse which would make the blood of respectable and reputable citizens boil, and the cheeks of women, worthy of the name, crimson with shame.

Cricket

The sterling grit that is in the pure British stock must sooner or later be again recognised, and even a stubbornly contested game of cricket may, in its own way, lend important aid in bringing this to pass.

(*Register*, 9 March 1895)

In England, cricket became a game to be played by all levels of society but, upon its transportation to South Australia, it was soon apparent that little support was to be forthcoming from the 'influential community' and, accordingly, it was unusual for clubs to last for more than a season or two.

By 1862, there were no more than five clubs in Adelaide and suburbs and none of them in the best condition. They had no fenced area to play on, no convenience of any sort or kind. The grounds they played on couldn't be called turf, since it was as hard and dusty as the metalled road.

Indeed, a Stepney team used a then vacant block of land in Victoria Square, once occupied by Landowna Terrace and other buildings, the wicket being a well-worn track, the result of pedestrians cutting off the corner from Wakefield Street to Angus Street, terminating opposite the Prince of Wales Hotel:

There is no leading club, no ground even tolerably kept... we have [no] single player who has ever been heard of out of the colony... when something tangible is done I will gladly subscribe five pounds...

However, the teams had a code of ethics to be followed and swearing and profane language were forbidden 'on pain of a fine' and, for a second offence, in some clubs, expulsion was the ultimate penalty. The first cricket match at Glenelg was given due publicity when it was announced that a 'novel' contest was to be played between Mr Boothby's and Mr Maddocks's sides near 'Cummins' on 26 December 1853.

The players comprised nearly the whole of the members of the Adelaide Club, while archery, it was said, would be introduced together with 'the usual amusements met with at a picnic party':

It may be hoped, therefore, that the ladies will honour the field by their attendance. The presence and the approving smiles of beauty were never lost, it is said, to cricketers; on the contrary, they seem to be animated with additional spirit by the presence of the fair; so that perfect cheerfulness and stirring emulation generally pervade the scene. Long may the custom of our land invite the attendance of the softer sex; and long may the manliness of the truly noble game of cricket deserve her patronising influence!

Shortly after the early hour appointed for the commencement of this 'kindly' contest, equestrian spectators began to arrive and 'ere long dashing equipages studded the ground or gave animation by their rapid movements to the scene.' His Excellency the Governor and Lady Young were attended by several of the most fashionable ladies and gentlemen and 'every glance that could be spared from the players was attracted by the groups of ladies in their picturesque and graceful riding dresses and well-trained palfreys, ambling in gay cavalcade around the cricketers. However, there was no exhibition of "toxophilite skill", although at least one fair archer was seen and "a marksman eminent for hitting the bullseye".'

On 7 January 1864, a meeting was held at the Pier Hotel for the purpose of forming a cricket club. Mr W.J. Fullarton presided and among those present were Messrs H.S. Price, Y.W. Hodges, P.B. Fox, H. Law, J.M. Mitchell, F. Needham, and A.L. Fullarton. His Excellency, the Governor, was requested to become president, 30 men joined the club and the first match was played on 16 January 1864 when Rev. J.S. Jackson and Mr W.J. Fullarton tossed for sides and acted as captains.

The next was played on 23 January 1864 against 'eleven squatters' on the club's ground at New Glenelg. The squatters were disposed of for 78 runs and the Glenelg club 'then handled the willow' and scored 99, 35 of which were made by Mr F.B. Carlin. Glenelg's players in these two matches were W.J. Fullarton, W. Bunday, H.B.T. Strangways, H. Law, A.L. Fullarton, F.B. Carlin, Trimmer, Addison, J.M. Mitchell, W.D. Fisher, J. Phillips, F.W. Stokes, H.T. Morris, F.W. Frampton, W. Bickford, W. Mair, P. Needham, E.A. Wright, W.H. Squires, J. Roe, W. Townsend, G.H. Mann and Giles.

On Good Friday, 1869, the Independent Order of Foresters held their annual meeting at Clarendon where games such as tub races on the river were indulged in. As an added attraction the lodge invited the Glenelg club to compete against a local team and it is sad to report that, perhaps, the hospitality accorded the visitors overwhelmed them for, in two innings, they could only compile a total of 24 runs, while their opponents struck out boldly for 57 runs in one innings. The top scorer for Glenelg was Mr Ralph who had an aggregate of seven runs.

The club held an annual general meeting on 12 October 1872 at Mr Caterer's Grammar School when the following officers were elected; President, Rev. T. Field; Vice-president and Treasurer, Mr Fred Caterer; Committee, Messrs Millard, Pierson and Howard; Hon. Secretary, Mr John Lee and it was suggested that the 1872 season would be 'brilliant epoch in the cricketing annals of the far-famed Town of Glenelg.'

A return match against Brighton was played at Glenelg on 19 April 1873 where the Bay team, eager to avenge their late defeat, brought a strong team on to the field. In its one and only innings Spiller knocked up a sparkling 29 out of a total of 51. Of its bowlers Mr Millard got 4 wickets.

In response the opponents were 7 wickets down for 28 runs when:

Ralph, by a splendid bit of fielding, stretched low the stumps of Brown and 'with cunning deep' Millard assailed his wickets - short lobes and long lobes were in vain. Dawes' peculiarities [sic] lost their charm; the yielding earth forbade the executing twist. Five wickets fell, yet these stood erect. At length the triumph came, Millard put in a grand bailer and the crest-fallen champion retired [and] the elated Millard celebrated the feat by a war dance which evoked loud applause. The Brightonians now changed their policy - 'defend for a draw'.

The Bay's efforts were in vain; with victory almost in their grasp, the umpire amidst wild excitement, proclaimed a draw [and] the players adjourned to the festive board.

By 1873, the South Australian Company had given the club permission to play on its land, but it was felt desirable to have a ground of their own and 'the large increase in new members warranted the hope that this would soon be accomplished.' It is apparent that this club disbanded because, at a meeting on 11 September 1879, it was resolved to establish a cricket club when 'the rules of the old Glenelg Cricket Club were adopted with a few alterations.'

The committee appointed was: Patrons, the Hon. T. King, MP, and Mr W. Townsend, MP; President, Mr W.F. Stock; Vice-presidents, Messrs F. Caterer, J. Lee, W.H. Phillips and Dr Ferguson; Treasurer, Mr F.W. Sims; Hon. Sec., Mr J.S. Duff; Committee, Messrs T. Green, H. Counsell, W.T. Stacy, G.H. Sims and G. Summers.

An annual dinner was held on 4 May 1880 at the Pier Hotel and, in an address, Mr A.J. Diamond said it was probable that the club would soon have an oval of its own and that, since its formation, 65 members had been enrolled and two elevens had taken the field during the past season. Among the leading players were T. Harrington, T. Green, R. Hooper, J. Duff, J. Rose and J.J. Virgo.



Pier Hotel - 1890

A special general meeting of the Glenelg Cricket and Football clubs was held on 13 May 1880 in the Glenelg Institute when the Chairman, Mr Stock, Mayor of Glenelg, advised that Sir Thomas Elder had given ten feet more on both the eastern and northern sides of the oval and that it was intended to fence the property as soon as possible following the acceptance of Mr Miller's tender. It was also decided that any person donating one guinea or more would be given a free pass to the oval for one year.

At its annual general meeting in 1888 the president reported that the club had played 20 matches of which 16 were won, three lost and one drawn, while it had also won a trophy for the premiership in connection with the Adelaide Cricketing Association. Prizes were presented to Messrs H. Green, H. Hillier, F. Thompson, J. Brunton, W. Holland, A. Flight, A. Gates, S. Emery, W. Footer, G Webb and C. Oliver.

The modern era of cricket at Glenelg commenced in 1907 with the formation of the Glenelg District Cricket Club and its exploits are recorded in *Historic Glenelg, Birthplace of South Australia*.

Tavern Sports

There was a large concourse of people... to participate in, and witness a variety of sports, such as shooting at penny pieces, targets, bottles, etc... After the principal sports were over the blacks were induced to test their respective merits in throwing spears at loaves of bread...

(Adelaide Times, 23 July 1850)

Among the pastimes indulged in by the male population of Glenelg at its several hotels were skittles and quoits and, while they attracted gambling and profit to the licensees from liquor sales, they helped to maintain a sense of community. Quoits became established in Adelaide in 1850, but it was not until July 1883 that the South Australian Quoits Association was formed which attracted 400 members who played for the Kingston Challenge Cup.

Skittles were played in the colony as early as the 1840s when wooden bowls were made from timber obtained from the banks of the River Torrens. In 1855, Mr Ramsay, the proprietor of the Napoleon Bonaparte Hotel in Adelaide, introduced a bowling alley, on the American principle, for the use of his patrons and pronounced that 'to the lovers of muscular exercise a game of bowls is a much-prized amusement. To the sufferer from lassitude consequent on sedentary occupation, the depressed victim of dyspepsia, or the listless slave of ennui, a game of bowls offers, if not a remedy, at least an alleviation.' Boxing Day was a favoured time for 'tavern sports' and on one occasion:

Several well-contested races were run by the boys; also jumping in sacks, which was most successful. The greasy pole was the next attraction and many were the attempts made to reach its summit. It was at last accomplished by a lad, who received for his trouble a leg of mutton and a silver watch.

There was also a capital race for boys blindfolded wheeling barrows, also quoits and several other games, which lasted all the afternoon. In the evening host Jennings gave his friends a first-class entertainment in the shape of singing and dancing which terminated shortly after midnight.

Many hoteliers were determined to make their establishments as entertaining as possible and encouraged every description of innocent and manly sport as far as circumstances would allow and in July 1850:

A large concourse of people assembled to participate in, and witness, a variety of sports, such as shooting at penny pieces, bottles, *etc.*, in the absence of pigeons, of which Mr Brooks was unable to collect a sufficient number to make up a good match. After the principal sports were over, the Aborigines were induced to test their respective merits in throwing spears at loaves of bread at some thirty yards distance, but their 'shooting' was far inferior to what was generally expected of them, for they all failed in touching the marks, although several spears shaved the doughy targets. Leaping, and similar feats of agility of limbs, succeeded and the whole was crowned by a ball in the evening. The principal room being too limited for the assembled number of dancers a large, boarded booth was erected outside and the amusements were carried on with the utmost spirit and harmony, until the usual hour of breaking up.

Football

500 spectators assembled... including about 100 larrikins... On the ball accidentally being driven amongst the spectators, the larrikin element was most audibly and forcibly exhibited, as shouts and yells arose, and the ball was kicked hither and thither by the multitude... [Later] the ball was again seized by the larrikins... The ball was on recovery handed for safekeeping to a gentleman on horseback who galloped with it under his arm towards the city, the crowd following, shouting and jeering till the fleet steed left the excited multitude far behind, and the horseman was able to house the ball safely in the Gresham Hotel... The players put on their coats and retired... in a somewhat disappointed mood at the total failure of the monster moonlight match...

(Chronicle, 28 July 1877)

Introduction

It may be safely asserted that there is no more dangerous pastime than football. The majority of players are physically unfit to undertake the exhaustion...

(Register, 9 April 1877)

The development of the game of football can be traced from its foundation in Melbourne, through the period when South Australia was changing over to the Victorian rules in the late 1870s, and up to the present day. There have been many changes in the teams in the senior competition, but the real history of the league premierships started with the introduction of the district system in 1897. There is much to tell and one could devote much space to the story of the development of the present uniforms. Long gone are the days when the league players took the field in high boots, knickerbockers and a small cap that were quite the 'Victorian era' idea of head-to-toe costumes and very different from the abbreviated knickers, sleeveless jerseys and the generally neat uniforms of the 20th century.

Modern-day tiled bathrooms and training facilities, the medical attention available, together with persistent media coverage, would have made early players open their eyes. In those olden days showers were few and far between and training usually restricted to running in the Park Lands or physical culture exercises indoors. To have a shower, all a player had to do was to stand under a tin while a trainer filled a bucket with cold water, climbed a ladder, poured the water in to the tin and let it run through on to the player.

As Bert Renfrey, who led South Australia to victory at the 1911 carnival, once said: 'If you came out pink you were fit.' In the first place there appears to be no limit to the number of players who participated in the game until the number of each side was reduced to 20 and finally, in 1899, to 18. Indeed, in earlier times:

A finer sight [could] scarcely be seen than 60 or 80 impetuous youths contending with earnest emulation to drive the ball home to opposite goals. We hope the ladies will largely grace those matches with their presence and thus lend an impulse to what is considerable importance to the healthy development of the youth of the colony.

In the early days of the game in South Australia the old Kensington rules were in force, some being similar to the Victorian laws from which the modern-day game has evolved. One of the main differences between these two sets of rules applied to picking up the ball from the ground - under the Kensington rules a player could not take the ball from the turf and the ball had to be bouncing and many players were adept at patting the ball to make it bounce and thus keep within the law:

It was about this time that the term 'barrack' was introduced into the game as a definition of an ardent supporter's verbal encouragement of his or her fancied team. Its first appearance into our language is lost in the mists of time, but one suggestion concluded that it originated from the Imperial troops who, whilst barracked on North Terrace, were frequent and most determined combatants in matches played on the contiguous Exhibition Oval against the 'Kangaroos', as the young colonists were called.

A meeting was held at the Prince Alfred Hotel on 20 July 1876 between 50 members from the Old Adelaide, South Adelaide, Woodville and Victorian Clubs to consider the question of a uniform code of rules. Mr Charles C.

Kingston, in explaining the object of the meeting, mentioned that a circular had been issued early in June 1876 by the Kensington Football Club calling upon the clubs in and around Adelaide to consider the matter:

He was extremely pleased to see such a large attendance as it augured well for the manly game which, owing to what he considered to be a foolish modification of what were known as the old Adelaide rules, had sadly degenerated. The regulations generally known as the Kensington rules had, during the last two seasons, only provoked continual disputes when matches were engaged in. He was sure they all desired to see the game prosper in the colony and that by a suitable code of rules, encouragement should be given to the exhibition of skill, strength and pluck, while all matches might be played under a spirit of friendly rivalry...

He then moved that the rules played in Victoria should be considered and, in due course, they were adopted with minor modifications, for example, Rule 7 was struck out and the following substituted: 'The ball may be taken in hand at any time, but the player shall be liable to be held or thrown until he drops it', while an addition to Rule 8 provided that pushing from behind should 'only be allowable when the player was running.' The chief alteration to the game played hitherto in Adelaide was the dispensation of the cross bar and top rope in favour of two upright posts of unlimited height and the substitution of the oval football for the round one. Messrs C.C. Kingston, A. Crooks, J.A. Osborne, T. Letchford and C.D. Perkins were appointed as a committee to confer with other clubs and were also empowered to consider the question of offering a Challenge Cup for the next season.

In April 1877, an Association was formed and this gave football an impetus and a devotee of the game proclaimed:

The resurrection of football which took place in Adelaide last year must have gladdened the hearts of every true lover of the game. The new rules that were adopted proved a decided success and will, I have great hopes, be adopted by every South Australian club during the coming season. The Kensingtons and the Ports held out against every innovation last year but this year it is hoped they will come round. If football is to prosper in the colony everyone must bear and forbear.

The Englishman who has been accustomed to the Rugby rules is undoubtedly at a disadvantage now that the great principle of 'off side' under which he had been brought up has been abolished... The Kensington player will find it hard to give up his favourite 'bounce' and be tackled when he runs with the ball...

Again, many of the clubs themselves sadly want organisation. It is very evident that the plan of electing a captain on the field is an entirely rotten one... Every club at the beginning of each season should elect a captain for the whole season and a vice-captain to take his place when necessary... What I wish to deprecate is playing football merely to have your name in the paper or to be able to swagger to your friends that you have kicked a goal. This pernicious feeling has, owing to the ill-directed praise of people who do not understand the game, taken a very firm hold in Adelaide...

Gentlemen interested in football, and spectators, should remember that whereas they must pay to see a cricket match on the Oval, the best football matches may be seen gratis. I am glad this is so and would not wish to see the poor man deprived of his enjoyment. But it would be good for the game if those who can afford it were to make some small subscription to the Association or Clubs. No arrangements can be made to keep the ground in decent order and extra subscriptions have had to be raised amongst players to provide the scantiest accommodation for the spectators...

It is interesting to note the placings used for the teams of 20 men - starting from the goal front they were: Goal sneak or rover; full forward; two forward pocketmen; three half-forwards; three centres; three halfbacks; two back pocketmen; full back and four followers. Behinds were not counted and the teams changed ends when a goal was scored and it was recorded that in a match between Port Adelaide and Kensington in 1877 the teams played until sundown. In this game the visitors scored a goal in the first quarter of an hour of play and another hour elapsed before they scored another.

Then half time was called and probably the players thought it was about time too. Port scored another goal 20 minutes after the resumption of play, but still the players continued until the going down of the sun made it impossible to see the ball.

The selection of umpires was left to the opposing captains and many a fine row developed over naming the man in white and, in one instance, a game in 1878 did not start until 4 p.m. because of a dispute over his appointment. Until 1904, this central official did all the work on the ground, including the boundaries and whistles were used first on 16 June 1887.

Comments follow on this aspect of the game, coupled with denigration of this much maligned breed of men which was frequent, immodest in tone and, on occasions, accompanied by attacks upon their person:

Various suggestions have been made since a local umpire fainted under his load of care, but there appears to be a simple and effective remedy - let the football umpire's duties be deputed to another, who shall require no qualification but good staying power... He shall follow the ball, and throw it in when it goes out of bounds.

Instead of allowing [him] to umpire again, the Association should have a wooden automaton made, wind it up for two hours and if it can be made to run well it would give as much satisfaction to the players and general public as was given last Saturday...

[At tribunals] charges of fighting have been declared trivial, although thousands of people witnessed them, many of whom now stay away from football sooner than risk a repetition of the sight... Committeemen who abuse umpires in filthy and disgusting language cannot consistently be severe on players who do the same. That such men have voices in the ruling of football in South Australia is the pity of it...

Unless there is a radical change the fair sex will have to give up patronising the sport; for although black eyes and bloody noses may amuse them, they have to turn their heads when a fellow has to creep away half-naked, with only part of his clothes hanging to him in rags. About 30 or 35 years ago it was a fair, healthy game...

kicking and brutal scrimmages and cowardly blows were unknown.

Following the introduction of the new code of rules it is more than apparent, having regard to reports on various games in the 1880s, that an alarming degree of physical violence intruded upon the field as evidenced by the following description of a player and a stanza from a satirical poem:

[He] never wears more than one ear, and about the same number of eyes; his nose looks like a bit of liver stretched across a thimble; one arm is bent backwards at the elbow; he appears to have two left legs and he carries as much scalp to the square inch as a catfish does... It is mostly played by married men, people who live next door to cornet players, and all other persons who are tired of their own existence.

Mark how yon demon's savage eyeball glare!

See in his mouth some tufts of Tommy's hair!

While at his side, alert, bold Spieler stands

With some of Micky's whiskers in his hands!

And look! yon panting tiger in the rear

Just throwing away a fragment of an ear!

Football at Glenelg

Hat pins were drawn by members of the fair sex in readiness for use, and vicious stabs were made at [the umpire] with umbrellas.

(Advertiser, 13 June 1910)

It was this change in the rules and control of the game that prompted the sporting fraternity of the Glenelg district to field a team, and this is evidenced by a scant newspaper report stating that the opening game for the season of the Glenelg Football Club was played on 10 June 1876 and 'a goal was soon gained by Mr Matthell.'

Nothing further was evident until 16 April 1880 when a meeting was held in the Glenelg Institute for the purpose of forming a club to be called the Glenelg Football Club and at the same time it was resolved not to join the proposed Junior Football Association, 'it being considered undesirable to create more than one governing body.'

It was decided, also, to wait upon Sir Thomas Elder to procure the use of a piece of land adjacent to the racecourse and the proposed station of the Holdfast Bay railway.

The committee appointed was: Patron, Mr W.F. Stock; President, Hon. Thomas King, MP; Vice-presidents, Messrs C. Sabine, F. Caterer, H.W. Phillips, W.K. Simms, A.J. Diamond, J. Lee, C.M. Muirhead, James S. Scott, J. Holman, W.R. Wigley and Dr Ferguson; Secretary, Mr E. Sabine; Treasurer, Mr J.B. Muir.

A deputation then approached Sir Thomas Elder and said if he would grant the land the club would undertake to fence and improve it. Accordingly, that gentleman, in addition to giving the oval on a 21 year lease, also gave the club £10 towards the cost of fencing. The oval was opened on 29 May 1880 when Port Adelaide played Glenelg and 'the visitors had the best of the game throughout, but the play of the Glenelgs showed they had the makings of a good team in their ranks [they lost by two goals to nil]...' The visitors proceeded from the Adelaide station on the Holdfast Bay line by a special complimentary train and were deposited at the scene of the action.

On 25 June 1887, a large crowd assembled to witness a somewhat novel contest between a selected team from HMS *Nelson* and the Glenelgs. The sailors were allowed to play the Rugby game while their opponents, as a concession to their less practical opponents, were limited to the liberty of action laid down in the Australian Association rules. At the close of the match the score board showed Glenelgs, eight goals, Nelsons, one goal, the latter failing to score at all in the second half.

From this time the game of football at Glenelg received little attention in the newspapers of the day. A team was entered in a competition in 1907 and, following the formation of the minor Sturt Association in 1913, football within the district began to develop. In 1919, Glenelg Oval association applied for a league football team but it was refused by the authorities in Adelaide.

The club was formed at a meeting called for the purpose in the Glenelg Town Hall on 10 March 1920 and, on 3 March 1921, a meeting was held following notice that the team had been admitted to A grade football and, in its annual report, it was said that the B grade team had competed in the previous season and that the new colours for the club would be black and gold, the guernseys to be black with a gold hoop around waist and arms, black socks with gold band and white knickers.



Glenelg Grammar School – Albert Green (front left) won the first Magarey Medal in 1898

The club's first league game was played against West Adelaide on 7 May 1921 and, until 1936, was above sixth position on one occasion only - in 1934 - when they confounded the critics by defeating Port Adelaide in the grand final; in the next season they finished at the bottom in eighth position - the legend persists into the 21st century that their 1934 success was due to 'undue influence' on the central umpire! Glenelg were beaten in its first 56 matches, but they provided a football sensation when 'Stump' Pincombe, who had made his name at cricket and football at Broken Hill, was appointed coach for the 1925 season.

The Tigers had to face West Torrens, the reigning premiers, at Glenelg in the first game of the 1925 season. Contrary to all expectations the Bays downed their opponents and Pincombe was the idol of Glenelg. It was a different story following the next game, for Sturt trounced the Tigers and the coach was relieved of his position. In 1924, the Glenelg made one of its greatest finds when Jack Owens came down from Broken Hill to join the side when he became one of the leading half-forwards in the State until he retired in 1935. He scored 826 goals for Glenelg. The foregoing is but a few snippets from the life of football at Glenelg and the story is continued in the book, *The Pride of the Bay*.



Sailing Races

[The association has passed a resolution whereby] a respectable young man who is guilty of earning his livelihood as a mechanic would be debarred from competition in a boat race against clerks, professional men, etc... It is evident to the nearest comprehension that [it is] utterly out of place in South Australia, where the dignity of labour is preached and respected...

(Register, 22 August 1882 (supp.))

On 9 November 1855, a memorable regatta was held there in honour of the birthday of Prince Edward when the *Yatala* acted as flagship and the successful contestants were the fore-and-aft *Alma* and a similarly rigged vessel, the *Victoria* - another report said it was held in honour of the foundation of the Glenelg Corporation on 23 August 1855.

In commemoration of the event, a picture from the brush of J.W. Deering, a well-known local artist in the early 1850s, was presented to the Holdfast Bay Yachting Club by Mr H.D. Gell, an early member of that club, and a former Mayor of the town.

The prevailing tempestuous weather prevented the owners of many of the smaller craft from displaying their skills and this induced several local owners to get up a subscription match amongst themselves in order to find the best man and the fastest boat.

The monetary appeal was responded to promptly and, on Saturday, 17 November, the match got under way among six craft owned by Messrs H. Pennington, Y.W. Hodges, W. Sugars, W.R. Wigley, J. Smith and Thomas Wigley, the first named running out as winner by almost an hour from Mr Hodges.

Prizes were handed out at the Saint Leonards Hotel in the evening where the 'victors received the praise they merited and the defeated, like true Britons, acknowledged themselves honourably beaten, but not disheartened and ready for another trial.'

A rather 'hastily-announced' event came off on 10 April 1858 when a sailing match was held between *Whynot*, *Volunteer* belonging to the Glenelg Yacht Club, sailed by Mr Shepherd, and the *Faithful*, sailed by Mr Sugars. The match was closely competed, *Volunteer* winning by 15 minutes owing to a shift of wind in her favour. The respective owners were so confident of their 'fast qualities' that another match was arranged for a sail around the lightship for 10 sovereigns a side.

A Fishermen's Sailing Boat Race was held in October 1868 between craft sailed by Messrs J. Tostevin, A. Martin and J. Le Nephew and the course was traversed by the winner in five minutes under two hours by J. Tostevin in *Amy*.

A regatta arranged by Mr Simpson of the Parade Hotel, Glenelg, took place on 23 January 1875, the anniversary of the marriage of HRH the Duke of Edinburgh. Five events were advertised but only three eventuated. The Fishermen's Sailing Race attracted three entries, Mr R. Yates' *Venture*, Mr H. Kemp's *Lily* and Mr J. Breward's *Adelaide* and the course was from the end of the jetty, around the hulk, The *Venture* ran out as the winner after the owner of the *Lily* had entered a protest following a dispute as to whether a buoy at a short distance of the L-Head or the L-Head itself was the finishing point.

Golf

Golf is played by prominent citizens every Sunday morning... and yet nobody has hitherto protested. In my opinion [they] ought to blush, especially as I am given to understand that the language evoked by golf is usually by no means of a sanctified character.

(Register, 22 November 1904)

Introduction

The indispensable qualifications for a golfer... are nerve and health... If a man's nerves are out of sorts, if he has a touch of liver or has dined indiscreetly, he hesitates when standing up to his ball...

(Register, 12 December 1908)

How many golfers down the ages have pondered as to why they play the game of golf? To the thousands who have proclaimed 'Never Again', after a more than usual exasperating round, the following solace is offered. In it, a 19th century journalist responds to an angry gentleman who, during the course of attempting to escape from a bunker, cried out to a deity above: 'Why do I play this [expletive deleted] game?'

Its content must, assuredly, summon up to all golfers, past and present, some glorious memories of days spent on the links, and of others replete with utter despair and desperation:

He is prone as ever to slice, draw, heel, horn or top; but from time to time he does strike the ball fair and it flies far and sure. The resulting sensation is so exquisite that the recollection of it carries the player proudly through all the inevitable disasters of the day.

Nay, sometimes for a whole day, or even two or three days in succession the coquettish mistress will be all sweetness, he hardly misses a single tee shot, and his approaches come off with masterly precision. He smiles as he reflects on bygone disappointment. After all it is a simple matter. Once acquire the knack of keeping your eye on the ball, don't force for long drives and there you are, you know. He whispers to himself:

One crowded hour of glorious life

Is worth an age without name.

On the morrow he feels as fit as ever, with the same limbs and harmony of joints, the same keen eye, his favourite clubs, even the identical dress he wore in triumph yesterday. He steps out jauntily, disguising his impatience to begin the match, and adorned with the modesty that meekly veils just confidence. Marry! What mysterious influence is abroad? Gone is that easy poise at the tee; gone the noiseless swing and the indescribably elastic 'rap' of a rightly smitten ball; gone the cunning wrist-jerk of the iron, wherewith to 'lay it dead'.

From some indescribable cause everything is at it should not be; do what he may the muscles of his arms will grow rigid as he raises the club to the swing; it makes a discordant swoosh through the air like the rod of an unskilled salmon fisher; the ball describes a completed parabola to the right of the true direction, lands clear, but taking the 'side' communicated by the slice, bounds sharply still further astray and buries itself in irremediable grief. The spell endures throughout the day and in the level light of evening he wends sorrowfully home murmuring:

Who then to frail mortality shall trust?

But limns the water or but writes in dust.

Golf at Glenelg

*I was playing golf the day
That the Germans landed.
All our men had gone away*

*And all our ships had stranded
And the thought of England's shame
Almost put me off my game.*

(Observer, 20 September 1919)

The Adelaide Golf Club, founded in 1870, and mentioned elsewhere, had been disbanded by 1875 only to be re-established on 8 October 1892, when play commenced on a course established on the north Parklands bounded by Robe, Kingston and Lefevre Terraces. It is apparent that this club amalgamated with the Glenelg Golf Club, the latter having been formed in 1894 on land roughly to the south-east of the present-day Glenelg course that was opened in 1927.

The club's first competition was played on 15 June 1895 when a large number of onlookers turned out and general satisfaction was expressed when one of the original members, Mr C. Irwin, was the first winner with a net score of 100 (104-4); Ernest Philipson was runner up on 102. A later report of play mentioned the Adelaide club playing on Mr Sandison's paddock 'to the north of the Bay Road on a pretty course situated on the banks of the River Sturt.'

On this occasion a reporter, apart from some informative comments on certain participants, admonished a competitor from the hierarchy of the legal profession who, so it was decreed, was from a 'superior' level of Adelaide society:

Had a cynic stood by the last flag, he would have found ample material for cynicism - a well-known merchant toiling over the hill, whose eye would not quiver at the sight of six figures, but yet, whose courage failed him when he found his ball half-buried in the sand; doctors hacking their balls with a powerful cleek with as much complacency as if the innocent rotundities were so many patients; lawyers, able as a rule to control their tongues but who found a topped ball or a broken club was apt to make them forget their surroundings - but why prolong the list? Golf makes different creatures of us, some worse, some better, all enthusiastic...

The first interstate matches in South Australia were played at Glenelg in August 1895 when players from Geelong, in Victoria, competed against those from the Adelaide and Glenelg clubs, namely, Dr Swift, J.R. Baker, J.B. Matthews, Dr Giles, E. Phillipson and M.G. Anderson and a report on the matches stated that:

The [local] clubs are to be heartily congratulated on defeating so strong a team as the Geelong team undoubtedly is, Adelaide winning by 6 and Glenelg by 14 holes... By the kind invitation of Mr T. Barr Smith the Geelong team will be opposed today on his links at Mitcham by a team of the Adelaide Golf Club...

Henry L. Rymill has left us with his memories of the old course at Glenelg at the turn of the 20th century:

It was only a cow paddock; the fairways were small with fences round to keep out the numerous cows and poddy calves. The club house consisted of a lot of small weather-board shanties, which were considered palaces after the tin shed they used at Miller's Corner. There were no hot showers, but the gas was laid on to boil the kettle for afternoon tea...



Business premises at Miller's Corner built in 1857

On an auspicious occasion in 1897 the governor graced the course with his presence, a sure sign that golf had 'arrived' on the sporting scene as a legitimate and 'approved' pursuit.

The occasion of the assembly was a series of competitions:

The first event of the day was a mixed foursome... As the pairs approached the fourth hole over the river they were met by the guests of the committee, who had come by special train from Glenelg, which the Glenelg Railway company had kindly provided for the occasion free of charge. The spectators then strolled up to the top of the hill to witness the driving competition...

Dr Swift, the captain, led off with three drives that any professional might have envied. Mr J.R. Baker followed with three drives that were more noticeable for their direction than their distance, but the goddess of golf was on his side. The comparative shortness of the drives must be put down to the fact that the long grass and sandy nature of the soil prevented the ball from running the distance it would on an English green.

In conclusion, the reporter wrote that 'the thanks of the club [were] most assuredly due to the Honorary Secretary and the ladies who assisted him, not only for the completeness of the arrangements generally, but for the afternoon tea and the ample array of cakes. It was no light task to provide tea for over 100 people in a place that is so far from anywhere.'

At a meeting of the Glenelg School Board of Advice in October 1898 a number of parents had to answer for their boys not having attended school upon the requisite number of days during the previous quarter. The mothers pleaded hard in the interests of their sons, and it was hinted that the links at Glenelg, utilised almost every day, Sundays included, were, in a measure, responsible for the boys' absence.

It was said that their services were enlisted and rewarded pecuniarily as caddies and the Chairman, Mr J. Downing, said it was a serious matter and, moreover, the boys would have to make up for lost time during the next quarter, otherwise the parents would be prosecuted.

In his reminiscences held in the State Library, Llewellyn Fowler, who was born at Glenelg and spent his childhood there, said:

One of my first efforts to earn a little money was as a caddy at the Glenelg golf links. My first try was at nine years of age [when] I carried for Miss Law-Smith for the whole round, for which she gave me sixpence. Though rather young, I did hope she did not have to walk home. But no, the wealthy folk came to their clubs, etc., by horse-drawn cabs...

The next time I went to get a caddy job I did not succeed. I had 'wagged' it from school... I was too small and did not seem fitted to the job. Perhaps my luck was in again. Every new boy who turned up looking for a job at the links was thrown into a nearby dam, the watering place for Sanderson's [*sic*] cows. I escaped this...

Many boys 'played the wag' regularly, sometimes for a week, in order to earn money as caddies and, as a consequence, a local headmaster was scathing about the state of his students general morality, following exposure to those who were devoted to golf and 'indoctrinated with all its attendant controversial syndromes.' He warned all parents that the wrath of the law would fall upon them if they allowed their sons to play truant:

On every school day of the year on an average there have been ten boys absent at golf... They act as caddies and get three or four shillings a day... There is not a teacher at my school that has not borne testimony to me that the boys who go to the links as caddies are degenerating both mentally and morally. They learn to smoke cigarettes and learn to swear. Such may be inseparable from golf... They are learning other bad habits.

It is bad enough on school days, but what could one think concerning golf on Sundays, on which a dozen of my boys may be found on the golf links? No one has the right to imperil the soul of a child... It pains me dreadfully to see boys playing golf on Sundays.

The Glenelg Golf Club

There is no golfer in this almost exclusive class who does not ask himself, from time to time, why he muddles along at this exasperating game, duffing and slicing, pulling and topping the ball in an agony of frustrated effort

(Advertiser, 19 January 1935)

Owing to the seriously depleted revenue, caused by the absence of many members on war service overseas, this popular club was obliged to go out of existence and relinquish its lease on the 'magnificent property on the Bay Road.' Accordingly, widespread interest was aroused in 1920 when it was announced that the westerly portion of the estate was to be subdivided following instructions from the owner, Mr C. Sandison.

Two years later, a subdivision of part section 183, Hundreds of Adelaide and Noarlunga, was named 'Golflands', while, earlier, well-illustrated descriptive booklets were available 'containing plans, photographs and fullest information regarding Mr C. Sanderson's [sic] subdivision of 30 building sites, comprising the western portion of their well-known Glenelg Golf Links adjoining McDonald's Railway Station...'

For the next five years Glenelg was at a disadvantage due to the lack of a golf course and this was exacerbated by the rapidly rising land values, and the difficulty of securing a site increased year by year. Late in 1925, it was mooted in golf circles that an attempt would be made to acquire a site to the north of Glenelg on a portion of the famous Gray's Estate which was about to come on the market. Some of this land was admirably suited for the purpose for it was undulating and of a sandy character, with several natural obstacles and abundant opportunities for creating others, so that an interesting course could be provided at low cost.



The Critic, 28 July 1909

The land, covering about 174 acres, was purchased by Glenelg Golf Links Ltd for £18,000 and an unlimited water supply was obtained by sinking a 360 feet bore from which 100,000 gallons per hour were pumped daily. At the club's first meeting on 23 February 1927 the directors announced that it was also their intention to lay out tennis courts and a bowling green, while 41 persons intimated their intention of joining as initial members.

The first sod was turned in January 1927 and the wheelbarrow engaged in the operation was that used by Governor Jervois to turn the first sod of the Port Augusta-Gums [Farina] Railway in the 1870s. The official opening was made by the Governor, Sir Tom Bridges, on 21 May 1927 when he was received by the President, Mr A.J. Roberts, following which a four-ball match was played between Messrs Legh Winsor, T. Cheadle, W. Harvey and Rufus Stewart over the nine holes that had been completed.

Generously, the President gave a rustic teahouse that was to be created on the highest peak of the grounds, while its first professional golfer was Mr A.B. Robertson from the Ardrossan Club in Scotland who had, for the previous two

years, been employed at the Port Pirie Club. A ball was held in the clubhouse in the evening and the building, 'outlined in coloured electric lights and with strings entwined among the pine trees was an outstanding sight from its high elevation...'

Latter-day information on the club is to be found in *Historic Glenelg, Birthplace of South Australia*.

Horse Racing

Every game, like every business, has its black-market players. In the Stock Exchange defaulters jostle men of purest minds. In merchants' warehouses occasional commercial sharpening discredits the blunt honesty which commonly prevails. In Temperance societies are dissembling toppers and, even in the Church, graceless hypocrites.

But the racecourse, though some of the most honourable men and generous souls in every community figure prominently upon it, attracts to it also too many of those despicable characters of whom the types are far worse than the ever-memorable Jubilee Player and the noble Ailesbury.

(Advertiser, 2 May 1897)

Introduction

A wealthy owner can back his horse for thousands in comfort and ease at the Tattersalls Club and the law says nothing and takes no action; but let the average workingman put a half-crown on his fancy in a tobacco shop and he is pounced upon... If the law is to be carried out let it be carried out equally and deal with all alike.

(Advertiser, 2 May 1897)

In its infancy horse racing was considered to be an innocent and manly amusement, patronised mainly by 'gentlemen of high honour and probity' but, by the late 1860s, discerning reporters were putting forward suggestions that a certain 'rascality' was discernible within the time-honoured 'Sport of Kings'.

Considered opinions of the day were that 'men who live by their wits go into it, not for the sport, but for the plunder. Bookmakers, who have nothing to lose, but who have always some chance of winning, take up the business... they are the worst type of gamblers, and they bring the turf into disrepute.'

In other colonies 'some scandalous tricks... [had] come to light to the infinite disgust of every right-minded patron of racing. Notorious horsy men down on their luck, [had] levanted without taking the small trouble of settling with their creditors, and grave suspicions exist that a noble horse who was safe to take a good position in his engagements has been poisoned by those whose interest it was to have him out of the way.' It was concluded by this observer that:

In *personnel* our ring is also not what it should be. Keepers of hells, gambling-houses and dancing saloons would hardly be elected members of Tattersalls in the old country. Here no questions are asked. Anybody is respectable, if he can pay a pound, and find a friend to propose him. This is the quarter in which reform is first needed. There are persons admitted to the rooms whose presence there is undesirable, and can bode no good to themselves or their employers. Government officials, bank clerks, merchants, clerks, and employees in shops or warehouses should be better engaged of an evening than smoking bad tobacco, drinking... talking horse, and now and then making a bet with men of very doubtful antecedents and questionable reputation.

In the long run they are bound to be victimised, and for every one that lands a good thing, ninety-nine suffer considerably, both in character and purse, many acquiring habits that ultimately lead them to ruin. It is a matter of too common notoriety that young men who might have occupied respectable positions in life have become pigeons to those hawks who too often hover around the betting ring and the racecourse seeking whom they may pluck...

With revelations from the industry early in the 20th century of doping of horses, bribery by punters, the gaoling of a prominent financier, and infamous conduct on the part of bookmakers, one might be excused for concluding that very little had changed since the sport was introduced to South Australia in 1838.

Racing on the Beach

Bookmakers represent a callous and self-centred class. They are consumed with one idea and to have that realised they would stoop to every conceivable form of corruption. Many horses have been doped and jockeys squared, and many lives ruined through the influence of bookmakers.

(Advertiser, 24 August 1932)

An event 'unique in the sporting annals' of the colony came off on 28 August 1855 when horse racing was conducted on the beach at Glenelg:

The change of moon having caused a tide sufficiently high to clear the weeds washed ashore by the late gale left a fine, clear, hard course. The sun beamed brightly as a 'May-day-morn' and the day was altogether such as the keenest lover of sport would have desired. Notwithstanding the hard times everybody talks of, and the dreadful state of the roads everybody grumbles about, the race meeting was well attended and from an early hour the Bay road was all alive with sightseeing visitors, including a large proportion of the fair sex.

Among the many were [*sic*] a large section of the true South Australian sporting men, including several in the 'neat cord and comely boot top', and making altogether as numerous and respectable an assemblage that has graced the Bay since the memorable and well-contested regatta held there prior to the 'diggings' interfering with such amusements.

The starting post was marked by a coloured flag about two miles from the Bay and the winning post by red flags located at the 'corner of Mr Jaffrey's fence.' A handsome silver cup was brought forward to be run for but, the tide having risen too high to allow a fair run, the entries were withdrawn.

At the close of racing, a numerous attendance of visitors did ample justice to the 'good things of this life' provided by the host of the Saint Leonards Hotel and the 'Bay Spring Meeting broke up after as pleasant a day as ever graced sport within South Australia.' In March 1875, a 'frequent visitor to Glenelg' raised objections to 'spurious horse races' and said they were disgusting to the lovers of sport and dangerous to the public at large:

At least one horse accident happened yesterday and the sight of a riderless racer careering along the most crowded part of the beach in the immediate vicinity of the jetty not unreasonably raised anticipations or more. I feel assured that the gentleman under whose auspices these sports were got up would be doing better for the Bay by discouraging this form of amusement for the future, even though a few of the rowdy class, to whom alone it might be any attraction, were thereby discouraged from visiting Glenelg.

The accident in question related to one of the jockeys, Stephen Sleep, who was thrown and suffered a fractured wrist, following which he was carried into Simpson's hotel where medical assistance was called for.

Later, in 1881, the intrusion of jockeys, horses and attendants on to the 'Ladies' Reserve' on the Glenelg beach was the subject of comment when 'one coarse lout... was riding in and out of the water, stripped quite naked, within 20 yards of where some women and children were bathing...'

Yachting

Manual labour men, by their avocation, are naturally more used to hard work than gentlemen...

Amongst gentlemen too much bodily exercise would be injurious to the brain power on which their living depends... Continual rowing with manual labour can encourage familiarity...

Gentlemen would lose cast in their set if they continually associated with those below them...

(Register, 23 August 1882)

Ever since the first settlers landed at Holdfast Bay, Glenelg has possessed a romantic charm for a majority of the population of the State and been a favourite rendezvous for yachtsmen and their friends. A preliminary meeting, convened by Mr Bucknall, was held in the Clarence Hotel on 14 August 1874 for the purpose of forming a yacht club at Glenelg and, in the course of deliberations, he said that it was not being formed with any antagonistic feeling towards any existing ones, but solely on account of the crowded state of the Port River.

Indeed, with the existing amount of traffic upon it there was really no room for yacht moorings and the superior class of yachts that were being built necessitated plenty of sea room. The working committee appointed were Messrs W. Townsend, W. Mair, W. Aldwell, J.F. Wigley, W.A. Cawthorne, E. Ebsworth, T. Linklater, George Boothby, W.O. Windsor, R.J. Rigaud, H.J.D. Munton, W.G. Luxmoore, F.J. Botting, and F.E. Bucknall.



A sketch of yachting at Glenelg

The Glenelg Yacht Club was founded on 21 August 1874 and the club's initial roll of members contained the names of many wealthy and distinguished colonists. It was opened officially on 19 December 1874 and, later, a luncheon was provided for invited guests by Sir Thomas Elder 'in the long room of the Parade Hotel.'

At a meeting held on 12 October 1883 the Holdfast Bay Sailing Club was formed with 11 boats on its register and the founding Commodore was J.W. Billiatt who had accompanied John McD. Stuart on the epic crossing of the continent in 1861.

By Admiralty warrant the club was authorised to fly the Blue Ensign on 15 May 1894 and, in 1909, it became an incorporated body.

The Glenelg Sailing Club, known first as the Glenelg Dinghy Club, was formed in 1898 its founders being Messrs A.W. Varley, E.B. Boucaut and A.P. Payne who held their first meeting at the Jetty Hotel. A shed on the jetty was erected for the storage of equipment, while several craft were moored from the jetty and races conducted from the lighthouse. During World War I, 108 members enlisted.

In 1914, the Glenelg council practically gave away on lease to a yacht club, 'one of the four most valuable freehold sites' with the result that a permanent structure was erected thereon and considered by many ratepayers not to be in their best interests because no return was received therefrom:

It the corporation would make enquiries they will find that probably not 10 per cent of the members of this club pays rates, so why should the general body of ratepayers suffer for the amusement of a few yachtsmen... We are losing our inheritance... Last month the Attorney-General facetiously remarked that one of the attractions at Glenelg was the number of young gentlemen on the jetty attired in naval costume resplendent in gold braid and buttons... I venture to assert that they are principally the class of young gentlemen to whom the council are so generous at the expense of property owners and ratepayers.

Lawn Bowls

As a matter vital to the happiness of many wives, will our politicians bring in a Bill to allow a wife to obtain a divorce when her husband becomes married to the game of bowls... I... ask them to insert in the Bill a clause to prevent the husband marrying again.

(Advertiser, 17 January 1924)

The origin of the game is shrouded in the mists of antiquity. Once banned by Kings and under penalty of fine and imprisonment, because the sport interfered with the practice of archery, and deemed to be disreputable through excessive gambling, it has nevertheless survived since the 13th century. The introduction of the game into Adelaide was discussed first in 1887 when a meeting of enthusiasts was held at the Prince Alfred Hotel on 3 May when the town clerk, Mr Thomas Worsnop, indicated a piece of ground was available between the Adelaide Oval and the river 'so long as the buildings and fences that would be necessary were erected suitably.'

The following officers were elected: President, Mr E.T. Smith; Secretary, Mr W.A. Cummings; Treasurer, Mr E. Smith; Committee, Hon. D. Murray, Messrs E.T. Smith, J. Hamilton. T. Worsnop, E. Smith, W.R. Sawers, J. Shaw, T. Eyres and W.B. Wilkinson.

However, this venture was aborted when the leading spirit in the form of a 'bank manager [who] unfortunately left the colony and somehow interest died out.' It was not until 1898 that the Adelaide Bowling Club secured land adjoining the parade ground on the banks of the River Torrens and commenced play in December 1898, when the official opening was made by Sir Edwin Smith who recalled that the initiative for the formation of the club was taken by Mr H.F. Dench at a meeting for the purpose on 18 February 1897.

At Glenelg, in September 1904 a meeting was held in the home of 'that good all round sportsman', Mr A.J. Roberts, the minutes being taken by Mr J.W. Hillman and, on 19 October, a number of interested people attended at the council chamber where it was decided 'that as soon as 20 members have been secured the club to be considered formed and a meeting to be called to sign a lease of the proposed green.'

Almost immediately working bees of members were organised for the purpose of getting the ground in order and establishing a green. The first secretary was Mr C.W. Wooldridge.

Its property was acquired from a portion of the 'Olives Estate' owned by Mr A.J. Roberts. At the outset the club was limited to 100 members. A beautiful gate was erected at the entrance by the C-Grade two-rink championship winners, while a large clock, presented by John Tassie, overlooked the green. On the club house wall stood a massive record board made from Queensland maple and wholly constructed by Mr R.W. Thomas.

The bowling association selected the Glenelg green for the first match in which South Australia competed against a British touring team in 1925. The 'Holdfast Bay Bowling Club' was formed in 1926 and its first green was portion of the old Government Cottage grounds at the corner of Anzac Highway and Adelphi Terrace, while the 'Glenelg Women's Bowling Club' was founded on 9 May 1933 when a six-rink green was established at the north-eastern corner of the Glenelg Oval, and the 'Holdfast Bay Women's Bowling Club' came into being in 1931.

Velocipedes and Cycling

Those who have been in the habit of patronising stables and paying grooms will look upon the mechanical horse as a great relief to the purse, and even poverty-stricken pedestrians will invoke its friendly assistance to spare them the fatigue and foot-soreness with which they have come so familiar.

(Register, 31 May 1869)

By the close of the 1860s, a new invention in the form of velocipedes attracted the attention of all South Australians and, before long, the streets were alive with these 'strange-shaped carriages', for the temptation to spend a few pounds to purchase the means of travelling at the rate of ten miles an hour was too strong to be resisted. The sight of a 'skeleton-like' vehicle consisting of two wheels, and little or nothing else, was soon to be a common-place scene.

The velocipede was not an invention of this era for it had its origins in the 1770s when a crude vehicle was made with sitting-room for one or two persons, and consisting of a fore and aft wheel connected by a pole. The driver sat somewhere on this pole and obtained forward motion by striking his feet upon the ground.

Understandably, it was a 'nine days' wonder' and it was not until the early 1800s that another machine appeared consisting of two wheels, five or six feet in diameter, between which the rider was mounted. Shortly thereafter this

was replaced by a perambulator with three wheels - one in front and two behind. The rider sat upon the axle-board connecting the two back wheels, his feet supported by stirrups, to which were attached stilts so made that, by striking them on the ground, motion was given to the machine.

This process of locomotion must have been nearly as unsatisfactory as that of the Irishman, who, after being hustled along for several miles in a sedan chair minus the bottom, declared that but for the honour of the thing he would just as soon have walked.

As the years passed by, endless experiments were made with bicycles, tricycles and quadricycles, the fatal error in their construction being their ultimate clumsiness 'which no one with any respect for his limbs would think of handling.' The machine of the 1830s, although resembling that which appeared on the streets of Adelaide in the late 1860s in general form and outline, differed widely from it in other respects. To propel it was a terrible labour and to keep it in motion even more difficult; however, the application of simple mechanical principles, by which the wheels were made to revolve had a 'wonderful influence' in bringing about marked improvements.



A Velocipede in Adelaide – circa 1868

By the first months of 1869 a variety of velocipedes were being manufactured in Europe - two-wheelers, three-wheelers, steam-powered and marine types fitted with sails as well as paddles. An Adelaide reporter finished his considered remarks on this new type of transport by giving a few words of advice to prospective purchasers:

They will find little pleasure in velocipede travelling if they become possessed of a stiff heavy machine of the ancient pattern. We are glad to notice that a carriage builder in the city has taken the matter in hand and we believe that velo-ice-making will assume a prominent place among our local industries.

The son of Louis Maraun, a coach builder in Pirie Street in 1867, claimed that it was his father who first built a velocipede in Adelaide - a crude wooden machine with two wheels; he stated that the bicycles with the large back and front wheels came a little later followed by the three wheelers.

Mr Richard Newell, who was employed by Messrs Duncan and Fraser in that firm's body-building department for 52 years from 1865, told his version of the arrival of the velocipede on to the streets of Adelaide:

About 1869... a tremendous amount of excitement was caused by the arrival in Adelaide of the first velocipede ever imported into Australia, and which this firm secured. I remember on Good Friday of that year the late Mr James Duncan bringing the 'strange animal' out into the street to take the first ride on it. The street was blocked and great excitement ruled everywhere. This first trip passed off without any casualties...

At a sports meeting held in 1869, Mr Maraun, 'although he could not claim the honour of building the first machine in the State, got even by winning the first race, W. Stevenson was second, and... Mr R. Newell... came third.' With the advent of this 'wondrous machine' bicycle clubs were formed in many suburbs, including Glenelg, and, despite the general public euphoria for the velocipede, few complaints were forthcoming, the following apparently from an upper class of colonial society:

If the evolutions of these pretty toys were of a harmless character, and only calculated to afford sport to those interested no one could reasonably take exception... But when they... endanger the safety of persons on horseback and in vehicles then it is time for 'the powers that be' to step in and interfere.

In 1885, a new bicycle styled 'The Kangaroo', 'the horse of the future', was imported from overseas; its front wheel was three feet in diameter and unique in that it had a tricycle gear. The front wheel was axled on to a bracket projecting from the front forks and, accordingly, the rider was behind the centre of gravity. This 'steed' was lauded as follows in the Adelaide press:

A tricycle is not as dangerous as a horse, avoids the jolting and consequent soreness of the muscles, is more modest and graceful and gives quite as much inspiration; besides, it can without difficulty be propelled as fast as the fastest horse...

Bicycle sports were held on the Adelaide Oval in 1885, cycle races under lights in 1889, while a new track was laid down in 1899. At Glenelg, it was realised that amenities for cycle races should be provided and, accordingly, on 19 September 1899, Mr G.K. Soward said that he anticipated that 'before long the oval would possess a banked-up cycle track and many other accessories.' In 1901, a bicycle race for youths was run in four heats and won by Bailey, Soward, Cox and Tolley, while, in the final, Bailey defeated Cox on the post. A fancy dress bicycle race was won by V. Murphy (tramp) with J.A. Duggan (policeman) a close second. At the same time, many Glenelg workers travelled to their place of employment on cycles 'by tucking their trousers in their socks, while others used clips, safety pins or India rubber bands', the most sensible having the 'courage to go to business in convenient knickerbockers.'

Earlier, local government bodies had welcomed the new vehicle as a means of boosting their coffers and amongst owners singled out for attention by the Adelaide City Council was a gentleman who was fined half a sovereign for 'leading his two-wheeled steed across the Park Land'.

To this draconian imposition, the local press commented that 'a perusal of the by-law demonstrates first that the Councillors in their reforming zeal are not to be balked by mere linguistic obstacles, as they laconically decree that a bicycle shall mean a tricycle and something else.' As for its counterpart at Glenelg, two examples of the breach of its by-laws and the aftermath are recounted hereunder.

A New Chum's Brush with Glenelg's By-laws

*There may be honest lawyers on the earth,
There may be lawyers who are men of worth;
I say there may be, pray you mark me well,
And, yes, there may be angel forms in Hell.*

(The Lantern, 24 October 1885)

In September 1879, a newly-arrived migrant from the United Kingdom fell foul of the corporation's officialdom and was so incensed he wrote to the Editor of the *Register*. In his preamble he pointed out that he had been fined £1 for riding upon the footpath of Colley Reserve, while on the same day an habitually drunken woman was fined to the extent of 10 shillings in the Port Adelaide Court. He continued:

Deeply penitent and certainly determined that, though I might commit great matricide, I will never again ride across Colley Reserve, let me confess freely that on Monday morning, having been to the baths, and having found it uncomfortable riding on the beach owing to the high tide, I determined to go home by the road, the direct and, as I thought, usual approach to which seemed to be across Colley Reserve. May I not say the melancholy reserve?

There are no flower beds there; not even a colley-flower grows on it. I did no harm, and I did not know I infringed any law in going that way. Not being able to get through the turnstiles, I went round by the road at the back of the Post Office and thence home.

It was 7 o'clock a.m. and at that time I felt no sense of guilt, but one Mr Overseer Kerr saw me... I will not lose the opportunity of thanking Mr Kerr for the welcome to hospitable, free Australia which he gave to me, a newcomer from England, the land of game laws, and where every inch of the country is owned by a haughty aristocracy, and there is liberty to roam about at will.

All this is personal, but now for that which is the concern and benefit of all. Why does not everyone come to Glenelg? See how sea air improves moral as well as physical health. In Port Adelaide old offenders are fined 10 shillings, but at Glenelg it is considered a crime to ride across a plot of grass. All crimes are comparative to the condition of moral development. Of course the nuisances are suppressed, all the parks kept clean, all the roads made perfect, and all the holes where stagnant water would collect, filled up by our diligent overseer. The only 'take-off' to the place is that when you go for a seabath a Kerr may snap at you.

Glenelg Cyclists in Trouble

If the evolutions of these pretty toys were of a harmless character, and only calculated to afford sport to those interested no one could reasonably take exception... But when they... endanger the safety of persons on horseback and in vehicles then it is time for 'the powers that be' to step in and interfere.

(Register, 13 December 1869)

In 1897, the civic authorities 'waxed exceedingly wrath' with that section of cyclists who converted the footpaths into bicycle tracks and, war having been declared formally, Corporal Allchurch and PC Hansberry reconnoitered while the town clerk, Mr J.P. Bickford, it was 'whispered', took lessons in the art of laying information:

For some time the enemy safely eluded their pursuers and as complaints continued the advisableness of procuring reinforcements from the city was discussed. Following this, however, came one or two arrests and by dint of perseverance the number was swelled to six...

The corporation was no respecter of persons for among the culprits who appeared before the Mayor, Mr G.K. Soward, and Mr H.D. Gell were the Acting Crown Solicitor and 'his equally well known', with two lad relatives who, with a leading member of the Stock Exchange and another gentlemen, pleaded guilty...

Miscellany

Our people have been encouraged to lay down the tools of industry and seek enjoyment and prosperity in the cricket field, the football oval and the racecourse, but satisfaction has not been obtained.

(Register, 16 February 1905)

The Glenelg Oval

For many years, both cricketers and footballers at Glenelg experienced some difficulties in obtaining suitable grounds for their games, the former having to pay for the privilege of playing on a paddock in New Glenelg. At an election for Saint Leonards Ward in 1895 all the candidates expressed themselves in favour of establishing a recreation ground and, in order that the matter not be lost sight of, a deputation waited upon Councillor Priest on 31 May 1895, when it was suggested that an attempt should be made to procure some ten acres of land in Mr Sandison's paddock that was regarded as the most central site.

Nothing eventuated from this suggestion and it was not until October 1897 that the Mayor, Mr G.K. Soward, announced that, through the energy and tact of Mr H.Y. Sparks, the opportunity of acquiring a lease of 12 acres of land 'to the north of the Model School.' Mr Sparks had worked on the project for two years, sent plans to England and approached the owners (Trustees of the DaCosta Estate) by various means until, at last, the land was offered at a nominal rental, namely, £20 per annum for the first seven years, £25 per annum for the second seven years and £30 per annum for the remainder of the 21 year term.

At a meeting held on 10 November 1897 Mr Sparks said that, having obtained the lease over 75 acres, he was then in a position to offer a sublease of 12 acres for the purpose of an oval following which motions were passed authorising the formation of 'The Glenelg Recreation Association' and that past and present Mayors, together with Mr Sparks, be appointed as Trustees.

Although the lease was not a long one the Mayor expressed the opinion that 'when the association approached the St Peter's Collegiate School with a request for a renewal they would be met in a fair spirit.' At another meeting, held on 6 December, Mr Sparks referred to several disturbing statements made by two ex-mayors and said he was perfectly willing to cancel the lease if those men would come forward and provide another piece of ground and, in doing so, had presumed that they had exhausted all possibilities of obtaining a suitable freehold. The following were then elected to a provisional committee: Councillors Rengger and Burford, Messrs H.Y. Sparks, H.D. Gell, G. Combe, J.A. Kennedy, J. Larner, E.A. Mayfield, P. Laycock and C. Collison.

In respect of obtaining other land, advertisements were placed in local newspapers and Messrs W.L. Ware and R. Smith followed up several enquiries one of which was from the Misses Sandison for a piece of land 'in a direct line with Augusta Street' that they offered at £130 per acre. However, within the committee there were some doubts as to the capabilities of raising the purchase price and it was moved that the owners be asked to leave the offer open for two months to enable the town to be canvassed to see what support would be forthcoming to raise sufficient funds to purchase the freehold. Another offer was forthcoming from Mr Baker for land at £50 per acre.

Misses Sandison were offered £75 per acre but this was refused and, after reviewing other propositions, it was decided to accept the lease offer from Mr Sparks and to form the Glenelg Oval Association. During the months that followed, much was achieved by the way of mound forming, tree planting and fencing, while a member offered to supply the necessary timber for the erection of a bath in the dressing room, Mr Larner to contribute labour for same.

Mr S.H. Shephard of Brighton donated three signboards, Mr P. Riddle fixed water pipes on to the bathroom, Mr Laycock supplied slate for the cricket pitch, Mr Oliver offered four goal posts, while Miss Skene gave a toilet set for the dressing room and Mr Sparks presented the association with a grandstand.

Norfolk Island pines were planted around the full extent of the ground while the carriage drive encircling the oval proper had an avenue of plane trees and Aleppo pines. In addition, a number of choice poplars were the gift of Mr Sparks. It was said that two slate cricket pitches and one earth pitch would 'be in use this season, the turf creases, upon which much care is bestowed, being yet in the chrysalis stage.' The question of providing a tarred bicycle track was left to the ground committee's discretion.

The oval was opened on 8 October 1898 by the Mayor, Mr G.K. Soward and, during the first year, the games registered with the association comprised cricket, lacrosse and tennis clubs and, as soon as possible, it was proposed to build a gymnasium, form a bowling green and lay a bicycle track. Within a year Mr Sparks died and Mr G.K. Soward filled his place and, as a token of appreciation, the committee elected the widow and daughters as life members of the oval and sent them a specially embossed certificate of membership. At an annual general meeting of the Glenelg Cricket Club on 19 September 1899 the President, Mr G.K. Soward, said that the oval:

Provided a cheerful rendezvous for the ladies of Glenelg who were pleased to take an interest in the athletic contests and those who participated in them. At the oval they had their cricket pitches and tennis courts and he anticipated that before long the oval would possess a banked-up cycle track and many other accessories that might, to the council of the association, appear desirable.

The third season opened on 21 September 1901 when a fancy cricket match was contested, while a 150 yard foot race for members was won by F. Hooper who received 50 yards start, apparently because the handicapping was

done according to the weight of the competitors! By 1912, the association was barely able to meet its commitments for its membership had dwindled from 31 in 1904 to a mere 14 and it was deemed advisable to 'place the financial position before the residents of Glenelg and ask them to become members'.

This plea had no effect and a correspondent under the pen-name of 'Nuff-Sed' expressed his concerns:

For the past 15 years this pretty little oval has been managed by a committee of about 10 enthusiasts. The financial support given by the Glenelg residents has been lamentable and an application had to be made by one of the guarantors for a cheque on more than one occasion to tide over pressing monetary difficulties. During the past year 240 circulars were posted to various prominent residents requesting assistance to keep the oval going, but not a penny was given.

The upshot is that a communication has been sent to the cricketing association that a turf wicket and two practice wickets will be ready for the opening of the season, but the committee, unless in receipt of some tangible support from the association or the public, will be unable to continue. It is a pity that such a fine recreation ground should run the risk of being lost for the use of the rising generation of Glenelg and neighbourhood... The full membership at £1/1/ per annum at present totals six.

Unfortunately, the oval was not within the boundaries of Glenelg and, accordingly, for many years the corporation declined all approaches for assistance but, in 1914, it was proposed that the town should take steps to have the land on which the oval and public school stood brought under its jurisdiction, in which case the corporation would, doubtless, be supported by its citizens in any move to secure a new lease or to purchase the oval.

Finally, in 1917, at a public meeting it was resolved that the corporation should purchase the oval and hold a poll to obtain authority to borrow £4,500 for the purpose, following the association's undertaking that the whole of the improvements thereon would be handed over without charge. The ratepayers gave their approval and, at a public ceremony in January 1920, the Mayor, Mr John Mack, unveiled a brass tablet to the memory of the late Mr Sparks, a former manager of the South Australian Company and former Mayor. In the course of his eulogy he praised three townsmen, Messrs G.A. Jury, G.K. Soward and A.J. Roberts, who had guaranteed the payment of the annual rent for years and he thanked them for their patriotic attitude. On the same day, aerial stunts were performed from the aerodrome of the South Australian Transport Company situated at the rear of the oval.

In 1921, at the end of two years of persistent endeavour, the seaside club was admitted to the SA Football League and the Glenelg Corporation then determined that, as there was a likelihood of the oval being a profitable venture, it would take it over.

The council purchased the freehold and erected a new stand, while the smaller structure, presented by Mr Sparks, who also provided and planted the trees around the oval, was in danger of demolition because it only accommodated about 100 persons.

To assist in raising the cash to complement the corporation's contribution of £2,600, a carnival was held on the oval in March 1921 under the auspices of the Glenelg Amateur Athletic Club. Later, on 21 May 1921, a crowd of about 3,500 people gathered not only to see the match against North Adelaide but, also, to an opening ceremony performed by the Governor.

The old committee was then disbanded and members, who had borne the burden for so long, were recognised by the council to the extent that they were made life members and among these men were A.T. Haddrick, Peter Laycock, F.T. Hack, W.O. Cooper, W. Heddle and F. Crosby.

The five year lease between the association and the corporation was due to expire in 1925 and, in an effort to balance their budget, the football club was asked to make a monetary donation but its offer of £100 had conditions that were entirely unacceptable to the association which commented that 'the bodies controlling the oval do not receive anything like an equitable return from the revenue earned by their grounds' and, further, that 'the SA Cricket Association is the only body reaping any benefit from cricket.'

The President of the Association, Mr W.J. P. Giddings, broached the subject again at the annual general meeting in November 1924 when he said that the association had done everything possible to assist the football club and but for their action it would not have been in existence:

The association naturally had to get something out of the football club... and it had informed the council that it was prepared to pay £200 a year and take over the oval. The town has gone into heavy expenditure over the oval on the understanding that it would be recouped by the football club and how it had been recouped was well known. Seeing that the oval association was working in an honorary capacity for the council, and, incidentally, the town, why did not the football club offer to pay the oval association the £200 it was prepared to pay the council?

It would appear that this matter was settled amicably for, in 1925, a new five year agreement was entered into with the SA National Football League. Later history is to be found in *Historic Glenelg, Birthplace of South Australia*.

Roller Skating

On a Saturday night, spectators could watch 300 to 400 skaters moving on whirring wheels in an unending procession. A set programme was often arranged and this gave all classes of skaters an opportunity to have the floor for a period. Its demise was hastened by the coming of the silent movies, when a company erected a canvas theatre opposite the Exhibition Building to seat 3,000 people.

In the French Patent Office there is recorded under the date of 12 November 1819, and credited to one 'Pettibled', a device involving the principle of the roller skate. About the same time an Englishman named Tyers invented a skate with five narrow wheels in a single row, so arranged that but two of them were on the floor at the same time.

The next skate was made in 1828 and patented in France while, in 1849, another was brought before the public, being first exhibited at the Paris Opera. The next year one Sidmon produced a somewhat different style of roller in London. None of these, however, served to attract more than passing notice.

It was reserved for an American, James L. Plimpton, to perfect the roller-skate, develop a system of rinks and obtain the patronage of the best classes of society. He patented his invention in the USA in 1863 and in England two years later. The sport, in the course of time, came to be known as 'Rinking'.

In December 1878, an announcement was made that 'the pleasant recreation of skating has at last established itself in our principal watering place' at an open-air rink constructed by the Glenelg Rink Company near the Miller's Corner Railway Station. The floor, the largest in the colony, was well patronised on the opening night by skaters in fancy costumes of various descriptions but, inevitably, many of the most venturesome found themselves in a horizontal position.

The grounds were surrounded by an eight-foot corrugated iron fence, while the rink of 100 feet by 50 was enclosed by an ornamental fence, with a single rail about four feet from the ground and, on posts, gas lamps were fixed with mirrors so as to throw a strong light upon the circle to be illuminated.

The rink boasted of a refreshment bar, ladies' and gentlemen's rooms, ticket office and skate room, fitted up with a supply of Spiller's spiral-spring skates of all sizes:

The facilities then afforded for the exercise were not good, and there existed a sentiment that such skating was only a parlour game, well enough perhaps in its way, but something to be considered as effeminate by the lover of genuine sports. The idea of hobbling and shuffling around a small dark hall on a set of little wheels was an object of ridicule for the paragraphers of the time...

In January 1879, a skating demonstration was held on New Year's Day and the programme, in addition to the usual flat races, included several specialties, the principal being the diving under a bar four feet high and archery on skates. The fancy figure skating was a great success, while a tug of war, wheeling pick-a-back and scramble hurdle races kept the audience amused.



Yes, George; if you understand it, I'll try.



Yes; George understands it—easy enough—you've only to—



Accept the homage of my lay!

Skating was reintroduced in 1912 when a rink was authorised to be built parallel with the jetty on the southern side, about three-quarters of the way down the jetty from the shore and covering an area 100 feet by 214 and consisting of two decks with skating being conducted on the lower, while the top one was to be utilised as a promenade.

It could hold about 1,600 people and was to be fitted up with electric light, dressing rooms and up-to-date appliances and it was hoped it would attract many visitors because 'the average number of people travelling per month on the railway was 86,000.' Plans for the rink were approved on 23 October 1912 and, in February 1913, it was reported that a site on the beach had been asked for and no problem was envisaged with pile driving.

Athletics

The observance of standard time in South Australia caused considerable inconvenience, delay and confusion on the part of business people and others, while our mercantile firms were placed at a great disadvantage when conducting interstate business. Further, sporting, athletic people and the agricultural community were known to favour a reduction of the hour difference with the eastern states.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

The first meeting of the Glenelg Athletic Association was held on the grounds of Mr F. Caterer on 7 November 1885, but it was unfortunate that the committee had selected the same day for their sports as the Kensington association.

The champion race was won by H. Royals, while among the prize-winners were W. Phillips, H. Bickford, W. Young, A. Miller, R. Duncan, D. Kerr, B. Taylor, C. Hibberd, W. Saltred, B. Beasley, A. McArthur, M. Hart, G.J. Gwynne, D. Coombe and A. Daw.

In September 1904, the Mayor, Mr H.W. Varley, advocated the provision of a public gymnasium and, in 1906, a committee was formed to investigate the proposition. Mr Hugo Leschen made suggestions as to its size and

appointments and said he would be willing to undertake its management. It was learned that a £500 bequest from Sir Thomas Elder was lying untouched in funds controlled by the Institute and might be made available.

A special meeting of subscribers was held in March 1906 presided over by Rev. George Rayner, president of the Institute, with a view to amending its constitution to accommodate the erection of a gymnasium. It was decided that it be placed on land at the rear of the post office, the fee simple of which was being handed over by the government.

Homing Pigeons

From the Company's Mill, for several miles around Walkerville, wherever a bird, small or great, presents itself, the deadly weapon is pointed... To the Christian, who wends his way with solemn mien, invited by the churchgoing bell to come to the house of God, the continuous reports of fire arms are very grievous... I feel it my duty to direct public attention to the covert shop-keeping with door ajar in the village on the Sunday, where powder and shot (not to mention other things) can be purchased all day long.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

A lively interest was being taken in homing pigeons at the close of the 1870s and, in September 1881, a 'fancier', Mr W.J. Symonds of Gawler South, sent three birds to Mount Bryan where they were 'tossed' and reached Gawler after one hour and three quarters.

In respect of the Glenelg Homing Club, a report in 1891 said that the championship race for that year was flown from Broken Hill to Glenelg, a distance of about 300 miles and the birds were liberated by Mr F.C. Aldridge of the Grand Hotel, Broken Hill. Other entries were made by Messrs C. Clark and Mr E. Holland, the latter's pigeon coming in first in about ten and a half hour's flying time. Mr Holland was a successful breeder having won the majority of races for the previous two seasons, including both the champion gold medals.

Lacrosse

It is a slugging game calculated to rend the lungs and make hair grow upon the baldest head in thirty minutes.

(*Register*, 24 December 1888)

The Canadian game of lacrosse was introduced into the colony on 6 April 1883 when the Adelaide Lacrosse Club was formed at a meeting held in the Prince Alfred Hotel presided over by Mr J.W. Colton, when 35 members were enrolled. The provisional committee comprised of Mr Colton, C.W. Mudie, L. Prince, F. Adams, A Wilkinson with Mr R. Tribe as secretary.

The Holdfast Bay Lacrosse Club was formed on 14 March 1895 at a meeting held in the Glenelg Town Hall presided over by Mr H.B. Crosby. Provisional committee members were Messrs B. Combe, A. Buchanan, F. Hambridge, C. Kither and S.H. Hambridge, while the colours nominated were mid-blue and white with dark knickers. Mr R. Evans was elected as captain and Mr E.A. Luxmoore as vice-captain. The first practice match was played on April 20 when the Adelaide Club gave an exhibition match.

Motor Racing on the Beach

The dust and stench... are abominable, and men, women and children are in deadly fear of being run over. Motorists dash out of lanes at breakneck pace and sound their foghorns which seem to say 'get out of the road or I will run you over.'

(*Advertiser*, 21 January 1910)

By 1905, the motor car had become a 'terror' to the guardians of young people who frequented the beach at Glenelg, particularly on Sundays, when it was a morning custom to test the speed of their machines along the seashore which, hitherto, had been a resort for both young and old.

One irate resident proclaimed that it was a positive danger to allow any child on the beach and:

Only last Sunday morning two cars were racing backwards and forwards between Glenelg and Brighton and the drivers themselves admitted... that they were running at the rate of 43 miles per hour. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that a pet dog... was run over and left lifeless on the sands... If horses were ridden on the beach at even 10 miles an hour the riders would be prosecuted...

A few days later the Secretary of the Automobile Club of SA asked the Marine Board for permission to hold series of contests 'when every endeavour would be made to conduct the gatherings with perfect safety to the public.' This body declined to intervene saying it did not have any jurisdiction over such matters, so the club then approached the respective councils.

While no serious objections were raised by these bodies the Commissioner of Police stepped in and said that the police did not countenance racing on public highways and that a penalty of £2 could be inflicted for furious driving. No further newspaper reports were forthcoming and so it must be assumed that the motor car club failed in their attempt to make our beaches another Daytona, where 'the fastest races in the world were held.'

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Appendix 23

The Hazards of Sea Bathing at Glenelg

Modern fashion in feminine attire disquiets the puritan's mind... Our open columns have borne testimony to the shock occasioned by the bare arms and legs of sea bathers...Hence the enactment of by-laws requiring...a neck-to-knee covering, or, as allowed at Glenelg, the wearing of a single-piece costume with a V-piece.

(Advertiser, 29 January 1931)

Introduction

There were no trams or trains (except to 'Mudholia') and a long wearisome drive to Glenelg or the Semaphore was followed by much discomfort. There were no refreshment rooms; water had to be bought or carried with the party; and bathing was a matter of dressing and undressing on the open beach, with a space of over half a mile separating the men and women's reserves.

(Register, 11 January 1928)

During the first few decades of colonial settlement, men didn't wear costumes but bathed in their birthday suits and, of course, were relegated to a position about a mile away from the jetties. As for the women, once upon the beach a problem arose as to undressing and donning bathing attire and:

To seclude the ladies entirely from observation during [this process]... four light poles cut about seven feet in length... pointed at the end [were used]. To these strips of canvas were nailed... the posts were fixed firmly in the sand near the water's edge... [and] formed a snug little cabin, where on hooks attached to each pole the ladies could hang their dresses or dripping bathing gowns...

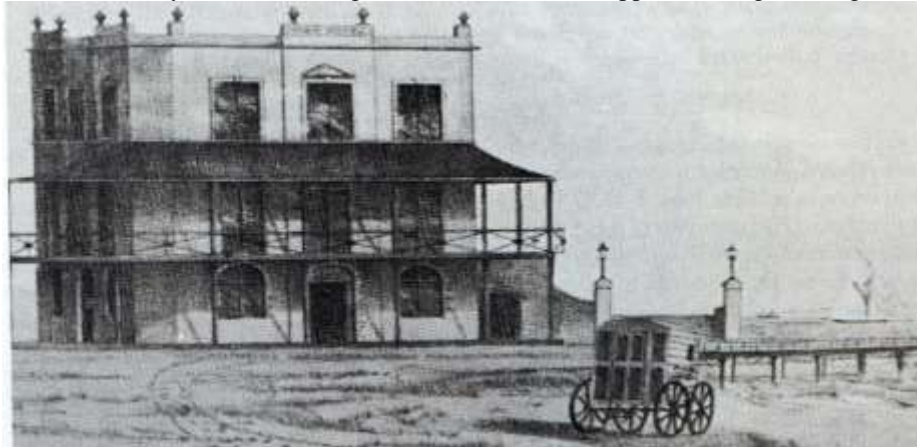
This procedure applied, generally, until the late 1840s when, by payment, bathing machines were introduced to Glenelg by John McDonald of the Saint Leonards Inn:

Half the machine is carpeted, and has a well-cushioned seat on either side, the other half being perforated with holes so as to allow the water to run off when first coming out. There are likewise brushes, combs and looking-glass, together with a large hood at one end of the machine as well to keep off the rays of the sun, and the prying gaze of the curious.

These vehicles were weird contrivances and the woman in charge hitched a horse to them and, after the ladies had clambered aboard, towed it into about two feet of water. Those inside the 'kennel' then doffed their multitudinous garments and donned a bathing dress:

Shades of our ancestors! How they must stare at the present day bathing suit of the ladies. The suit then worn was like an old-fashioned nightgown (only always a dark colour) covering the body from neck to toes, while the lower part was weighted with shot to keep the skirt from floating and exposing the hidden limbs. Cautiously opening the door to seaward, hurriedly, these nymphs would scramble down two or three steps to the water and, for about five minutes, forms would be seen bobbing up and down in the water.

They then climbed back into the box, the horse would be hitched on again and the machine brought back to dry land. From this it can be gathered that women, as a rule, did not do much in the bathing line and a girl able to swim was as rare as a Dodo. There was a tremendous hubbub when women began to adopt more fitting costumes and there was nearly a riot at Glenelg when the first woman appeared in tight-fitting shorts and vest.



Bathing machine at Glenelg in the 1860s

There were prosecutions of persons who dared to invade the reserves set apart for the opposite sex and the 'wowsers' of those days wrote reams of fiery denunciation but, at last, early in the 20th century common sense and perseverance brought about a change in public opinion. Gradually, family bathing parties were enlarged to include friends as well. The benefits of mixed bathing, introduced in 1910, were so self evident that official opposition was beaten down and the gradual provision of proper bathing and dressing accommodation led to the present pleasing popularity of bathing. However, seaside excursions on the Sabbath day were frowned upon in some sections of Adelaide society and, in particular, the hierarchy of the churches and satellites who raised serious objections; accordingly, a dissenting worker enquired:

Am I, after slaving six days out of seven, to be debarred on the seventh day from taking a trip to the Port per rail; from crossing over to the Peninsula, and there with my wife and family inhaling the sea breeze, and at the same time admiring the wondrous works of God...?

Bathing at Glenelg

The carcasses of dead dogs are allowed to float in the shallow water [at Glenelg] or fester on the sands day after day...

(*Observer*, 13 February 1864)

By February of 1857, notwithstanding that male bathers at Glenelg had a part of the beach set apart expressly for their own accommodation, with a path leading from it close to the Pier Hotel, many seemed to make a daily practice of threading their way to and from their own bathing place among the many groups of 'discomfited and justly annoyed ladies who [had] sought to enjoy the privilege of a sea bath.'

Others stationed themselves in groups a few yards distant and it was considered that 'ladies have a right to demand their withdrawal from a scene where their presence alone, without the sauntering gait and wandering eye, are a disgust', while an avid sea bather complained that:

The bathing nuisance has become intolerable. No respectable female can venture upon the beach at any time of the day or evening without being certain of having her sense of decency outraged by scenes which would not be tolerated in any fishing village in the old country.

Are there no means, either by the use of machines or a resort to less frequented localities, by which... the recreation of bathing can be indulged in without driving respectable people from the beach? Do these bold and unscrupulous bathers know that they not only offend against public decency but they are also liable to an indictment at common law? ... it [has been] held an indictable offence for a man to undress himself on the beach [and] to bathe in the sea near inhabited houses...

Following this, and several other complaints, the corporation decreed that ladies could bathe between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. between the creek and the Pier Hotel and attached a penalty to any male who intruded. At the same time, the bathing beach for males was defined as being to the southwards of the Pier Hotel to which a male complainant said:

I bathed there each day last week and on every occasion several females walked past within a few feet of the undressed men, while the sandhills at the rear were occupied by females seated and standing, intently gazing at the scene below, whilst from the hotel's platform it was universally remarked that the numerous females there were wholly attracted by the view of the men bathing... My experience at the Bay is that the gentlemen are far in advance of the ladies in modesty, propriety and decency...



'Neck-to-Knee' Bathers in bygone days

Shortly thereafter it was promulgated that, 'No person be allowed to bathe on the portion of the beach proclaimed within the Police Act between the hours of 10 a.m. and 8 p.m. unless the persons are properly clad.' Of course, at this time the male bathers merely disrobed on the beach before disporting themselves in the sea. Accordingly, it was evident that a punitive measure was desirable and, on 11 January 1858, the council decreed that:

Whereas public decency is outraged by men bathing within the limits of the Town of Glenelg... It shall not be lawful for any male person above the age of 12 years to bathe in the sea between the Patawalonga Creek and [halfway between Kent and Pier Streets] ... Every person who shall so offend shall forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding one pound.

Bathing boxes appeared on the beach and, in 1862, an annual rental of two pounds was demanded by the corporation and this elicited adverse comment from a few residents who 'had for their convenience erected a few bathing houses that are in nobody's way and deprive no one of the use of the beach.' In April 1863, three notice boards were installed; firstly, on the jetty stating that no person was permitted to bathe from the steps except between midnight and 7 a.m.; secondly, on the northern part of the seawall near the Town Hall, declaring that ladies were not to bathe to the southward and, thirdly, near Mr Neale's house, requesting gentlemen to bathe to the northward.

Apparently, these regulations emanated from the Marine Board and, accordingly, as all bathing houses were within the interdicted limits it was made clear that they would have to be removed and, in this regard, Mr James Storrie lodged a complaint:

On Saturday afternoon, some of my family going to bathe brought back the report that our bathing house was ignominiously overturned in the sand, door undermost, but that the children had managed by crawling in a hole in the roof to rescue the bathing paraphernalia... I have since found out it was done by order of the corporation...

My bathing house was chiefly composed of deals which had done duty as packing cases and it appears the corporation leans more to shingles... Perhaps [it] has exceeded its legal powers in this little business...

Following this action that was criticised severely throughout the township, a new by-law was passed in December 1863:

No person will be allowed to bathe from the jetty or within 200 yards of the jetty between the hours of 7 a.m. and 12 p.m. during the months of October-March, or between the hours of 8 a.m. and 12 p.m. during the other months.

No men or boys over the age of ten years will be allowed to bathe between the creek and the jetty and between the jetty and Kent Street to the south. Any person not complying will be prosecuted.

It was apparent that the easing of the former by-law applied only to females but, in 1864, the new regulation was relaxed in respect of males who were then allowed to bathe between Pier Street and a point 200 yards south of the jetty, 'except between 8 a.m. and dark.' At this time a citizen commented upon the lack of bathing facilities:

Glenelg beach is abundantly resorted to for bathing, but it must be confessed that the arrangements for the present are rather primitive. There used to be one or two bathing machines, but they were not remunerative to their proprietors, and most people now content themselves with the sand for a dressing room. But there are a few private bathing houses and the number is likely to increase...

The restrictive by-laws against swimming, together with a more recent decree as to the wearing of 'bathing pantaloons', were again the subject for debate in 1865 when irate citizens aired their displeasure:

We lived a happy, virtuous and sober life; none daring to make us afraid, except, indeed, on one occasion when an eccentric Mayor made a raid on some of our bathing houses... We have brought it upon ourselves by our unfortunate craving to be allowed a live policeman... I beg you to warn the citizens of Adelaide... that in future their means of ablution must be obtained from the service pipe of the Waterworks, as no amount of 'bathing pantaloons' will relax the instructions of our improved regulations.

It is monstrous that we should be deprived of sea bathing... just to suit the whims of [picnickers] and their sisters... They can take their ride along the beach but we cannot bathe there... The regulations about drawers is equally absurd. When in the water the bathers cannot be seen and when out of the water the drawers must be taken off. No doubt it would be better if there was a floating bathing house, or if there were bathing machines or houses for the public... I was about to take my family down to Glenelg for some weeks but seeing the absurd anti-bathing regulations I have abandoned the idea.

More than once the finer feelings of gentlemen bathers were shocked and put to personal inconvenience from the thoughtlessness of many ladies intruding on the gentlemen's reserve:

I waited for more than half an hour between 3 and 4 p.m. before the coast was clear enough for me to commence undressing - shirt sleeve exposed had no effect. With much blushing on my part I dashed off my waistcoat. Still they came. I off with my boots and socks, paddled my feet impatiently in the briny. Still no go. At length, seeing a clearer space, I rushed thither with portion of my garments in hand; then off hat and desperately proceeded just in time to escape another lady, who modestly carried her parasol between poor me and herself. I got into the water without further notice.

Would, Sir, my troubles had been buried in the briny. But on returning from the delicious swim I felt a little chilled (it was a cool day) and longed for a scamper on the shore... Hopeless case. A governess and three biggish girls conchologising right opposite my clothes. I whistled, coo-eed; but bless their little hearts, the sun was in their eyes and they did not seem to hear or see me. I rose merman fashion, tore my hair and yelled. They, bless 'em, yelled and bolted.

[Two other] females ran to the spot expecting and looking for some sea monster on the sand. My clothes were evidently unseen by them... Another female was coming from the southward. They were friends; they stopped; they chatted; they seemed undecided. At length the three came back between me and my clothes. Patience had its perfect work. Why, Sir, during the transit of these Venuses all sorts of manoeuvres to keep warm were resorted to by myself; and at last, with another female approaching in the middle distance, I bolted out as I bolted in, and left the beach in disgust. Oh! for a bathing company, thought I, so that one may swim in peace and dress and undress with decency.

In the mid-1860s, another question mooted was the formation of a Bathing Company when it was proposed to enclose portion of the sea similar to the bathing grounds at St Kilda, Melbourne:

At present there is no accommodation for bathers. A few wooden houses, like sentry boxes, stood along the shore in which are intended to be used by ladies when undressing and dressing; but for the great bulk of the residents and visitors there was no provision. The sterner sex, before a very early hour in the morning, take a 'header' off the jetty, but this necessitates early rising which, however conducive to health, is not favourable to comfort or productive of good temper in all persons. Beyond this there is nothing.

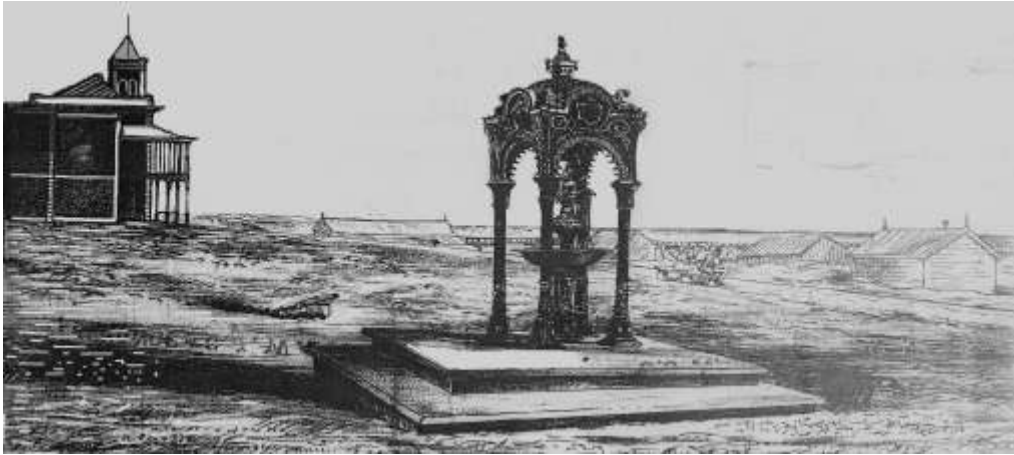
Both men and women have to undress and dress on the shore, exposed to the opera glasses of over-prurient individuals of neither sense nor good manners. After doing this in the morning a man is apt to feel moody all day - sand in his stockings, in his boots, in his hair and ears, which no amount of washing seemed to get rid of.

The want of bathing accommodation is patent to all that are fond of a dip in the sea without an unseemly exposé. If you approach [the beach] by the Pier Hotel you must pass over a road of rocks difficult to walk on and dangerous to ride or drive over even at a walking pace [and] I never do the one or the other, without great fears for my horse's knees and the springs of my carriage, to say nothing of the pains in the back and loins by the jolting of this difficult passage of rocks...

In late 1870, the Bathing Van Company sought sites on the beach for ladies' bathing vans and this was approved by the council at a cost of five shillings per van. The decision was by no means unanimous and Councillor Sebastian Beck continued to raise objections and intimated that the majority who had approved the matter should be tarred and feathered for giving the company the authority to place vans on the beach in front of the sea wall and not allowing citizens to bathe, except from vans.

Following this outburst the Acting Mayor, Councillor Holland, adjourned the meeting for a fortnight at which time the wayward councillor tendered an apology and withdrew his offensive remarks. However, a little later, the local

police constable reported that the bathing vans were causing 'great confusion' and, on Mr Beck's motion, the company received a weeks notice to remove their machines from the southern side of the jetty.



Fountain presented to the Glenelg Corporation by William Townsend, MP

A new by-law came into force from January 1877 when it was declared that:

All males above the age of 12 years be compelled to wear bathing pants or other suitable clothing when bathing within the limits of the Corporation and that no males be allowed to bathe on the afternoons of public holidays until sundown.

The debate on swimming by-laws continued and, in February 1877, a public meeting was called to condemn the proposed by-law prohibiting bathing between the hours of 5 a.m. and 11 p.m.

From comment at the meeting it is apparent that no apparel had been defined by the corporation as an essential item to be worn when bathing:

The motion was simply tending to benefit the baths. If the council would bring in some by-law to compel people in the baths to wear drawers it would be wiser on their part. I never saw so much exposure as there is in the baths. A rate payer said that if those residents who lived near the beach looked at the matter in the proper light they would 'just pull down the blinds and say no more about it' when bathing was going on in the morning.

In November 1877, the Mayor, Mr Wigley, said that there was a great deal of misapprehension about a new by-law introduced by Councillor Stacy and that, if passed, they would not in the slightest degree alter the existing regulations, but merely have the effect of calling the attention of the public to the existing rules, namely that the *Police Act* imposed a penalty or imprisonment for indecent exposure of the person within view of any public place and prohibited bathing in any public place between the hours of 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. while police constables were authorised to take into custody all persons committing such offences:

The Glenelg Corporation, by their existing by-laws, have altered the hours. Councillor Stacy, by his proposed by-laws, does not seek to alter the hours, but that bathers must wear bathing drawers or decent clothing. There is no question that naked persons bathing from the beach during daylight are liable both under the *Police Act* and the existing by-laws of the Glenelg Corporation.

The 1880s dawned and complaints were still to the fore in respect of 'nuisances' on the beach:

Will you allow me to draw the attention of the public to the nuisance... namely men, occasionally walking right in amongst ladies while undressing and undressing, they being on part of the beach set aside for their use, and jockeys and trainers regularly every morning exercising their horses and, in some instances, even going out of their straight way to get nearer to the unfortunate females who have to stay in the water until they are all passed, or sit shivering, rolled in a heap, covering herself as best she can from beings who are unworthy of the name of men.

Bathers of the male sex can testify that Glenelg is infested every hot day with numbers of so-called ladies who spend their time strolling in the neighbourhood of men bathing, in order to satisfy their prurient curiosity. I have frequently seen women (I can not call them ladies) deliberately walk up close to young men in a state of nudity when they could have kept at a distance modesty demanded...

In the *Government Gazette* of 23 August 1855, the western boundary of Glenelg was laid down as being low water mark and, consequently, the corporation exercised a power over that portion of the beach within the boundary, letting it out for the erection of booths and bathing-houses. Many years later, it was discovered that it had no control whatsoever over the beach.

By 1882, near the jetty there were two booths that were conducted in a disreputable manner, but the corporation had no power to do away with them. When it was claimed that one booth was conducted as a brothel, Captain Ferguson of the Marine Board undertook to serve notice on the offenders that the booths were to be removed.

The 20th century was ushered in by an amusing complaint from one of Glenelg's matrons when she objected to scantily clad people bathing from boats in the bay. When a corporation official remarked, 'But, Madam, surely they are far enough out?', she replied, 'But you can see them quite plainly with field glasses.'

On a more serious note, in 1908 Mr J.A. Duggan, the local Sanitary Inspector, reported that he found a family camped under the jetty and when asked about their intentions, replied that they had decided to remain for about six weeks because their cottage in the hills was let and, accordingly, they proposed to live rent free.



Crowded foreshore in 1890

During the summer months, many families camped out on the Glenelg beach and city dwellers were advised that 'there would be no extra fares to pay and tram fares to and from business would not cost more than the runs to the seaside each evening':

It may be as well to warn novices that they must not expect to be enamoured from the first when camping at the seaside. The change from home life is such that it usually tries the ardour of campers for the first few days...

Rugs should be provided, for even on the hottest nights the temperature falls at about 3 to 4 a.m. in a surprising manner. The baker, butcher, milkman or grocer will call at the camp...

Another precaution should be to always have a 'fly' to the tent; that is a piece of canvas or calico stretched over it about a couple of feet above the roof. Where a family of two sexes desires to camp out two tents, or one divided tent, could be purchased at a reasonable price...

Bathing houses appeared on beaches in 1912, the interiors being divided into seven compartments each capable of holding a large party of bathers. Screened off, and provided with hooks and seating accommodation, they had large mirrors, fresh water showers and electric light. The dimensions of the houses were 24 feet by 14 feet and, of course, separate houses were provided for the two sexes.

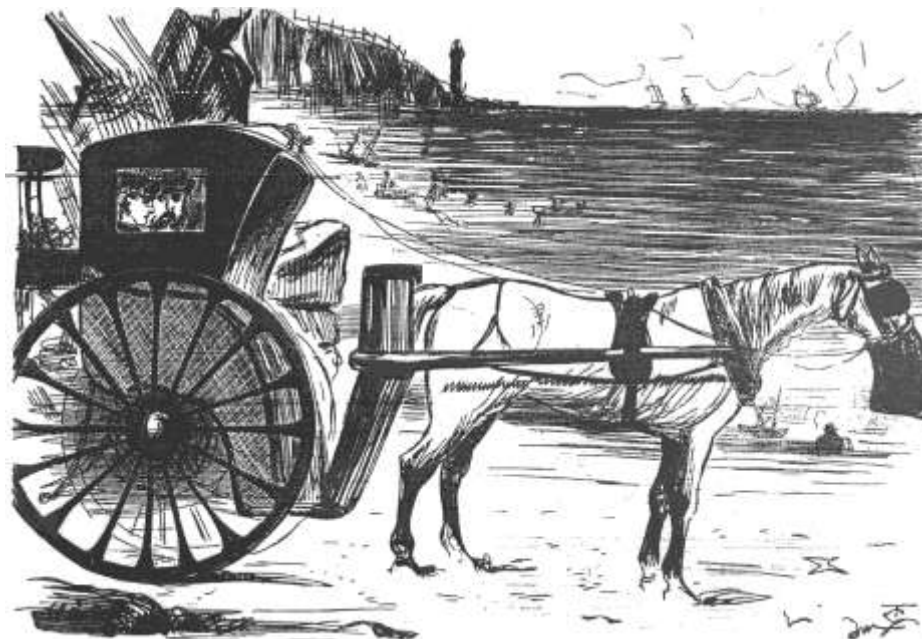


'Paddling' in 1908

With a view to further popularising sea bathing, the corporation installed electric lighting in bathing reserves in 1913 when it was hoped that 'any complaints concerning indecorous behaviour would at once disappear.' However, this was a fanciful notion for, in 1914, it was revealed that Dan Cupid was alive and well upon Glenelg's beaches and near environs:

There was a time when beaches were mostly used for bathing purposes but of late the beach has taken a back seat and the cars and trains that carry the restless hordes to the seashore deposit human freight more intent upon love making than on bathing.

The seaside lover is a strange creature and the species is varied. There is the Sunday youth - the counter jumper or clerk who has smoked a cigarette for so long that he reckons himself a man of means and importance. His salary is not large, so he cannot be blamed for going to the beach 'on his own'.



Courting by the seaside in colonial days – the cab driver can be seen smoking his pipe on the shore

Yet, when he dons his glad rags and sallies forth to the happy hunting grounds of the lovers, his entire future may rest on the visit. Before he has made the last car he will probably have discovered a bliss hitherto undreamt of. He will have learned the manner in which she likes to be squeezed best. He will find his heart fluttering and before he has finished telling her that he has never loved before, he will have made all sorts of rash resolutions.

Glenelg [is] a fascinating study on Sundays and what tales the sands could tell if they could only speak and, similarly, young women, robbed of their silence, could tell many a tale of fickle youths and coquettes that would put Maupassant in the shade. If but one day's happenings could but be related many would at last believe that truth is stranger than fiction - all French and doubtful authors thrown in.

In 1916, questionable and objectionable conduct on the part of young couples at Glenelg and Henley Beach, alleged in a communication to the Chief Secretary, resulted in the following report from Constable Kate Cocks:

During the last few years it has become the fashion among people to do their courting lying down. It is now the practice for them to lie down so closely together as to appear immodest, but many of them are respectable, occupying good positions in social and business spheres... They have no thought of being indecent, but the weaker characters are not able to resist the temptations which the stronger go so perilously near... Glenelg was visited on December 23 when scores of couples were observed lying close together on the sandhills. On the second visit 12 couples were seen. The girls were requested to sit up or recline in such a position so that there could be no doubt as to their conduct...



Bathers in 'modest' attire in 1919

Indeed, there was ample evidence to suggest that dalliance in the sandhills was still a favoured pastime in the 1920s and evidence of a marked departure from the stern edicts of the Victorian and Edwardian eras:

When I stray away from the beach proper and accidentally come across lovers enjoying the peaceful bliss of seclusion, I feel I am trespassing on holy ground... I believe that the artificial, elaborate secrecy and exaggerated mystery wrapped around sex has had, and still has, much to do with unholy excitement and the slips which cause so much sorrow. Do not drive the young people, the hope of the race, into dark places.

Youths and maidens have a habit - often a most objectionable habit - of sprawling on the sand in close proximity to one another and in full view of not unduly sensitive folk, who would rather that they did that sort of thing less publicly; but who is to determine with the aid of a municipal handbook what constitutes an offence on the vague borderline between the innocent enthusiasm of love's young dream and conduct which a policeman might properly regard as 'offensive behaviour'.



At Glenelg on a Sunday in 1912

Further, in February 1930 there were complaints about the mode of conduct on the beaches at night and, accordingly, two women police were detailed to take action against more than 100 girls under the age of 17 years who were found on the beaches with young men. Nude bathing parties, at both West Beach and Glenelg, were disturbed and, in one case, the young men who had motored the girls to the beach were too intoxicated to drive home. Accordingly, additional lights were placed on the beach at Glenelg, while a vigilance committee was formed by owners of shacks and bathing boxes in the neighbourhood.

In March 1920, a man caused considerable excitement at Glenelg by removing his clothing and going into the sea in a nude condition and, later, walking along the beach. Mounted Constable France attempted to arrest him on a charge of indecent exposure but he resisted violently, a companion coming to his assistance and releasing him from the constable's grasp. Constable Kitchin (*sic*), the officer in charge at Glenelg, came on the scene at this juncture and arrested the objectionable bather. They both appeared in the local court where they were fined and ordered to recompense the constabulary for malicious damage to apparel.

During the summer season of 1922-23 some metropolitan councils adopted a by-law making the wearing of one-piece bathing costumes 'an offence against decency.' The two-piece apparel blessed by these local authorities was, by a majority of the swimmers, considered to be a menace in that there was always a danger to the wearer of having his arms and head enveloped by the top piece.

South Australia was the only State where such a ridiculous law was in operation and a call went out from swimming and lifesaving clubs urging councils to permit the wearing of the one-piece costume that did not restrict freedom of movement:

The present regulation at Glenelg is a matter of ridicule in other States. The supposition of the two-piece costume cloaking the figure to such an extent as to obliterate the outline is preposterous, as once wet it is hard to discern it from a single piece.

In 1923, it was claimed that the upper part of the Canadian costumes, in use at Glenelg, Brighton and Henley, had a tendency to ride up when the wearer entered the water. This was said to be impossible with the kilted one-piece, but the objection to it was that the kilted arrangement hampered the movements of the swimmer and could imperil the life of the less proficient.

Believing that sunbathing was beneficial to health, bathers were at liberty to stroll or rest on the Largs and Semaphore beaches in their swimming costumes provided their behaviour was not offensive, but at Glenelg and Henley Beach the regulations were such that 'every person after bathing shall immediately clad himself or herself in a dressing gown of some non-transparent material, or proceed to resume his or her ordinary dress.'

In February 1924, the Secretary of the Royal Arthur Swimming Club asked the corporation for permission for its members to play cricket on the beach between the jetty and the breakwater jetty on Sunday mornings, the club undertaking to use tennis balls in pursuit of the game. In opening the discussion Alderman Dring said he did not wish the members of the council to be looked upon as a lot of 'wowsers', whose only desire was to suppress

recreation of any sort on Sundays. There were no dissenters to a motion brought forward by Alderman Dring and the appropriate by-law was amended.

Astonishment was expressed in January 1931 by members of many seaside communities when they heard that the police had ordered women bathers wearing 'beach pyjamas' at Glenelg to either enter the water or to dress. The enforcement of obsolete by-laws was, to them, an unexpected move. Most of the councils concerned had by-laws framed at the turn of the century which declared that persons desirous of bathing in the sea should be covered by non-transparent material from neck to knee.

The regulations varied only slightly at various watering places. Port Adelaide's law declared that the costume should be neck to knee; Henley and Grange was, in effect, the same; Glenelg gave bathers the option of wearing a neck to knee covering or a single-piece costume with a V-piece:

Modern fashion in feminine attire disquiets the puritan's mind... Our open columns have borne testimony to the shock occasioned by the bare arms and legs of sea bathers... Hence the enactment of by-laws requiring... a neck-to-knee covering, or, as allowed at Glenelg, the wearing of a single-piece costume with a V-piece.

Although one clause of its law decreed that the dress should be of the Canadian type, and cover the bather from neck to knee, the one referring to the single-piece costume was delightfully vague. There was no doubt that, if the councils or the police decided to enforce the letter of the law, the beaches would have been practically deserted, for a neck to knee costume was not procurable in South Australia and Adelaide's shops did not stock any costume to satisfy legal requirements.

Mr White, of the Glenelg Bathing House, said that in all his experience he had never seen a neck to knee costume worn and what was termed to be of that ilk was generally cut away three or four inches below the groin. The thousands of bathers he stocked were of the modern type and the same conditions prevailed at all other places where costumes were hired out. The Mayor of Glenelg, Mr J. W. Sutherland, said he had a great admiration for the work of the women police along the foreshore, more particularly that of preventing the prevailing offensive behaviour.

However, as far as the present incident was concerned he thought the officers could have used a little more discretion:

To compel bathers to don dressing gowns or other clothing immediately after bathing would call for an army of police... Attention should be given to the custom adopted by some young men and women who loll about the sands too close together. If that practice could be checked... beach difficulties would be overcome... [I] propose to ask the council to modernise its beach laws.

Following this municipal disquiet the Editor of the *Advertiser* decided to enter the fray:

The most robust of Britons, laugh as he may at what he is wont to call a grandmotherly legislation, would scarcely plead for absolute licence in this matter, or insist that moral suasion is all that is required to check excesses. By the seaside, there is greater temptation than there is in, say, Rundle Street, to throw off the restraints of convention, and heedlessly, of course, indulge in whims which harmless, perhaps, in themselves are a rock of offence to others. Hence the enactment of by-laws requiring neck to knee covering or, as allowed at Glenelg, the wearing of a single piece costume with a V-piece.

The enactment has been outdistanced by fashion and the Canadian costume is no longer worn, nor is procurable, in South Australia... Popular opinion, adapting itself to new social customs, tolerates much that would formerly have been deemed improper. The changes which, fifty years ago, has made in the opinion is evidenced by the contents of a letter received in this office denouncing a proposal to permit mixed bathing at Glenelg - 'People of both sexes may bathe together in foreign countries, where there is no civilisation, but surely in Australia we are a little above that.'

In August 1931, a majority of the delegates to the Seaside Councils Association voted in favour of banning backless bathing from metropolitan beaches and it was suggested that if 'people wanted to indulge in sun bathing they should go to remote beaches.' Alderman Dring said there was no chance of the Glenelg Corporation altering its by-law permitting backless bathers after all the trouble it had gone to in interviewing tradespeople and members of swimming and lifesaving associations. Councillor Kelsey was a lone dissenter at this meeting when he proclaimed that he could see no indecency in the backless bather.

As to the general standard of bathing dress to be allowed, it was the opinion of the Glenelg council that it preferred to rely upon the judgment of the beach inspectors and the police to judge when - and presumably where - a costume was too revealing.

Further, the Glenelg regulation was such that 'those in bathers may be decorous and within the law without feeling they were being harassed':

The council strives for decency on the beach which is the most popular in the metropolitan area... its regulation stipulates that the bottoms of the bathers must reach at least two inches or thereabouts below the crutch. Silk or artificial silk is banned...

Therefore, it was easy to see that the bathers worn when bathing at Glenelg would require modification when stepping over the boundary into Henley and Grange, where the 'line was to be drawn four inches below the shoulder back and front' or again into Brighton where the law said the bather must be encased from the neck to the middle of the thighs.

The vagaries of these regulations were harassing to bathers keen to keep within the law, even if the law did not harass them. To resolve the matter the following satirical remedy was suggested:

Possibly then, if there is no unanimity before the summer comes the manufacturers will design a costume fitted back and front with a neat blind to match, complete with roller attachment, so that it can be raised according to the law, or lowered accordingly to inclination.

However, common sense prevailed and, with public pressure mounting, within three months Adelaide beach councils decided to follow Sydney authorities in their tolerant attitudes towards the wearing of backless bathing, the only dissenter being Brighton. In October 1933, the Glenelg council decided to prosecute three men who had been reported by the police for having infringed the bathing regulations by 'having their bodies exposed to the waist.' While it was anticipated that within a few years that type of dress and undress would possibly be assented to by public opinion and excite little remark, popular opinion at the time was that the process of change should be evolutionary rather than revolutionary:

Dress reform on the beach has already gone a long way within the experience of the present generation and will doubtless go further; but the more ardent or ultrafashionable dress reformers are not therefore authorised to give offence to their neighbours by sudden new departures.

Following a successful prosecution, the council passed a by-law stipulating that every person more than 12 years of age must wear a costume completely covering the middle portion of the body and chest and people who offended against this by-law were, when required by a police officer or beach patrol, immediately to resume ordinary dress. However, the council reserved the power to grant permission for the wearing of special costumes for swimming and other carnivals.

The chaotic condition of the by-laws made it ridiculously easy for a law abiding citizen to become a law breaker. By crossing an imaginary line, or by exceeding the arbitrary time limit, he could break a by-law and be compelled to pay a penalty. Anyone on the beaches from Brighton to Glenelg in November 1934 could have seen dogs, horses and cricket matches, all of which were subject to different limitations in different areas. It was considered by many reasonable citizens that it would have been no great task for the councillors to codify the by-laws.

By the dawn of 1936, half an inch more or less of leg, or some trifling extension or contraction of the legalised area of bare back, could determine the source from which the 'hot water of odium and remonstrance would flow' and the Editor of *The News* was constrained to upbraid local authorities:

Bathing costumes, like so many other things, were directly prescribed by convention and only indirectly by councillors whose heads ached at the mere thought of beach regulations; and convention was the rule imposed upon the minority by the views of life common to the majority.

In another case before a Port Adelaide Magistrate in 1936, an anomaly was pointed out by the court whereas if the 'offenders' had been sitting in the middle of the road 20 yards back from the seashore, no offence would have been committed. At Glenelg, a justice remarked that, although rolling down bathers to the waist was objectionable, special trunks with a belt were quite respectable even though they did not comply with the by-law:

One of the most interesting points in support of the new fashion is that the present King and his brothers wear topless garb while swimming and sunbaking. Any Doubting Thomas can be confounded by photographs in leading London magazines. The whole vexed question would take on a different complexion if councils instructed their beach inspectors to use discretion when taking names of 'indecent' bathers...

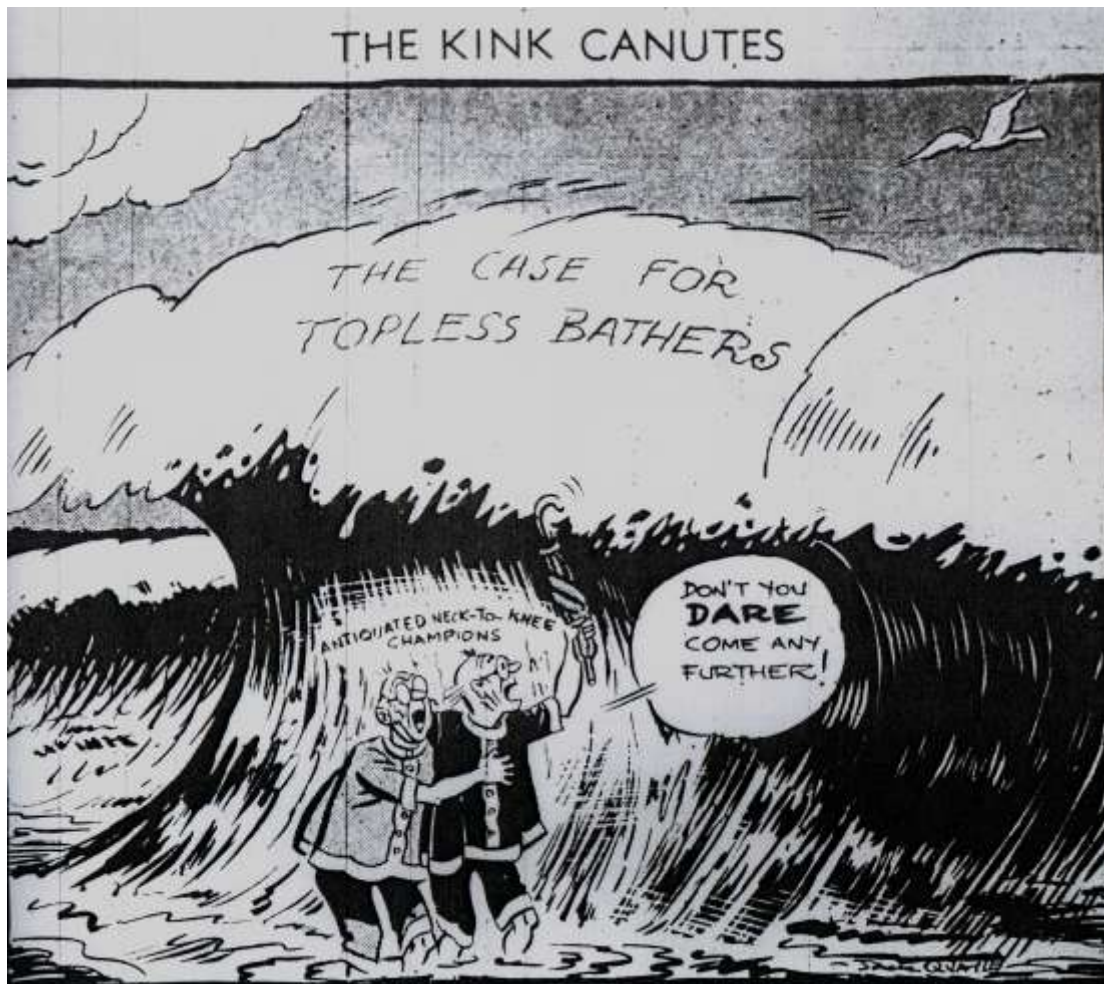


TAKING MOTHER GRUNDY AT HER WORD

In September 1937, the Mayor of Glenelg, Mr Fisk, admitted that after seeing the latest designs of topless bathers he had changed his mind:

I am not now personally opposed... but whether they will be allowed at Glenelg this summer depends entirely on the council... A parade of the new fashions would convince them that there is nothing immodest about the costumes... The council will have to yield eventually...

The younger generation of men are rebelling against old-fashioned, played-out ideas and resent unnecessary restrictions... Topless bathers are permitted at Moana Beach and there are many who feel that Glenelg may lose much of its popularity... because of its bathing by-laws...



Mr Fisk, when commenting upon the decision of his council to prosecute relentlessly its campaign against topless bathers, said:

The conduct of my councillors is beyond comprehension. I say quite frankly that they have lost all sense of proportion and reason... These things not only make us ridiculous but they cause an economic loss to the town... I have had boarding house proprietors, business people, hotel keepers and private citizens in my office to ask me if I could influence the council to lift its ban.

Early in January 1938, the wearing of topless bathers by males was permitted at Port Elliot, Middleton and Goolwa and the 'fanatical pursuit of bare-chested offenders at Glenelg was a topic widely discussed and it was predicted that if they continued to enforce the ridiculous by-law they would soon have the place to themselves.'

There was no doubt that the majority of the people wanted the reform and unmistakable signs suggested that they were going to get it. Indeed, members of the police force, who had the unhappy and thankless task of enforcing the orders of the day, would have welcomed the change to topless bathers.

However, the 'wowser' majority of the Glenelg council were of a different mind. On 6 January 1938, it was reported that businessmen and lifesavers had arranged a petition to be presented to the recalcitrant council, while the Premier, Mr Price, questioned the propriety of seaside councils dictating to the people.

On 20 January 1938, the Henley and Grange Council, and Brighton Council in respect of Seacliff beach, approved the wearing of 'trunks' and a day later it was observed that the Glenelg dissenters, if immune to public demands, 'would be left to enjoy splendid isolation.'

The Mayor, Mr Fisk, opined that 'it was only time before they would be forced to bow to public opinion' and left the remainder of the civic 'fathers' to ponder their crass stupidity.

In a final burst of inanity on behalf of the 'wowser' element within the council, Councillor Fox, without any supporting evidence, stated, blandly, that 'the people of Glenelg did not want them.' Late in January 1938, the stalemate was remedied by Councillor P.J. Williams when he moved a motion to 'follow the leader' and, reluctantly, Glenelg succumbed to the will of the people and, in doing so, earned for itself a doubtful honour in the annals of South Australian local government history in that it was the last to introduce this reasonable reform.

As a postscript, in 1953 the Corporation's by-law in respect of bathing said that:

Any costume or garment worn by any person bathing in any open public water or being on the beach or foreshore or any reserve or on any open public water adjoining the beach or foreshore shall be of such character and materials and in such a state of repair and so worn, as shall be necessary to secure the observance of decency.



Mixed Bathing

Women have everything to gain by the change; while men have a pleasant companionship to look forward to. Present methods being so greatly changed, fresh regulations would of course be necessary and would need to be rigorously enforced...

The idea that taking a bath is a kind of a mysterious rite, to be conducted only in secret, is particularly British, and hardly worth continuing to hold.

(Register, 28 February 1903)

One of the first advocates for mixed bathing in South Australia was a Governor, Sir James Fergusson, when he requested Thomas Bastard, of the Adelaide City Baths, to teach his son and two daughters to swim. The worthy tutor felt some scruples, but Sir James pointed out that this was but false modesty and, further, added that in travels about the world he had observed, in every place where bathing was practicable, the males and females bathed together in costumes and concluded with the remark that, 'Evil be to him who evil thinks.' It was, however, many years before mixed bathing was permitted in South Australia.

By the turn of the 20th century ‘at watering places in France and Spain whole families splashed around in the sea; the French father in his gay-striped swimming suit with an eye glass in one eye frolicked with his daughter in her carefully designed bathing costume. The Americans also had small regard for Mrs Grundy and engaged in Continental seaside customs and the beach at Atlantic City could be compared with the picturesque scenes of the yellow sands of Dieppe.’

Why such an ‘immoral atrocity’ as neck to knee bathers and mixed bathing came into being is possibly explained by the fact the noted Australian swimmer, Miss Annette Kellerman, came to South Australia in 1904 and not only was she the first woman swimmer to appear in public here at the City Baths, but she discarded the conventional pantaloons for what approximated a neck-to-knee costume.

Her visit was a great success and South Australians realised that the barbaric custom of mixed bathing at the Lido might have had something in its favour.

Public opinion, by which the world was governed in those far off days, irrespective of parliaments, was a good servant, but tyrannical to those who dared not stir a hand or foot because of what their neighbours might say. There were many who considered that to introduce dancing classes for boys and girls from the slums under careful supervision, and in a well-lighted room to enable them to get to know one another better, was to be preferred to scraping an acquaintance around dark street corners in an illicit, underhand manner. Surely, it was said, would not far less mischief eventuate from the former? In 1906, Mary Lee, the renowned feminist activist, was to say:

I wish Mrs Grundy would retire into comfortable seclusion... and leave us alone. Those youngsters - Heaven keep them - are enjoying their mixed 'splash' without a notion of harm. Why should they not? Some of them are from homes with floors too near the ceiling to be comfortable in weather like this - houses where the landlords should be compelled to live for a week before they 'Let'.

But the bathers! I don't believe that Eve ever had any petticoats and if Adam had 'breeks' they left us no pattern - and they were both naked and not ashamed. Does not half the moral dirt of the world spring from dirty suggestion? Let our youngsters be taught to swim. Will our State schools look to this?



Mixed bathing in 1912



Glenelg-Marino railway along the foreshore – 1879-1880

However, there were many dissenters in the community who contended that the old rule, namely, 'gentlemen bathers on one side and ladies on the other' was true to a profound ethical instinct that society would do well not to ignore.

It helps to conserve and to quicken the finer sense of modesty upon which all clean, healthy and vigorous domestic and national life is based. When on a holiday trip the other side of the world I saw bathing that filled me with disgust... Mixed bathing - so mixed that the strong arm of the law has sometimes to be called in to effect a separation.... Do not attempt to lower our moral ideals. The higher we keep them the better for our sons and daughters and for the State.

To this contention a young woman informed the disciples of Mrs Grundy that:

There is a feeling of security when bathing in company with the stronger sex, for we are confident that able assistance will be rendered if necessary. If we adopt costumes similar to those worn at Manly or Bondi, they must naturally meet the requirements of the most exacting man or woman and if proper dressing rooms are erected surely there is no reason why mixed bathing should not be permitted on our beaches.

Finally, new bathing regulations permitting properly costumed persons to have their dip at any hour of the day, and from any wharf or jetty and in 'Nature's garb' from midnight until 6 a.m., were read a first time at a meeting of the Marine Board on 1 February 1910. At Glenelg, part of the foreshore between Elizabeth and Kent Streets was allotted as a mixed bathing reserve 'as per Marine Board regulations re dress' and the council further decreed that 'the horse-tying rails on the beach were to have seats, screens and roofs so framed that they could be used for dressing boxes, shelter sheds, or their original purpose.'

However, there were at least three dissenters within Glenelg and environs:

I still cannot but think the practice of mixed bathing tends to relax the restraints of modesty that should exist between the sexes... I prefer to base my opinions on the statistics of illegitimacy, the birth and the marriage rates and the ever-increasing numbers and decreasing ages of the inmates of our rescue homes...

[Women] seem to spend most of their time making themselves attractive to mere man... Why do they so relentlessly tear down the veil of illusion at the seaside?

Now that the hot weather is approaching we shall no doubt witness that unseemly and degrading practice - mixed bathing... This evil has been permitted to continue quite long enough... it is no wonder that the standard of morality among the rising generation is not as high as it should be.

Not to be denied, a few citizens aired their respective views upon this newly-won freedom:

<i>On the sandy reach at [Holdfast Bay],</i>	<i>They'd have you believe they're not daughters of Eve</i>
<i>Mixed bathing is the fashion.</i>	<i>That the attraction's the charm of the water;</i>
<i>Some sea nymphs in tights look horrible frights,</i>	<i>But everyone knows the magnets are beaus,</i>
<i>While in the briny they're jumping and splashing.</i>	<i>And the tights are the cause of the slaughter.</i>

Mixed bathing has won its case by an insidious enthusiasm, and except for contingents of prurient-minded youths who at night deliberately ride their bicycles through parties, the sport is having a happy innings.

The practice of the two sexes bathing together, denounced by Archbishop Carr as fatal to feminine modesty, brutalising to men, and dangerous to public morals, has advocates who maintain it is not only quite harmless, but positively beneficial.

In spite of 'wowsers', pulpit-bashers and referendums, I fear it has come to a stop merely because woman says it is good to run thus, for it uplifts and brings to us that homage which the female has always demanded from a servile male opinion. In the meantime society pretends to be shocked...

<i>Beware of the breakers! Beware of the swells!</i>	<i>Beware of their unhomefly feminine wiles,</i>
<i>Beware the shells on the shore.</i>	<i>Beware of their innocent arts.</i>
<i>Beware of the beauty of bold bathing belles</i>	<i>For many are suddenly smitten by smiles</i>
<i>Who tailor made costumes ignore.</i>	<i>From the beautiful breakers of hearts.</i>

The prim, proper, puritanical female who goes to the Art Gallery for the first time is usually shocked when she gazes at the statue of Venus. Then, again, some strictly proper people visiting the theatre for the first time and seeing the girls in tights are mildly horrified... Individuals of this school are the stumbling block to mixed bathing.

Demise of Beach Retreats

To conserve modesty, a virtue of priceless value, the dress in mixed surf bathing should always come below the knees.

(*Register*, 10 December 1927)

In 1928, situated on the foreshore north of former boundary of the town of Glenelg were a number of boathouses, bathing houses and temporary summer residences of wood and iron. Some of them had been there for many years and were permitted to remain upon payment of a small annual rental to the West Torrens District Council. As the result of a petition signed by owners of the property in the locality, the area was annexed to Glenelg whose council was opposed to the erection of such structures on the foreshore and:

Although there is little doubt that [their] removal will be regretted by the lessees, residents in the locality will be satisfied. Much annoyance has been caused by rowdiness on the part of some of the occupants and visitors, who parade North Esplanade in the early hours of the morning.

Bad language and vandalism has [*sic*] been complained of on a number of occasions.

Shade from Trees on Glenelg Beach

The... council has decreed that children between three years and 10 must wear a costume which covers the breast and reaches at least two inches below the crutch.

(*The News*, 18 September 1934)

In the early 1930s, the corporation experimented with tamarisk trees on the beach and, for a couple of years after planting, they were watered, but once their roots penetrated to the subsoil no attention was required except for pruning:

Glenelg is the only resort where the tamarisk tree is on the beach itself. Other waterfront municipalities have these hardy shade-giving trees, but they are on higher ground. Port Adelaide has 2,000, some of which were put in 50 years ago. The oldest are screening Todd Reserve from the sand and in summer they provide a sheltered picnic spot...

The experiment of Glenelg with the trees close to the water's edge will be followed with interest. Not only would the trees save seaside councils the expenditure of erecting shelters and maintaining them, but also they would provide a much cooler shade from the fierce rays of the sun.

The Menace of Sharks

The first fatality in South Australia has always been believed to have occurred at Brighton in 1926, but there were incidents in the 19th century that cast some doubt on this assertion. The *Adelaide Times* of 5 April 1855 says that during the stay of the *Malacca* at Port Wakefield, Captain Coleman's child was found to be missing and some days later persons on the ship saw the body of a child in the water and a large shark devouring it.

Of course, this report does not substantiate that she was actually taken by a shark, but there is evidence that she fell overboard from the ship.

Further, in 1862, the following letter appeared in the *Register*:

In perusing the account of the late melancholy event at the Bay and the apparent loss of the body, our attention is naturally called to the danger arising from sharks and other ravenous fish... It behoves us to guard against

this for the future and I would suggest that two paddocks, one for males and one for females, of closely netted wire netting wire fencing at once be erected at the Bay... the same as is done in sister colonies...

It appears that this tragedy refers to a youth named Barnard who disappeared at Glenelg whilst swimming and a newspaper reference at this time merely states that the body 'had not been discovered.'

On 18 March 1926, Mrs Kathleen Whyte, the wife of a Port Augusta squatter, was taken by a shark while holidaying at Brighton. Later, a drinking fountain comprised of Australian and Balmoral granite was made by Mr John Tillett of Adelaide at the behest of the women of Brighton and dedicated to her memory. Mrs Whyte had resided for many years in the town and had taught a number of children to swim, promoted the welfare of the district and been an ardent war worker.

A shark attack at Glenelg was reported in 1929 when a girl's wild cry of 'Help!', 'Help!', attracted the attention of the crew of the yacht *Valkyrie* that was participating in the race for the Plympton Cup on 9 February. The call came from a frail canoe occupied by a young woman and male companion, while the man was seen 'striking at a large shark in the water and the girl... in a state of collapse.'

The *Valkyrie* left the competition and veered in the direction of the canoe and, as it did so, the shark started thrashing the water into foam around the canoe and made off as the yacht came closer. It was a large blue pointer about 12 feet long:

It deliberately attacked the canoe and at times was almost on top of the water. The young man was standing in the boat beating at the monster with a paddle, but it seemed to have little effect on it... People in canoes frequently venture out too far... The young folk this afternoon were in bathing attire... The practice is extremely dangerous...

Following this attack two regular boat fishermen in the area made the following comments:

I cannot understand bathers going in off the end of the jetty, as there is always the risk of a shark lurking near. Although I am a good swimmer I never go more than about 30 yards from the shore. At Glenelg schnapper grounds I have often pulled in the heads only, the sharks waiting for the schnapper to be hooked. At one time there used to be a fair amount of shark baiting at Glenelg and Henley Beach and it would perhaps stimulate the sport if the authorities were to offer so much a head for the ferocious ones.

Last Saturday I never saw more sharks in one afternoon... Eight large ones were swimming close to the surface. They could not be frightened away, but swam quietly around the boat. Some of them came within 20 feet of it. They would average between seven and eight feet long...

Late in December 1931 the Brighton council decided to erect a shark watch tower while comment from the Town Clerk of Glenelg, Mr F.L. Lewis, suggested that his corporation was not to follow suit because, 'Glenelg had been very free from shark scares.'

The Glenelg Baths

Return from the baths was not as good as anticipated. The mistake was the cost of £6,600 for erection and the apathy of the railway company in spite of efforts to secure cooperation... If the plan of issuing through tickets - ninepence for the train and threepence for the baths - had been carried out properly a good profit could have been made. Another drawback was the fact that ladies were only allowed to use the baths during the day when their patronage was uncertain...

(*Register*, 1 February 1879, (supp.))

As early as 1840, an enterprising Mr Bell of Adelaide informed the public that he and his family were removing from Adelaide to Glenelg where he intended opening a 'suite of public baths for the accommodation of ladies.' To this proposal the editor of the *Southern Australian* suggested that the same facility should be provided for the male of the species, but preferably closer to the place of work of Adelaide's citizens.

It was not until August 1859 that the local council contemplated the provision of public bathing facilities and this venture was the subject of debate until February 1861 when, at a public meeting in the Town Hall, the corporation's solicitors advised that to borrow money for such a purpose was 'beyond the limits of the township.'

There the matter rested until 16 January 1864 when a meeting at the Pier Hotel, presided over by Mr R.B. Colley, discussed the erection of a bathing establishment. Finally, it was resolved to establish a bathing company - 'not a company to force people either to pay or remain unwashed, but one which should supply conveniences for those who like to purchase them and which should make sea bathing obtainable at all hours by persons who do not reside near the beach, and who therefore cannot choose their own time.'

A plan was prepared by Mr E.W. Wright for enclosing about 15,000 superficial feet of water together with a 'sufficient number of dressing rooms' at a cost of £1,000. The company's capital was named as £2,500 'in order to enable a bathing establishment for ladies to be erected also.' Several shares were taken up at once and Mr Moseley offered to rent the first establishment at £100 a year immediately upon its completion. The sides of the building towards the sea were to be enclosed with wire netting and the main framework to consist of stout piles, while provision was to be made for a false bottom in deep water for persons unable to swim.

A prospectus was issued in November 1865 when it was noted that, 'at present [citizens are] under many disadvantages' and that 300 shares had been taken up. Provisional Committee members were - Messrs R.A. Tarlton, J. Sanders, F. Furniss, H. Moseley, Y.W. Hodge, J. Johnstons, A. Low and T.H. Jones. Nothing eventuated from these endeavours and it was not until January 1875 that 'the oft-suggested starting of a bathing company [was] undertaken by a number of residents and other persons interested in Glenelg.'

For many years it was a 'standing disgrace' to Adelaide that the nearest beach adapted for bathing purposes was devoid, altogether, of the conveniences ordinarily present in a recognised watering place. Near the capitals of neighbouring colonies properly regulated bathing places had been long established; Melbourne has its bathing houses at Sandridge, Williamstown and St Kilda, while Sydney had them at Woolloomooloo Bay and elsewhere and it was certain that the boon would have been generally appreciated by the general public of South Australia:

The idea of having to undress and dress on the beach, with a keen or hot sun, prevents all enjoyment; besides the unpleasantness of sand in your clothes, sand in your boots, sand in your hair, etc., etc. Then again many lives would have been saved had the baths been erected...

In consequence of the want of proper bathing grounds, the sea beach was practically closed against the bulk of visitors to Glenelg. North of the jetty was the ladies' bathing area and to the south the gentlemen's domain; the result being that, virtually, for many hours each day it was closed to the general public. Accordingly, in October 1873, Mr W. Townsend, MP, introduced a Bill into parliament to enable the corporation to lease certain portions of the beach for bathing purposes:

We therefore hope that the Bill will be passed to establish proper bathing facilities at Glenelg, and at the same time, to set free the whole extent of the beach... The legislative action is absolutely necessary, as the waters of the gulf are at present under the control of the Marine Board.

The 1873 Bill invested the corporation with two pieces of land on the beach north and south of the jetty and, in 1875, Mr J.F. Wigley and his brother decided to start a company to build baths. At first, they secured a 42-year lease of the beach, 600 feet to the north of the jetty, from the corporation and an agreement was executed on 22 March 1875, the term commencing on 1 April. In July 1875, Captain W. Kenney, the proprietor of the Saint Kilda and Brighton baths, who had been in communication with the corporation since 1873, arrived on the *Coorong* when he pronounced the project to be feasible.

Under his supervision construction commenced in December 1875 and, upon completion in March 1876, a neat jetty, 300 feet long and eight feet wide, led to the baths consisting of an enclosure 430 feet in length, by about 200 feet wide. This was formed by piles driven ten feet into the soil, the spaces being filled up by a picket fence having stakes about four inches apart. At high tide the water in the deepest part of the bath was about 12 feet and at the shallowest four feet.

They were opened on 11 March 1876 by Mayor Wigley and, in addition to the amusements arranged by the company, considerable diversion was caused by a couple of individuals, who cut capers on the water without taking off their clothes:

They were noticed first in separate boats throwing the water over each other with an energy worthy of a better cause, and varying their pranks by jumping headlong into the sea. So fast and furious ran the fun, at last a boat capsized and the occupants, some twelve in number, were left to reflect in the water. They then amused onlookers by taking occasional headers from the platform into the baths.

Apart from these antics, complaints were forthcoming from female bathers who felt they had not been catered for adequately:

The Bathing Company's establishment is a very great comfort, but surely the ladies are very badly treated. The building is in the very centre of their bathing ground and they are excluded from the baths except between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. - all the hottest and most disagreeable hours for bathing.

It is to be hoped that the Company may soon be able to afford separate accommodation for ladies; in the meantime where is the blue flag which is supposed to give ladies notice that they may go and bathe and men that they may not? I have never seen it flying.

The newly-opened baths were the scene of a deplorable accident on 15 March 1876 when Mr T.F. Sanderson, the son of a saddler in Grenfell Street, while diving from a platform four feet above the water, accidentally turned a somersault and struck his head on the hard sand. The tide at the time was nearly high, giving a depth of about five feet. Following his death the coroner suggested that cautionary notices should be placed in the baths and that indices of depth be provided.

Many complaints were forthcoming about the antics of larrikins who appropriated towels and stole money, while other senseless breaches of respectable behaviour included the defacement of dressing rooms, tearing down printed rules and capsizing the boat kept for use in emergencies. Further, by December 1876 the service provided at the baths and the civility of its paid servants were a cause for complaint:

It seems to me that two things which are principally lacking in the baths are clean towels and civility... I went to the baths and, on asking for a towel, a young woman handed me a roughly folded wet article which, from appearances, might have been used previously by a half a dozen persons. On civilly asking whether a drier one could be supplied, I received the answer, 'That's all I've got. If you don't like it you can go without.'

Since then I have usually been careful to take a towel with me, but on Christmas Day... I presented a bathing ticket issued by the Railway Company and asked the male attendant for a dry towel. He replied not too civilly, 'You are welcome to one if you can get it.' I then went to the counter; a woman standing behind it told me to 'Take that', pointing to a particularly unpleasant looking article, crumpled and dirty.

Seeing a pile of what were at least smoothly-folded towels, I asked if I could not have one of them; whereupon I was told 'if you don't like that you can leave it and get out of the place', the woman at the same time sweeping my ticket and towel... under the counter. I simply 'got out of the place.'



Glenelg Baths – 1896

By 1881, the hours of bathing for women at the baths were considered by many female patrons to be inconvenient and, practically, restricted them to the beach with all its attendant discomforts, such as having to walk a long way out into deep water and to dress in antiquated bathing machines or under the shadow of the sandhills. Accordingly, women's baths containing 50 dressing cubicles were constructed north of the men's site at a cost of £2,217.

This expenditure necessitated a fresh issue of 2,000 shares at one pound and, 'as a punishment for their boldness, a storm came and snatched a dividend at the rate of 8 per cent out of the pockets of shareholders.' Later, in 1896, the Patawalonga Creek altered its course and the stream flowed through them and caused the management some anxiety. This problem was remedied when workmen cut a channel through the seaweed blocking the original outlet.

Consternation reigned at the baths in January 1883 when a stingray made its appearance therein, coupled with ongoing complaints as to the general oversight of the establishment:

I swam in close vicinity to it and would surely have been hurt by it if some kind Christian standing on the platform had not cautioned me... Sharks and stingrays can come into the baths now on both sides in any number... several bathers have already stepped away, and frequently I have heard them remark that if they met a shark in the water they would faint right away...

It would be far better and safer to pull the fence down altogether than to have it remain in its present state for if a stingray or shark should happen to find its way through the gap, it probably would not find its way out and would be caged... One thing is certain; unless the bathing company makes a thorough reformation as regards the keeping of the establishment, in a short time the baths will lose all their customers, as everyone who goes there at present is complaining. People like to have a clean towel, to be able to put down or hang up their clothes without finding them with a month's dust on them when taken down...

Another unsettling incident occurred in 1884 when Mr Sparks, a company official, received an application for the bath's jetty to be used for letting off fireworks on Proclamation Day. This he granted without consulting his fellow directors and the result was that the baths narrowly escaped destruction by fire and a little girl was killed.

When the baths were in good order many championships were decided there and names such as Dick Cavill, Frank Lane, Frank Moore, David Billington (English champion), George Read, Harry Moon and Annette Kellerman were recorded as competitors while, about 1910, the fishing vessel, *Janet*, the largest cutter along the beach, crashed through the structure and came to rest under the residential quarters with its nose in the sand. There were two fishermen on board and they scrambled to safety along the piles.

In 1887, after two or three managers had been in charge, Mr Peter Farrelly was appointed to the position, held it until 1917 and, when the company went into liquidation, he secured a lease of the baths but succumbed to pneumonic influenza in August 1919. The Farrelly family had a wonderful record in swimming championships and lifesaving.

His three sons, Tom, Hugh and Jim, were all experts in the water and won many championships, a daughter, Eileen, gave demonstrations when four years of age, while Kate held the South Australian championship for many years over both 50 and 100 yards.

During the tenancy of the Farrelly family cases of drowning were remarkably few, due mainly to the excellent supervision and lifesaving ability of those in charge. Fifteen lives were given as a low estimate of the saves made by Mr Farrelly while members of his family, between them, laid claim to at least that number. Eileen Farrelly suffered for many years from the effects of her experience in rescuing two children. Probably the most remarkable rescue effected by Mr Farrelly was that of Stanford Hewish who, in 1903, was lying in nine feet of water for at least six minutes. A lengthy resuscitation by the Sylvester method brought a faint show of life.



Proclamation Day – circa 1898 – Public Baths in the background



Glenelg Baths in a battered condition in 1928

This rescue introduced ‘King’ the lifesaving dog, a cross between a bull terrier and a Newfoundland, whose efforts to assist was on his own initiative. Mr Farrelly dived for the boy a couple of times and when, at last, successful was surprised to find the dog swimming alongside with a lifebuoy in its mouth and, obviously, eager to help. Farrelly, who had become exhausted by the diving and the encumbrance of his clothes, would have been unable to take the non-swimmer ashore. Doctor O’Leary was called and provided medical attention and many hours later the boy regained consciousness.

In his honour Glenelg residents presented the dog with a silver-mounted collar. Usually, he was on duty at the edge of the baths and, at any sign of distress by a bather, would jump in and bring the person out of trouble - if they feigned distress out they would come just the same. ‘King’ died on the job; Tom Farrelly was giving a lifesaving demonstration and during the exhibition ‘King’ had to bring his master out. He achieved the rescue and then died on the shore having ‘exceeded his strength in a special effort.’

Mr Peter Farrelly was a practical engineer and the major portion of the original structure was erected by him. One of his inventions was the ‘Songee’ for which he received ten pounds; it made the sinking of piles comparatively easy and inexpensive. During the Great War the baths were free to all troops on route marches or manoeuvres and many thousands enjoyed a dip after a long and dusty march. They showed their appreciation of the action of Mr Farrelly by making him a number of presentations.

In the early 1920s, Mr White, of Western Australia, entered the scene and was informed that the baths could be bought for £300 and was told that, in the event of the corporation doing so and having them removed, he would be asked to contribute portion of the expenses; he then agreed to pay £150 and for the corporation to take possession of all the material. However, the owner then raised the price considerably and this was refused. In the meantime, Mr White’s plans for a reinforced concrete bathing house on the foreshore was accepted and a lease for 20 years executed over the site.

The council then informed Mr White that it would remove the old baths within two years. However, his plans were abrogated by a telephone message emanating from the Crown Law Department stating that a claim had been put forward through the Harbors’ Board to the ownership of the property on behalf of the Crown. The building was not pulled down and bathing continued under the auspices of Mr White as lessee.

In 1924, it seemed possible that an up-to-date structure might be erected to replace the old baths when James Farrelly, a son of the late manager, interested a number of business men in a scheme to erect baths incorporating modern developments, but sufficient financial support was not forthcoming.

In October 1926, a meeting of ratepayers was held to consider a scheme for raising a loan of £20,000 for the building of public baths because 'the present baths were not worthy of the town' and it was hoped to have the old structure demolished and a new one built in its place. In spite of unanimity within the corporation, in 1928 the proposal was defeated at a poll. This sealed the fate of the baths and, with their demolition that commenced late in that year, the whole of the metropolitan foreshore was without a sea bathing enclosure.

In June 1932, plans for a hot and cold sea swimming baths, with a dressing room for 1,100 people and a roof garden for dancing, were completed. The site secured on a 20 year lease by Glenelg Swimming Pools Ltd was portion of an existing car park having a frontage of 105 feet to Anzac Highway by a depth of 240 feet adjoining Colley Reserve.

Provisional directors of the company were Messrs F.H. Taylor, merchant of Toorak, G.B. Inkster, company manager of Knightsbridge and J.A. Mangan, solicitor of Tranmere, while the plans were prepared by an architect, Mr C.A. Smith. There was immediate opposition from members of the Glenelg Traders' Association, while a petition signed by more than 100 ratepayers was lodged with the Corporation. It is apparent that nothing eventuated from this proposal for *Historic Glenelg, Birthplace of South Australia*, published in 1979, does not mention it.

Gambling in the Sandhills

[I] am astonished and disgusted to find one of our most important business thoroughfares converted into a rendezvous for the assembling of a most disreputable class of men who ply their trade of gambling in the street, and under the eye, and apparently with the sanction of the police.

If gambling is honest, we are a set of fools to work for our living. If it is not, we are fast becoming a community of knaves.

(Register, 10 July 1897, Observer, 9 November 1929)

In November 1898, complaints were forthcoming against a section of the community who assembled on the beach on Sunday mornings and played 'two-up' and 'pitch and toss':

Having gained information that there was an enemy in their camp, the local constables, Davidson and Hansberry, reconnoitred with the result that they found the opposing forces in great number. Undaunted by the overwhelming odds the men in blue swooped down upon the school and although their charge broke them up for the time being it was comparatively ineffective. A new tossing ground was sought by the tossers of the pennies midway between Glenelg and Brighton.

There in a secluded spot they hoped to carry on their games without interruption, but still they took the precaution to appoint scouts. MC Mack of Brighton, however, on Sunday morning was acquainted of their gathering and he descended upon them at an unexpected hour. The school, however, broke into two sections and chose opposite directions. Across sandhills and ploughed fields and over fenced the constable pursued the fleeing foe, but without effect.

Later on in the afternoon, he was apprised of the fact that another school had opened operation nearer the Bay and, immediately, went in pursuit. However, being well known, it was asking too much to expect him to come upon them unawares. Nevertheless, he got much closer than many of the players bargained for and a good run was the result, but again the enemy was too fleet of foot.

However, it was concluded that 'possibly, the presence of a plainclothes man in the neighbourhood would effectually stamp out what is a growing evil.' But the 'evil' continued unabated and, in October 1911, a resident reported that:

Now that the police have cleaned up one busy arena for spinning coins, will they please turn their attention to another? The school meets at a spot where they pay no rent. Hours of meeting - from 10 a.m. until dark, every Sunday whether wet or fine, warm or cold. Scene - a picturesque nook in the Glenelg sandhills. Walk along the beach 300 yards Brightonwards from the Broadway, then peep over the sandhills. But the authorities must know it. It would take more generalship than our detective force appears to possess to raid that school successfully. Sentries stand out against the skyline all day...

If a uniform is seen within half a mile of the nook, the school - from 20 to 40 strong - scatters in all directions.

Could not the authorities give instructions to have a man on duty and make that coterie scuttle every hour or two of a Sabbath day? If they could not catch them, it would at least keep them moving.

All efforts to capture the gamblers proved unavailing but, on Sunday, 26 October 1919, there was further excitement in the sandhills when the police succeeded in getting well inside the line of sentries and, in consequence, a number of offenders were captured red-handed. So well was the raid executed, the ringmaster was captured with nearly £20 in his charge. Constable K. Schammer described the scene:

I saw men on the lookout but my party eluded them and when we reached the top of a high sandhill we saw a large number of men in a circle in the hollow. When I was within 15 yards of the circle a warning cry was raised and the men rushed away. Heaps of money were on the carpet, about 12 feet square, and the ringmaster was seated on the mat with notes in his hand and silver between his legs. In answer to an enquiry as to what he was doing with so much money he replied that surely a man could do what he liked with his own cash... Close to the ring was a crate of iced temperance drinks and a number of horses and vehicles were in the vicinity...

A month later, and following further complaints from residents another raid was made north of Glenelg:

The 'school' has assumed large proportions and the 'scholars', frequently numbering several hundreds, and dozens of traps, motor cars and other vehicles... may be seen drawn up on the side of an adjoining road... PC Noblet and MC France were detailed to make another raid and they successfully evaded the sentries.

Between 100 and 150 men were gathered around a large carpet on which were the 'kip' and other paraphernalia... Some one recognised the constables and there was an immediate rush to avoid arrest. Two men were seized but one, who was recognised, escaped... When they searched one of the accused they found two double-headed pennies in his possession... The carpet was ordered to be confiscated...

Further afield, eleven men arrested at the Swansea sandhills on a Sunday afternoon, in 1923, appeared before Mr G.W. Halcombe, SM, and charged on the information of Sub-Inspector J.E. Noblet, with having been on an open paddock near to Swansea where the unlawful game of 'two up' was in progress.

John S. Garrick, carrier of Port Adelaide, Edward Hall, labourer, Adelaide, Percy Douglas Dean, traveller, Adelaide, George Goodwin, John Davis, George Nelson, labourers, Robert Norrie, painter and Charles Clarke, barman, all of Port Adelaide, pleaded guilty. A fine of £5, with 15 shillings costs, in default 14 days imprisonment, was ordered while a charge against Ross Bonnington, labourer, of Exeter, was heard ex parte.

Mr Noblet said that the defendant had telephoned to him that morning and stated he admitted his guilt, but was too 'crook' to attend court after the long run he had on Sunday - this announcement provoked much laughter within the court. An order was made for the 'confiscation of the tarpaulin and kips' and, subsequently, the breach of the law brought to mind the old adage that said, 'wealth gotten by vanity shall be diminished but he that gathereth by labour shall increase.'

Appendix 24

Glenelg - An Ocean Mail Port

The Admella put in to Glenelg on 1 March 1859 for the purpose of taking up passengers... We hope it will become common especially as it would enable the Post Office authorities to keep the mail open for an hour or two later. If the steamers could call also at Glenelg on their inward voyages it would often save passengers the disagreeable necessity of remaining all night on board and would also enable the mail to be delivered in the evening instead of the next morning...

(Register, 2 March 1859)

Introduction - A Brief History of Overseas Postal Services to 1874

If a jetty was built at Glenelg a steamer's mail could be delivered in Adelaide within three hours after she came within sight of the signalman at Glenelg and the mail of an outward bound vessel could remain open in Adelaide to within the hour of her leaving. Under the existing system if a steamer was advertised to [be at] the Lighthouse at 5 or 6 o'clock in the evening her mails would have closed at 11 or 12 o'clock in the morning of that day. Frequently it was necessary to wait until the next day for the mails of a steamer signalled on the previous one, and one or more steamship companies refused to send their boats to Port Adelaide.

(Observer, 20 August 1853)

The first mention of dispatch of overseas mail from South Australia is found in Mary Thomas's diary of 1837:

It having been intimated that a ship was about to sail for Sydney, we were requested to receive the letters of such of the settlers who wish to write to their friends in England; accordingly many availed themselves of the opportunity and brought their communications to us, all of which I enclosed in a brown Holland bag, the best I had for the purpose, and being carefully sealed it was sent to Sydney to be thence conveyed to England... So [our] rush hut was the first printing office and a canvas tent the first post office in South Australia.

In 1844, a regular line of sailing packets having been established between Sydney and London, the bulk of the mail matter was, for several years, forwarded by this route and the average time occupied was 158 days. The origin of the coastal mail service must, certainly, be placed to the credit of Glenelg, where Mr Anthony landed ship mails in a whaleboat; later, when steamers took part in mail transport, it was shifted to Semaphore and conducted from year to year in whaleboats under government supervision, the bags being brought up to the city by road.

Later, the mail service was maintained by sailing ships and among the best known were the clippers of Captain Angel and Messrs Elder, Younghusband and Levi, but there were many others that made occasional trips.

The first regular steam communication was established in 1852, via the Cape of Good Hope, when two steamers maintained a two-monthly service, the contract time from Plymouth to Adelaide being 68 days. The first mail, consisting of 1,799 letters and 3,618 papers, arrived by the *Australasian* on 29 August but this service was

terminated by failure of the company and, accordingly, sailing vessels were resorted to again until 1853 when contracts were entered into with the P&O Company for a mail every two months via Singapore.

In 1855, the steamers of this line and the General Screw Steamship Company, with which an arrangement had been made, were taken off in order to convey troops to the Crimean War. Thus, once again, colonists were made dependent upon sailing clippers for their letters that were forwarded to Melbourne twice a month.

A few years later, when the British government made a contract with a steamship company, Melbourne remained as the distributing centre.

In November 1857, by way of an experiment, Mr Monteith, the Mayor of Glenelg, asked a Melbourne correspondent to put a private bag on an outgoing steamer from Melbourne and, upon its arrival in St Vincent Gulf, a boat was dispatched from Glenelg to intercept it. Subsequently, it was calculated that a considerable time saving in respect of mail delivery to Adelaide could have been effected if it was landed at Glenelg and:

When the jetty is completed the time to be saved will be greater... the mails would be at the GPO three hours sooner... than if taken round by way of the Port... The question... deserves careful consideration at the hands of the mercantile public...

Late in 1857, a contract between the home authorities and the European and Australian Royal Mail Company was discussed to provide for steamers to call at Nepean Bay on Kangaroo Island on the condition that telegraphic communication be established at once with Melbourne, and this was to be effected by laying a cable across Backstairs Passage, thence connecting with the overland telegraph.

This latter venture was not to see the light of day at the time, although it was discussed at the highest level within South Australia. Mr M. Symonds Clark recalled:

A little steamer, *Corio*, met the ships in Nepean Bay and, in December 1859, I went to Kangaroo Island with Messrs Sinnett and Flood, who were acting for rival papers in Melbourne, and there was a race to be the first to get the news telegraphed and I recall that racehorses were waiting at Glenelg to take on their despatches to Adelaide. Mr Sinnett had wrapped his writing in waterproof material and attached it to a string and he threw it overboard to expedite it reaching the boat. I do not remember which boat first reached the shore, but Mr Flood's despatch got first to the telegraph office in Adelaide.

The first P&O steamer to come to South Australia was the *Chusan*, of 699 tons, thereby creating a sensation when she entered the Port River on 18 September 1858. During 1860, the P&O Company appeared again as a contractor and kept up a monthly connection between England and the colonies, South Australian bags being delivered at Kangaroo Island. A few years later, the route was changed and Adelaide as a port of call was ignored, thus leading the government to establish a branch service between King George Sound, in Western Australia, and Adelaide.

This service was maintained for a decade or more at a net cost of £12,000 per annum and 'it [was] unnecessary to dwell upon the fact that the eastern colonies received telegraphic European news 40 hours earlier than they would have obtained it had not South Australia established such branch service.'

At the International Conference in March 1867, when all Australian governments were represented, it was resolved that 'the Adelaide mails by the Suez steamers... be delivered at Kangaroo Island and conveyed from that island to Port Adelaide by a branch steamer' while, in 1872, Glenelg was initiated as one of the calling places for P&O steamers when the *Bangalore* arrived on 18 February. Twelve years had elapsed since the smoke of a Company steamer had been seen in the gulf and the last packet to carry a mail direct from the colony to Great Britain was the *Malta* that left Nepean Bay about the middle of June 1860. On 4 July, the *Salsette* brought the news about the abandonment of Kangaroo Island as a calling station.

A new system was entered upon in 1874, the Home government carrying the mails as far as Galle (a town in Ceylon, *i.e.*, modern-day Sri Lanka) and Victoria maintaining a monthly line between Ceylon and Melbourne at an annual subsidy of £35,000. South Australia had to pay £5,000 per year for the steamers to call at Glenelg. Coincidentally, it was the *Bangalore* that heralded Glenelg becoming the colony's second port when she was sighted at 5.55 a.m. on 6 February 1874 'and brought up to the hulk, *Beatrice*.'

As for later events a Glenelg citizen asked whether he could be informed as to:

Who has charge of the English mail on its arrival at Glenelg? I noticed this morning that the mail bags lay for a long time on the truck at the end of the jetty, while the railway van was waiting alongside ready to convey them to Adelaide. Alas, no one had authority to touch the precious cargo which had cost so much in its conveyance and in consequence the train, which had already been delayed about ten minutes, was sent away without them.

Activities at Glenelg - 1874 to 1888

The first steamer from London to Adelaide was the *Courier* which arrived in 1839 or 1840. She was afterwards broken up. Her engines were taken to Cox's Creek and for many years drove a sawmill there.

(*Register*, 26 August 1897)

There was a certain amount of romance, no little danger and a great deal of exciting experience in connection with the early years of the ocean mail service in the days when the telegraphic and boarding arrangements were, to say the least, primitive. The men engaged in boarding steamers often had lively experiences of what wind and weather could do to make the duties difficult and dangerous, even in the comparatively sheltered waters of Holdfast Bay.

By the mid-1870s, the vagaries of the elements were more effectively met by superior facilities for communicating between the city and the roadstead and the risk being less, the romance, what there was of it, had disappeared under

the practical hand of progress. Old Adelaideans remembered the time when the *Rangatira*, and other vessels belonging to the Australian Steam Navigation Company, brought the mail every month from King George Sound and, to ensure the utmost promptitude, the proprietors of the *Argus* and *Sydney Morning Herald* arranged, through the *Register*, to charter a fast rowing boat to meet the steamers on arrival. 'Tom Shepherd [*sic* - Shepard?], a master mariner, had charge of the boat and he was never known to fail in the discharge of his duties.'

When safely ashore they were taken to the telegraph office and initialled by the Stationmaster as a guarantee that, on arrival, the messages had precedence over all others.

Then came the road work - there was no railway at the time - and relays of horses were provided along the Bay road for the speedy conveyance of news, as the old-fashioned coaches were not up to the express rates of travelling. The horses were hired from an old identity, John MacDonald, and a smart light-weighted lad, who revelled in horseflesh, covered the distance to Adelaide in seventeen minutes - quicker time than the trains did when they arrived on the scene.

One horse went to the Halfway House, where a relief was saddled to finish the trip. An onlooker remembered that, upon arrival in Adelaide, they were 'dripping lather and almost ready to drop', while, invariably, there was a small crowd outside to witness the arrival of the express courier charged with worldwide despatches for the newspapers, that spared no trouble or expense to secure the latest English news at the earliest possible moment. For a time, the telegraph office was at Green's Old Exchange and great was the bustle when the mail arrived, it being thronged with eager pressmen.

Rarely were the boarding officials caught napping for, in nautical parlance, they always kept an 'eye lifting' and, often, a false alarm on a dark and stormy night kept them on the *qui vive*. David Shepard recalled:

As the landing of the mails was done by contract for a specified time, different boatmen secured the contract as it was tendered for. Harry Pinnington secured it most times. The landing of the Despatch was not by contract; it was a permanent job for my father. The 'Despatch' was written papers containing the most important news from of England and Europe - such as cablegrams we get now.

In those days the submarine cable was not laid to our shores, hence the necessity for news to be carried by steamboats, which had to be watched, day and night, for a whole week before it was due.

As a young boy I had to do more than my share of the watching and, if sighted, whatever hour of the night, run for my life from one end of Glenelg to the other to call up those of the boats' crews that preferred their beds to watching.

I can say without contradiction that each time the mail steamer was sighted at night, it was I that sighted her ten times out of twelve.

The old hands told of many wild nights at sea and 'a jolly evening's vigil in the Pier Hotel kept by the genial Henry Moseley, one of the old pioneers and a veteran of 1836.' There were no special Custom officials and press representatives present in the early days and, consequently, the whole party put up at the Pier or watched on the jetty.

The steam launch, *Fairy*, a smart little seaboat, but not equal to the hard work of facing heavy weather when cautious captains anchored their vessels well out, was used next for boarding work. Although a reliable boat, but too small for passenger service, she was succeeded by the *Mermaid*, a larger and stronger vessel.

Bitter were the complaints of overseas passengers, or their friends from the shore, who made the trip, especially when they were slung aboard in chairs:

For passengers landing at Glenelg it is always a disagreeable and often dangerous business. When the weather is stormy they have to be swung from the steamer to the launch in chairs and they seldom escaped a ducking on their way to the jetty. While the lightship remained, the steamers could anchor at least a mile and a half nearer to the jetty than they will be able to do in safety now.

On one occasion in bad weather, a fond mother was lowered down into the launch without her baby when a sympathetic press man undertook to restore the infant to its mother's arms. He was duly installed in the sling chair and the sailors, out of devilment, ran him right up to the yard arm and, in lowering the precious freight, the leg of the chair went into the *Fairy's* funnel, but fortunately she was on a subsiding swell and the world was still the richer by a reporter and a baby.

The monthly mail service was followed by fortnightly and a small fleet of launches attended upon the huge steamers laid on by the P&O Company. South Australia always complained that it was shorn of the advantages of its geographical position and, before 1874, did not appear to be of sufficient importance in the eyes of the powers that be for the small steamers to deviate.

Indeed, the Government had to pay heavily for a branch steamer to meet the mail boat at King George Sound. However, after that date a new arrangement came into force and Melbourne was made the terminus, while Glenelg was the port of call for the delivery of mails.

The Government provided the hulk, *Beatrice*, in Holdfast Bay at a cost of about £300 per annum and put a light on the jetty; later, it was replaced by a lighthouse. The first outward bound steamer to call at Glenelg under the new scheme was the *Pera*, 2,118 tons, and the occasion of her arrival at the Bay was made a holiday.

The want of arrangements was first seen on a Saturday evening in January 1875 when it was expected that the *Ceylon* would turn up during the afternoon and there was an unusually large number of passengers from the colony to sail by her.

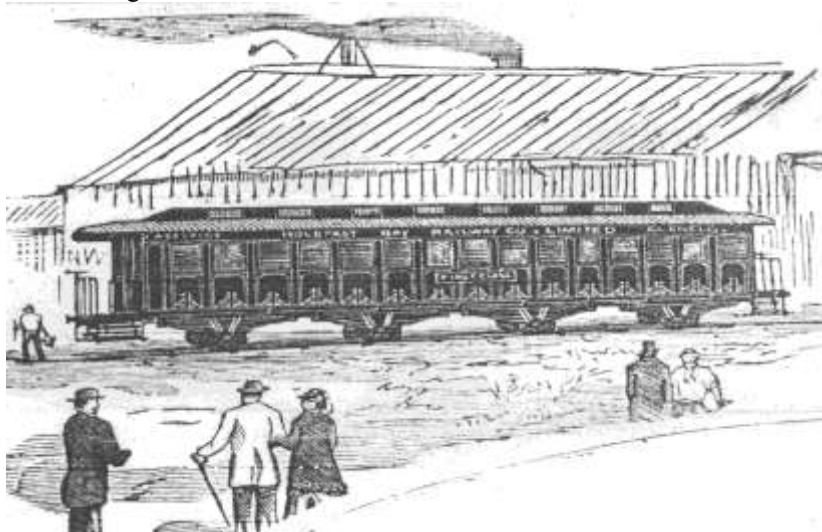
Most of them reached Glenelg with their heavy luggage before 6 o'clock, when their chattels were placed on trucks and taken to the end of the jetty, where they remained. The weary hours wore away and there was no appearance of the steamer.

The passengers wandered about the jetty keeping an eye on their luggage, utterly at a loss to know whether it would be safe to return to the city, or if they should stay for the night at the Bay. Finally, they gave up hope of the steamer's arrival and some returned to town, while others sought indifferent accommodation as the Bay afforded:

The arrangements for allowing passengers to come ashore and spend a few hours are exceedingly defective. The charge for a passage by the *Fairy* is absurdly unreasonable... The idea which some of our neighbours have of us is that we are a slow 'one horse' colony, and that idea would be confirmed by our reception of the *Ceylon* and her passengers on Sunday.

In the late 1870s, with the establishment of the railway to Glenelg, there was some antipathy within the colony as to its benefit to the general economy and, in respect of the Bay's ongoing efficacy as a port of call for mail steamers, it was admitted there was ample justification for the government to construct a parallel line without giving compensation to the railway company that had so 'shamefully humbugged the public, damaged the colony in the eyes of visitors and furnished arguments that, in our next negotiations for an ocean postal contract, may be employed against the calling of the English mail steamer at Glenelg.'

The *Carthage* was the last of the mail steamers to call at Glenelg and, from 1888, the P&O Company passed what the Glenelg people called the front door of the colony and proceeded to what they considered the side entrance, namely, Semaphore. The steamers had called regularly for some 14 years and, in later years, their arrival could be calculated almost to the hour and, when they were in sight, 'rockets were thrown up and blue lights shown from the jetty end, and in the event of arrival by daylight the company's flag was hoisted on board the hulk and the rendezvous flag hoisted on the lighthouse.'



Last steam train on the South Terrace line

The Lighthouse Hulk, 'Beatrice'

In 1874, the *Beatrice* was placed at Glenelg as a receiving vessel for cargo, etc., 'for which purpose it was seldom used and had never, in the usual acceptance of the term, been a lightship.' A decade later, the residents of Glenelg were much troubled with two threatened misfortunes when it was proposed to remove her from Glenelg in February 1886, and it appeared possible that a contract, about to be entered into for the conveyance of mails from Europe to Australia, could alter the port of arrival and departure from Glenelg to the Semaphore. The determination to remove the *Beatrice* was the result of the retrenchment policy adopted by the House of Assembly in the reduction of the vote under the heading, 'Marine'.

The cost of maintaining the ship at Glenelg was about £300 per annum, so that the saving to be effected was not considerable. The convenience that the lightship had been to P&O steamers calling at Glenelg had been acknowledged by nearly all their commanders and much time was admitted to have been saved by the facilities that existed for the picking up of an anchorage as near the shore as practicable and safe.

Naturally, residents of Glenelg and Largs Bay/Semaphore had divergent opinions on the proposal:

The P&O steamers brought visitors from all parts of the world and it was not in the interests of the colony that they should have to creep and crawl along to an anchorage in entering the front door, as they would have to do if the light was abolished.

Captain Stead of the P&O Line ha[s] written a letter to the Mayor stating that the *Beatrice* was of the greatest use at night in picking up a berth close in, and its removal would entail considerable delay as well as anxiety in choosing an anchorage as near the pier as possible with safety...

The curse of this colony is deputations, or government by deputation, and I am sorry to say the good people of Glenelg have a very fair share of this malady. What rot to say the *Beatrice*'s removal will retard [our] progress...

Every desirable facility for shipping is to be obtained at the front door..., *i.e.*, Largs Bay... It is saying very little for Glenelg as an anchorage for ocean steamers when it is blazoned abroad that a jetty light is not sufficient to guide mariners to the anchorage, and if Glenelg will not mind me saying so I would advise them to say nothing about the removal of the *Beatrice*, or if they want an ornament for their front door they had better borrow Noah's Ark.

And here lay the great argument why the *Beatrice* should not have been removed; indeed, to do so would have been a breach of faith and it was difficult to understand why the Treasurer, Mr S. Newland, for the sake of a paltry saving to be effected, persisted in his decision, despite representations made to him:

Mr Newland has paid deputations the compliment of listening - not always patiently... and he has with ill-concealed reluctance consented from time to time to give further consideration to the subject... Had the fate of nations depended upon his remaining true to his first purpose he could not have been more resolute than he has been... We feel bound to protest against the cavalier manner in which he has treated some of the communications...

Certainly, the *Beatrice* should have remained until the current mail contract expired and this was no sentimental view of the case:

The people of Glenelg may be as fond of their *Beatrice* as Dante was of his, and the country might fairly say, 'We cannot afford to pander to your love for her', but when the honour of the colony was at stake it was another matter and the most pronounced economist would hardly have ventured to argue that it would have been wise to risk so much for the sake of so little.

From correspondence interchanged between the government, the Corporation of Glenelg and shipping companies it was proved, clearly, that the removal of the vessel would cause great inconvenience, not only to the P&O Company, but also to the public, 'seeing that the majority of steamers will deem it necessary to take up their quarters further from the jetty, where there is a greater risk of rough water.'

Further, it was shown that the action of the Treasurer was tantamount to a breach of faith, for the company had, with good reason, assumed that the *Beatrice* would, in the future, as in the past, be 'kept within the waters of Holdfast Bay as a beacon to show steamers how near to the shore it was safe for them to go... It is only proper that Glenelg should have fair play...'

Indeed, either the light could be safely dispensed with or it could not. If its removal would have materially increased the danger to vessels approaching Glenelg, then by all means it should have been retained:

It has been suggested that a gas buoy should be substituted for the hulk which has for so long done duty in this bay, but it would appear from a report emanating from the Marine Board that the adoption of this alternative would entail a heavier expense than would be justified. The experiment of using gas in the Port stream was not such an unqualified success as to encourage further outlay in a similar direction.

The further suggestion that the people of Glenelg should bear the cost of keeping up the light is not a reasonable one... In this instance notice was given some time ago that the light should be removed. It has not been removed and its retention, although not likely to lead to disaster, may prove misleading to sea captains who, having been informed of the intention to discontinue it, have had no means of learning that a reprieve has been granted it...

Members of the Marine Board contended that in 'ordinary fair weather the jetty light could be seen 3 or 4 miles outside [that of] the *Beatrice*', while one of its members, Mr Neill, said he had come up the gulf without seeing the *Beatrice* light and declared, 'she was never intended as a lightship and the reason for her carrying two lights [was] to distinguish her from any other ordinary vessel or hulk. As a lightship she is useless.'

At a meeting of the corporation, the action of the government, in refusing to reconsider their determination, was the subject of warm criticism. So necessary was it considered that provision be made for the proper lighting of the harbour that, at a public meeting at Glenelg, Mr J.W. Billiatt moved that the Corporation of Glenelg take immediate steps to maintain under their supervision a fixed light at the anchorage and to open a public subscription list, while, in a letter to the Marine Board, permission was sought to allow the vessel to remain and the 'light to be exhibited only on the nights when mail was expected from London and Melbourne.'

From this activity a voluntary subscription list to defray cost of the vessel was started and about £150 guaranteed by local citizens. But other opinions were abroad:

It must be admitted that the hulk is not without its uses, but will anyone pretend that it gives value for the £700 a year spent on it? Nothing of the sort. It was originally placed there for a special purpose; that purpose it has never fulfilled and although it, no doubt, does on the rare occasion when the P & O Company's boats have to approach Glenelg on a dark night act as a guide to them...

It is certain that they would be able to take up its positions without its aid... By means of the jetty light and the Port lighthouse the captains will be able to tell where they are with the utmost nicety... We hope that a time is not distant when the steamers will have a more convenient and comfortable place to lie in rough weather than the open roadstead at Holdfast Bay.

In February 1886, the *Beatrice* was removed from Holdfast Bay and taken to Port Adelaide for repairs and, following an act of contrition by the government, the steamer, *Lady Diana*, towed the ketch *Sailor Prince* to Glenelg where 'she was to show the light as usual.'

At a later date 'the government ordered the vessel to Glenelg again' after repairs were completed and the Marine Board commented 'they were pleased that she could be repaired for so small an amount.'

Glenelg versus Semaphore and Largs Bay

Within a comparatively brief period, three lives at least have probably been saved [at Glenelg] from the [aftermath of gales and the] relentless grasp of the devouring ocean through the combined exertions of biped and quadruped...

(Register, 24 June 1868)

In 1876, the commander of the P&O ship, *Sumatra*, was ordered by his superiors to examine the Semaphore anchorage and decide if that place would be better adapted for the transshipment of mails. Later, he called on the Premier and informed him that 'he could see no reason for going to the Semaphore in preference, but saw many for not doing so.' An ardent 'Glenelgite', working himself into a sense of excitement over the difficulties in landing the mails, especially as exemplified in the *Sumatra*'s visit in June 1876, sent the following poem to 'Geoffrey Crabthorn' of the *Observer*, who added that, 'perhaps Mr Wigley will act on our hint'.

*I don't go for squaring the circle,
By Euclid I'm euhred and done;
No problem I ever can work'll
Give rightly the height of the sun.*

*I can see that when P&O steamers
Drop anchor some three miles away
In a storm, there's a chance of some screamers
In getting on board from the Bay.*

*I never was tutored at college
The stars with a glass to explore;
And of practical things I've no knowledge
Save what I pick up on the shore.*

*Yet it's little that people need suffer
If the steamers would come within reach,
For e'en at Glenelg its much rougher
Outside than close to the beach.*

*But although no subtracter or adder
I can reckon up things as they go,
And manage to see through a ladder
As well as most folks that I know.*

*Full half of the Fairy's disasters
Are due, I believe, to the fact
That the P&O company's masters
Are wanting in smartness and tact.*

*I can see that Glenelg has small shelter
For vessels if storms will arise;
And if waves roll ashore helter-skelter
I do not give way to surprise.*

*They pretend to dispute the existence
Of good anchorage close to the Bay;
But if they would come half the distance
They'd find these areas we say.*

*The wind has a fanciful notion
Of playing up games with the sea,
And when waves are in mighty commotion
No boating, I thank you, for me.*

*Of such offerings we well may be wearied,
When the Pearl anchored inside the hulk,
Within half a mile of the pier head -
A feat for a craft of her bulk.*

*Then let Wigley get up a memorial,
And pray the Pearl's course they will follow!
If not Glenelg's nascent glory'll
Vanish in storm with the swallow.*

In defence of Semaphore as a mailing station, a biased resident of that district reminded the citizenry of a happening at Glenelg in September 1876 when:

The great difficulty of landing English mail and passengers from the P&O Company's steamer, *China*, the impossibility of landing cargo, and even passengers' baggage which has been taken on to Melbourne, and the danger to life and limb, all might have been avoided if the mail steamer had been snugly berthed under the shelter of Wonga Shoal.

Our friend, Captain Jagoe, was cruising off the Semaphore in an open boat in the same weather, far outside the bell buoy... Our prestige must seriously suffer by such occurrence... We have no business to incur such risks...

In July 1877, Mr Sinclair, a former Mayor of Port Adelaide, moved in the House of Assembly for the removal of the English mail steamer from Glenelg to the Semaphore. Taking umbrage at this turn of events a public meeting was held in the Pier Hotel, where the Mayor, Mr W.R. Wigley, said that such a move would delay mails by up to three hours and suggested that 'in rough weather the steamer would not get within five miles of the Semaphore jetty.'

The reason for the proposed transfer was that some merchants of Adelaide had difficulty in getting their goods through Glenelg; however, the public 'thought it more important that they should get their letters [as early as possible].' Another caustic comment from Glenelg was that:

When overseas visitors stepped off the jetty at Semaphore there was nothing to be seen but a desert of sand... whereas at Glenelg there was a fine hotel that would do credit to London, a fine Institute and other conveniences for those who had to wait for a train...

At the meeting, the local member, Mr William Townsend, MP, said that, at a conference on 21 June 1869, he moved that the mails be landed at some place in South Australia and on 23 February 1873, at a conference held in Sydney on the same subject, Sir Henry Ayers, as Chief Secretary of South Australia, got a clause inserted into the postal contract that the mail should be landed at Glenelg, and he 'meant to enquire in Parliament why he had changed his opinion since he went... to Sydney.'

Until 1880, what is now Largs Bay was a jumbled mass of sandhills and one or two farmhouses were the only sign of life on what was, aided and abetted by plans for a proposed fort, to become a favourite spot for land speculators of the early 1880s. Lefevre Peninsula had been linked to Port Adelaide by the Jervois Bridge and, across it, trains ran to Semaphore - two points that helped Largs Bay salesmen.



Moseley Street Scene at Glenelg

When the land boom began, buyers extended rapidly north of Semaphore jetty and the Largs Bay Land Company was formed. A private railway line was built connecting the new town with Glanville and, as the company had no rolling stock, the government leased engines and carriages to it. On 21 January 1882, a ceremony was held in the new township in the sandhills, when the first pile of a jetty was driven.

A campaign was commenced to have overseas liners berth at Largs Bay and a telephone line was laid down to a buoy so that ships could keep in touch with the mainland.

The pro-Glenelg brigade won the day and there the matter rested until 1885 when an agreement was entered into stating that mail boats, other than the P&O line that was contracted to utilise Glenelg, should call at the Semaphore, but subsequent representations by the government to Home authorities said that the paragraph in the mail contract naming Semaphore as the landing place 'might be required by the colony to be altered... to Glenelg...'

Accordingly, a public meeting was held in the Semaphore Institute on 16 October 1885 with respect of landing mails and passengers from ocean steamers:

The good people of Semaphore have good reason to complain of the obstructions that have been placed in the way of giving effect to their reasonable request for improved arrangements for the landing of mails from their jetty.

In a report in September 1886, the Marine Board stated that it was unnecessary to maintain the two mail stations manned at that time. Further, the board contended that Semaphore as a port of embarkation and disembarkation was inconvenient and caused serious delays during squally weather because the railway could not run to the end of the jetty. The choice, therefore, lay between Glenelg and Largs Bay and, having carried out several exercises with different ships, it recommended Largs Bay.

At about this time a landing of passengers at Semaphore was described by an opponent of the proposed change:

The night was a caution to fair weather sailors... A steam cutter was afloat to land the pilot and others from the *Catterthum*. To get lines fast was one thing, but to land people quite another, as the cutter was hauled round and breasted up to the landing stage. She rolled and pitched furiously and the people had to make a kind of flying leap over another cutter before reaching the stage. This was very risky, especially when one person of more portly form had to balance on the top of the gunwale for a second or so before taking the final leap...

Negotiations continued into 1887 with the government all but committed to landing mail at Largs Bay but, being unable to come to satisfactory terms with the directors of the private railway company operating the line, the decision was taken to land 'the mails at Semaphore as heretofore.' Following further representations, early in 1888 it was determined that mail steamers should call at the Semaphore anchorage on and after 2 April 1888 and for it to be optional whether the mails were landed at Largs Bay or Semaphore. This was the death knell for Glenelg and one of its avid defenders, Samuel Tomkinson, castigated his fellow 'Glenegites' in February 1888:

I know that the Hon. Treasurer believes the change will be in the interests of the economy, that a savings will be made in customs, in maintaining the *Beatrice*, in throwing the traffic upon the Government railways, and in working the Largs line, now losing £1,500 a year... I am astonished at the apathy of the Glenelg people; neither the railway directors, the corporation, the tradesman nor working men and property owners have lifted hand or voice to prevent what is to them an act of spoliation.

They must have forgotten the exertions which were made thirty years ago by J.B. Neales. R.B. Colley, A. Scott, F.C. Singleton and, I think, Mr Wigley, to obtain a supplementary mail for the ocean steamer.

The latter gentleman has evidently collapsed under the Patawalonga fiasco, but I remember that in 1859 when a North-West gale prevented the *Corio* embarking the mail at Glenelg they manned a cutter and pursued me to near Kangaroo Island under a mistaken belief that I was the cause. The boat had to turn back with the mails, but the attempt showed the superior pluck of the 'old Glenelgs'. I am quite sure that the commanders of the P&O fleet will find that a change has been made for the worse.

The transfer of venue being effected, a controversy arose between the two 'camps' at Semaphore and Largs Bay:

When the German steamer arrived the mails were brought up to Semaphore, but were not allowed to be landed and had to be taken over to Largs Bay. The train was missed and the mails delayed... The Cuxo's passengers were brought over to the Semaphore jetty to meet their friends and they were not allowed to land but were taken to Largs Bay and had to walk back.

Incensed at this ridiculous state of affairs a public meeting was held in the Semaphore Institute following which a deputation waited upon the Treasurer and asked that all ocean mails be handled at Semaphore, thereby 'concentrating business on the Government jetty and railway.' Subsequently, the rails were altered on the Semaphore jetty to an increased width for the accommodation of the carriages. These were drawn by horses from the jetty and then hooked onto an engine at the site of the Semaphore station.

Finally, it was reported that the landing of mails at Semaphore instead of Largs Bay was a thing of the near future and that 'the residents in the vicinity are in high spirits over the proposed change.'

The mail contract came up for renewal in 1890 and, once again, following lobbying from various interests, the government decided to return operations to Glenelg, but there were other opinions being put abroad:

The sale of the Largs Bay Company by auction is to take place on 17 December 1890 and it will be for the government to decide whether they will become the purchasers of the jetty and railway and thus be enabled to continue landing and embarking of mails as heretofore, or run the risk of having this avenue of traffic closed before they have provided for another... It is considered the wisest policy to adopt the Semaphore with its disadvantages as the future place of transfer for the mails.

Vacillating again, and with a change of government, a Commission, consisting entirely of politicians, was appointed to inspect the Semaphore, Glenelg and Largs Bay jetties and to 'enquire into the best means for making the provision for the landing and embarking of mails for Europe.'

It reported that 'it was shown that there were fairly sufficient facilities provided at Largs Bay jetty for the landing the ocean mails as well as for enabling passengers to come ashore.'

A more misleading, if not a more absolutely incorrect, statement could not have been made. If it was based on the evidence taken it was more than certain that the Commission was deceived and the fact that the body consisted of politicians, having no special knowledge under enquiry, did not exonerate it from the charges levelled against it. If the members had relied less on hearsay testimony and the opinions of interested persons, and gone to the trouble of making personal inspections and instituting a little private enquiry, the results of their labours would have been less open to objection. They never saw the actual landing or embarking of a single passenger or the handling of the mails. Indeed, if they had done so, no misrepresentations would have been found in their report:

Practically, the mails are handled on the same principle that Noah adopted in getting his valuable cargo aboard the Ark. There is a difference; however, Noah's system was more expeditious. The men who carry the mailbags walk in a well-measured funeral step and do not go in pairs...

Finally, having accepted the recommendations emanating from the Commission the Government committed itself to purchase the jetty and railway belonging to the Largs Bay Company:

It is satisfactory to know that a jetty which at first should not have been constructed by private enterprise but by the government has become the property of the State. Its situation ensures its being an important feature in any future outer harbour arrangements...

Of interest was the fact that the contract to deliver mails, at what was known as 'Adelaide Semaphore, provided that it be delivered either at Semaphore or Largs Bay jetty and, in its wisdom, the government opted for the latter as the main landing place because 'the evidence showed that the Semaphore jetty for a similar service was insufficient.'

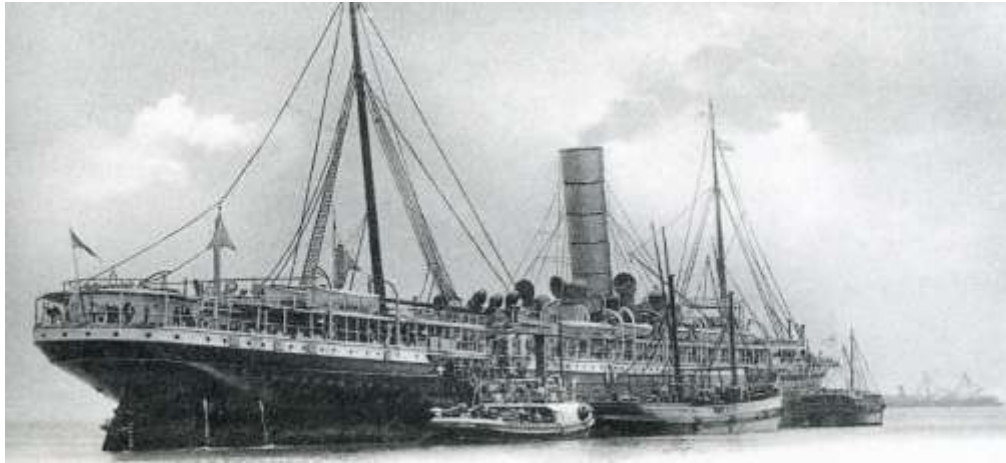
However, the sins and transgressions of the Commission were evident when a newspaper report revealed that at Largs Bay:

There is absolutely no shelter provided for the passengers and they are exposed to all weathers and, more inconvenient still, they are obliged to produce their luggage for examination by the customs officers on the open jetty. There are only two landing stages provided for the launches, one facing north, and the other running east and west. The former during northerly and westerly gales is absolutely useless...

It is not an uncommon sight to see a crowd of passengers compelled to struggle over one, two, or perhaps three launches in order to reach the jetty... The present facilities are disgraceful in the extreme... We are informed that owing to inadequate facilities at Largs the German Line steamer did their work from the Semaphore.

The contract with the P&O Company concluded on 31 January 1895 and, prior to its renewal, it was said that 'as far as the delivery of the mails and also in respect of passenger traffic Glenelg, would be the nearest and quickest.' However, the ocean mail steamship companies took into grave consideration, in tendering for mail services, the extent of the cargo carrying trade and any interference with that aspect would have had the effect of, at once, raising the cost of the postal service. As Glenelg could not be handled so economically, on account of increased cost of lighterage as compared with the Semaphore anchorage, no changes were forthcoming.

And so the saga continued with Largs Bay remaining as the venue for the anchorage, while, on occasions, gangways continued to be smashed by heaving launches and passengers transferred by the less dignified, but decidedly safer, means of baskets. There was many a drenching with spray. Before it was decided definitely to construct an Outer Harbour at Light's Passage there were many people who believed, conscientiously, that the better site could be found in the vicinity of Marino. However, this suggestion was condemned strongly by leading authorities on harbour work administration.



The *Omrah* anchored in Largs Bay discharging mail and passengers – circa 1905

'No more is the front door of South Australia a wicker basket. Thank God that reproach is now removed', were the remarks of the Engineer-in-Chief, Mr A.B. Mais, the designer and director of the Outer Harbour works when, on 16 January 1906, the new harbour was officially declared open for the accommodation of large overseas vessels by the Governor of South Australia, Sir George LeHunte. The first mail steamer to berth was the Orient liner, *Oruba*.

Thus, the long-contemplated chief essential to a first class port - an up-to-date harbour accommodation for the large ocean-going vessels - had been provided and, in order to attract more tourists, the Marine Drive was commenced while, at the same time, sundry combatants at Glenelg, Semaphore and Largs Bay laid down their arms and turned their attention to less mundane subjects such as 'mixed bathing' on beaches - this interesting topic is discussed in Appendix 22.

Appendix 25

Crime, Larrikinism and Wanton Mischief at Glenelg

Glenelg was visited by several cab loads of the most degraded of both sexes... Terpsichorean performances resembling the war dances of the untutored savages, with intervals of noisy attention to the bottles of liquor... the awful arm of the law as represented by the ubiquitous [Sergeant] Allchurch was in this instance conspicuous by its absence...

(Register, 16 December 1876)

Introduction

Some of the most beautiful suburbs of Adelaide will be rendered practically uninhabitable by nervous people unless the forces of law and order soon assert themselves against thievery and personal violence. Truly, the reputation that South Australia has in other States as the place where murder is easy of commission and escape has been not unfairly earned.

(Register, 12 & 15 July 1898, Advertiser, 14 November 1912)

For the first two to three decades of European settlement in South Australia the people always prided themselves - and with sufficient reason - on the good order prevailing within the community. There were none of those violent

crimes that disgraced and terrified the neighbouring colonies and 'in no part of Her Majesty's dominions had life and property been safer than in South Australia.'

The people lived in the utmost security thinking it quite an unnecessary precaution in many places to use bolts and bars. Doors were left unlocked and property exposed in what people in other lands would have called a most reckless deed.

The colony's comparative immunity from crime was ascribed to various causes - firstly, the class of persons who came here were said to be, as a whole, 'of a superior order and the working classes were industrious and provident, with some considerable amount of education in their ranks' and, secondly, it was 'questionable whether in any part of the British dominions could such a provident, industrious, well-conducted community be found.'

As a general rule immigrants were well selected and many of them, in the course of a few years, raised themselves to positions of comfort and 'not a few became wealthy and respected.' From such a well-conducted working class dangerous crimes were not anticipated. However, there were exceptions to the rule as explained in 1849:

It is impossible to watch the discharging of the emigration vessels generally at the Port, or to witness in the streets of Adelaide the hordes of degraded and wretched young women and listless, glassy-eyed, dirty seedy-coated 'gents' - so evidently the outcasts of English seaports or manufacturing towns - and no doubt there exists, in some quarter or another, a most reprehensible inattention to the respectability of the emigrants sent out to South Australia.

Colonial sentiment was against the convict element mingling in the population and, from time to time, when the foundations of the colony were laid, there was always a wise jealousy and commendable vigilance exercised to guard against the convict taint.

Further, laws against the admission of transportees, from whatever quarter they might have attempted to come, were most firm - some would have said arbitrary - and on the whole the vigilance was rewarded for, practically, colonists succeeded in keeping away from the 'accursed evil of convictism'.

Those violent deeds, so rife in the other colonies, could, in almost every instance, be traced back to the influence, direct or indirect, of the existing felony amongst them.

A third reason for the orderliness of the population, and the safety of property, was the fact that there were no 'poor' in the community, in the sense in which that word was used in the old countries of Europe. There were, of course, isolated cases in which some suffered from insufficient means.

The people, generally, had plenty of work and good wages and the labouring class had comforts here which were impossible to obtain in the 'old country'. Then, in addition, the population as a whole was a religious one - proverbially, a colony of churches and church-going people. These, then, it was believed, were amongst the causes that produced the safe and healthy state of society.

Sadly, by the late 1850s a need for increased vigilance became apparent when a spate of robberies of a daring character occurred; shops and dwelling houses were entered forcibly, stables were visited by the light-fingered gentry, where both horses and harness disappeared. The peaceful serenity was disturbed and the people had to look about them to see to the better protection of their property.

Watchdogs were brought into service and life-preservers and revolvers taken up by some for the purpose of 'moral suasion' while, in 1858, a concerned citizen declared that it was useless to deny the fact that 'we have been inundated with hordes of ruffians from Swan River. I have been informed... there are no less than 800 of them roving about this colony.'

In 1852, a system of local police was authorised and gave civic authorities the right to nominate a sufficient number of persons to be sworn in. Disobedience of orders, or breach of duty, were punishable by a fine, while services were recompensed by a fee payable on account of a particular service in which a constable may have been engaged. Accordingly, a Glenelg resident, Mr Davie, was appointed as 'Constable, Inspector of Nuisances and Messenger' and in 'a rather ineffectual way endeavoured to control the youth of the town who congregated of an evening in front of shop windows, using foul and obscene language, and creat[ed] a great disturbance.'

The town lacked a court house and gaol but, nevertheless, he roamed the place seven days a week attempting to fine people in breach of bathing regulations and driving carts and waggons on footpaths; he impounded strayed cattle while, invariably, marauding larrikins escaped him, but an easy victim was found in the form of the local butcher who kept pigs that created a nuisance.

However, it was clear that neither the District Council Acts nor the Police Acts contained any definite statement of the functions that a district constable might exercise. A code of instructions was issued in 1860, but there was good reason to believe that the directions it contained were *ultra vires*. For instance, a district constable arrested a man for a breach of the peace and, when tried before a special magistrate in Adelaide, 'Mr Beddome, decided that the law was against him and Mr Downer, on appeal, upheld that decision but only inflicted a nominal fine, as the constable had evidently acted *bona fides* and without evil intention.'

Thus, with a simple desire to discharge his duty properly, a special constable could make arrests in the manner directed in the semi-official 'instructions' and find himself exposed to the discomfort and loss of an adverse action at law if his authority was called into question.

Some time prior to 1864, a police constable was stationed permanently at Glenelg for, in January of that year, a meeting was held in the schoolroom to consider a proposal from the government that, apparently, desired 'to remove the policeman.'

The Corporation thought that the greater part of the £70 they paid for this purpose might be saved, inasmuch as, instead of having the policeman under the existing system, it could engage, as in the 1850s, a man who could combine the duties of special constable with the 'avocation of labourer under the Corporation.'

Mr H.B.T. Strangways reminded the meeting that the idea of police protection was first broached about three years before and that:

Mr Hitchcox who had been one of the foremost on that occasion in favour of police protection, was one of the most active in trying to get rid of it. Little boys used to go into his shop and buy Chinese crackers and after lighting them throw them in again, and that seemed to be the reason why he was so active in procuring police protection. The late Mr Joseph Peacock... succeeded in obtaining police protection for Glenelg [and] obtained a vote for a police station on the condition that the government would pay half the policeman's salary...

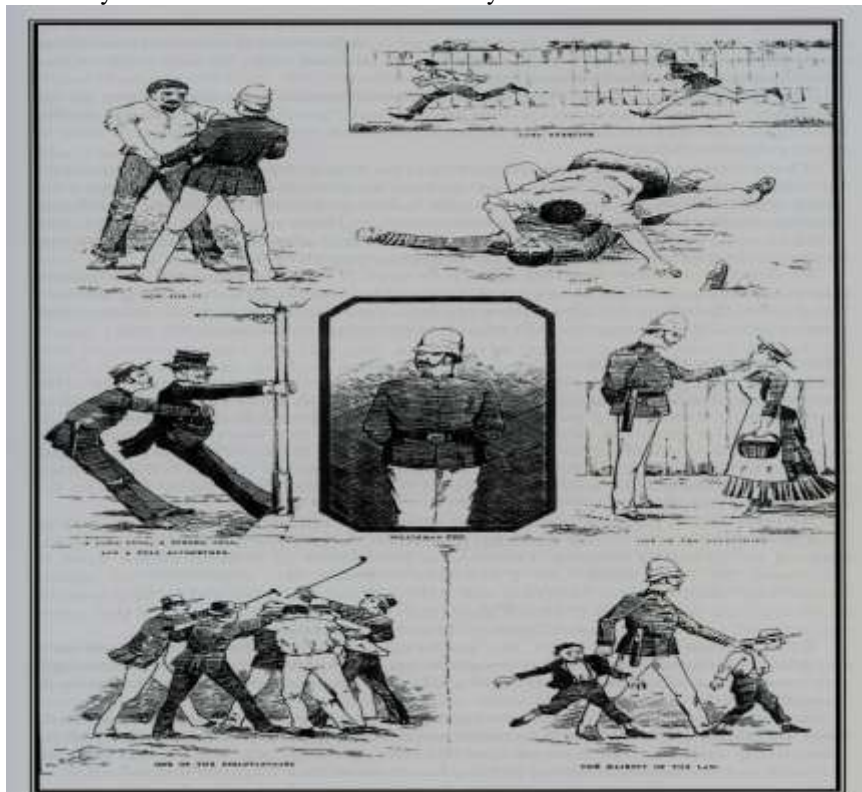
Scenes used to occur on the jetty and beach that were most disgraceful before the advent of the policeman. [I] defy anyone to say that the former constable even did £10 of work for the corporation... He used to do several things; amongst others he used to hold the Town Clerk's horse... To bring into Glenelg a stranger would deprive the working men [of Glenelg] that work...

His appeal for the reintroduction of the system of special constables was defeated, and it is apparent that the government reconsidered its edict for, in 1865, a police station with an attached residence facing Moseley Square was occupied by Police Constable Badman who held the position until 1868 when PC Allchurch arrived.

Interested readers are referred to Dulcie Perry's book, *The Place of Waters*, for the exploits of the latter officer who retired from the position in 1897. The local police station, standing on a public reserve near the telegraph office, was extended in 1876 and demolished in 1933 to make way for a court building. Some idea of the depredations of 'backyard pirates' may be gained from the following complaints made by citizens in 1879:

[They] are becoming so general and are of such frequent occurrence in our neighbourhood that it is high time for some united action to be taken. No amount of police surveillance could entirely stop the nuisance over such a large district. It remains then for householders either to form vigilance committees or to take individual action. I have adopted the latter course lately and should any of my nocturnal visitors have their families decimated, or any of their limbs blown off, they may have themselves to thank.

Scattered indiscriminately through my wood pile are carefully prepared billets of wood highly charged with dynamite and only distinguishable from others by marks known to myself and family... Formerly they were contented with stray pieces of chopped wood; then their ideas gradually expanded to larger logs, and now if none is ready they take away the wood axe. During the past week or two no less than seventeen of my neighbours have lost their axes... My axe went last Thursday night and on Friday morning I had to try at three of my neighbours before I could borrow one, and that was only preserved by being thoughtfully chained to the dog kennel overnight. Then on Saturday, as all the portable wood had gone, these too-practical jokists borrowed my wheelbarrow for the conveyance of timber and have not as yet returned it. I shall look forward with fiendish joy to the first accounts in your columns of the mutilation of my enemies.



A Day in the Life of a Colonial Policeman

Larrikinism

He generally follows his calling between the ages of 11 and 19. He is vulgar, mean, rude, abusive, cruel, sneaking, dishonest, cunning and an abject coward... When assembled together larrikins insult, ill-treat and abuse all those who are weaker in number or in physical strength than themselves. They are as great a curse as the Hanoverian rat is to the country... Surely a good sound flogging [is needed on] such a very offensive animal...

(Advertiser, 1 March 1876)

The precursor of the modern-day 'hoon' is to be found in the 19th century 'larrikin' which term did not appear in our vocabulary until the early 1870s and its origin is said to rest with a policeman with a rich, thick Irish brogue who transformed the word 'larking' into 'laraking'.

Larrikinism was a development of that century's 'civilisation' and a very objectionable one; indeed, Australian society appeared to be a peculiarly congenial soil for the production of that type of life for there was nothing corresponding exactly to it in England; but the 'hoodlum' of America was a brother to the 'larrikin' of Australia:

If Charles Darwin had been challenged to explain the origin of the larrikin species, it may have been supposed that he would have referred to the superabundance of physical energy derived from the British stock; to the inordinate growth of the doctrine of liberty; to the comparatively large amount of leisure obtained in those days by all classes of society; to the ease with which money was obtained, leading to indulgence in a host of excesses that penurious times forbade; to the want of exercise of proper parental authority and to the early maturity of the physical constitution in Australia, resulting, not infrequently, in the attainment of a man's stature before the mental powers were matured.

The growth of larrikinism was gradual, but steady, and flourished most where population was dense. Its freaks varied according to circumstances and opportunity and ranged from such petty foolery as 'breaking gates off their hinges, removing sign boards and jostling foot passengers, to the barbarity of murdering Chinamen by torture, or assaulting and maiming the police.'

Nothing was amiss to the larrikin, provided it was sufficiently foolish and mischievous. In his esteem nothing was sacred - the beauty of a flower, the grace of a tree, were nothing but objects for the gratification of his craze for destructiveness. The rights of property, the inviolability of the person, the tenderness claimed for the weak, the reverence due to the aged, all had no meaning to him - especially if the vigilance of the police could be eluded.

I had to interfere in a case where three hulking youths of the larrikin class were pursuing one of their characteristic pleasantries by encouraging a big dog to worry a sobbing, almost hysterical woman. The torrent of abuse and blasphemy that fell from these gifted youths reminded me of certain Northern stage-drivers of years ago... Good heavens! What will the next generation be with such parents.

The foregoing remarks were based on Adelaide newspaper reports from about 1870 until 1910 but the reader may be excused for concluding that, in respect of our modern-day society, nothing has changed. Accordingly, where appropriate, the remainder of this section is written in the present tense.

The larrikin is a gregarious animal - I almost wrote, beast. Combination is an essential condition of his operations, and he is an arrant coward. He plays his highest jinks at the expense of the defenceless, or when he believes himself supported by such a number of accomplices that he can depend on a practical immunity from chastisement.

Late in 1872, Mr James P. Boucaut introduced a Bill into the House of Assembly for the more effectual punishment of juvenile offenders which, when carried into law, was expected to be of great service to the community as indicated in the following piece of doggerel:

*The poorest State
Can't educate
This poor abortive human through his leaf;
So as it's vain
To try his brain,
They'll have to teach him through the back instead*

It dealt with male offenders under the age of sixteen years and provided the 'wholesome and salutary punishment' of flogging for a number of offences that were specified as:

1. Riotous or indecent conduct, or indecent or obscene language, or assaults on women, or disturbing the peace in any public place.
2. Exposure in any public place.
3. Singing obscene songs, or writing or drawing obscene words, figures, or representations in a public place.
4. Throwing any deleterious drug, to the damage or danger of any person.
5. Being convicted as a rogue and vagabond.
6. Throwing stones or missiles to the danger of any person, after a previous conviction for a similar offence.
7. Being guilty of simple larceny when the property stolen is of the value of £5 or less.

For each or any of these offences the courts could sentence an offender to be whipped once or twice, either in substitution of, or in addition to, any sentence with which, by law, such offender could then be punished. In respect of whippings, the number of strokes was limited to twenty-five - as to this aspect of 'criminal reform':

Before the first stroke was made he began to howl and pray for mercy, and directly he felt the lash his yells were of such a shrill nature that they could be heard almost as far away as Bowden. In the former case a birch broom was used, and in the latter the usual cat-o'-nine-tails. The punishment was vigorously applied, and the prisoners howled lustily.

At the time, it was expected that this law would have:

A wholesome effect in deterring youths from the commission of offences for which there was no provision for adequate punishment... Fines and imprisonment produces but little impression on the most incorrigible of these offenders... The use of the lash produced wonderful effects in England when it was employed for the punishment of hardened and brutal ruffians who would laugh at either fines or imprisonment... We believe the effect of a good whipping on larrikins, for offences to which they are prone, would be ... salutary...

Over the next two decades the efficacy of the new laws, aimed at stamping out the menace, may be gauged from random newspaper reports:

The wanton mischief, the serious damage to property, the outrageous and indecent insults which the public have to suffer from bands of thoughtless, unprincipled and vicious lads and boys is a terrible infliction on all the well-behaved citizens and colonists.

If the mischief is not arrested at once and the value of the police as a terror to evildoers maintained, there is no saying to what length the larrikin element amongst us will advance. The impunity with which juvenile ruffians injure public and private property in this country and otherwise annoy peaceable citizens is anything but creditable to the intelligence and manliness of the masculine portion of the community.

Deliberate injuries to property, public and private, perpetrated by youths who have reached years of discretion should be punished by the free application of the lash.

The evil has become so rife that severe corporal punishment would seem to be the only effective means available for appealing to the sensibilities of experienced and hardened larrikins... This repressive process cannot in any sense of the term be considered a radical cure for juvenile depravity.

The fast growing larrikinism of our youths greatly arises from want of reverence. There is no respect shown to age or position. Age is spoken of as 'that (expletive) old fool'; the master as 'the (expletive) boss', with the adjective short but sanguinary...

This growing larrikinism is one of the concomitants of 'the dignity of labour'. If everybody is equal there is no room for authority... It may be that Democracy and Free Education are not all beer and skittles.



Law Court Scene in Colonial Days

In December 1874, scenes of debauchery at Glenelg disturbed a citizen who lodged a complaint in the Adelaide press to which both the Mayor, Mr Wigley, and the Editor responded:

I and many others were deeply grieved at the scenes which took place at a drinking and dancing booth erected in the vicinity of the Pier and Parade Hotels. During the whole of the day it was crowded with prostitutes and roughs of the lowest class and fights were continually taking place... But the scenes that took place during the night were infinitely worse...

It is difficult to determine in what way to fairly apportion the blame of these disgraceful occurrences. Our correspondent suggests that much of it is attributable to the Glenelg Corporation and, notwithstanding the reply of His Worship the Mayor printed in another column, we agree with him that they cannot be held guiltless in the matter... The course they adopted had the effect of giving unconditional leave to certain individuals to erect booths upon the beach and keep them open for several days.

The booth was sold by Mr Townsend by public auction for the council who did not know 'the character of the booth before they granted a stand for its erection, and that a permit was given to keep it open long after every hotel and public house were closed', namely, from 11 p.m. to 6 a.m. by two Adelaide magistrates, after Mr Beddome (and I believe the resident magistrate at Glenelg) and myself had refused to grant one.

The council applied to and obtained from the Commissioner of Police constables who, with local policemen, were engaged all night in keeping order as far as practicable at the same booth.

However, a correspondent to the morning press, with a peculiar application of logic, exonerated the 'English-born' from being associated with the larrikin 'push':

It would appear that the youths and young girls who form this class are colonial-born subjects... who are mostly brought up... in a wild fashion in the colonies, and are not amenable to home discipline, and as long as they have arms to defend themselves and legs to run, think they can do pretty much as they please with the police constables...

A Robinson Crusoe at Glenelg

Scarcely a week passes without furnishing evidence of the need for a far more effectual provision against the ill effects of unscrupulous parental negligence...

(Register, 7 February 1873)

In August 1871, a decently dressed boy, aged about 14 years, was reported to Police Constable Allchurch as having been living for some days in Robinson Crusoe style upon the northern side of the bay creek. By the aid of pistol and powder he procured his rations of small birds, cooked them in a tin pot and this repast was supplemented by bread obtained from some 'loose boys' belonging to Glenelg, who seemed to act as so many 'Man Fridays'.

He was brought before the magistrates as a neglected child, but at the same time a woman of respectable appearance appeared and claimed she was his mother and the wife of Mr Antonio Gannoni, a well-known cab driver on the Kensington Road.

She said that her son had been sent to collect the rent of a cottage belonging to his father but disappeared with about one pound in his possession. The boy admitted having taken the money, bought a pistol and added that he had run away because he had been whipped. The mother assured the bench that he had only been corrected moderately for misconduct. The charge was withdrawn and the boy was handed over to his mother.

Crackers and Constables

*Who once blew up the House of Lords,
The King, and all his Ministers;
That is - he would have blown them up,
And folks will ne'er forget him.
His will was good to do the deed;
That is - if they had let him.*

(The Mail, 5 November 1921)

In November 1910, at the time of the celebration of Guy Fawkes' Day at Glenelg, the local police were reinforced by five constables when a large crowd assembled in Moseley Square to witness the customary baptism of fire arranged for the police.

Large crackers and smaller packages were exploded at frequent intervals until ten o'clock when, apparently upon an arranged signal, matters livened up and a perfect fusillade of reports was heard from all directions. Senior Constable Reilly had his men well in hand and for the next hour they were kept busy trying to locate the offenders, but the darkness made this impossible.

Shortly after 10 p.m. the fire alarm in Jetty Road was broken and the firemen, who turned out promptly to the call, were greeted with shouts and hoots by a section of the crowd.

A more serious incident occurred shortly after 11 p.m. when a large jagged stone, thrown at Constable Harrold from the lane adjoining the Pier Hotel, struck MC Clark upon the head, cut through his cap and inflicted a deep wound. The offender was seized promptly by a plainclothes officer and Constable Keen, who rushed to his comrade's assistance, was felled, promptly, with a bottle. A general 'mixup' followed.

The supposed law breaker was rescued by the crowd and the police, bearing all the marks of rough usage, supported their two injured comrades and returned to the station. The police, with batons drawn, then stepped out in a body and the crowd soon dispersed.

Illegal Tea Selling on the Beach

Everyone should be a patron of the seaside. Here nature is lavish with her gifts and entrancing in all her moves. The intense purity of the atmosphere, filled with health-giving ozone, carried on the wings of ocean breezes makes every breath a pleasure.

(Register, 28 January 1907)

The persistency of Mrs Martha C. Dally, in selling tea and hot water upon the beach without a permit, and in continued defiance of the law, led to her appearance before the local court in January 1914. After receiving leniency from the magistrate, on the next day Mrs Dally took up a situation upon the beach and resumed her competition with the holder of a permit who had paid for the rights of sale. Hauled before the bench again she was rewarded with the imposition of a £5 fine with £2 costs; in default one month's imprisonment.

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Appendix 26

The Glenelg Jetties and Breakwaters

When I walk on the jetty, which might be a delightful promenade, my attention is so constantly demanded to see where I plant my feet that I cannot hold up my head to see the surrounding objects until I am comfortably seated, lest my foot should be hurt or my ankle dislocated by treading on those oblique apertures which cross my path every six inches...

(Register, 15 March 1866)

Introduction

About the middle of the bay is an inlet to the sea, in which boats can enter and discharge their cargoes at high water; but at low water they are at present obliged to discharge on the beach, owing to a bar of sand at the entrance. This, however, will shortly be remedied by constructing a jetty...

The difficulty attending the discharge of ships at Holdfast Bay, and consequent great detention, has induced an enterprising merchant to make arrangements for removing his lightering establishment, consisting of two decked barges and two schooners from Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, to Holdfast Bay, where they were employed in landing cargoes at the bay or creek...

(John Stephens, The Land of Promise - 1839)

At the time of the foundation of the Glenelg township the proprietors proposed to erect a jetty for, to them, it was 'clear that few large vessels would now go around to the port if facilities for discharging cargoes were provided at Glenelg' and it was suggested that 'if the jetty proposed by Colonel Light is constructed, Glenelg will become the sole landing place for cattle and sheep, as well as for the cargoes of ships whose tonnage prevents their entering Port Adelaide.'

To this end, authority was sought from the Governor and, at a public meeting held in the Adelaide Court House on 26 November 1839, Captain Alfred Fell moved that a company be formed with a capital of £2,000. By mid-December, land had been secured in the township upon which it was proposed to erect warehouses that were to be 'provided with cranes and cellars and other accommodation for the storing of goods.'

Also, it was considered possible 'to bring loaded barges from the ships along one of the natural hollows, actually within the warehouses.' Work commenced in 1840 but, to Governor Gawler's disquiet, nothing further was done although 'a large entertainment was given at Glenelg in honour of driving the first pile.'

The question of a jetty at Glenelg was considered next in 1850 when, on 1 September, the Glenelg Jetty Committee was formed and, at once, it entered into correspondence with the government, having, previously, subscribed a sum of money to procure plans and estimates for guidance - these were furnished by Mr Aird and provided for a jetty 1,000 feet in length with six feet of water at the sea end.

Mr R.B. Colley, who was to become Glenelg's first Mayor in 1855, declared that he:

Could show many advantages that would arise to Glenelg from the existence of a jetty arising from the fisheries, coastal trade, etc. The saving of a long sea voyage would be made by all coasters landing their cargoes - the produce of the southern districts intended for the Adelaide market - at Glenelg, instead of proceeding on to Port Adelaide. In fact, a jetty into the sea is like a bridge over a river, it becomes the highway of traffic.

The committee then placed a submission before the Governor, Sir Henry Young who, at the time, refused assistance.

In October 1851, a meeting took place for the purpose of erecting a pleasure pier at Holdfast Bay when the plan proposed was taken from a sketch of some standing already paid for by the subscribers. People present stated that the sea bottom was good for piles and that 1,600 feet could be constructed for £1,899 and 'shares [would] be made so easy that every poor man might join, and walk backwards and forwards on the pier at his leisure.'

In November 1851, the same parties formed themselves into a company and raised a considerable sum in shares with every prospect of being able to accomplish their object without government aid.

Then came the gold discovery in Victoria when every kind of local enterprise was abandoned and, accordingly, further movement respecting the jetty was suspended until July 1853 when a memorial, signed by 'merchants, ship owners and others', was circulated stating that:

In these stirring times when the Mother Country is straining every nerve to reduce the time of communication between us, and when the loss of an hour in correspondence is of such vital importance to the mercantile community, it is submitted by all practical men that Holdfast Bay is the place most suitable for a jetty.

In September 1853, Mr George Kingston moved in the Legislative Council that the petition be taken into consideration and that an Address be presented to the Governor; this motion was lost by a majority of six, while in December of that year Captain J.F. Duff addressed His Excellency the Governor in respect of the construction of a jetty at Glenelg and, in doing so, traversed the merits and demerits of both Port Adelaide and Glenelg as ports while, at the same time, passing a scathing opinion on colonial legislators:

I do not presume to suppose that the state of Port Adelaide has escaped your attention; nor would I attempt to bring the facts before you in this, perhaps, irregular way, were it not that, since it has become the fashion to construct legislators out of merchants and tradesmen, and to substitute their individual opinions for the former plan of examining experienced practical witnesses before Committees, the only impartial tribunal attainable by the public is the higher portion of the legislature... I will attempt to show that, inferior as the harbour is, something might be done to promote dispatch without involving an immediate and great outlay, which to do anything effectually with the Outer Bar must be incurred...

When I find that four ships have been lying in the exposed anchorage at the Lightship for some weeks attempting to lighten... [and] after an experience of more than 15 years, I have no hesitation in saying that Holdfast Bay is equally safe for ships as the present anchoring ground at the Lightship... In 1836-7, I landed cargoes at the Bay in less time than it has taken ships I have before referred to lighten their cargoes.

The expense of constructing a jetty would be comparatively trifling compared to that of deepening the outer bar... Unless something is done promptly to do away with the delay at the Lightship, the ship owners and underwriters of Britain will exact higher rates and premiums for suffering their vessels to encounter risks and delays of this Port.

In answer to this request the Colonial Secretary, B.T. Finniss, responded on behalf of the governor:

The Trinity Board having reported that the anchorage at Glenelg is unsafe and ill-adapted as a port for commercial purposes, His Excellency could not feel justified in acceding to your recommendations of the erection of a jetty at Glenelg.

The Glenelg Jetty

The strange want of gallantry evinced by many of the promenaders who walk up and down with cigars in their mouths, regardless of the direction of the wind, [is a] great discomfort [to] the ladies occupying the seats... The real grievance was that the quiet delights of the cigar were preferred to the promenade and harmless flirtation...

(Register, 31 January 1872, 10 February 1872)

In 1854, an estimate was made for a jetty by Mr Bennett Hays, Colonial Architect, amounting to £10,400 and, after due enquiry, £20,000 were placed on the estimates. A public meeting, convened by Mr R.B. Colley, was held on 6 February 1856 at the Glenelg Hotel to consider an opinion expressed by Mr Dutton in parliament that 'the only fit site for a jetty... would be opposite the lightship' but:

When it was known that he was only the mouthpiece of a party whom they well know was working in the dark to obtain the removal of the jetty from Glenelg, they would see the necessity of endeavouring to avert these designs... Sir Henry Young proposed its construction in 1854 and a sum was placed on the estimates for that purpose and on the faith of it many... had purchased land at Glenelg...

When the erection of the jetty was first determined, Mr Hays proposed to place it near the creek in a line with the Adelaide road but, upon the recommendation of the Jetty Commission, the site was changed to 'north of Moseley's hotel' and, until the commencement of its construction, a heated debate raged among various interested citizens who owned land contiguous to the two sites.

Firstly, Henry Muirhead contended at the public meeting held in March 1857 that:

Vested interests presided, addressed the meeting, carried their resolutions, and the jetty, not only from the main and direct Adelaide road, but, contrary to all reason, clean past the next best site as pointed out by Captain Cawthorne in 1851, that was below Joshua's house, nearly in front of the English Church...

To this accusation, suggested as being heinous by proponents of the southern site, Mr R.B. Colley proclaimed that:

The spot recommended by Captain Cawthorne, the master of the Lighthouse... is about opposite Joshua's cottages, a spot within 120 feet of the present site. About a section further south, in a line with the Broadway, New Glenelg, is a natural breakwater, now used for the oyster beds. It appears to have been forgotten... that a breakwater is to be placed at the head of the jetty now erecting...

Thomas Lipson, a former colonial Harbour Master, then entered the fray on behalf of the northern site:

It was originally intended to carry the jetty from the south side of the entrance of the creek at Glenelg. The prevalent winds are from the south and west.

The weeds and sand thrown off the entrance would be stopped, form a bank on the south side of the jetty, defend it from the stroke of the sea, leaving the north side smooth and sheltered.

When the passage was cleared down, a basin could be formed inside the mouth of the creek... large enough for craft to load and discharge shipping, or for a small steamer to land passengers, etc., from any packet that arrived at the Bay...

If the creek is rejected and the jetty be put on the open beach, there can be neither steamer nor discharging craft of any kind [and] there will be no means of affording shelter or protection to the work, and that its utility will be

scarcely more than that of affording an agreeable promenade to mammas and their children and their nursemaids and certainly useless for all important purposes of colonial requirements...

And so the arguments waxed and waned, the following being a small selection from angry participants in a debate that served no good purpose, for the government was not to be swayed away from the recommendation of the Jetty Commission:

Further enquiry is necessary before the site of the jetty is changed from the end of the Adelaide Road to Brighton Terrace, opposite the Pier Hotel. The first and original site near the creek is obviously the best, having regard to its approaches landward... A glance at the map of Glenelg will show the tortuous road by which the approach to the Pier Hotel will be gained, and this road for the most part is sandy and in other places boggy, will require a large outlay to make it available, and in order to do so it will be further necessary to form and metal the Adelaide Road running down to the first site chosen.

But another formidable objection appears against the Pier Hotel site. What is to become of the bathers, male and female, on either side of the jetty? It is contemplated to set apart the space between the creek and the hotel for promenading solely. The new bridge being constructed will conduct one or other of the sexes across the creek, where they may bathe with the greatest privacy and comfort; but what is to become of those who must inevitably be compelled to walk the best part of a mile to obtain the same luxury on the other side of the jetty?

If the jetty is placed at Hayes [*sic*] Flat it will be nearly useless and will certainly be quite dry at low water...

But another reason overlooked by Mr Hayes [*sic*] is the approach to and departure of shipping from pier or jetty. With a wind blowing from the prevailing points in bad weather, south and west, a vessel, as soon as she slips her moorings, will be on shore before she can get way on her... Should the jetty be erected on the site originally proposed the accumulation of sand and seaweed at the creek, now much complained of, would be intercepted by the piles and cause the formation of a natural spit or breakwater extending from the shore mouth of the creek and create a sheltered channel through which lighters and small steamers could enter the creek...

After considerable delays, including the loss of 60 tons of material that was thrown overboard from the *Berkshire* when she grounded off the coast of Brazil in 1856, the remaining components were landed at a cost of £22,830.16s.7d. and, in August 1857, work commenced when one of the first piles was driven by the Governor on the 29th. Prior to this ceremony, with the knowledge that the Governor was a member of the 'mysterious craft', local Freemasons assembled at the Pier Hotel where they indulged in ceremonies in a room 'guarded like the Garden of Eden':

Brethren then issued forth clothed in scarfs and aprons adorned with jewels and medals bearing various kinds of cabalistical devices... The procession approached the pile screwing apparatus and arranged themselves either side to await the Governors arrival...

The jetty was designed on a principle patented by a Mr Mitchell in the 1830s and, following the Governor's official duties:

The *Young Australian* steamer brought a large party from Port Adelaide, while Mr Duryea's newly launched and beautiful little craft, *Coquette*, [sailed gracefully by]. On the landward side was a handsome vehicle, of the genus 'Bus', horsed by four of Rounsevell's gallant greys which turned out on this occasion for the first time... while His Excellency and Lady MacDonnell came on horseback along the beach...

[Later] the Governor, assisted by an assembly of Freemasons, screwed a pile into the sand. This was performed by means of a windlass having two handles, one of which was manned by His Excellency.

In October 1857, Henry Graystone was severely injured when a 'key', that had been screwed into a pile and weighing several hundredweight, swerved around suddenly causing him to lose his balance and he fell on to the hard sand, following which he was removed to a nearby house.

Dr Popham was called and it was found that he had sustained several injuries to the spine with compression of the spinal cord, causing a total paralysis of the lower half of the body:

It is feared that the accident will terminate badly, which is the more deplorable, as we understand that his unfortunate wife is hourly expecting to be confined; there are two young children, the eldest not exceeding three years, entirely dependent upon him for a living.

There was much criticism of the standards of work of the English manufacturer, who was responsible for all of the iron work upon the jetty, portion of which arrived first on the *Berkshire* on 10 March 1857, and to this end the Editor of the *Observer* castigated him:

Even to an unprofessional eye the defects of workmanship and materials are palpable and those well qualified to judge condemn them as being in the highest degree disgraceful... the only wonder is that any manufacturer would permit his name to be attached to a work at once so defective and so discreditable. Nor does the fault stop there. The things required for the erection of the jetty have come out in installments and it is only a few days ago that the last of the materials arrived, although they should have been here twelve months ago...

The jetty was intended, principally, for the convenience of small coasting steamers and sailing vessels; also to enable large ships, whose draft of water was too great, when deeply laden, to go over the bar entrance at Port Adelaide and discharge part of their cargo, and for the more speedy landing of mails. Its extreme length was 1,250 feet with a depth of 12 feet at low, and 18 feet at high water at the head, where vessels discharged and had a double line of rails laid down upon it. The pier, being exposed in windy weather to a short, choppy sea, was to be sheltered at the head by a breakwater and, upon completion, its total cost amounted to £34,294.

Monday, 25 April 1859, was a proud day for the rising township of Glenelg when upwards of 2,000 people gathered to witness its opening by the Governor. From an early hour the Bay Road was dusty with the transit of carriages and 'monster omnibuses' filled with joyous holiday makers, 'all bent on associating a healthy excursion with the celebration of the terminated construction of one of the most important public works in the colony.'

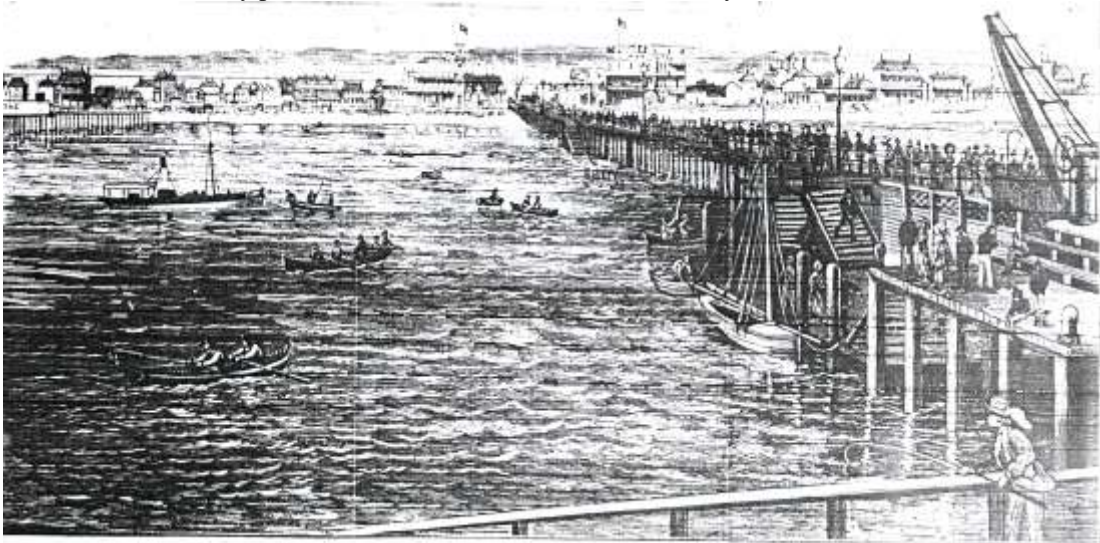
Many years later it was said that:

Much of the prefabricated iron and steelwork had to be abandoned because the piles could not be screwed into the seabed just where the plans required them. This project was one of Glenelg's ill-fated efforts to get boat harbour facilities. The government, however, was not prepared to help the council. So much of the material was lost, buried under the sand or 'spirited away' that the breakwater scheme had to be abandoned.

In 1862, a 'gross injustice' was inflicted upon the economic welfare of Glenelg when one of the cranes was removed from the jetty and, in an effort to 'prevent such an uncalled for spoliation', Henry Moseley addressed the local press:

The recent transmission of heavy goods to the Talisker mine could not have been effected without these cranes... Why, then, remove a convenience at great cost which must ultimately be replaced at a still greater outlay? The act is not only impolitic, but also a breach of faith, as we are unfortunate enough in not having even a semblance of a corporation to guard us from spoliation.

I hope some hon. member of the Assembly will make enquiries on the subject or the government, if unmolested, may take it into their hands some of these fine days to remove, not only the cranes, but even the jetty itself to form a nursery promenade in some more favourable locality.



On 7 November 1865, the first merchant vessel to discharge cargo at the jetty arrived and, to celebrate the occasion, a public dinner was held at the Pier Hotel on 15 November. The vessel was the barque *Anna*, under the command of Captain Watson, having sailed from Newcastle, NSW, with 200 tons of coal for Henry Moseley. Due to rough weather the vessel had to anchor off the jetty for three days following which the Mayor of Glenelg and several gentlemen attended at the hotel for the purpose of presenting Captain Watson with a handsome binocular glass that had been subscribed by those citizens present. A toast was drunk to Mr Moseley 'whose enterprise had been the means of introducing the first cargo of coals into Glenelg' and in reply that gentleman said that:

He trusted to be able to use his influence towards the provision of proper moorings at Glenelg, as he was certain that if they were laid down it would be an inducement to owners of vessels to send them without fear.

The jetty was used, also, for recreation purposes by many youths of the town and cranes at the head of the jetty were resorted to by adventurous bathers who used them as diving platforms. Many persons were in the habit of discouraging bathing from off the jetty bulwarks, considering the leap from the steps as quite enough for all purposes of enjoyment.

However, in February 1870, a foolhardy youth, whilst plunging from the top of a crane, 'failed to take proper aim' and fell on his side in the water, to his own evident discomfort.

The first nine months of 1867 saw the citizens of Glenelg in a state of excitement in expectation of a pending royal visit by Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, while, in August of that year, a so-called humorous report of a supposed 'Indignation Meeting of Townships', in support of the interposition of a royal presence, appeared in the morning press containing a racial statement that would be frowned upon today, namely, that 'several townships having native names attempted to get on the platform, but were saluted with cries of "no blackfellows", "down with the niggers" and great excitement prevailed.' On 31 October, the *Galatea* dropped anchor and, on the next afternoon, the royal personage was conveyed to the jetty by launch where he was greeted by the Governor and an admixture of prominent citizens.

During 1872, many adverse opinions were enunciated by some members in the House of Assembly that the Glenelg jetty should not be repaired out of the general revenue and, in support of the legislators, a correspondent under the pseudonym of 'Alert' penned the following:

It cannot be questioned that during our long summers the general public flock in thousands from all parts of the province to the jetty to invigorate their constitutions with a whiff of the briny, and the public having worn out the flooring of the jetty, is it too much to ask that the public purse should repair it?

At the same time the *Register*'s 'Geoffrey Crabthorn' interposed with a satirical piece and a poem:

It is not often that I am enabled to inhale the odorous atmosphere pervading the neighbourhood of the Glenelg Creek or mix in the gay and festive throng... promenading the jetty during the summer season, and therefore any remarks I may make on the proposed structure must necessarily be of a very impartial character...

Whether the jetty was ever required, or should ever to have been built, is entirely foreign to the question - there it stands now, so badly in want of repairs that we are told that it is becoming absolutely dangerous. Although the piles - both of timber and money - already sunk have done their best, it would assuredly be a good thing to make the jetty self-supporting, and it is unfortunate that Mr Blyth's proposal to levy a small toll for admission... should not be feasible.

I would suggest that as hon. members have expressed a diversity of opinion upon this subject, all jetties, etc., should for the future be under the supervision of a Select Committee, to be called 'The House of Piers'.

A young lady who occasionally corresponds with me, but whose letters are unfortunately like angels' visits, sent me the following somewhat rhapsodical communication upon the much needed repairs, and which, as illustrating a view of the subject entertained, perhaps, by more than one of the fair sex, I am happy to insert:

*My dearest Mr Crabthorn, Oh! I'm really so excited!
I feel inclined to kiss the cook or hug the housemaid, Betty,
That charming Mr Barrow! Oh, the darling should be knighted
For begging for that thousand pounds to spend upon the jetty.
If you could see the flooring you'd be terribly indignant,
The rotten open planking South Australia disgraces;
I'm sure you will be sorry (for I know you are beginning)
To see me twist my ankles in those horrid broken places.*

*Another thing I'll mention, which, I think, will gain your pity,
A week last Monday evening, when we had all finished dining,
A friend of brother Charley's, whom we brought down from the city,
Proposed a promenade, and as the moon was brightly shining
Mamma and I put on our cloaks, and off we went together,
But we found the wind was blowing from a somewhat chilly quarter,
So Charley's friend suggested, as a shelter from the weather,
A seat upon the steps, that lead right down to the water.*

*At first it was delightful, though I felt a little frightened,
Till Charley's friend assured me that there wasn't any danger,
And then he squeezed my fingers so, I know my colour heightened,
For I thought it rather forward - he was such an utter stranger,
But one thing that I noticed was, the Jetty steps kept shaking,
And seemed to tremble with our weight whene'er the wind blew stronger,
Until mamma jumped up and said, 'I'm sure the steps are breaking;
'Come home, my dear, it isn't safe any longer!'*

*It's true the steps are rotten and the railings all unjointed;
But when we were so cosy, and the sea did look so pretty,
I couldn't bear to leave it, and I felt so disappointed,
I wouldn't speak a single word the whole way up the Jetty,
I know that I was sulky - but then, wasn't it provoking?
But thanks to Mr Barrow, Mr Townsend and the others,
The steps will soon be strengthened, and - course I'm only joking -
I hope to sit there often with a friend, Sir, of my brother's.*

*Devotedly yours,
Arabella Gushington*

At 8.30 p.m. on Sunday, 7 September 1873, the wooden lighthouse at the end of the jetty was seen to be on fire and, immediately, a large number of people gathered and emptied the building of its contents, while Mr Bruce, the owner of a cutter, rendered some service by climbing to the cross yard of the signal shaft and hauled up buckets of water that were then thrown on the flames.

A little before 9 o'clock, Messrs. Thomson, Manuel and Robinson, three drivers of John Hill and Company's omnibuses, chopped away the base with axes and, with poles, pushed the building over into the sea.



Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh landing at Glenelg in 1867

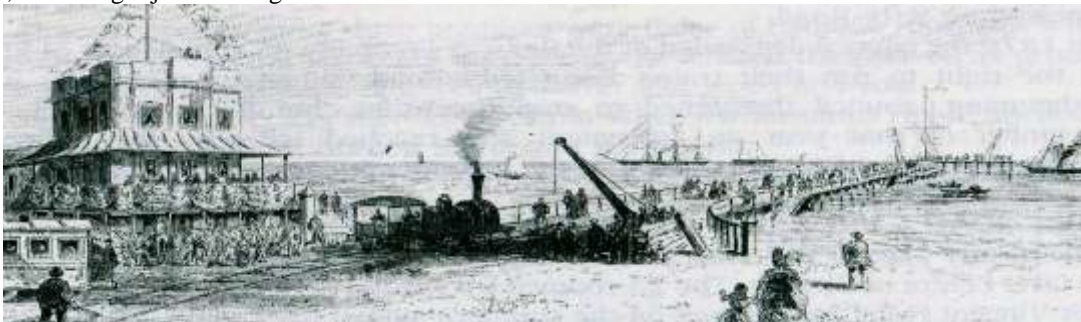
Just before the fire originated two young boys, the sons of Mr Fischer of the Pier Hotel and Mr Bungert, a butcher of Freeman Street, Adelaide, were in the tower attending to the lamp. Fischer asked Bungert for a light and the latter, having struck a match, threw it on the floor just below the lamp. There was some cotton soaked in kerosene there and it ignited thus causing the destruction of the building. The Government arranged a temporary light in its stead by affixing it to the flagstaff, while a week or two later the Marine Board approved plans 'for the proposed additions to the Glenelg jetty and of the new lighthouse to be erected thereon.' In due course, this came to pass in the form of an iron structure at the north-western end of the jetty.

In his reminiscences held in the State Library, David Shepard recalled that:

The L-Head had not been added to it and it had a wooden lighthouse at the end. I was close to it when it caught fire; it burnt down to the floor and the burning frame was pushed overboard. It happened on a Sunday evening at a time when people were in church. A man by the name of Jewell, then the postmaster, who walked on wooden legs from the knees down, had the contract from the Marine Board to light the lamps. This night he sent the Postboy and a boy by the name of Fisher [sic], whose father then kept the Pier Hotel, to light up, with the result above stated... The jetty was not like it is now, it then had no kiosk.

It was intended when the jetty was built to put an L-Head to it and iron plate it to act as a breakwater; the iron plates were never used for that purpose but lay on the beach for years and were bought for a song by H[enry] Moseley, who at that time kept the Pier Hotel. Several of us boys had a good ride on them as they were being drawn along the sand by five horses. Moseley used them as a fence to his backyard...

The brig *Waverley* was seen off the jetty at 3 a.m. on 30 December 1873 when a strong south-easterly breeze was blowing and Mr Newett, the mail contractor, who was waiting the arrival of the P&O's Company ship *Milora*, fired a rocket to warn the brig away. The course of the vessel was altered but too late to prevent a collision with the end of the jetty. A pile driving engine was rolled over and a portion of the flagstaff carried away, while the Regatta Committee was inconvenienced when a temporary office, erected the previous day by means of canvas and rope, was destroyed, the chairs and tables being smashed and 'generally disposed of'. Several young men were sleeping at the site, one being injured during the collision.



Landing the overseas mail in 1874

An extension to the jetty in the form of an 'L head', 70 feet long and 10 wide, was undertaken in 1874, while a tragedy occurred in July 1876 when Mrs Mary McCarthy was crushed by a truck driven by an employee of Mr Bowker, of Glenelg. At a trial, where Mr McCarthy sought to recover damages for the injuries sustained by his wife, it was reported that it was almost impossible for any person to pass between the truck and the railing without being crushed, although one witness asserted that he had seen the truck pass men and boys who were leaning over the

railing. The jury awarded Mrs McCarthy £45 which, 'though it will doubtless be of great service to the family, who are people in humble circumstances, will yet badly compensate the poor woman for the pain she has suffered...'

Prior to 1876, ornamental lamps were used with varying success in the lighthouse; sometimes burning well but, at others, in stormy weather, when light was most needed, became extinguished. All difficulties in this respect were overcome later that year when the old oil and kerosene lamps were replaced by their 'more modern and brilliant rival, gas.' In trials carried out aboard the cutter, *Rosa*, the general illumination of the new lamps was to be seen all but eight miles from the shore.

In April 1882, a deputation from the Glenelg corporation waited upon the Treasurer, Hon. Lavington Glyde, and asked that the Government take steps to lengthen the jetty by about a quarter of a mile, thus permitting the largest vessels to come up and anchor there:

The Russian fleet anchored within that distance from the present end of the jetty and it was clear, therefore, that in the event of the work being carried out, very large boats would be able to come up to the end of the new structure... It was a well-known fact that the nasty choppy sea experienced at the Semaphore was not to be found at the Bay and although the weather may be rough occasionally at the latter place, unloading had been done there in a shorter space of time than at any other place in the colonies.

Another deputation to the Treasurer occurred in 1885 when he was informed that:

Very frequently when goods were being landed the passengers had to scramble over the jetty to the danger of their limbs and [we] are informed that the difficulty might be overcome at the expense of £3,000 or £4,000...

The facilities at Glenelg were less than at other parts of the coast... In years to come South Australia will be the landing place for mails, etc., for the eastern colonies and various schemes had been proposed to secure proper landing among which was the outer harbour at Marino... What [we] ask is that the jetty be extended by 1,800 feet... If the P&O boats left Glenelg they would not go anywhere else and that would be a serious thing...

The Treasurer responded that he could not recommend the expenditure, but would consult his colleagues.

The lighthouse and flagstaff at the end of the jetty were provided with a complete set of international signal flags but put to little use by the lighthouse keeper while, in 1882, Mr Allchurch said that he had not used them for three years. However, complaints were made by the master of the *Roma* that, on running up the gulf in thick weather, he had mistaken the Glenelg light tower for that of Semaphore. Mr W.E. Slade, the Deputy Assistant Engineer, considered that no lighthouse was required at Glenelg because mail steamers had ceased to call there and recommended its immediate removal and replacement by an 'ordinary jetty light'.

In 1907, it was proposed to build a pavilion on the jetty to 'supply refreshments of every description on a separate platform' at the north-west corner just inside the L-Head. It was to be constructed on piles with a jarrah floor and built of wood and covering an area of 60 by 45 feet. The main room was to be 15 feet high with a promenade roof around the centre storey terminating with a lookout, with a fancy iron railing.

It was to be glazed with leadlight windows and, at night, lighted with several large lamps. During rough weather patrons would be protected from wind and rain with canvas walls and roofing. The pavilion itself was to be fitted with marble top tables and fancy chairs, while lounge chairs were to be placed outside. In addition, the existing invalids' awning at the extreme end of the jetty was to be removed and 'a more fanciful one erected'.

The pavilion, erected by Messrs Sigalis & Company at a cost of nearly £2,300, was opened by the Premier, Thomas Price, on 26 October 1907. It was fitted up with 'the latest American principle with temperate drinking fountains', while a lift was provided for conveying refreshments from the kitchen to each floor.

In the course of his opening address Mr Price intimated that:

Although the corporation was not of his mind regarding politics... anything it had asked from the government was generally necessary and reproductive work. The repairs to the jetty had not been done long before they were needed. They had an improved railway service and further improvements would be introduced shortly.

Another boon was the proposed breakwater...

To conclude this history of Glenelg's jetties it might be appropriate to recall that, on 1 December 1920, Mr H.W. Varley placed a lighted match to a beacon that had been erected at the sea end of the jetty in the memory of his son, who was killed in France in May 1918. Mr Varley had the complete cooperation of the Marine Board when he offered to erect the light that had a radius of ten miles.



Glenelg from the Jetty – circa 1882



Mayor of Glenelg, Mr W. Noble releasing a white dove during the Blessing of the Waters at Glenelg on 10 January 1971



Destruction of Glenelg jetty in 1948

Glenelg's Breakwaters

An office, which should be regarded as an honourable post, was often virtually abandoned to any persons who thought fit to take it... It is deplorable when civic corporations are composed of incapable men and, similarly, it is very deplorable when citizens, overlooking the immense utility of such institutions, send incapable men as representatives.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

By May of 1859, the Commissioner of Public Works was hesitating to commence the erection of the breakwater intended to protect the jetty at Glenelg, although the materials for that structure had been imported and were 'upon the ground'. In the first place, the breakwater was planned upon an untried principle and was thought, in some quarters, to prove useless if erected. Further, the materials sent out from England were faulty, both in design and construction, and the character of the ground, during the construction of the jetty, had been found to be exceedingly unfavourable. But to crown all, if the original plan had been completed 'the commercial value of the jetty would have been to a considerable extent, destroyed.'

The breakwater was intended to be placed so near the head of the jetty that even a boat could not have passed between them safely, and no vessel could have approached the pier-head from either side without being in danger of being knocked to pieces on the breakwater.

Thus, the jetty was then 'left to brave the billows of the Gulf without artificial protection.' The matter was raised again in 1877, without success, when it was estimated that 'the present jetty would be sufficiently protected by a T-Head [sic] of say 400 feet long... the cost of which in iron would be £20,000.'



The original design of the jetty showing a T-Head

In 1906, Thomas Price's Labor government intimated that it proposed providing a harbour at Glenelg in the form of a concrete structure 1,200 feet long and curving north and south about 590 feet from the end of the jetty. On 13 March 1907, the Mayor, Mr H.W. Varley, and the fishermen of the town met in the Town Hall for the purpose of considering plans for a boat harbour. Messrs L. and J. Williams (*Renown*), J. Castles (*Vera*), W.D. Bruce and J. Poulsen (*Stella*), M. Banbury (*Anna*), J. Coleman (*Chris*), A. Olsen (*Hilda*) and J. Richie (*Canowie*) were present.

They declared that the plans drawn for the proposed additions to the Patawalonga Creek did not meet with their approval, but all were in favour of a scheme suggested by Captain Weir and discussed at the Marine Board. This provided for an outlying or flying breakwater beyond the jetty enclosing a depth of 12 feet at low water, the inner end to start about 400 feet outside low water mark so that there would always be a channel for the tide running north and south along the coast, the inner part to run east and west:

If this work was carried out the principal part of the carrying trade with Kangaroo Island would be done through Glenelg... The fishing fleet comprises about 30 boats and is the most extensive in any of the States, representing a capital expenditure of at least £15,000. Not only are Adelaide markets supplied, but large quantities are forwarded to Victoria and other parts.

At a meeting of the corporation on 15 March 1907, it was reported that Captain Weir had condemned the Patawalonga scheme as unsatisfactory and costly and said it would never protect the fishing cutters. Accordingly, it was resolved that the thanks of the council be given to the Marine Board for suggesting the erection of the breakwater and that it approve the jetty scheme. To this end the Premier visited Glenelg and promised to seek a plan from the Engineer-in-Chief and 'if it was not too costly the work would be done.'

The breakwater was to be crescent shaped, 1,206 feet in length with a light tower on each end and 590 feet distant from the sea end of the jetty. Several hundred concrete piles were made and lodged in a depot at the Saint Leonards railway station yard and it was expected that the work would be completed by the close of 1909.



Saint Leonard's railway yards in 1890.

Early in 1909, the stage was set for a pile driving ceremony to be performed by the Governor-General of Australia, Lord Dudley and, prior to the Viceregal party proceeding to the temporary staging, the site of operations, an unfortunate accident occurred when the pile to be used in the official ceremony finished up at the bottom of the harbour. Hurriedly, the contractors then placed another pile in position and this was in readiness when the party arrived. The breakwater was to be carried out to a design of the Engineer-in-Chief, Mr A. B. Moncrieff, and under the supervision of Colonel Monash of Melbourne. In its construction, 530 piles, each 40 feet long, were to be driven and 'the cement for the construction of the piles was obtained near Glenelg.'

By the close of 1910, it was evident that, for years past, those who attended the Commemoration luncheons looked to the politicians, whose names appeared on the toast lists, for information regarding the long-promised and much needed harbour improvements. In December 1910, the Premier, Mr Verran, said that a previous design had been found to be unsuitable and the contract for the work, at first proposed, had been determined and that new designs were all but completed and, upon approval, would be hurried forward.

Three new plans were provided for consideration, namely, a strong timber breakwater 1,400 feet in length to be constructed about 800 feet from the end of the jetty at a cost of £26,000; a boat harbour in the mouth of the

Patawalonga Creek at a cost of £13,000 and, thirdly, a scheme proposed by Councillor Oliphant [*sic*] for a boat harbour on the foreshore at the mouth of the creek, the diversion of the creek and reclamation of portion of its bed, at a cost between £40,000 and £50,000.

The third proposal envisaged dredging the creek as far as the bridge and sheet piling the channel out to about 400 feet in the bay in order to give a minimum depth of seven feet at low water. The Engineer-in-Chief, Mr Graham Stewart, said that it was 'tolerably certain that, in any case, the Glenelg breakwater would not be completed on [these] plans.'

To the proposal emanating from the corporation a ratepayer shot a barb or two into its exposed rump:

[The corporation] is always ready to accept for gospel truth anything that may be suggested to it. Our

Patawalonga scheme has already cost the taxpayers £14,000 and now the councillors want another ... there are few, indeed, competent to deal with schemes which are affected by tides and sand drifts and the council should fight shy of the scheme for the Patawalonga area, having once been severely bitten...

I commend the government for moving in the matter and endorse the scheme recommended by the Engineer-in-Chief, *i.e.*, a part-circle off the end of the jetty...

At a council meeting on 6 January 1911, Councillor Oliphant [*sic*] said that, in spite of the comments from government, the council had adopted and submitted a scheme to the government for a harbour at the mouth of the Patawalonga which was not satisfactory in the eyes of the Engineer-in-Chief.

He expressed misgivings about the proposed timber breakwater because:

It would be unsightly and intercept the horizon spoiling the present seascape to the west. Tropical conditions prevail in the Gulf of St Vincent on account of its waters being removed from the influence of the Southern Ocean. The growth of genuine coral rock and occurrence of tropical forms of marine fauna demonstrate this fact. The Toredon *navalis* flourishes here and it is destructive as it is in the tropics. Principally from this cause the Largs and Brighton jetties were reported to be unsafe well within 15 years of their erection.

A week later a deputation from Glenelg waited upon the Premier and asked the government to delay its construction and, instead, give consideration to the proposal to utilise the Patawalonga Creek as a boat harbour. All its efforts proved fruitless and, after more than two years of procrastination, on 2 August 1913 the Premier, Mr A.H. Peake, announced that the construction of a boat harbour would start shortly.

However, it was not until April 1914 that tenders were called for a breakwater 1,400 feet from the end of the jetty and running in a north-south direction and giving protection to 12 to 20 acres. It was anticipated that 'the concrete piles already constructed for the abandoned breakwater could be utilised for the outside walls and spurs, the intervening space being filled with suitable material.'

The contract was let to a Victorian firm, Stone and Siddeley of Geelong, for £32,000 and work commenced during 1914, Wigley Reserve being used as a site for moulding concrete sections of the breakwater. When finished it was one complete block of concrete and, on top of the caissons facing the sea, there was a curve with a ledge at the apex in order to impede the force of the waves. By so doing it was hoped that the structure would give a maximum deadening effect without having a severe shock on the breakwater.

From the depot near Colley Reserve, a set of rails on sleepers led down to the water's edge and, in front of the 'slip', a towering heap of piles lay in about 10 feet of water at high tide, while between the jetty and the baths there were more piles about 90 yards out to sea from the end of the former:

At present there are about 30 men engaged on the contract and with a couple of small steamers and numerous dinghies in constant activity, the northern beach has assumed a busy air... A dozen men or more are occupied in the construction of the slip which is made of huge logs. The workmen are to be seen swimming backwards and forwards at various intervals on their way between the work and the depot. During the journey they wear all their clothes, including boots, and when the tide is in the job is fraught with more than ordinary adventure, especially as some of the tools, such as hammers and hatches, are carried on the piles...

By March of 1916, following the destruction of preliminary work by a storm on 15 May 1915, the contractors advised the government that, in their opinion, 'the breakwater will not be long enough for the purpose for which it is required.'

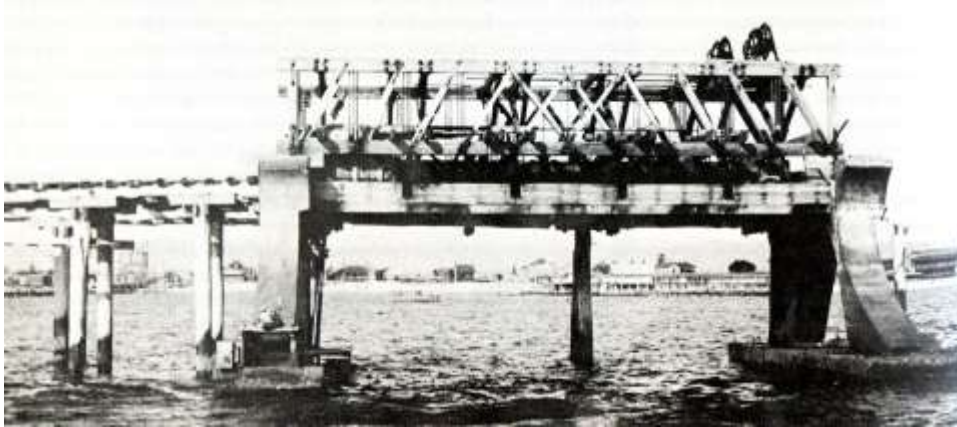
At the same time, they submitted another design to cost £110,000 for a breakwater 2,470 feet long, to which the government acquiesced, but there were many dissenters both within and without parliament:

The Glenelg breakwater may or not have been a reasonable project in normal times. Much injury and inconvenience have certainly been suffered by a number of yachtsmen and fishermen, but doubt has been expressed whether the whole State should have been committed to the expenditure of £32,000 in an attempt to overcome natural conditions in the interests of a few...

In time of war, when every available pound of capital is required to maintain an army, an outlay so relatively huge on a comparative luxury is shockingly extravagant... The whole business is unsatisfactory and further enquiry is necessary.

Why is the government in such impetuous haste that it cannot wait for the new scheme to be discussed in parliament, which is to meet a few days hence? The Premier may fume and fret and call the Liberals hard names, but he cannot fairly complain if the gauge of political battle, which his Government has willfully and recklessly thrown down, is picked up by resolute opponents who highly value the people's self-governing rights as they are embodied in parliamentary government.

Responding to the assault upon him and his government the Premier, Mr C. Vaughan, admitted that the contract had not been signed but was in the process of being finalised and that the government had ‘undertaken the matter before Parliament sat and was honourably bound.’



Work in progress on the Breakwater – circa 1915

In response to a motion moved in the Legislative Council, a Select Committee was appointed in August 1916 concerning the Glenelg breakwater contract, and one of the witnesses, the Mayor of Glenelg, Mr A.J. Roberts, said Glenelg needed the facility to protect boats and yachts, but he did not approve of the government’s action in increasing the expenditure from £32,000 to £110,000 and added, tersely, that he would not like to put his own money into it as a revenue producing concern. Another interesting phase of his evidence was that he understood that the Commonwealth believed it would one day prove useful as a submarine base.

In its findings that Committee commented that the contract was without parliamentary authority, irregular and unnecessary, and would involve the State in a heavy loss. However, to terminate the contract would have involved paying heavy compensation to the contractors.

On 6 February 1917, four trucks, upon which about a dozen workmen were sitting, were being pushed along the jetty by a locomotive and, when about 100 feet from the shore, two of the crossheads broke in the centre and the trucks and men fell into the sea. The former, constructed of wood, turned over as they fell and, having deposited their contents on the bed of the sea, rose to the surface while the startled men clung to the trucks until rescued by fellow workmen, who went to the scene in boats. One of the men, Ernest Badwick, received a severe wound on the head and Dr J.B. Dawson, who was sent for, ordered the man’s removal to his residence at Saint Leonards.

A new contract for £ 110,000 was signed for a breakwater 2,470 feet in length, linked to the jetty and providing 31 acres of sheltered water. Much progress was made until another storm hit on 18 July 1917, when the government held itself up to ridicule again by announcing that it was considering suspension of the work because, after committing the state to a large and wasteful outlay, it was willing that the project should be left, for an indefinite period, in a half-completed condition.

Thus, the enterprise was to become a monument to the government’s folly and recklessness:

An examination of the extensive and unsightly temporary wooden structures incidental to the construction is convincing on that point. Are the contractors to be freed forthwith from their contract obligations? If, so on what conditions and why?... [The government’s] idea of economy are as vague as their general knowledge...

At this time it was edifying to observe how both the active and passive supporters of the contract, deserted and even denounced the scheme. Champions of the government were not content with the original project that would have been complete in itself as far as it went, and the suggestion that the breakwater, in an unfinished and unsightly condition, should be postponed indefinitely was, naturally, viewed with aversion by the people of Glenelg.

While parliament could not consider, seriously, the proposal that the whole or any portion of the work should be destroyed, public interest demanded that the best possible use should be made of the money already expended, by rounding off the work in a manner that would render it serviceable, free from danger, and at the lowest possible cost to taxpayers.

A deputation from the corporation waited upon the Minister of Marine on 16 September 1917 and asked that, in view of the fact that the work had proceeded so far, it should be completed in a satisfactory way and at least the two unconnected portions of the structure should be joined together. In reply, the Minister said the position was surrounded with difficulties and suggested that parliament should give authority to pay for what had already been done and give the extra authority to ‘utilise the work’.

In October 1917, the contractors felt it their duty to inform the public of their opinion of the current situation:

There has been a great deal of criticism in respect of the expenditure of State money... Upon this we do not propose to comment, but the futility of continuing the expenditure upon a structure which will not serve its purpose is surely obvious. Added to this, there is the more serious possibility of the breakwater becoming, in time, a trap which might result in loss of life... It would not right or fair to expect us to keep silent and to shoulder the blame for the disaster which we foresee must occur. It is under these circumstances that we have for the past two and a half months, been endeavouring to get the Harbours Board and the Government to state

their attitude... we have been unable to obtain a plain and straightforward answer to what are surely fair questions, namely:

1. What does the board desire us to do in relation to the breakwater?
2. Does it wish us to continue to attempt to build something that will not be a breakwater, or to build a breakwater on some other, and if so, what design?
3. Does the Board intend us to shoulder the responsibility if we go on attempting to complete the work according to its specification?

The matter then lay in the doldrums until 1920 when the Glenelg corporation considered that it had been more than patient and, with a view of helping the government to come to the decision to force the contractor to carry out his own design, did not serve the contractor with notice to remove his works and the obstruction on the beach and the Mayor, Mr John Mack added:

There is such a thing as sitting on our rights too long and the Full Court would shame us for not proceeding officially and allowing evidence to be taken, and Council's arrangements made by the government, in the injury of this town. We must not allow the government to get out of its obligations to provide a breakwater...

We do not want to bark unless we can bite, but immediate and strong measures must be taken while the matter is before parliament and reasons given by the State why the work is not being proceeded with according to contract.

At this juncture the contractors abandoned the project claiming that specifications provided by the government on stress tides were incorrect. They sued the government, finally settling out of court in 1921. In the meantime, the Treasurer informed parliament that an amount exceeding £42,000 had been expended and added, peremptorily, that the government had no intention of proceeding with the works.

The matter was revived in August 1922 when, in parliament, it was said that the government intended to build at Glenelg a protection of the 'rip-rap' style, similar to that at Victor Harbor, which was considered to be effective, to which the morning press commented that, 'something definite is now expected from the government and there are rumours that a satisfactory solution of the historic difficulty is being devised.'

However, all this was mere conjecture and, in October 1922, a report from the Harbours Board recommended the removal from the foreshore of the unsightly concrete structures manufactured in connection with the 'late contract which had lain there for several years'.

Delay followed delay and, in March 1925, the condition of the breakwater prevented the corporation from going forward with a scheme to beautify the foreshore, while complaints were forthcoming from residents on Colley Terrace regarding an influx of rats due largely to the shelter they got from material on the foreshore.

The problem of the debris occupied the minds of the civic fathers continually, but nothing was done to remedy the situation until, finally, in November 1925, the remains of the breakwater which, for years, had been an eyesore to the crowds patronising the resort, were removed. Huge blocks of concrete, and those that supported the old baths, were cut into a manageable size and the corporation used most of them in the laying out of a motor park that was being constructed on land adjacent to that occupied by the breakwater.

Yachting, owing to the lack of protection for the boats, languished at the Bay and a revival appeared unlikely until some shelter was provided. Accordingly, a boat shed was built by the sailing club near the mouth of the Patawalonga Creek and helped to preserve craft that were still seaworthy and a comment from a local citizen suggested that 'Glenelg will look quite different this summer.'

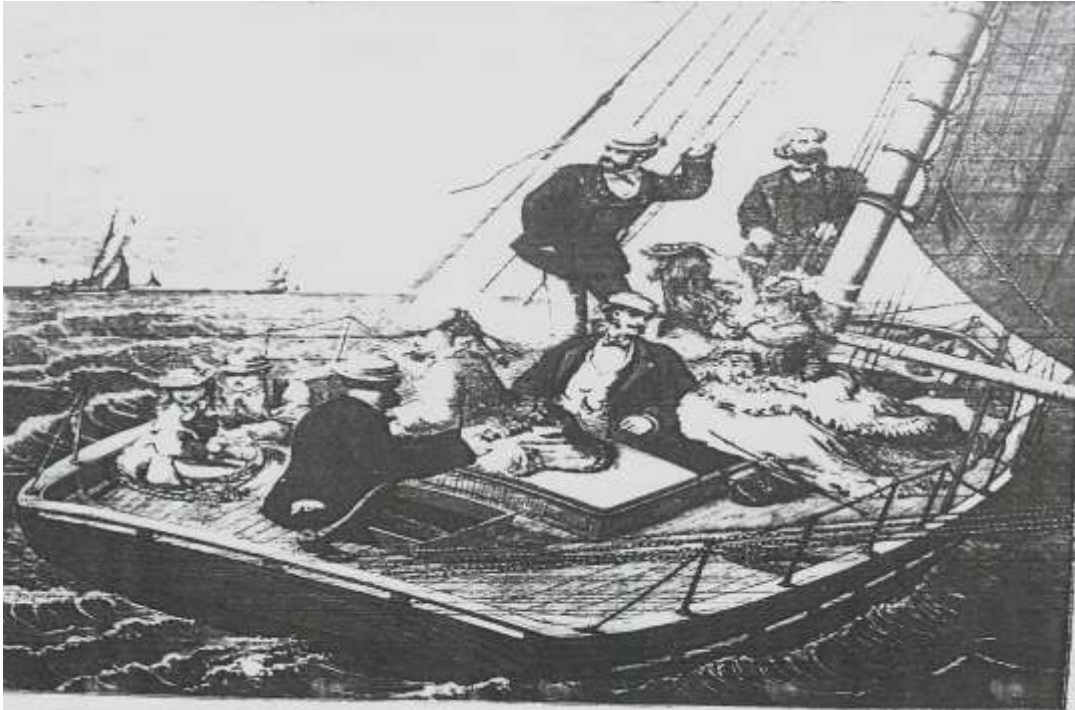
Finally, in March 1929 the jetty, constructed by the contractors to carry lines on which miniature tramways operated to convey the rocks and concrete to fill and pack the caissons, was removed.

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Yachting at Glenelg

Appendix 27

Civic Affairs and Public Utilities at Glenelg

*Oh! Heed ye town fathers,
To keep your dignity,
Your words and your decisions
Should be from folly free.*

*'Tis not the sign of office
With which each one is decked;
It is the wise decision
That claims the crowd's respect.*

(Observer, 22 October 1881)

Introduction

The corporation seal of Glenelg is armorial only in the sense that it is constructed in the shape of a shield. The design represents the Old Gum Tree in the field of the shield and is surmounted by the ship *Buffalo* as a crest.

(Register, 11 November 1856, Observer, 18 March 1899)

The beginnings of a popular government', wrote Viscount Bryce, 'were in small rural areas, rural communities and tiny cities, each with only a few hundred, or possibly thousands, of free inhabitants.' The roads and infrastructure of a country are taken for granted and accepted as natural objects as though the time never was when they were not.

Local government is certainly very old; so old, that in many countries it was 'the earliest expression of man's political instincts', but not so old, or permanent and fixed, as the plains and the hills that have been marked and conquered by the efforts of men working together in corporate bodies.

The following exaltation was made early in the 20th century:

Local government possesses good traditions and the wider they are known and appreciated the better.

Knowledge of them helps in curing indolence, and encourages both the citizen and his representatives to push on with a stouter stroke, and to take a finer pride in their village, town or city, as the case may be. Today, local government is a prime necessity; it relieves the central government of activities that are purely local and which can only be handled expeditiously and well by men on the spot.

It is a great stimulator of progress and an admirable training school for higher public service. Successful in the old world, it has been of estimable service in the wilderness of the new.

Formation of the Glenelg Council

The question of the formation of district councils was, at the outset, an important one; indeed, it was scarcely possible to estimate, too highly, their usefulness and to most people they were worthy of public confidence. They were a sure guarantee against the exercise of arbitrary power, or of unchecked and unnecessary expenditure.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

In July 1855, acting on behalf of 69 Glenelg residents, Messrs Richman and Wigley, solicitors of Adelaide, addressed the Colonial Secretary with a petition requesting an act of incorporation for the district - John McDonald was so excited by the proposal, he signed the petition twice, once as a resident of Saint Leonards and again as a resident of Glenelg!

It was received favourably by the government and, accordingly, on 23 August 1855 the town of Glenelg was proclaimed as a municipality and its first meeting, comprising of eight members, was held at the Saint Leonards Inn on 10 December 1855.

However, the decision for its formation was not favoured by members of the Brighton Council one of whom declared that the severance was undesirable and 'calculated to militate against the interests of the district generally as well as to increase the amount of taxation of residents within the limits of the proposed corporation.'

The area controlled by the new council was severed from the District Councils of both West Torrens and Brighton and occupied all the land south of the modern-day Anzac Highway to the west of Brighton Road, as well as land north of the highway bounded by the Patawalonga to the west, and on the north and east by the northern and eastern boundaries of Saint Leonards.

Glenelg's Reserves - A Question of Ownership

The office of councillor should be regarded as an honourable one and should be conferred, not as an empty compliment, but as a mark of respect and tribute to the honour upon men of tried ability, proved integrity and who are fittest for the post.

In my opinion, electors do not consider sufficiently the important nature of the functions devolving upon councils. Those functions include much more than the regulation of pounds and the issue of various licences.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

The reserves within the township of Glenelg were supposed to have been included in the land granted to Mr Finke and it is known that, in addition, he made a further two - one occupied by St Peter's Church and the other by Government Cottage; the former was conveyed to trustees and the other dedicated for public or corporation purposes. The government, however, 'put their paws upon it and... wanted to do the same with others.'

When the government wished to put up a telegraph station, having no land for the purpose, they applied to the Mayor of Glenelg, Mr Monteith, for leave to put it on the corner of this reserve and this request was granted. It was then that it 'got in the thin edge of the wedge, which they... endeavoured to drive home, to the great detriment of the corporation...'

Some time later the government was pressed to build a police station and asked permission to erect it on one end of the reserve, to which the corporation, unwisely, again consented, but by these actions it was reasonable to assume that the reserves were the property of the corporation.

Moreover, when the Glenelg Railway Bill was before parliament, and the company was applying for the piece of the land between the police and telegraph stations, the Attorney-General of the day insisted that there should be a clause to the effect that, in the event of the government giving up that piece of land, it should revert to the corporation.

Later, a movement was started for the erection of the Institute, for which purpose the corporation agreed to give part of the reserve; but their solicitor, in examining the deeds, found the land grant to Mr Finke only extended to the terrace and that the land was really Crown land. However, in due course the government yielded to representations from the council. In February 1875, the corporation, having discovered its position, presented a memorial to the government and the reply received 'was nothing less than an insult':

Taking into the consideration the growing importance of Glenelg, both as a terminus of a railway and the shipping place of mail steamers and other vessels, it is considered undesirable to divest the government of the land at present available for government purposes... I am, however to state, that there would be no objection... to hand over the reserves in question to the corporation for conservation, fencing or planting...

Shortly afterwards the government entered the reserve opposite Victoria Place and broke up the grass, the effect of which was that people living in the houses had 'sand in their beds and sand in their dishes'. The corporation was advised that that it was intended to erect a turncock's house and tinker's shop and pile water pipes on the said reserve to which it took umbrage and, at a public meeting held in April 1875, several remedial strategies were discussed.

In May 1875, the government excepted for itself 150 feet of the reserve fronting Victoria Place, upon which were erected the telegraph, railway and police stations and which included the piece of land conveyed to the Institute

committee and, in this respect, the government undertook to transfer a further 50 feet frontage to the sea to the Institute.

A Local Tsunami -Tidal Waves at the Bay!

There was one objectionable practice among bathers... the custom adopted by some young men and women of lolling about the sands too close together...

(Advertiser, 28 January 1931)

For some time in 1869, a rumour gained currency that a meteorologist, a certain Captain Saxby, had predicted that an immense tidal wave was to make its appearance on 6 October 1869 along our coast of a height sufficient to devastate the plains and swallow up the inhabitants:

Already the superstitious, uneducated and some of the weaker sex are seriously alarmed and, in the bare anticipation of this direful calamity, tears enough have been shed by elderly females having relatives residing within the doomed area more than sufficient in my estimation to create a tidal wave larger than any we shall see on our coast... Yesterday the superintendent of a suburban Sunday school had to address scholars on the subject in order to allay their fears... Go east or west, north or south, the anticipated tidal wave is the engrossing subject of converse.



A view across College and Moseley Streets in 1868

Although outside the ambit of this history it is worth recording that, late in 1975, another prophecy emanating from a local soothsayer found its way into the local press and it was left to the Premier, Mr Don Dunstan, to 'stem the tide' and allay the fears of some members of the public. The oncoming Armageddon was such that the *London Times* took time out from its normal prognostications to tell its readers that:

Some immigrants in Adelaide have left the city for the hills. A community leader said that because of language difficulties [they] were not aware of the scientific articles published over the last few days refuting the prediction. One man who is out to prove there is nothing in it at all is [the Premier]. He has promised to stand Canute-like on Glenelg beach. The jetty nearby will be the venue for a [party] and guests have been asked to wear flippers, a snorkel and bow tie and the host has promised to provide plastic bottles in which the party goers can leave distress messages.

Mr Dunstan himself wrote of the incident in his book, *Felicia*:

I laughed at the nonsense and agreed we should not give it publicity. It was, however, reported in the media. [At a Greek Church gathering] I was asked if I would publicly reassure their people about it... [for there was] an alarming degree of ignorant panic among their flock... After some thought I agreed...

Suddenly, I was elevated publicly to a second Canute. Despite my assurances, thousands of people left Adelaide on the day in question... International interest was such that reporters flew in from England to interview me and report the event and the BBC rang to ask if it was true that all the snails had left Adelaide...

As the hour approached I went to Glenelg where a large and uproarious crowd had gathered - some selling 'survival kits' (snorkel and surf board) and some with placards advising repentance before engulfment. When the time came I pushed through the crowd to the foreshore. We waited. Nothing happened. Some champagne was broken out and we drank to perdition of all idiot soothsayers and I went back to the office.

The Glenelg Institute

Introduction

[The Adelaide Book Society] evolved from a discussion that took place at a very unpretentious but convivial dinner party on board a ship that was lying in the river at Port Adelaide waiting to be cargoed with wool coming down from the few stations that existed in those days.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

The first accommodation provided for the young library was an old schoolroom, twelve feet square, on the Park Lands close to where the railway station stands today. Here 'the infant kicked feebly', as members were few and many had little time for reading. Members of the association presented books for the benefit of others, but the most

valuable parcel came out on the *Tam O'Shanter* in the form of a creditable library comprising 117 books - This may be considered as the nucleus of that magnificent collection now housed in our Public Library.

A somewhat similar institution in the form of a Mechanics' Institute followed. Both bodies had few members and a union was hailed with joy by the respective officials in 1839 when the pompous title of the Library and Scientific Association and Mechanics' Institute was conferred upon the new body. But the amalgamation had little benefit.

The year 1856 was a red-letter one in the library history of the colony, for it was then that the South Australian Institute Act came into operation and, in that year, the SA Institute was born. This body took over the whole of the books of the SA Library and Mechanics' Institute and was the forerunner of the great institution that operated well into the 20th century.

The Glenelg Library started its life in July 1859 in a small room attached to the then Town Hall and was known as the Mechanics' Institute that boasted of 32 subscribers, whose wants were attended to by Mr Thomas Caterer.



The Glenelg Institute as erected in 1875-1877

Action at the Bay

In 1834, or two years before the proclamation of the colony of South Australia, a Literary and Scientific Institute was established in London at a meeting of persons interested in promoting the new undertaking. The inaugural address was given by Richard Davies Hanson.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

By 1872, there were 63 Institutes established in the colony and Mr H.R. Wigley was of the opinion that it was a 'disgrace' that Glenelg had no such edifice. Accordingly, the Mayor, Mr J. Souttar, called a public meeting on 28 May 1874 at which Mr Rowland Rees, MP, recalled that three years previously he had taken, with others, steps to form one in the town, while he understood that, in 1856, Mr J.M. Mitchell had taken up the question.

The foundation stone was laid on 11 December 1875 by Sir Henry Ayers 'during a lull in the prevailing showers of rain' and, afterwards, he made a speech from the balcony of the Pier Hotel. Glen Osmond stone was used at the front with cornices and other dressings, carried out in cement, with rusticated quoins; Mr E.W. Wright was the architect and the contractor, Mr David Miller, erected it at a cost of £5,300 on land given by the government at the north-western corner of Jetty Road, immediately opposite the Pier Hotel. The opening took place on 19 October 1877 at which the Governor, Sir William F.D. Jervois, officiated.

As an adornment to the building a new clock presented by the Mayor, Mr T. King, MP, was unveiled by Mrs T. King, on 23 February 1884. It was the work of Messrs Thomas Baily & Company of Manchester, England, and erected by Mr Harding, acting for Mr J.W. Davis of Rundle Street. By August 1885, the Institute was in 'unfortunate pecuniary circumstances.'

The building had cost about £6,000, exclusive of £485 spent in the completion of the tower for the clock, and towards this, in donations and government subsidy, the committee had received £5,173 17s 1d.. Further, from the time of its opening, nearly £700 had been outlaid on furniture and library periodicals and all this had culminated in a bank overdraft of a little in excess of £173, while a loan of £3,000 was on the books in the Building Fund.

Indeed, the Mayor admitted that the library was poorly stocked with old literature and agreed with Mr Kemp that a better class of reading material should be obtainable, while Mr Billiatt suggested that the matter should be placed before the Minister of Education with a view of having the Institute transformed into a Town Hall, but the Mayor explained that such a course was impracticable because one member could upset any movement that aimed at the accomplishment of such an undertaking. After due consideration it was considered that the Institute committee should undertake a house-to-house canvass of the town.

A visitor complained of the light on the clock being extinguished at night and, in response, Henry Lee, the Secretary of the Institute, and Mr John G. Ark, offered the following comments:

The committee for some months past kept the clock alight until 11 o'clock each night, but finding the gas account too heavy gave orders to turn off the gas at 9 p.m., thereby saving about £13 per annum... The Institute is burdened with a debt of £3,000... With regard to the departure of trains I presume the railway company prefers Adelaide to Glenelg time...

There are many luxuries which in the present state of the colony cannot be afforded. On the absence of which 'Occasional Visitor' complains about, is the lighting all night of the clock. The pockets of the ratepayers ought to be considered. A necessity, not a luxury, is the light vessel at Glenelg, which the Government with the regard to economy intend removing... As to train starting... Has not the company gone to the expense and trouble of having a first class bell, which rings five minutes before each train leaves?

A month later, Mr Lee was to lament the fact that the Institute committee had decided to dispense with the lighting of the clock and commented that it had also to pay £9 per annum to have it wound and appealed to the general public to understand the dilemma in which it was placed. In 1884, the Institute was mortgaged to George Main to secure £3,000 at 7 per cent and due for repayment in August 1885. Income was insufficient for the day to day conduct of the body and, at a meeting of ratepayers on 10 December 1886, it was said that £108 interest was due and Mr Main's attorney had issued writs against the trustees to recover the amount and that it would be a 'lasting disgrace to Glenelg if the property of the trustees were confiscated, or if they were arrested.'

To the problems confronting the citizens of Glenelg, the Adelaide press was to opine that the reading public at Glenelg was either very small or else very illiberal, while very few seemed to 'care a jot whether the Institute paid its way or not' and that it would be a disgrace to the town in which the colony was proclaimed if, on its jubilee year, the trustees were incarcerated.

Unperturbed, the irrepressible Mr W.R. Wigley, with tongue in cheek, addressed his fellow citizens:

On the 1st of this month 'a Victoria by the Grace of God', as a writ of summons from the Supreme Court is headed, was served upon the Rev. T. Field, Rev. Charles Manthorpe (whom I trust will see where 'the grace of God' comes in, for I don't), Sir John Morphett, the Corporation of Glenelg and myself...

This means if we don't pay up in eight days all our earthly possessions can be sold, or we can, with the exception of the corporation, who has no body to be kicked or soul to be damned, unless our worthy Town Clerk will consent to join us, be sent straight off to Mr Howell's comfortable house of detention on the banks of the Torrens...

It is enough to make the very foundation stone, which was laid by and bears the name of one of the richest and most worthy of our colonists, burst from its position. I shall consider it a great advantage to my soul and a delectation to my body to pass some time of my life in such godly society as my fellow trustees.

As to the latter, I am promised a good supply of the very best Port wine, to which clergymen, as a rule, do not object, and for our amusement we can enjoy some rubbers at whist... [It will] be a lasting disgrace to Glenelg's inhabitants if they allow us to suffer by loss of our property and perhaps imprisonment.

The ratepayers were not devoid of sympathy and decided to solve the immediate problem by authorising the Corporation to purchase the Institute but it was pointed out that:

It is not amiss to point out that in acquiring the Institute land and buildings the corporation, already heavily weighted with the Patawalonga Creek business, will be unable to pay its way unless extra taxation is decreed.

To this fact the ratepayers will not have been blind and it does them great credit that they have released the trustees from their engagements at the expense of themselves...

Upon the transfer being effected, an 'act of cool effrontery and petty snobbishness' occurred when the town's 'Fathers' decided to obliterate the original foundation stone as explained by an irate taxpayer:

In its place a marble slab has been fixed advertising that the building was the Town Hall and that W.F. Stock was the Mayor. Whether the building is used as a Town Hall or Institute, or both, surely it is no disgrace to have it publicly recorded that the foundation stone was laid ... by Sir Henry Ayers... I am informed that even the workman who was engaged on the work admitted that he was ashamed to be seen doing it... [*The aftermath is discussed at length in Historic Glenelg, pp. 208-212.*]

Later, the corporation made a grant of £570 to the Institute committee and a building, subsidised by the government, was built and, from 1885 to 1888, it was conducted in what was, by 1915, to become the rate collectors' room. However, the subscription list became so extenuated that it ceased to exist in 1888 and, for seven years, the town was without an Institute, but strong efforts were made to resuscitate it with the result that on 11 March 1895 it was reopened by Sir J.H. Gordon, the Chief Secretary.

In 1898, its financial position was improved substantially by a donation from Sir Thomas Elder. The council then entered into a bargain with the Institute committee that the latter should spend £300 on a building to form part of the Town Hall, in return for which they should have a lease for 30 years at a peppercorn rental. In 1908, mainly through the efforts of the then Mayor, Mr H.W. Varley, the government made a grant to purchase land on which a new Institute was erected and duly opened on 8 April 1915



Glenelg circa 1885

The Fire Brigade

January of 1839 was the blackest month. When a spark lodged in the thatched roof of the Land Office, the fire ran like magic before the wind. In ten minutes the office was an inferno, which leapt at the Survey Office and, in half an hour, not a wall, or a post, was standing. An iron safe set in solid masonry preserved, except for charring, most of the important documents in the Land Office, while draftsmen saved original maps of town acres from the Survey Office, but Hurtle Fisher and Colonel Light lost everything, including the journal the latter had kept diligently for 30 years.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

Whether in the dead of night or in the light of day, the firebell's clang was a vibrant note that, in colonial days, never failed to stir the pulses for, since men began to build, the cry of 'Fire!' had echoed, precursor of terror, confusion and loss. Early in the 20th century, any suburb of importance has its own appliances, less pretentious than those at headquarters, but adequate for all ordinary demands.

In the larger country towns, too, the days of bucket and garden hose had gone. Permanent, trained part-time firemen, supported by a local auxiliary, could be summoned instantly with fire-fighting equipment.

Fire was the terror of the country's infancy, for the tall, dry grass near Holdfast Bay burned like tinder when the Aborigines, unwitting of the jeopardy they placed their new-found friends, cum interlopers, fired the Cowandilla plains to drive kangaroos from their hiding places and snakes from their holes. Part of Adelaide's earliest history was 'written in fingers of flame that seized avidly upon reed hut and wooden wall'.

On 30 March 1876, about 30 gentlemen met at the Pier Hotel to consider the advisability of forming a fire brigade, when Mr J. Lee, one of the originators of the proposal, referred to a recent fire at Thomas Elder's model farm. Information received suggested that the probable cost of a brigade, comprising two reels with 500 feet of hose, would be £220. On 20 April 1876 a deputation representing the newly-formed volunteer fire association waited upon Sir Henry Ayers and asked him to accept the position of Patron to which he agreed.

The 'station', comprising a hand hose-reel and hose, was located at the home of Mr Liddle, blacksmith, on Rodolph Terrace (Gordon Street) near Miller's Corner. He was foreman of the brigade and the first 'customer' was Justice J.P. Boucaut who called for assistance when his home caught fire.

In 1891, it was decided that the brigade be brought under the control of the Central Board in accordance with the Fire Brigades Act of 1890 and, following that move, sleeping accommodation was provided in Sussex Street for two firemen, namely, E. Broomhead, who for some years was connected with the Geelong Fire Brigade, and Clarke Thompson, a well-known member of the local yacht club:

The firemen can now be controlled by two fire alarms, one at Bell's corner, opposite the Jetty Hotel and the other at the corner of Liverpool Terrace and Shannon Street, near Justice Boucaut's residence.

In the ensuing year, new premises were built and Fireman Hopkins was placed in charge and, in the evenings, he was joined by Auxiliary Fireman Dixon, together with two volunteers.

In 1903, the trials and tribulations of early Glenelg firemen were reminisced upon:

Glenelg at one time had to rely upon the services of a handreel to combat the fire fiend and it has been said that the old brigade was a replica of the famous Darktown reel, but of course that was a libel. The unfortunate man who had to drag the cart put up some records on the roads, but upon reaching a fire he was generally so exhausted that he was forced to beg a few minutes in which to recover his breath.

Following a visit to Glenelg, by members of the Board on 2 February 1899, an alarming report was given on the conduct of the local fire station:

This aristocratic place boasts of two wheels, some 6 or seven feet in diameter, with a line of hose. On the occasion of our visit an alarm was given and in about half a minute the stalwart form of a fireman, fully dressed, made its appearance, dragging after it some seconds later an alleged fire reel. The party had compassion on the poor fellow and did not ask him to drag the cumbersome machine far. He simply had to go to the nearest fireplug and throw up a stream of water. All this occupied but 2 mins. 24 sec. but had the man to run with the reel half a mile or so he would be utterly unfit for his work. . There is plenty of room for a horsereel and, although the expense might be considerably more, the Glenelg authorities might well try to meet this, and thus provide the town with proper precautions against fire. As at present constituted a couple of buckets of water in every house would probably be as efficient as the 'Glenelg fire reel'.

By 1903, however, 'Glenelg had one of the smartest little turnouts in the State. It was run on the auxiliary principle - One fireman was permanently in charge and three auxiliaries were subsidised to sleep at the station and be ready to assist at fires.' Shortly thereafter, the auxiliary firemen were replaced by permanent men and, in 1918, the district brigade became motorised with the introduction of a motor hose carriage.



Beach Scene in December 1896

Colley Reserve

In 1876, the sea frontage at Glenelg extending northward from the jetty was named 'Colley's Reserve' in honour of R.B. Colley, the first Mayor, and at that time it was levelled and planted with couch grass, the expense being borne mainly by the owners of land in Victoria and Althorpe Places. In this regard the Hon. Thomas Elder contributed fifty pounds.

By 1911, this fine recreation reserve ground was useless, owing to some absurd by-law formulated by a previous council, while the object for which it was devoted was defeated. The local football team had to play at Plympton and the lacrosse club played two teams upon the one area - the Glenelg Oval - each Saturday. To the council of the day thanks were due for attempting to put Wigley Reserve in a fit playing condition, but it was suggested that it '[would] be many years before that [was] a success.' The Glenelg gymnasium adjoined the reserve and the paucity of support obtained by this excellent institution was owing, mainly, to the suppression of all manly games on Colley Reserve. Senior cricket was the only sport that could have involved the slightest danger to passers-by.

On 19 November 1920, a ceremony took place on Colley Reserve when Brigadier-General Leane unveiled a captured German gun that had been presented by the War Museum to the 5th (Glenelg) Battalion of the 27th Regiment Infantry Forces.

In January 1936, on the green turf of Colley Reserve, old-time runners gathered to watch modern athletes dash over the sprint distance that would have been considered phenomenal in their day. In the 1880s, several of them were competitors in the Bay Sheffield, run on the same spot, but under different conditions, for the track was pegged out on sandhill country and Aborigines were among the competitors.

One of the veterans who saw this race was Mr A. ('Andy') Wight. He was 'run out' in his first Sheffield and, two years later, made another attempt when the race was won by George Webb who, in 1936, was a trainer with the Norwood Football Club. Among his contemporaries was S. Allister who trained for long distance events by running alongside the Hill & Company's mail coach from Two Wells to Adelaide.

Launching of the Vessel *OG* at Glenelg

Sometime before 1840, a start to colonial shipbuilding was undertaken at Glenelg on behalf of the South Australian Company when the *OG*, named after Osmond Gilles, the Colonial Treasurer, was erected and launched. An eyewitness has left us with the following account of the proceedings:

A large tent was erected and crowded with invited guests who were liberally supplied with a champagne luncheon. Every vehicle in and around Adelaide less heavy than a waggon was in demand, and horses hitherto better acquainted with plough harness than a saddle were promoted to be saddle horses for the occasion. The bonnets and dresses and bouquets that were paraded on the Bay Road that morning would have done no discredit to Greenwich Fair. About noon, torrents of rain began to descend without intermission and forgot to leave off for twelve hours. This persistent inclemency of the weather compelled close adherence to the tent and the company's excellent champagne.

That, and a profusion of bottled beer, induced such sunshiny radiance inside that the unceasing patter and splash without enhanced the enjoyment rather than otherwise... The time to separate at length came, or rather the proper time for proceeding homeward had long passed. Still the sky was one ebon mass, the earth a shallow lake and as for the big, round, cold raindrops, the popular comparison of 'cats and dogs', give no adequate idea of them. Eventful were the occurrences of that night as a too bright morning rendered evident. Horses arrived at their stables riderless, and some of their owners reached the same neighbourhood a few hours afterwards.

Vehicles were discovered unaccountably stuck in holes, lodged against fallen trees, lying on their sides or backs, or in any other position inconsistent with progress, while their previous occupants and the unhappy quadrupeds which had been associated in the dilemma had slid, waded or scrambled somewhere or other.

The vessel *OG* was a 28 foot cutter of nine tons; it was altered to 35 feet and 12 tons in 1845 and wrecked at Poole's Flat, near Second Valley, in 1854.

Brass Bands

The first brass band formed at Glenelg followed a meeting held at the Berkshire Hotel, Saint Leonards, on 10 November 1885 when about 40 persons attended. From this number Bandmaster Hoddy chose 22 to form the Glenelg Brass Band. Mr Bickford was elected as secretary and 'Host' Keeler chairman and treasurer.

It is apparent that this band had but a short life for, in 1893, 'a dozen residents of Glenelg undertook the formation of a brass band' to which the corporation offered assistance by 'lending them a few of the instruments which belonged to a former band.' At a meeting of the Holdfast Bay Model Band in 1894 the suggestion was made that it should be under the control of the corporation, but this was not to eventuate until 1920 when the band was renamed 'Glenelg Municipal Band' and, to this end, it and the Adelaide Vice-Regal Band amalgamated and its 35 members, conducted by Mr Summerton, gave its first performance on 11 January 1920.

At the same time, the Storrie Memorial Bandstand was removed from in front of the Town Hall and re-erected on Colley Reserve which was considered to be 'a more suitable spot away from the noise of the train.'

In 1921, an appeal was made for funds to enable the band to compete in an Australasian A-Grade band competition at Ballarat, Victoria, where, in the previous year, it had won the B grade championship.

The band's musical director at this time was Mr W.H. May and its secretary, Mr F.G. Brown. In 1926, the corporation erected a bandstand on Colley Reserve and it was opened by the Mayor, Mr H.S. Rugless, on 16 May 1926.

Postal Facilities

People who complain, today, about late delivery of letters would have had cause for annoyance when the colony was founded because, in infant Adelaide, it was controlled by one man, housed in a tent on the Park Lands where the railway station is today and, in the words of a newspaper of the time, he was 'neglected, inefficient and stingy'. Such was the birthplace of today's postal system, but few would have anticipated expansion in those far-off days.

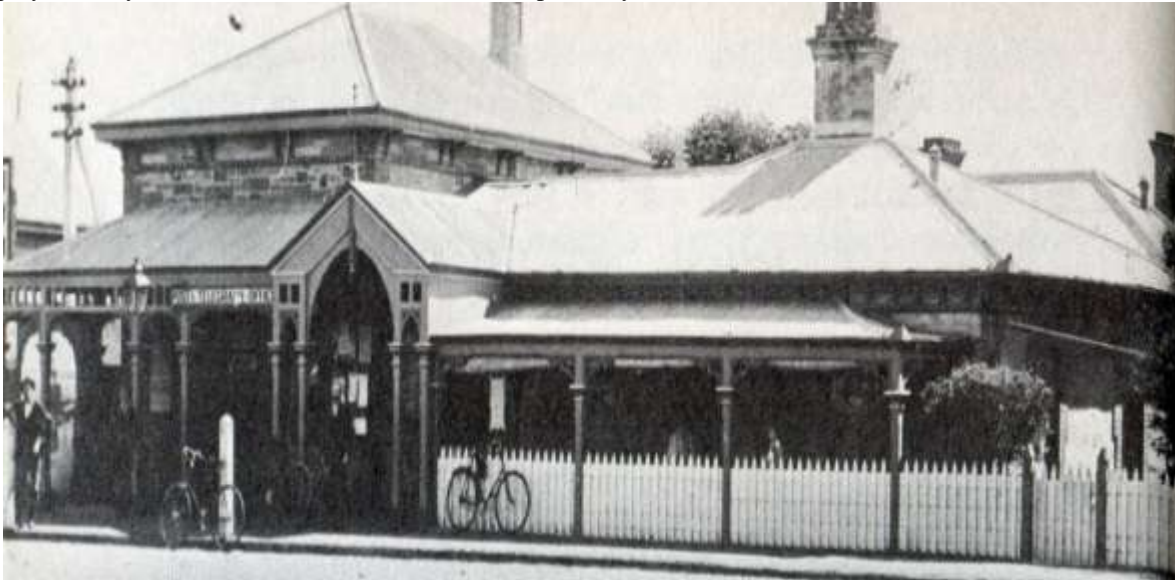
Thomas Gilbert, the Colonial Storekeeper, was the first postmaster of South Australia and all letters, whether ingoing or outgoing, were subject to a charge of one penny; there were not many, but what few there were did not receive expeditious handling. However, blame was not attached to Mr Gilbert for this - certainly, much should not have been expected from him, for he received only the beggarly sum of £30 a year for his work.

There was no delivery of letters and citizens of Adelaide had to be content to receive their mail when they could find time to call for it. After many complaints the post office was removed to what was known as 17 North Terrace on 14 December 1838; this, today, is the site of Westpac (formerly the Bank of New South Wales). Mr Henry Watts was then Postmaster General and the institution rented a portion of a stone building to transact its business.

The 25th of May 1839 was a red-letter day for Adelaide for it marked the first occasion on which mails were delivered to residents of the city. That year was one of progress, for the first Post Office Act was passed and the rate for all letters, except those posted on ship, was three pence. A post office was opened at Port Adelaide and a start was made to inaugurate branches in country places.

The first mails, landed at Glenelg by John Anthony were conveyed by John W. Bull to Adelaide, while the village's first post office was erected in 1849 by John McDonald adjacent to the Saint Leonards Inn where business was conducted until the late 1850s when it was transferred to Mr William Hitchcox's pharmacy on the Adelaide road.

In 1861, the first iron pillar boxes were erected in North and South Adelaide and although many, when opened, were found to contain rubbish their installation was greatly appreciated. From 1840 until 1860 the postal system made great strides. An instance of growth was the fact that, in 1840, there were only six post offices and nine employees; 20 years later there were 146 and 177, respectively.



Glenelg Post Office - 1900

At Glenelg, two pillars were installed, one at the Jetty Road-Partridge Street corner and the other on the northern side of the road to Adelaide near the Sturt Street corner, both being illuminated by gaslight from sunset until 11 p.m. Later, the postmaster was provided with a pony for the quicker delivery of mail and, by 1883, there were two deliveries daily. In the same year a telephone was installed at the post office.

Domestic and Public Lighting

In Governor Gawler's time a lantern, with a lighted candle in it, was hung on the corner of the vice-regal domain facing North Terrace as a guide to find Government House at night. Mr Bernard, Crown Solicitor, was invited to dine with the Gawler's one night and did not turn up. After dinner the governor and his guests strolled about the grounds that sloped down to the river, as it was free of scrub. Sounds of distress were heard and a lantern search revealed a hole, about nine feet deep, partly sunk for a well. Standing in it, nearly up to his knees in mud and water, was the unfortunate Crown Solicitor, who had missed the guiding light and tumbled into the hole. The accident had serious results, for Bernard was a delicate man and stricken with consumption. He caught a chill and never recovered and died within six months.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

In the early days, gas and electric light were but fairy tales and candles and lamps the primary luminants. Tallow candles were the chief commodity, sperm ones being almost unavailable - the latter were hard and had wicks that did not call for the use of snuffers. Tallow dripped horribly in hot weather and candles had to have cardboard fixed around them and be fastened by a pin thrust through the centre to keep them in an upright position.

The slush illuminant was made by filling a pannikin, or ordinary tin, about half way with earth, inserting a worsted wick, and putting fat on top of the earth - it gave but a dim light. An improvement was made by cutting the bottom of a transparent bottle, putting a cork in the neck of it and then filling the bottle with a portion of water and on top a quantity of refined fat. This lamp was hung in a socket and gave a much more brilliant light than the old form.

Then came the tallow dips; a worsted wick was dipped in hot fat, allowed to cool and the process was repeated over and over until a candle of the required size was secured. The fats left after cooking made very soft candles and the good housekeeper preferred to make hers from mutton fat. The next step in the evolution was the wax and, later, the sperm candle that was in use early in the 20th century. In the 1850s, kerosene and paraffin made a great transformation.

In a letter dated 4 October 1907, the Adelaide Electric Supply Co. Ltd. informed the Glenelg corporation of certain information in respect of the supply of electricity to the town:

At our interview yesterday we explained to you in detail the reasons which have hitherto prevented our making a start with an electric supply to Glenelg as soon as we intended... The chief reason was the magnitude of the work we have undertaken in initiating an electric supply scheme in Adelaide and its suburbs... and one which it has taken the gas undertaking about 50 years to cover... We will shortly be in a position to quote for public lighting in Glenelg...

It was not until 1909 that the work commenced and, in November of that year, it was announced that 'the company expects that all will be in readiness for the supply to be available about Christmas.' In 1914, a suggestion was made in the morning press that certain portions of the Glenelg beach set apart for bathing should be illuminated because:

A large number of people, too, have a dislike to having a dip at night on account of the eerie feeling engendered by coming in contact with the waves in the dark. This objection will at once fade under the influence of half a dozen good lamps... As the corporation employs an official during the summer months to parade in order to see that decorum is maintained, the control of lights may well be left in his hands... The scheme should have the support of every advocate of decent behaviour, since any bather acting indecorously could at once be 'spotted' and made an example of.

At a subsequent meeting of the corporation the proposed installation was approved unanimously.

Gas Supply

Forty years ago I recall the erection of the first gas lamp on 8 June 1863. It caused great excitement and a crowd of over 200 people clamoured to be connected with the new installation. Prior to this time oil, imported from England in earthenware jars, had been used in street lamps.

When the Lord Raglan Hotel was being erected the energetic builder thought that these empty jars might be used in the place of bricks which were scarce at the time.

Accordingly, he purchased all the vessels held by the lighting contractor and they now form the walls of the hotel, supported by a few bricks and a fair coating of cement. Where the weather of the years has wilted the plaster from the walls the jars are exposed to view.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

A newspaper report of 17 August 1875 said:

The rapidly rising seaside town of Glenelg is now in possession of another of the conveniences of modern life.

It is only two or three weeks since we mentioned that the Bay was in connection with the Adelaide waterworks, and now we have to chronicle the pleasing fact that the residents are able to exchange the glimmering of candles and kerosene lamps for the more brilliant flame of gas. On Saturday night, August 14, the gas was turned on for the first time and Glenelg was brilliantly illuminated. Over the two government buildings - the Post and Telegraph Office and the Police Station - the letters 'VR' were displayed, while the words 'Pier Hotel, Glenelg' were shown in jets over the inn of that name and there were several stars in front of other public houses.

The gasworks were situated on an acre of land close to the main road in Osmond Street at the north-eastern part of the town, but the site was not altogether suitable as it contained a lagoon of water which had to be filled up partially before the land could be utilised for the works. Hundreds of tons of sand had to be conveyed from the seashore.

A number of ratepayers gathered on the night of 25 July 1879 to celebrate the lighting of portion of Jetty Road by eight gas lights and the initial expense was, in the main, obtained from £50 levied upon the railway company for running their trains along this thoroughfare. This form of street lighting was dispensed with in 1920 and the manufacture of gas at Glenelg ceased in 1923.

Water Supply

All can appreciate the advantages of pure limpid water compared with the turgid, unwholesome fluid supplied to our homes... From time to time indignant householders complain of the presence of gratuitous fish in the pipes, too small to be fit for the kitchen, too big to be pleasant in the drinking water.

(*Advertiser*, 6 February 1884)

By 1850, the River Torrens, a once sylvan stream, was a succession of ugly, muddy ponds, its banks denuded of the gums and undergrowth that once had made them a beauty spot. Under the strain of up to 500 cart loads of water a day for a burgeoning city of 11,000 inhabitants, the pools shrank alarmingly at the end of rainless summers.

Water carting was not so crude at this time for Mr Pybus's 'waterworks', with a strong steam engine, raised 300,000 gallons a day.

The difficulty was that too often the daily requirement was not always available and the project of a reservoir, which had been toyed with by dilettante engineers for a decade, became a real necessity. There was also another reason. Gradually, the association between the undrained city and the recurring outbreaks of 'colonial fever' were borne upon the doctors of the day and elaborate plans were proposed for sewerage the most populous part of the town. Then it was remembered that sewers without water were like a cart without a horse.

The fertile Mr Pybus, seeing the writing on the wall, evolved another plan. If the hill between the waterworks and North Terrace was only swept away, he could pump the river water right up into the town and 'if something ornamental was insisted upon', would recommend a reservoir at, or near, Government House gate, connecting with similar reservoirs in the squares at which the water carts could load cheaply and expeditiously. But the hill would not remove itself, so he advanced another scheme - one lot of overhead tanks holding 300,000 gallons set on a platform near the river and raised twenty feet above the level of Victoria Square.

Into this maze of planning and conjecture stepped the Colonial Engineer, Colonel Freeling, with a breathtaking project, namely, the damming at Brownhill Creek for a reservoir of 46 million gallons sufficient for a town of 30,000 people. Freeling went further in his planning - Greenhill Creek, First, Second, Third and Fourth Creeks, affluents of the Torrens, were gauged, then the parent stream itself. Its flow far surpassed the total of its creeks and, accordingly, he boldly changed his front and Thorndon Park became Adelaide's first storage.

The original contract was completed in May 1859 following which certain additions and alterations were made. The retaining wall of a weir in the gorge, planned originally for ten feet, was raised to twenty feet and, finally, rebuilt a little further upstream because its masonry was shoddy.

Truly the government was in deep water and had to pay its way out.

So, in 1860, Adelaide rejoiced in reticulated water and forgot what it had cost. Forgot, too, the warning to open taps to allow air to escape before the advancing water, thus allowing stopcocks to be blown off and low floors flooded. Lavish with a gift ready at the turn of a tap, the council watered the streets directly from the hydrants until the damage to the metal, and the sight of splashed and half-drowned citizens, led it to a better way. Still ecstatic, it sprayed an office front to show what could be done in case of fire, to the delight of the owner, who saw his facade washed clean, and the chagrin of tenants, who found their books all wet and muddy.

As for Glenelg's water supply, in his reminiscences David Shepard recalled that:

There was no water service to the town. The people had to depend on two men that carted water from a well that was sunk on the bank of the Sturt Creek by T.P. Jones close to the Old Gum Tree. They charged fifteen pence to fill your cask - very often people ran out of water and had to borrow from neighbours and send an urgent message to the water cart man. They were always easily found, for when they were not carting water they were at the Berkshire Hotel. They were noted boozers.

Dulcie Perry, in *The Place of Waters*, says that John McDonald initiated this service on an acre of land he owned near the Old Gum Tree where he dug two wells and used two water carts to supply the residents. Later, John Hector, who gifted the land on which the said tree stands, made another well available for public use while other sources of supply were found in the sand hills, a few yards above high water mark.

The Hope Valley reservoir was turned on in June 1872 and the catchment area covered 135 square miles, with an average annual rainfall of 30 inches. It was this reservoir that allowed water to be laid on to Glenelg in August 1875 but, early on, its potability was a cause for concern:

Perhaps you have noticed the colour of the water we have been supplied with lately... On bringing the residue to the light it had the appearance of white lead... Today it has changed twice - from dirty white to greenish brown... Several... consumers state that fish, more or less decomposed, come through the taps or choke them up and have to be pulled out or forked out; other persons speak of the water as bad in odor and taste. .

The Telephone Exchange

Moneylenders when demanding over 10 per cent per annum are generally with odium classed as usurers, but the SA government out-herods Herod in... respect [of telephone charges]...

(*Register*, 29 July 1884)

The opening of the Glenelg Telephone Exchange took place on 1 October 1901 and the Mayor, Mr A.J. Roberts, spoke the first message and, after several other guests had spoken, an adjournment was made to the Mayor's parlour where 'Success to the new exchange' was proposed by the Mayor and responded to by Sir Charles Todd. It was converted to an automatic system at midnight on Saturday, 10 December 1927.



Adelaide Telephone Exchange - 1909

The Glenelg and Marion Abattoirs

The city slaughterhouse is in close proximity to the spot where the uncleanly night-carts are kept when not in use... Where the cattle are slaughtered are large heaps of refuse and offal... This is a crying evil and one which is extremely discreditable to the authorities...

(*Register*, 21 November 1879)

From the early 1870s, the presence of slaughter yards within the district was anathema to many citizens who complained of real and imagined nuisances caused by the town's several butchers. In 1882, a proposal to establish an abattoir failed because of the antipathy existing among butchers.

By 1908, owing to the difficulty of obtaining a meat supply for Glenelg and district from Gepp's Cross abattoirs, both local butchers and residents objected strongly to becoming incorporated with the metropolitan abattoirs scheme. It was during the mayoralty of Mr H.W. Varley that the matter was taken up.

On 19 April 1909, the Glenelg corporation was urged to take action and conferences followed until 1913 when a public meeting was held. largely as a result of the efforts of Councillor Olifent, when the council was directed to take immediate action to provide a local slaughterhouse. A poll followed on 1 November 1913 which favoured the proposition; three proposals were considered and the one put forward by local butchers adopted.

These men then proceeded to erect an abattoirs close to the Oaklands railway station on 15 acres of land, the entire cost being borne by the butchers who, for the following 21 years, paid the Marion council a peppercorn rental for the property in order that the latter would have legal control at the end of that term. It was opened on 23 August 1915.

Glenelg Soldiers' Memorial Hall

It is quite time that some one raised a protest against the form so many... memorials are taking... chiefly stone... spoiling and saddening the landscape, to say nothing of the cost of upkeep... The only worthy memorial of their great deeds would be something for the living, especially those who came back maimed...

(Register, 20 July 1921)

Glenelg residents were proud of the fact that the district sent about 1,000 men to the front during the Great War of 1914-1918 and how to adequately commemorate the services of those soldiers exercised the minds of the municipal authorities. In February 1920, when the Town Hall had become totally inadequate for the requirements of Glenelg, it was decided to enlarge it. However, at a public meeting held on 18 May 1921 the Mayor, Mr Frank Smith, advised the audience that the proposal had been delayed because the corporation had been unable to obtain a piece of land to the east of, and adjoining the Town Hall and, accordingly, the whole proposition needed to be reconsidered.

By June 1921, it had been decided that a memorial building would be erected on land at the rear of the Town Hall and abutting Colley Reserve and the Mayor was pleased to advise that 'already applications have been received for the leasing of the new hall and a large kiosk that was to be erected on the ground floor.' In February 1922, a fund raising event in the form of a cooking competition was held when members of the ladies' committee approached the proprietors of Anchor Self-raising Flour, G. Wood, Son & Co. Ltd, who kindly donated £25 in prizes.

By this, and other means, £3,000 were raised, culminating in a Chinese Fair in Moseley Square in January 1923. On 7 October a memorial tablet was unveiled by the Governor-general, Lord Forster, in the presence of a large number of citizens and, on 22 November 1924, it was opened by Mrs G. Heithersay, 'a lady who sent more sons to the front than any other lady in the district.'

Kapara - The Anzac Hostel

In 1920, Glenelg was honoured when selected as the site in South Australia for an 'Anzac Hostel'. The house selected for the purpose 'fronted The Mall with Bate Street on the south side and Margate Street at the rear.' Formerly, it was the residence of Mr Jury who 'parted with it for a moderate sum as an earnest appreciation of the men who had placed their all at the service of their country.'

'He had already given a son to that country and his name should be perpetuated as one of the patriots of South Australia.' Matron O'Donnell, author of 'Letters of an Australian Army Sister', was put in charge and had as assistants, Nurses Stacey, Perrin, Magarey, Jackson and Dorsch.

The Anzac Hostel provided special accommodation for men suffering from the effects of war service who did not require hospital treatment. About 20 men were kept there for some time, but, owing to deaths and other causes, that number was reduced to six for which a staff of eight was required. It closed as from 31 July 1929. In 1940, it became a Red Cross Convalescent Home and, on 1 July 1973, was taken over by Aged Cottage Homes Inc.

Boy Scouts

[The employers] expect them to keep honest on small salaries, yet they never attempt to stop the ever-growing vice - drink. The government, also banks, I maintain, ought to have specially employed a detective who would report any offender who was found to be giving way to riotous living...

What is wanted is intellectual amusements, debating societies, etc, and down with hotel drinking and tobacco smoking.

(Register, 25 September 1883)

The troop was started in 1924 by Mr T. Webb; Mr Eyres followed and he relinquished the position when he went to Queensland. The 3rd Glenelg Troop of Boy Scouts celebrated its fifth birthday in February 1929 in St Peter's Parish Hall. Mr Ernest Lake was scoutmaster with assistance from Mr C.B Eyres

In 1929, the membership was 24, divided into three patrols, while a strong committee of parents supported it by raising funds to construct a Scout hall on land owned at Edison Street, Saint Leonards, and until this was erected meetings were held in a disused church hall in Edison Street.

The Depression Years of the 1930s

During these years there seemed no end to the selfishness, greed and aggression produced by a competitive society, with its invariable tendency to divide into rich and poor. This decade was to see riots upon the streets of Adelaide where workers, armed with iron bars and spiked sticks and branded as 'communists' by some sections of the press, protested against the action of government in removing beef from the ration issue. Bailiffs, supported by police equipped with batons and sledge-hammers, forced families from slum homes into the streets, while malnourished, barefooted children in rags stood, forlornly, with their parents in queues at soup kitchens and dole centres.

Among the aggrieved were diggers from the World War I and widows of ex-servicemen who were refused a pension from the repatriation authority whose counterpart, the War Service Homes Commission, was 'as ruthless as the banks in evicting those unable to keep up their rent payments.' The promise of 'a land fit for heroes' proved to be no more than idle rhetoric as misery upon misery was heaped upon a great majority of the working class.

On the northern bank of the River Torrens was an area known as 'Pinky Flat', so named because, during the depression it was used as a camp by the unemployed and 'Pinky' was consumed there - this beverage was described as 'young, immature wine, with sugar or syrup added to sweeten, and enough raw spirit thrown in to prevent fermentation.'

In 1933, 'Adelaide's village of forgotten men - the abode of river dwellers... from Morphett Street bridge it sprawls along the south bank of the Torrens and the weir, then transfers to the opposite bank and peters out about a quarter of a mile downstream. Its occupants - more than 60 unemployed single men who are waiting for the time when an improvement in the labour market will allow them to return to their respective avenues of work... They have little patches of ground and in these thrive tomatoes, trombones, melons, lettuce, onions, potatoes and even strawberries and chillies...'

In summation of the human degradation suffered during the depression years, one commentator invited deeper thought, and wondered as to whether mankind had learned any moral lessons from that sad and sorry period of our history, when he said:

There seems to be no end to the selfishness, greed and aggression produced by a competitive society, with its inevitable tendency to divide into rich and poor. [Today] with the true figure of unemployed and underemployed people running at well over a million, social wastage and disillusionment continue at unacceptable levels. The task of creating a fairer society seems just as challenging, the way ahead just as obscure, as it did to the men and women who battled their way through the depression.



Opening of electric tramway in 1929

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Appendix 28

An Early Tramway to Thebarton and Henley Beach

Every variety of jolt and violent swaying, both sidelong and upwards, has to be endured - not necessarily for the whole journey, because it is open to passengers, who cannot bear the infliction, to get out and walk before reaching their destination.

(Register, 24 October 1894, page 4h)

Tramways to Thebarton and Henley Beach

By the 1870s it had become apparent to the authorities that rail communication was an efficient way of conveyance and, by 1877, horse trams had arrived on the local scene and services plied to and from nearby suburbs, Thebarton being serviced as from 23 October 1880 when a line was opened running from Hindley Street, across the Park Lands along Mile End Road 'where it crossed over the Holdfast Bay and Nairne railway lines close to their junction.' It then took a northerly course to the Hindmarsh Bridge and, after crossing same, ran 'down to the Hope Inn' and turned off to the depot.

Another line along Henley Beach Road opened on 13 February 1883 and was more convenient for the residents of Thebarton. However, all was not smooth running for the patrons because many complaints were forthcoming about the uncomfortable trips, the dilatory manner of drivers and the cheekiness of tramboys:

The trams rarely run up to the time that is published... the boys are decidedly cheeky (their being dirty is... excusable) and some of the drivers seem asleep during the journey... The already fatigued bony horses... should have been turned out four years ago...



Horse Tram service to Thebarton – Commenced in 1883

A complaint about drunkenness and larrikinism together with a novel remedy by invoking the use of trams was forthcoming from a concerned citizen:

[The trams] carry dozens of larrikins to Henley Beach regularly every Sunday, who make a practice of going there purely to get drunk; and the result is they disgrace their manhood and offend women and children, not only by a grievous exhibition of intoxication, but also by resorting to the most obscene and revolting language.

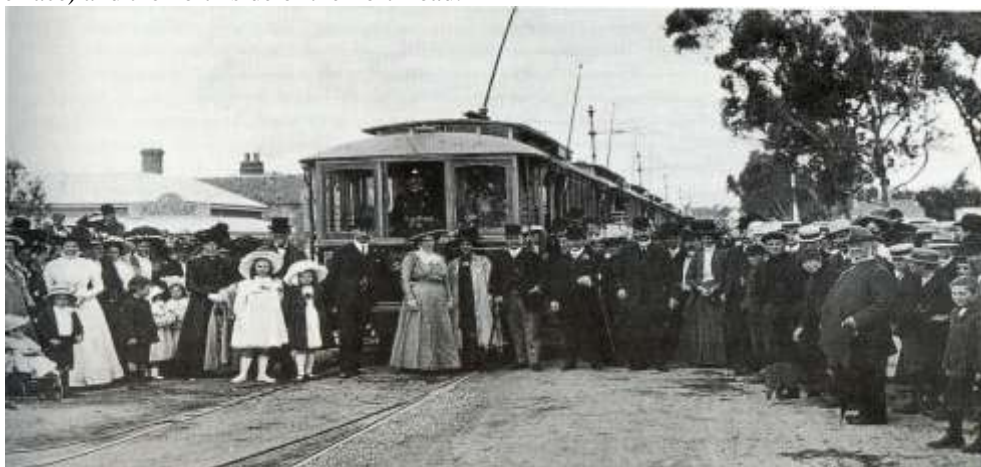
The evil can be easily remedied... Carry out the same policy as adopted by the Railway Commissioner towards the Semaphore, and Henley Beach will be free from visitors. Give them slow trams, put on some old horse cars, and do not dust them more than once a day in summer; charge 1/6 [15 cents] return, and never allow passengers to arrive at the tabulated time, and even drunks will seek fresh places for their weekly spree.

The electrification of tramways came to the district in December 1909 with a double track line to Thebarton from Adelaide and a single track to Henley Beach; the latter section was completed first so four cars were transported

from the Hackney Depot to Thebarton and a passenger service inaugurated on 23 December 1909 with horse cars carrying out the former until 9 March 1910.

To give passengers better access, the former horse tram route was altered and a new one built along Parker, Albert and Holland Streets to take passengers into Hindmarsh via a reinforced concrete bridge built across the river at the end of Holland Street and then along Manton Street.

This was to change in January 1923 when a new line opened which went down the south side of the Port Road and down George Street to connect with the former line at Albert Street. The return route crossed the river on a new bridge built from Manton Street to Cawthorne Street (since demolished) and on into Light Terrace, Port Road (then Shierlaw Terrace) and the north side of the Port Road.



Opening of Electric Tramway Service in 1910

Electric trams served the community for nearly fifty years when, in 1954, following a decision which is still the subject of concern today, they were replaced by buses, the proponents of which contended that they were more mobile and that routes could be changed or extended at less cost; matters such as air pollution did not enter into the debate!

Gangs of men commenced removing the tram lines in Light Terrace in September 1954 and the Henley Beach service was terminated in 1957. With the one exception of the Glenelg line, the complete suburban network had been dismantled by the close of 1958.

Appendix 29

The Adelaide and Hindmarsh Tramway Company

It was not uncommon to find that a car, supposed to be licensed to carry sixteen passengers inside and nineteen outside, would have as many as twenty-five within and more than thirty without. To remonstrate with the driver during this overloading process was to no avail for he would disregard all remonstrances and take on passengers as long as he could pack them in.

(G.H. Manning. *A Colonial Experience*)

The Adelaide and Hindmarsh Tramway Company was formed in April 1876 but an Act of Parliament to authorise the tramway was not assented to until 21 December 1877. The line was three miles and 43 chains in length and its terminus was on six acres of land close to the Port Road near the Hope Inn.

The principle of construction of the line was a novel one in South Australia for the rails were laid on the top of longitudinal sleepers which were supported by transverse wooden sleepers. Experience showed that this system allowed the cars to run much more smoothly than on lines where the sleepers were laid on iron 'chairs'. The work was carried out by Messrs Wright & Reed, engineers and architects and Mr Michael Daly was the contractor.

The line was opened by Governor Jervis on Saturday, 23 October 1880 proceedings commencing at two o'clock when five cars were drawn up in Hindley Street:

The journey down to the Hindmarsh end of the line was accomplished without any mistakes, while bunting and evergreens were displayed profusely at several points and a considerable number of inhabitants came out to see the proceedings.

In February 1881, the directors received two different suggestions to extend the line. One was to run it to New Thebarton and the other to extend it to Kirkcaldy Beach. The directors were attracted to the former which proposed the line running for an additional one mile and fourteen chains to section 94; further, an offer from interested parties to take up shares sufficient to furnish the cost was an added attraction.

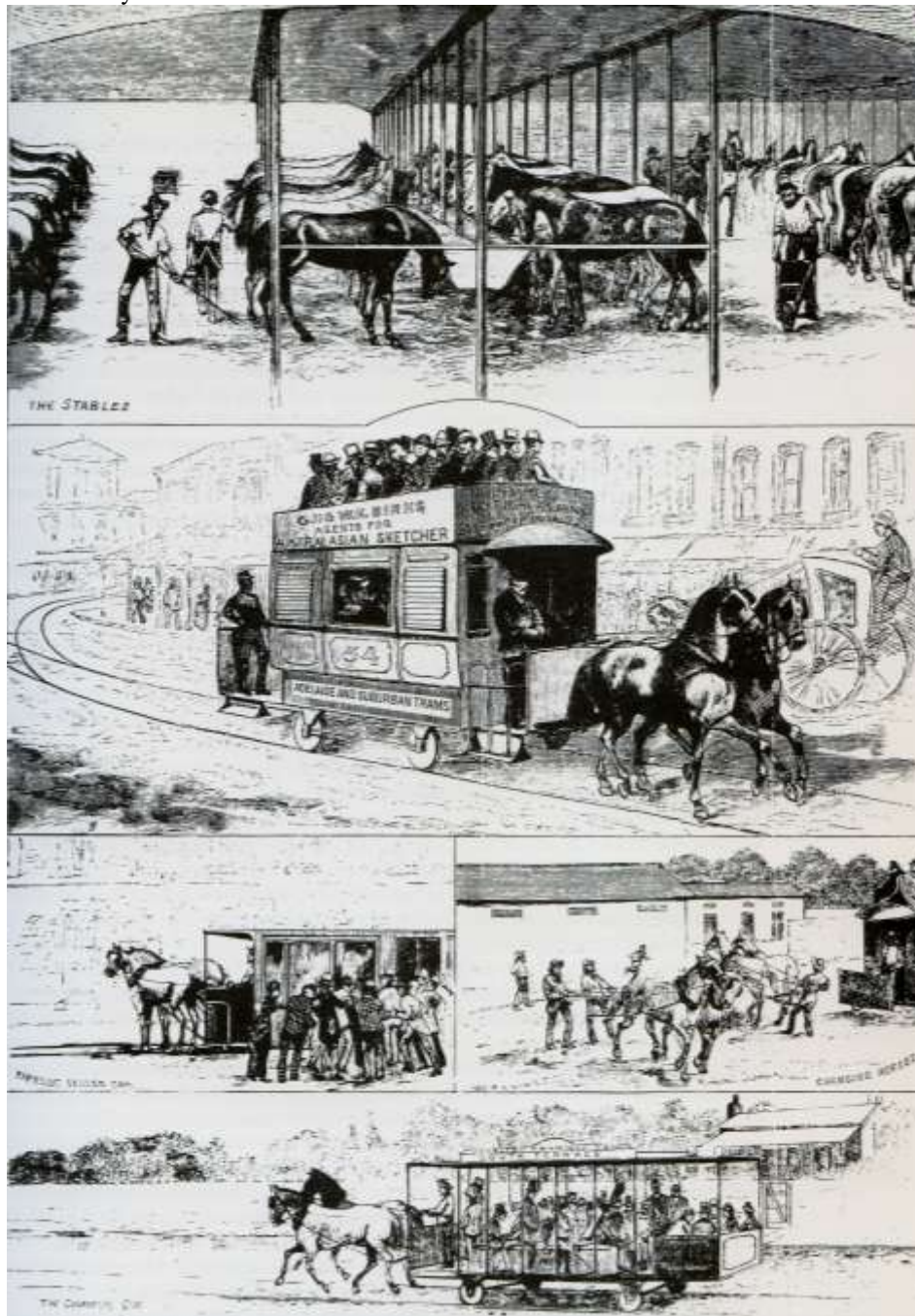
At a meeting of shareholders in May 1881, the directors informed the meeting that both these proposed extensions would be of great advantage to the public and explained the envisaged routes for which a Bill was being prepared

for introduction into parliament where authority was sought to extend 'Tramway no. 1 line to New Thebarton, Henley Beach and via Seaview Road to the junction of Tramway Line no. 6 at the Grange.'

While negotiations were pending a letter was received from Mr David Murray applying on behalf of the Grange proprietors for 2,000 shares in consideration of the Company's tramlines being extended from Hindmarsh via Kirkcaldy Beach Road to the Grange.

The directors decided not to construct the latter work which prompted a series of trouble with Mr Arthur Harvey and other Grange land proprietors until, finally, litigation favoured the company. Legislative sanction was then obtained on 18 November 1881 to permit the company to lay down lines from Mile End, along the Henley Beach Road to the seashore and thence to the Grange.

Delays in construction were experienced due to council intervention thus delaying the opening of the line until 13 February 1883 - closely associated with the tramway was the erection of a new jetty at Henley Beach the first pile being driven on the same day.



A few 1883 activities of the Adelaide & Suburban Tramway Company and the Adelaide and Parkside Tramway Company

The question of tramboys was the subject of debate in 1882 with a view to replacing them with male adults because experience on other lines had shown that to do so would increase weekly receipts. A shareholder put the view that he did not think it fair to place little boys in a position where the temptations were so great as almost to induce them to

become systematic thieves. Further, they were unable to keep order in the cars in cases of drunkenness and use of obscene language.

By 1886. the company was in financial trouble and went into voluntary liquidation prior to emerging in a reconstructed state. A few local felons rubbed some salt into its open wounds by breaking and entering the company's office at North Thebarton and decamping with £5 in cash and bundles of tickets!

By the end of the 1880s, the disadvantages of horse traction were apparent in that the fluctuation in the price of horse feed made all the difference between working tramways at a loss or a profit; further, it was very difficult to meet the extra pressure of holidays and special occasions without overtaxing the horses.

Accordingly, trials of an electric car were undertaken in January 1889. 'The absence of any mechanism with the exception of a strong chain-belt connecting the motor directly with the axles of the car was a feature; there were no pistons, cranks, levers, or other work of a delicate or complicated character, such as used in steam motors, everything being plain and strong, suitable for running over the dusty streets of the city.'

The speed attained on the trial was 10 miles per hour and it was pointed out that by the time the car returned to the city and back to Thebarton the distance run with only one charge of the battery would be about fifty miles. The general conclusion was electric traction would soon supplant the 'less satisfactory and more elaborate methods... now in operation.'

Complaints about service and fares were to the fore in mid-1889 some of which are analogous to events of the 1990s:

On all other lines I believe children go free, and have done so on this line until recently, when a notice was placed in the cars that 'children in arms go free.' Now a father, if so inclined, can take his child of six or seven years of age on his knee and so pay no fare, whereas a poor mother with a baby in her arms and a little toddler of two years must pay for the two year old, or get out and walk, as on one occasion a poor woman had to do at the direction of a Director on board.

Then the system of working-class tickets, which has yielded the Company a good and even revenue... is being so hampered with ridiculous conditions as to how, when and where, and by whom they may be purchased, that the whole community of working people are disgusted and are casting about in their own minds for some other mode of conveyance.

People can be conveyed from Bowden to Adelaide and back for... five shillings a month, without any limit as to the number of times travelling... [now the working class tickets on trams costing six shillings a month] are only to be had at tram sheds, and at certain hours... Only a dozen can be purchased at a time, thus necessitating a journey every week. A form also has to be filled up as to name, residence, occupation, etc. Such ridiculous regulations not many working men will submit to...

By 1890, the company was making profits 'in spite of the high price of fodder and the heavy expenses caused by the floods during the first three months.' At a half-yearly meeting of shareholders Mr Nash, MP, requested that the directors take into consideration the possibility of shortening the hours of labour of the drivers and conductors. He said he had no wish to embarrass the directors 'but he would like them to gratify the public appetite, which was now craving for a shortening of the hours of labour.'

He was also of the opinion that without increasing the company's 'burden' the directors could show that they were 'men of feeling'. He believed the men worked 98 hours a week which appeared to be more than onerous and overdue for reform. Mr Buik, Chairman of Directors, claimed that the company was a considerate employer for it gave workers, magnanimously, a half-day holiday every week, a week's holiday every year and were paid an additional wage when extra cars were running.

Further, he proudly announced that the average number of hours in a day's work, Sunday included, were eleven and a half, while the boys worked ten hours. He went on and said that no complaints had been forthcoming from the men and all expressed themselves satisfied - little wonder in view of the depressed state of the economy at the time coupled with rampant unemployment. Other shareholders, no doubt intent on maintaining profits and dividends, rose to the occasion and in pious tones testified that the men were content.

The coming of the electric trams sounded the death knell of the company and, in 1908, a newspaper report headed 'More Tramway Funerals' appeared in the local press for, on 15 February 1907, it had gone into liquidation as a result of purchase by the South Australian Government.

Information on Allotments in Thebarton Subdivided by Colonel William Light and Maria Gandy

Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
1	Unknown	Unknown	28230 - 1765/166	George Moore obtained possessory title. Brought under RPA by William H. Flaherty in 1939.
2.	?	?	?	?
3.	Thomas Toole	11-12-1839	26051 - 918/67	Brought under RPA by the Estate of Ada Moore in

1912.

4	Unknown	Unknown	28667 - 2054/5	Brought under RPA by G. Keough in 1949.
5	William B. Town, bricklayer	2-10-1839	?	?
6	William J. Sayers	2-10-1839	6728 - 75/216	Purchased by Henry Watson, schoolmaster, on 1 July 1851.
7	?	?	?	?
8	Unknown	Unknown -	? - 2158/180	Possessory title to John Foreman.
9	Unknown	Unknown	28891 - 2253/31	?
10	Unknown	Unknown	26454 - 1040/63...	Henry Taylor obtained possessory title, brought under RPA by Alice Taylor in 1915.
11	Joseph Clark, yeoman	2-10-1840	5098 - 53/169.	?
12	Unknown	Unknown	22545 - 580/106	Brought under RPA by George Lea in 1893.
13	Unknown	Unknown	24084 - 696/115	Thomas Kelly obtained a possessory title; brought under RPA by John Hogan, labourer, in 1900.
14	?	?	?	?
15	John Byers	2-10-1839	?	?
16	?	?	?	?
17	Joseph Bell	2-10-1839	9098 - 115/78	Purchased by David Downing on 13 July 1846 and 28 September 1846.
18	?	?	?	?
19	Unknown	Unknown	26170 - 983/76	Possessory title to Dennis O'Loughlin from 1853; brought under RPA by Mary Quinn in 1913.
20	Unknown	Unknown	57 - 1505/74	Michael O'Grady obtained possessory title; brought under RPA by Esther M. Agg in 1920.
21	George Cole	1839	24435 - 696/137	Brought under RPA by William Risdon in 1902.
22	Josiah Bouch (?)	Unknown	17128 - 302/201	Brought under RPA in 1878 by Mary Ann O'Grady under possessory title of Dennis O'Loughlin over 33 years.
23	Thomas Toole	12-11-1839	23445&27026 - 1266/105	Bequeathed to Catholic Benefit Society in 1876.
24	Unknown	Unknown	24164 - 678/187	Possessory title to John Collins; brought under RPA by Elizabeth V. McLean in 1901.
25	Edwin Bird	2-10-1839	6314 - 75/82	?
26	Edwin Bird	2-10-1839	?	?
27	G. Ottoway	2-10-1839	6314 - 75/83	Also see Lots 56, 57, 58 & 59 owned by William Gardiner
28	Do	Do	?	?
29	?	?	?	?
30	Thomas Ottaway	2-10-1839	19984A - 509/84	Sold to Burnet P. Mudge, Minister of Religion, on 19 January 1883.
31	William Newman, groom	2-10-1839	17813 - 329/97	Subsequent owners, 18 July 1849, Thomas L. Southwick, cabinet maker; 14 November 1849, Alexander Cockburn, painter; 12 November 1852, Josiah Novis, ironworker; 4 January 1856, Thomas Newman, ironworker; 25 June 1867, Oliver Arntzen.
32	William Newman, groom	2-10-1839	12573 - 176/70	Subsequent owners, 28 January 1851, Robert Wade,

labourer; 12 August 1857, Henry D. Hilton,
printer; 22 September 1857, Robert May,
storekeeper; 25 May 1863, Thomas Newman, Grocer.

33	Robert Wade, labourer	2-10-1839	?	?
34.	Robert Jacques, mason	2-10-1839	?	?
35	Do	2-10-1839	20942 - 510/154	Brought under RPA by the estate of Charles M. Pearson (deceased)
36	?	?	?	?
37	William G. Field	2-10-1839	4091 - 42/35	Sold to William F. Turner on 21 August 1848.
38	William G. Field	2-10-1839	23829 - 651/35	Subsequent owners - 23 August 1848, John Forward; 6 March 1854, William Forward, tailor.
39	William Wainwright, watchmaker	2-10-1839	?	?
40	do.	do.	?	?
41	George Read, carpenter	16-8-1847	22839 - 596/124	Brought under the RPA by William G. Rhind in 1895.
42	James Mayne (?) -	Unknown	25899 - 899/182	Purchased by Robert Strutton on 16-11-1872. Brought under RPA by George M. Dew in 1911.
43	William Gandy, brickmaker	2-10-1839	?	?
44	John Carmen	2-10-1839	22839 - 596/124	Brought under the RPA by William G. Rhind in 1895.
45	Thomas Roberts, labourer	2-10-1839	?	?
46	Jonathan Roberts	2-10-1839	15276 - 236/99	Brought under RPA by John Collins, draper of Woodville, in 1876.
47	William G. Field	2-10-1839	24518 - 705/120	Brought under RPA by Charles Forward in 1903.
48	William G. Field	2-10-1839	4091 - 42/235	?
49	do.	do.	?	Purchased by William F. Turner, carrier on 21 August 1848.
50	William Newman, groom	2-10-1839	15851 - 254/243	?
51	do.	do.	?	Sold to William Challen on 28 August 1847.
52	Thomas Jacques, mason	2-10-1839	22780 - 504/130	?
53	William Bailes, carpenter	2-10-1839	?	see under Lot 55
54	Thomas D. Symes, labourer	2-10-1839	?	do.
55	Robert Warland, glazier	2-10-1839	12573 - 176/70	Lot 53 purchased by George Dew, baker on 15 November 1853 and by Robert May, storekeeper on 31 December 1853. Lots 54 and 55 purchased by Thomas Ottaway licensed victualler on 21 March 1844.
56	Charles Smith	2-10-1839	?	?
57	William Lind, bootmaker	2-10-1839	?	?
58	James Forbes	2-10-1839	?	?
59	Henry Hersey	2-10-1839	6314 - 75/83	Purchased by William Gardiner, miller, on 10 February 1844.
60	Samuel Burfield	2-10-1839	6314 - 75/82.	?

61 Robert Foster	2-10-1839	?	?
62 Stephen Gower	2-10-1839	?	?
63 Stephen Gower	2-10-1839	?	?
64 Stephen Gower	2-10-1839	?	?
65 John Merritt	2-10-1839	?	?
66 Unknown	Unknown	?	Claimed by Edward Lowe under possessory title. Brought under RPA by Anne Lowe in 1900.
67 Charles G. Germein	2-10-1839	?	?
68 do	?	?	?
69 do	?	17453 - 318/61	?
70 Thomas Roberts, quarry labourer	2-10-1839	4554 - 222/179	?
71	No information in the Department of Lands.		
72 Thomas Roberts, quarry labourer	2-10-1839	14559 - 222/187	?
73 George Lea, carpenter	2-10-1839	22545 - 580/106	?
74 Thomas Jelfs, butcher	2-10-1839	159 - 6/105	Subsequent owners, 1 July 1854, John Gregory, mattress maker; 10 September 1858, Edward Cross of Dunolly, Victoria; in 1858, Patrick Scanlan.
75 Richard Pyke, bricklayer	2-10-1839	5749 - 62/97	Subsequent owners, 5 October 1846, Henry Salter, labourer; 23 March 1849, Joel Roberts, gentleman; 18 March 1851, William Gurr, shoemaker; 5 May 1858, Samuel Pearce, tinsmith.
76 Unknown	Unknown	25862 - 863/76	Claimed by Samuel Pearce under a possessory title. Brought under RPA by Francis Smedley in 1910.
77 Robert Halden, labourer	2-10-1839	?	?
78 William Dunn	2-10-1839	25550 - 803/37	Brought under RPA by the estate of E. Middleton.
79 T.P. Addison and George Mayo 24 July 1847		10678 - 145/141	Subsequent owners, 8 January 1851, Edward Molineux, shoemaker; 28 March 1853, James Marriott, gardener, 4 May 1853, Michael Spellacy, carter; 25 September 1855, Jonathan Powell, butcher.
George Harding, labourer	2-10-1839	1500 - 15/103	Brought under RPA by John Mountney.
81 William Smith, saddler	2-10-1839	25963 - 890/94	Brought under RPA by Mary Kenny in 1911.
82 William Waters, labourer	2-10-1839	7828 - 93/150	Subsequent owners, 5 October 1846, David Downing, storekeeper; 1864, Henry W. Bolt, plumber; 12 December 1864, John Blencowe, carrier.
83 James Fawcett, mariner	2-10-1839	3165 - 32/208	Purchased by Thomas Gambrell, tailor on 29 July 1842
84 Thomas Toole	12-11-1839	26677 - 1111/167	Brought under RPA by A.J. & A. Hemingway in 1918.
85 Thomas Toole	12-11-1839	15060 - 230/181	Subsequent owners, 13 August 1853, Henry Lee, labourer; 17 August 1860, William Hemmingway, blacksmith; 16 June 1866, John Hemmingway, butcher;

1 June 1867, John Mountney, dealer.

86 Samuel McGlinn	2-10-1839	102 - 2/145	Subsequent owners, 6 December 1840, William Wilkins, licensed victualler; 6 May 1854, Edward Mitchelson, shoemaker.
87 James Rintoull, labourer	2-10-1839	2942 - 510/154	Brought under RPA by M. Pearson in 1886.
88 Charles Trott, shoemaker	2-10-1839	25969 - 885/89	Brought under RPA by Christine Keely in 1911.
89 James Gregory	2-10-1839	?	?
90 Charles Myers	2-10-1839	28176 - 1733/24	Brought under RPA by Austral Sheet Metal Works in 1939.
91 George Shepherd, mason	2-10-1839	?	?
92 do	?	?	?
93 Thomas C. Simms, cabinet maker	2-10-1839	23294 - 622/185	Brought under RPA by Honora Daly in 1897.
94 Unknown	Unknown	27990 - 1659/110	Brought under RPA by Katherine O'Reilly in 1925.
95 ?	?	?	?
96 John Gregory	2-10-1839	26434 - 1033/166	Sold to John Foreman on 21 July 1848; leased for 14 years to Anthony Foster, F.H. Faulding and John Colton. Brought under RPA by the estate of John Foreman in 1915.
97 Jonathon Roberts, quarry labourer	2-10-1839	5426 - 57/91.	?
98	No information in the Department of Lands		
99 George Mills, cabinet maker	2-10-1839	27378 - 1406/56	Brought under RPA by E.T.N. & A.T. Matters in 1925.
100 ?	?	?	?
101 Levi and William L. Chatfield	2-10-1839	27433 - 1436/120	Brought under RPA by Ernst Hankins in 1926.
102 Levi and William L. Chatfield, labourers	2-10-1839	27825 - 1590/11	Brought under RPA by Ellie C. Wilson in 1930.
103 John Baggs, brickmaker	2-10-1839	?	?
104 do	?	?	?
105 George Gandy, brickmaker	?	?	?
106 do	2-10-1839	22391 - 571/155-156	Brought under RPA by George P. Badman in 1892.
107 ?	?	?	?
108 James Grylls	Unknown	19797 - 3081/133	?
109 ?	?	?	?
110	No information in the Department of Lands.		
111 ?	?	?	?
112 ?	?	?	?
113 John Penley, labourer	2-10-1839	16302 - 266/11	?
114 John Ridgway	2-10-1839	5610 - 243/10	?

115	?	?	?	?
116	John Hill, wheelwright	2-10-1839	18691 - 374/137	Brought under RPA by Thomas Newman in 1881.
117.	Thomas Jacques	Unknown	17408 - 318/56	Brought under RPA by John Butler, engineer, in 1879.
118	William Matthews, tailor	2-10-1839	15614 - 243/14	Subsequent owners, July 1841, William Ridgway; 29 March 1851, C. Cornwell; 2 September 1856, C. Barnett of the Wheatsheaf Inn.
119	Unknown	Unknown	25405 - 286/95	Brought under RPA by Isabella Butler by a possessory title.
120	Thomas Toole	12-11-1839	?	?
121	William Harmer	2-10-1839	1035 - 11/180	Subsequent owners, 21 August 1849, William Armor; 3 August 1858, Thomas Jacques, licensed victualler.
122)				
123)	?	?	?	?
124)				
125	Thomas Toole	12-11-1839	15322 - 238/93	?
126	Thomas Toole, stockholder	13-10-1839	7035 - 80/177	?
127)				
128)				
129)	?	?	?	?
130)				
131)				
132	Thomas Toole	12-11-1839	15322 - 238/93	?
133	Unknown	Unknown	27507 - 1478/171	Claimed by George Laughton under possessory title in 1882; brought under RPA by E.C. Muecke in 1927.
134	?	?	?	?
135	William Jordan, yeoman	2-10-1839	12490 - 175/51	?
136)				
137)	?	?	?	?
138	James Cobbledick, labourer	Unknown	22780 - 594/129-130-131	Brought under RPA by James Shipp in 1894.
139	?	?	?	?
140	Bridget Pallant, widow	2-10-1839	15509 - 321/66	Subsequent owners, 1852, George Dew; 22 August 1875, Goulbourn Penley, labourer.
141	William Harmer, brickmaker	2-10-1839	7804 - 329/70	Subsequent owners, 12 January 1850, Henry Salter, storekeeper; 15 May 1850, Ann Morse, widow; 8 February 1851, William Smith, gardener; 24 October 1867.
142	Frederick Sparshott, labourer	2-10-1839	2268 - 563/160	?
143	?	?	?	?
144	No information in the Department of Lands.			
145	?	?	?	?
146	Unknown	Unknown	26335 - 1008/112	Possessory title obtained by James Logan in 1870; brought under RPA by

Samuel A.F. Lean in 1914.

147 R.L. Ingham	2-10-1839	15250 - 235/243	Brought under RPA by Robert Marshall in 1876.
148 Robert L. Ingham, farmer	2-10-1839	24332 - 688/23	Brought under RPA by Arthur Hiskey in 1901.
149 Unknown	Unknown	26138 - 943/73	Possessory title obtained by Hannah Whittenbury; brought under RPA by Jane Bott in 1912.
150 Henry Western	2-10-1839	1604 - 15/98	Purchased by Samuel Smallwood in 1855; he built a house on it in 1856.
151 Unknown	Unknown	25083 - 746/1	Possessory title obtained by Eliza Hailey and Ellen Pearson.
152 William Bradshaw, labourer	2-10-1839	21615 - 534/110	Brought under RPA by Owen Conlon in 1889.
153 ?	?	?	?
154 Andrew Jacob, labourer,	Unknown	27433 - 1436/121	Brought under RPA by Ernest Hankins in 1926.
155		No information in the Department of Lands.	
156 Charles White, labourer	2-10-1839	24085 - 693/183	Brought under RPA by John Hogan in 1900.
157 ?	?	?	?
158) Thomas Toole 159)	2-10-1839	17337 - 309/166	Purchased by the Catholic Church Endowment Society on 17 September 1853.
160 ?	?	?	?
161 Unknown	Unknown	2490-733/139	Sold in 1904 for non-payment of rates to John Hogan, labourer.
162 ?	?	?	?
163 Unknown	Unknown	28148 - 1733/24	Purchased by Austral Sheet Metal Works in 1914 from the estate of Elizabeth Northover.
164 Unknown	Unknown	27548 - 1484/36	Sold by George Mills to Edwin Middleton on 14 June 1866; brought under RPA by John Northover in 1927.
165 Robert Moran	2-10-1839	?	?
166 William Campbell	2-10-1839	?	?
167 George Robertson	2-10-1839	5886 - 65/234	Brought under RPA by Charles M. Pearson in 1865.
168 Unknown	Unknown	28195 - 1768/31	Possessory title obtained by George Sugars; brought under RPA by Mary E. Sugars in 1940.
168 William Wright	2-10-1839	22266 - 565/188	Brought under RPA by Elizabeth Northover in 1892.
170 George Maynard, carpenter	2-10-1839	22396 - 572/47	Brought under RPA by James Kavanagh in 1892.
171 Thomas Toole	11-12-1839	17337 - 309/166	Purchased by the Catholic Church Endowment Society on 17 December 1853.
172 Benjamin Wylie, labourer	2-10-1839	12791 - 179/96	Subsequent owners, 5 August 1842,

James Knight, police constable; 12 June 1845, Charles Barnett, labourer; 1 October 1853, William Brown, sawyer.

173	?	?	?	?
174	Unknown	Unknown	24584 - 707/101	Brought under the RPA by Michael Malone.
175	James McDougall	2-10-1839	24584 - 707/102	Brought under RPA by Michael Malone.
176	John Cragon	2-10-1839	13960 - 203/99	Subsequent owners, 21 February 1840, James McDougall, labourer; 7 December 1848, John Soper.
177)				
178)	?	?	?	?
179	William Schofield	2-10-1839	18136 - 346/7	Brought under RPA by Ralph Raphael in 1880.
180	Thomas Toole and Right Reverend Francis Murphy	2-10-1839	17188 - 310/40	Brought under RPA by Thomas Kelly in January 1879.
181	G.L. Liptrott, gentleman	2-10-1839	8356 - 103/75	Brought under the RPA by Thomas Kelly, labourer in 1867.
182			No information in the Department of Lands.	
183	Henry Barton, gentleman	2-10-1839	8356 - 103/75.	Refer also to Lot 181.
184	Henry Barton, gentleman	2-10-1839	19361 - 406/118	Subsequent owners, 2 March 1840, George Warland, dairyman; 13 September 1845, John Gibbs, miller and baker; 3 December 1845, Henry Salter, general dealer; 22 October 1849, W. Travena, labourer; 8 July 1857, Samuel Lewis, blacksmith.
185	Robert Everett, labourer,	2-10-1839	18461 - 359/88	Subsequent owners, 18 March 1845, Henry Salter, general dealer; 12 June 1850 Thomas L. Southwick, cabinet maker; 23 January 1852, James Marriott, general dealer; 2 June 1853, Michael Spellacy, labourer.
186	Unknown	Unknown	26024 - 910/114	Brought under RPA by William B. Andrew in 1911.
187	?	?	?	?
188	James Chambers	Unknown	21838 - 541/157	Purchased by John T. Ingham in 1849.
189	?	?	?	?
190	Unknown	Unknown	25726 - 831/161	Possessory title obtained by Coleman Kildea; purchased by Caleb G. Gurr on 7 December 1892.
191	?	?	?	?
192	David Kennedy	2-10-1839	15343 - 237/144	Subsequent owners, 4 December 1849, Edwin Mayfield, livery stable keeper; 2 August 1851, John Mountney, labourer.
193			No information in the Department of Lands.	
194	?	?	?	?
195	Jonathan Roberts, labourer	2-10-1839	26055 - 910/127	Brought under RPA by Clark J. Filsell in 1912.
196 & 197	?	?	?	?

198 Thomas Roberts	2-10-1839	26039 - 910/126-7	Brought under RPA by Clark J. Filsell in 1912.
199 George Dawson, bricklayer	2-10-1839	?	?
200 William Howard, woollen merchant	2-10-1839	?	?
201 John Gregory, upholsterer	2-10-1839	20942 - 510/154	Brought under RPA by the estate of Charles M. Pearson.
202 Thomas Toole	11-12-1839	22414 - 572/71	Purchased by Catholic Church Endowment Society on 17 December 1853.
203 Unknown	Unknown	17175 - 316/239	Subsequent owners, 13 March 1849, sold by James Tingey to Robert Olive Handley; brought under RPA by John Handley in 1878.
204 ?	?	?	?
205 Unknown	Unknown	24502 - 700/131	Possessory title obtained by James O'Rielly.
206 Thomas Toole	11-12-1839	15061 - 230/59	Subsequent owners, 13 August 1853, John Mounteney, labourer; 14 February 1865, Owen Conolan, labourer.
207 Mary A. Bridgeman	18-9-1848	16171 - 261/169	Subsequent owners, 7 February 1853, John Mountney, labourer; 14 April 1860, Francis Conway, gentleman.
208 John Rowe, miner	2-10-1839	4826 - 50/81	Subsequent owners, 12 July 1845, Samuel Higgins; 4 September 1854, George Donnisthorpe; 18 December 1856, John Mountney, labourer.
209 ?	?	?	?
210 Unknown	Unknown	27879 - 1610/72	Possessory title obtained by Frederick Filsell in 1932.
211 Stephen Horn, labourer	2-10-1839	?	?
212 James Dunn	2-10-1839	21282 - 521/141	Brought under RPA by Bridget Conlon in 1886.
213 ?	?	?	?
214 Charles A. Wilson, gentleman	2-10-1839	21159 - 514/25	Brought under RPA by Owen Conlon, gentleman.
215 John Matthews	2-10-1839	4114 - 42/13	Subsequent owners, 19 November 1839, Thomas Bridgman, carpenter; 11 December 1839, George W. Johnson, builder.
216 Samuel Crettenden of Light's Village, labourer	2-10-1839	7072 - 81/145	Later, he farmed at Smithfield.
217 ?	?	?	?
218 George Brandis, labourer	2-10-1839	16852 - 285/205	Subsequent owners, 29 January 1849, John Gurr, carpenter; 11 March 1856, William Charlesworth, carpenter.
219 William Collins, builder	2-10-1839	?	?
220 Richard Bent	2-10-1839	?	?
221 George Brandis, labourer	2-10-1839	?	?
222 William Adams, labourer	2-10-1839	20942 - 510/154	Brought under the RPA by the estate of Charles M. Pearson in 1886.

223	?	?	?	?
224	John Thorn, labourer	23-8-1839	3051 - 31/42	Subsequent owners, 21 February 1849, Joseph Yelland, drayman; 17 April 1855, Charles M. Pearson, cattle dealer.
225	Unknown	Unknown	26692 - 1112/16	Possessory title obtained by William White.
226	Thomas Naughton	Unknown	22714 - 595/122	Purchased by Paul Hummell on 12 December 1851; brought under RPA by Hannah Whittenbury in 1894.
227	Thomas Norton (Naughton), mariner	2-10-1839	3807 - 33/196	Subsequent owners, 13 April 1845, John Daws, policeman; 17 May 1856, Thomas Gillingham, carpenter.
228	Thomas Toole	11-12-1839	17337-309/167	Purchased by Catholic Church Endowment Society on 17 December 1853.
229	?	?	?	?
230	James Gaywood, gardener	2-10-1839	1732 - 16/83	Purchased by Joseph Gepp in August 1860.
231)				
232)	Thomas Gregory	2-10-1839	10421 - 141/21	Subsequent owners, 26 July 1851, William Gregory; brought under RPA by Edward Gregory in 1869.
233	Thomas Anderson, labourer	2-10-1839	11936 - 165/91	In 1872 he was farming at the Bugle Ranges
234	Jacob Warn, gentleman	2-10-1839	?	?
235	Archibald Simpson, labourer	2-10-1839	18978 - 386/86	Brought under RPA by William White, drover, in 1882.
236	?	?	15699 - 246/85	File unavailable in General Registry Office. It was brought under the RPA by James F. Sparshott, plasterer.
237	Thomas Toole	2-10-1839	10319 - 139/34	Subsequent owners, 21 August 1840, Edward Furniss, butcher; 14 June 1850, Walter Waite, compositor; 24 July 1855, George Dew, baker; 10 September 1860, Job Davies, mason.
238	Thomas Gregory, carpenter	2-10-1839	9576 - 127/214	Purchased by George Gregory, farmer of Dry Creek on 26 July 1851.
239	No information in the Department of Lands.			
240	John Combs, plasterer	2-10-1839	?	?
241	William Whitehead, cabinet maker	2-10-1839	4511 - 46/80	Subsequent owners, 4 April 1846, Frederick W. Emery, yeoman; 11 February 1854, George Vick, carter; 11 September 1856, Samuel Chapman, gardener; 7 August 1858, Charles Giles, nurseryman.
242	?	?	?	?
243	Thomas Toole	11-12-1839	14071 - 205/187	Subsequent owners, 2 December 1848, James Lewis, carrier; 1854, John Painter; 9 October 1854, George Dew, baker and Thomas Newman, grocer.
244	?	?	?	?
245	James Lewis	2-10-1839	29215 - 2495/149	Brought under the RPA by the estate of Mary Phillips in 1955.

246 James J. Rudd, splitter	2-10-1839	24584 - 707/102	Brought under the RPA by Michael Malone.
247 Joseph Smith, publican	2-10-1839	17166 - 302/20	Purchased by Mary Malone, widow, on 12 April 1877.
248 Unknown	Unknown	24584 - 707/103	Possessory title obtained by Mary Malone.
249 ?	?	?	?
250 William Bickford, chemist	?	18062 - 340/233	Purchased by Walter W. Waite, printer, on 7 November 1848; brought under RPA by John Burgan in 1880.
251 Thomas Ottaway, labourer	2-10-1839	?	?
252 William Homer, shoemaker	2-10-1839	22396 - 572/47	Purchased by Burnet P. Mudge, minister of the gospel, on 19 January 1883; brought under RPA by James Kavanagh in 1892.
253)			
254) ?		?	?
255 William Homer, shoemaker	2-10-1839	20062 - 475/185	Brought under RPA by National Building Society in 1884.
256 Unknown Richardson in 1938.	Unknown	28116 - 1703/104	Possessory title obtained by A.V., C.J. & C.S.
257 ?	?	20062 - 475/185	Brought under RPA by National Building Society in 1884. It would appear that this allotment had remained unsold until purchased by the society.
258 Edward Stephens	2-1-1841	14520 - 216/176	Purchased by William Pengeley on 1 August 1873.
259 ?	?	20062 - 475/185	Brought under RPA by National Building Society in 1884. See note under Lot 57.
260 Joseph Hall	26-8-53	22041 - 550/47	Brought under RPA by Christopher A. Moody in 1891.
261 Peter Fiarnan, shepherd	1-1-1841	27054 - 1319/117-8	Brought under RPA by Thomas J. Trevall in 1923.
262 William Porter, labourer	7-7-1840	26309 - 995/83	Brought under RPA by Mary Duggan in 1914.
263)			
264) ?	?	?	?
265 ?	?	200262 - 475/185	Brought under RPA by National Building Society in 1884. See note under Lot 57
266 Elias Hall	1839	19251 - 412/24	Brought under RPA by Martha Coulls in 1882.
267 George Read, carpenter	14-5-1846	21246 - 518/18	Brought under RPA by Charles Read, farmer of Georgetown, in 1887.
268 Joseph Beasley, police constable	1-3-1841	20941 - 504/18	?
269 Charles Barnett	October 1849	17219 - 311/78	
270 Unknown	Unknown	25574 - 806/184	In 1862 it was in the possession of Richard Jasper who gave possession to John Soper, who later purchased it. His widow devised it to A.J. & E. Middleton. Brought under RPA by the estate of Edwin Middleton in 1909.
271 Unknown	Unknown	20576 - 517/172	Brought under RPA by National Building Society in 1883.
272 Unknown	Unknown	28387 - 1845/120	Possessory title obtained by W.T.J. Myers in 1944.

273	No information in the Department of Lands.		
274	Thomas Dayman, labourer	22-1-1841	? ?
275	John Storer, labourer	19-1-1841	15695 - 246/92 Brought under RPA by Matthew H. Crosby in 1877.
276	?	?	?
277	Unknown	Unknown	27881 - 1620/12 Possessory title obtained by Sydney A. Malcolm in 1933.
278	?	?	?
279	David Downing, storekeeper	23-6-1840	19380 - 406/197 Purchased by Matthew H. Crosby, storekeeper on 4 September 1857.
280	Michael Fitzgibbon	10-1-1842	15337 - 237/137 ?
281	?	?	28419 & 29623 - 1909/129 Refer to the applications for a summary of all dealings in this allotment. It was brought under the RPA by South Terrace Investments Pty Ltd in 1960.
282	?	?	?
283	Unknown	Unknown	28419 - 1909/29 Brought under RPA by estate of James Power in 1946.
284	?	?	?
285	William Wilmshurst, labourer	8-7-1840	10736 - 145/223 ?
286)	George Mackenzie, baker	2-10-1839	? ?
287)	do		
288	Alexander Wishart, stonemason	23-12-1840	26398 - 1049/126 Brought under RPA by estate of Edward Ronald.
289	Unknown	Unknown	14368 - 213/246 Subsequent owners, 21 July 1847, Joel Roberts; 10 September 1847, Rev Daniel J. Draper; 19 January 1853, Thebarton (sic) Chapel.
290	Unknown	Unknown	26639 - 1102/178 Possessory title obtained by Burnet P. Mudge.
291	Unknown	Unknown	26286 - 1090/54 Possessory title obtained by Henry Goldfinch, butcher.
292	Unknown	Unknown	26287 - 997/10 William Whiteford purchased it from George Dew in 1892.
293	No information in the Department of Lands.		
294	Unknown	Unknown	26691 - 1111/185 See note under Lot 297.
295)			
296)	George Dew	3-7-1840	23519 - 635/168 Brought under RPA by G.M. Dew in 1898.
297 -	Unknown	Unknown	26691 - 1111/185 Possessory title obtained by George M. Dew in 1918.
298	Stephen Horn, yeoman	5-1-1841	2109 - 19/194 Purchased by Samuel Pearce, tinsmith, on 3 June 1857.
299	George Dew	1839	?
300	Charles A. Wilson	1839	?
301	George Dew	1839	23519 - 635/168 Brought under RPA by G.M. Dew in 1898.
302	Abraham Adams, publican	9-6-1840	17192 - 304/176 Subsequent owners, 19 June 1840, Robert Gardiner, carpenter; 31 October 1850, Richard Lambeth, architect; 1 November 1850, Jones & Bowley, builders; 30 August 1852, John Bullock, gentleman; 19 April 1853, Thomas Tomlinson, fellmonger; 1876, George Poyzer
303	Unknown	Unknown	26724 - 1153/145 Brought under RPA by Henry White in 1919 having

been in possession since 1876.

304	William Robinson, labourer	11-1-1840	18611 - 369/205	Subsequent owners, 7 January 1849, Thomas Hughes, yeoman; 12 February 1850, Thomas Tomlinson, labourer; 1876, George Poyzer; 24 July 1876, Henry White, labourer.
305	?	?	?	?
306	Reuben J. Eagle, labourer	5-1-1841	19867 - 502/60	Brought under RPA by John Mountney in 1883.
307	Thomas Newman	2-10-1839	18034 - 339/11	Subsequent owners, 23 December 1840, Thomas Nelson, yeoman; 22 February 1848, James Ryan and Charles Ferguson; 28 February 1872, James Ferguson, wheelwright.
308	Thomas Newman, yeoman	3-7-1840	13314 - 191/171	Subsequent owners, 15 March 1841, Richard Battley, victualler; 7 June 1841, Joseph Baker.
309	John Claris	6-3-1847	5605 - 84/72	Purchased by George Head, bricklayer on 9 March 1847; he was residing at Linwood in 1864.
310	James Forbes, yeoman	19-5-1840	18967 - 386/85	Brought under RPA by Isabella H. Strutton in 1882.
311	William Brown, labourer	19-1-1841	21489 - 526/178	Brought under RPA by William Whitefield, engine driver.
312	Lemon Doe, cabinet maker	24-6-1840	7963 - 95/135	?
313	Robert Hughes, labourer	18-6-1841	23131 - 647/102	Brought under RPA by Ebenezer Cooper, butcher, in 1896.
314	George J. Mills, brickmaker	28-1-1840	?	?
315	Alexander Wishart, stonemason	24-12-1840	9139 - 117/50	Purchased by John G. Mills, brickmaker, on 29 December 1855.
316	?	?	?	?
317	David Smith	28-10-1846	24285 - 693/81	Brought under RPA by John Hooper in 1901.
318	Unknown	Unknown	25629 - 813/91	In 1878 W.A. Cawthorne purchased the allotment from A.S. Paterson and George P. Mayo on behalf of the SA Building Society.
319	No information in the Department of Lands.			
320)				
321)	?	?	?	?
322)				
323	George E. Tilney & George Gandy, brickmakers	29-5-1840	25744 - 834/58-59	Brought under RPA by Elizabeth Hill in 1910.
324	Unknown	Unknown	25537 - 805/37	Possessory title obtained by John Welsby; brought under RPA by Elizabeth Hill in 1908.
325	Unknown	Unknown	24435 - 696/138	Samuel Higgins was in possession in 1846.
326	William Bucknall & W.A. Minifie, brewers	8-2-1850	?	?
327	John Crettenden	14-6-1842	15683 - 247/130	Lot 327 was purchased by Thomas Ottaway who sold to Messrs Bucknall & Minifie on 4 January 1850.
328	?	?	?	?
329	Unknown	Unknown	19788 - 429/162	Brought under RPA by William A. Cawthorne in 1883.
330	No information in the Department of Lands.			

331)

332)	?	?	?	?
333)				
334	Unknown	Unknown	20576 - 517/172	Brought under RPA by William A Cawthorne in 1883.
335	Robert Dykes, plasterer	19-1-1840	24026 - 666/87	?
336	William H. Holmes, plasterer	7-1-1841	19785 - 432/168	?
337	Elias Hall	1839	19251 - 412/24	?
338	?	?	?	?
339	Unknown	Unknown	24901 - 733/140	Sold in 1904 for non-payment of rates to William Richards, bricklayer.
340	Unknown	Unknown	?	Brought under RPA by National Building Society in 1884.
341)	Reuben Richardson, police officer			
342)	do	13-7-1840	20062 - 475/185	Brought under RPA by Mary A. Richards of Clarendon Hotel.
343	Unknown	Unknown	25874 - 1100/103	Possessory title obtained by Honora Richmond.
344	Unknown	Unknown	20062 - 475/185	Brought under RPA by National Building Society

Appendix 30

Early Thebarton

When William Light was a boy, his father sent him to England from Penang to his trusted friend, George Doughty of 'Theberton Hall', in Suffolk, to be educated...He built a home on section 1, Hundred of Adelaide which he called 'Theberton House'. The acceptance of Thebarton with an 'a' instead of an 'e' is credited to a typographical error.

(Manning's Place Names of South Australia)

Upon his removal to Theberton Cottage, William Light encountered some problems; firstly, the Aborigines were to become a nuisance and he expressed his concern to Dr William Wyatt, the Protector of Aborigines:

It is with reluctance I now write to complain of the natives, after requesting my friend Mr Jacob the other day to inform you of the annoyance I meet with from them as well as the danger my property is in from wilful burning. On Wednesday last a firebrand was thrown in the dry grass immediately to windward for the purpose of setting fire to my house. There is hardly an hour in the day they are not either lopping down branches, or burning some tree, and it is in vain speaking to them, and at this moment another fire has been kindled under an old tree which I have been obliged to send two men to put out.

Last night several garden palings were torn down by them, and a sack of potatoes, the property of Mr Wm Lawes the gardener, stolen. Many of the natives were seen early this morning with potatoes on the end of their spears. They have some days encamped on my property where they were perfectly welcome as long as they conducted themselves quietly and did no injury.

Secondly, he was in acute financial difficulty and, in attempt to alleviate this matter, decided to subdivide his section; the timing was propitious because land in the City was subject to speculation and attendant high prices. Accordingly, in February 1839 he advertised 'acre sections to be let on building leases on Number One Section, now called Theberton [*sic*].' The plan shows that 24 allotments each of one acre were for sale.

The response was less than encouraging because, before his death, only one parcel of land comprising four-fifths of an acre was sold, the purchaser being Robert Bristow. The other sales were one acre to Richard Jacques 'of Light's Village' on 9 October 1839 and two lots of half an acre to Thomas Toole on 10 and 27 December 1839.

Later that year the unsold land, comprising about 21 acres, was cut up as 'Theberton' into 252 allotments of 30 feet by 104 feet and offered for sale at a price which averaged about £8 each, thus bringing ownership within the range of a working man. (See above for a list of purchasers and other information.)

After his death, Maria Gandy was to extend the village for 'being possessed under the will of seven acres to the north of the said twenty-one acres [she] hath divided seven acres into 92 small allotments numbered 253-344...'

Its boundaries were - to the north, Light Terrace; southwards, South Terrace (now Kintore Street); eastwards, the Port Road and to the westwards, West Terrace (later Bean's Road and now Dew Street); the core of the village was Chapel, George and Maria Streets. However, there was one problem that was not to be remedied for about twenty years - the lack of north-south streets. In respect of the plan of the village the following comment lodged in Application No. 19251 in the General Registry Office is of interest:

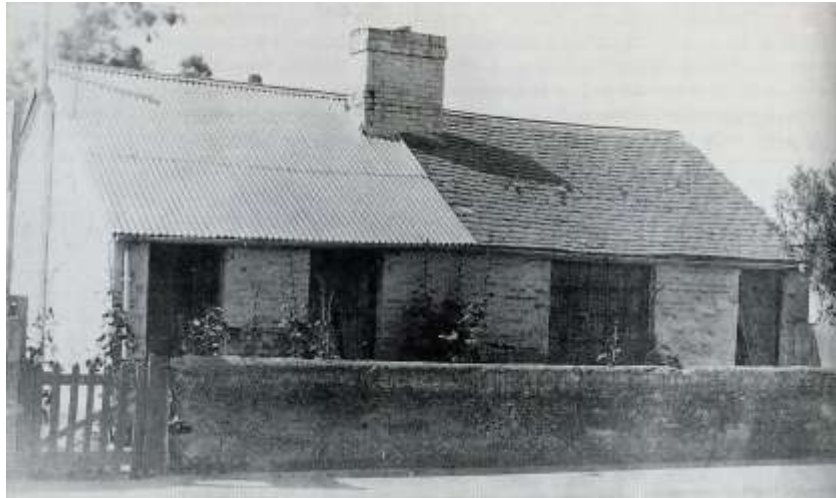
I have seen Dr Mayo and he says the only record of sales at Thebarton [*sic*] was a plan kept by Mr Smart, solicitor, which has long since been lost and that no one can trace to whom the land was sold without the conveyance.

A resurvey plan was lodged in the General Registry Office in 1854 and, as can be seen above, many owners, when bringing their land under the Real Property Act, had to rely on possessory titles under the real property laws of adverse possession. By 1841, its population had reached 'a sufficiently large number to attract those who catered for two different kinds of spirits'; two hotels were trading; firstly, Robert Bristow's Great Tom of Lincoln, built on land purchased by him from Colonel Light on 2 April 1839, between Maria and Kintore Streets and facing the Park Lands - secondly, the Brickmakers' Arms held by William Gandy. The other spiritual provider, namely the Church, was not represented locally until a small Wesleyan Chapel was opened in 1848 in Chapel Street.

Among its early industries were Ingham and Bean's tannery, George Gandy, the brickmaker, together with a fellmonger who operated his business on the eastern boundary of section 1 abutting the River Torrens; comment on these industries and others may be found elsewhere. By 1853 there had been 153 buildings erected including 65 cottages with only two rooms.

In his Almanac published in 1843, J.F. Bennett gave a fleeting description of Thebarton and its near neighbours, Bowden and Hindmarsh:

The largest of the suburban villages are Thebarton, Hindmarsh and Bowden, built on three adjoining sections of land close to the Torrens just below Adelaide, and on the border of the park lands. The inhabitants of these villages consist of mechanics, labourers, etc, who have houses of their own, cultivate small gardens, rear a few pigs and poultry and find employment among the surrounding farmers. One of the steam flour mills... is in Hindmarsh, and another in Thebarton. The latter place also contains a tannery, numerous brickworks, etc.



Early house in Chapel Street, Thebarton

Henry Shearing (1831-1908) has left an evocative account of his parents' trials in establishing a home near Thebarton in 1839:

When arriving towards Thebarton my parents found a place that was built on the south-west corner of the Park Lands, opposite the Squatters Arms. It was built with timber split out of a large log about eight feet long... and having been put there in a green state warped like a piece of new leather in the sun, so that it was necessary for a glass window, and neither was there any, but a calico about two feet wide was put in its place... natural surface for the floor and no fireplace as there was only one room.

The fireplace was made outside with stones laid in mortar and this way the cooking took place. I have often times wondered what my parents thought of their removal from England from a good home... to go into a wilderness as it appeared to be at the time... At this time I am sure there were not more than six houses in all Thebarton.

Many were primitive and shabby and the following extracts from 'Letters to the Editor' columns of the day provide an insight into the hand to mouth existence of the poor while, at the same time, tilting at the inherent hypocrisy which pervaded the mid-nineteenth century - indeed, his comments must be considered germane today!:

There are scores of large families that exist and transact all the mysteries of cooking, washing, sleeping, etc, in two small rooms - in these two aromatic rooms where sick and healthy, not forgetting pigs, goats and poultry, are squeezed together, and quarrelling in heat, rum and dirt, a large number of infants are brought crying into the world.

No wonder they weep, poor little things, but few remain long to enjoy life under such disadvantages - their little lights are soon put out like candles down foul wells - they soon find themselves in West Terrace Cemetery...

It is a custom on Christmas Day for the rich to wake up and remember the poor and hungry, just as some people think of religion that, like fine clothes, must be put on only on Sundays, or as we were only Christians on Christmas Day...

William Laurence Holmes (1813-1873) arrived in South Australia in 1848 in the *Navarino* and his daughter, Sarah Hannam, who was born in 1842, wrote of the family's experiences:

[Father] got some land (lot 7) in Chapel Street so called because there was a Wesleyan place of worship at the end. Beyond that was a great belt of gum trees, long since gone. The family lived in tents until he and his two young sons helped to build [our] home which consisted of two large rooms divided into compartments with hessian...

The heat was intolerable and convenience practically nil, for a drought had swept the land and the Torrens had dried into pools... There was a well near the dwelling, but the water was too brackish for drinking purposes... [my] two brothers would have to go across the Park Lands with buckets on poles to get water from the Torrens... People were very thankful when water carts began to trade... Flies and ants were other sources of discomfort...

[I] had to go next door to school, which was kept by a very severe young man named Watson and his sterner elderly wife. Fruit, except water melons and tomatoes, were scarce and dear... bullock carts [manned by men] hawked from door to door. [We] had our own goat and thus plenty of milk.



Mrs Jones' School – circa 1895

In a letter dated 1 April 1850 from 'Thebarton, near Adelaide', Caroline Johns tells of life in the village:

I cannot tell you what a blessing the low price of provisions is; the greatest drawback to small incomes here is house rent, which is enormous. The cottage in which we now live is £48 a year - in England it would not be £10, but it is a pretty place with nearly an acre of garden ground and plenty of fig trees which bear three crops in the year. Peaches, apricots, grapes, etc - as dear as the rent is - you can buy very cheaply; this place is to be sold for £150...

The season has been a very uncommon one, the thermometer has only been up to 90 degrees twice, whereas in ordinary seasons 120 degrees during the hot windy days is not infrequent - the dust here is a great nuisance. I have seen it rise in dense columns perhaps a hundred yards high...



The Squatter's Arms after being rebuilt in the 1880s.

In 1866, a gazetteer described Thebarton as 'a postal suburb of the City of Adelaide. The district is an agricultural one, crops of hay being the principal produce... There is a fellmongery and a tannery [Peacock's]... and a considerable number are engaged in gardening... Thebarton has two hotels - the Wheatsheaf and the Squatters' Arms... The population, including that of the surrounding agricultural neighbourhood, numbers about 450 persons.'

The Wheatsheaf had been built by the miller, William Gardiner, and opened for business in 1844 'for the purpose of affording accommodation to the numerous country settlers frequenting the mill at Thebarton [sic].' It was demolished and a new building of two storeys erected in 1922; the site occupied by the old structure is now a car park. The land on which the Squatters' Arms stands was purchased by Thomas Toole in 1839; by 1849 the half-acre

block was owned by Patrick McCarron upon which he built and conducted the Foresters and Squatters' Arms Hotel, subsequently leasing it to Charles Olarenschaw, of the Black Forest Inn, Bay Road, 'together with the blacksmith's shop and premises.'

The name was apparently adopted because most of its patrons were drawn from farmers and farm workers who extended their patronage whilst attending the slaughter yards sited on the adjacent Park Lands.

By 1907, the whole of the town was lighted, either with gas 'Best' lamps or acetylene gas lamps and its population was estimated to be about 7,000; there were 1,428 houses and 2,058 ratepayers. Its water supply was obtained from the Happy Valley reservoir and part of the area was sewered. Further, the town was the chief supplier of milk to the city and there were fifty-four registered dairies in the district

Appendix 31

The Industries of Thebarton and Contiguous District

There seems to be great antagonism between employers and unions...the one trying to get great work done for little pay, the other great pay and little work. Happily in South Australia the two classes have not as yet shown such great opposition as in England.

(Register, 13 September 1876, page 1a (supp.))

For precise details of sources see a manuscript copy held by the State Library

Introduction

Early manufacturing at Thebarton was generally associated with the agricultural industry while commercial ventures began to appear in the late 1830s in the form of wool and hide processing, milling, brewing and brick making.

However, with their expansion during the 1850s and 1860s many problems arose which, in retrospect, leads to the conclusion that they were primitive with no consideration for the environment or even an understanding of the offences they committed; indeed, with secondary industry being confined to the Thebarton district the toll it exacted upon residents' health became a major concern by the 1870s when remedies were sought to bring an end to over thirty years of environmental degradation.

As recorded elsewhere, the River Torrens remains polluted today and while industry is subjected to some environmental controls the ubiquitous motor car continues to belch out insidious exhaust gases, while non-sanctioned graffiti artists engage in a more modern form of despoliation with an armoury of pressure-pack cans of iridescent paint.

Tanneries and Fellmongering

Introduction

Over the centuries it has been observed that leather is one of the strongest and most durable materials, all but waterproof and practically inflammable and many a Thebarton citizen of the past was to use an old piece of harness leather for gate hinges. Man carried it, sat on it and utilised it to drive machinery, while housewives used it for adornment in the form of decorative items, handbags, etc.

Tanneries and fellmongeries were among the first in the district but their exact location is hard to determine due to the methods used by these trades and the combined need for an adequate supply of water which necessitated the occupation of both banks of the river.

In the 19th century, the tanners in this area engaged in the production of a variety of leather from the heavy types used in industry to the finer lines demanded by manufacturers of shoes, gloves and such like. With increased population the demand for products available only from overseas prompted local manufacturers to diversify and, by the 1920s, they were turning out such items as leggings, leather coats, wrist straps for watches, blade razor strops, footballs, gun cases, collar and hat boxes and a host of others.

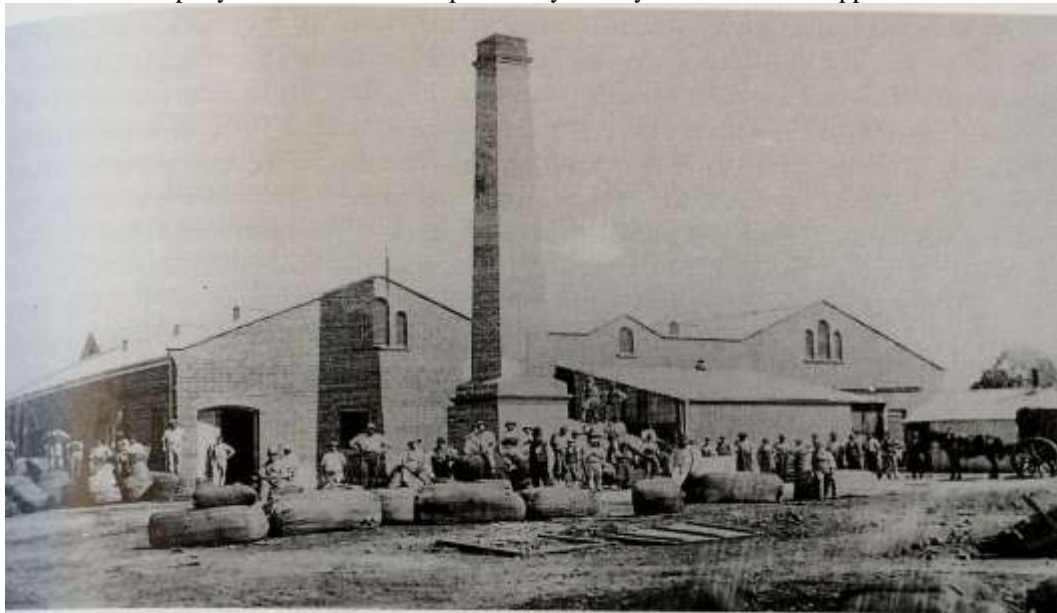
The Tanneries

In 1839, the first tannery in Thebarton was set up by Messrs R.L. Ingham and George T. Bean who advertised it as 'tanner, currier, leather cutter and parchment manufacturer.' It stood on section 1 on half an acre of land adjacent to the river near Dew Street (formerly Beans Road) and came under the control of the Reid family in 1871 who continued the business into the 1900s. It is believed that part of this early tannery remains as an element of Faulding's eucalyptus store building.

In 1847, John Taylor established a tannery and fellmongering business 'on the south side of the Torrens' and in the course of time the various buildings and drying grounds occupied three acres and became the largest in the colony; upon his death in 1876 the business passed to his son, Benjamin, who was to become Mayor of Thebarton and a Member of Parliament.

'The sheepskins were collected in carts from slaughter yards and. upon arrival at the factory. The wool was removed during several operations, while the odours emitted were not to be endured by those with weak stomachs; large amounts of ammonia gas were generated which strongly impinged the olfactories of any person not familiarized with the fragrances of fellmongering.'

In England pelts were made into glue, parchment, etc, but at Taylor's they were either used as manure or dried in the open and fed to boilers within the premises. A few of the skins were made into parchment but under the benign influence of the Real Property Act the call for this product by conveyancers all but disappeared.



Taylor Brothers' Tannery & Woolwashing Works – circa 1875

When greasy wool arrived from outlying stations it was weighed, heaped into stacks and, as required, sorted as to quality. The scouring operation then commenced when it was placed in boilers containing hot water, soap, soda and other ingredients peculiar to the trade; three coppers were used each containing about 200 gallons of water. The scoured wool was then washed in the River Torrens where all remnants of dirt and other extraneous matter were swept away. Hand barrows then shifted the finished product to drain upon lattice boards prior to hanging out to dry.

The river was so dammed as to bring the stream close to the bank; seven stages were erected across the stream at convenient distances and upon each were placed two large tubs to contain the wool, together with two square boxes made of perforated zinc. They were so slung as to permit the water to pass through thus taking impurities in the wool downstream - at the same time men with long sticks continually agitated the wool.

After draining, the wool was spread upon large sheets to dry and turned two or three times per day on grounds, which occupied an area of more than one acre, one third of which was boarded. The final process was that of screw-pressing and baling the finished product; Taylor Brothers employed a press made by Mr Wyatt of Adelaide from a pattern in the possession of a competitor, Messrs Peacock & Son.

At the busy season of the year a watchman was upon the premises from dusk to dawn both as a precaution against fire and to light the fires under the scouring pans in the morning.

The company also undertook the salting and exportation of hides - when received at the factory they were placed in brine and later put on boards where a layer of salt was rubbed into them. In a week's time they were rolled and shipped. Gluepieces were also made from the feet of bullocks while neatsfoot oil, clarified by a 'secret' process, was also a good source of income.

In 1859, the company employed 40 men in the summer season and 16 in the winter; they kept eight horses in the business, operated upon up to 1,500 skins a week, salted 300 hides per month and washed and had scoured or repacked 1,500 bales of wool in the preceding year.

By 1875, the factory had been continually upgraded and their woolwashing machinery, described as 'a beautiful mechanical contrivance', had arrived from Lancashire. The tannery was then an extensive two-storeyed building comprising offices, showroom, working-room, beamshed and skinshed. It processed about 5,000 sheep skins and a large number of kangaroo skins per week.

After 1875, none of the drainage from the tannery flowed into the river and the whole operation was 'looked upon with pride... as one of the evidence of colonial enterprise by which a fine industry has been established and hundreds of families kept in constant employment.'

While the Taylor Brothers were prone to claiming the size and importance of their establishment they had a close rival in the form of Dench & Co and not far away from that firm were those of Mr Bean who handled 25 hides a week and Mr McKay with a throughput of some 30 a week.

Peacock's fellmongery was not far distant and, in 1859, it processed about 3,000 sheepskins per month while employing 14 men. The company utilised 'a new and powerful rack press erected by the Messrs Horwood' which effected a saving of 50 per cent in time and labour in compressing the wool.

In 1870, the company erected a new dam across the Torrens; it was 80 feet in length and averaged 27 feet in thickness. There was an outlet at the side, through which the general flow of the river passed and the structure held water as far back as the Hindmarsh Bridge.

The Victoria Tannery at Hindmarsh was opened by Mr John Reid in 1873; he also operated three bark grinding plants at Echunga, Mount Torrens and Second Valley. The premises were situated at the northern and southern sides of Manton Street and its bark grinding plant could accommodate over 3,000 tons of the finished product which was pronounced to be one of the finest tanning materials in the world; other tanning material used were valonia, the acorn cups of an oak tree, myrabolams, the fruit of a tree from India and Gambier [*sic*] an extract from the leaves of *Uncania gambier* and *sumac* from Sicily.



Woolwashing in the River Torrens – circa 1875

Hides from all parts of the world were tanned there and 300 tons of colonial salt were used each year in the preservation process of about 40,000 hides. The factory also had a fancy leather department producing glaze kid leathers and a large range of different coloured calf skins for book-binding purposes.

There were two other tanneries in the Bowden/Brompton district at this time, namely, Barnes Brothers and Messrs Leitch & Fisher, respectively. The former had been owned and operated by a Mr Dare from the mid-1840s - it contained a bark mill, a drying shed, curriers' shop, rolling room, beam room and other buildings; employed seven men and turned out about 30 hides per week.

The Brompton operation was formed in 1858 and comprised 'a superior mill' where hides were salted and kangaroo and wallaby skins tanned; four men found 'constant occupation' and the leather they turned out was 'good in colour and quality.'

In 1870, Richard Hayley conducted a tannery on an acre of ground near Bowden having taken over from the Barnes Brothers; he employed 12 men and boys. By 1885, Mr A. Dowie had purchased this operation and extended it until he had 16 lime pits, five bait pits, seven water pits and 100 tan pits operated by 40 men and boys.

The output per week was '300 hides, 100 calf skins and 300 basils' and the produce from the factory was used in conjunction with his boot factory which took about one-half of the leather made. The Stirlingshire Tannery was nearby and conducted by Mr D. Reid on two acres of land; he employed thirty men.

Pollution of the River Torrens by Tanners and Fellmongers

Late in 1873 a meeting of residents, who occupied land below Taylor's Bridge, was held at the Hilton Hotel to consider 'the disgusting state of the river running through their property' and one of them was to proclaim that upon retiring to bed he knew not whether 'the scourge of fever might not attack [his family] before dawn.' A few days later a deputation waited upon the Chief Secretary and one of the delegation, Thomas Hardy of Bankside, observed that he was prepared to take his oath that he lived in 'daily and hourly danger' for his wife and family.

Mr Charles White instanced several events which, if true, were an indictment of those who continued to pollute the river. One of his employees, Henry James Bobbett, who was employed near the river, died of typhoid fever in 1872; the family of Amos Noble were employed near the same spot all contracted the same fever - one died; the Loveday family were similarly placed and were advised to move away:

On the 18th January 1873 one of my watering appliances became deranged [*sic*] and during the 19th (the hottest day of the season) one portion of my cattle were [*sic*] without water. On the Monday morning I found cattle crowding round an old watering place at the river.

One bullock was dead near the bank and several very ill. Suffering from the pressure of thirst the cattle had drunk of the liquid found in the river and were poisoned - as the fish were in hundreds.

In February 1874, Mr Charles White of the Reedbeds obtained an injunction against Taylor Brothers and Justice Gwynne delivered judgement in March 1874 in favour of Mr White - and by so doing effectively put a complete

stop to all woolwashing operations conducted on the river. The government then gave notice in the *Government Gazette* that the Local Board of Health at Hindmarsh would have control over 'all future proceedings for conserving the public health and maintaining proper sanitation.'

A resident of Hindmarsh sprang to the defence of the employers and pointed out that the jobs of 600 men could be in jeopardy and that they represented families totalling about 3,000 souls. In a long and reasoned editorial the *Register* said that the pollution of running streams was a grave offence and that Mr White and others were entitled to a constant supply of pure water and, while admitting that the woolwashing and its kindred industries were of sufficient importance to warrant the proclamation of the whole of the river frontage from Hindmarsh to the Reedbeds as a manufacturing district, there was nothing in Mr White's conduct to which exception could be taken.

Messrs Taylor, however, had other ideas and, at a public meeting at Hindmarsh, many of their sympathisers concluded, after hearing a report from Dr Forster, that the 'work in the tanyards was of a nature not at all calculated to cause any great pollution' and that the sources for the offending pollution came from further upstream.

Further negotiations, mostly of a delaying nature by the offending employer, proceeded and, in December 1874, some disgruntled settlers downstream from Hindmarsh obtained interim injunctions against Messrs Ellis, Dench and Reid Brothers. Early in 1875, the Central Board of Health instructed its Hindmarsh local board to take proceedings for the discontinuance of the river pollution. With little room to manoeuvre the tanners had no alternative other than utilise subterranean water until the time when their factories became connected to the mains supply; however, pollution of the River Torrens still continues today.

Brickmaking and Potteries

The water of the river, as well as the air of Adelaide, has been of late actually poisoned by the numerous brickmaking establishments on the public land.

(*Register*, 11 August 1838, page 3b)

Introduction

John Watts is said to be the first brickmaker in the district; he arrived in the *Coromandel* in 1836 and set up business in the locality of present-day Hindmarsh; in those early times the clay was worked with human feet. It was not long, however, before action was taken against him in respect of the noxious fumes emanating from his kilns causing him to move into the Mount Lofty Ranges and establish a firebricks and terracotta business in the Littlehampton area.

From the time Hindmarsh was laid out it was renowned for its brick-making while, in the years that followed, the terms 'Brompton bricks' and 'Bowden bricks' were commonly used in describing the local product; but, with their amalgamation with the corporate town of Hindmarsh, the 'Hindmarsh brick' became a term synonymous with quality. By 1864, the district was producing more than six million bricks per year.

Millions of tons of clay in the form of bricks left many makers' yards for all parts of the colony and, notwithstanding the vagaries of our climate, there is abundant evidence that the Hindmarsh brick was more than adequate for building purposes; but, during the 1880s, and following a clause inserted into building contracts by certain architects, the industry was all but crippled.

In 1886 a reporter from a daily newspaper interviewed several Hindmarsh manufacturers and pointedly asked them - 'Does there exist a ring amongst the architects in favour of Blackwood bricks?' The response was that there was every appearance that such was the case.

Other brickmakers were loud in their denunciation of the monopoly initiated by the architects:

[It] leads to extortion, because when one firm's bricks are specified to be used by the architects that firm can charge as much as they please. It is fair to the public and to ourselves that these facts should be known.

Look at the largest chimney-stacks in the colony, they were built of Hindmarsh bricks in years gone by when they were not so good as we can now produce. I should think this is substantial evidence that they can bear weight and exposure.

The Brickmakers

Another early brickmaker in Thebarton would appear to have been George Gandy for he advertised products for sale from his kiln on section 1 in the *Southern Australian* of 27 February 1839. Later, John Sarre had a two-acre brickfield 'at the back of Thomas McKay's tannery. In 1857 he was joined by John Lane but the business did not prosper and by 1859 the land was vacant.'

Situated on about three acres of land in Brompton was the brickfield of Hocking Brothers established in the mid-1850s; by 1869 they employed seven men and the moulders turned out about 13,000 bricks a week. A brickmaking machine was also used in manufacturing hollow bricks, pipes, tiles and other items; the former were used extensively for partition walls and were most effective in deadening sound.

Three kilns were in use in which 80,000 bricks could be burned at a time. In the early days, the clay, after being tempered in a pugmill, was conveyed from the excavation to the moulders' sheds by boys but, by 1869, it was transported on an inclined tramway by a horse. It was their proud boast that their bricks would 'defy English competition.'

The young boys employed in the industry were put to work carrying clay in boxes on their heads and toiled up uneven stairs, without any hand supports, for distances of up to twenty feet from the floor of the claypits to the moulders at the surface; on each trip they carried enough clay to make from 12 to 16 bricks. Later, and following public outcry in both England and South Australia at this injurious and inhuman labour, several employees installed elevators worked by horsepower, while the long-suffering boys were put to less harmful occupations in the yards.

The Hindmarsh Pottery at Carrondown and Thebarton Brickworks were conducted by Messrs G. & W. Shearing; the pottery produced the more common sort of earthenware - large pans, flower pots, filters, jugs, bottles, etc. At the outset the works were constructed of timber but this was soon superseded by a brick and stone house in which a potter's wheel was worked by a treddle, together with a string wheel turned by a boy.

There were two pottery kilns; one was used for hardening the pipes and the other for burning the ware which, firstly, was 'biscuit-baked and then glazed'. There was a pug mill for tempering clay operated by four men and boys.

The firm executed a large amount of ornamental work and a fine specimen of its art is to be seen on the front of the Hindmarsh Institute, while the clay for pipe-making was obtained from property owned by the firm at Tea Tree Gully. Among other works, done to special order by Messrs Shearing, were the chimney stacks at Glanville sugar refinery and a round stack at the Dry Creek Smelting Works.

Besides their premises in Hindmarsh covering an area of five acres, it also occupied four acres in Thebarton for brickmaking. This was the oldest part of the business and was commenced in 1839 by George Shearing (1799-1865); it was his sons, George and William, who eventually took over the business and opened the pottery. By 1891, the company utilised three kilns capable of holding 250,000 bricks at a time.

In 1879, Mr George Marks opened a plant which became the main provider of sewer pipes to the Government; his yard included four sheds 90 feet in length, five mills, two pipe machines and three kilns; a special clay from Tea Tree Gully was mixed with local clays while 25 men were employed. The Metropolitan Brick Company was formed in 1882 and operated at Brompton Park.

An unfortunate hazard connected with the profession was the abandonment of pugholes by brickmakers who were averse to fencing them; without this protection they became a death trap, especially in winter when they became lakes - in 1851, the son of a Mr Oatway was drowned in one of them and 'some onions, for which he the child had been sent, floating on the surface indicated his fate to his distracted parents.'

Brickmaking contests were introduced in 1865 the first being held on Mr Peter McCarron's property at Carrondown. His land, 'late the scene of a ploughing match, had a sufficient scope of undisturbed surface as loved as a bowling green' was acceptable to the committee as being 'virgin soil'.

On 7 September 1864, a large attendance of both sexes numbering about 1,000 arrived together with a band of musicians, the latter being greeted with an awning of national flags. The competitors, thirteen in number, were asked to make 500 bricks within five hours, except the process of burning - A starting gun thundered out its invitation to commence and, while the manufacturing proceeded, the judges were pleased to inspect sundry displays of local manufactures from Bowden, Brompton, Beverley and York, whose specimens included drainage, flooring and roofing tiles.

The judges awarded the prizes as dusk fell - they were in descending order of merit - John Eckhold, Thomas Ellard, Richard Saunders, William Rhodes, William Willis and Richard Webber.

During the day refreshments were to the fore 'and restaurants of lesser pretensions courted appetite, refreshed the disciples of total abstinence, and feasted the juveniles. At the close of proceedings the leaders of the new movement, with their supporters and a large number of visitors, retired to the Lady Daly Hotel' for an 'abundant repast' of which 110 persons partook.

Mr E.D. Bourne was operating a brickyard in Brown Street, West Thebarton in 1926, with a pit nearly thirty feet deep, while a small brickyard was operated by the Torrensville Brick Company during the 1920s.

A history of brickmaking in the district would not be complete without mention of J. Hallett & Son Ltd. Job Hallett (1855-1940) arrived in South Australia in the *John Elder* in 1879 becoming engaged in the brickmaking trade in 1883 at West Thebarton. A timely legacy gave him the necessary capital to build his own brickyard at Brompton.

In 1900, he was joined in the business by his son, Thomas, and the company name was registered in 1910 when it acquired the Federal Brick Company; it merged with Brick and Pipe Industries Ltd in the 1960s 'and now trades as the large industrial complex, the Nubrik-Hallett Group.'

The Gas Works

It has been recorded that the once familiar landscape at Thebarton, in the form of a gasometer, was constructed by the SA Gas Company but this supposition is incorrect for it was the property of the Provincial Gas Company. The latter was in direct competition with the former until being taken over in the late 1870s.

The following extract from a newspaper report needs no interpretation for modern-day consumers:

After the Provincial Company was formed it was well known that it was the avowed aim of the older association to undersell the new one, so that eventually the latter might have to give in...

Now that the former are masters of the situation they seek to make up for some of their former losses by proposing to charge a higher price...

Following the failure of an earlier proposal to amalgamate in 1871, it was apparent that, by April 1872, gas consumers would be supplied from two sources. To this end the Provincial Gas Company purchased an acre of land at Thebarton, a few yards southwards from the Squatters' Arms, on which to build its works. A newspaper of the day reminded its readers that 'there [once] stood upon it a modest hostelry with the familiar name of Tom o'Lincoln... Many years have passed... but [this] acre has remained unimproved.'

Prior to their talks with the South Australian Gas Company, which had the effect of delaying their plans for several months, the Provincial's had ordered a gasholder from England and the material for it had lain at Thebarton for many months. Its dimension resembled the smaller of the two gasholders comprised in its former works, its diameter

being 60 feet and height 40 feet. It was constructed upon a principle invented by Mr E. Hanson and applied by him in the construction of several installations in Chile.

The company enclosed the land on three sides by a seven feet high concrete wall and the fourth with galvanised iron which could be moved easily to the westward if a proposed extension to the works eventuated.

Mr James MacGeorge was the contractor for its erection, together with a retort house large enough to accommodate 28 clay retorts capable of producing 100,000 feet of gas per day, coal store and a workman's cottage which was to be built of Mitcham stone. The gasometer was demolished in 1975 and the land is now the site of the Ice Arena.

Flour Mills

John Ridley arrived in South Australia in the *Warrior* on Easter Friday, 1840, and by August of that year was informing readers of the *Southern Australian* that he had brought out a steam engine, part of which he intended to utilise in driving a saw mill and partly to grind flour.

At that time his mill at Hindmarsh had been completed, the boilers lit and he intimated that within six weeks he would be able to grind up to 500 bushels of wheat weekly and concluded by saying that he was a hater of monopolies and would be happy to hear of the establishment of other mills.

Ridley's mill at Hindmarsh was housed in a building, 70 feet by 35 feet, on four acres of land and driven by a beam engine, usually worked to 30 horse power, with two tubular boilers each 27 feet long and six feet in diameter; the original engine, a Watt's 'grasshopper', was still in use in 1860.

The firm had a library of some 300 books which was offered free of charge to the public. Mr Ridley left the colony in 1853 and died in England in 1887.

In May 1842, Messrs Gardiner and Craigie announced that the Victoria Flour Mill was 'now complete' and having engaged the 'most experienced miller in the colony' they were prepared to seek public patronage for the premises situated between Chapel and George Streets. The mill was three-storeyed and built of brick with a chimney stack forty-five feet high; the factory engine of eight horse power was made in Scotland.

On the ground floor was part of the machinery; the first floor housed the grinding stones and on the second floor were two hoppers, one for meal, connected with the dressing machine, and the other for wheat, conveying it to the stones. A well, forty feet deep, supplied excellent water and the best evidence of the mill's efficiency was a gold medal Mr Gardiner obtained 'at the late exhibition'.

In 1850, there were seventeen steam, eight wind and two water mills in the colony and, by 1859, 73, nil and two, respectively - the local millers were Magarey and Crawford at Hindmarsh and Whitford at Thebarton. In 1860 mention is made of a Thebarton Steam Mill owned by Messrs Printz & Christen; 'its former owner was C. Whitford.'

Soap and Candle Manufacturing

At the end of 1842, a newspaper report announced with pleasure 'another branch of internal production' in the form a new soap and alkali works at Thebarton and, accordingly, 'we will not long have to export our cattle in the shape of tallow'; a few weeks Messrs Wright, Lynne and Elliott advertised their preparedness to 'provide soap of the best quality.'

The Apollo Candle and Soap Factory opened in May 1882 in wood and iron premises built on the banks of the River Torrens and it was the proud boast of its secretary, Mr Mofflin, that no offensive smells would emanate from the factory because the works were to be connected to deep drainage. This was to be disproved when, in 1888, the Hindmarsh Board of Health met to consider a complaint about the 'pungency of perfume' when the company was directed to conduct the condensed air from the congestors into the sewers. The crude fat used in the manufacturing process was stored in open tanks a steam pump raising it to three soap-pans - two large ones for ordinary soap and a smaller one for a superfine product. In these pans the ingredients, which went to make up the soap, were boiled together, and the resultant mixture run into frames each having a capacity of twelve hundredweight; when solidified the soap was cut into bars by hand-worked wires.

The candle-making room contained machines capable of making fifty boxes per day. Steam being an essential part of the manufacturing process two large boilers provided same, whilst also driving a small engine used for cutting off the end of candles.

The Apollo Works were taken over by Burford & Sons, circa 1889, which added to the premises and used it for new industries such as starch, blacking and blue manufacture. The premises in Adam Street were totally destroyed by fire on 25 December 1907 and subsequently rebuilt.

In 1888, there is a report of the Brompton Park Soap manufactory owned by a Mr Gaskill producing soda crystals, washing powder and two tons of soap per week. He had ordered new equipment capable of producing seven tons and to this end had purchased a site in Adam Street to house his new establishment.

The Bunyip Soap Company opened in Thebarton in 1890 in a small room and produced a special soap called 'boroleine' for bathing purposes and renowned for its excellent lather and cleansing properties. Another product was soft soap made from transparent oils treated with potash instead of caustic soda eminently suitable for domestic purposes and washing linen and woollen garments. The company also produced washing soda but found it difficult to market because of local prejudice in favour of the imported item.

Rope Making

In the early 1870s, two rope factories were established in the district, viz., Messrs Tamlin & Coombe's 'Adelaide Rope Factory' and the 'Hindmarsh Rope Factory' owned by Mr Nicholas Reseigh. Prior to the entry into this

business the colony's requirements were met by importing from either England or Victoria, where rope had been manufactured for some years.

Mr Tamlin came from Victoria in 1871 and opened his business on a small piece of land on the banks of the Torrens near Burford's soapworks at Hindmarsh and, for a time, conducted it with the aid of two boys; all the manufacture was done by hand. It was successful and he was joined by an old friend after which the business traded as Tamlin & Coombe.

The firm then purchased a horse to work a mechanical device and engaged 14 men and boys. As time went on they bought a long piece of land in excess of 440 yards alongside the Port railway line. At one time they were short of flax and placed an order in Melbourne but 'the protectionist spirit was so strong' it was refused because 'the Melbourne firm would not cut their own throats by supplying material to a rival factory.'

Further problems were just around the corner because they had to contend with a 10 per cent duty on raw material 'while the same tariff manufactured rope was admitted at 5 per cent.' In the course of time this situation was remedied.

The works were carried on until four horses were employed when it became evident that the time had come for the introduction of machines which were imported from the United States of America and installed in November 1876.

Later, the firm was taken over by G.P. Harris, Scarfe & Co. who added to the industry the manufacture of wire, nails and barbed wire.

This firm sold out to the Adelaide Rope and Nail and Barbwire Manufacturing Co. Ltd. in June 1910 and, in September 1912, a fire destroyed the ropeworks; within twelve months it was rebuilt and equipped with specially imported machinery. By 1927, the company produced rope in sizes up to heavy manila and coir cables of eighteen inches in circumference, binder twine, sash cord, heavy parcel wrapping yarns and twine, wire nails, brads, clouts and staples of all sizes and gauges; a modern plant for making barbed wire was also installed. In 1967, it was taken over by Kinnear Ropes (Australia) Ltd and, in 1970, its nail and barbwire operations were sold to Sidney Cooke Fasteners Ltd.

Mr Reseigh opened his business about June 1872 and 'his walk was 420 feet long'. Within about nine months he was turning out a ton of various types of rope per week in lengths of up to '60 fathoms'; 17 males were employed while local flax was used to some extent and he 'looked forward to an extension of the harvest in South Australia.'

The bulk of the raw material came from New Zealand but, at first, supplies were spasmodic due to the vagaries of available shipping. The fibre was imported in bales and, from that state, it underwent the process of 'hackling' which was carried on by boys - 'it was not very laborious, and seemed well calculated to keep juvenile hands and arms out of mischief.'

The hemp was then twisted into threads by a small machine operated by a youth, while men went 'up and down the walk' lengthening it and hanging it on hooks. The threads were then placed on a number of reels and wound into strands. The last process of making these strands into rope was done by a machine called a 'jack'.

Vignerons - Thomas Hardy of Bankside

For many years one of the show places of Thebarton was Bankside owned and occupied by Thomas Hardy, an ambitious and hard-working immigrant who arrived in the colony in the *British Empire* in 1850. For a time he worked for John Reynell at his property south of Adelaide near modern-day Reynella but, like the majority of the male population, joined the gold rush to Victoria in late 1851.

The rewards were meagre and, showing enterprise, which was to be with him for the rest of his days, he and a few friends drove bullocks overland from Normanville for butchering and sale to the miners. This venture was profitable and, on 20 May 1852, he married his cousin, Joanna Hardy, and purchased land 'slightly west of north of the Thebarton Racecourse' which, by 1866, contained fifty acres of vines and fruit trees.

At this time an itinerant reporter told of the difficulty in finding the place:

Learning indefinitely that it was a little below Thebarton, we shaped our course to the township bearing that name, but on reaching it found that a devious maze of roads, calculated to bewilder even a bushman on horseback, had to be threaded in order to complete the journey. Completed it was at length and the toil was compensated for by the inspection which followed.

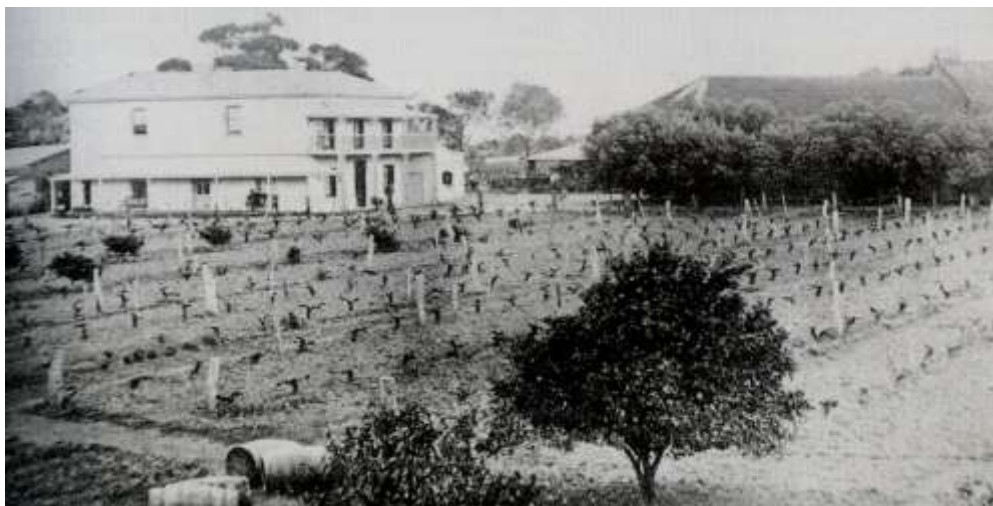
This same reporter left an interesting report on Aboriginal burial rites:

Not much more than a dozen years ago the land there bore the aspect of a primeval wildness. A thick grove of gum trees stood where now nothing of the kind is to be seen.

A sacred grove it appeared to be, for there the ashes of the defunct native population reposed. Literally it was their ashes, for their bodies were burned at death and the remains deposited in mounds, of which the sites of no less than four were pointed out to us by Mr Hardy.

It appears that the ceremony of cremation is not always perfected, for six skeletons were found in one place of sepulture adjoining the residence, and some in each of the others. The effect of the burning upon the ground has been almost to reduce it to sterility, for owing to it being so loose and unsubstantial nothing will thrive upon it.

Bankside first commenced in 1854 when about an acre of section 96 was planted with a mixed variety of vines together with two acres of fruit trees and, between 1856 and 1861, a further fourteen acres were set with vines and fruit and orange trees. In 1863 a portion of section 97, divided from section 96 by a roadway, was brought into cultivation, the area of the vineyard being extended by 35 acres.



Bankside

Leading up to the house was an avenue of olive trees which were planted in 1858 and, in later years, the fruit was crushed at the Adelaide Gaol. Its oil was mixed with hot water and proved to be an excellent remedy against the American blight in apple trees.

Mr Hardy's main product was from the grape and, by 1871, he was producing 27,000 gallons of wine and drying five tons of raisins; additionally, he purchased about 10,000 gallons from producers in the southern districts, including George Pitches Manning of 'Hope Farm', McLaren Vale, for blending purposes.

The property was under irrigation the water being raised by steam power from a well, communicating by means of a duct with the river, and about 18 feet in depth. It was then conveyed into an elevated concrete trench skirting the banks where the land was the highest and was let into several rows by means of breaks which could be opened and closed at will.

The reporter concluded his remarks with the thought that 'nature had been so aided in rendering the immediate banks of the river a picture of luxuriant vegetation by the planting of willows and reeds that a perpetual relief to the eye from the aspect of desolation promoted by the scorching heat of the summer is provided.'

In October 1905, many of his outbuildings were destroyed by fire and the lack of adequate fire-fighting equipment and water prompted Mr Hardy to utilise red wine which promptly ignited and added to the devastation; some reconstruction was done but the cellars were not rebuilt. However, laboratories, blending tanks and extensive wine cellars were added to Tintara House in Mile End, while Bankside was sold in 1924 and eventually demolished.

Breweries

Wherever civilised communities are formed there must spring up in their midst such utilities as churches, hotels, stores and breweries. It would appear that the first brewer on the banks of the Torrens was a Mr Lillyman in 1838; he brewed his beer from wheat because barley was not available in any quantity.

A Mr Warren was another who set up a modest brewery subsequently selling out to Messrs Auld & Shand who went out of business when an 1844 flood destroyed the premises.

In the early days of South Australia publicans were subjected to government control and licence fees but, strangely, brewers were free agents and as such prone to sacrifice quality in order to reap excessive profits.

Some of the smaller brewers used no hops at all in making beer, but bought 'half a pound at a time to enable them to shake a few leaves into each cask they sent out, so as to make their dupes fancy that the drugged compound they swallowed was beer.'

Another early brewer was Edward J.F. Crawford who arrived in South Australia in 1839 and, by 1843, was in business at Hindmarsh. He sold out to Haussen & Catchlove (later to become Haussen & Co) whose cellars contained 14 subterranean passages, some of 250 yards in length and excavated out of solid earth and 'aided by no stone, wood or brickwork'; by 1870 it was producing 30 hogsheads a day. In 1875, the firm was taken over by Messrs F.J. & F.S. Botting; however, they retained the company name 'Haussen' in marketing its product.

By 1891, the firm employed, apart from about 20 men, 13 horses whose domain was at the rear of the premises, together with a crop of lucerne for 'equine eatification' - they were awarded first prize at a licensed victuallers' picnic.

Hops were imported from New Zealand, Tasmania, Bavaria and England with white sugar from Mauritius, all to be utilised in the manufacture of 'tanglefoot', a popular nickname for the local brew. The brewery's connection to deep drainage aided considerably in reducing offensive odours; it merged with the Walkerville Cooperative Brewery in 1926 which, in 1938, became part of the South Australian Brewing Co Ltd under the name of the Nathan Brewery.

The Torrenside Brewery, which stood on the land now occupied by the SA Brewing Company, was opened by Messrs A.W. & T.L. Ware in 1886 '150 yards to the west of the Hindmarsh Bridge'; it was entirely of brick and erected under the supervision of Messrs Wright & Reed on plans laid down by the proprietors.

It had a short life being amalgamated with Messrs E. Clark & Co, the proprietors of the East Adelaide Brewery in 1898; it in turn became part of the Walkerville Cooperative Brewery in the same year.

Immediately, it was decided to erect additional buildings at Southwark which were to include 'the finest beer cellars in the colony.' The formal opening of these premises was made in November 1899 when the Hon. Ebenezer Ward, MP, luxuriated at length when he said that:

He had never seen on the Australian continent such a magnificent beer cellar as he had inspected that day... Look at the national importance of this great industry, not merely in providing so well for the pleasant quenching of their thirsts, but in the liberal employment of labour, in the beneficial circulation of cash, and its very material contribution to the revenue of the State...



Southwark Brewery

Hotels

The earliest hotels in Thebarton, viz., Great Tom o'Lincoln, Wheatsheaf and Forresters and Squatters Arms, are discussed elsewhere. The Market Tavern (also known as the Market Inn and renamed the Butchers Arms in 1848-1869) was the forerunner of the modern-day Mile End Hotel; it opened in 1840 with William Wilkins as lessee. He was a man with considerable civic pride and, in 1844, at his own expense paid for a bridge to be built across the Torrens linking Thebarton to Hindmarsh.

He died in 1845 under suspicious circumstances which culminated in a trial where his doctor was accused of administering an excessive dose of morphine; an acquittal followed 'not on the merits of the case but on the grounds of some legal technicalities and with a severe reprimand from the judge.'

The Royal Hotel at New Thebarton (Torrensville) of about fifteen rooms was built in 1880 for Messrs Beaglehole & Johnson while the Southwark Hotel was erected in 1886 for the brewers, Haussen & Co, who held it until 1893 when it came into the hands of the SA Brewing Company.

The Globe Hotel operated on section 2b at Mile End from 1857 to 1862, while the Bricklayers Arms (sometimes called Brickmakers Arms) had William Gandy as its first proprietor; the West Thebarton Hotel existed from 1883 at 51 South Road with Mr R. Hyman as the first proprietor.

Boiling-Down Works

Upon the demise of the SA Jockey Club races at Thebarton, Edward M. Bagot purchased the freehold of about one acre previously occupied by the club and built a boiling-down works thereon. On 31 January 1870 he held a dinner for his employees at the Squatters' Arms where he announced that in the first five months of operations the works had slaughtered 85,000 sheep and produced 520 tons of tallow for shipment to England.

Earlier, in June 1869, the Adelaide civil authority complained of 'the intolerable stench [emanating] from the boiling down works near Thebarton' and requested the West Torrens Council to remedy the matter. An exchange of letters proved fruitless and the Council passed a by-law stating that any person boiling down, crushing or burning meat bones and offal 'so as to cause an offensive smell, and be a nuisance to the owners or occupiers of the adjoining premises, or to the neighbourhood' would, after three days notice, be fined no less than ten shillings or more than ten pounds.

In 1876, Mr Bagot informed the Council that he had ceased slaughtering cattle at his works. The land was subdivided in 1914 and called 'Grey'; today, it is included in the suburb of Mile End.

Bottle Factory

By the early 1870s, winemakers and others were having difficulty in obtaining good bottles at reasonable prices and following a meeting of interested parties in October 1873, together with support from the Chamber of Manufactures, the South Australian Bottle Company was formed in 1874.

One of the directors, Mr W. Bickford, about to proceed to England, was given the task of engaging a staff of competent men and purchasing the necessary plant and material, both of which duly arrived in the *Coorong* in October 1874.

Previously, land had been purchased at Chief Street, Brompton, but unavoidable delays prevented the factory being opened until 29 January 1875.

However, in the interim period the manager had made an experimental trial of available raw material available in the colony; they were successful and he was 'sanguine of success'.

Bottles were made for a time but, by August 1875, the company's capital was exhausted and ownership passed to Messrs T. Hardy, W.N. Crowder, Syme & Sison and A.M. Bickford & Son.

The cause of its failure was due to several factors; firstly, the skilled men from England arrived before the plant was completed and were put to work in building the factory at a wage lower than received by labourers on the site; secondly, capital was being spent without any return and, thirdly, the late arrival of proper material for the construction of the smelting-tank furnace from England.

In anticipation of this arrival a colonial stone was installed but, while it stood, the fire it was totally unfit for the purpose of smelting glass because the stone melted and caused the glass to congeal and become unworkable. Thus, the factory closed; by 1886 it had fallen into the hands of a Mr Harrold and, later, Mr F.B. Hughes made a success of it - in 1913 it was taken over by a Victorian company and the factory was 'razed to the ground.'

Miscellany

Boot Factory

In 1889, a whole block of land between Seventh and Eighth and Gilbert and Gibson Streets was purchased by Mr A. Dowie upon which he erected a boot factory; it adjoined the Bowden Tannery which occupied the centre of the block. The building was 100 feet long, over 40 feet wide and two storeys high and sufficient to accommodate about 300 employees.

Timber Merchants and Cabinet Makers

Founded in 1849 was the firm of Messrs King & Son, timber merchants, cabinet makers and manufacturers of all types of wooden structures at Richard Street, Hindmarsh on more than one acre of land. Frank King, the son of the proprietor, was 'a respectable name in cricketing circles [being] a redoubtable wielder of the willow.'

Champagne Making

While the district was renowned for its bricks and leather, tucked away in Brompton Park was a cellar adjacent to the home of a genial Frenchman, Mons. J.H. Foureur who, in his spare time, made champagne from grapes brought down from Angaston. In 1882, he received an 'honourable mention' at the Bordeaux Exhibition in France and in 1888 a gold medal at the Melbourne Exhibition.

Adelaide Chemical Works

In 1881, Mr C. Campbell of Melbourne in conjunction with Mr R.B. Cuming, resident partner and Manager, purchased a little less than six acres of land 'within a stone's throw of Mr Hardy's Bankside vineyard', and erected thereon a brick cottage for the manager and chimney stack, furnaces, etc, for a chemical plant to manufacture, primarily, sulphuric acid; 'on the opposite side of the road was West's fellmongery.'

The boiler and furnaces were made in Adelaide at Mr Hooker's foundry; the architect was Mr E. Poulton and the contractors Messrs Claussen & Co.

The operations started by employing five men but, by 1927, the work-force numbered in excess of 250 and produced thousands of tons of fertilisers and large quantities of acids, some of which were the life blood of many industries including candle makers and tallow purifiers. Further, the company could justly claim that it was the pioneer of superphosphate industry in South Australia.

Woollen and Flannel Factory

This factory opened in 1888 on the banks of the River Torrens at New Thebarton. Its managing proprietor was Mr J.W. McGregor, a former manager of the Lobethal Tweed Factory, and it was reported that he had secured the most suitable material for producing a first class article and was certain that his product would meet the needs of consumers. By 1891, he was well established and had negotiated a contract to supply 300 yards of carriage cloth for the railways.

Manure Works

The Torrenside Manure Works were conducted by Mr J.B. Ford and there is a report of him being required to answer a petition from nearby residents as to the foul odours emanating from his factory.

Thebarton Distillery

This company was founded to manufacture 'rectified' spirits from grain for blending purposes; this product was considered to be preferable to that distilled from wine or potatoes. It also proposed to make brandy,, whisky and schnapps from grain.

The company's plant and offices stood on a 3/4 acre block of land; the builders were James King & Sons; W. Wallace erected the still and W. Richardson installed the engine and boiler under the supervision of Mr Max Birnbaum, manager of the plant.

Industries of the 20th Century

Horwood Bagshaw Ltd

J.S. Bagshaw & Sons, implement makers, was founded in 1838 at Elizabeth Street, Adelaide, but by 1911 it was found necessary to purchase about twelve acres of land at Mile End adjacent to the railway goods yards. Here the company built a factory covering 132,000 square feet and all care was taken to ensure a healthy work-place, for all dust and fumes were removed by suction fans and taken well outside and 'the shavings and sawdust... delivered into the power-house, the smoke and fumes from the blacksmith's shop delivered into one large stack and the dust from emery wheels, grinders, etc, [were] treated in a like manner.'

The office buildings were situated on the northern side of the factory facing Victoria Street; they were over 100 feet long by 30 feet wide and divided into offices by glass partitions, 'thus ensuring perfect circulation of air throughout.'

J.H. Horwood & Co commenced business in Franklin Street, Adelaide as general engineers and, by 1924, had absorbed the Balaklava business of Illman & Co. At this time it purchased J.S. Bagshaw & Co and registered itself under the name Horwood, Bagshaw Ltd and undertook to 'transfer the whole of the Balaklava business, the employees and their families to Mile End, together with the Franklin Street business;' by 1927 it was employing 650 men.

Perry Engineering Co.

At age ten years Samuel Perry was apprenticed into the iron company Colebrookdale in Shropshire, England where he served for seven years and, at age twenty-two, migrated to Australia. He settled first at Gawler where his brother, Isaiah, was an itinerant Methodist minister, later removing to Port Adelaide at Durnell's 'where ovens, safes and cast iron works was the better turned out for his assistance.'

Following a seven year sojourn in Victoria he returned to South Australia in 1898 for a visit but, finding Alexander's Tubal Cain Ironworks in Hindley Street looking for a new owner, he grasped the opportunity and purchased it. In quick time he was iron-fencing Prince Alfred College, supplying the structural steel requirements of new city warehouses and building bridges for watercourses near Crystal Brook and Angaston.

In 1912, he moved to Mile End and was the first to build there 'in an open paddock' of four acres, later expanding to eight and, having secured a contract for 20 locomotives for the Government, he returned to England to purchase the necessary machinery; by 1923 his plants at Gawler and Mile End employed 500 men.

Metters Limited

Mr Frederick Metters founded this firm in a small shop in Blyth Street, Adelaide and, until 1908, it traded under the name Fred Metters & Co. A company was then formed but Mr Metters did not continue in it and its expansion was due to Mr H.L. Spring.

Later, a factory was established in Norma Street, Mile End, where it produced gas and fuel stoves, porcelain baths, sinks and basins, windmills, pumps, spray plants and other building and household requirements; by 1927 it was the largest manufacturer of its class in the southern hemisphere. The company was amalgamated with Email Ltd in 1975.

E.S. Wigg & Co.

Edgar S. Wigg arrived in the colony in 1849 and commenced business in Rundle Street as a bookseller and stationer, a large part of his turnover being in Sunday school books as agent for the Religious Tract Society in London. In 1903, E.S. Wigg & Son erected a factory at Thebarton to manufacture stationery.

Union Engineering Co.

This company was founded in Adelaide in 1882 by Messrs. L. Grayson, A. Richards, A. Whitehill, W. Whitehill and H.G. James on a site 'immediately to the east' of *The News*. It operated there for seventeen years when it removed to Morphett Street at the rear of Holy Trinity Church.

Eight years later it re-established itself on a large property bounded by Cawthorne, Winwood and Holland Streets and the River Torrens. Originally the company found employment for twenty men but by 1927 it had increased to 100.

Numbered among the hundreds of classes of work undertaken were the manufacture of bitumen distributing plants, hydraulic presses for motor body builders, cranes, rollers and many accessories required in roadmaking.

Adelaide Crystal Ice Company

Prior to 1914, Adelaide had a lot to learn in respect of food hygiene and the distribution of foodstuffs and the associated risk of germ contamination. This company was primarily a manufacturer of ice but with an innovative flair its manager, Mr George Richards, hived off a company, Alaska Fresh Foods, which undertook to supply customers from its Thebarton factory with fresh food and dairy produce, consisting of butter, eggs, cheese, bacon, dressed poultry, game and other commodities - to be home delivered according to order.

During the hot weather the company's ice carts called at up to 2,000 residences daily and, during the visits, orders would be taken. The walls of the delivery vehicles were insulated; blocks of ice were stored in the rear division and the fresh food products over the fore-carriage, this compartment being reached by a side door; the food was in dust-proof carriages contained on neat wooden trays.

The Imperial Manufacturing Company

It opened a factory to make pickles and cordials and Dew's Beverages made soft drinks on the corners of Winwood and Dew and Chapel and Dew Streets, respectively.

Adelaide Bottle Co-operative Co. Ltd.

In 1897, this business began operations in a yard at the rear of the premises of Messrs Barrett Brothers, maltsters, at Kent Town and, in 1907, it registered the trademark 'pickaxe' and rented bottles to members for one filling only after which they were returned to the cooperative for cleaning.

In 1911, it bought land in Cawthorne Street and, by 1912, was registered as the Adelaide Bottle Cooperative Limited; in 1915 it took up more land between Holland and Cawthorne Streets.

During the first year of operations it supplied customers with 305,000 dozen bottles - by 1928 this had increased to two million dozen. The Adelaide company was the first of its kind in Australia and users in other States were quick to realise that a similar concern in their capital cities would be of great benefit to them and, at their request, Mr Reed, the local manager, visited most of the capital cities and travelled to New Zealand where he assisted in the formation of companies on similar lines to his own.

Scott Bonnar Ltd

In 1920, Messrs Scott and Michael Bonnar opened a foundry and machine shop in Chapel Street one of their products being a hand-operated lawn mower. In 1923, upon a friend being ill and unable to tend to garden chores, they converted his machine into a power unit by installing a small motor.

This successful experiment led to the production of power mowers and, by 1926, they were the first company in Australia to produce electric lawnmowers. Scott Bonnar Ltd was registered in 1935; a year later it purchased three blocks of land in Anderson Street and another allotment in Holland Street in 1937 when a new factory was built. In later years the company won many awards for its products, including an industrial design award for the Scott Bonnar Model 590 Rear Catcher Reel Mower.

Hercus Engineering Co.

Another engineer, Frederick W. Hercus, built a factory in Southwark where he specialised in tools and equipment for the automotive repair industry.

R. Babidge & Sons

Richard Babidge, a carpenter, came to South Australia in 1865 and entered into a cooperage business with J.H. Neuenkirchen; this partnership was dissolved in 1897 and the new business registered as R. Babidge & Sons. In 1914, a factory was established on Railway Terrace where the business flourished until it was gutted by fire. The company relocated at Hindmarsh and its former site was developed by the SA Housing Trust.



Western Oxygen Co.

This company was founded in 1923 and operated from land abutting Jervois Street and Ashwin Parade; it was absorbed by Commonwealth Industrial Gases (SA) Pty Ltd.

F.H. Faulding Ltd.

In February 1842, Francis H. Faulding (1816-1868) arrived in Sydney in the *Nabob* in the capacity of assistant-surgeon and, hearing of the booming colony of South Australia, he sailed in the *Dorset* for Adelaide where, in 1845, he went into business as a pharmaceutical chemist in Clarence Place where he built a two-storeyed warehouse.

Luther Scammell (1826-1910) was of a similar background as Mr Faulding and, by repute, a doctor of medicine. He arrived in Adelaide in the *William Wilson*, in 1849, as the ship's surgeon and practised first at Burra, moving later to Hindmarsh to set up as a doctor, dentist and chemist.

In 1861, the two men went into partnership and seized the opportunity to merchandise drugs and, in the course of time, many of their products became household words. Following Mr Faulding's death, Mr Scammell took over the reins and asked Messrs Robert Foale and Philip Dakers to join him and, in 1876, built a warehouse in King William Street.

In 1923, the company purchased land in Thebarton and erected laboratories and manufacturing plant. It pioneered the manufacture of eucalyptus oil by building stills on Kangaroo Island and, later, was the first company in Australia to make the life-saving drug penicillin.

Austral Sheet Metal Works

It was founded in 1906 by Messrs Walter Cromer and Alfred R. Errey at 41 Angas Street; later they were joined by Mr Eric Fleming. By the 1920s it was established in Maria Street, Thebarton, when their aluminium and other wares became renowned throughout Australia for quality and finish.

Mason and Cox Ltd

This engineering firm was founded in 1917 by Mr Robert Mason at 44 Holland Street in partnership with Reginald L. Cox and, in the same year, Dudley C. Cox came into the business as a third partner. In 1923, the firm was converted into a limited company and, by 1963, the factory area covered 60,000 square feet; later it conducted its business at Torrensville.

Coca-Cola (SA) Ltd.

In 1939, some Adelaide business men secured the franchise to market the soft drink Coca-Cola and commenced business in Phillip Street, Adelaide. By 1952, larger premises were required and modern plant was built on land at 31 Port Road, Thebarton. It was listed as a public company in 1966.

Appendix 32

Thebarton - Nomenclature of Streets

Admella Street - The steamer *Admella* was wrecked on the South-East coast on 6 August 1859. The name is a combination of 'Adelaide', 'Melbourne' and 'Launceston'. (See under 'Admella' in nomenclature text.)

Bagot Avenue - Formerly Bagot Street. The SA Jockey Club was reformed in 1861 with Edward Mead Bagot holding the office of secretary and treasurer. His horse 'Cowra' won the Adelaide Cup in 1866 and 1867. The cup was valued at 500 sovereigns and run over two miles. Mr Bagot was a pioneer pastoralist, sportsman and founder of Bagot, Shakes and Lewis, stock and station agents. (See above under 'Boiling-down Works'.)

Beans Road - The first tannery in Thebarton was conducted by George T. Bean and Robert L. Ingham. The partnership was dissolved by mutual consent on 24 July 1839, but Mr Bean carried on the business.

Bennett Street - Probably named after Gabriel Bennett, pastoralist and stock agent, who was on the reformed committee of the SA Jockey Club management committee.

Chapel Street - The Methodist Church erected a chapel in this street in 1848.

Cowra Street - Its nomenclature is explained under 'Bagot Avenue'.

Cuming Street - Named after Mr R.B. Cuming who designed the Royal Hotel on Henley Beach Road. He was Mayor of Thebarton from 1893-1894 and 1897-1901.

Dalgleish Street - Robert Dalgleish, a local farmer in 1865.

Dew Street - George Moody Dew, baker and founding member of the West Torrens District Council, retiring in 1876 after 21 years service. Part of the street was previously called Stirling Street.

East Terrace - Named by the assessor of the West Torrens District Council in 1853 because it was the eastern boundary for the township of Thebarton.

Ebor Avenue - The name of a horse that won the 1865 Adelaide Cup on the Thebarton Racecourse; its owner was J.C. James.

Falcon Avenue - Falcon was the name of a horse that won the Adelaide Cup in April 1864.

Filsell Street - Clark John Filsell (1833-1915), a long-time member of the Methodist congregation in Thebarton.

Fisher Place - Fisher Terrace, was named after either J.H. Fisher or C.B. Fisher, prominent members of the local horse racing fraternity; it was renamed South Road and it is assumed the name was transferred to this Place.

The first named was one of the two stewards at the first horse race meeting in Adelaide in 1838 while his son, C.B. Fisher, became a prominent horse breeder in South Australia.

Flaherty Lane - Dr James A. Flaherty, Councillor for nine years, Alderman for five years and Mayor for six years (1974-1980).

Formby Street - Probably a Mr Formby who had a 'private' horse training ground near the Thebarton Race Course.

George Street - George Doughty, mentor of Colonel William Light

Hardys Road - Takes its name from Hardy's Bankside Wine Cellars which abutted.

Hayward Avenue - A well known name in the Torrensville district in 1883.

Holland Street - It may have been named after a gentleman who imported race horses from New South Wales - see under Tarragon Street.

Hughes Street - W.A. Hughes, first Town Clerk of the District Council of West Torrens in 1853.

James Street - J.C. James owner of Ebor, the winner of the 1865 Adelaide Cup.

Kintore Street - Formerly Lea's Road (A.G. Lea, a storekeeper and clerk who built a seven-roomed house - termed a mansion in the assessment book of 1884). The Right Honorable, Earl of Kintore, was Governor of South Australia, 1889-1895.

Light Terrace - Colonel William Light, founder of Thebarton.

Lowe Street - Edward Lowe (1823-1896), cabinet maker and undertaker.

Lurline Street - Named after a racehorse which graced the turf of the Thebarton racecourse.

Maria Street - Maria Gandy, Colonel Light's housekeeper/de facto wife.

Moore Lane - Mr H.P. Moore who photographed Light's cottage in 1904-1905.

Norma Street - Named for a racehorse that competed on the local racecourse.

Northcote Street - Lord Northcote was a former Governor-General of Australia.

Parker Street - Abel William Parker, second Town Clerk of Thebarton.

Railway Terrace - It runs parallel to what was once the track of the Holdfast Bay (Glenelg) railway.

Reid Street - The Reid family who conducted a tannery. (*See above under 'The Tanneries'*)

Roebuck Street - The name of a horse that came second in the 1864 Adelaide Cup at Thebarton.

Ronald Street - Mr E.J. Ronald, a former Mayor of Thebarton (1883-1887).

Stephens Avenue - Probably named after Edward Stephens, first Manager of the SA Banking Company.

Tarragon Street - Named after a race horse imported from New South Wales by Mr Holland.

Taylor's Lane - South Road was formerly Taylor's Road which honoured the proprietor(s) of Taylor's fellmongery.

Ware Street - Probably named after Charles Boxer Ware, brewer and Mayor of Thebarton, 1901-1903.

Appendix 33

The Public Health of Thebarton

We urge upon the electors, not only of the city and its suburbs, but of the country townships also, to demand of their representatives some legislation which will serve to check the reckless accumulation of poisonous matter which is going on day by day in every direction.

(Register, 30 November 1871, page 4d)

Introduction

Expurgated histories of governments, both local and State, districts, towns and families have proliferated over the years and, in some respects, the complete story of the terrors of latter-day outbreaks of typhoid fever, smallpox and other diseases remain to be told. Dr Philip Woodruff has written evocatively on the subject, mainly from a medical point of view, in his *Two Million South Australians*, while Rob Linn's *Frail Flesh & Blood* has provided, admirably, 'a number of windows into the past' and dispelled many myths that once surrounded our recorded history.

In what follows I attempt to discuss general health matters from the grass roots; I explore the thoughts of the ordinary citizen at the times of crisis in the community, coupled with editorial and medical comment in the newspapers of the day.

I sincerely hope that the topics I deal with will add constructively to our knowledge of past attitudes in respect of sickness and disease, while at the same time disclosing some of the insidious forms of 'quackery' (the origin of this term is discussed below) that has blighted the annals of medicine. These charlatans also employed deception in taking hard-earned income from the working class and others who were prepared to swallow both the loquacity of the vendors and their ineffectual products.

Leeches were in high demand in early colonial days for 'bleeding' was considered to be an effective treatment for many ailments and many young Thebartonians caught these creatures in the River Torrens and found a ready market for them with druggists in Adelaide:

The present extraordinary prevalence of sickness in Adelaide has almost entirely cleaned out the druggists of leeches. It is usual for the dispensers of 'doctors' stuff' to lay in a stock of these exceedingly useful animals at this time of the year, but the recent floods of the Murray... has operated to prevent the customary provision being made. (1)

Thebarton in 1884

An indication of the unsanitary state of Thebarton in 1884 may be gained from a report to the Central Board of Health:

1. The cesspools to the respective closets are to be emptied and the soil removed from the following premises and properly disposed of and a watertight cesspool constructed - Frederick Barnden, butcher; The Tram Company (Samuel T. Nesbit); Edward Wear; William Brinall; William Richardson Senr., laborer; Isaac Barleyman, laborer; Mrs Besley, widow; T. Besley, Plumber; F. Brown, stonecutter; John Daly, laborer; George Lea, carpenter; George Hodges, coachbuilder; E.A. Lawson, storekeeper, G.M. Dew, George Bates, H. Bunger, butcher; John Illman, blacksmith; J. Williams, sawyer.
2. The stable on H.C. DeLaine's premises is to be properly paved and drained; similar work to be undertaken on Mr Charles Warren's property plus the removal of all refuse.
3. In respect of the property of Robert Dalgleish, James Tully, Owen McGuinness, William Hill, William Brinall, and John O'Loughlin - their cowyards and bail sheds are to be properly paved and sufficient means for drainage is to be provided and all refuse is to be removed.
4. Peter Brown's pigsties are to be cleansed and all manure and refuse collected and removed and the premises are to be kept continuously clean and free from nuisance.
5. The fellmongery of Messrs West & Co. - the pits at the rear of the works are to be filled with dry earth and the practice of depositing offensive refuse on the banks of the river is to cease; all manure, sheep's trotters and other offensive refuse are to be collected and removed from the premises. The pool containing stagnant liquid is to be filled up and all liquid now exposed on the surface is to be covered with earth.
6. On the premises known as Fenn & Hardy's cottages, the cesspools are to be emptied.
7. On the premises of William Garlet and three others, the Head Teacher of the Public School, and Robert Hyman, the respective cesspools are to be emptied.
8. The disused refuse pits on premises occupied by Messrs Peacock & Sons, fellmongers, and now containing offensive matter are to be filled with earth; the same is to be undertaken at Messrs Shaw & Co., fellmongers.
9. The pigsty on the premises of David Reid, fellmonger, is to be removed from the banks of the river and all refuse is to be kept out of the stream.
10. On Mr Sanders' (boot manufacturer) property the well under the floor of the workroom is to have a sufficient quantity of earth put in it to prevent any effluvium and the use of the well for drainage purposes is to be discontinued.
11. The well on Mary O'Grady's property, now being used as a closet cesspool is to be filled up with earth; a proper closet with a cesspool constructed in accordance with the Public Health Act is to be provided.
12. On premises known as Mrs Wesley's cottages the cesspools are to be emptied and the refuse accumulated in the backyards is to be removed.
13. The place used as a cowshed and stable on Mr Thomas Broderick's property is to be properly paved and drained.
14. On premises occupied by Messrs Tunbridge as a school, the cesspits are to be emptied and separate closet accommodation for the sexes is to be provided. (2)

Where sewers were not connected the cemented and watertight, cesspits were a menace to the public health and the authorities suggested that these pits should only be cemented at the sides, leaving the bottoms free. The liquids could then escape and the free use of dry earth, wood ashes, dry slack lime or even carbolised sawdust would be a great preventative of 'unpleasantness'.

One of the most dangerous customs of the day practised in some households was the habit of throwing the dirty water, etc, into the backyard. The recommended plan was to have a series of holes in the backyard into which it should be emptied, and the hole frequently covered in and fresh ones provided. In the case of large gardens, where there was no underground drainage, the water should be conveyed over the garden by drains made of brick and tarred over.

It was also recommended that all kitchen refuse be collected carefully and burned or carted away. With reference to milk and water it was absolutely necessary that all milk be boiled and water either boiled or filtered; boiled water was potable for two days only. The ordinary filters used in households consisted of alternate layers of sand, gravel and animal charcoal, the water having first passed through a sponge; unfortunately, many householders failed to clean the filters regularly with the result that they became ineffective. (3)

In 1886, an inspector from the Central Board of Health reported that, following the complaints made in 1884, the Council had closely monitored any possible danger to public health; however, he suggested that:

In a town like this containing fully 700 buildings, there should be... a scavenger whose duty it should be to visit private dwellings and remove all house refuse at least once a fortnight... (4)

Medicines, 'Quackery' and Diseases

Patent Medicines

The following words appeared in the *South Australian Gazette & Mining Journal* in 1849 and they are just as meaningful today - having in mind, for example, Sir Joh Bjelke Petersen's (a former Premier of Queensland) ardent support for a 'quack' who professed to possess a cure for cancer:

There is something in the moral aspect of a secret remedy that ought to put mankind on their guard against it. The possession of health is so valuable and to the poor so necessary; pain and suffering are so dreadful that it is the duty of everyone to communicate every assistance in his power to relieve it.

With all the industry and accumulated knowledge of [our] age, there are too many diseases which baffle all the skill of the profession, and there must be something suspicious about those who, affirming themselves to be in possession of a remedy for cancer or consumption, conceal the knowledge of it in their own bosoms.

Some patent medicines are harmless and insignificant, and their only effect is to amuse the patient with delusive hopes, and to trifle away the time during which the constitution could bear the employment of active remedies. In other cases, by the alacrity and hope they inspire, they impart a salutary energy to the mind; and hypochondriacs may be brought to use rational methods of cure, whilst they expect everything from their boasted specific.

Some patent medicines are merely those which every physician prescribes and which every druggist sells; but which quacks disguise, and multiply the price of manifold. Drugs of the same composition as Anderson's pills, Barclay's anti-bilious pills and James's analeptic pills could all be purchased at a much cheaper rate.

But there are other kinds of quack medicines of a somewhat more dangerous tendency and against which the ignorant should be put on their guard. Such are all those which profess to be an infallible cure for cancers, which promise to cure syphilitic complaints without the use of mercury and those which cure colds and consumption. (5)

'Quackery'

'To its pretentious habit of quacking about nothing in particular, the otherwise inoffensive duck owes its apparent association with the unscientific part of healing. Time was when the medical charlatan conducted one of the noisiest of known trades; and as, at an old English fair, for example, 'each empiric endeavoured to out-quack his rivals, the contest obviously suggested to our ancestors an assemblage of ducks on the village green.'

'Quackery has undergone great changes even [in the recent years of the 1920s], and has become less clamorous; but the extension of scientific knowledge does not seem to have reduced it. Indeed, the diversification of charlatanism would make it appear that the number of its practitioners tends to increase... But it is indisputable, nevertheless, that the activities of the genuinely spurious quacksalver are still carried on in all parts of Australia, and that incalculable damage is being done to the health of the community.' (6)

A case of quackery was evident in Thebarton in 1854 when George Handking (born circa 1821), labourer, took ill complaining of pains in his head and bowels and was attended by an unqualified medical practitioner, Mr Luther Scammell, of Hindmarsh, who mistook the nature of the disease and, in consequence, treated him incorrectly 'and in all probability hastened his death.' An inquest was held at the Wheatsheaf Hotel, Thebarton, where Mr Scammell stated in his own evidence that he treated the man for rheumatism and that he considered that he cured him, as he told him he would want no more medicine, and recommended a nutritious diet and a little porter.

Subsequently, a post mortem examination revealed that the man died of an inflammation of the liver and kidneys caused by an internal abscess. In evidence, Dr Woodforde, when asked by the coroner as to the case with which the real cause of the pain could be detected, said that, if he were not able to determine the nature of the disease from the symptoms, he should not account himself fit to practise.

It appeared from Mr Scammell's evidence that he had no diploma from any college, that he had never received a complete and regular professional education, but that he had attended several medical lectures at hospitals, had practised for five years and expected shortly to get a regular licence. In case he should get the licence... 'we should consider it judicious in him to select a new arena for the exercise of his talents, as it is not unlikely that Thebartonians troubled with a pain in their backs will for the future be chary of allowing Mr Scammell to treat them...'

In fairness to Mr Scammell it must be said that Drs Bayer and Woodforde, who conducted the post mortem examination, admitted that 'death would have probably occurred from the disease under any treatment, though the false treatment to which he was subjected was calculated to hasten it.' (7)

Cancer

This insidious disease, aptly categorised as 'The Elusive Enemy', and its gaunt spectre, was a major concern in the formative years of the colony and has continued to stalk the land taking with it both young and old into pain and misery.

The newspapers of the nineteenth century are filled with alleged cures both from the medical profession and 'quacks' as evidenced by the following which was offered free of charge to the public in 1860:

Boil fine Turkey figs in new milk, which they will thicken; when they are tender, split and apply them as warm as they can be borne to the part affected, whether broken or not; the part must be washed every time

the poultice is changed with some of the milk. Use a fresh poultice night and morning and at least once during the day, and drink a quarter of a pint of milk the figs are boiled in, twice in 24 hours. If the stomach will bear it, this must be steadily persevered in for three or four months at least.

A man aged 105 years was cured about six years before his death, with only six pounds of figs. The cancer, which began at the corner of his mouth, had eaten through his jaw, cheek and half way down his throat; yet he was so perfectly cured as never to show any tendency to return. Should it ever do so figs should be again applied. The first application gives a great deal of pain, but afterwards each dressing gives relief. A woman cured by this remedy had been afflicted 10 years; her breasts bled excessively; 10 pounds cured her. (8)

Common Colds and Influenza

Our ancestors were plagued with the common cold which even today still awaits a 'cure'; back in 1847 a correspondent to a newspaper provided readers with his remedy:

I bathed my feet in warm water, swallowed a hot drink of gruel mixed with other heating ingredients - brandy, pepper and treacle, buried myself under a pyramid of blankets, beneath which I remained smoking hot, puffing and perspiring till four o'clock the following afternoon. (9)

'Influenza' is an Italian word and it means what we express in English by almost the same word, influence. A few centuries ago people believed in the existence of witches and in the influence of the stars. It is said that in this way that the word Influenza, as applied to the disease, so called, originated.

Although it was absurd to think that the complaint had anything to do with the stars, the name is not a bad one for it certainly springs from some pervading influence.

We may laugh at our ancestors and their beliefs but we are unable to trace clearly the cause of the disease; in 1853 it was thought it could originate from subtle poison diffused throughout the atmosphere, which medical men called a miasma:

It cannot be accounted for much better than the flocks, the myriads, of lady-birds which have lately visited our shores. Now, though it appears in hot weather and cold, in dry and wet it may still depend on certain conditions of the weather, just as a person will sometimes take a cough in a warm moist day and again in a dry east wind... At particular seasons such complaints abound - at others they abound still more; and again, from some singularity they prevail so much that people say, there is an Influenza. (10)

Diphtheria

This disease took the lives of many children in the nineteenth century and, during the 1850s, it was called 'diphtherite'; in 1859 a grieving mother set down the symptoms of this disease which proved fatal to her daughter within forty-eight hours:

First, the throat is a little inflamed and can be perceived when they swallow anything. A few hours later a little white spot gathers on either side of the throat, which gradually increases until it chokes up the windpipe... If the white spot gets a good hold it is nearly impossible to save children...

The Editor commented that 'as this disease has occasionally manifested itself in the colony before' he reproduced a letter which appeared originally in the *London Times*. It included an alleged cure:

Chlorine gas, administered in doses of from five to 20 minims of a saturated solution, in an ounce of water, with a little syrup added seems to exert a most beneficial influence on the march and progress of the disease... The external treatment consists in the application of sinapisms, vinegar toasts, or spirits of turpentine, by means of a warm flannel. (11)

Dr H.T. Whittel, of Adelaide, cautioned readers and declared that 'prescriptions in newspapers are not generally of value.' He went on:

If, however, the non-medical public can do little in the way of treatment they can do much in the way of precaution... I would strongly advise - 1st. A more than common attention to the due ventilation of sleeping and other rooms. 2nd. An avoidance as much as possible of exposure to the cold night air... (12)

The years rolled by and diphtheria continued to kill the children of South Australia and in 1885 another 'cure' was propounded; it was claimed that it issued from a doctor in Victoria, where it had been used 'with great success':

Take of compound tincture of cinchona bark 1½ ounces, chlorate of potash 2 drachms, aromatic spirit of ammonia 3 drachms, syrup of ginger 1 ounce, sufficient distilled water to make 12 ounces of this mixture.

Dose for an adult, a large tablespoonful every second hour; of course a smaller dose for children. (13)

Dr Whittel became Chairman of the Central Board of Health in the 1880s and was to report that, in 1883, there had been 1,627 infant deaths, a rate of 145 deaths in the first year for every 1,000 live births. Over the period 1859 to 1960, when immunisation programmes all but eliminated the disease, diphtheria claimed 5,159 victims, most of them children. (14)

Scarlet Fever

By 1875 the death rate in South Australia was substantially above the average for the preceding ten years with infant mortality being the largest single contributor - it reached the staggering total of 1,113, *ie*, 30% of all deaths in the colony. Among the major killers were scarlet fever and measles and, by 1880, the former was reported to the Central Board of Health as being present at both Thebarton Public School and Mrs Davies School in Chapel Street. (15)

Writing from Glen Ewin in 1859 Mr George McEwin offered the following advice which he had gleaned from the *London Times*:

The increasing destruction of human life from scarlatina and measles... induces me earnestly to request that you will draw public attention to the fact that sesqui-carbonate of ammonia is an antidote to the above-mentioned disorders. It has long been well known for its wonderful power in arresting the deadly influence of snake poisons, not excepting even that of the cobra... (16)

Smallpox

This highly contagious disease was a continual threat to the inhabitants of South Australia and, as early as 1838, regulations were framed and implemented in an effort to prevent the contagion from entering into our society:

In consequence of Emigrants having recently (without previous inspection) landed with their clothing from a vessel whose passengers during her voyage from England had been seriously afflicted with smallpox, His Excellency the Acting Governor has become deeply impressed with the necessity of adopting measures of prevention to guard against the introduction of that and other diseases... (17)

In England, Edward Jenner, had perfected a vaccine for complete protection from this disease and, just prior to the public sale of allotments in Thebarton, the government advised its citizens that the Colonial Surgeon would undertake vaccinations, free of charge. By 1852, the press was urging parents to have their children and themselves vaccinated while in 1853 legislation was enacted to provide for compulsory vaccination. (18)

In other countries the efficacy of vaccination was self-evident; for example, in Germany before it was undertaken the death rate from smallpox was 83 per thousand and after the lapse of a little more than twenty years the figure was 0.14 per thousand. 'We have sufficient ground, then, for asserting that smallpox is not to be dreaded, unless, indeed, we wilfully neglect to use the antidote which Providence has placed in our hands.' (19)

Tuberculosis

Apart from bowel infection in infants, consumption (tuberculosis) killed more people in the early days of South Australia than any other cause and was to remain an insidious killer into the 1930s. In colonial days the disease was accepted as a part of daily life and few families were lucky enough to avoid it. There was no cure and the usual medical advice was to move to a warm, dry climate and undertake a nutritious, nourishing diet and complete rest.

By 1890, the 'white plague' was at its zenith and was killing South Australians at the rate of 400 a year; finally, the tubercle bacillus which caused the disease was conquered and at 'the end of 1977 the national campaign officially came to an end.' (20) A 1905 'quack' cure was:

Brandy and salt is the only sure cure for consumption and to prevent it make a pickle of the best brandy and common salt. Put the salt and brandy [in a container] and shake it until it will take no more salt... For adults one tablespoonful of the pickle every morning, fasting and lying down for ten minutes before taking anything else. (21)

Typhoid Fever

As early as 1872, the press was prone to comment on the pollution of streams which flowed into the Park Lands and the liquid filth which they contained in the summer months; further comment followed on the filthy character of Adelaide and its abutting suburbs:

The effluvia generated in the city are offensive enough, but when aggravated by the effluvia from slaughter-houses, boiling down works, bone mills and similar establishments outside the city bounds, but within easy scent of the citizens, they become utterly unbearable. (22)

The City Fathers were apparently unmoved for six years later under the heading 'The Typhoid Ponds' an irate citizen said:

Onward runs this pestilential fluid... this abomination takes its course zigzag through the Parklands into the West Torrens district, percolating through to the wells, impregnating the water with germs of every deadly disease conceivable. For what, may I ask, do we pay sanitary taxes...?

A few days later it was said:

I have observed the poor half-starved cows... standing by those 'death-giving streams' evidently obliged to drink thereat or die of thirst. How, in the name of all that's good, can the milk and cream be fit for human consumption. No wonder our babies die...

By 1882, the realisation that 'water drawn from a well situated near a cesspool may be very apt to bred typhoid fever' was abroad. Two years later an outbreak of typhoid fever occurred in the Mile End-Hilton district and at a meeting of the Central Board of Health it was stated that 'no less than seven cases of typhoid fever were supposed to be traceable to the milk supplied from a dairy at Hilton.' In retrospect, there would appear to be little doubt that the 'death giving streams' that ran into the West Torrens district were both drunk from by cows and polluted wells by seepage. In such an environment an outbreak of typhoid was all but inevitable. (23)

South-West Community Hospital

In 1923, Sister V.M. Penny purchased a property at 20 Lurline Street and opened a licensed maternity establishment she named the Te Whare Private Hospital while, in 1925, Sister Siebert (Mrs Watts) took over and renamed it Warraweena (Aboriginal for 'deep water').

This new proprietor was to die there when it had again been renamed, this time taking the appendage of the South West Community Hospital and she bequeathed money to purchase a bed bearing her name. In 1947, the South Australian Government acquired the property which was to function exclusively as a maternity hospital due to the baby boom after the war and the influx of migrants who tended to have large families. Matron Paterson took charge of the newly renamed Mile End Emergency Maternity Hospital.

Its closure was mooted in 1954 prompting a meeting between the Mayor, Mr Haddrick, Councillor Hender and the Town Clerk, Mr Tucker and Doctors Fotheringham, Flaherty and Semmler; they discussed the importance of retaining the hospital for the benefit of Thebarton.

Plans to form a non-profit community hospital proved to be abortive and, in 1956, an announcement was made that the hospital would close. Headed by Sir Clarence Reiger of the Western Clinic, Doctors Fotheringham, Nicholls, Magarey, Hurst, Rolland, Laycock, Kirby, F. and J. Flaherty and Mr Colin Gray, a local chemist, a company was formed and the property purchased.

At an annual general meeting in 1957 the company announced that sufficient funds were not available to carry out essential repairs and improvements and the members suggested that the facility should become the nucleus for a Thebarton Community Hospital.

The Mayor, Mr N.E. Najar, called a public meeting from which came a recommendation to approach the government for a subsidy, thus enabling the hospital to be retained for the benefit of the district. A deputation to the Chief Secretary, Sir Lyell McEwin was successful and the scheme was duly approved.

A management committee chaired by the Mayor included Councillor Foley, Doctors Fotheringham, J. Flaherty and Laycock, Messrs Hartley, Chennell, Gray and Mitchell and Mesdames Field, Crafter and Perry.

The fund raising appeal commenced, with the company donating its capital, the Council contributing £200 and the Women's Service Association £100. Much of the early work of the hospital was done by volunteers, including the St John's group under Superintendent Roney, Bill and Max Bourne, Des Owens and Mr Halliday who demolished the nurses' quarters, dead trees and the old verandahs on the main building.

Work then proceeded with new quarters for the nurses and two wards that were opened by Sir Lyell McEwin; on 4 December 1977, when Mayor Dr Jim Flaherty declared major improvements open to private rooms and wards, a new operating theatre and an increase in accommodation to thirty beds. Again, on 8 August 1987, six luxurious private suites were added to the complex and opened by Mayor Keough. During the term of Mr Karidis as chairman of the hospital board, the Governor of South Australia, Sir Donald Dunstan, opened a modern operating suite on 23 August 1987.

The running costs taxed administrative resources to the limit in the 1980s and the purchase of diagnostic and surgical equipment were beyond their means.

Prompted by the recession and mounting debt Dr Flaherty, Chairman of the Thebarton Community Hospital, with Messrs Thamm and Bowe, met the board of the Ashford Community Hospital in 1990 to discuss leasing the Lurline Street premises to Ashford; this was duly signed on 1 March 1991 and a management committee to be known as the Thebarton Community Trust was set up and the income from the lease is used for the benefit of the town while the hospital became known as Ashford South-West Annexe. (24)

Sources

1. *Adelaide Times*, 9 December 1852, p.3b.
2. *Minutes of the Central Board of Health* of March 1884 held in the Public Records Office.
3. *Register*, 10 January 1896, p. 5d.
4. *Observer*, 11 September 1886, p. 34b.
5. *SA Gazette & Mining Journal*, 22 February 1849, p. 4c.
6. *Register*, 22 May 1925, p. 8f.
7. *Register*, 21 January 1854, p. 2g and 3a; later, Mr Scammell was the South Australian agent for Holloway's patent medicines - see *Register*, 21 June 1860, p. 4. Another case of a similar nature is reported in the *Observer*, 6 December 1890, page 32a.
8. *Register*, 21 June 1860, p. 2g.
9. *Register*, 25 August 1847, p. 2c; also see *Register*, 8 December 1852, p. 3e and *Observer*, 4 November 1876, p. 7f.
10. *Adelaide Times*, 24 May 1853, p. 2b.
11. See *Register*, 20, 23, 28 and 29 July 1859.
12. *Register*, 23 July 1859, p. 3b.
13. *Register*, 7 May 1885, p. 7d.
14. Philip Woodruff, *Two Million South Australians*, p. 43.
15. Woodruff, *ibid*, p. 33, *Minutes of Central Board of Health Minutes* in Public Records Office, 10 March 1880.
16. *Register*, 10 June 1859, p. 2h.
17. *Government Gazette*, 27 September 1838.
18. See *Observer*, 11 December 1852, p. 4e, 24 December 1853, p. 6a.
19. *Observer*, 14 November 1857, p. 1c (supp.).
20. Woodruff, *ibid*, pp. 51 and 103.
21. *Register*, 30 March 1905, page 6c; the letter also contains alleged cures for cancer and appendicitis; also see *Register*, 5 June 1914, page 8f.
22. *Register*, 10 December 1872, p. 4e.
23. *Register*, 2 May 1882, p. 4g, 30 May 1884, p. 4f. Typhoid at the Royal Hotel is reported in *Central Board of Health Minutes* in Public Records Office, 10 March 1880 and at Hindmarsh in March 1886.

Appendix 34

Religion at Thebarton

[The ministry] are clothed in velvet and warm in their furs and their ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spice and fair bread and we oat cake and straws and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labor and the wind in the field.

(‘The Churches and the Workers’, *Advertiser*, 16 October 1906, page 10f)

Introduction

Makeshift accommodation in the form of houses or the adjacent Park Lands was utilised for early religious services at Thebarton where the main groups of worshippers were Anglican, Methodist (with its many branches - Wesleyan, Bible Christian and Primitive Methodist), Baptist and Roman Catholic. From the 1870s, the suburbs of Adelaide began to grow towards the sea to the west creating a need for places of worship for the various religious sects which, following large migrant intakes after World War II, were to include Greek Orthodox and Buddhist.

In 1947, a great influx of European migrants to Thebarton began, the largest proportion of whom were from Italy and Greece; far from home, the new arrivals turned to the church for their social needs. The Queen of Angels’ parishioners assimilated the Italians smoothly into their community but the Greeks were not so fortunate; services were held in the Memorial Hall, South Road, from 1957 to 1959 but the adherents wanted a church of their own.

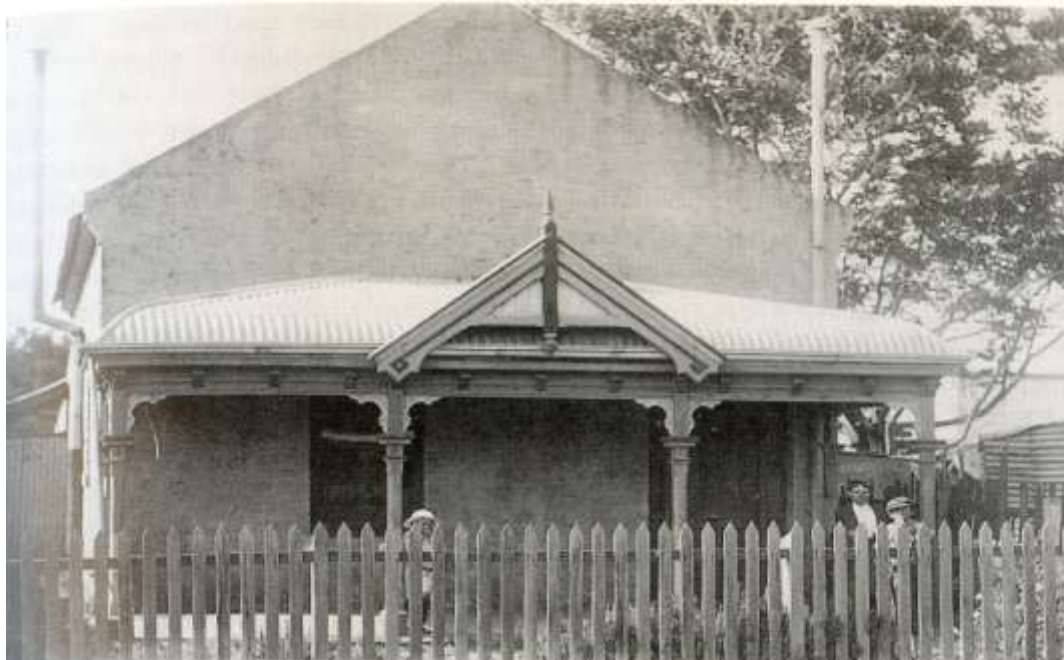
Father Karanakis conducted services in a temporary St Nicholas Church in George Street in 1959. Later, officials of the Greek community in South Australia, submitted plans for an imposing chapel to the Thebarton Council which approved the application provided that it was completed within three years. Ever willing to accept a challenge the community had the satisfaction of seeing it built within two years following the laying of the foundation stone by Archbishop Sergios in December 1959.

Wesleyan and Methodist Churches

Wesleyans were the first in the Thebarton area when church services were held in the home of a Mr Weston in Maria Street and, by 1842, a Sunday school attracted a congregation of about one hundred children under the supervision of seven teachers. By 1847, the temporary premises could cope no longer with the ever-increasing demand for pastoral succour and comfort; accordingly, land was purchased in Chapel Street by Reverend James Draper on which a chapel was built with seating available for 120; it opened in 1848.

This chapel was to serve the needs of its congregation for fifteen years when a larger edifice was built in George Street. The old chapel was purchased by Mr R.T. Burnard who conducted a school there until 1878 when Reverend B.P. Mudge acquired it on behalf of the United Free Methodist Church in South Australia; it was closed in 1895 and, five years before the union of the Methodist branches and the inclusion of Thebarton in the Western Suburban Circuit. Prior to its demolition in 1961, it was utilised as a private residence.

On 9 December 1863 the foundation stone of the new church in George Street was laid by Mr G.P. Harris, a co-founder of the firm Harris, Scarfe & Co.; Mrs Watsford, the wife of the parish minister, was to have had this honour but due to a ‘severe disposition’ was unable to do so.



Methodist Church - 1864

An impressive list of trustees included, John Colton (later Sir John), W.G. Coombs, J.D. Hill, G.P. Harris, E.C. Corlett, J.S. Green, John May, Ellis Norman, Josiah Beasley and C. Newman. At six o'clock the same evening 'an excellent tea was provided on the second floor of the mill.' (1)

Built of weathered stone the church measured 45 feet by 30 feet and had seating for 250 people and the opening service was delivered by Rev. J. Watsford, on Sunday, 13 March 1864. This delightful chapel would, also, have housed an organ but the cost of bringing one from London and installing it would have been beyond the resources of the church. Mr C.G. Filsell led the hymn singing with his flute until sufficient funds were available to buy a harmonium; thenceforth the position of organist was filled by members of the Filsell family for thirty-three years.

In the 1880s, the church was deeply involved in the well-being of the youth of the district and, further, a lecture hall was needed desperately and so, in 1883, land was purchased adjacent to the church and, on 19 March 1887, its foundation stone was laid; when completed it contained classrooms while, in 1914 a kindergarten was built at the rear of the premises by Mr F. Crafter.

In the late 1970s, the property was taken over by the Aboriginal Lutheran Fellowship of Greater Adelaide Inc. for the purpose of conducting Sunday services for its Aboriginal congregation; the building has since been demolished.

In 1900, the various Methodist branches in South Australia became one entity and the Bible Christian Church, which had been built in 1879 in New Thebarton on the corner of Ashley and Jervois Streets, merged with the Torrensville Church. Both groups held services in a hall on Henley Beach Road until a new church was built in 1911 in Hayward Avenue on land once belonging to Alfred Chapman and, at that time, was allotment 5 in the newly subdivided area of Fremanton. The old hall was purchased by the Torrensville Freemasons' Lodge in 1912. (2)

The new church, which accommodated 200, was built of reinforced concrete - the first of its type in South Australia - and the foundation stone was laid on 2 December 1911; the Reverend T.G. White assumed the role of honorary architect and superintended the construction of the church which opened on 12 May 1912. A church hall was built and opened on 26 August 1922 with seating space for 600 people.

Thebarton became part of the West Adelaide Circuit in 1900 and, in 1930, a new circuit was formed by the union of Thebarton and Torrensville churches; this arrangement continued until 1949 when the old Western Circuit was reformed.

Bible Christians

The foundation stone of the Bible Christian Church at New Thebarton was laid by the Mayor of Hindmarsh, Mr Josiah Mitton, on 6 September 1879; the architect was Mr E. Gould and the builder, Mr J. Blackmore. (*See above under Wesleyan and Methodist Churches.*)

In 1883, another church was opened on South Road (then Fisher Terrace); it became known as the West Adelaide Bible Christian Church and later as the Mile End Methodist Church. Prior to the outbreak of war in 1914, it was planned to build a new church to accommodate over 400; it was opened on 25 July 1914 by Lady Holder and named in memory of her husband, Sir Frederick Holder, a former Premier of South Australia. (3)

Primitive Methodists

In 1883, the Primitive Methodists were planning to build a chapel in Thebarton but when it was realised that the Baptists were actively engaged in erecting their own place of worship they donated money, already raised for their purposes, to the Baptists and, accordingly, £30 was handed over at the foundation stone ceremony on 1 September 1883.

Baptist Church

The first services of the Baptist Church were held in Edward's Chaff Mill on the corner of Smith Street and the Port Road. The foundation stone of a church in Phillips Street was laid in September 1883 by Mr Charles Wilcox when Rev J.B. Sneyd became the first pastor. In 1913, a hall was built next to the church which closed in 1969 when the property was sold to J. Inverarity Ltd. Three stained glass windows, installed in memory of Mr and Mrs N.J. Hone and family, Mr Arthur Burnell and the Rev. S. Bowering, were preserved; the window commemorating Arthur Burnell was transferred to the Seacombe Baptist Church.

Anglican Churches

Although Anglicans predominated in Thebarton in the nineteenth century their spiritual needs were not addressed by the provision of a formal church until 1882. Services had been held in makeshift headquarters, but this was to change following the advent of the Rev. F.R. Coghlan, MA, who was rector of St Luke's, Adelaide. He guided the construction of St James Church in Falcon Avenue, Mile End and on 1 February 1884 Bishop Kennion opened the partly-completed church, comprising the chancel and part of the nave. The architect was Mr W.A. Tyrie and the builder Mr F.E. Pyne. The Sunday school hall was planned and built by a Mr Prescott in 1895.

In 1898, Lady Victoria Buxton, wife of the governor, presented a 'Vocalion' organ to the church; imported from London, it had been built by William Hill, who exported only two of the type to Australia - they were excellent reed instruments with remarkable tonal quality. The instrument's pump had to be operated manually and, at each annual vestry meeting, someone was selected to man the pump. On these occasions men of the parish turned pale and endeavoured to remain inconspicuous; they were relieved of their bellowing in the 20th century when an electric pump was installed.

Canon Wise of the Church of St George at Goodwood combined the ministry of this chapel and that of St James for a year or two and, in this time, succeeded in completing the building of the Thebarton Church that was consecrated

on 2 January 1902. Later, in 1920 Rev. Wehrsted, BA, (sometimes shown as 'Werstedt') supervised the completion of a rectory in Falcon Street and, during his ministry, increased the number of communicants from about 200 to 400. He also raised funds to enlarge the school which, because of its excellent reputation, had become overcrowded; further, he established the Holy Cross Mission in Chapel Street which, however, was closed in 1953 due to decreasing numbers.

The Rev. D.J. Williams became parish priest in 1986 and found the old parish hall, the schoolroom and rectory in a dilapidated state - these were eventually sold to provide the necessary funds to restore the interior of the grand old church; in addition, a new rectory was opened on 3 February 1991.

The Church of Christ

In 1906, the Church of Christ conference decided to extend the cause in the suburbs of Adelaide and, to finance same, a Church Building Extension Fund was created. Mile End was chosen for development and a meeting of thirty prospective members was convened at the home of Mrs E.A. Riches in Fisher Terrace; the prospect of a new church was received enthusiastically and land was purchased on Henley Beach Road at the corner of Danby Street.

The extension fund offered a loan of £1,005 and members of the new committee raised £105. The church was opened on Sunday, 31 May 1908, and the evening service was so crowded that one hundred people were turned away. During its first twenty years, the communicants increased by sixty people annually and attendance at the Sunday school reached 350 with fifty-nine teachers.

The Mile End church encouraged the congregation to open a chapel in Clifford Street, Torrensville, on 19 November 1925; the new meeting place was an unpretentious iron and timber-framed building. Progress was slow until the arrival of Rev W.J.C. Maxted in 1948; it was his influence that increased church membership from forty-four to 119 and Sunday school enrolment from fifty-eight to 111.

The male members of the church congregation constructed an attractive facade for the old building, renovated the body of the chapel, erected a school hall and a steel-framed youth centre, aptly named the 'Activity Hall'.

Congregational Church

Congregationalism was a continuation of the work of the protestant reformation in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The church believed that it was the right and duty of members of each congregation to be autonomous, to make its own decisions, and to view their faith as a personal encounter with God.

A number of Congregationalists who emigrated to South Australia were scattered among the community. With an increase in members of the church in the district a meeting was held in the residence of Mr and Mrs George Wilks, Henley Beach Road, Mile End, and from this the first church service eventuated on 10 October 1909 in the Thebarton Institute where Revs. J.C. Kirby and G. Rayner officiated; three weeks later a Sunday school opened with Mr Wilks as superintendent.

In 1911, Mr J. Dunstan was appointed as the first pastor; a block of land was purchased in Huntriss Street, Torrensville and a church erected and opened for worship in February 1913. In June 1935 growing numbers prompted the commencement of a building fund which culminated in the laying of the foundation stone of a Romanesque-style building facing Carlton Parade on 14 September of that year. It was opened by the Rev. Penry Jones on 28 November 1935.



Early Roman Catholic Chapel in Kintore Street

Catholic Churches

The majority of the early residents in Thebarton were Protestants, but as the population grew, Roman Catholics among them also sought the ministry of a priest. In 1881 Father John Healy added Thebarton to his parish, which already included Glenelg, Marion and Blackwood - a formidable task.

On 31 December 1882, Bishop Reynolds laid the foundation stone of a church to be called 'Saint Mary of the Angels' on Fisher Terrace which, upon completion, was to become Father Healy's headquarters. In May 1885 the foundation stone was laid for a new school and convent on land adjoining the 'Queen [sic] of Angels Church'; the

former was to measure 40 feet by 25 feet and the latter was to contain a reception room, community room, refectory, dormitory, kitchen, etc.

This accommodation, in time, proved to be insufficient for the school-age population and a house in Hilton was renovated to provide additional facilities; this was to be the predecessor of St John the Baptist Boys' School, opened in 1895 – later, this site housed the Kilmara Secondary School.

Rapidly, the Catholic congregation in Thebarton outgrew the early accommodation provided for their worship and the architects, Cowell and Cowell, were engaged to redesign the Queen of Angels Church; E.T. Isley & Co. were appointed as contractors and, on 4 July 1915, Archbishop Spence laid its foundation stone. Ten months later a crush of some 800 people heralded the opening of the new chapel.

At that time Thebarton was one of the poorest districts in South Australia yet, such was the generosity of the parishioners, £1,550 were donated before construction commenced and the total cost, £3,520 was paid off shortly after its completion. The opportunity, accorded by the celebration of the golden jubilee in 1966, was taken to replace the old wooden altars with stone and undertake a general refurbishment of the interior.

When more extensive alterations became necessary in 1976, Mr Brian Polomka, an architect, succeeded in completing the improvements without any alterations to the classic design. Nevertheless, the sanctuary was rearranged to conform with the wishes of the second Vatican Council. The Queen of Angels, with its Gothic spire, remains an imposing landmark in the district. (4)

A Sunday in Thebarton - 1881 - As Told by a Resident

Brown, the carpenter, who lives on the opposite side of the road, is about his place as usual and making considerable noise in the otherwise tranquil Sunday morning setting. He romps with his children, he romps with his dog, he drives the fowls off of his front garden and, intermittently, pelts the cattle on the road with stones. Later, he scrubs his neck and arms in a bucket and makes more noise about it than if he had been grooming a horse.

One of his youngsters is clinging to his leg; another is standing at the door with his nightgown on, munching a crust. A big cat rubs itself against the child's bare legs and four of five inquisitive fowls are hovering around and fighting over the crumbs. By and by Mrs Brown comes to the door with a frying pan in one hand and a fork in the other and shouts that the bacon is getting cold; for the first time Brown hurries, because he knows from past experience that delays are dangerous and that her temper warms in the same rate as the meal grows cold.

Soon after 10 o'clock the calm of the day is broken by the tinkling of many bells that call all the pious souls to prayer. These bells are a great nuisance; they make nothing but discords; they are mostly cracked; there is no time or tune about them. Of what possible use to anybody these tin-kettle arrangements can be I have yet to learn; perhaps the idea is to weary one with this life and so cause you to reflect on the life to come.

I never go to church on Sunday morning and my friend, Jones, up the street has the same heathenish practice; we usually get together and dawdle around the garden or dangle our legs over the fence and compare notes on the week's history. We seldom touch upon religious matters, because he has a grand contempt for my creed and he says something in a playful sort of way that he means to get as much of my society in this world as he can, because there will be no chance of our meeting in the next.

Sometimes we get up quite a warm discussion on politics. Jones says it is a singular coincidence with regard to our politicians that 'the clever ones are not very respectable and the respectable ones not very clever' and that the country is drifting into hopeless debt and muddle. He says the present Ministry haven't any heart in their work and only stay in to spite the other fellows. Now, I swear by them, for they made my wife's brother a Crown Lands Ranger and gave my boy, Tom, a job in the Customs. But enough of all this. Let us watch the people going to church.

How proudly the little ones toddle along by their parents' side, and how carefully they carry the big hymn book if trusted with it. Some families march along in a group, treading on one another's heels; some tall but one behind the other in a sort of Indian file, the stragglers now and then brought to a sense of their position by the sharp reprimand of the seniors. Their little children cluster about them and almost fight for the privilege of holding their hand, whilst Tom, the oldest boy, who goes to College and sports a College cap, and is rude and boorish to everyone else is gentle and considerate to the 'Mater', as he calls her, because he knows that she would give her life for him.

But look on the other side of the street; there goes an anxious, fretful woman and her children. How she shepherds them, and watches them. Charlie gets into the mud; Emma bites her gloves; and Willie struggles into the damp grass. Like a hen with a brood of ducks that will go into the water she fumes and fusses and takes no rest.

Can that be Mary Martin going across the road? It only seems yesterday that she was a tiny maiden sitting on my knee. She has just developed from the short-dress stage into the long-dress era; and doesn't she look proud with her new toggery. There goes the Deacon of one of the Churches. He makes a regular task of his religion, and is as much occupied on the Sunday as on any other day; he puts the people into seats; he goes around with the plate; he teaches in the Sunday School.

I hope a lot of good is being done in my suburb. There always seems to be a lot of people busying themselves about other people's souls and a constant want of funds to fight the devil with. He is an expensive luxury, and I wish he would go, but he won't. Persevering fellow that. Jones says he is bound to have me ultimately unless I subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Seems to me I am always 'subscribing' to something or another.

The people of Thebarton are back from church and judging from the smoke curling up into the blue sky all the morning I have come to the conclusion that my neighbours don't feast on cold dinners on Sundays. I am glad of this

because they keep me in countenance. But, seriously, why shouldn't we have hot dinners on Sundays? For goodness sake let us enjoy one meal in the week.

After dinner most of the youngsters are packed off to Sunday School where many of them are, I am glad to believe, being taught those fundamental truths of our faith upon which in after life they build up a noble manhood. How pleased are the little ones to toddle off to their class. What pretty little floral offerings they carry to teacher. Who can attempt to estimate the good done by these schools? I think the pulpit is an adjunct of the class, and not the class of the pulpit.

About three o'clock people begin to stroll about the streets, mainly married people; I notice - the sweethearts don't show up until evening. Vows whispered beneath the pale moonlight or under the soft glimmer of the stars seem to be more potent than when spoken under the eyes of the great sun god. He seldom sees a pretty maiden kissed or hears the lisp of lovers' vows, and perhaps that accounts for his blushing so much as he sinks to rest sometimes, and thinks of all the faithless words that will be spoken ere he shows his face again.

But after all there are more interesting people in the world than lovers. Husband and wife who have lived and loved and quarrelled together for many a long year are to my mind much better worth watching than all the lovers in creation. My neighbour, the noisy carpenter, goes out for an airing in with the family carriage every Sunday afternoon. He has a double-seated perambulator, made of wickerwork, which cost him the price of a week's wages; but he doesn't begrudge it because it is for the 'kids'.

Often he pops his dog in too to have a ride - Should I set the dog-tax man on the scent tomorrow? But, why should I? If my neighbour finds it in his conscience to defraud the Municipality I don't know why I should turn informer. I don't suppose the Corporation has done much for him. We don't have any Mayors or Councillors living in our street!

Look at those four youths going by; ain't they got up in killing style, especially the one outside - check coat with velvet collar, double-breasted waistcoat and dangerously tight trousers? The comic man of the party is humming a music hall song, and the others are laughing at the last rowdy story which an eminent MP heard from a fellow just out from the Orient.

Our four young friends with their canes and their rings and their paper collars and loud neckties have a contemptuous laugh at the carpenter's family as they pass by and the carpenter's dog resents the insult and startles them by rushing up and yelling at their heels.

See here comes Jones the bank clerk and his merry little wife; he stands over six feet tall and this little dot of a woman clings to his arm as though she were the fairy with a magic ring who could and would bring him all good things; and she clings to him like an ivy tendril to a tree. There will be a time when her bright eyes will be dimmed with tears - when his light will be sad and heavy.

We have a swell of the very first water in our street. His social position is not what you would call particularly high, but still he is a gentleman, for he is something in the Government service, and they are all gentlemen there, you know. He is a broad-shouldered man and wears his hair cut very short and never ventures out without gloves or without a huge thick-knobbed stick which he hugs laboriously about with him.

As the evening creeps on and the stars creep out the sweethearting begins. There is a fellow lurking about in front of my gate; he is Mary Jane's young man. She has lived with us a good many years - long enough, I believe, to break all the crockery in my house - and she has given my wife a 'warning' and my wife has give her 'warning' a dozen times, but somehow they always manage to make things up; and here she is and here she would remain if these young fellows would let her alone. She is supposed to go to church but I'll bet two to one she is off for a stroll with that fellow at the gate.

I wonder how many young people will go to church tonight to get a chance of seeing those they love; how many a sly glance there will be over the hymnbook into a neighbour's pew, and how many a 'chance' meeting outside when the service is over. I wonder if there is a day in all the untold aeons of eternity more full of peace and comfort and of calm than is our earthly Sabbath rationally enjoyed in this earthly paradise at Thebarton. (5)

Breaking of the Sabbath

During the nineteenth century the most potent religious movement comprised those who adhered to the faith of the Methodist Church; 'they shared a common piety... a strict church discipline and a total way of life, which avoided "frivolous entertainments and all worldly pleasures".'

Their creed included the stipulation that the Sabbath day was to be one devoted to worship and meditation and that any act such as engaging in sporting activity, hiking or visiting public institutions which included libraries, art galleries, museums, etc, was sinful and a direct challenge to the traditions and sacredness of the day.

By the 1870s, there were hundreds of young people in Adelaide who spent their Sundays in such a way as to 'contribute neither to their moral or mental improvement for they were to be found lounging listlessly at street corners and drinking in the back parlours of hotels in spite of Nock's Act.' The Editor of the *Register* was adamant that it was essential 'to furnish an innocent, healthful, and instructive means of spending a few hours on the Sunday to persons ... destitute of resource' and this would be an object worthy of parliament. A short time later following the approval by the House of Assembly of representations made by Mr Fraser, MP, the opening of museums and institutes on Sundays was legalised. (6)

As the years passed by there was a never-ending confrontation between the Church and citizens and, in 1911, a barmen's picnic held on the Sabbath was denounced from a pulpit:

On that beautiful Sunday men and women and little children were indulging in foot races... That day hallowed by the tenderest memories of their race, and of every race, had been debauched, defiled and degraded...

A spokesperson for the barmen and a supporter gently chided the ministerial complainant:

We barmen claim to be owners of our consciences, law-abiding and as good citizens as any one who earns his living on the Sunday while preaching and inferentially traducing others. Sunday, thanks largely to the Methodist Church and others who closed public houses, sets us free to have a little of the Almighty's sunshine and fresh air...

Of course, the same old band of 'cacklers' followed with the same old stereotyped resolutions asking for more police to bludgeon the workers into being so supremely miserable on Sundays that they shall be glad to get back to work again on the Monday... Why is the toiler always treated like some bete noir by the clerical agitators? Is it that they cannot afford to attack those who do evil in high places? (7)

The next group to incite the wrath of the clergy was the railwaymen who dared to have a picnic at Bridgewater on a Sunday. The complainant took the matter up with the Premier, Mr Peake, and advised him that:

1. Such picnic gatherings were a great nuisance to many Bridgewater residents.
2. They outraged the feelings of a large proportion of the religious community.
3. They were objected to by a large number of the leading railway men.
4. To hold such picnics reversed the wise decision of the Peake government that special facilities and fares for such purposes would not be allowed.
5. They increased Sunday labour.
6. They added to the desecration of the Christian Sabbath.

At a meeting of railwaymen a spokesman responded to the parson and said:

A few years ago when the electric trams were instituted, there was some talk about running cars on Sunday mornings. Among the champions... were some of the goody-goody people, who wanted people to go to church and put something in the collection plate. The trams did not run on Sunday mornings, but he had not heard any outcry against the puffing motor cars that took people to church... It did not matter about the chauffeur working on Sunday as long as he took his employer to church. [I have] yet to learn that the same parsons had made any protest against the elite going to the golf links on a Sunday. It was an example of the utter absence of fairness and consistency when the parsons criticised the railway workers. (8)

By 1921, other matters were on the agenda:

Something should be done to stop the playing of games on the park lands on Sundays. Another menace to our young folk that should be dealt with is the soft drink and lollie shops open on Sundays, some of which harbor our young men. Some Sundays, school children, too, spend pennies there which should go into the collection boxes. I am not a saint, nor am I a wowser... (9)

Years rolled by with complaints being made on a regular basis but, by the 1930s, many municipalities had set their faces against tennis on public courts on Sundays and against all Sunday games; public playgrounds were locked against the children and padlocks held fast the seesaws and, in 1931, a miniature golf company at Glenelg was fined for opening its links without the written permission of the Chief Secretary. (10)



Further trouble was to follow when Sunday hiking was a bone of contention but it would appear that some members of the clergy were, at last, taking notice of public trends for the Rev. K.S. Schapel of St Andrew's Church, Mount Barker wrote a conciliatory article for *The News*:

Where lies the fault? We are inclined to say it is with the public, whose scale of values have been turned topsy turvy in a crazy world, where the ethics of the jungle have been ushered in, by the increasing

sordidness in the struggle of life, due, no doubt, to the depression in both the material and the spiritual worlds...

We have protested and protested until the public have come to look on us as grumbling old killjoys... Therefore, protest if we must, but it is advisable to examine ourselves before we protest...

The present trend of things appears to be more and more destroying the churches' hold over the people. Modern people are not concerned, so it would appear, with spiritual facts...

The fault of topsy turvy values is largely our own fault. It is a good thing for a preacher to keep a man with a broom in his congregation so that, if a man should nod, he can wake up the preacher...

We need, moreover, to re-examine our own spiritual lives and ask ourselves whether we are in earnest in our evangelical work, or whether we have lost our dynamic force and have degenerated into mere ethical teachers.

If our religion loses the touch of the supernatural it will be speedily despised. If we cannot keep our people because the hikers attract them, it is of little use protesting; it is rather a matter for real prayer, and thorough self-examination.

Today, crowds of 40,000 flock into Football Park to encourage the Adelaide Crows on many Sundays during the winter months while, at the same time, church congregations are either static or in decline; perhaps the words of a perceptive citizen many years ago are a fair analysis of the church vis a vis the citizenry in the modern-day world:

It has long been the fashion for tourists to depict the typical Australian as a self-centred and irreverent being, whose religious instincts have become atrophied as a result of persistent neglect. This alleged decadence of religion is usually attributed to an abnormal passion for sport and the fiercest desire to accumulate riches... (11)

Sources

1. *Advertiser*, 12 December 1863, p. 6f. Except for information contained in specific notations hereunder this chapter has been compiled from *The Thebarton Story*, an unpublished manuscript held by the Corporation of Thebarton and *Thebarton Heritage Survey*, October 1991 and some of the phraseology used comes from those works.
2. *Observer*, 13 September 1879, p. 14c.
3. *Register*, 1 January 1883, p. 5e, 11 May 1885, p. 7e.
4. Adapted from two articles in the *Register*, 3 and 14 May 1881, pp. 5g and 5g.
5. *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record*, April 1887, pp. 239-240; cited in *The Flinders History of South Australia - Social History*, p. 205.
6. *Register*, 11 December 1911, p. 7a; also see 12 and 13 December 1911, pp. 8b and 6g, 16 and 22 December 1911, pp. 11e and 9f, *Advertiser*, 7 July 1921, p. 7h.
7. *Register*, 15 February 1915, p. 9c, 26 January 1916, p. 7c.
8. *Advertiser*, 23 June 1921, p. 10f.
9. *News*, 15 July 1932, p. 6e, *Advertiser*, 2 March 1931, p. 8d.
10. *News*, 6 August 1932, p. 4f.
11. *Register*, 7 March 1905, p. 4d.

Appendix 35

Sport at Thebarton

On 7 September 1877 a hogshead rolling 'on the chine end' was conducted on the Mile End Road between the employees of Messrs Simms & Chapman's West End Brewery and Mr E.T. Smith's Kent Town Brewery. The distances and prizes were half a mile for ten pounds a side and 300 yards for five pounds a side. In the first event the competitors were F. Langford and A. Tormay.

(Chronicle, 15 September 1877, page 15e)

Horse Racing

One notable effect of horse racing... is that it engenders a spurious description of honour from which superior education and station are alike unable to preserve its victims.

(Observer, 25 January 1845, p. 3a)

A little over twelve months from the 'proclamation' ceremony under the Old Gum Tree on the plain at Holdfast Bay the infant colony's first horse race meeting took place on a 'paddock at Thebarton [which] was far removed from the animation and excitement of Epsom Downs...' The progenitor was James Hurtle Fisher, the Resident Commissioner, who was a keen horseman; he was supported by Colonel William Light, Surveyor General, John

Brown, Emigration Officer, Dr Cotter, Colonial Surgeon, John Morphett, Samuel Stephens, Colonial Manager of the South Australian Company and Dr Wright, Medical Officer.

ADELAIDE RACES.
JANUARY 1ST, 1838.

MATCH TWENTY GUINEAS—TWO-MILE HEAT.

1 Mr. Fisher's bk. h. Black Jack black body, white sleeves
2 Mr. S. Stephens's b. m. Polly blue body, white sleeves

MATCH TEN GUINEAS—TWO-MILE HEAT.

1 Mr. Hill's g. h. Rainbow white body, green sleeves
2 Mr. J. Fisher's b. g. Wilful puce and white stripes

SWEEPSTAKES, FIVE POUNDS ENTRANCE, WITH TEN POUNDS ADDED
FROM THE FUND—BEST OF HEATS—ONE MILE AND A
QUARTER—ALL AGES.

Mr. Hancock's bn. m. Taglioni white body, green sleeves
Mr. Hill's g. h. Rainbow white body, pink sleeves
Mr. Jones's bn. g. Bob purple, black cap
Mr. J. Fisher's b. g. Wilful puce and white stripes
1 Mr. Neale's ch. m. Nelly plumb body, yellow sleeves
Mr. Sladden's bk. m. Black Bess white body, green sleeves

MATCH TEN POUNDS—TWO-MILE HEAT.

2 Mr. Morphett's b. m. Fidget mixed striped body, purple sleeves
1 Mr. S. Stephens's b. m. Polly blue body, white sleeves

TO COMMENCE AT TWELVE O'CLOCK PRECISELY.

(Signed) F. HANDCOCK, c. c.

Stewards { COLONEL LIGHT.
 { JAMES HURTLE FISHER, ESQ.

ROBERT THOMAS AND CO. PRINTERS.

An improvised track was cleared in the vicinity of the modern-day police barracks and the sponsors advertised a programme for a two-day meeting on 1 and 2 January 1838 and a contemporary observer reported:

On the first of January 1838 Adelaide left for a while its speculative orgy in town acres... neglected for a day the evolution of a town and sought surcease on a gum-studded plain... 'down near the river'.

Thither... were ridden matted-coated 'nags' from small farms and outstations as far afield as the Para, island horses shipped at pain and risk from Van Diemen's Land and sturdy-muscled hacks which had come down from the overland route with Hawdon, Bonney and Eyre.

There were no aristocracy of blood or looks. They were innocent of pedigree and some were as many cornered as a wagonette.

At the outset a lack of horses created difficulties for the sponsors but, eventually, ten horses were nominated to compete in the four events which comprised the first day's racing. There were three two-horse events for a purse of ten and twenty guineas, respectively, and the third with £10 as prize money. The other race attracted six runners with each owner contributing £5 to which the sponsors added £10.

About 800 people attended and, considering that the total population of Adelaide was only 2,500, Mr Fisher and friends, booth-holders and itinerant hawkers were more than satisfied with the assemblage of patrons of the turf.

Booths for refreshments and dancing were erected, and every attention was paid to render the affair worthy of those fond of the sport, which was excellent.

In the second half of 1838, a Turf Club was formed for 'the encouragement of racing and field sports' with its first meeting being held on 15 August 1838. In 1839, the meeting was extended to three days but the club fell upon hard times during the period of financial constraints applied by Governor Grey and it was dissolved in 1849.



An 1845 Race Meeting

S.T. Gill – University of Adelaide

The Editor of the *South Australian* obviously had some doubts as to the bona fides of past events and on 31 December 1844, page 3b proclaimed:

Tomorrow will, we anticipate, witness the first day's Racing in South Australia, for though on the 1st and 2nd days of the new year for several seasons past have been held what have been termed horse races, we cannot conscientiously call them so...

By 1846 the evidence of scandalous conduct by notorious men down on their luck was evident:

Whispers are abroad of two or three cases, and indeed it was a matter of public conversation on the course that one horse had been made 'quite safe' by having had a portion of his hoof broken through by a hammer two days before the race.

Another form of racing at Thebarton was steeplechasing and, in 1847, the first of these annual events was held; the course wound through modern-day Mile End and skirted the rising ground of West Terrace 'starting from the section joining Mr Goode's house, running towards the Reedbeds, round by Mr Chambers's, and then to the winning post situated on the Park Lands, in the immediate vicinity of Mr McCarron's house, the Foresters' and Squatters' Arms, where the generous landlord had two fat bullocks roasted whole, amidst the joyful acclamations of the cooks and their assistants...'

Six years later the 'mine host' was still attracting custom for, in the *Register* on 16 March 1853, Mr Peter McCarron advertised another event:

Saint Patrick's Day

The Thebarton Races under the superintendence of the South Australian Jockey Club. NB. There will be two bullocks roasted, one in the memory of Saint Patrick, the first who introduced Christianity into the now existing British Dominions; the other in honour of Prince Patrick, youngest son of Queen Victoria.

By 1860, the South Australian Jockey Club had leased land on the corner of Fisher Terrace (South Road) and what was to be Henley Beach Road and the 'new' Thebarton Course arrived on the local racing scene. The course stood on section 2030, Hundred of Adelaide, granted to William J. Sayers on 16 October 1840.

According to contemporary reports the course was left-handed and had well-rounded corners; it was 'one mile, three furlongs and 187 yards in length.' The stand accommodated 400 patrons and was situated in the south-west corner of the section and had a refreshment room beneath. It occupied the 'U' formed by Henley Beach Road, South Road (formerly Fisher Terrace) and Burbridge Road on the western side of South Road and part of the track on the northern side followed what is now Henley Beach Road.

For many years the Adelaide Cup was decided there, while Adam Lindsay Gordon, the ill-fated poet, took part in many a steeplechase and won the 1866 event on Mr C.B. Fisher's 'Cadger'. Today many street names bear witness to past events - Ebor and Falcon Avenues, Roebuck and Norma Streets were named after race winners on the old course; Cowra Street honours a grey mare, owned by Mr C.M. Bagot, which twice won the Adelaide Cup; Fisher Terrace after Mr C.B. Fisher, the owner of a racing stud and Tarragon Street commemorating a famous horse imported by a Mr Holland from New South Wales. (See Appendix 32)

A newspaper report compared the race meetings with a Donnybrook fair. Scattered around the grounds were merry-go-rounds and cockshies together with an itinerant circus where tumblers in spangled tights gyrated on strips of matting; there were refreshment bars, raucous 'hot dog' vendors, oyster and fruit booths, skittles and boxing tents, in fact anything from 'pitch-and-toss to manslaughter'.

The publicans took up strategic positions between the saddling paddock and grandstand and, with the only water on the course being available from a well in its north-west corner, they enjoyed a steady and rewarding trade in beer, gin, rum and accompanying soft drinks. They were doubly pleased when the thermometer crept up to and exceeded 100 degrees Fahrenheit!

A favourite rallying point was the water jump and racing enthusiasts never wearied in telling the story of 'Bagot's Ditch', 'a fearsome mound of sodded wall with a stretch of water back and front.' It was used only on one occasion when the field charged the obstacle, pulled up abruptly and deposited the riders into the awaiting ditch.

In 1856, the first South Australian Jockey Club was formed and, in 1861, when 'trading under the firm [*sic*] of The Old Race Committee', amalgamated with the managers of the Butchers' Races at Thebarton and 'from that year dates the commencement of its financial difficulties.'

At this time the West Torrens District Council was concerned at the deterioration of local roads and, in August of that year, Henley Beach Road was metalled on the northern boundary of the course. In 1863, Mr Bagot expressed the wish that the Council would improve the track from South Road to East Terrace 'for the coming steeplechase' but the District Clerk had other ideas:

The Council receives no benefit whatever from the races being held in the district which very much destroy the roads, trusting that in future the Jockey Club will contribute something to the repair of the road. Steps will be taken in the present instant to remedy the evil complained of.

By 1862, an unhappy division existed between Mr P.B. Coglein, a supporter of racing on Victoria Park, and Mr E.M. Bagot who favoured the Thebarton venue. At a meeting of four members of the South Australian Jockey Club, *viz.*, Messrs Bagot, Coglein, Simms and Bennet, the first-named, as Chairman, exercised his casting vote in favour of Thebarton.

General dissatisfaction followed this decision and, subsequently, over 350 sporting men and members of the public petitioned the Adelaide Corporation praying for the restoration of racing at Victoria Park. For legal reasons the corporation could not comply with the request and no further action was taken until August 1863 when Mr Coglein presented to the House of Assembly another petition signed by 1,442 citizens praying for the legislature to pass an Act empowering the Corporation of Adelaide to lease a portion of the Park Lands as a public racecourse; an Act to that effect was passed on 30 September 1863, resulting in a lease from the corporation for 14 years, rent free.

Mr Coglein then, with a public spirit deserving all praise... succeeded in perfecting a course against which no possible objection can be made, unless by the factious and perversely obstinate.

The Thebarton Racecourse [was] burthened with a rental and expenses of not much less than £200 per annum... There has never been published any balance sheet... [This course] is not so available to the citizens of Adelaide as the old course; and however much Mr Bagot may sneer at the 'Non-subscribing public', most intelligent persons will admit that all matters of public sport are mainly supported by the countenance given to them by the public...

As to the adaptability of the respective sites and quality of ground for racing purposes, whatever may have originally been the advantage in favour of Thebarton... there can be no doubt in the unprejudiced minds of those capable of judging that the improvements recently made at the old course give it, at this moment, a decided superiority...

However, in spite of all the antagonism against him Mr Bagot's will prevailed and, on 15 January 1863 he, together with Messrs C.B. Fisher and W.H. Formby, purchased a little over one acre from Mr Sayers on behalf of the SA Jockey Club and on 23 July 1863 registered a lease over the remainder of the western part of the section for a term of seven years.

From the outset the venture was doomed to fail due mainly to the fact that the races were held in the heat of summer and the presence of a more pleasant venue at Victoria Park; the day of one meeting was such that:

The clouds threatened rain, but not a drop fell to check the inevitable effects of a stiff breeze upon well-pulverised roads. A blinding cloud met passengers on their way down, jocks in their saddles and powdered everything and everybody insinuating themselves also into the chignons of ladies and into the whiskers of gentlemen.

Thus, racing ceased at Thebarton and, on 21 July 1869, the one-acre property passed from the SA Jockey Club to Mr E.M. Bagot who constructed a 'boiling-down' works thereon. (*See under 'Grey' in the nomenclature text*)

Cricket

The general verdict is 'Too Slow'. The wickets are so good and the batting so careful that it often takes two or three days to finish one match... The necessary reformation can be brought about - simply place a time limit on the game.

(Register, 12 December 1888, page 7h)

It is apparent that the first cricket match in Adelaide was played near Thebarton on the Park Lands abutting what is today the police barracks, for in an advertisement in the *Register* on 19 October 1839 the proprietor of the Great Tom o' Lincoln Hotel, Robert Bristow advertised that:

A GRAND MATCH will be played on Monday October 28th on the Thebarton [*sic*] Ground between Eleven Gentlemen of the Royal Victoria Independent Club and Eleven Gentlemen of Adelaide for twenty-two guineas a side. Wickets to be pitched at 10 o'clock. Refreshments will be provided and everything done that can add to the pleasure of the public.

To complement (or distract from?) this encounter, Mr Bristow staged a variety of entertainments such as footracing, climbing the greasy pole, juggling, etc, while from a capacious booth nearby he dispensed his 'pleasant tippie for country heat and dust.' Presently, cricket, born in Adelaide on a tide of beer, made its own way in the realm of manly colonial sports.

The Thebarton Cricket Club was formed in the early 1840s and, at the outset, their main rival was to become the Walkerville team. However, on one occasion following a match away from home a newspaper editor expressed some concern as to the conduct of the Thebarton team:

We are assured that there is no truth in the report that [the Thebarton team] did not pay for the dinner, all having done so except three, who had retired early, before the expense was ascertained, and who are not men likely to shirk their responsibility. It will be seen that Captain Litchfield, the secretary of the Thebarton club, who was not one of the players, has called a meeting of members... to enquire into the circumstances.

In April 1862, the third 'grand annual match' between teams from 'British and colonial descent' was played on the Thebarton Racecourse on a level piece of ground opposite the grandstand, upon which a roller had been used to pulverise a few stray clods of earth. The Brunswick Band played and treated a sparse crowd to music, while a luncheon was provided by Mr G. Aldridge in the grandstand.

Following the end of play on the second day, a dinner was held at the Masonic Hall in King William Street when Mr Perryman, a colonial player, told the assembled gathering that he intended to apply to the Adelaide Corporation for a portion of the Park Lands near Montefiore Hill as a permanent ground; he then proceeded to read out a memorial for a grant of sixteen acres.

For many clubs an end of season 'treat' of the 1870s was in the form of a sea excursion to Edithburgh aboard the steamer *Eleanor*. Proceeding to Glenelg by rail, the players and supporters boarded the ship at 7 a.m. and went across Saint Vincent Gulf arriving at noon. A picnic match was played against a local team and outside the cricket reserve people engaged in varied amusements, while the Concordia Band, brought from Adelaide especially for the occasion, played lively music and 'dancing was kept up with spirit.' Other more sedate excursioners went for a hike or tried their luck at fishing from the jetty.

The Thebarton Club disbanded in 1875 and a new club titled the 'West Torrens Cricket Club' was formed, the first office bearers being Mr R. Strutton, President; Mr G.M. Dew, Vice-President; Mr H. Clipson, Treasurer and Mr A.J. Hardy, Secretary.

Football

A finer sight can scarcely be seen than 60 or 80 impetuous youths contending with earnest emulation to drive the ball home to opposite goals. We hope the ladies will largely grace those matches with their presence and thus lend an impulse to what is considerable importance to the healthy development of the youth of the colony.

(*Register*, 23 July 1861, page 2d)

On Saint Patrick's Day in 1843 a conglomerate of expatriate Irishmen announced that:

A few of the colonists from the Emerald Isle intend this day enjoying themselves in honour of their Saint with a game of football. After which with their friends they hope to regale themselves with a portion of an ox to be roasted whole opposite the Market House, Thebarton, this day at 2 pm.

Ten years later Patrick McCarron, proprietor of the Foresters' and Squatters' Arms Hotel, placed an advertisement in the local press:

CHALLENGE

TWELVE MEN of Westmeath offer to PLAY at FOOTBALL twelve men from any of the counties in Ireland, or six each from two counties, at Thebarton on Easter Monday. Play to commence at 12 o'clock.

This game was, apparently, 'Caid', a forerunner to Gaelic football, played by teams of interminable number and with unlimited duration, 'or until the players were thirsty', coupled with intermittent violence.

One of the progenitors of the nascent game of 'Aussie Rules' in South Australia was John Acraman, a prominent cricketer and Adelaide business man. He had played English football at both Bath and Clifton and, in the late 1850s, sent 'home' for a few round balls. In 1860 he convened a meeting in Rundle Street at the Globe Inn; thus the Adelaide Football Club was born.

The first competitive match occurred when those members living on the north side of the River Torrens (blue caps) waged battle with those from the south side (pink caps). The sides numbered 30 each and about 200 spectators were present, comprising many of the elite of Adelaide.

There was not a surfeit of rules and goals were hard to score due to the fact that it necessitated kicking the ball between two upright posts and over a nine foot horizontal bar. The ball 'had to be marked before it could be handled'; holding the man and 'hacking' were strictly forbidden, but 'there was no check on shouldering'.

Upon completion of a match a formal presentation of prizes was accorded the winners when smoking caps, hair brushes, handkerchiefs and bootlaces, made or supplied by the ladies, were distributed following a ballot.

At a meeting in April 1869 the club decided that 'in future the ball [shall] be kicked over instead of under the crossbar of the goal', while a few months later a 'game commenced... with 12 a side, this number being afterwards increased to 16...' It was generally supposed that the 'Pinks' would win the day but, unfortunately, the ball burst and the game ended. Prior to the establishment of the South Australian Football Association in 1877 the Adelaide club held several important meetings in respect of the rules and conduct of the evolving national game:

The code of playing rules passed by the leading Victorian clubs in 1874 was... adopted... [and] delegates [will] confer with representatives of other clubs, with a view of considering the propriety of introducing the code generally throughout the colony.

The chief alterations in the game as hitherto played in Adelaide were dispensing with the cross bar and top rope in favour of two upright posts of unlimited height and the substitution of an oval football for the round one.

As an introduction to the mystiques of the fledgling game a comical farce, under the guise of a 'monster moonlight' football match, was indulged in on the Adelaide Oval:

500 spectators assembled...including about 100 larrikins...On the ball accidentally being driven amongst the spectators, the larrikin element was most audibly and forcibly exhibited, as shouts and yells arose, and the ball was kicked hither and thither by the multitude... [Later] the ball was again seized by the larrikins...

The ball was on recovery handed for safe-keeping to a gentleman on horseback who galloped with it under his arm towards the city, the crowd following, shouting and jeering till the fleet steed left the excited multitude far behind, and the horseman was able to house the ball safely in the Gresham Hotel... The players put on their coats and retired... in a somewhat disappointed mood at the total failure of the monster moonlight match...

In August 1877, the Port Adelaide and South Adelaide teams assembled on Buck's Flat at Glanville and after 'the roughest match played this season' the result was a defeat for the Portonians. As the players were leaving the field an angry crowd of over 200 Port supporters assembled and began hooting and throwing stones at the victors and, later, as the visitors departed in their horse-traps for home, and obligatory celebrations of the defeat of the arch-enemy, they were again subjected to loud abuse. Such was the intensity of the uproar, horses 'attached to their vehicles... became almost unmanageable'.

When a remonstrance from the authorities was conveyed to the club, Mr Lock, a Port representative, hastened to place all blame upon the South Adelaide team and accused them of acting in an unfair manner during the game. In a strain all too familiar today, he went on to complain about the umpire, whose performance was considered to have been 'anything but impartial'!

By 1882, the Editor of the *Register* had become alarmed at the prevalence of bad sportsmanship and unruly behaviour when, in a discerning editorial, he proffered the opinion that: 'If the sport is to degenerate into an attempt on the part of respective teams to out-larrikin each other, the sooner it is wiped out from the category of respectable pastimes the better.'

Today, the violence continues without any sign of abatement and, upon analysis, the current weekly winter jousts must surely equate with the previously declared 19th-century larrikinism which, apparently, was indigenous to the game in those halcyon days. Further, in view of the indifference of today's media, authorities and spectators in seeking means of eliminating or reducing this on-field mayhem, the Latin phrase *mali principii malus finis* seems most appropriate – 'bad beginnings have bad endings'!

Other Football Codes

The Asteras Soccer Club was formed in 1978 and played on grounds allotted to it by the Council (Kings Park). In 1988 an amalgamation took place with the Greek Orthodox Community in South Australia when its name was changed to Thebarton Olympic with new colours of red and white.

Rugby League has plans to extend Australia-wide and it plays its code at its South Australian headquarters, Kings Reserve, next to the Thebarton Oval.

Pigeon Shooting

*Now tell me my friends, was the like ever heard,
That a cat should be killed for killing birds!
For as an old father Tabby was often repeating
I thought birds and mice were on purpose for eating.*

(Advertiser, 8 October 1868, page 2e)

This blood sport originated in England about 1790 and, before long, became a profitable venture for publicans who 'gave a fat pig, a silver watch or a second hand gun to be competed for [by people] who were too blind to see that the entrance, the profit on the birds, and the dinner ticket... and the consumption of coarse liquors, left a wide margin of profit for the liberal Boniface.'

With such gatherings, and the prospect of gambling in a small way, there sprung up professed pigeon-shots who travelled the country, and made a profit of their expertness [*sic*] if they won, or probably brought matters to a wrangle if they could not. It was part of their education - the height of their ambition - to learn old tricks and to invent new ones.

They bribed the 'trapper' to pull slowly, to select large and conspicuously coloured birds from the hamper for them, to abstract one or two wing feathers so as to retard its flight, or to squeeze it as he placed it in the trap... This trap or box was so arranged as to throw the birds on one side when the string was pulled, and ensured a side shot favourable to the cheat's practise or position.

Clubs were established in the early 1800s and matches took place for large sums 'which staggered the propriety of the more experienced and sober of their own class...'

Pigeon shooting came to South Australia with the first emigrants and, by the early 1850s, matches were reported at Thebarton as being conducted by Mr Barnett of the Wheatsheaf Tavern. In the first event in 1853 a fowling-piece valued at £12 was shot for in sweepstakes between eleven shooters 'at six birds each'.

In 1854, a series of matches were conducted and a 'party of crack shots... agreed to patronise the "spread" consisting of five matches for stakes ranging from one to twenty pounds a side.' There was a tie between three shooters in the final event for they killed the whole of their birds and, as there were no more birds to shoot at, the stakes were divided equally.

A spectator of one of these so-called sporting events has left a description of the needless slaughter:

A pigeon which had been hit, but not killed, sought shelter in the spreading branches of one of the trees under the shade of which the ladies sat. It was badly wounded and gave a piteous little cry as it alighted. A few seconds suspense, during which the backers of gun or bird anxiously looked upward while making and taking fresh bets as to whether it would die, and their suspense was ended by a mangled mass of palpitating flesh and warm blood and feathers falling plump into a lady's lap...

The feathers of departed birds were floating in the air like moths on a summer's evening, a pile of large hampers was filled with the slain, one wounded bird which had got away was endeavouring to balance its wearied body on the palings, the dog which picked up the fallen was almost beaten with fatigue, and the odds against the birds were going steadily up to the time we left.

The shooting of birds on a Sunday, including pigeon matches, was considered by some to be a desecration of the Sabbath and in 1848 a Walkerville resident aired his opinion:

From the Company's Mill, for several miles around Walkerville, wherever a bird, small or great, presents itself, the deadly weapon is pointed... To the Christian, who wends his way with solemn mien, invited by the church-going bell to come to the house of God, the continuous reports of fire arms are very grievous...

I feel it my duty to direct public attention to the covert shop-keeping with door ajar in the village on the Sunday, where powder and shot (not to mention other things) can be purchased all day long.

Boxing and Wrestling

To tolerate prize-fighting now we must change our natures, and it is a reassuring circumstance that the attempt of a professedly civilised community to renew the vicious past has elicited universal reprobation.

(Advertiser, 10 April 1897, page 4h)

By 1845, the public 'houses of entertainment of the Port Road [were] literally crammed with the knowing ones from "rosy morn till dewy eye" heralding a colonial interest in prize-fighting' and one which, according to a newspaper editor, should only be reported upon in a like manner to duels, robberies and murders, he being convinced that publicity, in a right-minded community, was always the best corrective for such atrocities.

He suggested that a taste for prize fighting had long been the reproach of the populace of England and feared that it fondly lingered 'amongst the degraded and polluted sections of the lower classes in the mother country' and hoped and prayed that the industrious and thriving labourers of South Australia would, one and all, 'set their faces in flint against this horrible, this debasing vice.'

In December 1845, a Thebarton chairmaker, Charley Barnett, 'stood up' against Johnny White 'at the back of Hindmarsh', the stakes being £20 a side - 'Charley stood up admirably, but strength of arm and science were said to be too much for the chairmaker who was compelled, how ever reluctantly, to give in.'

To escape opprobrium in Adelaide, boxing matches were conducted on Yorke Peninsula and, in 1863, the steamer *Young Australian* was chartered to convey contestants and fans across Saint Vincent Gulf to Surveyor's Point where they landed to witness a bout described as 'undecided'; however, on the trip home two intoxicated would-be 'pugs' had a set-to on the deck. A return match for the two professionals took place a few weeks later at the foothills where they belaboured one another until one of them 'felt or feigned an indisposition' to continue the contest.

Apparently unaware of the past history of Thebarton in the realm of pugilism, an interesting three-cornered 'contest' between the Corporation, a boxing promoter and venue owner occurred in 1894 as indicated in the following newspaper report:

At a meeting of the Thebarton Corporation... a very large deputation of Southwark residents and members of the local Vigilance Committee attended to request that the Council... suppress boxing contests... Mr John Ryan said that an attempt had recently been made to hold a series of boxing contests in the hall adjoining the Southwark Hotel.

The hall had been hired from Mrs Coveney for the purpose of holding a 'variety entertainment'. As soon as the building had been secured posters were issued advertising a boxing contest between Billy Evans and Stan Osborne for the gate money and ten pounds a side.

Mrs Coveney then refused permission for the use of the hall, but the concerned citizens feared that other owners of prospective venues might be less scrupulous and, accordingly, asked the Corporation to formulate a by-law outlawing such events.

Councillors were unanimous in their support of the request and Councillor Boland said he would be sorry to see 'anything of the kind obtain a footing in Thebarton, as he was sure that a lowering of the tone of the town would result' and moved a motion to ban such contests within the town which was carried without dissent.

To Thebarton goes the honour of being the venue for the first wrestling match in South Australia for, in January 1848, an event took place on the Thebarton Racecourse when a reporter proclaimed that:

We could not... but admire the pluck of Marrs, an old veteran at the same game in England and the founder of this imitation of English customs in South Australia... There was no 'lanky-kicking' or ill-usage throughout, and, considering this a first essay, it came off very well.

Hunting

The method of hunting in South Australia differed slightly from that pursued in England for the prey in the form of dingoes and kangaroos had no particular cover. Consequently, it was necessary to 'quarter the ground with hounds almost as closely as would be done with pointers... this required good hunting hounds, fine noses, deep mouths and plenty of dash in them; they ought to hunt with a wide front, hark quickly to any hound opening, and be very obedient to the huntsman's voice; all mute hounds and babblers are worse than useless: for killing they require good courage, for the native dog, unlike the fox, has a very tough skin, and dies hard, and the kangaroo, when easily run into, defends itself with its hind feet, and is quite as ugly as a deer with his antlers.'

The Adelaide Hunt Club was formed in 1842 and one popular venue was from Elder Smith's farm (now the railway yards at Mile End) around the Park Lands to Victoria Park Racecourse. By the 1860s it had purchased land at Thebarton and built extensive stables and kennels.

Hunting was suspended during the Great War of 1914-1918 and the property was sold and the proceeds invested in war bonds; after the conflict the club shifted its headquarters to Plympton.

Tavern Sports

Among the pastimes indulged in by the male population of Thebarton at its several hotels were skittles and quoits and, while they attracted gambling and profit to the licensees from liquor sales, they helped to maintain a sense of community.

Quoits became established in Adelaide in 1850 but it was not until July 1883 that the South Australian Quoits Association was formed which attracted 400 members who played for the Kingston Challenge Cup for which a Thebarton club was a contender.

Skittles were played in the colony as early as the 1840s and wooden bowls were made from timber obtained from the banks of the River Torrens. In 1855, Mr Ramsay the proprietor of the Napoleon Bonaparte Hotel in Adelaide introduced a bowling alley, on the American principle, for the use of his patrons and pronounced that 'to the lovers of muscular exercise a game of bowls is a much-prized amusement. To the sufferer from lassitude consequent on sedentary occupation, the depressed victim of dyspepsia, or the listless slave of ennui, a game of bowls offers, if not a remedy, at least an alleviation.'

Thebarton Recreation Ground

By the turn of the 20th century the residents of Thebarton had, for a long time, desired to possess a recreation ground for its population was increasing quickly. There was no public ground in the town and, accordingly, cricket, football and other games had to be played either on the Park Lands or private property. The former were not satisfactory because, in the immediate vicinity, they were covered 'in great part by private properties' while, further afield, those near the River Torrens were unsatisfactory due to their uneven surface.

Cricket teams were loth to put down asphalt pitches because there was every possibility that the ground they selected would be built upon in the near future. The corporation had an annual cricket match with a neighbouring council and players had to adjourn to Fulham where the nearest available wicket, 'with the exception of those on hard soil', was situated. A complaint had been received from the local football club in respect of the paucity of playing grounds and it sought permission to play 'on a portion of the Park Lands... not [at present] available for the purpose.'

Several attempts had been made to provide a permanent playing ground but all had been abandoned. In the 1890s, a portion of a large paddock on the northern side of Henley Beach Road was offered by the owners to the council but it refused to purchase it on the grounds of the cost of development.

'Later enquiries regarding the piece of ground once so generously offered for next to nothing have elicited the fact that a big price is now asked for it... but hopes are expressed that the owners may be prevailed upon to ease their terms as the block is about the only one in the town which might be utilised as a recreation ground.'

In April 1907, a ratepayers' poll, in respect of a 'penny rate' to provide funds for a recreation ground, was defeated by thirteen votes. In October of that year, the matter was discussed again at a meeting of town's-people and a resolution was carried urging the project to proceed following the consent of ratepayers. If successful, the committee proposed to devise schemes for raising funds 'to fence the ground and if possible erect grandstands.'

Again the project was rejected by an increased majority of 116; after this rebuke the council had no other option other than drop it.

On 1 June 1910, a reconstituted committee with the Mayor, Mr A.W. Styles, presiding, discussed the possibility of two parcels of land for a recreation ground; both comprised a little over twelve acres, one being situated in front of the Town Hall and the other in Strangways Ward. A meeting of ratepayers on 21 June 1910 agreed to a poll on 25 June 1910 which authorised the raising of a special rate to fund the project. However, the scheme was not pursued immediately and, with the advent of World War I in 1914, it was shelved.

In October 1917, Thebarton councillors attended the first Australian Town Planning Conference and, subsequently, approached the Government for financial assistance. In 1918, a committee of four, headed by the Mayor and Town Clerk, met with the Government Town Planner, Charles Reade, with a view to preparing plans which, in due course, were approved by Council. A loan was then sought for £2,240 to purchase fourteen acres of land in Ashley Street.

In 1920, the Mayor, Mr J.L. Leal, announced that the Thebarton Council had taken advantage of the Commonwealth Advances for the Employment of Returned Soldiers Act to borrow £10,000 to be repaid over thirty years to finance the completion of a sports ground. Work then commenced on underground drainage and preparation of the playing area; meanwhile negotiations took place with both the West Torrens Cricket Club and the South Australian Football League to use it as headquarters for the respective local clubs.



Opening of the Oval in 1921

The complex was to be opened on 15 October 1921, but torrential rain caused a postponement until 29 October when the Governor, Sir Archibald Weigall, performed the ceremony. A guard of honour comprised members of the 43rd Infantry Battalion under Captain B.L. Todd, together with children from local schools. Major Brinkworth then presented a 75mm. gun, captured by the Australian Light Horse during operations in Palestine in 1917-1918, to the Mayor on behalf of the Federal Government.

The Motor Cycle Club arranged a sports programme and a procession of decorated cars left the King Edward statue (then located in Victoria Square) and proceeded to the oval where various stalls and sideshows kept the crowd entertained during the afternoon. In 1922 the proceeds from this event were used to erect imposing entrance gates, a grandstand and scoreboard at a cost of £451.

Bowls

As a matter vital to the happiness of many wives, will our politicians bring in a Bill to allow a wife to obtain a divorce when her husband becomes married to the game of bowls...? I... ask them to insert in the Bill a clause to prevent the husband marrying again.

(Advertiser, 17 January 1924, page 13e)

When the oval project was rejected in 1907 a movement started in Thebarton to establish a bowling club and, in 1908, a 'new proposal' was made when it was suggested that part of Park Terrace should be set aside for the use of such a club.

The terrace ran parallel with the hills railway line, southward from Henley Beach Road, and was practically unused by vehicles and, locally, considered of such little importance as a thoroughfare that the Council permitted the SA Railways to block the end with a plantation and make a narrow inlet at an angle.

As the road was about 44 yards wide, one of ten yards was considered sufficient and the rest of the width could be lent to a bowling club; the promoters of this scheme were quick to point out that the Council would be put to no expense and, on the other hand, that portion of the town could be beautified. Following this suggestion a local tennis club made application for a piece of ground 100 feet by 184 feet for a court.

It would appear that these propositions proved abortive for it has been said that the Thebarton Bowling Club came into being when the 'Council was planning the Oval and sporting complex on the River Torrens. The foundation members leased a prime position on the corner of South Road and Ashley Street which had previously been occupied by the Mile End Church of Christ tennis courts and playground.' The foundation stone for the clubrooms was laid by Mr A.A. House, JP, on 7 October 1950.

The Thebarton Women's Bowling Club was founded on 13 April 1954; its first President was Mrs A.A. House, Honorary Secretary, Mrs W.G. Marks, Honorary Treasurer, Mrs E.J. Smith.

Croquet

While the men of Thebarton indulged their fancies in many sports it was not until 1920 that the women of the town organised themselves into a club and the game they chose was croquet under the name West Park Croquet Club.

The club's lawns faced the Port Road and, later, this site was taken over and extended by the Thebarton Women's Bowling Club.

In 1926, the Council agreed to reserve a section of the Oval grounds for croquet and agreed to put down a full-sized lawn and build a small clubhouse.

This venue was ready for play in 1928. Later a second green was created and the playing grounds were tended by Council gardeners; this service continued until 1953 when the club engaged its own greenkeepers; men were first admitted in 1954.



Torrensville Methodist Croquet Club - 1928

The Thebarton Mountain

In 1981, an Ice Arena was built on East Terrace on the site formerly occupied by a gasometer erected by the Provincial Gas Co in the 1870s. This skating complex was designed to include two skating rinks, one capable of staging ice hockey and the other equipped for speed racing around the perimeter, in addition to conventional skating in the centre; total accommodation is 1,000 skaters.

The centre was opened on 17 September 1981 by Mr John Keough, Mayor of Thebarton, and its facilities include a restaurant, a discotheque, an amusement centre and equipment shop. In 1987 its management installed an indoor snow ski slope and its 'mountain' is 150 metres long, 20 metre wide and 12 metres high, creating a respectable run from top to bottom, and is the world's first indoor ski centre.

Appendix 36

Drainage of the Lower South East

By 1872, speculation was on foot as to whether the system of drainage...would be effective as to the results looked for, and whether the land would be good for cultivation when the drains carried off the surplus water. There can be no doubt that the drains have proved effective, as just now there is little water in them, immense swamps have dried, and where there were formerly large sheets of water and an occasional clump of rushes seen, there is now dry land upon which farming operations are being carried out...

(Register, 4 December 1872)

A colourful story is behind the decision to construct a drainage system in the South-East and, for more than 60 years after it commenced, it was a pool of discord for, as late as 1932, public meetings of protest were called. In the 1860s, it was said that the residents there were in doubt as to whether the district belonged to Victoria or South Australia, but, to them, drainage was as necessary to their part of the colony as water was to the northern districts and they believed that incalculable benefit could be bestowed on the country by works carried out by the government.

A chain of sandhills extended along the coast with only one break between Port MacDonnell and Robe and that was at Rivoli Bay. The land was higher and bolder to the north than on the south and, from the existence of an island and reefs, was considered to be a more likely place to afford shelter to vessels. Accordingly, parliament fixed it as a site for a port. Adjoining them was a chain of lakes forming the lowest series of flats into which the district was divided. These lakes were generally salt on the seaward side from the percolation of the ocean through the sandhills, and fresh to landward, owing to extensive fresh water springs discharging into them continually.

About 1865, before the drainage of the flats commenced, it was contemplated to drain these lakes in a manner similar to that employed in England and Holland. The scheme would have been perfectly feasible in several places, but it was found that the bottom consisted, generally, of pipe clay or soft limestone which, when drained, would have had little value for agricultural purposes.

It was during the famous zigzagging Ministerial tour of 1864 that the Hon. William Milne conceived the bold project of forming an outlet for the immense accumulations of water by which the marshy country was maintained. The Surveyor-General reported that the idea was not only practicable but easy of accomplishment, Nature having provided peculiar facilities for the drainage of the country. (See Peter Rymill [Ed.], *Notes of a Journey to the South*

Eastern District. January 1863.) The plan to drain the whole of the South East is credited to different minds. The late Mr W.A. Crouch had a general store at Rivoli Bay South - named Grey Town - then a thriving port with jetties, hotel and great shipping stores and he is often called the 'father of the scheme'.

In the early 1860s, Mr G.W. Goyder, Surveyor-General, took it up warmly and the aforementioned W. Milne, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, was the political sponsor and saw it through parliament.

In the course of preliminary discussions it was suggested that the drains should be made to serve the purpose of canals, thus giving water communication, with the assistance of the Coorong, from Mount Gambier to the River Murray. At that time, from Salt Creek southward, the area of the South-East was equal to 7,600 square miles and, in every wet season, one half of it was under water, the depth of which varied from one to six feet and some of it was never dry, while many swamps extended from four to six miles. It was argued, therefore, that any drain sufficient to carry off that immense body of water must, practically, be navigable. Further, it was concluded that, to perfectly drain the district and lead the water to its natural outlet:

It would be necessary to construct one main drain to Salt Creek that could be used as a navigable canal. It would extend from Salt Creek right up to the tablelands of Mount Gambier, with branches of equal magnitude... The Dismal Swamp is the biggest and the water, at extreme times of flood, flows to the eastward and westward [thereby forming] the source of the Reedy Creek...

On this subject, of course, there were dissenters and, decidedly, Mr R.D. Hanson opposed the suggestion of forming canals and, with regard to the value of the drainage scheme, stated that 250 square miles of country was likely to be benefited by the works currently in progress, while Father J.E. Tenison Woods, at Penola, declared that the reclaimed land would be highly valuable. On 18 September 1865, he addressed the Commissioner of Crown Lands:

I have the honor to place at the disposal of the government a report upon the Geology, Physical ... drainage and mineralogy of the South Eastern district. I have been induced to do this because I believe information upon these subjects is much wanted now that the government is about to spend large sums upon the district.

I have been further encouraged to the task as the published information at the disposal of the government is of the most unsatisfactory kind, drawn up under every disadvantage and with necessarily only slender information.

Having travelled over every part of the district for the last nine years I believe I have been thoroughly augmented with its physical features and as my studies have otherwise lain in the same direction I have thought that my conclusions and opinions would be of some value.

I have treated the subject entirely in its utilitarian form principally keeping in view the drainage, road making, the opening of quarries and the quality of the soils.

With regard to my remuneration for these papers I would rather leave such a matter to the consideration of the government, but as I am informed that money would be spent upon drainage at once provided there were definite information on the subject as to the situation and quality of land to be benefited by it, I think remuneration to me should be laid aside rather than any delay should take place in the publication of these papers and maps, especially as they may be very useful to the engineers and contractors of the district.

As there is no geological survey for the colony, I believe that the maps and sections will do all that will be required for this portion of the colony for a very long time and even obviate the necessity for the enormous expense of any such survey.

In October 1866 he was offered fifty pounds for his plans and given 25 copies of same.

As to the natural state of the country, a surveyor, H.M. Addison, has left us with a vivid description of the wet lands prior to drainage:

On the swamps, swans nested and ducks could be seen in their thousands. Some days we would see kangaroos travelling in Indian file, the last one being a mile from its leader. There were flocks of black cockatoos. We could not tame these birds but the native companions would dance round us, bowing and scraping in a comical fashion.

Every swamp was infested with leeches and you had to tuck your trousers inside your socks before crossing them. The swampy country was alive with snakes and in one morning I could have killed six that crossed my track. Ammonia was about the only remedy for snakebite we knew.

The approved scheme consisted of two parts; one to drain the northern end of the district, with openings at Maria Creek to discharge into the sea, and the other at Salt Creek to be utilised as an outlet into the Coorong, after emptying the vast Marcollat Swamp.

The second part dealt with the water of the lower South East and the main channels were, according to the plan, to be navigable and, had the ideal been reached, Millicent would have been its own port. The northern scheme was, after a small cutting at Maria Creek, practically abandoned for half a century.

Objections to the scheme were raised at once and the grounds of dissent were:

1. It was impossible for man to remove the deluge.
2. It would remove the water so completely that the rainfall and natural climate would be altered.
3. The land was not good enough to pay for drainage - the squatters with their eyes on rents, banked on it!
4. The soil was so light that it would all blow into the drains and be carried to the sea.
5. When dried the peat soils would take fire and burn out.

The last of these objections, reading like the fiery prophesy of a fanatic, was one that actually came off because the deep peat soils at Rendelsham did get alight and burned for about 12 years until exhausted in their pipe clay beds.

The first experiments proved satisfactory and a sum of £5,000 was placed on the Estimates - in the succeeding session the legislature was less generous - only £2,000 being appropriated, but their parsimony, as was proved later, was no bar to the progress of the operations.

The southern scheme began in 1863 and, in October of that year, the cutting at Narrow Neck commenced into Lake Frome. The channel was 528 feet long, 12 feet wide and 4 feet deep and carried a great body of water through, but had to be enlarged at a later time.

The first camps were like a gold rush for their miscellaneous collection of humanity. Miners from the goldfields, the unemployed from the city, stranded professional men, sharpers, actors and human flotsam and jetsam, crowded into the hitherto uninhabited lands looking for high wages.

Before the close of 1865 the work was well in progress and the scores of farmers, who had been induced by the sanguine representations of the Surveyor-General to cast, even at that early period, covetous eyes towards the country as being a 'Land of Goshen' in disguise, were assured that their desires would soon be realised. Indeed, at first, the land was deemed to be a failure and agitation arose for a reduction of price.

The *Catt Surrender Act* was then passed and this permitted those who had not paid for their land to surrender it for reoffer following which most 'surrenderers' got their land back at reduced prices.

As for the working conditions of the labourers one of them opined that:

When I arrived here we had to join in gangs, some six men and some three. Then we got our work, when we had to make wurleys to sleep in, until we got tents. So many men coming up, there were no tents nor tools for the men.

Barrows and planks were also short. We were working for two weeks, and I saw that I could make fair wages; but the rain coming on flooded us all out and we had to wait for a few days till we got shifted... The water is running like the River Torrens. All the men are idle...

During 1867 there was a great dearth of employment and the government, in their extremity, shipped scores of clamorous applicants to Rivoli Bay, where an occupation was found readily for them at Milne and English Gap and the descriptively named Pinchgut Gap that was delayed by shortage of provisions.

The scheme was deemed sufficiently advanced by 1871 to offer town and farm lands for auction and the sale was held on 7 December when the farm land was sold under the Strangways Act (Dutch auction). Each lot was put up at £6 per acre and, if not sold, offered at a reduction until it reached the irreducible minimum of £2 per acre.

In 1872, the House of Assembly appointed a Select Committee to visit the district and report on reclaimed land following the completion of certain drainage works. Embarking on the SS *Penola*, Captain Snewin proceeded to Guichen Bay, arriving some 18 hours later, when he anchored about half a mile from the jetty.

Later, the party was taken by teams and vehicles to the drainage works:

Speculation has now been on foot as to whether the system of drainage... would be effective as to the results looked for, and whether the land would be good for cultivation when the drains carried off the surplus water. There can be no doubt that the drains have proved effective, as just now there is little water in them, immense swamps have dried, and where there were formerly large sheets of water and an occasional clump of rushes seen, there is now dry land upon which farming operations are being carried out...

At the same time a humorous anecdote relating to Afghan labourers was abroad:

At Jackey [*sic*] White's Swamp we saw the first drain... This drain was made by Afghans and connected with the work is the first Afghan joke on record - When the cuttings had been done there arose a dispute concerning payment for them. The Government man said one thing; the Afghan man said another.

This went on for some time and at last the Asiatic gentleman came into the Government Office and reverted to the matter. He took out a book and put his hand upon it and said, 'What I say about this work is true. Now, give me the money. I've put my hand upon the Koran.' He thought that settled it, but it did not somehow...

As for settlers on reclaimed land at Pompoon Swamp an opinion was ventured that:

Had some of our northern farmers a section of it near their wheat-sick holdings it would be a fortune to them, as it would furnish a supply of manure for years. The soil consists of partly decomposed vegetable matter for three or four feet and is of such combustible nature when dry that the earth thrown out from the cutting of the drains has in several places taken fire and burnt away...

In 1875, several farmers, on drained lands in the Millicent district, were charged by the police for burning peat on their properties in contravention of the *Bush Fires Act*. Representations to the government stated that, if a prohibition was invoked during the dry weather, great hardship would fall upon residents of drained lands and entail them in heavy losses.

They contended that no damage could result from the practice provided reasonable precautions were taken by the burners, as peat burned slowly and without a flame.

Accordingly, in its wisdom, the government instructed the police not to interfere with the offenders, holding that it did not come within the definition of 'stubble, hay or grass' as stated in the Act.

Later, in 1876, Mr Boucaut was of the opinion, after inspecting the country from the north end of Lake Hawdon towards Lacepede Bay, that artificial drainage would certainly improve the land but, except for some exceedingly rich patches south of Lacepede Bay, would only be fit for pastoral purposes.

By this time, 24,691 acres of land had been reclaimed and the average price obtained was £2.17s., the highest being £8-0-6d and every one looked forward to it as an agricultural El Dorado that would rescue the infant townships from the depression enveloping the settler.

However, much of the reclaimed land was unsuitable for wheat growing although County Grey, which was occupied by much of the drained land yielded, in 1876, a high average crop of wheat and showed an increased area under cultivation of 7,000 acres.

In 1876, the vessel *Lightning* arrived at Port Adelaide and the plight of some of the passengers, who were dismissed from working on the drainage scheme because they were unable to cope with the labour, was debated in public by the alleged offended parties and the drainage contractors:

After arriving at Port Adelaide we were huddled together on the *Hesperides* without either bed or bedding, more like a lot of pigs than human beings. After some time we were visited by men who we thought were men of honour, but to our cost we found them to be wolves in sheep's clothing. I will now give you an instance of the duplicity... of a man named Hunt, a labour master of Adelaide, in the employ of your model politicians.

He came on board and painted in the most glowing terms the advantages of the South East and capped the climax by persuading us to sign a piece of paper to go to the Millicent drainage works, where he told us we would be all right if we were not afraid of work.

We were sent by steamboat to Rivoli Bay where we slept in a barn all night. Next morning we started and after a 25 mile march arrived at the Promised Land. But we soon found this was no earthly paradise; on the contrary, about as miserable a place as ever my lot has been cast in. We began work on Friday morning, up to our knees in mud and water, and did the best that lay in our power, but were quite unable to stand the exposure and cold. Some of the contractors, Messrs J. & J. Cock discharged [workers] without paying them a farthing, others [were] left to walk to Melbourne and out of thirty men, who left Adelaide two weeks ago, there is not one left.

I ask you, Sir, in the name of common humanity whether you think it is right for this government to squander the public money by paying agents at home to represent the resources of this country in such a way as to cause many of us to leave a comfortable home to become miserable outcasts in a foreign land...

This is no exaggeration, but to many of us a stern reality. Where will you find many of our single young women that a few weeks ago were full of health and spirits? Go to the dens of infamy in Adelaide and there you will find them - moral wrecks... [Signed J.C. Jones, late 17 Victoria Grove, Kensington, London, England - Adelaide papers please copy - Millicent, July 27, 1876.]

To this indictment, the contractors responded a few days later:

We, seeing the government were anxious of getting some of the surplus labour out of Adelaide, wrote to Mr Hunt and offered to take 40 or 50 and we were careful to tell him to fully inform the men selected the nature of the work... 29 were forwarded to Rivoli Bay...

They had their supper and breakfast at the hotel and had the liberty of sleeping in Mr French's & Co's store - not a barn as Jones states - and the following morning their swags were taken by a team and they had to walk... - not a very great task. On arrival at the camp they had their supper and breakfast at the boarding places and their tents all ready for them to sleep in...

Some of them went to work, but before they did so they were distinctly told that though they had agreed to work at a lower rate of wages than men already [employed]; should any one of them prove competent they would get the average wage, viz., 8s. 3d. per day. Most of them - not all - for some two never attempted - went to try their hand. It was quite evident that they were unaccustomed to labour.

The statement as to being up to their knees in mud and water is utterly false, or if so was needless. It would have been quite true if he had said a few inches of mud and water. As to our discharging without payment, we did not, but simply retained what they were due for expense incurred by them, which we had to pay, and several did not stop long enough to do that.

[Jones] told us he was used to contract work... After having tried the work on the drains, he said on the morning when leaving that he was sorry to leave but did so for the sake of trying to get his mate on a ship, and that he would come back again, in all probability, and go on again...

In a lengthy editorial on the subject the *Border Watch* concluded that it was 'perfectly monstrous... when 30 new arrivals, who had never handled a pick and shovel, were dispatched to cut drains in the South East; most of them without blankets and some of them in carpet slippers.'

As for the disgruntled men, some arrived at Mount Gambier and were found board and lodgings by Mr Varley for two nights, following which they were supplied with blankets and sent to look for work, three of the eight being successful. They were mostly young men; one, a school master, could not do manual labour and they all complained that they had been misled as to the character of work to which they came.

A second batch arrived a few days later in a sorry plight, having neither money nor blankets and an opinion was passed that it was absurd to send mechanics and factory hands to work in drains.

At the same time one of the contractors had another matter to bring before the public in respect of a wine shanty at Hanging Rock, near Snuggery:

In due time it was licensed and became the Drainage Hotel. The workmen's camp was about four miles away and the first night there was the usual orgy, a drunken quarrel in the black's camp, then five or six men who had been working all the winter, and had good cheques, went on a spree, some for a week, and others longer.

Drink was brought into the camp and so that within a fortnight of the opening there was more drinking amongst the men than there was for the previous three months.

In later years, the name of the government's Hanging Rock quarries was renowned throughout the colony, the lessee being Mr John Frew. They were practically inexhaustible in extent and, besides the red dolomite, so common in Mount Gambier buildings, there was, close at hand, a grey dolomite hardly less durable and white-and-grey freestone; the latter was used in the Adelaide University and said to be like Caen stone and obtainable at about half the price. The red dolomite formed a splendid cliff, 40 feet high and about 600 yards in length. Mr Frew sent some to a Melbourne Exhibition and hoped to open a trade with both that city and Adelaide. The railway to Rivoli Bay was within two miles of the quarry and the lessor constructed a tramway to connect with it. He complained that, hitherto, because the Tantanoola station yard was 18 inches deep in mud, he had to cart the stone to Snuggery, six miles distant.

In 1879, a laudable attempt was made to reclaim thousands of acres of swampy land lying useless in the Hundreds of Robertson and Naracoorte but, owing to local opposition, and some misunderstanding, the Bill was shelved. The proposal was to drain Bool Lagoon, Garey Swamp and other land and make them fit for agriculture and pastoral purposes. About 18,000 acres would have been reclaimed and surplus water taken off an area five times greater in size. The plans were drawn up by Mr T. Hindley (*sic*), and the proposal to form a company received favourably, about half the required capital of £50,000 being subscribed readily. The government gave its sanction to the scheme and all went merrily for a time until opposition came from farmers around Lake Ormerod, for they had commonage rights and objected to being disturbed by the drainage company, or anybody else. They petitioned Parliament and, with support forthcoming from the squatters, the Bill was shelved, but was subject to revival in the 20th century:

In the 1860s Bool Lagoon was without doubt Australia's greatest water fowl home. The Coorong at that time was not comparable to it. It comprised an area of many thousands of acres and round its margin was the home of the jack snipe, flocks of Cape Barren geese and magpie geese in the thousands. Early morning and late afternoon for miles the ground was blue with bald coot. I have seen millions of duck rise until coming between me and the sun, they darkened the day... Had the government of the day only proclaimed and protected Bool Lagoon as a bird sanctuary it would have contained the greatest variety of water fowl in the world. Alas, all this wonderland is practically a thing of the past now. The government has partly drained the lagoon; settlers on the surrounding plains have got at the teatree and carted large quantities of it away for fencing, building and firewood. Great parties of shooters have ruthlessly destroyed the duck and other wild fowl. In that weird, wild place my eyes have seen what few men have ever observed, and what my eyes will never see again.

In 1879, a gentleman signing himself "Abd-El-Kader" wrote to the *Border Watch* on the subject of "The Drainage Works and the Drying up of the Swamps". He said he had arrived in New South Wales in 1817 and resided in the western district of Victoria and the south eastern district of South Australia since 1838 during which period he had many opportunities of noticing the changes and cycles of seasons:

In 1837 [*sic*] Charles Bonney passed through the district to Adelaide with cattle and it is known by old hands what difficulties, distress and misery that gentleman experienced for want of water... Whilst on the journey he sank a well to considerable depth without success in a lagoon well known as Reedy Lagoon.

This lagoon had never been known to be dry since settlement of white fellows in the district, in 1846 [*sic*], until the last two or three seasons. Messrs Hamilton and Scott, and also Captain Hart, passed through the district about a year after Bonney and found very little surface water.

In 1841-42 a party of three or four gentlemen from the Hopkins, Victoria, explored the portion of this district extending south from Morambro to Mount Gambier and reported on their return a magnificently grassed country but no surface water - none in Dismal Swamp or elsewhere barring the craters on Glencoe station and Mount Gambier.

In 1844, Mr Evelyn Sturt brought stock over from New South Wales, crossing Victoria to this district and pitched his camp near Kalangadoo under the shady branches of the eucalypti, thinking it a perfect paradise of a place. In 1854, a vessel drawing 8 feet of water could have sailed over the spot very comfortably. The same year (1844) the Messrs Leake brought over stock from Adelaide and settled at Lake Leake. They saw scarcely any surface water.

About the same time Messrs J.&W. Robertson settled on the Mosquito Creek. There was water in the creek, but little, if any, on the plains. The same year Mr Wallace settled on Mosquito Creek and, while out exploring, discovered what is called the Penola Swamp, then perfectly dry, and on which he galloped down an emu and killed it in the middle of the swamp. This swamp in 1855 was filled over its banks and timber 50 years old perished in consequence. This swamp has now been dry for the last three years.

There were several other instances of this kind between Robe and Lake Mundi [*sic*]. One more remarkable instance of the inundation of 1853-55 was its destruction of stringy bark trees on the Kilbride station - trees fully from 70 to 100 years old. In 1845-46 Messrs Cameron, MacArthur, Doughty, Bowden and others turned up and the only water they found was in emu wells, or native wells, in the middle of the deepest and most permanent swamps. From 1846 the wet period may be put down as commencing and reaching its highest in 1854-55.

From that time until the present the seasons became dryer and dryer up to this date... I have recently examined a number of old wells between Moy Hall in the south to Monbulla and have found them on the average very

little below the levels of 1848-49, showing that the drainage has not affected this part of the district up to the present time.

[I] am of the opinion that all that has been written of late on the subject has been by theorists and not by practical *observing* men of longer experience in this hemisphere. That these wet seasons will return we may be perfectly sure, and that this portion of the district will be as wet, or nearly so, again, as in 1854-55.

By 1880, £167,000 had been spent on the project and the total of drained lands taken up on credit was 57,176 acres and sold at an average price of £3-0-10d per acre, but not including lands last reclaimed in the Narrow Neck and German Flat areas. It was a most singular fact that about one third of the selectors in the last named areas were the very people who burned their fingers in taking up the first of the drained lands and the explanation for this was quite curious. They took up the new lands with the deliberate intention of giving their present exhausted farms a rest, and then throwing up whichever selection proved the least profitable.

Those who knew the country best never thought the land under the permanent swamps would grow wheat. But it grew grasses so luxuriant that those who took it up for pastoral purposes were more than satisfied with their bargain, although the price paid was a stiff one. The experience of one settler might be considered of interest:

He had a square mile of land - the maximum allowed on the drained lands. The first year he ploughed it by the aid of horses shod in leather shoes, the ground being so boggy that the horses' legs sank over the knees in mud. His wheat harvest was nil, his potato crop ditto, and the only return he had was through a kindly trespass committed by a neighbour's cattle ere yet the wheat had shriveled up and died! The second year the caterpillars came in myriads and devoured his wheat and barley, or such that was not cut for hay, and the only source of profit was from a few acres of rape, which did well. Year No. 3 the frosts came and nipped the cereals, so that besides the cost of the land this selector lost about £800 in trying to fulfil the cultivation clauses of the Act. Since then he has eschewed cereals and cultivated grasses and fortune now seems to be opening up to him. The farmers on the flats, generally speaking, had good crops of up to 16 bushels per acre.

However, in other areas the prospects were much brighter such as in the vicinity of reclaimed land near Millicent: Amongst the farmers, on the Mt. Muirhead side of the township ridge, Mr Spehr had 400 acres under one of the finest crops of wheat, just out in ear, that it could be possible to find in any country. 'It stood about five feet high, as thick as it could stand, and perfectly level throughout.'

His only anxiety, in common with his neighbours, was how to get it off, hands being very scarce and a larger number being required there as compared with the drier lands to the north. He estimated he needed 30 men during harvest and would have to pay them £2.10s. per week. One hundred acres of his farm were under rye and prairie grass and growing with a luxuriance that suggested excellent prospects for the district. On this pasture he ran a flock of long-woolled sheep.

But again, a dissenter was present in the form of a farmer, Mr W. Foster, who spoke disparagingly of reclaimed land in the vicinity of Millicent:

In 1881 I put in 10 acres and received about 18 tons, big and little. Another farmer in 1881 sowed 50 acres and reaped as a return, five tons altogether. If the ground is so marvelously good how is it that the experimental farm, the pick of the district, where no expense was spared, was worked with a loss of thousands of pounds in a few years... For the last three years the land has flooded and is now in such a sour state that it will take years to sweeten. Had the drains been properly made a very different state of affairs would have been the result...

But this economic progress was not accomplished without accusations of mismanagement by the government:

The gross incompetency of many of the members of the Civil Service in this part of the country has led to many serious blunders in the public works (for which we all have to pay)... on the Mt McIntyre Flats there are now some 200 men...

The work is supposed to be measured up on or about the 25th of each month, but the men are not paid until the middle of the following month... a private contractor would not be allowed to treat his employees in this style...

I know of instances where men have left their wives and families in Victoria, and who are now unable to send them a penny... It may matter very little to the Government official who can go flashing about the country in his buggy and pair making believe that he has the affairs of a nation on his shoulders...

If any reader of this letter thinks my language too strong just let him pause and bethink of all the blunders he can recall committed by public servants, such as the piles of Kingston jetty, the levels of the Rivoli Bay pier, the rails imported into the colony and passed by the officials thereof, the Wallaroo jetty and a host of other instances that I might adduce of the shameful mismanagement of the public works of South Australia...

Further, in 1889 the Millicent Farmers and Graziers Union petitioned the House of Assembly and said that through an entire misconception of the quality and value for agricultural purposes they were led to select land at prices ranging from £2 to £8 per acre within the South East Drainage District which had been found by experience to be worth no more, either for agriculture or pasture, than land selected in other parts of the colony a £1 per acre. They went on to say that the failure of their crops year after year before the fact was ascertained had exhausted their capital.

Sources - *Register*, 8 December 1866, p. 2, 23 June 1869, p. 2, 29 June 1871, p. 5, 4 December 1872, p. 6, 2 April 1873, p. 2, 3 February 1875, page 6, 1 January 1876, p. 6, 20 January 1877, p. 6, 21 August 1877, p. 4, 17 August 1880, p. 5, 31 August 1880, p. 5, 14 September 1880, p. 5, 1 March 1882, p. 6, 4 August 1883, p. 7, 21 January

1885, p. 5, 1 December 1902, p. 6, *Advertiser*, 15 July 1868, p. 2, 13 & 15 April 1872, pp. 2 & 2, *The News*, 3 September 1936, p. 14, *The Mail*, 25 June 1932, p. 16, *Farmers Weekly Messenger*, 5 February 1875, p. 10, *Observer*, 14 September 1889, p. 9, *Border Watch*, 27 February 1875, 29 July 1876, 2 & 5 August 1876, 4 November 1876, 26 February 1879.

Appendix 37

Adelaide and Kent Town Breweries

*(The following essays on the Norwood district are taken from
Geoffrey H. Manning, A Colonial Experience)*

[Rev] Lyall says that in any legislation some one must suffer; but why rob a poor man of his beer. To the unhappy habitual a glass of Syme and Sison at the midday meal is as necessary as a sermon to that gentleman's congregation... It may be said 'If you don't like the business take to something else'...

I am more fitted for the bar than the pulpit and I should not like to see the Rev. Mr Lyall driving a North Adelaide bus, especially if I was inside. I have met Masters of Art on the 'wallaby', I have seen the son of a Duke drive bullocks... but these were not the positions they were born to occupy. I believe I was intended to be the Archbishop of Canterbury; instead of which I am keeping the Wellington [Hotel]. 'Tis my misfortune - not my fault.

(Register, 12 August 1876, page 7)

Introduction

This nuisance, which proceeds from Mr Primrose's brewery, is not only causing sickness amongst his neighbours, but also militates against their success in their different callings by causing a diversion of the usual traffic.

(Register, 28 October 1854, page 2)

It seems to be an established fact that wherever civilised communities are formed sooner or later there must spring up in their midst such utilities as churches, hotels, stores and breweries. So it followed that, shortly after South Australia was settled, some of the pioneers realised that the drinking wants of the populace must be attended to and, in due course, the colony became the centre of a few liquor producing factories.

These breweries were small in the early days and the struggles of one of the proprietors, as told in letters to his wife in Scotland, show that his brewery was only a one man show. That brewer, Mr Warren, in his communications, disclosed that he was still without help and was hard pressed in his brewery. He further intimated that the high price of sheep and cattle and the inability of the government surveyors to survey land quickly for purposes of settlement had compelled him to start a brewery.

He was not alone in this respect as a man called Lillyman had, in 1838, commenced brewing near the River Torrens where he produced his beer from wheat, for at that time barley, in large enough quantities, was not available. Mr Warren sold out to Messrs Auld and Shand; Auld afterwards identified with a winery at Auldana. The new owners carried on the business until 1844, when a flood swept the structure away. Apparently, Lillyman's brewery had gone out of existence by this date, for no further mention is made of it in early records.

The first brewery of any note was that started by Richmond & Primrose and called the Union Brewery. It was located off Rundle Street, opposite Stephens Place, and existed into the 1890s. Richmond sold out his share to John Primrose, whose ancestry was linked with the aristocratic English family of Primrose and thus he claimed relationship with Earl of Rosebery.

As the 1840s advanced breweries sprang up like mushrooms and, in 1843, E.J.F. Crawford started at Hindmarsh; later he failed and left for Victoria. Though no restraint was placed on the manufacturers of beer for a number of years, many of them failed to make good. Caustic comments were made on the beer, many referring to the poor quality of the drink and frequent adulteration.

Many lovers of the 'brown ale' were concerned that much of the local product was 'hogwash' because of 'the half-poisonous drugs which have been sold under that name.' They were of the opinion that to overcome this adulteration the brewers should be placed under supervision.

A couple of beer lovers entered the fray and expressed some firm opinions:

I have tasted four sorts of beer made by a person in Adelaide (I will not mention his name, lest I might be suspected of a motive), all beautifully bright and quite equal to the best English 'home-brewed'. Let the little hole in the corner breweries (which are no better than sly grog shops) be all put down and South Australian beer will have a fair trial... I am sanguine in my hopes that, in a few years, scarcely any beer will be imported...

[Some correspondents] allude to brewers 'poisoning their customers' and hint at 'chemists'. Now I know of my own positive knowledge that some of the small brewers use no hops at all, but buy half-a-pound at a time

to enable them to shake a few leaves into each cask they send out, so as to make their dupes fancy that the drugged compound they swallow is beer... No wonder that a prejudice should exist against colonial beer.

The use of colonial beer has very greatly increased and I have tasted several samples which I believe to be quite genuine; but I grieve to say that I have also seen much which is drugged with everything filthy and injurious and, in some instances, entitled to be called 'sugar bag broth' than 'malt liquor', while the baneful poppy is employed to give a sedative and intoxicating quality...

I trust then that ere many years are gone by we may see our mountain sides covered with the luxuriant hop plant, and that we may drink our loyal toasts in the real beer of South Australia.

In respect of colonial hops, Mr Crawford imported seed from Kent, England early in 1844 and gave it away to 'bona fide growers' and about the same time settlers in the 'Valley of Miponga (*sic*)' grew fine samples, the 'vines' of which attained the height of sixteen feet.

During 1844-1845 the general quality of the beer brewed in Adelaide improved - instead of it being thick, sour and half-sickly, as it was in many cases, it became bright, sweet and brisk. Indeed, the general feeling towards it altered in a marked degree.

The most respectable of our publicans, who once would have been offended if asked for a glass of it, drew it to the exclusion of imported ale. Without saying they were perfect, beer produced by Messrs Richmond and Primrose, Crawford, Shand and Moulden was wholesome - in flavour most excellent and of a good and sufficient body.

By the close of 1846, many brewers had purchased hotels and this caused a serious deterioration in the quality of locally brewed beer. Informed opinion was that the beer made here had sunk 'down to worse than swipes... a few days sufficing to send it sour.' But this was not its worst fault for in almost every instance it was drugged with quassia, opium and an overdose of sugar.

Reasonable thinking people throughout the colony had much faith in the theory that evils would rectify themselves but, unfortunately, the premature practice of brewers buying up public houses, and 'placing in them tenants, who had to deal exclusively with the owners', exacerbated the situation. For this evil, the only remedy would have been the establishment of a large brewery on a contrary principle supported by all free publicans.

Today, the days of sub-standard beer and home brewed ale have passed away and the industry is conducted on a greater scale, in buildings of modern type and by more elaborate processes. To the general public or, at all events, to that large section of it that still drinks beer - the purity of their favourite beverage is a matter of concern.

It is contended frequently that many of the evils placed to the credit of alcoholic stimulants are due, as much as anything, to the inclusion of deleterious ingredients; and whatever view may be taken on the subject generally, there can be no doubt that, in the manufacture of beers, the use of pure substances, as well as the exercise of care and cleanliness, are distinctly essential. This is so generally recognised that discussions in the press and parliament on the subject of adulteration of food and drink are matters of common occurrence.

Mr Edwin T. Smith's Breweries

*Bright sparkling in the glass, the amber hue
Of Beaglehole and Johnston's greet by sight,
In copious bumpers, vigor I renew,
Or from the Dragon's sparkling gain delight.*

*The ready joke springs to my teeming brain,
Duns are forgotten; care becomes a myth,
As - scorning foreign vintage of champagne -,
I quaff the foaming malt of E.T. Smith.*

(A stanza from a poem in *The Lantern*, 3 August 1878)

Mr Smith ventured into the brewing business at Kent Town in the early 1860s when he purchased Logue's Brewery which was established in 1857 at King William Street. In March 1861 it was seriously damaged by fire and, a year or two later, it was further injured by a heavy flood in Norwood Creek.

However, Mr Smith enlarged the premises which, when completed, comprised a two-storey building occupied by steeping vats and space for the storing of malt and barley. Adjoining the second floor were two kilns for the purpose of drying malt, while across the yard was the brewery where there were various hoppers for receiving the malt, a roller for crushing it and a sieve for separating the grains from the germs which sprung out during the steeping and drying operations.

The beer was boiled in a large copper by means of a wood and coal fire - not as in some breweries, by steam. A 'brew' comprised about 35 hogsheads. In the yard there were offices, cooperage, a store for hops, sugar, *etc.*, and other buildings. Connected with the brewery were a stable and coach house and large yard.

As was the custom of the day, Mr Smith discharged effluent into the local waterways which, over a period, caused excessive pollution coupled with complaints from the public:

On looking over the [Bailey] bridge you see a sight which is nauseating to behold and the stench of which is deadly to inhale, arising from stale beer, washings of barrels, and other refuse matter - solid, liquid and half-and-half - which is drained into the bed of the creek from an adjoining brewery, and which is here undergoing a second process of fermentation.

Is it because Mr E.T. Smith is Mayor of Kensington and Norwood that the nuisance existing near his brewery is allowed to remain a fever-breeder and an abomination to all that pass by? ... Pools of vile stuff [are] lying there, the very sight of which makes one sick, while the smell is horrible in the extreme.

To this complaint Mr Smith replied at length:

To say a nuisance does not exist would be simply absurd, but to charge me with creating the whole of it would be grossly unjust. Unfortunately, at the junction of Bailey's Bridge and the Hackney Road the creek is almost level and after the creek has ceased to run the water will often remain for weeks in the numerous holes, and here amongst the bamboos I have seen dead cats and refuse that have come down the creek during the winter months, the effluvia from which I am oftentimes innocently charged with creating.

Several years ago I built two large underground tanks into which waste water from the brewery flows in the summertime, and is never allowed to enter the creek and surely your correspondents will not assert that the water from the brewery enters the creek now. I have spared neither trouble nor expense by the use of disinfectants and otherwise to check any nuisance likely to arise, and living so near the place myself, it is only natural that I should for my own comfort strive to abate every nuisance possible.

None of my neighbours have complained for a long time past, knowing full well the interest and care I take in this matter. If, as your correspondents assert, a nuisance arises from my brewery after all the care bestowed by myself, what must be the state of the park lands, where the filth from the city sewers and waste water from the many breweries and manufactories are - far worse - allowed to flow?

I regret very much that your correspondents should think that I would for one moment avail myself of my official position in connection with the municipality to create a nuisance - a district notoriously free from nuisances and disease.

I confess that I cannot agree with Mr Smith as to his final assertion as can be seen from my chapter on the deep drainage problem confronted by the town of Kensington and Norwood in the 1880s and the 'public nuisances' confronted by our citizens.

However, I must support him in his general comment on the state of the creeks flowing into the Torrens:

The ornamental sheets of water in the place of recreation [Botanic Gardens] are poisoned. Fish cannot live in them and the smell of which arises is so offensive at times to be the cause of much discomfort and ill-health to those who reside on the spot... The lakes and ponds... receive the refuse of tanyards, soap manufactories, hotels and private houses...

Impure water [is] allowed to flow from East Terrace into the creek by which the ornamental ponds in the [Botanic] Garden are chiefly fed... So great was the noxious impurity that the fish were said to be lying [dead] in the ponds.

Stagnant water [is] lying about in green pools, full of festering rags and decaying vegetable matter, courtyards with far too many people for the house space and all the dirt, slops and refuse pitched into the open space...

I regret to see typhoid fever has broken out in the Botanic Gardens, and that one of the daughters of the Curator has fallen a victim, the cause of the disease being the foul state of the... waters in the garden.

However, Mr F. Griffiths of North Terrace, Kent Town, accused Mr Smith of being less than honest when he informed the press:

I agree with him that his residence and brewery are in King William Street, Kent Town; that the creek flowing at times past his residence contains at present pools of clean water. Further down the creek on North Terrace... there is a chain of ponds containing filthy, fever-breeding abominations, continuing behind the Lunatic Asylum to the Botanic Gardens. Dead cats, he says. Dead cats, Sir, are nothing in comparison.

The worthy Mayor is correct again. He has erected two tanks alongside the creek. They are holes dug in a piece of ground facing North Terrace, They should properly be described as stinkpots. They are enclosed with a concrete wall, through which pipes are inserted to let the abominations into the creek when he thinks proper, and notwithstanding his assertions to the contrary, it was flowing this evening as four gentlemen at least can testify.

In response to this accusation of telling falsehoods Mr Smith, in a rambling speech within the precincts of the council chamber, admitted that water lay in the creek at the back of Bailey's Garden, but he had asked several gentlemen to see if he caused any nuisance and 'had had a most favourable report from all'. Further, councillors had visited the property and 'found no nuisance', but confessed he could either let the contents of the tanks flow into the creek 'when it was running' or 'use the stuff to irrigate his garden'.

As would be expected the councillors sided with their honourable Mayor, while Councillor Dew felt 'that his Worship had been unjustly dealt with in the published letters' and further, it was well known that one of the writers 'had a grudge against the Mayor'. Accordingly, it was agreed that 'His Worship was very free from blame in respect to this nuisance.'

In June 1876, Mr Smith caused to be opened a new brewery, portion of which can be seen today at the corner of Dequetteville Terrace and Rundle Street, Kent Town. It cost £17,000, inclusive of land and nine workmen's cottages, occupies land 216x208 feet and 'gives an air of commercial importance to the populous townships of Norwood and Kensington.'

No expense, care or skill was spared by the spirited proprietor in making the brewery works complete, both externally and internally. Every advantage afforded by the site was taken and ample room allocated for carrying out the operations of a brewer's business - Commodious, lofty storerooms, yards, well-paved cellars, well-ventilated workrooms, outhouses and offices.

'The front elevation is to Dequetteville Terrace and consists of two wings with gables, the central buildings containing the offices and principal entrance to the premises. The chief gateway is opposite Rundle Road and is 14

feet wide by 13 feet in height and supported by bold pilasters in the Grecian order of architecture. The central portion of the structure is one storey in height and the wings, including the basement, are elevated to two storeys.

‘Passing through the principal gateway one enters a large quadrangle, 120 by 92 feet. On the eastern side of this space the buildings run to a height of three storeys which contain the kiln constructed by a novel and improved principle, being 58 feet from the floor to the cowl. The clearing cellars are nearby and these have communication with similar accommodation on the south side. Above these cellars are two extensive floors intended for malt stores and various miscellaneous purposes.

‘The brewery proper is situated at the south-eastern corner and contains five floors which are of substantial construction having cast iron columns and wrought iron girders at regular intervals. In the top storey is the “hot liquor” room which contains one vat nine feet high and capable of holding about 90 hogsheads; the malt hopper is also located there.

‘The buildings throughout are of Glen Osmond and Mitcham stone; the architect was Thomas English and the works were carried out by Brown and Thompson in a manner which was highly creditable to a colonial firm. ‘Special attention was paid to the drainage of the premises, Mr Smith being most anxious to comply with the requirements of the Board of Health and obviate as far as possible any inconvenience likely to be experienced by residents in close proximity. A block of land situated at the rear of the brewery was reserved for the erection of 14 cottages some of which will contain five rooms and were intended for the use of the brewery’s workmen; Mr William Dickin was the contractor for these buildings.

‘In passing, it is worth recording that his brewery is in a straight line between Rundle Street and The Parade and, before commencing the building, he tried hard to get Norwood to make a street straight through from The Parade to Rundle Street, but nobody else at the time had the foresight to see the necessity for this and, later, when Mr H.J. Holden tried it long after Prince Alfred College had been built, vested interests were too strong and the expense too great. It was Mr Smith who, in parliament, carried the Kensington and Norwood Boundaries Bill, through the House of Assembly in order to acquire Dequetteville Terrace, which had been a kind of “No Man’s Land”.’

The Adelaide Brewing and Malting Company

In 1882, Edwin Smith sold the former Logue’s brewery to the SA Fruit and Preserving Company and, by 1900, the property was occupied by the Macclesfield Brewery which opened in November 1900. ‘It supplies a variety of beverages which enjoy a high reputation and have secured a number of medals at exhibitions.

‘Among these are the export bitter and the extra-double stout, whose quality and age have gained them a high place in the public’s favour. A proof of that excellence is supplied by the fact that each of these articles is recommended to their patients by members of the medical profession.

‘The company does not confine itself to making this class of beers for it produces a malt food intended for children and invalids. This product has been submitted to the highest authorities in the Commonwealth by whom it has been pronounced to be perfectly pure. The company is the only manufacturer of this dietetic in South Australia.’

Appendix 38

Floods and Natural Disasters at Norwood

Fierce squalls of wind shot around street corners, whipped off men’s hats and ladies’ wraps. Staid gentlemen whose heads were bowed to penetrate the blast, butted indecorously into anybody who happened to be in the way, and everybody’s mouth was filled with grit and dust...About noon King William Street was completely obscured by dust.

(Advertiser, 10 November 1904, page 4)

Floods

In August 1862, flooded creeks swept away bridges in George and William Streets and travelling, especially at night, was rendered dangerous except along The Parade where the bridge remained intact. At Kent Town the flood reeked havoc - The culvert near Mr Logue’s brewery and cottage could not cope with the surging waters and the wall enclosing his garden collapsed, his cellar filled and the destruction of his entire property became imminent.

Two employees at the brewery, Darby Wheeler and Richard Escott, fell into the rushing water and were lost sight of for several minutes. Escott was found clinging to a fence some 50 yards downstream, severely bruised on most of his body but, fortunately, no bones were broken. An anxious search was made for Wheeler, grappling irons being used over the next 24 hours without any sign of the body. Eventually, it was found amongst tree branches in Bailey Gardens, that is, modern-day Hackney.

In Stepney, the inundation, after flooding the main road, broke into Mr Westrop’s brick-field doing a great deal of damage, while Mr Murray and others were obliged to make dams to keep the water out of their premises.

In July 1873, the bridge about 200 yards from the Old Colonist Inn was all but completely swept away when the water came down from the hills in great force. All the brickwork underlying it, except a few feet at the upper end, was carried away leaving a chasm in the road from 15 to 20 feet wide and nearly the same depth. The gardens upstream were flooded and flowers and vegetables were decimated.

In 1878, heavy rains, which fell on the night of 4 March, considerably injured Mr J. Gillard’s Sylvania Vineyard on Kensington Road. Some years before, the local council diverted the course of the creek in the neighbourhood, filling

up the old bed, and forming a new channel which, however, during this storm proved to be neither deep nor wide enough.

On the boundary of Mr Hewett's property, where it abuts on Queen Street, there was a dam across the creek which, on overflowing, caused the water to swamp Mr Hewett's ground, displace some of his fencing, then run along the south side of Kensington Road, over it, and into Mr Gillard's premises, which were situated on low ground.

The fence was broken and a large quantity of earth washed away, which further down the vineyard buried some of the vines to a height of three feet. The damage was greater than if it had been only the water that rushed in, for it brought with it many logs and trunks of small trees, one of them being about 18 feet in length and 20 inches in diameter, and these knocked down several of the vines.

If it had not been for the existence of an old dam on the eastern side of the vineyard, which kept the flood back in some measure, the injury must have been much greater. At the outlet of the creek there was a culvert across George Street but, this not being sufficiently broad, the water rose above it and overflowed the road.

I turn now to events of April 1889 the memory of which, even today, recalls to my mind the harrowing experiences of many citizens during an extraordinary flood that swept through our district. Houses were not only flooded but many inhabitants were compelled to seek refuge elsewhere, leaving their goods and chattels at the mercy of the torrent; in many instances walls of houses were undermined and the premises rendered unsafe. Never before in the annals of Kensington and Norwood had occurred such phenomenal desolation.

Mr Wright's house was built close to the bank of First Creek and, at 10.30 a.m, the creek, which was running a banker, rose suddenly and, with a noise like an angry sea, an immense volume of water came down. Within a few minutes his kitchen was flooded to an extent of about two feet.

Outside the scene was a wild one; three small footbridges leading to different parts of his garden, being rather high, stood the current, but trees, flowers, shrubs and every moveable article were swept away. Deposited in his garden was a tree 30 feet long, while three tons of firewood stacked near the creek were carried away.

On the corner of Elizabeth and William Streets stood the Vintage Shades Hotel. Fortunately, it escaped with little damage although water in an adjoining paddock was some thirty yards wide. The creek took a turn near the home of Mrs Watson and the raging torrent swamped her kitchen, leaving behind a carpet of thick mud, besides completely filling her cellar. The overflow broke down her fence, ruined her garden and swept into Elizabeth Street.

Mr Muirhead, whose home was on the western side of Elizabeth Street, was the next victim. Fearing for the safety of his wife and grandchildren, he led them out of harm's way through water up to two feet deep. Mrs Lambert had three underground rooms, the only ones on that side of the street, and the next day it took three men up to five hours to bail them out.

Crossing Sydenham Road the creek came out under a contractor's shop erected by the Colliver brothers and all their stock of galvanised iron, timber and building material was swept away.

Both Kent Terrace and Flinders Street sustained great damage. The metal was torn up in every direction and the footpaths rendered useless. Continuing its mad course towards Pirie Street, the creek swamped all the neighbourhood gardens, doing great injury to fruit and other trees.

The overflow from these properties entered the Kentish Arms and filled the cellars, while the kitchen and servants' rooms had about a foot of water in them.

Three deaths occurred but, fortunately, our district was saved from that trauma. A labourer employed by the Adelaide Corporation was removing debris from the Torrens weir when a large mass of rubbish went over taking the unfortunate man with it.

The other tragedy occurred at Two Wells where Mr and Mrs Dawkins were drowned while leaving their house in a cart.

A tremendous flood of rain burst from the clouds over Waterfall Gully and neighbourhood in April 1898 causing destruction and death. Within a short time a flood came tumbling down First Creek bringing with it logs and rubbish which dashed over a weir built across the gully. The roaring stream swept madly across gardens and developed into a mass of water up to sixty feet wide with a depth of ten feet in the bed of the creek.

It struck terror into the people of the neighbourhood and five young boys, who were playing in the bed of the creek which ran through the grounds of Prince Alfred College, were swept away and three of them lost their lives - Francis Chapman aged 13, Clarence Johns, 3 years and 9 months and Bertie Melewsy, 12 years. Two other boys, William Evans, 8, and Kenneth Thompson, 12, were saved from the creek, the latter owing his life to Mr J. Lake who was working in Capper Street when he heard cries for help. William Evans was dragged from the creek by Mr T. Allen near the Botanic Gardens.

For the Johns' household it was a doubly tragic occurrence as Mrs Johns explained: 'I left my nephew Francis Henry Chapman in charge of my own little boy, Clarence, while I went out to do some washing... poor Clarry... My nephew was a cripple and walked with a crutch.'

The Lesson of the Floods

The floods of 1889 were a blessing to the people of South Australia; but to many individuals the disguise in which the watery benediction appeared was too close for their powers of recognition. To the man whose rich vegetable loam was carried away to give place to stony subsoil or still barren bedrock, it was cold charity to point out the reward it meant to the northern farmers, while his uprooted orange or lemon trees, matted inextricably with gumtree roots, rushes and rubbish, formed natural dams across creeks.

There was little an individual could do by himself to prevent a repetition of such damage, but there were remedial measures available to the State and district councils and relatively inexpensive in proportion to the interests at stake. An examination of the sites, where damage was greatest, clearly showed that if the solids could be prevented from entering the body of water the channels in almost every case would be ample to discharge the storm flows.

As for remedies, the people of Norwood realised that the control of watercourses was vested in the local council and, while its powers seemed ample as they stood, the wise thing appeared to be to seek proper legislative power to provide for twice yearly inspection of our creeks with a view to ascertaining obstructive material liable to be floated downstream.

Further, all felled timber within a stated distance of a watercourse should be removed within a reasonable time and neither hay nor wood stacks should be allowed within such limits, while special attention would be required in respect of dams, walls and low bridges that could impede storm flows.

Natural Disasters - Violent Storms

A fierce gale passed over Adelaide early in June 1893 and left traces of its severity and strength in all directions. Householders awoke from their sleep with fear and trembling and lay in dismal expectancy, waiting for crashes telling of damage from the wind.

For hours the gale whistled and moaned while 'ever and anon' some tree or hoarding gave way before the blasts and crashed to the ground. Many trees, which stood in defiance of the storm, suffered severely and the morning light revealed them in a disfigured state.

Around the vicinity of Clayton Church were many signs of the velocity of the wind. A building, once used as an oil factory, was unroofed, while the verandah in front of Mr Clement's chemist shop was damaged. Close by, the verandah in front of premises occupied by Mrs Woods was razed to the ground. Hoarding boards at Engel's and Allen's corners, and near the Norwood Hotel, went down early in the storm, while a new wheelwright's shop, close to the Britannia Hotel, lost part of its roof.

On all hands, trees and fences failed to survive the storm, while a circus troupe, camped on The Parade near the Norwood Hotel, had their tent upset. The Kentish Arms Hotel, being ill-fated in storms, had much of its fencing uplifted seventy yards away from its supports. The local creeks were all running bank high, while foot traffic through the Park Lands, facing East Terrace and Rundle Street, was stopped owing to the accumulation of flood waters.

In February 1896, the eastern suburbs came under the destructive elements and great devastation was the result. Numerous dwellings were left partially or wholly roofless, while new, as well as old fencing, were blown away and, in many instances, broken up like firewood. Immense damage was done to orchards and flower gardens and there was hardly a property that escaped entirely the maddening winds.

About half of the fence enclosing Kensington Oval came down, while hoardings, that had weathered many a storm, could not hold their own against a memorable hurricane. Havoc occurred at Engel's corner and fixtures to the Norwood Hotel were swept clean away, while at the corner of Edward Street and The Parade hoardings were blown down leaving exposed the adjacent woodyard to the public gaze and thereby facilitating the business of the wood stealer.

The stables at the Globe Hotel, Kensington, were unroofed and a large pane of glass in the council chamber was broken as cleanly as though it was cut with a knife; the verandah in front of Mrs Morcombe's shop on The Parade, near the Old Colonist Hotel, was a complete wreck.

Anything which was at all susceptible to the wind was lifted and tossed about like a child's toy. It was positively dangerous to be out in it, for galvanised iron, fencing, limbs of trees and pieces of timber, *etc.*, were blowing about with perfect freedom.

Twenty-four hours of continual blowing left local roads in a very rough condition. Dust collected in great banks alongside fences and in gardens and penetrated into houses. Sand and small pebbles, whirled with terrible force, found their way into gardens and blocked up gateways to such an extent that barrows had to be employed the next day to carry the stuff away.

The wind blasted and scorched flowers in bloom and turned many a smiling garden into a scene of waste and confusion. Many who had been sparing water in consequence of a dry season and the short supply in the reservoirs, but who, nevertheless had carefully tended their gardens, found their efforts nullified for the storm had withered and destroyed everything.

For the first weeks of February 1897, the sun glared down on Adelaide with more than ordinary intensity and a change was looked for by thousands of panting citizens. For some days dark, threatening clouds hovered over the city, but these only added to the enervation of the heat. Finally, matters appeared to reach a climax; thunder growled, lightning flashed and about midnight rain fell heavily.

On Sunday morning, the sun rose hotter than ever and no sign was left of the storm on the previous night. In the afternoon, however, the thunder clouds rolled together for another and grander effort. The low grumbling in the distance increased until there were terrific reports, while at 3 p.m. the first large, sullen drops of rain fell upon the steaming pavements and parched the scorching ground.

This interlude was but the warning to the crash with which the elements broke loose upon us. The hailstones battered down and rain fell in streams; the wind, too, was at times blowing with hurricane force along the streets and traffic became almost impossible. In Norwood the flood of 1880 was all but repeated!

First Creek became flooded between the narrow retaining walls in Mr Hubble's land and rushed into Alfred Street, through gates and under fences in a furious stream. Mr Uren's house at the corner of William Street suffered severely, the water flooding the underground rooms to the extent of two feet.

The flood rushed along William Street as far as the junction of Elizabeth Street and, after inundating part of that thoroughfare, rejoined the creek.

Mr J.H. Weidenhofer, of Kent Town, was again a sufferer, although the flood was prevented from entering his dwelling. It swept through his vineyard carrying away the neat trellising and the netting erected to keep the birds away.

The stream rushed into Little Rundle Street, swamped three cottages owned by Mr Runge and knocked down a strong retaining wall, while Mr Weidenhofer's beehives were lifted bodily out of the beehouse and drifted away into the garden.

Earthquakes

Although in all ages the terrible effects produced by earthquakes have forced themselves on the attention of man, the study of the phenomena is of recent date and has attracted few students. References to earthquakes are to be found in the writings of many ancient authors, but they are of little use to the modern student in the science of seismology as, usually, they have a tendency to exaggeration - sometimes imparting a supernatural element into the description. Nor is much to be gleaned from the pages of medieval and later writers on earthquakes.

The earliest work on the subject in England worthy of mention is Dr Robert Hooke's *Discourse on Earthquakes* written in 1668. The great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755 led the Rev John Mitchell, Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge, to study the question and five years later he published in the *Philosophical Transactions* a remarkable essay on the subject.

As illustrating the force of a vertical shock from an earthquake, it is related that, in 1837, at the fort of San Carlos in Chile, a flagstaff, which was sunk for 30 feet in the ground and secured with iron rods, was shot violently into the air, leaving a round hole in the ground. Again, at the time of the great earthquake of Rio Bamba, the bodies of many of the inhabitants were projected across the river and fell upon La Culla, a hill over 300 feet in height.

Thankfully, our colony has not suffered such horrors. The first reported earth tremor after the arrival of European settlers in 1836 was on Sunday, 23 July 1837.

It lasted about twenty seconds and prompted the editor of the local press to comment that 'nothing in the appearance of the countryside or mountains indicates volcanic formation. But it has been remarked that since the winter set in our coldest winds have been from the north-east, which seems to indicate either a range of lofty mountains are in that direction, or the existence of a large inland water.'

In June 1856, an earthquake was felt in Adelaide and environs and, accompanied by a loud rumbling sound, lasted for several seconds and gave the idea of thunder underground. Mr C. Dalton, chemist, of High Street Kensington, reported that:

It awoke several members of my family. Mrs Dalton says it appeared to her as if one of the children had fallen heavily out of bed and she heard the bottles in the shop rattle distinctly.

My son, who sleeps in the shop, says the bottles rattled against each other and the shock was so great that the doors and windows rattled and some parrots flew violently about their cage. It was followed by a strong wind and hailstorm...

Rarely, if ever, has Adelaide experienced so much excitement as that occasioned at about 4.30 pm on a May day in 1897. Through the vestibules of public buildings and business offices people were rushing with an ardour not born of an ordinary desire to reach the streets. The vibrations were felt for 20 to 40 seconds and when they ceased fear was exchanged for gossip and wonder.

At first it was supposed that the disturbance was quite local, but this view was quickly dissipated when reports came in from all parts of the country and it became evident that the whole of the lower part of the colony had been affected.

The rocking of the earth was scarcely noticeable in tram cars and cabs and on bicycles, but it affected some of those on foot that several were sick on The Parade, while local residents were treated to rattling windows, the ringing of small bells, the perceptible movement of buildings and an uncanny feeling similar to the symptoms of approaching seasickness.

The unhappy event had its humorous side - Some gentlemen were taking a Turkish bath and became so excited that without waiting for wearing apparel they sought the street for safety.

As I write, the memories of Friday, 19 September 1902 are fresh in my mind in respect of the most severe earthquake ever experienced in the colony. At about 6.40 a.m. we were awakened from our slumbers by a distinct tremor and it was the chief topic of conversation for the rest of the day, but the initial tremor was only a prelude to a sharp shock which travelled throughout the colony, seemingly in a most impartial manner.

At 8.05 p.m. there was a roar and rattle as of the firing of heavy artillery, accompanied by violent convulsions of the earth, which shook our houses to their foundations and fairly paralysed our citizens, many rushing shouting and screaming into the streets, making hurried ejaculations and involuntary gesticulations one to the other as if the end of the world were at hand.

The earth seemed to be out of its orbit and off its axis. That weird, ugly, and terrifying rumble made us realise our littleness and drove the fear of God into our hearts. 'Of what avail were the millions of a Rothschild or the strength

of a Sandow during those awful seconds, when the laws of the universe, obedient to the will of the Creator, convulsed the earth? Chimneys tottered and fell, pieces of stone and plaster crushed to the ground, ceilings descended, crockery and glassware rattled and in many cases shattered to pieces, women fainted in all directions and horses bolted.

‘Returned soldiers, who had laughed to scorn the bullets of the Boers away out on the South African veldt, deserted their posts beside the alluring barmaids and sought a place of safety in the streets’.

When the shock had gone by, and there seemed to be no indication of fear of another one happening, our Norwood folk joked and made fun of the incident. But it was no laughing matter and I have no desire to endure its like again.

Appendix 39

Sanitation in Early Norwood

The sources of those foul odours with which citizens... have perforce become familiar still remain untouched. There is scarcely a breeze that blows from the suburbs but comes laden with noxious vapours... But this is not all or even the worst of the evil... The effluvium arising from watertables, cesspits, and vegetable refuse left to rot in backyards or in the open streets bears constant and pungent witness to the defective scavenging arrangements...

(Observer, 15 March 1873, page 13)

Introduction

I have spoken of the malodorous condition of Adelaide in the 1840s and now take the reader to the year of 1873 when the ‘Health of Towns’ became the subject of parliamentary debate until, finally, it was realised that the public health was paramount and that no private interests ought to stand in the way of extensive reforms.

At that time Adelaide and environs were the scene of fetid gutters, putrefying rubbish heaps, stagnant pools, stinking cellars, noxious trades and disease producing food. Further, many of our school rooms were ill-ventilated, while many dwellings were unsuitable for the climate, for they protected their inmates neither from winter cold nor summer heat.

The strongest objection against sanitary reforms was the cost, for they could not be accomplished without considerable expenditure, which meant increased taxation. Unfortunately, people had a great impatience of taxation and, undoubtedly, this was the one reason, above all, that prevented the carrying out of some grand scheme of drainage in Adelaide and suburbs.

The ratepayers dreaded the cost and, so long as disease and death kept a distance, they were willing to stand on the brink of danger which could break out at any moment, rather than tax themselves to a moderate amount to avert that danger. It was well known that nothing was more expensive in a family than sickness and the cost of one attack of fever might be more in pounds than a sanitary rate would be in pence. For the public to shut their eyes, generally, to remedial action was the greatest of all follies.

The best system for Adelaide was a matter for experts and professional men to determine, but the consensus of opinion at the time was for the implementation of a system of deep drainage, than with mere scavenging. All other systems were dirty and offensive, but any would have been an improvement over the apology for the one then operating.

It was difficult to conceive anything more stupid or reprehensible than the cesspits in the east Park Lands for, within a stone’s throw of the Botanic Gardens, and some of the most important streets in the city, the council had established manufactories of manure from refuse of houses and offensive trades. They were carried on from month to month, and year to year, to the annoyance and disgust of people dwelling in the neighbourhood. By a great stroke of genius the council had fenced in with five-foot palings these choice industries, intending, it was supposed, to confine the miasma within the limit of a few square yards.

For years the importance of sanitary improvement was impressed upon the people, together with the fact that the soil upon which houses and shops were built was being permeated and poisoned by noxious refuse which, instead of being removed, was allowed to sink into the earth. Accordingly, it was to the credit of the government in 1873 that the question was taken up for there was not a more important question to claim the attention of the legislature.

Events in Norwood

By the late 1850s, parts of the village of Norwood were being shunned instead of being sought after by persons wishing to live outside the city of Adelaide. There were slaughterhouses to be met with which were merely wooden sheds left uncleansed for years past. Yet they abutted upon streets used by residents and discharged their impurities, without gutter or drainage of any kind, upon the public roads. Pigsties were also to be seen in the same unwholesome state and there were localities where, on account of these causes, property was considerably depreciated in value.

There was no excuse for such nuisances because land existed in the vicinity that was readily available for the proper carrying on of every trade and where no one needed to be a source of trouble and inconvenience to his neighbours. But, since there were persons who would not do this, it was necessary for the corporation to interfere and thus prevent the neighbourhood from obtaining a bad character in sanitary matters and to prevent continued injury to the inhabitants.

Accordingly, in June 1862 the corporation arranged for new by-laws to be placed on the table of the House of Assembly; these regulations contained suitable provisions for the maintenance of cleanliness on the part of persons who carried on trades likely to become offensive.

From that time, until the late 1870s, the suburban towns contained within the municipality bore a very favourable character but, in December 1879, a deputation waited upon the Local Board of Health with the object of bringing to under notice a nuisance existing in Queen Street. Comprehensive statements were indulged in which tended to convey the impression that there had been a serious outbreak of diphtheria, typhoid fever and other zymotic diseases.

Unfortunately, deaths of several children had occurred in the neighbourhood from those causes but, on investigation, it seemed probable that they were owing to conditions other than those referred to by the deputation. The enumerated causes were three in number. It was thought by several that soapsuds and other waste water, which was allowed to flow into Second Creek from the Catholic Refuge, stagnated there and caused the nuisance.

Another theory, said to be supported by the strongest olfactory evidence, affirmed the nuisance to emanate from the extensive use of nightsoil in Smith's market garden adjoining the refuge, while a third party thought the matter should be laid to the account of C.C. Scarfe's piggery and boiling-down works on The Parade. It was remarked by several gentlemen that the nuisance had become so alarming that they would be compelled to leave their houses without delay.

The Chairman of the Board of Health, Mr D. Packham, expressed his sympathy with those members of the deputation who had suffered bereavement or sickness in their families and promised energetic steps would be taken by the board to deal with the matter.

Two independent reports were submitted at a later date which exonerated the alleged 'nuisance makers' and it was apparent, therefore, that special efforts would have to be made to trace the origin of the abominable odours complained of so bitterly.

In order that no intimation might be obtained of the board's intention to perambulate the town, the time and place of meeting was not divulged. The first place visited was the Catholic Refuge in Queen Street. In this institution were between 30 and 40 inmates, exclusive of two sisters in charge, who were chiefly employed in washing during the greater part of the week. The whole of the soapsuds produced flowed into the creek and being unable to flow away on most occasions, they stank abominably and were declared to be a most pronounced nuisance.

To obviate this health hazard it was decreed that, in future, the effluent was to be drained away in small trenches amidst the neighbouring vineyard. This plan was fairly successful as the ground was of a very porous nature. The inside of the refuge was also inspected and the board was loud in its praise of its scrupulous cleanliness.

The board then inspected houses of several of those gentlemen who formed the deputation. The surroundings of W. A. Abbott's house received a large amount of time and labour and, at first sight, it seemed as if the search for any nuisances would be in vain. On proceeding to the rear of the house a disagreeable smell was detected coming from an ash-pit and, in a little back enclosure, a pool of dirty water was giving forth its 'pestiferous exhalations'.

The pit had evidently been sunk to catch the house and surface drainage, in complete misapprehension of what the result would be. When it became full, it discharged its surplus fluid on to the adjacent land that appeared to be quite saturated. It was the opinion of the board that this nuisance accounted for the fatal outbreak of disease in his house.

Smith's garden, the locality of the alleged application of nightsoil, was the next place visited. He was the nightman for the corporation as well as the proprietor of a large garden, the chief product of which were cabbages and turnips. The soil barges were the first objects of attention, but not the slightest smell could be detected, great care evidently having been exercised in their deodorisation with slaked lime.

A member of the board thoughtlessly kicked a semi-decayed cabbage which rendered further lingering about that spot unpleasant and unnecessary and quite justified the complaints of the residents. It seemed that the odour arising from decaying cabbages was mistaken for nightsoil.

The premises of C.C. Scarfe were next visited. The piggery was bedded down with clean straw and in other respects carefully attended to but, notwithstanding these precautions, a faint smell was discernible, giving promise of what the place would be if neglected. The boiling-down was also very clean, but it could not be doubted that it would have been much better for all thickly populated districts if this trade was carried on in the country.

Mr J.O. Cahill lived in a house adjoining these works and was one of the deputation that waited on the board. On visiting the rear of his house a privy was found against the wall of the kitchen and an open drain extended from the back verandah to an earthenware extension that took the waste water to the garden.

A communication having been received from the Lunatic Asylum and Botanical Gardens authorities complaining that drainage from the Kent Town brewery discharging into a creek flowing through their land was causing a deal of pollution, the board visited the wells connected with the brewery drainage system.

These were three in number and situated on a vacant piece of land on the edge of the creek behind the Royal Hotel, Dequetteville Terrace. The fluid was conveyed to them by an iron pipe after percolating through three charcoal pits. Formerly, it was allowed to discharge into the creek and, when the water was high, no objection was made to that arrangement but, as soon as the creek ceased to run, the fluid collected in a series of pools, which emitted a very bad smell and was followed by numerous complaints. It was deemed more than probable that it would be impossible to provide, effectually, for the brewery drainage until deep drainage was installed in the district.

The corporation itself was not without dishonour for it was accused of being a despoiler of the environment:

I broke up a comfortable home in Kent Town last week because the Corporation of Kensington and Norwood persisted in keeping a large liquid manure pit (always open) in a street within a few yards of my dwelling... As for the Botanic Gardens the following 'eye-witness' accounts are an indication of the pollution fed into creeks flowing through Kensington and Norwood:

Impure water [is] allowed to flow from East Terrace into the creek by which the ornamental ponds in the [Botanic] Garden are chiefly fed... So great was the noxious impurity that the fish were said to be lying [dead] in the ponds.

Stagnant water [is] lying about in green pools, full of festering rags and decaying vegetable matter, courtyards with far too many people for the house space and all the dirt, slops and refuse pitched into the open space...

I regret to see typhoid fever has broken out in the Botanic Gardens, and that one of the daughters of the Curator has fallen a victim, the cause of the disease being the foul state of the... waters in the garden.

I have observed the poor half-starved cows... standing by those 'death-giving streams' evidently obliged to drink thereat or die of thirst. How, in the name of all that's good, can the milk and cream be fit for human consumption. No wonder our babies die...

For many years a malodorous cloud of sickening proportions wafted over Norwood and environs from the vicinity of Mr Mehrtens bone mill at Dulwich and, in 1871, the Suburban Nuisance Suppression Society was formed and hastened to declare that it had the said mill in its sights. Mr F. Wurm came to Mr Mehrtens' defence and proclaimed:

If these gentlemen would follow up the stench... they would have found one or more dead horses lying within a few hundred yards of the mill property... I cannot say that he [turns] stone into gold but he merely [succeeds] in equivalent by raising the filth that poisons our backyards into a commercial article... It would do good in the hearts of some of the [complainants] if their families enjoyed such ruddy cheeks and signs of health as the labourers and their families that live on the premises.

Unperturbed, and with a measure of sardonic wit, two Norwood councillors responded:

[It] is one of the most dangerous and abominable nuisances existing in South Australia... during the last hot weather every door and window had to be kept closed [in the district... When the wind blows from the south [the stench] can be [smelt] from Marryatville to East Terrace... We paid a visit to the premises and saw tons of decaying animal matter... The labourers we saw... looked anything but healthy, but perhaps as it was early in the morning they had not inhaled sufficient of the odour to bring the ruddy glow into their cheeks...

Nuisances of the 1880s

I was horrified on awakening this morning to find the Norwood pughole nuisance was upon residents again. The fumes, as of old boots and other evil things burning, pervading bedrooms and all other places. This is, I fear, but a foretaste of the misery which we dwellers in Beulah Road and vicinity are doomed to undergo...

(Register, 22 May 1891, page 7)

By the early 1880s, the town of Kensington and Norwood had a population of 10,000 and there were about 2,150 houses. The scavenging was done on contract and each house was called upon once a fortnight but, unfortunately, many householders were in the habit of throwing refuse into their yards, where decomposing vegetable scraps, and the like, became offensive to both sight and smell.

There was a licensed nightman in the town where the cesspools were required to be deodorised before being emptied and the soil removed to a distance outside the boundary of the local board of health. There remained a few earth closets in fair condition, while a few cesspits were merely holes in the ground.

Household rubbish was emptied into an old pughole on Mr Cox's premises where, at all times, one would be met with an offensive effluvium. The site was most unsatisfactory for many dwellings stood nearby. In many places were to be seen filthy liquids, house slops, soapsuds, *etc.*, draining into the public streets and, as there were no means to carry them away, it stagnated and became a nuisance.

The two creeks running through the municipality were the receptacle for impure liquids and rubbish of every description; kitchen slops, old boots, kerosene and other empty tins were thrown into them and, in one place, there was a closet built on the edge of a creek. The cesspool of this closet had an opening at the back so that the soil, if allowed to overflow, would run into the creek.

Most cowyards and stables were paved indifferently and insufficient attention was given to drainage, for the stones used were uneven and irregular in size, having large spaces between, where offensive liquids lodged and soaked into the ground. An inspection in 1884 resulted in 125 places having defects that required remedial action.

All this was simply intolerable in the presence of disease that was traced directly to preventable nuisances. It was assumed that the quickened vigilance and activity of the officers of the Board of Health would be effective in abating such nuisances, and in repressing the careless and oftentimes thoroughly dirty tendencies of householders, whose nostrils would seem to be proof against the most searching stench. Hence it was clear that such centres should be 'sharply looked after'.

Personalities entered into the debate in 1884 when 'A Ratepayer' of Marryatville took umbrage at the alleged 'vindictiveness' of Lavington Glyde, MP:

Some months ago he was served with a notice by the local board of health to improve the sanitary condition of his premises. This notice he disregarded and repeated remonstrances with him had no effect.

He, 'dressed in the little brief authority of a Minister of the Crown', thought that the local authority would not dare to enforce the recommendations of their health officer, he being only an 'unwise young doctor' and drag an honourable into court about the non-emptying of a miserable cesspit. The sequel showed otherwise, and notwithstanding that he was defended by the wisest being created, *i.e.*, himself, he was fined by the bench in the Norwood Magistrates' Court...

Some weeks after this there was a fatal case of typhoid in Mr Glyde's household; comment on this would be superfluous, but to the minds of most men it will seem that there was every reason for the order of the local authority... Apart from Mr Glyde's house, I know of four cases of typhoid fever which have occurred within the last six weeks within three minutes walk of his residence and one of them has proved fatal...

The sneer at the value of Dr Sprod's unpaid services is uncalled for and suggests to one's mind the price which the country will yet have to pay for the thousand a year services which Mr Glyde has rendered to this colony for the past three years.

It was in this environment that a debate was set in motion and throughout this decade the pros and cons of a deep drainage system were canvassed.

The Deep Drainage Debate

In 1882, a resident of Beulah Road contended that 'the absence of a proper drainage system has been the source of terrible risk' and that the sooner all such dangers were obviated the better. He was also of the opinion that the money proposed to be spent on a new Town Hall would be much more usefully employed in improving the defective arrangements which prevailed:

There has been no attempt whatever to make provision for the drainage from the new habitations which collects in front of the premises in stagnant pools, whose appearance during the hot weather, covered with foul green slime, is disgustingly loathsome and correspondingly dangerous...

Alfred Wigg, also of Beulah Road, expressed his concern at the 'accumulation of filth and slime near Engel's Corner' and castigated the council for the lack of an adequate 'water table':

All that has yet been done was to send a man occasionally to throw the filth on to the road, in doing which he deepens the holes in the gutter and provides for a greater accumulation. Whilst nuisances like this exist typhoid fever is making rapid progress and during last week several cases were brought to my notice...

The debate entered the council chamber in October 1884 when Councillor Lyons, in responding to a flattering invitation to stand for the Mayoralty of Kensington and Norwood, was very careful to guard himself against what he called the 'charge' of having favoured the extension of deep drainage to Norwood and Kensington:

<i>Mr Lyons was asked if he'd put up for Mayor,</i>	<i>All cowyards and stenchs offending the smell,</i>
<i>He accepted at once with a smile,</i>	<i>He would straightway remove from the place,</i>
<i>For he thought that their morals he'd try to repair</i>	<i>And build the Station an extra strong cell</i>
<i>And the Socially Evil beguile.</i>	<i>For the roughs who the highways disgrace.</i>

*A thorough reformer he promised to be -
That's if they'd permit him to try -
'Tis a curious thing that no man can see
Any notes that are in his own eye.*

W.C. Buik also gave his testimony against deep drainage and called attention to the fact that he had elicited from the government a disavowal of any intention to provide for the extension of the system to our district.

Yet, even on the admission of Mr Lyons, some of the residents of the town had to 'swallow up their own drainage in a backyard about the size of a room.' But this was only a small part of the evil that was brought about by the lack of proper facilities. Not only typhoid fever but diarrhoea, dysentery and numberless slighter, but insidious diseases, were brought about by this saturation of the soil, while wells and underground tanks were frequently contaminated.

A deep drainage system had been partially supplied to the city of Adelaide but, to judge from the results attained, there was little doubt it was a healthier place on account of its sewage being disposed of by underground pipes. The smells, that were so strongly objected to earlier in 1884, had all but disappeared and hundreds of citizens lived with much easier minds. In my opinion, at this time neither Councillor Lyons nor Mr W.C. Buik had any reason to plume themselves on their opposition to a solitary provision for promoting public cleanliness and health.

In April 1885, an 'anti deep drainage' meeting was held in the Norwood Town Hall and speakers from the council asserted that deep drainage was not a success in Adelaide and that the sanitary state of Kensington and Norwood rendered such a system unnecessary and a motion to this effect was passed unanimously. The local press were not 'quite sure whether it ought to laugh at or grieve over the speeches made at Norwood last evening.'

It was evident that the prospect of deep drainage disturbed the equanimity of the residents and there was no doubt that, when the speakers saw their remarks in print, they would have regretted that they allowed their prejudices and fears to run away with their judgement. Indeed, a little more reason, and a little less wholesale condemnation, would have been a welcome relief.

But when the members of the corporation set such a bad example, their constituents could have pleaded the precedent they set in extenuation of their own strong and ill-judged remarks.

I entered my protest against the apparent apathy of our council when I wrote to the local press:

Just at present there is an outcry for the initiation of relief works. Like many others I am opposed to any such works unless at the same time their practical utility can be demonstrated, but when, in addition to their utility

and the fact of their giving employment to many good citizens whose children are calling out for bread, it can be proved that they are certain to be reproductive... all that remains is to have them inaugurated at once.

Such a work is that of extending the deep drainage system to the suburban towns of Kensington and Norwood... The only circumstance which prevented it was that 'cursed want of pence' of which Shakespeare speaks...

There are now loan moneys in hand which could be devoted to this purpose and, further, there is a large stock of the necessary pipes, *etc.*, in the government yard.

The people of Kensington and Norwood have opposed the extension of the scheme not because they object to its benefits, but because of the cost. It is not reasonable to ask them to stretch a point in these times and so earn the gratitude of many who would look upon this work as their saviour from the Destitute Asylum?

That the expense would be a burden to them I cannot believe, because of the liberal terms offered by the government for having the cost repaid... Altogether, considering the circumstances of the times, the opportunity for having this work done should not be overlooked...

With the onset of winter in May 1886, complaints were levelled against the amount of pollution carried by the creeks into the River Torrens resulting in the 'benefit of refuse' to the city. A month later it was evident that the Local Board of Health had left no stone unturned to secure a postponement of sewerage works for an indefinite time. It had passed resolutions, sought and obtained the co-operation of the ratepayers, procured reports from its inspector designed to show that there was no justification on sanitary grounds for the enforcement of deep drainage, appealed to the government to take its part, and importuned the Central Board of Health to let it alone.

It was noteworthy that, in a meeting with that body, the Mayor and his colleagues spoke, comparatively, 'with bated breath and whispering bumbledom.' They made no attempt to challenge the question of pollution of the River Torrens, but simply represented the source as trifling, but did not deny that the need existed for better supervision and they undertook, solemnly, that this supervision should be exercised.

The Chairman of the Central Board of Health showed no disposition to give the deputation any quarter. He put it plainly that the issue was between the public health and the local pocket and showed, conclusively, that the attempt to minimise the cost of converting the water courses into ducts for the local drainage proceeded upon utterly false premises.

Another public meeting was held in October 1886 to consider the actions of government 'in forcing the deep drainage into the municipality in opposition to the wishes of the burgesses.' A deputation to the Commissioner of Public Works proved to be abortive. There the matter rested until March 1887 when, at another 'protest' meeting, Councillor Lyons said that ratepayers should reject candidates who might endeavour to thrust taxes upon them for deep drainage, not of necessity, but merely because one section of the community were requiring labour. He concluded by saying that such an idea was 'monstrous in our colony'.

Finally, a motion was passed that 'this meeting form itself into a monster deputation to wait upon the Commissioner of Public Works and the Mayor invite volunteers to canvas the town for signatures to a memorial.'

A month later a 'very large and influential' deputation of property owners and ratepayers descended upon the office of the Commissioner and as to its outcome the press said, "It was a great pity that the government did not take a decisive stand. Indeed, in view of strong representations emanating from the Central Board of Health if the government remained passive it would cripple the Board's effectiveness".

The Government Acts

Tiring of the procrastination of the local corporation and its satellites, in late 1889 the government finally 'grasped the nettle' and gave notice to the corporation that 'three months from the 5th September 1889 the extension of sewers to Kensington and Norwood [will] commence.' Defiant to the last, after a long discussion it was agreed, by four votes to three, to surrender to the demands. In March 1890 it was declared that work would commence on Magill Road and, in October 1891, the Central Board of Health advised that 'a marked improvement had been effected in the general sanitation of the town, due chiefly to the deep drainage system.'

By the end of 1891, 730 premises were connected to the system and 'owners of premises not yet connected were anxious to have the connections made.' A large number of street water channels had been paved and drained, while some of the butchers' premises and cowyards had undergone improvement in regard to paving and drainage. There was evidence of the necessity for more frequent lime washing and cleansing for some of these premises.

However, an inspection of the town at this time revealed a considerable number of nuisances of a more or less serious character. On the premises of R.T. Bansemer, the butcher, the condition of the piggery was filthy, the stench being sickening. At the Catholic Female Refuge, the privies were in a bad state and one of them was overflowing, while the yard space was saturated with soap suds and other drainage.

The urinals at the State school, where there was an average attendance of 940 children, had not received proper attention and were in a foul condition. At St Bartholomew's Day School the urinals were similarly offensive. Privy cesspools, where still in use, were in fairly good order, while nightsoil was disposed of in an olive plantation near Beaumont. The creeks were in a much better state, but a good deal of impure matter still found its way into them from stables, cowyards and other places situated on the banks.

The Situation in 1903

In September 1902, several articles appeared in the local press in respect of sanitation in the city and suburbs and dealt with, in particular, the benefits accruing from systematic inspections organised by the Medical Officer of

Health, Dr T. Borthwick. However, enquiries made during the ensuing twelve months revealed that no more than barely ordinary attention was given to health matters and, excepting the County Board and Port Adelaide, nothing in the way of regular and systematic inspection or organisation was attempted.

Individual action by separate bodies did not conduce to the best results and, in this connection, the East Torrens County Board of Health could be taken as an example. This body was limited in its operations, but in so far as the councils of which it is formed acted together, it did its allotted work more effectively than could possibly be hoped for without its existence.

The inspection of slaughter houses was carried out under the County Board and the carcasses of large cattle examined and passed before being allowed to go out for sale. Every diseased carcass was destroyed by steam under proper supervision. Dairies were also under proper supervision and the officers made an examination of all premises within his control.

From the question of insanitary conditions it was but a step to that of infectious diseases. Adelaide's immunity from serious illness was proverbial. The excellent deep drainage system, that was extended gradually in the thickly populated suburbs, was responsible for a good condition of affairs. But, it was said that 'we must not trade on past records. Plague and smallpox have threatened our doors, while fevers have attacked us mildly.'

How many officers employed by Local Boards of Health are scientifically qualified to act in emergencies?

The advent of the trained nurse has filled a small corner of this void, but much remains to be done. One of these ladies acts under the East Torrens County Board and the Saint Peters Board, so that her district extends practically from the Hackney Bridge to beyond Athelstone, south along the foot of the ranges to Glen Osmond, north-west down Glen Osmond Road to the Parkside Hotel corner and north to the bridge - in all, a total of 68 townships with an area of more than 24 square miles and a total population at the 1901 census of 31,683. She might almost sing a revised version of Corsair's song:

*Far as the roads may lead, my cycle roam,
Survey my empire and behold my home.*

It cannot be said that there is efficient supervision. The distance from one end of the district to the other precludes the possibility of such a suggestion. One nurse can do what is necessary under the infectious diseases clauses of the Act for 30 or 40 thousand people provided she has not to travel too far, and devotes all her time to those causes only.

In respect of disinfection procedures, ten of the councils in the metropolitan area have no appropriate apparatus and the whole equipment for the population of 103,945 outside the City of Adelaide consists of four or five formalin lamps and less than half a dozen sprayers. This really means the authorities are trusting to chance.

Thanks to the *Building Act* and section 123 of the *Health Act* the unsightly clusters of small insanitary cottages in some areas are being demolished, but these provisions apply only to municipal corporations and, consequently, any kind of houses may be put up in areas controlled by district councils.

They may be badly ventilated and lighted and easily become the source of future trouble. How this affects the people may be calculated that some thickly populated suburbs such as Prospect, Walkerville, Mile End, Woodville, Eastwood, North Kensington, Rose Park, Knightsbridge and Keswick are beyond the pale of existing legislation.

Appendix 40

Coach Transport at Norwood

No driver shall smoke any pipe or cigar while driving or attending upon any licensed carriage.

(Register, 22 January 1874, page 5)

Introduction

Coach driving and work in livery stables were among occupations engaged in by some residents of Kensington and Norwood in the early days of settlement but, by the turn of the century, both were on the wane when the motor car and electric tram were introduced. James Chambers was the first cab driver in Adelaide when, in 1840, he operated a 'one horse fly' - a two-wheeled covered carriage. In 1847, James Findley ran a light, four-wheeled carriage with hood (called a phaeton) from a stand in a city street.

Then, in the late 1850s, South Australia witnessed the arrival of the first hansom cabs (the well-known, two-wheel, two-seat, enclosed carriage whose driver sat outside on a high seat at the back and conversed with his passengers through a little trap-door on the roof), but, unlike Sydney, where hansom proved extremely popular, in Adelaide they were generally 'unholy' because of the privacy they afforded flirtatious couples, and so were to be avoided by 'any young man of character' who was 'wary of coquetting with ill-fame'. Instead, the most common cab to be found on the streets of Adelaide was the waggonette, a four-wheeled, six-passenger, covered vehicle drawn by two horses, with a box seat at the front for the driver and ample room for luggage.

A few two-wheeled cabs, more like bakers' carts, than vehicles for the conveyance of human beings, were running; and the four-wheelers on the road were 'dirty inside and let in the rain in torrents when the weather was wet, while others were shaky and rickety.'

The worst of these conveyances disappeared gradually as each licensing day, which occurred every six months, came around. There was considerable liveliness sometimes, for reaching the city was by no means easy. Creeks were deep, bridged at most by slippery logs, while fords were difficult to traverse.

Prior to the opening of the railway to Port Adelaide, the mode of transport to the Port was by spring carts. These started from King William Street, thence to Morphett Street, the driver calling out, 'Port, Sir'. If a load was not forthcoming the driver would return to King William Street and repeat the procedure.

Then, on the second try, if a load was still absent he would return again and say, 'As there is no load you must get out and wait for an hour.' Some of the drivers of those Port carts were noted figures of the times. Tom Shayle, 'Happy' Horrocks and another called 'Kid Glove' Williams, because his chosen best girl, for the time, was in the habit of receiving a present of half-a-dozen pairs of kid gloves.

Local Transport

The first public conveyance from the city to Kensington was a non-licensed spring cart that carried, when opportunity offered, from six to nine passengers at one shilling each; it started for Adelaide from the Robin Hood Hotel on Kensington Terrace (now Portrush Road). In a reminiscent mood, Mr R.K. Threlfall, at a gathering of long-time residents in 1896, recalled that, initially, 'the only conveyance to the city and in which we used to catch colds, was a broken down bus with a poor old animal dragging it and an aged Jehu as driver, who continually reminded his passengers that if they sat a little bit forward or backward it would be better for the horse.'

Later, Mr A.J. Baker appeared on the scene with a coach which he drove from Adelaide round Dr Kent's section, past Bailey Gardens (in modern-day Hackney), through Stepney and Norwood to Kensington. By the close of 1856 the inhabitants had either an omnibus, car or cart, every half hour to and from Adelaide. The fare, which was once a shilling, when the alternative lay between a crowded cart or nothing at all, was then sixpence, with the advantage of a choice of vehicles and seats, inside or outside, as was preferred.

This service was operated by Mr Sharpe, a livery stable keeper in Adelaide, whose buses were heavy but comfortable and, 'from the steps of these, young Kensingtonians had many a tumble when whipped behind in endeavouring to obtain a cheap ride.' I recall that, in the 1860s, Mr W. Vowles Brown 'handled the ribbons' on Kensington Road where he drove the bus 'Robin Hood' and had as fellow-drivers, Frank McGee and John Leslie.

Travel was not without its perils and dangers and, in July 1857, an omnibus, without a driver, was seen careering on the broad footway of The Parade and several pedestrians endeavoured to effectually stop the unrestrained progress of the horses. Further on, two men employed on the road made similar efforts with no better success and the animals passed over the Kent Town bridge, between Rundle Street and Dr Kent's house, and those who followed vainly expected to find the affair had ended in a disastrous capsize.

Happily, however, the runaways, on reaching the creek in the Park Lands, selected a safe crossing place and, proceeding up Pirie Street at a rapid pace, entered the yard of their master's premises (Mr Sharpe) with no more injury to the vehicle than one broken pane. The only passenger was a German lady, who kept her seat with wonderful self-possession and did not hesitate to return in the same omnibus. No blame was attributed to the careful driver (Mr Phillips) who was thrown from his box by an unavoidable collision with a laden dray and was not much hurt by the fall.

In May 1859, one of the most civil and obliging omnibus drivers, while driving through Norwood, was stopped by a lady who, of course, wished to get inside and the driver, very politely, asked one of the 'Lords of Creation' if he would ride outside, to make room for one of the weaker sex; upon which he got out and said he would walk and the driver told him he could do so if he liked. This gentleman was a member of parliament and went at once to Mr Beddome, the magistrate, who took away the poor fellow's licence, thus depriving him of a living.

The conduct of some drivers was of concern to many residents of Kensington in 1867 when they complained to the council as to the 'almost daily occurrence of drunkenness, rioting and fighting, together with the most obscene language, oaths and swearing among those congregating at the Kensington terminus.

Respectable females dared not pass the cab stand, while children were demoralised and local trade injured materially. However, they hastened to add that there were several, highly respectable and well-behaved drivers amongst them who deplored the prevailing state of things.

By 1870, the buses started every ten minutes from the Red Lion Hotel in Rundle Street, whether there were passengers or not, and conveyed passengers to any point on the route for sixpence; the terminus was the Rising Sun Inn, Bridge Street, known in those far off days as 'Black Beck's'.

Of the numerous drivers of these vehicles over a decade or two I can recall 'Tommy' Kempster, 'Johnny' Leslie, Carrington, Frank Mageach (later manager of the Adelaide & Suburban Tramway Company), 'Tommy' Rowe, Northway, Blackeby, Lane (senior), Thomas, Amey and that veteran, Antonio Gannoni, with his celebrated pair of horses, 'Garibaldi' and 'Captain'.

The latter, being an old sailor and their owner, was in the habit of using their reins as he would tiller ropes, one in each hand partly to keep his chargers on their feet, and partly to cause them to pull with their mouths as well as with their shoulders. Thus, in the process of driving he would get through almost as much in the way of exercise as his horses; but the dear old man was very careful of his passengers, for when seated he would, sailor-like, inform them

that there was 'a ketch inside', meaning a swivel lock on the door, so as to prevent them from getting out should they imagine the pacing of his horses too slow. On one occasion, 'Captain' fell down when going up a hill and any student of choice Italian would then have enjoyed himself, simply because the old chap at the helm happened to land on his head.

While these early coaches were licensed to carry a certain number of passengers they could, with impunity, transport ever so many more and, to the best of my knowledge, no drivers ever appeared before the Police Court. They started when they pleased but, in the 1850s, the district constable, not a very military looking man yet good withal, energetic and attentive to his duty, especially in the mornings, acted as timekeeper and despatched the vehicles at ten minute intervals.

The drivers would then run their traps out of the stand, pull off, dodge around Grove Street and Pappin's Corner, then rush on again to grasp a situation more favourable to the ingathering of further fares, legal or otherwise.

If the words of a disgruntled patron are to be believed this 'service' left a lot to be desired for in 1866 he said:

There seems to be about thirty of them on the road and, with few exceptions, they are wholly unfit for the purpose, both as regards the carts, the horses and the drivers. The carts for the main part are rickety to the last degree and when they go into a deeper hole than ordinary a mighty groan issues from the whole fabric... Many of the drivers appear to have an invincible objection to cold water and are given to sundry eccentricities of costume which to say the least are objectionable.

Civility, in their opinion, is tame and monotonous... The drivers commence the day's proceedings by racing down to the stand in twos and threes at the top of the horses' speed, to the great danger of any unfortunate children who may chance to be in the way...

A Protest By a Norwood Cabman

*Dearest Punch - I kño 'you reddý
For to aid the pore man's caws;
Who 'ave been trodden down orful
By the most unjust of lors.*

*I'm a cabman - thio' I say it b
'Onest as the orb uv day.
(Wot that menes I aint kwrite sartin;
But its poickry, so to say.)*

*On the Norwood road I'm runnin'
And I arsk why is this thus -
That theirs one lor for the tramcar,
And another for the bus?*

*I allood to over-crowdin',
Which them tramcars always dus,
And the Bobbies take no notice,
Tho' they quickfy drops on us.*

*By our liesense we ken kerry
Two in front and ten inside;
But we can't exceed that number
Tho' the Kvene should want to ride.*

*For if by chance we picks up
Ov a cupple extree fares,
Specter Shakespeare's low murmiddons
Drops upon us unawares.*

*Where's our vornted British justice,
'Elpin' pore as well as rich.
Her eyes aint so titely bandaged
But she finds out which is which.*

*Then afore the beke - old Beddome -
We are carried up next day;
And for p'raps a extree sickspemce,
Twenty shillun 'ave to pay.*

*But them tramcars - them's the small ones
Eighteen coves supposed to bare,
Offen takes as much as forty,
Wich to us pore chaps aint fare.*

*If for crowdin' cabby's dropt on;
Why should tramway cars go free?
Lors afraid of welthy boddies;
Leastways so it seems to me.*

*Tho they go agin our livin',
For the trams we'd never kare
If they'd show the clene pertater,
And act always on the skware.*

*But with such a 'andicappin',
We ken never get a show,
Why lor's groan so werry parshal,
We would like to kño, you kño'.*

*If the tramcars may be loaded
In an' out as thick as bees,
Why must we be pursykyted?
Dearest Punch, it aint the cheese!*

(The Adelaide Punch, 28 September 1878)

By the late 1870s, it was said that the licensed vehicles were unique 'both from their extreme ugliness and their utter want of comfort.' In King William Street, about the Gresham Corner [the present site of the AMP Society], a number of Irish jaunting cars stood which were 'with the quadrupeds and drivers, most perfect likenesses of the dilapidated "turnouts" which used to play an important part in the famous sketches of John Leech.'

Some drivers insisted on having their vehicles full before leaving the stand unless they had stood there the allotted ten minutes and, after departure, they were obliged to refuse many on the line of route. In 1874, there were 372 licensed vehicles in Adelaide and 415 in 1878.

One peculiarity was the number of two-horse vehicles engaged in the trade; in other colonies one-horse cabs were normally used for ordinary traffic, and as the number of horses to be maintained was thereby reduced by one-half, the horse was kept in much better condition. The reason for the local departure from this standard was the frequency of trips into the hills which were more remunerative than street trade.

There were a few hansom cabs, some in a dilapidated condition; in Melbourne this type of conveyance retired from the streets when business men left their place of work and was not seen plying at night. This did not happen in Adelaide and it was certain that they were connected 'directly or indirectly with proceedings which are no honour to our city.' These vehicles would scarcely bear inspection by the light of day and their owners were 'importunate, insolent and profane... and are virtually touters for those with whom they have allied themselves.'

The Adelaide terminus seemed to suit everybody's convenience but, in July 1873, there arose a certain Councillor - Wigg by name - who lived not in Norwood, but in North Adelaide. This mighty potentate kept a shop on the other side of the road and, as he fancied that the Norwood vehicles somewhat obscured the views of his wares, he moved that from henceforth only one vehicle should be allowed to stand at one time.

Having gained this much Councillor Wigg might well have been satisfied; but no. Having thrust in the thin edge of the wedge he determined to drive it home, and he discovered, accordingly, that the presence of even one vehicle in Rundle Street had an injurious effect upon his business, and succeeded in getting the stand removed altogether from Rundle Street to the northern end of King William Street.

Apparently, there was no suggestion emanating from the corporation that Mr Wigg was faced with a conflict of interest when pursuing the coachmen, but the residents of Kent Town, Norwood and Kensington, concerned that the new site was in the centre of a very wide street, and as such a great risk to patrons while crossing over to the stand, memorialised the corporation for an immediate restoration of the original site, while the editor of *The Irish Harp* concluded that it was intolerable that a single shopkeeper should thus have the power of overriding the interests of a whole community. In their wisdom the City fathers decided to relocate the cab stand at the corner of Grenfell and King William Streets.

By 1875, about 40 cabs ran every ten minutes and endeavoured to satisfy the travelling wants of the neighbourhood but, with the imminent introduction of horse trams, the demise of the coaches had started and the Editor of the *Express & Telegraph* expressed the opinion that:

In the hot weather it is not pleasant travelling inside these coaches and in the cold weather the passengers are exposed to all sorts of disagreeable draughts. There is, therefore, abundant room for an improved mode of travelling... and there can be little doubt that a tramway properly managed would be well patronised and adequately supported.

Thus, these cabs endeavoured to compete but, by 1882, the tram cars departed every five minutes, and before and after business hours at an interval of three minutes, each carrying forty passengers.

The Autobiography of a Norwood Bus

Human life is under certain circumstances held very cheap in South Australia... Thirty or forty omnibuses racing home along a narrow road and cutting each other out at street corners is [considered to be] the proper way to conclude a picnic...

(Register, 22 April 1870, page 4)

A satirical piece on the threatened demise of coach transport to the district appeared in the press in July 1877 and I reproduce it hereunder, in part:

'My American cousin, the wonderful "one-horse shay" has been immortalised in verse, and why should I not attempt to earn for myself a somewhat similar distinction by narrating the history of my career in prose. Born so long ago that I have quite forgotten the date, and turned out as bright and shining as yellow and green could make me...

'Year succeeded year and the monotony of my existence, relieved only by an occasional trip to the Bay or the Hills, grew wearisome to me... My driver no longer took any pride in my appearance and the miserable horses that dragged me along looked as though they were attending their own funeral.

'I have been run into in King William Street, upset in Rundle Road, my wheel came off in Kensington and my splashboard dropped down in The Parade; passengers began to avoid me; ladies, who in times gone by hired me and declared I was the most comfortable bus on the stand, now took themselves and their children and parcels to the neat conveyance.

'Even Inspector Ray ceased to beam on me, but looked askance and threatened to report me at the next Council; and so at last, and as rickety and as creaky as was possible without absolutely collapsing altogether, it was determined that I should return to the place where I was born and undergo renovation...

'I emerged once more into the world... but still my owner took me very carefully over the stones and spoke so well of me that I knew he wanted to sell me. He didn't do it though and things jogged along with me much the same as usual, excepting that the infirmities incidental to age began again to show themselves and there is no resurrection for a thoroughly used-up old bus like me.

'When one day news came to Norwood that a tramway was to be constructed and that all the buses would be run off the road, I didn't believe it - not that it would take any very hard running to get the better of most of us - but tramways cost money and the Norwoodites don't like to part with theirs, and then there was the Corporation to be consulted and they, bless their dear old bodies, are almost always the very last to encourage what the world calls progress.

'People said that all the shares were subscribed for; a good many of us thought it was only a broker's yarn - we couldn't and we wouldn't believe it. We had become an institution. Inspector Ray said that if only one of the tram-cars came on the road he'd have it up quick sticks before Beddome as a nuisance and that he'd even give up detective duty and leave off watching the milk-woman's cows to enforce the strict penalties of the law against so monstrous an innovation. We felt reassured for had he not been our faithful, though stern, friend for many a long year?

'Rumours reached us from all sorts of sources about all kinds of things in connection with this matter, but we rumbled along the uneven tenor of our ways, having faith in one another and having faith in Ray, till one day, just about noon, eight huge cases were drawn up the Parade in solemn procession, and a man came rushing up to the bus stand shouting, "They have come!" "Who? What?" said everybody at once - "The Russians?" "No!", replied the bearer of ill tidings, "The Tramcars from America." The shock finished me. I dropped to pieces where I stood and one of my wheels ran over the driver's toe and made him swear. I couldn't help it; I never bore him any ill-will, for he was stuck to me, as I may say through wheel and "wo", all my life.

'If it had been the promoter of the tramway I should have died happy. I am to be sold as I lie, cheap; but although a wreck, I am honest. I haven't taken Sunday-school children to treats so many times not to have learnt that, and from the depths of my honest though blighted heart I warn you, don't buy me unless you happen to want firewood.'

Appendix 41

The Refuges of Norwood

A mother, deserted by her husband and unable to find work, went 'on the streets' and 'sold her soul' for the sake of her three children. A Christian Police Court...rewarded her with 21 days imprisonment and took her babes from her. Why bother a heart and torture a mind... Is there no room for mercy?

(Advertiser, 18 April 1921, page 5)

Introduction

Until the late 1850s, the journals of the mother-country teemed with articles on what may be called the especial evils of great towns and cities and upon the means by which the evil could be corrected. The evil still continued to exist and may be said, perhaps, to have been abated very little.

Like occult diseases of the human frame, it is reached with great difficulty and, when reached, is most difficult of remedy; and the more clearly it is detected the more resolutely it strives to hide itself from notice and from remedial means.

Notwithstanding this, Christian feeling and, indeed, the commonest benevolence, will not rest from effort to extricate those who are, in the first place, often the thoughtless and, at a further stage, very frequently the repentant, as well as the reluctant, victims of the evil in question.

And many are the cases in which those who were lost to virtue, to self-respect and to all real happiness, have been reclaimed and become valued and respected in the positions in which they were placed. Unfortunately, South Australia has not been free from this blight and curse of older countries.

Adelaide was, and is, marked by the same great evil, not perhaps in the low form in which it has exhibited itself in lands more peopled and less affluent. By the late 1850s, public feeling was stirred to its profoundest depths in Victoria in relation to this matter. Meeting upon meeting was held, leader after leader appeared in the public journals; correspondence, column upon column, was inserted in the daily newspapers as to the magnitude of the evil and the means by which it might be removed.

While this public agitation was going on so near at hand, with but little practical result, South Australia opened, within the precincts of Adelaide, an institution projected by benevolent persons and supported by voluntary public subscription.

The Norwood Female Refuge - The Beginnings in Adelaide

The catalyst for the foundation of this charitable body was a letter written by Archbishop Augustus Short in July 1856 in which he said:

Cannot something be done for the unhappy destitute females who having been tempted and betrayed are yet in many cases not utterly lost to shame and principle?

Late on Friday afternoon I was accosted by a poor Irish girl from Limerick who, according to her own account, had neither home nor shelter for the night, nor money, nor employment, nor a friend, to whom she could apply!

I had her go to the Relieving Officer of the Depot. She admitted her fall and said it was shut against her. I bade her to seek her former mistress. She did not want her, she said; and every respectable family was now closed against her. She had been denied assistance, no doubt with reason, by her pastors.

There was nothing in this girl's manner or story to make me think her habitually depraved. The appearance of her face did not testify against her.

Many a sad sigh she heaved, as if a memory of the past and present lay heavy at her heart; and I confess I gave her the means to pay for a lodging and advised her to seek her former mistress and beg her for the love of God to save her from the streets.

My heart sank within me at the thought how desperate was the portion of that poor soul; how little chance she had of escaping the wiles of Satan; how many of her own country and other poor girls have fallen into the like sin; and little could I be surprised if self-destruction or child-murder were the result of so much misery from within and without.

If the Destitute Board cannot, will not, or ought not to, relieve such cases, should there be some asylum - some penitentiary - some bridewell - to which they might voluntarily consign themselves and be rescued from utter degradation?

If Christian charity leads the way, might not some aid be granted from the coffers of the State to assist so benevolent an object? Or must Caesar's things be wholly devoted to 'reproductive' money-making works?

On 8 July 1856, at a meeting attended by many influential colonists, it was resolved that 'an institution be formed for the reception and reformation of fallen women'. This was followed by a public meeting on 4 August 1856 at the Female Immigration Depot, where Governor Richard MacDonnell occupied the chair in the presence of representatives from 'every denomination in the colony.'

In the course of a speech, His Excellency intimated that there 'could be no greater claim on the sympathies of man than the claim of poor women degraded and reduced by the misconduct and selfishness of man.' He went on:

In a young colony like this... I regret that there should be circumstances in its history, which I should not have expected to meet in a colony of such recent foundation. Nevertheless, we must take things as we find them.

Human nature is the same here as elsewhere; and although I am one of those who consider that the less interference there is of the charity of the State with private charity, the less occasion there will be for the exercise of charity - the less the State endeavours to relieve destitution the more the people will exert themselves to retrieve their position and escape by their own labour from the evils of destitution.

Still when we find either destitution or misery existing among us - when we meet such objects as the Lord Bishop has elsewhere so well and feelingly called attention to in our streets - Then, although as Governor I might not think the time come for State interference, I see, as an individual, no reasons why private charity may not usefully intervene. As a private individual I will be happy to support the institution...

The following resolution was carried:

That the management of the Institution be entrusted to a President, Vice-President and a committee of twelve laymen and that His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief be the President, the Lord Bishop of Adelaide, Vice-president, and the following gentlemen form the committee - G.F. Angas, N. Blyth, Captain Bagot, Sheriff Boothby, Dr Duncan, W. Giles, Dr Gosse, Dr Moore, Dr Moorhouse, Major O'Halloran, G. Tinline and Dr Wooldridge; and all ministers of religion who subscribe to the Institution be *ex-officio* members of the Committee.

The South Australian Female Refuge

'To raise the fallen and by placing them in healthy surroundings of an institution controlled by Christian influences lead them into paths of probity.'

This was the main object for which this refuge was inaugurated. It came into existence in 1856 when property was acquired in Norwood at the corner of William Street and Sydenham Road. This served requirements until 1892 when a substantial, and up-to-date structure, was erected adjacent to the old building at a cost of £800.4s. Towards the close of 1856 furniture was procured, Mrs Birt installed as Matron and the first inmates admitted on 19 December. In the first twelve months twenty females sought asylum, seven of whom were under 20 years and two under 17 and in the first annual report it was said:

It is submitted that the opportunity of offering an asylum... is cheaply purchased... There is reason to believe that want of sufficient employment for the inmates in the earlier part of the year frustrated the wishes of the committee in the opening stage of the institution.

Experience has shown the difficulty of influencing for good even a small body of inmates, with passions inflamed, unrestrained tempers and much unoccupied time. The means of separation and retirement are not at the disposal of the committee and collision of excited feelings led to the voluntary retirement of some from this house in the early part of the year...

By 1870, the refuge was 'languishing for want of funds' while the need for it to continue its work was evident by the fact that there were between 200 and 300 prostitutes operating in Adelaide and suburbs:

Like the foul weed *diandragora*, which fattened and flourished in unclean spots, the social evil has grown in Adelaide to dimensions which might almost appal cities which have grown old in iniquity... The time has come when the rulers of this flourishing land should open the door behind which the skeleton is hidden, and explore that mine of sin and disease which is a scandal and a shame to all.

By April 1870 the refuge had 19 inmates, inclusive of two infants, and no more could be taken in and even those in the house could no be maintained while a heavy debt of £100 existed. Indeed, it was to be regretted that no more than 67 citizens could be found to help maintain the refuge.

Since the opening of the facility 70 women had been restored to society of whom 14 had married respectable workmen; four returned to their parents in England; seven to parents in the colony, while five left to join relations in Melbourne. Several had left for domestic service in other colonies while, to the best knowledge of officers of the refuge, none of the others who had left had returned to the way of life which they had forsaken.

With the advent of 1873, the refuge was continuing its good work in an unostentatious manner. Of course, it was a deplorable fact that the form of vice known as the social evil had attained huge proportions in the city - not more huge, perhaps, as compared with the population in other cities of Australia, but still large enough to awaken the grave concern of the moral and benevolent portions of the community:

What the drink-debased Helot slaves were to the children of their Spartan masters, the unfortunate creatures, both female and male, who are found crowding these haunts of vice should prove to any one who sees them in their wretched lurking-places.

Here are to be found herded together young girls just entering womanhood, if their life can be called womanhood; vile old harridans worn out in the service of Satan... Men and women sunk to the level of brutes - or rather beneath that level, for no members of the animal kingdom would look so utterly debased...

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the various ways in which the ranks of street-walkers were replenished but, perhaps in this colony, there were special circumstances tending to promote this form of vice. The absence from many homes of proper restraint and training and the unwatched liberty allowed to girls too young to have learnt discretion was, and still is, the cause of improper intimacies, which lead to the saddest consequence.

The factory system, then extending in the colony, helped to increase the number of our social outcasts or, at any rate, there was a danger of doing so. The work was comparatively light and attracted many young girls who were thrown together without any effective moral supervision.

‘Among so many there were some of doubtful purity, whose example under the surroundings of factory life spread contagion - the wages were not high but the love of dress developed unhealthily. The practice of girls under such circumstances taking rooms and living together, without the protection of a staid companion, was also decidedly dangerous.’

Therefore, the first care of the philanthropic was to endeavour to check the evil at its source - to place safeguards around and elevate the moral tone of the class so peculiarly liable to be led astray from the paths of virtue. Seeing that the streets were filled with unfortunates, it was highly desirable that the Norwood Female Refuge continue to receive those outcasts who became weary of their degenerate lives.

Indeed, the refuge has gladdened many a home by restoring an erring daughter to the family hearth, has rescued many a poor unfortunate from a career of confirmed viciousness, and reclaimed even some of the lowest of the low from their life of wretchedness to the path of honest industry. With singularly limited means it accomplishes a fair measure of practical good.

After twenty-one years of operations, the refuge had taken in 522 members of the unfortunate class and a large proportion of them had been reclaimed. Yet the resources of the society were small for, during that year receipts totalled only £570, of which £191 was derived from work done by inmates; public subscriptions amounted to only £203. When considering the wealth of the city and the extent of the evil, which the society endeavoured to mitigate, its exertions were not supported as they should have been.

In respect of prostitution in the late 1870s, police raids were made from time to time and magistrates could only imprison offenders for two or three months and when their terms expired they returned to their old haunts. In many instances their conduct was so bad that even the owners of houses in which they lived could not endure their conduct and drove them homeless into the streets.

None of them could be taken into the Destitute Asylum and none of them would avail themselves of the refuges. Consequently, they resorted to the ‘Willows’, a haven for ruffians on the banks of the River Torrens contiguous to the gaol:

Under the willows are traces of humanity; scraps of American cloth to keep off damp from those who lie on the ground, parts of old bags, old canvas, and other rubbish make the furniture of one of the plague-spots of Adelaide... Thieves, prostitutes, drunken bushmen and loafing casuals from all quarters share the public lands in common, and in the warm weather prefer them to the poisonous atmospheres of those dens which generally harbor them. The women are - what they are - besides being thieves, and the men live upon whatever these miserable creatures are able to earn or steal for them.

The Song of the Willows

By a Vagrant

*You may talk of your hoaks, helms, hashes and beeches,
And sing if you like of your greenwood tree;
You may make about gums fine long-winded speeches,
But the Willows! Ah! them is the bushes for me.*

*The 'Willows! The beautiful wavin' willows,
As grow by the river so cool and clear,
On whose sands we larrikins make our pillows
And list to the bull frogs boomin' near.*

*All you gentlemen fine in well-furnished houses,
You ladies wot sleeps on your beds of down,
Precious little you know of the tribe as carouses
'Neath the Willows at night not a mile from Town.
The Willows, the aristocratic Willows,
As shelters the vagabond damp or dry,
'Neath whose drooping branches we make our pillows,
And snore out of sight of the policeman's eye.*

*But it's hard that the sweet and sylvan seclusion,
Where lovers of nature have made their home,
Should be subject at times to the sudden intrusion
Of the force who unmasked to the Willows oft come.
The Willows, the handy convenient Willows,
The nest of us birds when times are hard
Where we're roused some nights from our cozy pillows,
And marched in a troop to the station yard.*

*But beak Beddome poor folks won't go for to punish
For sleepin' houtside in the air its plain,
No, our gang to take care he'll mildly admonish,
And then let us sneak back to the Willows again.
The Willows! the classical rural Willows,
The lodging of idleness, vice and crime;
Where society's outcasts seek their pillows,
From midnight's chime until morning prime.*

*Oh! but seldom so close to the crowded city
Such pleasant retreats philosophers find,
And I think 'pon my word 'tis truly a pity,
That there are not a dozen resorts of the kind.
The Willows, the arbour-like weepin' Willows,
The lower ten's quarter genteel and cheap,
'Neath whose slender branches we make our pillows,
And tiddle and gamble and swear and sleep.*

Final Chorus by the Club

*The Willows! the rogue-hiding shameful Willows,
That hang o'er the tainted, polluted stream,
Oh! citizens say on your nightly pillows
Of this plague-spot, do you never dream?*

(Observer, 2 March 1878, p. 12)

By 1883, it was disheartening for those actively engaged in promoting the reclamation of fallen women to be informed that the funds of the refuge had dwindled down to £18, the cause being attributed mainly to the depression which had become general and prevented many friends of the institution from making their customary contributions. An application to the government for financial assistance was refused. In September 1885, I called at the refuge when the matron reminisced as to how it carried out its work on behalf of 'fallen women':

We go among the street waifs in their own homes every two weeks and try to persuade them to abandon their mode of living. From house to house we go reading to them and asking them to lift up their voices in prayer to Him, who never turns away from the voice of the suppliant for mercy. We pray them to bestir themselves and to endeavour to abandon their sad, shameful calling.

Unfortunately, we have only a small house and, therefore, cannot take in as many as we would wish to. In the case of young girls who are enceinte we take them into the refuge and then, just before their accouchement, we remove them to the Lying-in Home of the Destitute Asylum, where they remain for six months.

They are there found situations, but if they lose their places we again take them with their children into the retreat and keep them until we can find them another place, so that they can always regard this institution as their home...

We take in laundry work and the inmates receive 50 per cent of the profits, to be used for dress, the other 50 per cent going towards the maintenance of the institution.

Enter the Salvation Army

In August 1885, the Salvation Army intimated that it intended to establish a 'Rescued Sisters' Home' at Norwood and many deprecated divided effort and suggested it would be wiser to set apart a building for a temporary retreat in the city.

At the time there were two refuges in the suburbs and one of them had done very good work in the past.

The Salvation Army's appeal, written by Major Henry Thurman is worthy of reproduction:

For a long time we have had a desire to do something for our poor outcast sisters, of which there are so many in Adelaide, but knowing that others were making an effort to rescue them we have withheld from doing anything out of our ordinary way. We have sometimes met with the poor girls at our meetings and have seen them shed bitter tears of repentance and express a strong desire to give up the unnatural life they are now living, but the difficulty has been we have had no place to put them in, and reform they cannot whilst continuing to live among their old associates.

My heart has sometimes well-nigh broken when walking down the streets and seeing young girls who were once pure, standing at the corners with every trace of purity gone, and the picture of despair and death stamped on their young faces. I have gone home and cried mightily to God on their behalf and when that noble band of ladies (God bless them!) started out on their midnight errand of mercy my heart went out in gratitude to God and prayed earnestly that he would bless the undertaking and crown their efforts with success.

But, alas! how greatly disappointed. They succeeded... in getting the girls together and several of them expressed their desire to reform but, as before mentioned, they had no place of shelter to offer them and were compelled reluctantly to send them back to their old haunts.

This has gone home to the heart of myself and some of my comrades in the Salvation Army, and we have resolved, and that at once, to open a home, where the poor girls, who are tired of their sinful and wretched life, can go and have a chance to lead a new life of virtue, respectability and usefulness.

We have succeeded in securing a larger home in William Street, Norwood... and we shall open immediately. We intend to do away with everything that has the appearance of a prison. The Home will be under the control of a kind-hearted Christian matron, who will do her utmost to make girls happy and feel they have some one to love and care for them.

We shall not encourage laziness, but habits of industry, whilst in the Home and when the girls are considered to be in a fit state to be trusted away from it will be sent to respectable situations, some of which are already provided.

We have commenced this great undertaking in the name of the living God and we appeal to [citizens] to assist us by sending donations of money, furniture, food, clothing, *etc.*

I have alluded previously to the Roman Catholic Refuge at Norwood which had also been the means of rescuing some of the fallen sisterhood and of directing them aright. But all had not been done that might have been done. The Protestant body had decided upon increasing the accommodation offered at their retreat and that in itself showed that there was room for further effort.

This effort to be successful had to be united and there should have been no importation of sectarian prejudices into an undertaking which was purely philanthropic. Perhaps Major Thurman of the Salvation Army could have brought his 'Home' at Norwood into connection with the 'Retreat' at Walkerville, for the religious differences were not so great as to preclude the presence of a Salvation Army Major on the Board, which included representative men of all Protestant bodies.

However, there was a question outside of the establishment or enlargement of refuges in the suburbs. The recent successful endeavour of a band of noble women to bring together some of the unfortunate brought to light the inadequacy of the existing system and the potentialities for a system which would include the institution of a 'shelter' in the strongholds of vice.

Those good women should have been able to say to the fourteen members of the sad sisterhood who gathered around them: 'Come away from your wretched life and sad associations. You have far to go. There is a shelter close at hand where you may escape the temptations of the night.'

I would have been the last to make little of the effects of prayer and religious teaching, but something more was needed.

By all means let the unfortunate be told of the higher life in the next world but, if practical good was to be done then lift them out of their miserable way of life here. It must have been hard to send those, in whom sympathetic words may have recalled memories of better days, and of a purer life, back to the evil which then pressed on them.

The momentary impressions which earnest words can make must fade away when the girl to whom they are addressed knows that if she will not be homeless that night she must continue on her evil course. The jeers of companions and the seductions of drink will drown the better feelings and the woman, who might easily have been persuaded to enter a 'Shelter', but has but sunk lower in the depths of moral and physical degradation.

At the time, opinions were ventured that the citizens of Adelaide would come forward readily to help in any scheme aimed at rescuing the victims of the social evil. Dr Mayo, who was always forward in the cause of philanthropy, promised £100 towards the establishment of a temporary refuge in the city for victims but, of course, it was absolutely necessary for the public to understand clearly the aims and objects of such an institution.

I quote from a newspaper of the day:

The 'Shelter' should not be a substitute for the operation of the 'Female Refuge'. It is entirely distinct from these, and aims not at being a permanent home but a temporary retreat. Readers have often heard of sad cases in which women and girls have been driven to shame from sheer destitution.

They have no homes to go to and everything seemed harsh and cold to them. If they had only known that there was a shelter for them close at hand, where loving hands would help them and kind hearts feel for them, they would never have joined the miserable army of unfortunates. But while such as these would find in the 'Shelter' relief from destitution, the institution would be mainly useful in affording a temporary retreat to those who have already fallen.

Those familiar with the aspects of our streets at night have been grieved to see numbers of young girls - mere children - among the sisterhood.

Cannot these be reclaimed? Should not efforts be made to revive their natural purity not yet deadened wholly by vice? And what would be the use of exciting in them better feelings if they were afterwards to be left to their fate?

The temporary home for 'tonight' receive many poor girls who, wearied and sick of their wretched life, have yet not the courage to come in broad daylight and claim a home.

The better impulses which have been awakened may have vanished and the failure to go right sent them further wrong. If this Shelter was established it would receive many who are received nowhere now.

Next morning the fallen woman could be taken to the refuge in the suburbs and placed in a way of living honest lives, be taken in hand by ladies too sympathetic to treat them with harshness and too wise to repel them by a parade of patronage, or ill-timed efforts at proselytising.

We are satisfied that much more can be done in luring those who have fallen back from virtuous paths by providing them with the nearest possible approach to the comforts and varied occupations of well-ordered home life where, as a necessity, the routine of duty is monotonous.

William R. Andrews, the Honorary Secretary of the SA Female Refuge at Norwood, addressed the question in an open letter to the local press:

I see... that Major Thurman of the Salvation Army, in his zeal for the recovery of the fallen and outcast has taken steps for establishing another female refuge in William Street, Norwood.

I cannot but regard this as an ill-advised step for the purpose he has in view. The result will be that we shall have two refuges placed comparatively side by side, based upon precisely the same principles and the support of each proportionately weakened. But this is not the only objection.

At present we have a certain hold upon such inmates of our Home as may be disposed to lawless or outrageous conduct by the threat of expulsion and in extreme cases, of final exclusion. But this wholesome influence will be rendered almost void by the knowledge that there is another refuge at hand to which after flight or expulsion they may when it suits them, resort with a clean bill of conduct.

Thus the tendency will be to make both institutional places of 'temporary accommodation' rather than refuges for the victims. I speak from experience, for I have observed that to a certain extent this difficulty crops up between ourselves and the Roman Catholic Refuge; much more will it do so between the Protestant Refuges.

I cannot help suspecting that while the arch-enemy is coming in like a flood, he has not forgotten his old famous device of 'divide and conquer'.

Churches think they must differ upon doctrine and upon worship; but if there is any one thing in which a broad and united front should be presented, it is resistance to this terrible evil, and we have proved that it can be presented by a union upon the broadest Christian and philanthropic grounds. We want it indeed more extended, but not less united.

There is some respect due to age. An institution which has held on its steady course for some eight-and-twenty years cannot be without some valuable experience in comparison with one that is just starting. Why, then, not enlarge and strengthen the one rather than divert attention to another?

We have already the plans for, and are about making an appeal to the benevolent public to help us in the enlargement, so long desired of our present premises.

If Major Thurman's proposal succeeds we shall just be that much further off from accomplishing our purpose, with the additional detriments already hinted at. If it were proposed to start another refuge for the important purpose of classification the question would be altered.

But I think I am right in assuming that the Salvation Army would throw their house open to similar characters to those which resort to the present one.

Upon the whole I infer that there is no principle at stake to justify this division of interests, as in the cases of the Roman Catholic refuge and the retreat at Walkerville. What we do immediately want in these dark times is some place of temporary refuge, having its own distinctive character, to be erected amid the scenes of vice.

It is not our purpose to discuss the management of the Refuges, or to enter into questions as to the possibility of adoption of a system of cottage homes or of boarding-out for the benefit of the unfortunates. What we have to deal with is the 'Shelter'.

Besides being what we have already pointed out, it should be established on a non-sectarian footing. It should be upon an entirely catholic basis and be maintained purely in the interests of humanity... But these two points

should be essential - first, that the 'Shelter' shall not act in rivalry to existing institutions and, secondly, that no distinctions of creed shall be made.

Conclusion

While all those connected with the founding of the home of refuge have passed away, the inspiration for service still remains and that which I feel to be a work for God and humanity is still carried on with, sometimes discouragement, but also with gleams of success which are heartening.

In no spirit of self-glorification would those in charge speak of what has been accomplished, for their only desire is to exercise a tender ministry of helpfulness to those who claim their aid and who give the opportunity of being led into ways of virtue and usefulness. Reformation is the object of the refuge and the teaching and training given is with the earnest desire that not only those sheltered be taught the domestic arts satisfactorily, but that restored characters shall be developed and Christian lives evolved that shall stand the test later on.

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not mention Mrs John Harvey, a matron of the refuge since 1864, who died in office in July 1902, aged 71 years.

She was born in Scotland and, shortly after coming to South Australia, married the late John Harvey. While yet a young wife she lost her partner and, on the recommendation of Bishop Short, the then Bishop of Adelaide, she took charge of the refuge.

Her influence over the inmates and those she sought to rescue to a better life was great and she will always be remembered with affectionate regard. It is not too much to say that hundreds in the colony during the long course of her efficient and sympathetic management of the refuge, have reason to bless her memory for help and the encouragement afforded them in their time of need.

The Roman Catholic Refuge at Norwood

In 1868, the Reverend Julian Tenison Woods, with some assistance from benevolent persons, established, under the sanction of the Bishop, a refuge for fallen women, the establishment being placed under the management of the Sisters of St Joseph.

A pamphlet issued in the 1870s says:

A house was taken for the purpose in Franklin Street, but it was soon found ill-adapted both in size and arrangement for carrying out the objects of the institution. Early [in 1869] it was removed to Mitcham and subsequently to Norwood...

This property comprised a large house and outbuildings, once owned by Mr E.J. Peake, SM, also a two-storey section a little distance away, and a smaller house containing five or six rooms.

Although they have done much in reclaiming persons, who had devoted themselves to evil lives, much more could be done in the same direction if they had sufficient means. For a long time after the refuge was founded the inmates did not earn sufficient to cover the expenses of the house and the Sisters were indebted to many friends, Catholic and Protestant, for substantial aid.

I might mention that no one who applies for admission is refused. Religion is made no test of fitness; all that is required is orderly conduct and conformity to the rules of the house. The nuns in charge (generally eight) are with the inmates at all times, day and night, so that contamination is reduced to the smallest amount.

The work performed is principally washing and ironing, but some are instructed in needlework as far as the conveniences of the establishment allow. The refuge has no endowment and the premises are occupied, with a right of purchase.

At one time the nuns received some inmates whose friends contributed to their support. It was found necessary, however, to discontinue the practice, because in some cases those who were paid for did not consider themselves bound to share in the routine work, and so interfered with or interrupted the general discipline of the institution.

One problem encountered was the conduct of certain youths and men who were in the habit of prowling about the premises at all hours of the night, whistling, uttering obscene language and making other signals with a view of enticing the inmates to come out to them. Some of the intruders even went as far as to climb over the fence and call certain persons by name.

It was well known to the Sisters that the task of reforming women who had betaken themselves into an abandoned course of life was, under the most favourable of circumstances, an exceedingly difficult one, and the conduct of those who endeavoured to obstruct the pious work seemed nothing less than diabolical.

The ruffians were warned by public notice that if the annoyance continued a vigilance committee would be formed and 'some fine evening they may suddenly find themselves in the hands of a few stalwart Irishmen, in which case they will not want for a belabouring or a good sousing in the creek which runs through the neighbourhood... If the scoundrels are wise they will take this hint and transfer their night ramblings to "fresh woods and pastures new".'

I have written elsewhere of the primitive drainage facilities at the Catholic Female Refuge and tragedy was to strike in August 1886 when a 15 months old boy, son of an inmate, was drowned in a drain on the premises. At the time soapsuds and waste water were conveyed into pits about 30 feet long, three feet wide and about three feet deep. When one pit was full, earth was thrown in together with a quantity of carbolic acid and lime and a fresh pit was dug in another portion of the enclosure. The excavation into which the child fell was full of soapsuds and by no means free from unpleasant odour.

It was said that the health of the inmates had always been remarkably good and that the system of drainage was the only one they could adopt as they were, very properly, not allowed to drain into the creek. At the inquest Dr

Hayward stated that the drains were most dangerous owing to the number of children in the refuge, but was undecided as to whether they were injurious to health.

The newspaper report published by the *Register* of the tragedy was considered to be most 'ungenerous' by the Church hierarchy and suggested it had been made 'without the slightest enquiry as to the facts of the case... ', while one individual 'slandered the whole community' but, fearing the law of slander apologised the next day.

As for the newspaper, it regretted it had been 'made use of by a juror', but the Church was left wondering as to why it had not sought out the Sisters at the refuge and 'seen for themselves' before penning such a 'venomous slander as the sub-leader.'

A spokesman for the Church said that this was the first time he had found fault with the press in regard to their institutions and hoped it would be the last.

Appendix 42

The Kensington and Norwood Ovals

Kensington Oval

The history of this recreation ground in the nineteenth century reveals that, among its suburban counterparts, it has the distinct honour of having had three official opening ceremonies over a period of some fourteen years. As discussed in another chapter, an amalgamation of two local sporting clubs had as its prime purpose the formation of an Oval and, to this end, twenty acres of land were purchased and, by 1874, eight acres had been planted with couch grass as a central oval. In the proper season it was planned to lay out the remainder as walks, in the form of avenues, under the supervision of Dr Schomburgk of the Botanic Gardens, who proffered his services gratuitously.

His Excellency, the Governor, was invited to open the oval but inclement weather intervened until, finally, on 10 July 1874, Mr Lavington Glyde, conducted the ceremony. From the outset its management committee encountered problems and, principally due to the difficulty in obtaining water to prepare a good pitch, it did not become popular; indeed, at one time, it was deemed necessary to dispose of it altogether to clear off outstanding liabilities which had reached one thousand pounds.

However, Mr E.T. Smith, president of the controlling body, offered to pay off the outstanding debts on condition that the Kensington and Norwood Corporation become trustees to control and govern the Oval in perpetuity.

This proposal did not meet the views of the majority and the matter remained *in status quo* until April 1881 when several gentlemen connected with cricket met to consider the best method of putting the Oval into proper order for cricketing purposes and, after visiting the ground, they decided to approach the trustees with a view to selling the southern portion and expending the proceeds in extinguishing accumulated liabilities.

This course was assented to and a residual amount of two hundred and fifty pounds was put aside for the erection of a pavilion.

At the same time the Kensington and Norwood Cricketing Association was formed and consisted of the following members - Messrs. A. Crooks, W.H. Phillips, R. Hall and H.R. Perry (the then trustees of the ground), A.J. Diamond, W. Sowter, C.C. Gooden, A. Vaughan, A.S. Jepson and P. Wood. 'An excellent ground man was secured in the person of Stavely, who [did] his utmost to get good wickets, but unfortunately operations were begun too late...'

The Oval was formally opened by the Mayor of Adelaide, Mr E.T. Smith, in November 1881 when it was said that:

The Oval is beautifully situated at the foot of the hills and, even bereft of the part which has been sold, it is as large as the Adelaide Oval, and therefore quite large enough for all purposes. It is close to the tramway terminus, and as the young trees, which were planted some time ago, have grown wonderfully well; the site is both pleasant and picturesque...

In May 1890 a balloon ascent from the oval was a major attraction which was reported upon as follows:

... 3,000 people [braved] the discomfort of a tram journey to visit the Kensington Oval on Saturday last.

Besides those who had paid for admission to the ground from which the ascent was made, a huge crowd gathered in the vicinity of the eastern oval... The airship was tethered in the north-western corner of the oval, and was the sinecure of all eyes, as with its accompanying parachute it lay an inert mass of canvas.

... The fire was lighted in the temporary furnace and then the huge receptacle began to rise... as the power of the hot air made itself felt... Then Miss Valerie made her appearance appropriately costumed... [and] received a round of applause as she ran under the parachute and sat on the trapeze waiting until it attained a sufficient altitude to lift her off the ground.

For several hundred feet the ascent was very steady, and the brave girl was able to display her fearlessness by indulging in athletic performances which would have been sufficiently dangerous on an ordinary horizontal bar.

... She landed in a paddock on the north side of the Magill Road, just about a mile from the starting place... She [then] got into a vehicle and drove to the oval, where she received a perfect ovation... [and said] that her aneroid registered the highest altitude attained at 6,800 feet...

Early in 1886, a dark, menacing cloud appeared and overshadowed the prosperity of the Kensington Oval for a long period for, in February 1886, the Commercial Bank of South Australia failed and, as the oval's management committee was personally embroiled in this financial holocaust, the affairs of the oval suffered through lack of attention – Mr A. Crooks was the manager of the institution and, subsequently, served a gaol sentence!

Fortunately, help was close at hand when, at a special meeting of Burnside ratepayers in August 1888, the levying of a special rate was approved with a view to purchasing the Oval; this action followed a decision by the management committee of the oval in January of that year to sell to the Burnside District Council.

Late in 1888, a public meeting was held in the Norwood Town Hall where a decision was taken to form a Kensington Oval Association, members of which contained the 'names of several of the most indefatigable members of the old association', with Mr F.C. Coombs as Secretary.

The formal opening, or 'handing over', ceremony took place on 16 February 1889 when a reporter praised the efforts of all participants:

The new association is possessed of a number of energetic gentlemen who intend to leave no stone unturned to make it a success. With this end in view they are having the oval put in thorough repair and made as attractive as possible.

A splendid bicycle track has just been prepared... It is 15 feet wide to 20 feet in the straight, and has been constructed so as to combine greater speed with safety... In length it will be exactly three laps to the mile.

Some of the trees around the oval will be removed in order to make way for a carriage drive, and a mound similar to the one running around the Adelaide Oval will be constructed... The oval will be publicly opened on Saturday, March 2.

The official opening was complemented by a sports programme, which included four bicycle races and a Sheffield handicap, while the highlight was a ten mile contest between R. Davis, the champion bicyclist of South Australia, and three horses (interchangeable during the course of the race) from the stable of Mr Boase.

A critical reporter opined:

The sanctioning of the union of contests of this kind should, we think, be accompanied in the future by a proviso that a barrier of some slight, though safe kind, should be provided to prevent accident to the wheelman should the horse swerve on to the track, as was the case on Saturday afternoon.

Had horse and cyclist been level, serious danger would have threatened the latter when the animal fell on the eastern wing and swerved across the track on the western wing half a lap later. Entering the 25th circuit the contestants were on equal terms...

For the succeeding couple of laps things continued to look black for the cyclist for, despite all his efforts, the horse, pacing well, more than maintained his lead...

In the eighth mile... the crowd began to manifest a most reprehensible desire to discompose the horse by shouting and making as much noise as they could without inconvenience to themselves... To the nine miles the excitement and hootings... continued, the horse and man keeping pretty level meanwhile.

At the windmill on the eastern wing, Davis... led by some forty yards... At the windmill [again] when both were almost level the horse stumbled over some rather heavy ground and, swerving, threw the rider clean over his head... remounting he made a game attempt to overtake Davis...

The horse, however, was now thoroughly frightened and becoming unmanageable owing to the shouts and cries when just past the pavilion swerved right across the cycle track among the spectators... The race was, of course, at an end as horse and rider here retired from the contest. The wheelman, however, kept going and won in 29 minutes 47 seconds, amid cheers.

A severe storm hit Adelaide in June 1893 and, when it had subsided, the Oval possessed many ruins and few buildings intact. The western pavilion was no more and all that remained of the ornamental structure was splintered wood, three gables twisted and strained, three flagpoles standing erect over a collection of broken timber and iron, and a quantity of galvanised iron strewn all over the ground where once tennis courts were kept.

Facing the east, the building looked straight into the teeth of the gale and when the cyclone commenced its work 'there was but a poor chance of the survival of the light framework.' It was not built to weather such a fierce blast for it was placed on masonry foundations and the back of it was used as dressing rooms, while the pavilion itself was made of weather-boards with slim timber supports. It was bolted on to wood, which was fixed to the masonry work with light iron brackets, but the fastenings in other places were only made by small screws.

Every support was torn from its foundation, rows of seats were smashed, fences were broken and sheets of iron from the roof were scattered in all directions. It was a most disheartening scene; one bright spot was that the southern pavilion remained intact but quite half of the northern pavilion had gone and 'now can be picked up on all corners of the oval' while only one goal post stood erect.

Norwood Oval

In September 1886, an adjourned meeting of gentlemen, interested in the formation of an oval at Stepney, was held in the St Peters' Town Hall where Mr T. Gameau occupied the chair. A previously appointed committee reported that the proposed site was most suitable and the asking price of £1,300 was reasonable. Further, as the Norwood football and cricket clubs had agreed to pay the interest on the proposed mortgage, the income that would accrue from the venture could be expended in improvements and in clearing off the debt. Offers were received from persons willing to take up debentures, Mr Whitridge intimating that 250 promises had been received.

There the matter rested until 1897 when a proposition to purchase a site in the heart of Norwood, known as Clarke's vineyards, was brought forward. Mr Verco, the owner, asked £2,000 for the property and was willing to let that money remain for 14 years at three per cent on a rental of £60 per annum, with a right to purchase at any time after the fifth year.

It was thought that this could be easily accomplished by the formation of a limited liability company with a capital of £4,000. A prospectus was issued where the directors estimated that a highly improved ground adapted for cricket, football, lawn tennis, athletic sports, bowls and cycling could be provided. These gentlemen gave their energies to the undertaking in a spirit of local patriotism and, in the same spirit, urged the residents of East Torrens to support it. Their efforts failed as only about 1,500 shares were applied for.

The corporation took the matter up and were almost unanimous in the desire to purchase that property. The proposal was to levy a penny rate but this proposition was lost at a ratepayers' poll by 1,294 votes to 870.

Another scheme by the corporation was to purchase the land by paying out of the revenue of the corporation as it might determine - this was lost on 11 May 1889 even though no increase in rates was proposed.

The proposal put before the ratepayers in April 1899 was:

That a block of land, about six acres, known as Clark's [sic] vineyard, be purchased for the sum of £3,000 for the purpose of a recreation ground.

That another block adjoining the above, having a frontage of 205 feet to Osmond Terrace by a depth of 200 feet be also purchased for the sum of £662.10s. for the purpose of building a swimming bath and caretaker's cottage, and other purposes.

That the sum of £2,237 10s. be expended on improvements. viz., building swimming baths and caretaker's cottage, building pavilion, making approaches, planting trees and grass and providing water and sewer services, and the necessary offices, fencing and gates,

That debentures for £5,000 be issued bearing interest at three and one half per cent in the form prescribed...

Later, the committee decreed that it had not abandoned all hope of attaining their end and, at a meeting held a few night's later, it was decided to continue operations. The committee estimated that £1,500 would be required to place a ground in 'going order' and make it revenue producing. Nearly £1,000 had been promised for the purpose. Mr Verco had placed the land under offer to the proposed company until 1 September 1900 and the committee considered it would be a great mistake if the property was not secured, for unless it was acquired it would be sold and cut up into allotments.

By June 1900, the East Torrens Recreation Ground Company had been formed and the task was not by any means an easy one. Many obstacles were met with and, latterly, the funds started for patriotic relief purposes, and the fall in share values, hindered progress. The members for the district, the Hon. Sir Edwin Smith and Mr John Darling, junior, loyally supported the project, both financially and with their counsel. Indeed, the committee presided over at first by Mr W.A. Magarey and later by Mr A.W. Piper, was much indebted to the above gentlemen.

By July 1900, the land had been secured and a strong directorate appointed consisting of Sir Edwin Smith, John Darling, Dr Shepherd, A.W. Piper (Chairman), James Hall, J.H. Mattingly and W.O. Whitridge (Secretary). The experience gained by two of those gentlemen in building up the Adelaide Oval was to be of immense benefit to their colleagues. The purchase of the property was a direct result of the introduction of the electorate system of cricket and football clubs. Previously, there were only the Adelaide and Kensington Ovals available as prepared grounds, but over the past three years Port Adelaide and Sturt provided themselves with grounds.

By the opening day in April 1903, the oval had been planted with couch grass, the playing space surrounded with a post-and-rail fence and the whole ground closed in by a six-foot fence. Dressing rooms had been erected and it was proposed, when funds permitted, to construct a pavilion.

Lady Smith declared the recreation ground open for public use and expressed sorrow that ratepayers had not seen their way clear to take over the property and run it as a public affair. There were many good reasons why she was asked to open the ground for, when things had been looking bad, Sir Edwin had come forward and increased his share holding in the company and made it possible for the work to proceed.

The opening day concluded with an afternoon tea and a sports meeting which included a 100 yards race for the youth of the district, throwing the cricket ball and kicking the football. The winners were, respectively, Master Nesbit, W.S. Hill (100 yards) and S.C. Robinson (63 yards, 2 feet, 6 inches).

Within the next few months the bowling green was extended, cricket practice wickets prepared and were being used by four clubs and a programme of senior matches arranged to which Mr G. Searcy opined that it was agreed, generally, to be the best in the State.

Appendix 43

German Place Names in South Australia

It is lamentable to see men emulating the example of the informers in ancient Rome, microscopically searching for shreds of evidence to poison the minds of the community against all our German colonists... The most cruel, cutting and infamous aspersions are cast indiscriminately upon the whole of our German population.

(Register, 1 & 8 July 1916)

Introduction

As an Australian who has committed the crime of allowing German blood to flow in his veins - a crime to which the whole Royal family of England and Prince Louis of Battenberg must plead guilty - allow me to assure you and all other sane and level headed Australians, of the sincere loyalty of German-Australians, naturalised and natural born, to their King and country of their choice or birth.

(*Register*, 8 December 1914, p. 12)

My maternal grandfather, August George Heinrich Hein, was born in Germany, and arrived in the 1870s with his parents and siblings from Hamburg, aged ten years. They settled in the South East of the colony where, at that time, there was a demand for labour on the fertile lands in that developing district.

The years of 1914-1918 were a trying time for those citizens of South Australia of German descent and my grandfather recounted many of his experiences to me but, before discussing the more horrific sides of local paranoia, I should recall a story he told me which is not without a little pathos and attendant droll humour.

His family were bakers by trade and, in the early days of the war his father, then working at Carr's bakery in Commercial Street, Mount Gambier, was directed that, in future, the name of his 'German' cake was to be sold under the name of 'Belgian' cake!

On a more serious note, may I recite to you a couple of comments made in the Adelaide press during the war years in respect of expatriate Germans and their progeny residing within South Australia?:

A petition with 49,000 signatures was presented to the Chief Secretary from the All British League urging immediate and complete action against Germans in the community.

The objects of the petition were to disenfranchise persons of enemy origin, to remove such persons from the rolls of justices of the peace, to remove enemy persons from official positions and fill their places with British people and to close German schools. (*Register*, 4 September 1916, p. 5)

[*See under 'Australia Plains' in nomenclature text*]

At a rally of that league in September 1917 it was stated that its object was 'to see that in future there would be no German members in Parliament and no German votes to put them into the legislature', while one of the speakers, Hon J.P. Wilson, MLC, said he advocated the disenfranchisement of Germans and public notification of all persons of alien origin who changed their names.

(*Register*, 3 September 1917, p. 6)

However, within the South Australian community there was at least one citizen with a measure of Christian tolerance:

Once more, as a true Britisher, I enter my protest against the pesty, spiteful and indiscriminate persecution of people who are as innocent of this diabolical war, as are the members of the so-called 'All-British League'.

The conduct of those who are leading an indiscriminate crusade against all our German colonists reminds me of the 'Jew-baiting' that was common on the Continent not many years ago...

I know a German husband and wife who have given to this war three sons two of whom will never return... (Rev John Blacket, *Register*, 7 May 1918) [*See under 'Pflaum, Hundred of' in nomenclature text*]

Earlier, Rev John Blacket in commending the Editor of the *Register* on a leading article on 'Reprisals' said:

We do not take our moral code from Germany. That country is an outlaw among the nations, obsessed by the powers that make for evil. Because the Germans do devilish deeds that is no reason why we should proceed to do the same... (*Register*, 29 June 1917, p. 9)

As for the German place names affixed to the map of South Australia, the following comments were of interest in the wake of insistence from a certain strata of society that they should be removed:

What, for instance, has 'Hahndorf' done to deserve annihilation? What had it to do with the brutality in Belgium? ... Let the name stand by all means... (*Register*, 8 December 1914, p. 12)

The Calamity Unfolds

There were many protests inside and outside parliament against tinkering with personal place names in this fashion but the resolution stood. Some young people, whose patriotism could not be questioned, regarded it as a way of getting even with the Kaiser.

(Rodney Cockburn, *What's in a Name*, p. 282)

A study of history will reveal that German settlers in South Australia were an essential part of the pioneer backbone of the colony and, indeed, according to the eminent historian, Douglas Pike, they were 'religious, moral, loyal, industrious and gregarious.' Such names as Basedow, Homburg, Krichauff, Paech, Pflaum, Scherk, Schomburgk, Seppelt, von Doussa and hundreds of others reflect, with honour, the story of the State's culture and development.

Biographical details of one of the above gentleman may suffice to uphold their eminence in colonial affairs: M.P.F. Basedow, born in 1829 and educated in Hanover, Germany, came to South Australia in the *Pauline* in 1848. He was Minister of Education in the Morgan Ministry of 1881 and George F. Loyau records that he was 'extremely popular with all classes in the colony for his urbanity and affable manners.'

He died in 1902 and was buried at the North Road Cemetery and, in retrospect, it was said that:

His work as a trained and experienced teacher have not only weight with us, but for the same reason demand more minute investigation than the hurry of an Assembly debate will probably bestow upon them.

Further, as a matter of interest, 'Krichauff Creek' and 'Krichauff Range', in the Far North-West, escaped the notice of the Nomenclature Committee in 1916, when it was charged with the task of tracking down German names for obliteration from the map,

On a more disconsolate note; in 1982, the Geographical Names Board refused a request to change the name of the Hundred of Maude back to the Hundred of Schomburgk because 'the Hundred has been known as Maude for some 64 years whereas it was only known for 38 years as Schomburgk. W.G. Schomburgk has also been honoured in many different ways.'

As regards the patriotism of the German population during World War I; of 440 men who enlisted in the Australian Imperial Forces from Yorke Peninsula, 44 were of German descent, while the first three Australian soldiers from the Barossa Valley killed in action bore German names!

In the midst of patriotic fervour in 1916, parliament decided that 'all towns and districts in SA, which indicate a foreign enemy, should be altered' but, it must be said that some residents of Germany added fuel to the debate by changing such names as the Bristol Hotel and the London Café that were situated in Berlin.

The parliamentary debate was launched by Mr W. D. Ponder, MP, in which he traversed certain recent events but omitted any logical reason(s) for his avowed stance:

The sinking of the *Lusitania*, the murder of Nurse Edith Cavell and the atrocities in Belgium show that the Germans have not been fighting in a Christian manner,

while the member for Wooroorra, Mr David James, expressed what he believed to be a more practical approach:

We should take land from the Germans and give it to our boys who return from the war so as to qualify them for a vote in the Legislative Council,

and concluded with a liberal dose of Pecksniffian rhetoric:

I have no time for Germans, the name of Germany stinks in my nostrils.

Conversely, Mr Hague, who represented residents of the Barossa Valley, suggested bravely that 'when you doubt people, there is little encouragement for them to be loyal' while the Premier, Mr A.H. Peake, urged members to 'avoid vindictiveness'.

James Hague MP (1890-1902), born in Manchester, in 1834, arrived in the *Time and Truth*, in 1855, and became a storekeeper and wheat buyer at Angaston and Truro and, in 1890, when Mr M.P. F. Basedow retired from the House of Assembly, many electors appealed to him to become a candidate for the vacancy: Four times in succession he was returned; he 'did not speak often in the House, but when he did his remarks were followed with attention.'

Archibald Henry Peake, MP (1897-1920), three times Premier of South Australia, has his name commemorated by the 'Hundred of Peake', County of Buccleuch, proclaimed on 11 January 1906, but it must be said that, despite his plea to the House, he displayed an approach analogous to subterfuge regarding one of the recommendations of the Nomenclature Committee in respect of the village of 'New Mecklenburg' - that body suggested the replacement name 'Putpayerta' (the Aboriginal name for the district), but Mr Peake had other ideas and dubbed it 'Gomersal', a town in Yorkshire, England, the birthplace of his father!

Similarly, the name of 'Neukirch' was changed to 'Dimchurch' after, albeit incorrectly, Dymchurch, the birthplace of the Premier's mother in England - The Nomenclature Committee had suggested 'Pangarinda', Aboriginal for 'evening twilight'. Its original name was restored on 17 April 1975.

At these two examples of legislative sleight of hand, Governor Gawler must have turned over in his grave for, as long ago as 1839, he had implored the local European populace to 'carefully and precisely' retain those Aboriginal names 'as most consistent with propriety and beauty of appellation' and, to this suggestion, Rodney Cockburn, the 'father' of local nomenclature research, was to comment in 1908 that 'all of our vice-regents have not shared Governor Gawler's love for native vocabularies' and, indeed, pronouncements over a century or more from State and local government authorities indicate all but universal dissent from the Governor's edict.

However, returning to the turmoil of 1916, the protestations from those members who advocated restraint were, indeed, a waste of time and breath, for parliament swept their advice aside abruptly by passing the following resolution on 2 August:

That in the opinion of this House, the time has now arrived when the names of all towns and districts in South Australia which indicate a foreign origin should be altered, and that such places should be designated by names either British or South Australian native origin.

Looking in retrospect as to the decision of parliament, any unbiased person in the 21st century, when confronted with the aftermath of such a jingoistic exercise must, assuredly, see credence in a 19th century observation as to the conduct and deliberations of the august House of Assembly in those troubles times of 1914-1918:

Some of the members bore about them the unmistakable stamp of self-seeking recklessness and vulgarity. The qualities we have always held as belonging to men of honour and gentlemen seemed to be set aside, and in their place came forward meanness, spite, evil speaking, treachery, lying and dishonesty...

We have often spoken together with admiration of the higher character of man... but we must not seek it in the House of Assembly, as it is now constituted... there is nothing but waste, noise and confusion.

(*Advertiser*, 16 June 1876, p. 7)

Away back in the 19th century, that great figure in English literature, Charles Dickens, wrote *Martin Chuzzlewit* in which he coined a term that, today, graces the Oxford dictionary, namely, 'Pecksniffian', defined as those in power who 'affect high benevolence or high moral principles' - I invite my readers to ponder this denunciation that smacks of the political process that adjoins today and, particularly, in the United States of America.

Accordingly, the disfiguration of the map of South Australia commenced on 7 November 1916, when a report from the Nomenclature Committee [See Rodney Cockburn, *What's in a Name*, page 284], laid out suggested changes to the 'offensive' names, but warned the government that 'far-reaching consequences must follow the adoption of the resolution unanimously arrived at by the House of Assembly':

We feel it our duty to point out that the proposed wholesale alteration to the State's nomenclature cannot be undertaken without considerable vexation and temporary confusion in the postal and railway departments, complications in the matter of title deeds, and further trouble from the fact that all maps and plans of South Australia will have to be altered to the extent that new place names are adopted.

But, as evidenced above, it was inevitable that some names would escape through the 'assassins' net; for instance, 'Gebhardt Lagoon', north of Cadell, was named after Gustav Gebhardt, who held six pastoral leases north of the River Murray from 1876.

He was born at Hanover, Germany, in 1833, arrived in the *Ohio* in 1858, died on 16 March 1900 and buried at Brighton.

The 'Hundred of Scherk', in the County of Hopetoun, was proclaimed on 21 January 1892 in honour of Johann Theodor Scherk, MP (1886-1902), who was born in Holstein, Germany, in July 1836, a son of the chancellor of Kiel University; he came to South Australia, in 1862 and became a schoolteacher at Tanunda and Lobethal.

A founding member of the School of Mines, he was associated with that body for twenty-nine years and died in 1923 and is buried at the West Terrace cemetery. The name was changed to 'Hundred of Sturdee' in 1918, the government having disregarded 'Pintumba', the name of an Aboriginal well.

Rodney Cockburn relates that 'the old legislator took the rechristening in rare good part. Soon after it was announced [I] greeted him in the street with the enquiry, "Well, how are you Mr Scherk?" Whereupon the latter, with a twinkle in his eye, remarked "Excuse me, my name was Sturdee".'

One name that was subjected to ignominious change was 'German Creek', in the Hundred of Benara; it became 'Benara Creek' in 1918 - the replacement name suggested by the Nomenclature Committee was 'Wodliparri Creek', Aboriginal for the 'Milky Way', which, in legend, was believed to be a river.

The name was restored on 13 November 1986.

Apparently, the name honoured a gentleman with the nickname of 'German Jack', a shepherd on Benara Station, who during his tenure stated that:

He wished to correct an erroneous report that he had killed 16 kangaroos in one shot, but said that he did kill 'on Monday last about sunrise 16 kangaroos at nine shots, distance 300 to 850 yards, and challenged the district, for £50, to produce a man that will do the same, Samuel Leate, not excepted.'

A few months later Mr Leate met with a serious accident while 'partially intoxicated' and galloping a horse along Commercial Road, when he fell off striking his head violently on the ground.

In 1929, the following letter from a concerned school teacher indicates a further affront thrust upon the German population:

Another Act was passed during the war which caused distress and sorrow, namely, the closing of German schools. True, they may open again, and a few have reopened. But very few of the main sufferers are now teaching. That Act has driven me right into poverty, penury and want.

[*Advertiser*, 16 November 1929, p. 22]

The compulsory closure of such schools was one of many during World War I; take, for instance, the debacle at Australia Plains:

Notice was served on the headmaster... that, as from 1 July 1917, the school would be taken over by the Minister of Education. At the time there were 49 such schools in the State and more than 1,600 scholars attended them.

Only one teacher of a Lutheran school was engaged by the Education Department and he was sent to a district where there was previously no German scholastic institution. [*Advertiser*, 12 June 1917]

Another example of this nepotism was to be seen in 1919 when it was reported that, 'on Friday last the *Register* reported a speech by Mr S. Plush, a returned soldier, alleging that the German language was being taught in the Light's Pass School on Saturdays, and that the German teacher had been retained at his old salary':

A meeting of the Light's Pass residents was called... Mr Schwarzkopf, who was teacher at the Light's Pass Lutheran School before the building was taken over by the Education Department, and who conducts the classes complained of, said that nothing but religion was taught... the children being prepared for their confirmation classes...

Mr Schulz pointed out that the government allowed these classes, and had no objection to the young being taught religion in the German language... It was resolved to send to the Premier a protest and an assurance that the statement made by Mr Plush was incorrect and misleading...

[*Register*, 4 & 26 September 1919, pp. 6 & 9]

A supporter of the German population, and a critic of the prevailing Anglophobia, Mr E.H. Coombe, MP (1901-1917), spoke out strongly against the closure of German schools and led public campaigns against conscription. He died at Semaphore, in April 1917, while addressing a United Labor Party meeting. In 1930, a commemorative marble monument was erected in his honour at Tanunda.

Restoration of German Place Names

I am completely isolated from humanity because my grandmother was a German and she died in England 50 years ago. Surely it is not fair play; and how ashamed the people here ought to be when peace is declared, and we are again able to greet such good men as those who are now spurned in our midst.

(*Register*, 23 & 26 February 1916, pp. 4-7, 6 & 7)

In 1923, it was reported that 'one walks out of the Ambleside railway station to a hard white quartz road winding through what is practically virgin forest':

There are only one or two houses at the station and the township (Hahndorf in pre-war days) is nearly two miles away over the hills. However, the townspeople cling to the old title from long habit. The settlers are still 90% German in origin and, in customs and appearance, retain many of their original characteristics, though their sentiments are over 90% Australian.

This is proved by the experience in World War I when the fear of trouble from the German settlers proved utterly groundless. Wild tales due to the war fever - how wild we were we are just beginning to realise - brought some curious and almost laughable results.

It was whispered in Adelaide that a wireless set was installed in the roof of the Hahndorf Hotel capable of sending messages to Hamburg and Berlin. The government sent up a party of soldiers and placed the town under martial law for some days. The story proved utterly unfounded.

The rumour also went around that at Hahndorf enough arms and ammunition were concealed to blow up the whole of Adelaide. The foundation of this story was that one inhabitant had been for years importing the best rifles from the continent for the Hahndorf Kingship, rifle shooting being Hahndorf's main sport. The son of the man whose loyalty was thus questioned soon afterwards went to the war to fight for the Empire.

A decade or so after the cessation of hostilities in 1918 it was evident that tempers had cooled and, in 1935, a few German place names such as 'Hahndorf, which had existed under the cognomen of 'Ambleside' since 1918, were restored to the map of South Australia.

Later, in 1975, the Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust proposed the restoration of further names such as Kaiserstuhl, Langmeil, Siegersdorf, Hoffnungstahl, etc., because 'of the increasing tourist traffic and the constant search for genuine links with the pioneer days.' The fate of their request is to be found in the nomenclature text of *The Place Names of Our Land*.

Epilogue

Wherever they cast their lot they bestowed on their new home a name which suggested German associations. Mr Angas was full of praise for the achievements of these people in promoting the welfare of the land of their adoption, and his sentiments were those of most people in the halcyon days. But war destroys sentiment...

(*Register*, 12 June 1916, p. 4)

Surely, the greatest injustice was inflicted in respect of German place names in South Australia when the Hundred of Pflaum was expunged from our map to become 'Geegeela' in 1918. Mr F.J.T. Pflaum, MP (1902-1915), was born in Germany in 1846 and came to South Australia in 1867, when he opened a general store at Lyndoch, removing to Blumberg (now Birdwood) in 1886 when, with his brother, he built up a successful business, adding a wattle bark mill and, later, a flour and chaff mill. Four of his brother's sons served in the AIF and two were killed on the western front in France (An obituary of a son, Lt T.M. Pflaum, is in *The Mail*, 6 October 1917, p. 6.)

The following tribute was paid to his brother's memory by Lord Birdwood:

He really was such a very dear old man - one of those old-fashioned, really honest and whole-hearted believers in an Almighty Providence in whom he had the complete confidence in watching over and guiding us poor mortals. In a letter from him some few months ago he wrote - 'Well, I am now well over 90 and know it cannot be long before I must be called on to face my Maker, and when I do so I will be sure to tell him about you'.

I suppose he would be called a Fundamentalist - certainly he had a heart of gold, and ever since Blumberg did me the great honour of adopting my name it has been a real pleasure to have kept in close touch with its leading citizen, T. Pflaum. As you may know, I give an annual prize to the school children there. I wonder who will take the old man's place? He once told me: 'I was born a Dane. Germany and Austria attacked and split up my country and I became Austrian. Germany attacked and defeated Austria and I became a German. When old enough, my brother and I were called up to enlist at 1½d a day.

We said 'Nothing doing', and at once came to Australia where we have been very happy and never regretted our freedom here. My sons were with you in Gallipoli.' Dear old man. He rests in peace I am sure.

Letters from Mr Pflaum in respect of German place names are in the *Advertiser*, 20 and 23 November 1929, pages 24c and 22d; also see 26 November 1929, page 22d:

I came from Germany when about 20 years of age, having to sacrifice home and the people dear to me there, to get away from the tyrannical Prussian militarism with no opportunity for a future in life and to get into a free country under the British flag... I would be most ungrateful if I did not recognise the many blessings that have come to me and many other Germans in this free country...

Many German place names erased from the map during World War I have been restored; surely it is time for 'Geegeela' to be replaced by 'Pflaum'!

The German names which we have so indiscriminately destroyed were, as Pastor Brauer has said, 'statues of liberty proclaiming and perpetuating the glory of Britain, because they proclaimed to future generations and ages that these pioneers had been accorded in a British province the liberty denied them in the country of their birth.' We made a mistake when we decreed the ruthless destruction of such memorials...

(Advertiser, 10 February 1928, p. 12)

Reinstated German Place Names

It is obvious that much irritation and inconvenience might have been saved the community if there had been proper control and system in the matter of the State's nomenclature.

(Rodney Cockburn, *What's in a Name*, p. 288)

Gruenberg - Near Angaston, has a namesake in Silesia, Germany, and translates as 'green hill'. In 1918, the name was changed to 'Karalta', Aboriginal for 'green' and, in April 1975, reinstated as 'Gruenberg'.

Herrgott Springs - Discovered by Joseph Albert F.D. Herrgott on 11 April 1859, a botanist with John McD. Stuart, the name was changed to 'Marree Springs' in 1918, reverting to its original name on 8 February 1979.

Hoffnungsthal - In the Barossa district is a German word meaning 'valley of hope'. In 1918 it became 'Karrawirra', Aboriginal for 'red gums'; it reverted to 'Hoffnungsthal' in 1975.

Kaiserstuhl - German for 'the Emperor's seat', and named by Johannes Menge after a hill near Brisack on the River Rhine, Germany, was changed to 'Mount Kitchener' in 1918 after the Nomenclature Committee had suggested 'Patpoori Hill', Aboriginal for 'big grass hill', but was not acted upon. It was restored to the map in 1975.

Klemzig - By 1862, the village and environs had deteriorated and it was said that 'the most appropriated appellation given to any village in that locality is **Klemzig**, a name that would, from its derivation, at once indicate a row of dirty, ill contrived, lumbering cottages.' In 1900, when small areas were sold by the government on perpetual lease, 'the old German settlement' was renamed 'Powell', in memory of Lt. Powell, the first South Australian to fall in battle in the Boer War

In 1918, the Nomenclature Committee suggested it be changed to the Aboriginal *Yaralin* - 'flowing or running' but, because of the patriotic fervour in World War I, 'Klemzig' was changed to 'Gaza' on 10 January 1918, reverting to Klemzig by Act of Parliament in 1935. A further move to change that name back to 'Gaza' in 1941 during World War II was defeated in Parliament. The name 'Gaza', of course, was chosen because of the action seen in that area near Palestine by Australian troops in World War I.

Kronsdorf - In May 1850 the village of Kronsdorf was created on sections 634-652, Hundred of Moorooroo by Alfred Reynell and William Koch who held the land as trustees for Johann C. Nicolai, Johann M. Henschke, August Schulz and Johann C. Henschke. It became 'Kabminye', meaning 'morning star', in 1918 and '**Krondorf**' in 1975. This German word means 'crown village'.

Langmeil - The village, on section 37, Hundred of Moorooroo, laid out on behalf of George Fife Angas, circa 1845, is a German word meaning 'long mile'; changed to 'Bilyara' in 1918, it reverted to the original name on 17 April 1975. Pastor Kavel is buried in the adjoining cemetery - he had been on a visit to a relation in Tanunda and was attacked by apoplexy and died on 12 February 1860

Lobethal - Lobethal was founded by German emigrants who, in South Australia, enjoyed a degree of religious and civil freedom quite unknown in the Fatherland at the time. Hence their glad feelings found expression in a name signifying 'valley of praise'. Local residents fought hard for the retention of the German name in 1916-1917, when the Nomenclature Committee's choice of the Aboriginal 'Marananga' was discarded in favour of 'Tweedvale', bestowed in recognition of the local woollen industry.

Lobethal was returned to local nomenclature by Act no. 223/1935, assented to 12 December 1935.

Neudorf - In the Hundred of Onkaparinga, about 3 km North-West of Lobethal, adjoining the South-Eastern corner of section 58; a German word meaning 'new village'. Changed to 'Mamburdi', Aboriginal for 'The Southern Cross' in 1918 and restored on 13 November 1986.

Neukirch - It was laid out on section 3001, Hundred of Belvidere, by Adam Bartsch (1808-1887), circa 1860; a German word meaning 'new church'; he arrived in the *Victoria* in 1848. In 1918, the name was changed to 'Dimchurch' after, albeit incorrectly, Dymchurch, the birthplace of the Premier's mother in England - The Nomenclature Committee had suggested 'Pangarinda', Aboriginal for 'evening twilight'. Its original name was restored on 17 April 1975.

Schoenthal - It adjoined the North-West corner of section 5068, three km east of Lobethal, and had its name changed to 'Boongala', meaning 'shade' in 1918; it was restored on 13 November 1986.

Schreiberhau - On section 15, Hundred of Moorooroo, named after a village in Silesia, Germany, deleted from the map, in 1918, and restored, on 17 April 1975, as 'Schreiberau'. The replacement name of 'Warre', an Aboriginal word meaning 'high up', was refused by the government.

Siegersdorf - In the County of Light, is a German word meaning 'village of victory'. It was created by George F. Angas on section 76, Hundred of Nuriootpa, circa 1846. From 1918 to 1975 it was 'Bultawilta', meaning 'stout-hearted, fearless, bold brave'.

Steinfeld - In the Hundred of Anna, 19 km NNE of Truro, is a German word meaning 'stone field'. It was 'Stonefield' from 1918 until 13 November 1986 when the name was restored. The suggestion of 'Burnta', Aboriginal for 'stone', was rejected by the government in 1918.

Vogelsang Corner - A road junction, near Robertstown, in the vicinity of section 133N, Hundred of Bower, was owned by Franz Vogelsang from 1911 to 1945 - 'Vogelsang' translates as 'bird song'. It was known as 'Teerkoore' (Aboriginal for 'love birds') from 1918 until 13 November 1986 when it was reinstated.

Wusser Knob - Near Leigh Creek; mapped as 'Karun Knob' (an Aboriginal word meaning 'hill') from 1918, it was restored on 27 January 1983.

Appendix 44

The Anzac Highway

Since it was formed the traffic that passes over it daily is surprising, so much so that locomotion is at times absolutely dangerous and there is little doubt that it will be necessary to lay the bitumen from kerb to kerb. When this is done and the Norfolk Island pines have grown South Australia will possess a memorial to the gallant lads who lost their lives at Gallipoli, unsurpassed in the Commonwealth.

(Register, 1 January 1926)

The Bay Road

Many scores of wayworn bullock-drivers and others have to tramp for miles along the dusty roads leading to town, parched, hot, and weary, looking in vain for the means of quenching their thirst naturally by drinking that fluid that all animals except man prefer.

(G.H. Manning, A Colonial Experience.)

An early traveller said he took his first pedestrian trip to Adelaide in company with Major O'Halloran when there was a 'well-defined track made by the wheels of bullock drays' leading away from Holdfast Bay. Nathaniel Hailes trekked to Adelaide in 1839 and has left his memories for us of 'the narrow track [that] meandered along amid an apparently boundless maze of strongly scented shrubs and magnificent gum trees':

The branches of the trees were crowded and enlivened by flocks of parrots, cockatoos and parroquets, whose coloured and varied plumage rendered the scene immensely picturesque... Here and there a laughing jackass gave forth its mocking laugh as if to scoff and ridicule each new trespasser to its territory... The first sign of civilisation to be seen was a number of rudimentary huts along the town's northern boundary. They were made of reeds from the nearby Torrens River and as I later discovered were collectively referred to as Buffalo Row... [According to Rev John Blacket 'Buffalo Row' stood near the Adelaide Gaol, with 'Coromandel Row' a little to the eastward. Later, 'Emigration Square', called originally 'Forbes' Square', was not far distant from 'where the Observatory now stands'.]

In October 1866, a trotting match was held on the Bay Road and the ground selected was from the windmill on West Terrace to the Halfway House. The competitors were Mr. A. Ferguson's chestnut 'Polly' and a bay mare, the property of a gentleman from Strathalbyn. For the first mile the pace was very fast but the owner of the bay mare, finding he had the race all in his hands, took it easy. The spectators, some of whom were seated behind cattle of no mean pedigree, expressed their annoyance at almost losing sight of the winner long before the half the distance was traversed.

Another race took place in June 1869 between 'two brother magnates of the moneyed world' resident at Glenelg. The starting place was the Diagonal Road, the course being direct to the willow by the water trough at the corner of South and West Terraces, and back again - in all about ten miles. As they approached the winning post - 41 minutes after starting - the assembled company, consisting of one gentleman with an umbrella, cried out enthusiastically, 'Adelaide wins, but the bay is saving his distance.' It was heard that the winner was challenged by another bank manager and that a second trotting match was to be expected under the name of 'Adelaide against all Australasia.'

By 1911, the Bay Road had been in a state of disrepair for many years and this prompted the Glenelg corporation to ask the responsible Minister to supply an estimate for the probable cost of repairing it from the Old Forest Inn to Brighton Road and providing a bicycle track from South Terrace, Adelaide, to Brighton Road. At the time, the highway was under the jurisdiction of several local government bodies, thus causing confusion in the matter of

repairs. Further, it was contended that the government should take sole control, thereby giving 'Glenelg and Adelaide the advantage of a decent roadway.'

Representations were made again in 1912 when the Mayor of Glenelg, Mr H.J. Pearce, said that it was the third occasion he had waited on the Minister with regard to the Bay Road and that on the first occasion the deputation got nothing, on the second it was given £250 and went on to say that:

The Bay Road was the first one made in the State and it had not been properly constructed in that there was no provision to carry storm waters. Traffic had increased greatly. In the last year 100 houses and a large hotel had been erected at Glenelg. It was estimated that £5,500 would be required to put the road in order and its present bad state was a detriment to the seaside resort.

The Hon. W. Rounsevell, who was involved with the deputation, said that if the road was taken as a standard of the State's civilisation it would occupy a poor position, indeed. He had known the road for 60 years and it was worse in 1912 than it had ever been. In reply, the Minister said he appreciated the importance of the request, but 'had little money on hand at present' but undertook to look at the matter when the Estimates were prepared for the ensuing financial year.

For the next few years the notorious Glenelg highway provided ample opportunity for all the resourcefulness and patience of road makers. Macadamisation was tried over and over again, but always fell to pieces under heavy and continuous traffic.

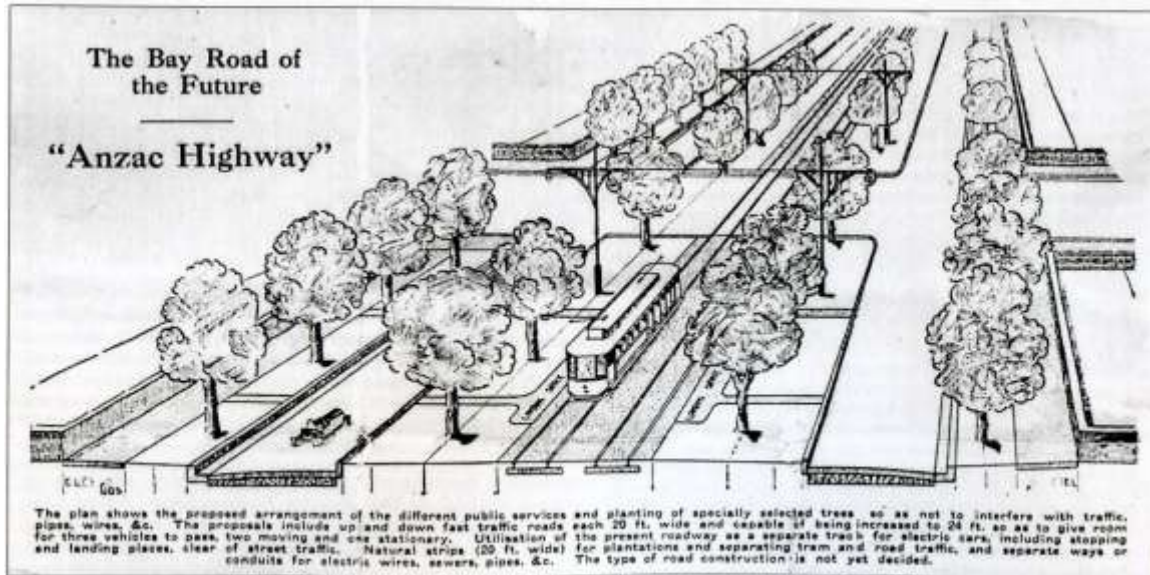
The Anzac Highway

Cities usually grow steadily outward, but the metropolitan area [of Adelaide]... developed in a different manner. Settlements were scattered over the plains and along the coast. These communities expanded, and over a period of 125 years... gradually coalesced to form one metropolitan area based on the framework of roads set out by Colonel Light. The resultant 'corridor' effect has had tremendous ramifications in respect of the planning of arterial roads.

(Taken from an unpublished history of Thebarton by G.H. Manning.)

In 1917, the President of the Anzac Memorial Highway League approached the then Premier, Mr Crawford Vaughan, suggesting that the Bay Road should be renamed the Anzac Highway; that granite obelisks be placed at intervals with the names of the battalions sent from South Australia with the battles in which they took part and the names of those who fell be inscribed upon them and that the government should purchase the land on either side of the road for resale after the road had been constructed.

Following this suggestion, the services of the Town Planner were placed at its disposal while, at the same time, attention was drawn to the bad state of the road, following which it was put into good order. Then a proposal was made to make the road a national highway and a plan was prepared by the Town Planner. Subsequently, the government was asked to put a proportion of the proposal into operation while the committee attended to the outer tree planting scheme.



In 1918, a valuable suggestion was made by the Adelaide Cement Company, namely, to put down an experimental section of concrete covering one mile of the road. It was pointed out that there was a concrete right of way running from Waymouth Street to the rear of Colton, Palmer and Preston's premises, while Unley had two chains of concrete on the Unley Road near the post office and on the side carrying heavy quarry traffic. In respect of the latter, although it had never been surface dressed, it stood up remarkably well after six months of severe work. This venture on the Bay Road was carried out in February 1919.

In 1921, the Anzac Memorial Highway League, which had for its object the improvement and beautification of the highway as a memorial to South Australian fallen soldiers, proposed to plant two rows of trees out from either side

of the road from the Adelaide Park Lands to East Terrace, Glenelg. The league also intended to plant elm trees from Keswick to Morphettville and Norfolk Island pines from Morphettville to Glenelg. The necessary elm and white cedar trees were procured in 1920 and placed in nurseries.

But then a difficulty arose when the Unley and West Torrens councils, through their representatives on the league, expressed the desire that ash trees should be substituted for elms on account of the suckering habits of the latter which was thought to be a nuisance to private properties along the road. The league then procured from the Conservator of Forests the ash trees necessary to replace the elms. Working bees were organised in the various sections and a public meeting was held on 16 June 1921 to complete arrangements for the Glenelg moiety.

Any one approaching Glenelg on Saturday, 25 June 1921, by way of the Bay Road, if unacquainted with the circumstances, might have concluded that an attack by a hostile force was about to be made on the premier seaside resort, and that the inhabitants, to quote a phrase familiar during the war, were 'digging themselves in', for more than 100 men armed with picks, shovels and crowbars were digging holes on each side of the road 'for dear life'. Several women encouraged them by their presence and dispensing refreshments, while the man in charge dashed around on a motor cycle. Following this phase of the work it was concluded that 'when the work is completed it will provide one of the finest thoroughfares in Australia and a lasting and most useful memorial.'

In February 1923, a deputation approached the government to make an up and down track and 'the centre part left for trams' which, it was believed must run to Glenelg in the course of a few years:

It was inconceivable that the Bay road could be left in its present state with a narrow strip of thoroughfare and mud and dust at the sides. The material ploughed up for the present road should be used as a base of one or two tracks at the side. To allow the Glenelg-Adelaide traffic to remain on one track would be nothing short of a crime. At the present time the road was rotten, and no one would mind it being torn up, but it would be a difficult thing to tear up a bitumen road.

The Mayor of Glenelg, Mr W. Patterson, said that Glenelg would erect a soldiers' memorial costing £15,000 within the next few months and the people of Glenelg thought it was not asking too much to request the government to provide a highway to the town worthy of the men who gave their lives in defence of the State.

In reply, the Minister said that the government had decided on a national memorial and that, if the committee wished to proceed with the Anzac Highway project, the plans should be simplified and he was not prepared to admit that a single track road to the Bay would not suffice for many years even if the traffic increased greatly. In due course the government built a 24-feet wide bituminous concrete road.

However, the original plans provided for a 30-feet wide track for slow moving vehicles both up and down and, on either side, an 18-feet track was planned for one-way fast traffic, separated from the middle road by two belts of ornamental gardens, lawns and shrubbery, each 17 feet wide. With these improvements the total width of the highway would have been 132 feet.

In later years, successive governments were approached but, invariably, a plea of lack of funds came to the league which had, by that time, been instrumental in getting the various councils to rename the old Bay Road, the Anzac Highway. By the latter half of 1926, the Town Planner had drawn up plans for the highway and government surveyors had resurveyed its whole length, but no public appeal was made owing to the promise of the Soldiers' Welfare Recommendation Committee that nothing would be done to interfere with the raising of funds for the soldiers' graves.

However, Sir Sidney Kidman, with his usual public spirit, placed £250 at the disposal of the league and that enabled a start to be made with the planting of trees. Subsequently, he donated a further sum of £250. The league merged into the Tree Planting Advisory Board, with the Attorney-General, Mr W.J. Denny, at its head and the government behind it. This board decided to plant Norfolk Island pines on either side for the whole of the length of the highway.

Mr Malcom Reid gave £300 in memory of his son, Captain Reginald Reid, but that was not enough to complete the work and an appeal was then made to the public of South Australia and subscribers, by donating two guineas, had the right to have a tree dedicated to the memory of any fallen soldier and a tablet placed on the guard. Those subscribers who had no fallen relatives had the right to nominate one to whom their tree could be dedicated.

In June 1926, a deputation waited upon the Premier, Mr J. Gunn, and asked that the government should provide for one-way traffic on each side of the existing bituminous strip.

One of the delegation, Alderman E. K. Lawton of Glenelg, said that:

The town clerk had on one Sunday evening counted 1,300 vehicles pass a given point within an hour.

Particularly since the advent of motor buses and especially the large vehicles used by the railway department, there had been great congestion on the thoroughfare.

By October 1928 many of the trees had succumbed to the elements and a concerned citizen remonstrated with the league:

Already scores of these trees are dead and some of the others are making a sickly struggle for existence. They never will thrive in the claypan between Plympton and Morphettville. I feel certain that those people who were primarily responsible for the choice of these pines, will provide a scene as unbeautiful as the remnants of the Port Road plantation. Nobody, surely, can claim that the existing highway - bordered as it is by quagmires or dust holes - is a testimony to civic culture; it is emblematic of a narrow outlook. In fact, it is untidy. Now is the time to take action and lay down a two-way track with, say, a belt of suitable deciduous trees in the centre... At present even if it resembles Anzac country, it does not conform to Anzac ideals.

Years of indecision and procrastination followed until 1935 when, heeding a hint from the Minister of Employment, Mr Shirley Jeffries, the committee, urging a reconstruction of the highway, prepared a modified plan and, during discussions, it was pointed out that for the year ended 30 June 1934 there had been 140 accidents on the highway in which three people were killed and 91 injured.

Finally, the project came towards fruition in 1937 when, in April, it was announced that 'work was going to begin soon' and a suggestion was made that the beauty of the highway would be enhanced if something were done to do away with loud, unsightly hoardings that marred the road:

Many young men and maidens are drifting towards a questionable morality that is undermining their physical, moral and mental constitutions... Our City fathers are not awake to their moral responsibilities or they would not have allowed the walls and hoardings of Adelaide to be placarded with posters of an immoral character...

Too much wickedness exists in our fair city... Everywhere are those fearful hoardings, covered with glaring and hideous contrasts in colours... The blank wall of every building and every fence is just a smudge of gorgeous colourings with fanciful advertisements. Where have the trees gone?

Plans were ratified in August 1937 with 22 per cent of the cost being borne by the various councils; it was completed in 1939 when 'the Anzac Highway brought a new status symbol to South Australia and today it is a visually exciting highway, contributing greatly to Adelaide's impression of space and grace.'

Upon reflection, there is no doubt that the highway introduced another status symbol to the State and brought about the construction of commodious houses at the Glenelg end but, unfortunately, the ever increasing motor traffic caused the city end to be put to commercial use but, today, 'it is a visually exciting highway, contributing greatly to Adelaide's impression of space and grace.'

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Appendix 45

The Nomenclature of Athelstone Revisited

Mr Angus Robin, who resides in the Adelaide suburb of Athelstone, has kindly provided his version of its nomenclature that appears hereunder in a slightly edited form:

Andrew John Murray came to Australia on the *Prince George*, out of London, along with his wife Georgina and arriving at Port Adelaide on the 26th December 1838; both were 23 years old. In June 1839, he purchased Block 811 on the side of the River Torrens, on what is now called Highbury, at a cost of £350 from William Williams and his wife Nancy. There was either a house on the land at that time or else Williams made a great profit because it only cost him £80 the year before. In any-case the name of 'Athelstone' or 'Athelston' became known in the district, as evidenced by documents and chronicles at the time. He sold the land on in 1843 and, eventually, it was sold to Charles Dinham in 1849. However, the 'Athelstone' [sic] name had been established by that time and would, eventually, be applied to a subdivision on the opposite side of the River Torrens.

The State Library of South Australia has told me that Mr Murray came out on a free passage, as indicated in the 'Register of Emigrant Labourers Applying for Free Passage to South Australia, 1836-1841' where he is listed as a shepherd from 'Asshels Rope' near Peebles in Scotland. A librarian in Haddington, Scotland, who was born in Eddleston a few miles north of Peebles, told me of an 'Eshiels Hope' and said that is probably what Mr Murray meant - having an accent myself I can understand the recording clerk getting the spelling wrong.

A perusal of maps of Peeblesshire shows that 'Eshiels' is two miles south-east of Peebles. The same librarian said that 'Hope' in Scots meant 'the start of a burn'.

Also, I have established that 'Athelstone', 'Athelston' and 'Athlstoun' were names used before that of 'Eddleston' and being applied to a village, a river and a glen north of Peebles running south into Peebles - the librarian in Haddington agreed that this had been the case.

My references for this establishment are the books listed below:

Scottish Rivers by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, of 1847 and 1874.

The works of Alexander Pennecuik, Esq., of New-Hall, M.D.

The History of Peeblesshire by James Walter Buchan.

I have searched the internet genealogy for Andrew John Murray and his wife Georgina without success - not knowing her surname before marriage does not help. I am inclined to think that she came from the 'Glen of Athelstone' and gave the place its name here in South Australia. However, I cannot prove this conclusively, at this time. In my mind, I am certain that either Andrew John Murray or his wife Georgina gave Athelstone its name.

Author's Comment

The above exposition stands as a most convincing argument but there are one or two facets of it that must be commented upon. Application No. 7224 in the General Registry Office gives a complete history of the land until it was brought under the provisions of the Real Property Act by John Green Coulls on 9 May 1866. (*See Certificate of Title Volume 83 Folio 201*)

The 1839 transaction mentioned above by Mr Robin relates to the Land Grant to William Williams of section 811 which was effected on the 28 June; Mr A. J Murray purchased the land plus improvements on 27 June 1840 when he was described as 'a gentleman of Adelaide' - In those class conscious times it appears most unlikely that a migrant, described as 'shepherd' in December 1838, would have been elevated to such an exalted rank within 18 months of arrival.

Further, the question must be asked as to how a migrant, who had been granted a free passage to South Australia, could have accumulated £350 to meet the purchase price. Indeed, land prices, under the guiding policy of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, were fixed at a price sufficient to deny the working class an opportunity of purchase; thus, the colony's founders hoped that this factor would ensure a plentiful supply of labour and, indeed, of the 4,000 migrants who came out on free passages, only fifty had purchased a section of land (usually 80 acres) before the end of 1844, and 'those who acquired these sections did so not by saving their wages but by setting up as land agents, storekeepers, licensed victuallers and contractors. Indeed, in the lists of land-buyers only one name was distinguished by the title "labourer".'

On 19 May 1841, Mr Murray entered into an agreement with Charles Dinham and, on that gentleman paying the sum of £2,550, Murray undertook 'to execute a title of the said property in Mr C. Dinham's favour on him demanding same.' Mr Dinham was insolvent by October 1851 and, having obtained the legal title on 7 December 1849, sold out in 1855 to Mr Coulls, blacksmith and coach builder. (*Refer to the nomenclature text and 'Sources and Notes' under 'Athelstone'*).

From the respective research of both Mr Robin and myself it is evident that there were at least two migrants with the name 'Andrew John Murray' resident in South Australia in the late 1830s and it is hoped that further evidence will come to light in the future and so enable the mantle of 'nomenclator of Athelstone' to be placed upon one of them!

Personally, I believe that the version presented earlier in this volume is likely to be closer to the truth.

Appendix 46

The Betrayal of Aborigines in Colonial South Australia - A Review of the South Australian Company and the Angas Legend Revisited

The failure of South Australian historians to address the question of Aboriginal land rights has been a matter of more than academic interest. It has influenced the way the issue has been perceived in the nation as a whole and has spilled over into both law and politics.

If the events of 1835-36 are overlooked, the interpretation of the whole history of the white-Aboriginal relations is distorted. Disregard the clear Imperial commitment to land rights - and above all, [Lord] Glenelg's insistence that land should be purchased - and all later developments are misunderstood.

(Henry Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*)

Introduction

Shame Upon Us! We take their land and drive away their food by what we call civilization, and then deny them shelter from a storm ... What comes of all the hypocrisy of our wishes to better their condition? The police drive them into the bush to murder shepherds, and then we cry out for more police ... What can a maddened black think of our Christianity to deny him the sod on which he was born? You grow hundreds of bushels of corn on his land but deny him the crumbs that fall from the table ... They kill a sheep, but you drive his kangaroo away. You now drive him away from his own, his native land - out upon it; how can God's all-seeing eye approve of this?

(*Adelaide Times*, 24 May 1851)

The unhappiest feature of the spread of the white races over the earth was the subsequent disappearance of the natives with whom, inevitably, they came in contact. Early Spanish colonisation in the New World was a chapter of horrors, while British expansion in North America presented, in dealing with the natives, many features from which the mind of fair-minded people recoiled.

The record of the Dutch in South Africa is stained similarly, and the whole civilised world shuddered at the exploits of the Belgians in the Congo while, in the early 20th century, Germany had a similarly unenviable record in the Pacific Islands. Indeed, it seemed to be the law, of what learned people call 'socio-politics', that a primitive race, brought in contact with a people of so called 'higher' civilisation, invariably went to the wall.

Paradoxically, in the closing colonial years it was said that: 'It is greatly to the credit of the British that they were the first to set their hands resolutely against the horrors that usually attended this process. The fate of the Australian Aborigine is sufficient witness that they were as incapable of arresting that process, but they did attempt to ensure that their relations with the indigenous people should be as decent as possible.'

An Economic Experiment in Colonisation

It might be presumed that the native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible right to their own soil; a plain and sacred right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders, uninvited, and when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors if they evinced a disposition to live in their own country,

(John Fowell Buxton, MP, cited in H. Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*)

The foundation of South Australia, which was due to the labours of a little band of economists, was an event of great Imperial importance. In the 'hungry' 1840s and preceding decades affairs, both in Great Britain and its colonies, were in an unhappy state. In the colonies there was no policy of development, Australia in particular being regarded simply as a huge overseas gaol. At this time, almost 80 per cent of cultivated land in England was owned by the aristocracy and gentry.

A gentleman did not work for his living; he lived on the income from his land, that is rents derived from leasing his land to others. Life was poor, nasty, brutish and short.

The shortness held for everyone, rich and poor alike. There was no knowledge of the principles of sanitation; infant mortality was the rule rather than the exception and survival to old age rare testimony to an unusually strong constitution. Scourges, such as smallpox, killed hundreds of thousands and disfigured many more.

In 1829, a remarkable pamphlet, *The Letters from Sydney*, was published by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a prisoner confined in Newgate, London, for abduction. In that and other works Wakefield evolved a scientific scheme of colonisation that was to solve the difficulties of the Motherland and the colonies.

His main ideas were to sell colonial land instead of giving it away in grants, to use the proceeds, or land fund, to bring immigrants from England, and give the colonies the right to manage their own internal affairs. Such proposals were revolutionary, but they attracted to Wakefield a body of young economists, politicians and adventurers, anxious to profit the Empire, or themselves, by the new theory.

They founded a Colonisation Society that gained notice rapidly and, at the end of 1830, it decided to carry out their experiment on the gulfs of South Australia. Their hands were strengthened immediately by Sturt's discovery that the River Murray reached the sea in that area and, from 1830 to 1834, the disciples of Wakefield struggled to found their colony.

They were prevented by the British government from attaining their ends by means of a company largely because, as was really true, most of them meant to make fortunes out of the scheme. In the end they were permitted to foster a Bill which, when enacted, gave them most of South Australia on terms that made the founding of the colony almost impossible.

Fortunately, the choice of the actual position of the settlement was left to the brilliant and experienced Colonel William Light and it was his decisions that counterbalanced many of the worst errors of the foundation and gave the colony some chance of success.

The Birth of South Australia - Events in England

The hunting grounds would be found there as every where else, to be the property of particular tribes. If the natives, therefore, who occupy the lands of the new colony, are not to be hunted down like wild beasts, a troublesome and expensive process ... they must be paid for their lands.

(*Westminster Review*, July 1835 - cited in H. Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*)

The *South Australian Colonisation Act*, passed by the British Parliament in 1834, declared the lands of the new colony to be 'waste and unoccupied' and, in this respect, with a total disregard of instructions to the contrary that issued at later dates from the Colonial Office, as discussed hereunder, in an 1849 judgement the Chief Justice of New South Wales referred to the 'circumstances of newly discovered and unpeopled territories'.

In the course of time, various descriptions of the Australian countryside came from English courts which described same as 'desert and uninhabited', 'unpeopled' and, to add grist to the mill, in the 1880s the Privy Council 'lent its great authority to the mythology', when it proclaimed that Australia, in 1788, was 'a tract of territory practically unoccupied without settled inhabitants': these egocentric deliberations were binding on Australian courts as late as the 1970s.

Further, in 1913 Justice Isaacs in the High Court of Australia declared that:

When Governor Phillip received his commission from King George III on 12 October 1786 the whole of the lands of Australia were already, in law, the property of the King of England,

while, in 1971, in the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, Justice Blackburn held that:

On the foundation of New South Wales ... and of South Australia, every square inch of the territory in the colony, became the property of the Crown.

The 1834 Act's clear denial of the Aborigines' rights to land met with considerable opposition from humanitarian circles in Great Britain including, within the Colonial Office, Lord Glenelg, Sir George Grey and Sir James Stephen, all of whom were members of the Church Missionary Society; further, between them, they had association with social reformers, such as John Fowell Buxton, in such arenas as Aboriginal rights and the African slave trade.

In 1840, Sir James Stephen was to write one of the most momentous memorandums in the annals of South Australian land tenure and, indeed, it should still be resonating throughout Australia:

It is an important and unsuspected fact that these tribes had proprietary in the soil - that is, in particular sections of it which were clearly defined and well understood before the occupation of their country.

The Colonial Office subsequently enshrined this principal of Aboriginal land rights by inserting in the Letters Patent, the document issued to the Colonisation Commissioners early in 1836 to formally establish the colony of South Australia, a clause that recognised the prior rights of the Aborigines to the land and guaranteed that 'any lands now actually occupied or enjoyed by [the] Natives would not be alienated.'

After protracted negotiations with the Colonial Office, the Colonisation Commissioners agreed to the appointment of a Protector to safeguard the Aborigines' interests; this was set down in the Letters Patent. Among his duties, the Protector was required to ensure that any land opened up for public sale had been ceded voluntarily and purchased fairly from the Aborigines.

Further, the Letters Patent embodied this principle, the relevant clause reading:

Provided always, that nothing in these Letters Patent shall effect or be constrained to affect the rights of any Aboriginal natives of the said Province to the actual occupation or employment [*sic* - enjoyment?] in their persons or in the persons of their descendants of any lands now actually occupied or enjoyed by the said Natives.

In support of this edict, in a speech given by George Fife Angas, in London, on the occasion of the appointment of Captain John Hindmarsh as governor, he said that the colonists would treat with the Aborigines 'for the purchase of those lands which they claim as belonging to them'; at this time Angas was an active member of the Aborigines Protection Society and, as discussed later, his rhetoric was not matched by implementation of his avowed 'Christian' stance relative to Aboriginal affairs and inherent rights of recompense for alienated lands.

Earlier, on 4 June 1835, he had written a suppliant entry in his diary which, of necessity, must raise doubts as to his probity:

For the success of this colony I look to God ... If I can get pious people sent out to that land the ground will be blessed for their sake; and if justice is done to the Aborigines as was done by William Penn, then we shall have peace in all our borders.

The Colonial Commissioners agreed to set aside 20% of the proceeds from all land sales in the colony to be used for the benefit of the Aborigines but, as discussed below, this commitment and others were disregarded

Later, demands emanating from the Colonial Office, and addressed to the South Australian Commissioners, resulted in the presentation, in a draft Bill designed to amend part of the 1834 legislation, a proposed amendment stipulating that:

It shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to assign or allot any part of the lands of the said province to the Aboriginal natives thereof free of any price ... and also to make any compensation to the said Aboriginal natives as to the said commissioners shall deem just in compensation of their interests in any Lands now occupied by them in the said Province.

Alarmed at the serious intentions of the Colonial Office, a crisis developed within the Commission and they 'proceeded to outwit the zealous reformers in the Colonial Office.'

Interested readers are referred to Henry Reynolds's *The Law of the Land* at Chapter V for a comprehensive account of the subterfuge:

Clearly all the pious talk of securing 'this just and beneficial object', the written commitment, meant nothing.

The leading figures of the venture knew all along that they would claim, on arrival in South Australia, that Aboriginal property rights, even the right of occupation and enjoyment, did not exist, and later, he expounded upon the inglorious aftermath of the ignominious stance of the Commissioners:

But the self-deception went even deeper; South Australia saw itself as a child of the era of liberal reform, infused with the spirit of the Reform Bill and religious emancipation.

What was discreetly dropped from the legacy was the powerful commitment to racial equality that ran through both the antislavery and Aboriginal protection movements. It was for this very reason that reform circles in Britain felt betrayed by events in South Australia.

To complete this maelstrom of intrigue in the United Kingdom, the words of John Fowell Buxton, the 'political heir of the great humanitarian William Wilberforce' and a man of some importance in the House of Commons, are worthy of repetition - in July 1834 he addressed his monarch and implored that:

The parliament act upon the principles of justice and humanity in the intercourse and relations of this country with the native inhabitants of its colonial settlements [and] of affording them the protection in the

enjoyment of their civil rights, and of imparting to them that degree of civilization and that religion with which providence has blessed this nation.

An interesting aside to this subterfuge is that the military history of South Australia actually began before the colony was founded, because the provision of troops for the maintenance of law and order was one of the conditions of Colonel C.J. Napier's acceptance of the offer of being the first governor. He wrote:

I will not attempt to govern a large body of people in a desert, where they must suffer considerable inconvenience (if not hardship), without I have a force to protect what is good against that which is bad; and such force is the more necessary where, as in Australia, the supply of spirituous liquors will be abundant.

This demand was held to be at variance with the self-supporting principles of the new settlement and so Captain John Hindmarsh accepted the post but, of particular interest are the words that Colonel Napier had expressed about the 'unoccupied lands' in the antipodes as set down in the Bill before the House of Commons for he described it as 'an Act to seize by force' a territory as large as France and Spain and calling it uninhabited when it was quite clear it was populated.

It was, to his mind, a way to deprive 'an inoffensive race of people of their property, without giving them the slightest amount of remuneration.' Further, he declared he would not leave England without laws:

That shall give the same protection to the savage as myself ... we exclaim against monopolies; we must then not have a monopoly of justice.

However, such niceties were of no consequence to many in authority and, with the preliminaries being 'settled', early in 1836, the South Australian Company and SA Commissioners laid on a number of vessels in London to take emigrants to this untried land. (*See Appendix 47*) While South Australia is often celebrated as fortunate in being founded without the sweat and toil of convict labour, such celebration should be qualified in light of the exploitation of 'free' labour during the colonial period. The majority of the colony's population migrated to escape the poverty and want they had suffered in the British Isles.

In many instances their passage was assisted by colonial landholders who needed labour to till their land, build infrastructure and service the needs of business. Indeed, in the eyes of British capitalists the colony was planned for 'free enterprise' to flourish. Primarily, the colony to which they came emerged because of a concern by English capitalists to find profitable investments overseas.

The fledgling colony has been given the informal paradoxical title of 'paradise of dissent'; but, at the outset, it was much more a paradise for the privileged classes acting for and on behalf of English capitalists as they set about purchasing large tracts of the best land by means of the iniquitous system of special surveys.

Land prices, under the guiding policy of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, were fixed at a price sufficient to deny the working class an opportunity of purchase; thus, the colony's founders hoped that this factor would ensure a plentiful supply of labour and, indeed, of the 4,000 migrants who came out on free passages, only fifty had purchased a section of land (usually 80 acres) before the end of 1844, and 'those who acquired these sections did so not by saving their wages but by setting up as land agents, storekeepers, licensed victuallers and contractors. Indeed, in the lists of land-buyers only one name was distinguished by the title "labourer".'

The South Australian Company

Although a South Australian by birth, I am, strange to say, not feeling a bit grateful to Mr G.F. Angas, or any of those enterprising gentlemen of the South Australian Company who speculated so successfully in founding this colony. I envy them as 'lucky dogs' and perhaps admire their pluck in the same way as I admired the courage of Mr Leiter, jun., who, it will be remembered, a few years back tried to corner the world's wheat supply.

(*Register*, 28 October 1905)

In 1831, an attempt was made by twenty-two gentlemen, among whom was George Fife Angas, to form a South Australian Land Company and acquire a charter from the British government. However, the request was denied and so the scheme fell to the ground. Early in 1834, the South Australian Association - whose object was to colonise South Australia upon the following principle embodied in the following resolution proposed by Mr W. Hutt at a meeting held at Exeter Hall - came under notice:

That in order to promote the greatest prosperity of the new colony it is expedient that all waste lands, without any exception, shall be declared public lands and shall be disposed of to individuals by sale only and according to a uniform, impartial and permanent system.

There were only six of the old Land Company gentlemen engaged in this movement and George F. Angas was not among them. The South Australian Colonisation Bill was assented to on 15 August 1834.

It was necessary, to conform to the terms of the Act, that £35,000 should be subscribed by the sale of land, the price being fixed at one pound per acre. Half the land was taken up at this price when Messrs Bartlett and Beddome tendered for the remaining half at twelve shillings per acre. These gentlemen acted on behalf of a projected South Australian Company, of which Mr Angas was, afterwards, Chairman.

Strong representations were made to the Board of Commissioners setting forth the injustice and breach of faith to the public should the tender be accepted, for it was well known that Bartlett and Beddome were merely trustees pending the formation of the company.

Indeed, there appears to be no doubt that the charter of the company would never have been granted if the House of Lords and House of Commons were aware that 'Mr G.F. Angas was manoeuvring as he was' with T. Smith and H. Kingscote to promote the South Australian Company.

The company was formed on 2 January 1836, the original directors being George F. Angas (chairman), Raikes Currie, MP, James Hyde, Charles Hindley, MP, Henry Kingscote, John Pirie, John Rundle, MP, Thomas Smith, James R. Todd and Henry Waymouth. Once formed it turned its attention to practically every outlet for energy in connection with the development of the colony. The Commissioners committed the company to protecting 'the natives in the unmolested exercise of their rights of property should such a right be found to exist.' However, in the new colony, this promise was soon forgotten and all the lands were declared open for public sale.

Indeed, in 1837 in London, it was observed that while the parliament had 'laid down the general principles of equity' the South Australian authority had disposed of lands:

Without any reference to the possessors and actual occupants, and without making any reserve of the proceeds of the property of the natives for their benefit.

As was to be expected, by reason of its purchases, the company snapped up many sites in the city which, by the time of Federation in 1901, were worth thousands of pounds - if held today they would be worth multi-millions of dollars - practically one-sixth of the total town lands were purchased, along with the rural sections, but, by 1898, of the 1,044-acre blocks of which South and North Adelaide consist, the company retained only a little less than 21 acres.

Portions which the company held, when the colony was first established, were the whole of the south side of Rundle Street running from Pulteney Street to East Terrace, three blocks on the northern side of Rundle Street, six blocks on North Terrace, practically the whole section between Pulteney and Hutt, Wakefield and Pirie Streets and many others.

Some of the sites were not particularly valuable when first acquired, but when Adelaide began to expand buyers were found quickly. Within 70 years of settlement the company did not hold a great deal of land in the city; the policy was to avoid holding anything for speculative purposes and to realise on city lands.

Much money was made by the company when the Adelaide land boom arose in 1881/1882 - this was caused partly by the travelling facilities accorded by new tramlines which conferred residential values upon lands formerly beyond the reach of city workers.

Land dealing was not the only activity of the company for it assisted in bringing German settlers to the colony, turned its attention to mining of copper and gold, helped to establish Port Adelaide, where it also held a great deal of property, aided in the whaling industry and shipping and, in short, took a hand with practically every new venture in the colonisation of the new country.

Of course, as in any capitalistic/democratic society, the company had its critics and many complaints were made to the authorities and through the local press concerning its perceived conduct:

[It leases its] land, expecting the tenants to effect all improvements and to leave everything at the end without any compensation. Is it any wonder that under such a system the land should be badly farmed?

The company is disliked here for the same reason that absentee and rack-renting landlords are hated by the people of Ireland. The SA Company is an absentee corporation without a body to be kicked or a soul to be damned; it is purely a money-making machine.

For the past 65 years it has preyed on the vitals of this State and will probably continue to do so until the crack of doom unless it is taxed out of existence by a material increase of the absentee land and income taxes.

The absentee should be taxed, and taxed to the full extent which his avoidance of personal obligations to the community would justify... Could they not devote some portion of their fortunes in the establishment of the very institutions the absence of which they profess to deplore.

The Angas Legend Revisited

[George Fife Angas] was not the 'Founder and Father of South Australia' as the enthusiastic Hodder describes him. Yet he was a successful merchant, who found an outlet for his energies in promoting the new colony to which his commercial interests had attracted him.

He has been termed philanthropic on account of his promotion of South Australia, but that seems at any rate, after 1836, a misnomer... His South Australian fortune originated mainly in the efforts of Flaxman, whose work has been largely disregarded and treated as reckless and self-seeking.

(Charles H. Bright, *The Confidential Clerk*)

Towards the end of his life G.F. Angas realised that he was too infirm to write an autobiography; accordingly, he instructed his private secretary, Henry Hussey, to organise certain documentation, together with family journals, for publication and this act led Charles Bright to conclude that George Fife Angas may have been 'two-faced'.

Accordingly, the material was forwarded to Edwin Hodder, 'an upright Christian who spent his life writing biographies of other upright Christians', who, according to Mr Bright:

Used the Angas papers and, counseled by John Howard Angas (son of George Fife Angas), consistently misrepresented Flaxman. For this I do not blame Hodder who, presumably, believed what he was told. Only a patient examination of the available records can disclose that Hodder was often mistaken. The unfortunate thing is that those records are sadly incomplete. As the crowning misfortune Angas' diary, which was used by Hodder, has now disappeared!

In the biography, Hodder all but deified his subject and, in 1984, Dr Robert Linn rounded off the saga when he suggested that, 'the trouble is that [Hussey] removed from his employer's records all material which tended to blacken or damage Angas's name.' Accordingly, to use modern-day vernacular, the completed work must be described as a 'vanity book', but this did not stop a succession of reputable historians taking aboard most of Hodder's work without significant amendment.

Further, 'the work seems to have been received with less than enthusiasm by the reviewers.' One said that he rejected the 'suggestion, more than a suggestion, that the Angas family [was] related to the Earls of Angus' and continued:

It is by his share in the foundation of the colony of South Australia that the name of George Angas is best known. This share is a very large and important one, but not sufficient to warrant the title given to him by Mr Hodder of 'Father of South Australia'...

Mr Hodder is far from being a model biographer ...

Hodder also classified Angas as 'a philanthropist' but there is no doubt that this was a serious misstatement for Angas' capital was all but linked in his land speculations in South Australia. Therefore, when he improved the interests of the colony he was 'solipsistic rather than philanthropic'.

Indeed, there can be no doubt that Hodder wrote 'the version of events that Angas chose to perpetuate.' Accordingly, many historical facts surrounding his life have been distorted.

For example, Angas did not persuade Pastor Kavel to bring his flock of Germans to South Australia, for it was Kavel, himself, who sought out Angas and asked him to provide the necessary passage. Interested readers are referred to *The Confidential Clerk* for a detailed discussion of Hodder's aberrations - one instance is as follows:

At page 284, Hodder says:

Meanwhile Mr Flaxman, who was still his paid agent, was recalled and Mr Anthony Forster - whose name is to this day greatly honoured in the colony - was appointed his successor.

This statement is not in accord with facts because:

1. Flaxman was not a 'paid agent'. He was Angas' 'confidential clerk' in London and entered into an agreement with Angas to promote Angas' interests and his own. He sailed to South Australia in 1838 in the *Prince George* which also had as passengers Pastor Kavel and his fellow German migrants. Upon arrival he established a mercantile business with a Mr Rowlands and acted for G.F. Angas and Company and other interested English firms. The majority of the capital to establish the business was provided by G.F. Angas & Co.
2. He was not recalled to England but returned, voluntarily, against Angas's wishes.
3. Forster certainly held a power of attorney from Angas but, as to Forster's 'name', there appears to be room for more than one opinion. For example, it is apparent that Forster 'put about rumours' in Adelaide about Flaxman's conduct which were proved to be fallacious, while Edward Stephens, manager of the South Australian Banking Company, described him as 'mendacious, pompous, quarrelsome [and] ignorant of business.'

In respect of Aboriginal lands, G.F. Angas, on appearing before a Select Committee in London, agreed that the indigenous people had been dispossessed of their land which they formerly occupied and 'where the whites have settled down'.

Later, as discussed above, he advocated 'for the purchase of those lands [which the Aborigines claim as belonging to them]' and, in 1835, in a manoeuvre that reeks of 'self-interest', persuaded the Land Commissioners to introduce the iniquitous system of special surveys that became a launching pad from which he and his South Australian Company reaped infinitesimal rewards.

This system was not implemented by Governor Hindmarsh but, fortuitously for Mr Angas, came to pass under Governor Gawler's direction in May 1838, shortly before the arrival of Charles Flaxman! Indeed, 'one is entitled to speculate as to conversations on this topic between Angas and his confidential clerk. Flaxman can hardly have been ignorant of the proposal.'

Later, Governor Grey enquired from the Colonial Office as to whether the system of special surveys was legal; indeed, he pointed out the great cost involved and the unfair benefit which the 'applicant received in gaining acres to and the use of the remaining 11,000 acres in any special survey.' He was informed by Lord John Russell that 'no new special surveys were to be accepted' but, of course, by this time Mr Angas was proprietor of land included in seven special surveys claimed by Charles Flaxman, in 1839, in the Barossa Valley, each of which entitled him to ask for an area of 15,000 acres to be surveyed, thus there was a total of 105,000 acres from which, in 1842, a final selection was made of 28,000 acres for which he paid £28,000 in cash or land orders:

The most northern point of the special surveys, which were in a compact block, was Hawker Hill and the most southern point was situated about two miles south of Springton. The surveys extended easterly from a point about one mile south-east of Daveyston to about one mile east of Keyneton.

The extent ... is realised when it is noted that Tanunda, Nuriootpa, Stockwell, Truro, Keyneton and Springton were within the bounds of the special surveys.

There is no extant record as to whether Mr Angas considered making any monetary payment to the indigenous people who had been in 'occupation' of the land that he, and the South Australian Company, had 'acquired', without

due notice and recompense; indeed, the latter factor was, if his previous undertakings were to be believed, obviously dear to his Christian heart during the formative years of South Australia!

As for special surveys, they were of immense benefit to early landholders and those persons with money but, in some quarters, away from the niggardly capitalists, who were preying upon the Aborigines and usurping their land, concern was expressed about the inherent injustice of the relevant Act, so warmly supported by Angas and his cohorts in London.

A further great evil arose - the commencement of land speculation by applications for special surveys of 15,000 acres, out of each of which after survey 4,000 acres could be selected and obtained at £1 an acre - thus, the number of absentee proprietors was further increased and the surveying and opening free districts for selection to bona fide applicants, for land for immediate agricultural operations, was hindered further.

In consequence, the inhabitants were, for the first three years, wholly dependent on importations of flour and grain from Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), at one time at the cost from £80 to £100 a ton.

The parliament and government of the Mother Country must be justly blamed for the short-sighted and parsimonious policy they adopted in launching the colony, thereby leading to the most serious of the colony's first troubles.

The surveyors who were required to cut up the country were strong in their criticism, while Captain Charles Sturt categorised them as 'the most dreadful things that could be imagined' and, in correspondence to Governor Gipps of New South Wales, said:

I do not think the system of colonisation has been rightly understood. Certainly here the country has been deliberately and recklessly sacrificed. The Special Surveys have secured all that is valuable in the shape of water to a few individuals and rendered invaluable more than one third of the provincial lands... The idea of chequering ... [the country] as it suits the fancy of the applicants is preposterous and the consequences will be severely felt as the population increases.

Other colonial gentry, such as John Morphett, as agent for The Secondary Towns Association, joined in the legal pillaging and gambled on the supposition that a large town would spring up at the point where the River Murray met Lake Alexandrina; in this venture he failed but was to gain a fortune elsewhere.

Diligent research has failed to find any misgiving emanating from Mr Angas in response to the condemnation of the scheme which he advocated, sponsored and espoused; indeed, it would appear that his involvement was for both personal benefit and the advancement of the South Australian Company to which he had committed his capital as a life-line for the future!

The modicum of extensions to his Christian beliefs, as presented in his surviving diaries and elsewhere, do not appear to have entered into his final deliberations in respect of his decision to plead for special surveys and to, apparently, ignore any suggestion of recompense for the forsaken Aborigines!

Finally, a question must be asked - Was Mr Angas the monolithic paragon as portrayed by his biographer, or could another interpretation evolve in the wake of latter-day historical research, particularly with the formation of the South Australian Company and the introduction of special surveys where his conduct must, at best, be classified as devious?

The following is offered as a more realistic assessment of the late departed gentleman:

Angas's greatness in South Australian history must not blind us as to his shortcomings. He did not cope well with failure. When it was at all possible to blame others for his own failures he did so.

His position in the hierarchy of South Australia was reinforced by those who accorded him the language of habits of deference.

One who didn't was Robert Harrison, author of *Colonial Sketches* which referred to South Australia and its people in general and Angas in particular in derogatory terms. On the cover of a reprinted edition of the book it was stated that 'every copy available was purchased and destroyed by the Angas family.'

He was a man of iron will and near-obsessive personality '... [and] conformed to the image of piety and sanctimoniousness in which many successful men then enveloped themselves... [His] religious scruples caused him difficulty with his business affairs when things were going well.'

At every stage of his life he found a close identity between his own business and financial interests and those of God and, according to the gullible Hodder, 'unlike most monetary institutions the Union Bank owed its existence to philanthropy.'

Like most ultra-religious men, he suffered in having his motives questioned and, as Hodder explained, 'it was his answer of a good conscience towards God that sustained him in the presence of all calumniators.'

He sailed to South Australia in 1850 to a new life of wealth, success and honour where he attempted to 'try and make it a moral and terrestrial paradise.'

By shrewdness and foresight he realised a huge fortune in England, 'lost it in pure philanthropy and regained it fourfold [in South Australia] through the reckless land purchases of an adventurer [Charles Flaxman].' He died in 1879, aged 90, and was ancestor of the Angas family of Lindsay Park where a splendid mausoleum was built for his remains.

The hero worship of Hodder, so long ago, has been demolished but, of course, it does not destroy the validity of all that has been written about the said gentleman.

Finally, for the benefit of modern-day historians, it may not be inappropriate to quote a few cautionary words taken from Charles H. Bright's introduction to *The Confidential Clerk*:

There has been a tendency for later historians to continue to express the same view as their predecessors despite the later evidence. This is, perhaps, because the later material often consists of scraps of circumstantial evidence which, considered singly, present a picture which is inconsistent with earlier views. Perhaps articles written about eminent persons during their old age or shortly after their death are most to be distrusted. For they resemble lapidary inscriptions in which, as Dr Johnson reminds us, truth is not to be sought.

Betrayal - The Coming of the White Man

The hopes that the new colony would see the dawn of a better era for Australian Aborigines was dashed. There was deep disappointment, even a sense of betrayal, in humanitarian circles. For all their talk, the South Australians were doing no better than the dwellers of the convict colonies to the east. A committee of English Quakers noted that notwithstanding the expression of 'just and humane views' the Aborigines were being 'deprived of their lands and means of subsistence without treaty, payment or compensation ... It will doubtless be asked how the worthy and honourable gentlemen whose names are attached to the [Commissioner's Report] can have allowed a system to be established so completely at variance with the sentiments they have therein recorded.'

(Henry Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*)

When the white man arrived they proceeded to cut down the forests, destroy the kangaroos and other native game and gave the natives to understand that, if they encroached in any way against their boundaries, they would take upon themselves the task of clearing them out.

In return for their land and their game what was given them? Civilisation was introduced - Yes, but what sort of civilisation? Well, they were taught to lie, cheat, smoke tobacco and drink intoxicating liquors!

While recalling this intrusion, the Rev John Blacket wrote the following about the perpetrators whom he classified as 'unprincipled and lecherous whites':

While as yet the first settlers dwelt in tents and bough booths on the shores of Holdfast Bay, notices were fastened to gum-trees offering a reward for information as to the persons who supplied drink to Aborigines.

To the shame of our race we have to acknowledge that one of the first cases tried in the infant settlement of South Australia was that in which two whites were charged with stealing a jacket and some spears and waddies from the Aborigines. Today, they are a weak, degraded race, doomed to speedy extinction.

The introduced diseases that spread amongst them had the effect of making them die off like rotten sheep. In a word, they were initiated in all the vices of Europeans, without inculcating or exhibiting towards them any of the counteracting virtues, and the result was that those natives, who had intercourse with the colonists, were more cruel, more treacherous and ten times more to be dreaded than those never brought into contact with the boasted civilisation.

From the closing months of 1836, the Aborigines use of the land, together with customs going back for thousands of years, were to be slowly, but surely, all but exterminated by the intrusion of the British settler and the accompanying laws and diseases of their so-called 'civilisation'.

Colonial officials, missionaries and others, who had close contact with the Aborigines, soon became aware that they had a well-defined system of land ownership and it was more than evident to any fair-thinking person that 'Australia was a patchwork of clearly defined tribal territories and those local blacks defended their territory against both European and traditional enemies.'

In the antipodes, the *South Australian* of 16 June 1838 reported that the Aborigines themselves 'often asserted that the land belonged to the "black fella".' Another confronted a settler and bellowed - 'Go away you white buggers what business have you here.'

In 1837, to compound the ongoing skulduggery, the Colonial Secretary, Robert Gouger, observed wryly:

No legal provision, by way of purchase of land on their behalf, or in any other mode, has been yet made; nor do I think that with proper care it is at all necessary. I can see no reason why they should not, in a comparatively short time be made to understand our notions, and to depend on their own exertions for a livelihood...

At any rate, until it and other means shall have been tried and found fruitless, the enervating effect of specific legal protection should not be tried.

As to their 'welfare', Captain Bromley established a sort of location by having shelter sheds built a little to the west of 'Buffalo Row' on the south bank of a gully near the cattle sale yards. The Aborigines did not take kindly to the sheds and preferred their own wurleys.

His tenure was of short duration for he was dismissed on the grounds of incompetence and, in April 1838, his dead body was found in the river not far from where he lived - the cause of his death remains a mystery.

His successor, William Wyatt, was instructed to protect the Aborigines 'in the undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary rights to such lands as may be occupied by them in any especial manner' and to find out if they were in 'in the practice of making use of the land for cultivation' or if they had fixed abodes or if they used any land for

‘funeral purposes’. Further, if such events were shown to be true, he was told to report to Governor Hindmarsh ‘without loss of time, in order that means may be taken to prevent [such land] being included in the survey of sale.’

In May 1838, Mr Wyatt suggested that certain land be created as a reservation for the Kaurna people; the Governor concurred but the Resident Commissioner, James Hurtle Fisher, who was a law unto himself, refused to entertain the suggestion!

Accordingly, the Aborigines were betrayed and, while the subject was being debated within the colony, a correspondent reminded his readers that the Commissioners in London had decreed that any land ‘in the occupation of or enjoyment of the Natives was to be considered to be their property and that a sale or cession was to be negotiated.’ This plea fell upon deaf ears!

However, there was at least one man in South Australia with a conscience for, in September 1838, Robert Cock, a Quaker of Adelaide, wrote to Mr Wyatt:

Please receive herewith the sum of £3-16-6 being the interest at the rate of 10% on one fifth of the purchase money of the town lands purchased by me on 27 March 1837. This sum [is] in accordance with a pledge given by the Colonisation Commissioners for this province and in accordance with the principles therein signified in their first annual report, wherein it was stated they were to receive one-fifth of the lands to constitute a permanent fund for the support and advancement of the natives... I disclaim this to be [neither] donation, grant or gift, but a just claim the natives have on me as an occupier of these lands.

In the wake of this denial of any semblance of justice to the Aborigines, the *South Australian Gazette* opined that the Aborigines had received ‘but a miserable instalment of the debt of justice we still owe them’ and this statement was aptly evaluated by Henry Reynolds:

In the infant colony three Provisional Protectors performed their duties with varying degrees of enthusiasm and competence during the initial three years of settlement. The division of authority... added to the difficulties faced by the protectors, especially as Torrens and his colleagues had their mind up in advance about the Aboriginal tenure and land use.

The venture was a private one. It was always financially fragile. Any nonsense about Aboriginal land rights could seriously hinder the land sales on which the health of the whole scheme depended.

In 1839, a year after taking up the position of Protector, Dr Matthew Moorhouse wrote:

We find - what the Europeans thought the Aborigines of Australia did not possess - territorial rights, families owning and holding certain districts of land which pass from fathers to sons, never to daughters, with as much regularity as property in our own country.

Similarly, C.G.H. Teichelmann, one of the Lutheran missionaries, observed that:

Each tribe has a certain district of the country as a property received by their forefathers, the boundaries of which are fixed.

Finally, Edward J. Eyre, the explorer, noted that some districts:

Having a radius of perhaps from ten to twenty miles [were] considered generally as being the property and hunting grounds of the tribes who frequent them,

while Governor Gawler noted that the Kaurna and other local ‘tribes’, contiguous to Adelaide, had ‘very distinct and well defined proprietary rights’ that accorded them ‘protection from other tribes and bodily support.’ At the same time, the Surveyor-General, Charles Sturt, opined that the Aborigines had a ‘right of propriety in the lands of their birth right.’

One of the most inexplicable results of the Australian jurisprudence was to refuse recognition of the fact that the Aborigines had ever possessed their own land, and of denying them the inherent legality of that position.

In 1840, Governor George Gawler, a deeply religious man, observed that:

If the claims of the natives are not void before all, they are preliminary to all. They cannot occupy the middle station ... The Royal instructions commanded that the Aborigines [will] be protected in the free enjoyment of their property,

while the Commissioners’ instructions directed that the Aborigines should not be disturbed:

In the enjoyment of lands over which they may possess proprietary rights and of which they are not disposed to make a voluntary transfer.

Accordingly, in it was proclaimed that:

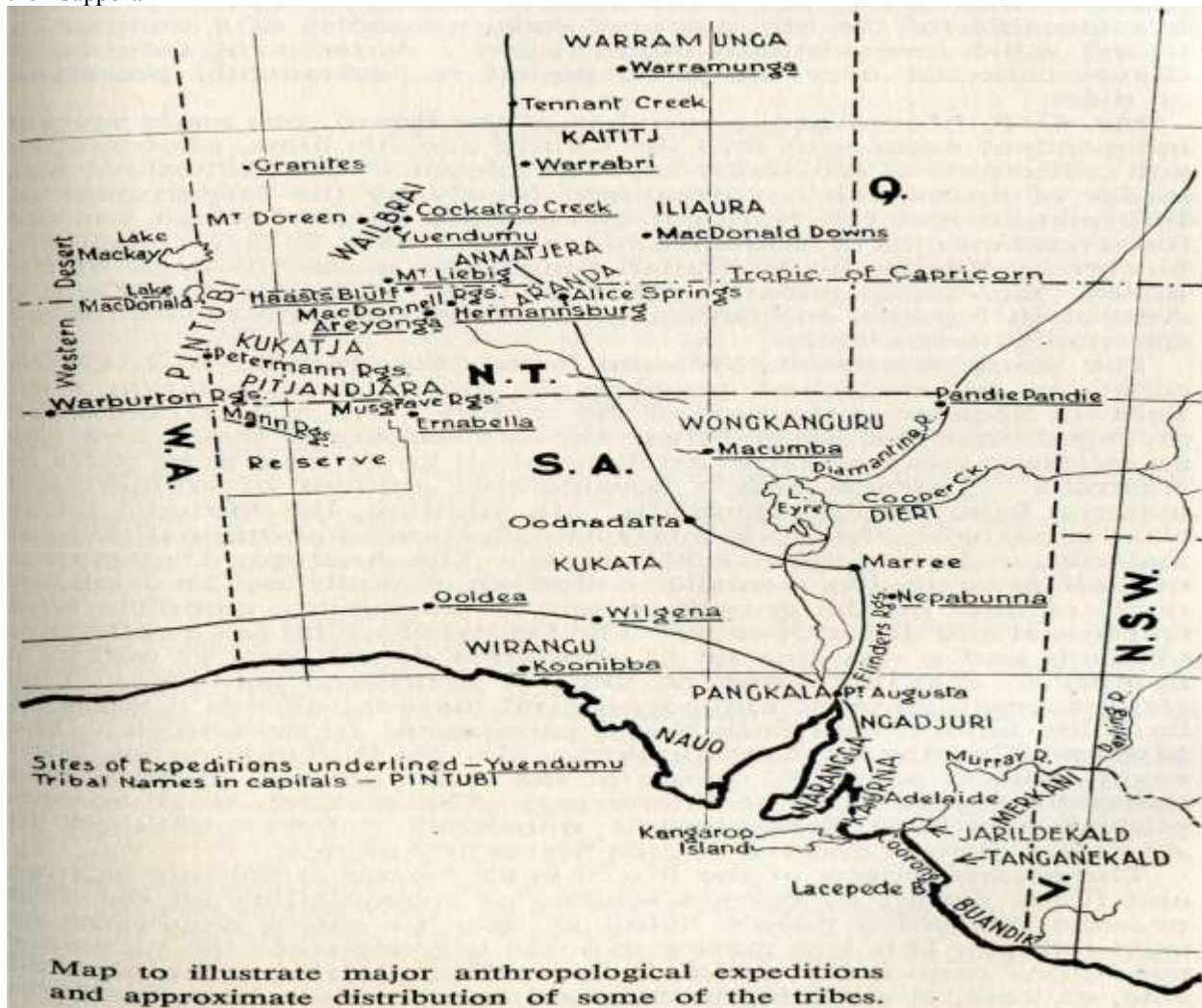
When the dual system of administration was done away with, following the arrival of Governor Gawler, the question of land rights was taken up again and he and Captain Sturt received great praise from humanitarian circles when they spoke out in the *Government Gazette* of 23 July 1840 and said that:

The Aboriginal inhabitants of this province have an absolute right of selection prior to all Europeans who have settled in it during the past four years, of reasonable portions of the choicest land for their especial use and benefit, out of the very extensive districts over which, from time immemorial these Aborigines have exercised distinct, defined and absolute rights of proprietary and hereditary possession.

However, Gawler believed that cash payments to the indigenous people would have been to their ‘great disadvantage’ and concluded that it would be more appropriate if reserves were provided in various districts.

In 1840, he sought approval from the Colonial Office for the reservation of 32 hectares out of 2,023 sold to settlers and, in his report, enclosed letters from disgruntled settlers who had opposed his policy. The reply from Lord Russell approved ‘of the arrangement as far as it extends but, advertent to the very small portions of land assigned to

the Aborigines out of extensive districts, I am of the opinion that a more liberal position should have been made for their support.'



This problem was taken up again in the House of Commons before a Select Committee at which George Fife Angas pointed out that the 1834 Act did not recognise any Aboriginal right to land and stipulated that reserves could not be created 'in their favour'.

Gawler's policy in respect of 'reserves' for the Aborigines was summarily terminated when his successor, George Grey, asked for authority to extend land grants to the Aborigines, but was informed by the Secretary of State, Lord Edward Stanley, following a change of government in 1841, that such an action was illegal under the provisions of the *South Australian Act*. Indeed, it was plain to see that there was a contradiction between the Letters Patent and the Act and had been resolved 'in favour of the Act and the land-hungry settlers.'

Thus, the Commissioners' original edict in respect of land acquisition was not implemented and the natives became increasingly hostile. The colonists acquired their lands and drove off the game while the settlers' stock began to destroy plants and shrubs that were a valuable source of food for the embattled indigenous people.

Later, in 1842, the *Waste Lands Act* gave the Governor the power to reserve land for the use or benefit of the Aborigines and, subsequently, small blocks were reserved for them throughout the settled districts but, by then, they had already been dispossessed of the lands occupied by themselves and their ancestors for, perhaps, a thousand generations - by 1860, there were 59 small reserves covering about 3,645 hectares and 'in themselves were the strongest indication that Aboriginal land rights had been tacitly accepted in Australia and that compensation was required from settlers.'

Social Platitudes and Public Indifference

A public flogging was prescribed at the Adelaide gaol ... Having been secured to the triangle [the Aborigine] received fifty lashes of a cat-o'-nine-tails, which he bore with commendable fortitude. At the command of the Sheriff, twenty-five more lashes were administered...

Our reporter subsequently saw Monyitya's back, and described the apparent effect of the whipping as one which, although it cannot by any means be called cruel, is, nevertheless, likely to produce a lasting impression upon the mind of the culprit, if not upon his native companions who witnessed the infliction.

(*Adelaide Chronicle*, 24 March 1840)

In June 1837, following a proclamation by Governor Hindmarsh in respect of the indigenous Aborigines, Sir John Jeffcott, the first colonial judge, delivered a charge to 'The Grand Jury of the Province' and, in the course of his address, suggested that the colonists should, scrupulously, avoid giving them offence and to respect their property at all times.

He urged them not to teach them British vices, which would render them more debased than when they were found but, by example, 'lead them into the paths of civilisation and virtue.'

The great Father of the human family... has placed us amongst them, and given us to enjoy the land which is their birthright, - no doubt for his own wise purposes, and, it may be hoped with a view to their ultimate conversion to His holy religion.

These sentiments echoed the expressed intentions of the Commissioners for South Australia in London as dictated by the Colonial Office who, being aware of the injustice and cruelty meted out to the Aborigines in New South Wales and Tasmania, were determined that the rights of Aborigines would be protected in the new colony.

Therefore, it was agreed between the parties that the following objectives should be sought:

To guard them against personal outrage and violence.

To protect them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary right to soil, wherever such right may be found to exist.

To make it an invariable and cardinal condition in all bargains and treaties entered into with the natives for the cession of lands possessed by them in occupation or enjoyment, that permanent subsistence should be supplied to them from some other source.

To promote amongst them the spread of civilisation and the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion.

In addition, it was enacted that they were to be treated as British subjects and that all aggression upon them would be strictly punished; to this edict Robert Gouger opined that:

So many miseries have been sustained by these unoffending creatures in different parts of the continent that I feel particularly anxious that the annals of our province should be unstained by native blood. .

Such inherent platitudes were anathema to the more ruthless settler who suggested that they should be either mercifully exterminated or left to:

The scarcely less certain but cruel fate of perishing by the loathsome diseases or excesses which [had] never failed to follow their contacts with whites.

Conversely, the more saintly among the interlopers held the view that they should be placed in a school where 'all the mysteries of science, refinement and religion' could be 'inculcated within them'.

At times, the latter members of colonial society went a little further and pleaded for the Aborigines who were:

Daily retreating from the footsteps of a race whose arts and powers [were] so much superior... as to leave no chance of their being able to feed or rear their young in peace amidst their accustomed haunts.

This aroused the displeasure of the self-centred exploiter whose creed was that:

The black brutes know well enough that they can obtain flour or meat by pestering you till you fling it at their heads...

They will never rouse themselves from their slothful, dirty and sluggard state... Why do the Government inveigle us to these distant climes without some protection against these wretches?

[Some] men try to civilise them with the Bible, elsewhere we civilise them with the Martin-Henry rifle...

For about the first three years of European settlement the indigenous Kurna people, who were shy and intelligent, coupled with an innate curiosity in respect of the whims and fancies of the white invaders, lived in relative harmony.

If trouble did occur the catalyst was invariably the trading of insults or arguments about the abuse on Aboriginal women:

The all-male overlanders met up with native people whose practices allowed an exchange of women and granting of sexual favours for ceremonial and diplomatic purposes or as a form of hospitality. But the white men refused to accept the reciprocal obligations due to the Aborigines.

Many attempts were made to 'Christianise' the Kurna people; a 'Native Location', conducted by German missionaries, was established and, by 1840, six cottages had been built and an acre of ground placed under cultivation 'and out of 41 children in Adelaide, the average school attendance was eleven daily.' The adults were much more inaccessible for religious instruction because they were 'satisfied with the tradition of their forefathers'.

A similar experiment had been conducted in 1838, when the Government had a row of pise huts erected on the North Park Lands for the accommodation of the Kurna people who, nevertheless, stuck to their 'spontaneous pervious mansions of gum-branches and sheaoak.'

Although the buildings were always open to would-be occupants, the authorities might as well have provided 'mackintosh cloaks and umbrellas for Gov Gawler's ducks because the natives merely used the quarters as a wind break and chose to sleep outside 'in their customary umbrageous dormitories.'

At a banquet given in Governor Hindmarsh's honour, before his return to England, he offered the following lamentable advice to the assemblage:

The Aborigines are not forgotten. My power as Governor has been of little avail without being seconded by the exertion of colonists. I, therefore, call upon them to second me in this good work and, above all things, to prevent the Aborigines from imbibing from them a taste of that bane of humanity - spirituous liquors;

and I consider the most effective way the colonists can do this will be by setting them an example in forming one vast temperance society.

In May 1840, the colonial authorities organized a distribution of food and blankets to the Aborigines to mark Queen Victoria's birthday. The event was held at Government House and attended by some 300 indigenous people while about 4,000 whites watched the proceedings, which included a demonstration by Aboriginal children from the Location school of their reading and numerical skills and the recital of a hymn.

The missionary, Pastor Schurmann, read out the Ten Commandments, translated into the Kaurna language, to the assembled Aborigines and shirts and blankets were then distributed.

Finally, Governor Gawler addressed the Aborigines, exhorting them to obey the Commandments and not to fight, steal or drink alcohol. According to the account published in the *Register*:

The natives listened with the greatest attention...they then gave three hearty cheers, and needed no second invitation to proceed to the dinner table, on which were arranged huge trenchers of roast beef, biscuits, rice and sugar.

Pastors Teichelmann and Schurmann were soon proficient in the Kaurna language and had some success with the Aboriginal children at the school, teaching them mainly in their own language. However, the missionaries and the new Protector, Matthew Moorhouse, made little progress in instilling Christianity and 'civilised habits' among the adults.

Teichelmann complained that the Aborigines did little work at the Location because they believed that, as the Europeans had driven away the game animals, it was their responsibility to provide the Aborigines with other food. All attempts to convert the Aborigines failed. They were, he said:

Naturally proud and wise in their own estimation, and express themselves perfectly satisfied with the tradition of their forefathers.

By 1847, it seems that the Kaurna had largely deserted Adelaide. An editorial in one of the Adelaide newspapers commented on their absence from the Queen's Birthday distribution the previous month:

Of late years, great hordes of Murray natives have frequented Adelaide, and have robbed the Adelaide natives of their wives and daughters, the most valuable property of these savages- the consequence of which is that the Cowandilla or Adelaide tribe have been driven from their own district, scarcely any of their children attend the school, and it has been remarked that not one of this tribe appeared to receive blankets and rations on the Queen's Birthday. The recipients were Murray natives.

To conclude this facet of the lack of empathy toward the Aborigines, the following example of the 'ethnic cleansing' of this embattled and misunderstood people stands, today, as a positive indictment of the indifference that pervaded colonial society:

Hoar frost covered the hill all round... [On] the side of [it]... lay huddled together in a fretting mass, two reeking specimens of sable humanity. What a sight - what a picture of uncompensated, unmitigated, hopeless misery. A venerable old patriarch, pillowed on the icy grass, with his grey locks dappled in blood, forced by fierce pulmonic convulsions from his weakened lungs... His blind old lubra lay beside him.

All the covering that this frail pair could muster... was, for him, a coarse rotten remnant of a shirt; for her, a filthy abomination in the shape of a dilapidated opossum rug... Were the panacea for the suffering race... to be found in our capital, there would probably be no getting a tithe of them to partake of it.



The last of the Port Lincoln Aborigines

Events in South Australia – An Overview

The occupation of a vast and magnificent country like Australia by a race superior to the Aborigines was inevitable... [To represent] that the Europeans are interlopers who have spoiled the native races of their natural and inalienable inheritance, and that the act is merely a robbery committed by high-handed force, does not find a response in the conscience even of those who indulge in it; or, if it does, they stand self-convicted of open and flagrant violation of honesty and right.

(Advertiser, 1 December 1883)

From the outset, the official policy was to integrate the Aborigines into the white society but it proved to be a hopeless task because paternalism was rampant; it was inexplicable that they were portrayed as being a 'lovable race but incapable of mixing with the European population and so require guidance and care like grown-up children.'

Indeed, integration meant the 'destruction of Aboriginal culture which was neither known nor recognized during the settlers' single-minded efforts to acquire land.'

The manners and customs of the natives were not known and no attempt at friendly overtures was considered necessary towards them in the early settlement of the northern districts, in fact they were looked upon as equally detrimental with wild dogs on the run.

To many colonists, the designated 'integration' was considered to be the termination of Aboriginal culture; others went further and believed it meant the elimination of the Aborigines themselves - there was no doubt that the general consensus was that they would soon die out - while the Editor of the *Register* on 22 April 1850 suggested that 'we are happy to witness any efforts calculated to diminish the amount of individual suffering during the process of extinction.' Eighty-six years later, official policy still held the belief that 'everyday contacts between blacks and outback settlers and prospectors hasten these primitive people towards extinction.'

However, it is pleasing to report that there were a few enlightened colonists who abhorred both the inhumane treatment handed out to the Aborigines and the unjust dispossession of their land; accordingly, public debate on the issue flared occasionally in the newspapers:

1. It will be an everlasting disgrace to us if we allow them to perish and dwindle away in misery, poverty and wretchedness as they have done hitherto. Are they not deserving of kinder and more humane treatment? Are they dogs or mere things that they are neglected so? ... Our prosperity as a people is founded on their calamity, and the foundation of our wealth is laid in their decay and death.
2. They are poor enough, heaven knows, ragged and hungry and houseless... Can we not spare some of the old ewes now rotting on the distant runs, and add these and a few blankets to the stingy once-a-year liberality of the State? ... Blackfellow and whitefellow will together face that tremendous day, when One will proclaim 'Forasmuch as ye did it not to these, ye did it not to me.'
3. We have intruded ourselves amongst them in their lands, which were given to them by God, and in so doing we have completely overturned and embarrassed all their former accustomed modes of living; we have driven them from their own country, deprived them of their means of subsistence; we have placed them in a social position entirely strange to them, where difficulties and perplexities encounter them at every step.
4. Were it not that the natives are fed by settlers they must literally perish, unless, indeed, they lived by plunder. To some extent they do; and who can blame them? They can see no wild animals, but they can see sheep; and the sheep alone stand between them and starvation... It is useless to declaim against the natives when they prefer stolen mutton to starvation; white men would do the same.
5. These poor savages are being degraded and diseased by the vices of - shall we call it civilization? - [they] are left to die in our midst of starvation... within a stone's throw of abundance and luxury...
6. The occupation of a vast and magnificent country like Australia by a race superior to the Aborigines was inevitable... [To represent] that the Europeans are interlopers who have spoiled the native races of their natural and inalienable inheritance, and that the act is merely a robbery committed by high-handed force, does not find a response in the conscience even of those who indulge in it; or, if it does, they stand self-convicted of open and flagrant violation of honesty and right.
7. So they wander, wretched, half-starved, and diseased, over the face of the country - living relics of the most difficult of social and ethnological problems which ever confronted the intelligence of the Anglo-Australian. The extinction of the Aborigines from their decadence is clearly only a matter of a short time. Australia will then have settled the native problem by rubbing it out.
8. We have taken their country and brought amongst them all the vices of civilisation with very little of its virtues. These vices have been carrying them off wholesale and at no distant day the black man will be as much a curiosity as the bunyip. Why should we accelerate the pace? Why should we be recklessly guilty in the matter? We may not be able to avert the extinction of the race, but in common humanity, we should do what little we can to stay the rate of mortality and at least extend to the black the attentions we give even the brute creation...
9. I fear that the white man has much guilt upon his shoulders. We have taken their country, their all. We have removed every vestige of brushwood in the city and, if we catch a native cutting a branch of a tree on the parklands, we hand him over as an offender to the tender mercies of the police magistrate. Though they be savages and cannot plead their own cause, this cannot justify our neglect of their miseries.
10. Would not the claims of justice and humanity be equally satisfied and the majesty of the English

law vindicated by emancipating the Aborigines from its direct operation? At present their roving mode of life is a continual violation of one of its injunctions, which directs that the man who can give no satisfactory account of himself and his means of living be committed as a rogue and vagabond.

11. Everywhere we see ascendant the reign of brute force as opposed to that of justice and natural equity, and everywhere we find the greatest enemy of man is man. In a thousand different ways our arrival amongst them has operated upon them for evil. And can it then be supposed for a moment that we are under no obligation to make some serious and well-studied attempt to balance the account with this unhappy race.

It was argued that, as discussed earlier, although there was considerable evidence that the Aborigines had clearly recognisable territorial rights, the Commissioners, in alliance with land-hungry colonists, frustrated all the attempts by Governors Gawler and Grey and the Protectors to safeguard those rights and to create reserves for Aborigines.

The South Australian Commissioners admitted, as a fact, which it was in vain to disguise, and which could not be deplored too deeply, that the native people of Australia had been exposed to injustice and cruelty in their dealings with Europeans and that squatters, runaway convicts and deserters from ships had dealt with the Aborigines as if they did not regard them as members of the human race, but as inferior animals created for their use.

Further, they observed that:

These outrages cannot be repressed where no legal authority exists. Therefore... the colonization of South Australia, by industrious and virtuous settlers, so far from being an invasion of the rights of the Aborigines, is a necessary preliminary to the displacement of lawless squatters, the abandoned sailors, the runaway convicts, the pirates, the worse-than-savages, that now infest the coasts and islands along that extensive portion of New Holland, and perpetrate against the defenceless native crimes at which humanity revolts.

For the purpose of securing to the natives their proprietary right to the soil, wherever such right might be found to exist, special instructions were given to the colonial commissioner, in which it was laid down as a principle, that, of the colonial lands placed by Parliament at the disposal of the commissioners, no portion which the natives might possess in occupation or enjoyment, should be offered for sale till ceded by the natives to the colonial commissioner.

That officer was required to furnish the protector with evidence of the faithful fulfilment of the bargains or treaties which he should effect with the Aborigines; and it was made the duty of the latter not only to see that such bargains or treaties were faithfully executed, but also to call upon the executive government of the colony, to protect the natives in the undisturbed enjoyment of those lands of which they should not be disposed to make a voluntary transfer.

It was further ordained that such transfers should be considered as involving a stipulation on the part of the purchasers, that the Aborigines parties thereto, should be permanently supplied with the means of subsistence, and with moral and religious instruction...

Thus conducted, the colonization of South Australia will be an advent of mercy to the native tribes. They are now exposed to every species of outrage and treated like cattle of the field; they will, in future, be placed under the protection of British laws, and invested with the rights of British subjects. They are now standing on the verge of famine; they will obtain a constant and ample supply of subsistence.



Handing out rations at Oodnadatta

They are not attached to the soil as cultivators; they do not occupy the natural pastures, even as wandering shepherds; they are without the implements of the chase which belong to hunting tribes; and, with respect of industry and the possession of property, they do not appear to manifest the instinctive apprehensions of some of the inferior animals. They will now be lifted up from this degradation; they will gradually be reconciled to labour for the sake of its certain reward...

The great opportunities inherent in the above pronouncements were all but completely ignored and the responses over many decades can only be classified as 'grudging and legalistic'. Further, there is little doubt that the courts throughout Australia have studiously rejected the idea that the Crown has a duty of care, in the form of a fiduciary relationship in respect of the Aboriginal population of Australia. This edict was accepted by the United States of America in the 19th century and, later, enacted in both New Zealand and Canada.

Indeed, a summation by Henry Reynolds following the finalisation of the Mabo case in 1992 is worthy of mature consideration by all South Australians today:

It is not that that the Australian judiciary is not unaware of this. They have decided not to walk in that direction. But the idea that the process of colonization itself and the concomitant extinguishment of Aboriginal title created lasting obligations is not a new one in Australia. It was forcefully put by [Lord Grey] ... who in 1850 declared that 'in assuming their territory the Settlers in Australia have incurred a moral obligation of the most sacred kind ...' It is a message that many people still don't want to hear.



Aftermath

White civilisation, white culture means death to the Australian Aborigine; and it is from profound consciousness of this basic fact, which has been established by a century of experience, that anthropologists demand the complete segregation of the remaining tribes in extensive reserves in which they could be able, in the absence of interference by white man, to work out their own destiny...

(Advertiser, 26 April 1934)

Perhaps it is a trite comment, but it would appear that it was impossible for the Aborigines to consent either to the occupation of their land or on their enforced subjection to English law for they were incapable of comprehending the import and results of either one or the other. One might be excused for concluding that, in their estimation of right and wrong, 'the killing of a white invader of their country [would be] rather more virtuous than criminal.'

Great suffering was occasioned, especially among the aged and infirm natives, by the insufficient and ill-timed supplies, both in blankets and provisions. Disease was induced by this partial and irregular clothing - pulmonary complaints prevailed to a fearful extent during the winter of 1859.

By 1860, it was admitted, universally, that they were fast decreasing in number, the cause being attributed to partial assumption of semi-civilised habits - where formerly they clothed themselves in the skins of animals taken in the chase, by this time they were, in great measure, dependent upon the scanty dole of blankets issued by the government, which supplies were most irregular.

There is a danger, however, of overestimating the success that attended the efforts discussed above in respect of the indiscriminate slaughter of the indigenous people by certain classes of colonial society. The history of every State in the Commonwealth is foul with the blood of the unfortunate Aborigines and marked with deeds of callous brutality on the part of the settlers and natives alike. Some historians suggest that, to this record, South Australia was a pleasant exception, an exception, indeed, 'unique in the annals of white colonisation.'

Generally, by the opening of the 20th century it was agreed that blood was spilt here on both sides and that many mistakes had been made in dealing with the Aborigines that led to misunderstanding, but 'as the scene of an honest-to-God attempt to give them a square deal', from the outset it was held by many that South Australia held pride of place among the countries of the earth that had been invaded and settled by Europeans.

However, among modern-day scholars divergent views have been expressed:

Violence by settlers against Aboriginal people often went unreported. On those occasions it was reported, it was typically ascribed to ex-convicts or other unsavoury characters who were said to be drawn to the isolated and lawless boundaries of European settlement.

Explorer and colonial bureaucrat, Captain Charles Sturt, argued that settlers often established their runs with every intention of treating the Aboriginal people fairly, but 'it more frequently happens that the men who are sent to form our stations beyond the boundaries of location, are men of bold and unscrupulous

dispositions, used to crime, accustomed to danger, and reckless as to whether they quarrel, or keep on good terms with the natives who visit them...'

The undeclared war of the Australian frontier produced a culture of secrecy, ensuring that much of what happened would be clothed in euphemisms, and the knowledge transmitted with all the accuracy of a Chinese whisper. It is this very pattern of violence that makes it difficult to make definitive statements about the number of Aboriginal people who died in South Australia's frontier wars...

The degradation of the Aborigines of Australia was, from the advent of 'civilisation', remarkably, and regretfully, rapid. In the late 1890s, the demise of the last of the Tasmanian people was recorded and the Adelaide and Mount Barker nations of South Australia had long been unknown quantities, although when the colony was founded both were numbered in hundreds. For example, in an area of 2,800 square miles around Adelaide their number sank from 651 in 1841 to 156 in 1856.

In South Australia there was no organised war against the Aborigines yet, within 40 years after the first settlement of the colony, fully 67 per cent of the black population, with all that belonged to them, had disappeared.



Aboriginal burial tree

Conclusion

The invasion of [their] ancient [land] rights by surveys and land appropriations of any kind, is justifiable only on the ground that they should, at the same time, reserve for the natives an ample sufficiency for their present and future use and comfort, under the new state of things into which they are thrown – a state in which we hope they will be led to live in greater comfort on a small space than they enjoyed before it occurred on their extensive original possessions.

(Register, 23 July 1840)



Aftermath of 'the spread of civilisation and voluntary reception of the Christian religion'

In 1903, a concerned citizen presented the following indictment of past practices in the local press but it received no positive response from either the general public, the legal profession or legislators; indeed, there is no doubt that a 'blind eye' had been turned on the irrefutable fact that South Australia had been founded upon the belief that all land occupied by the Aborigines would be purchased - alas, within thirty years of settlement this edict had, conveniently, been forgotten:

The inaction in respect to the strengthening of the existing law for safeguarding the rights of the blacks, who is practically helpless to redress his own wrongs, except by such acts of reprisal as are natural to the savage, and who is often incapable of understanding the extent of injury done to himself and his race, contrasts unpleasantly with the attempts to secure his complete subjugation... The object of authorising whipping in addition to punishment by imprisonment for cattle raiding is not likely to meet with much favour... There is something [about it]... too strongly reminiscent of the Middle Ages...



'Lonkey', the last survivor of the Bozulik Tribe that once inhabited Rivoli Bay in the Mount Gambier district. He was born near Beachport and when only a small child his father was shot. He was raised by his uncle 'Chichen Bay Jacky'. 'Lonkey' is photographed here with Mr. T. P. Smith on the Smith farm near Renosville.

Further, in recent years, Henry Reynolds has contended that 'the legal profession as a whole has been remarkably reluctant to admit the role of law in the dispossession of the Aborigines [to which] they have been subjected during the last 200 years' and claimed that English law was consistently blind to racial differences and that the 'Aborigines became subjects of the Crown from the first instance of settlement.' He continued:

But the facts speak for themselves. Despite coming under the protection of the common law, it is my belief that as many as 20,000 Aborigines were killed in the course of Australian settlement. They were not, in a legal sense, foreign enemies struck down in war, although a few were shot down during periods of martial law. Most were murdered - nothing more or less. Yet the law was powerless to staunch the flow of blood - and neither lawyers nor judges appear to have done much to bring the killing to an end. It is not an honourable record.

Today, in the 18th decade of European settlement, the fate of the Aborigines is subject to the whims and fancies of State and Federal governments and it is fair to say that a profound sense of historical and legal injustice persists within South Australian society - black and white alike.

The Mabo decision of the 1990s presented a humane opportunity but it has obviously been squandered:

It is symptomatic that the Australian courts have quite consciously rejected the idea that the Crown had a duty of care - a fiduciary relationship - towards the indigenous people. That has been accepted in the United States since the nineteenth century and has more recently been incorporated in the law of Canada and New Zealand. It is not that the Australian judiciary is unaware of this. They have decided not to walk in that direction.

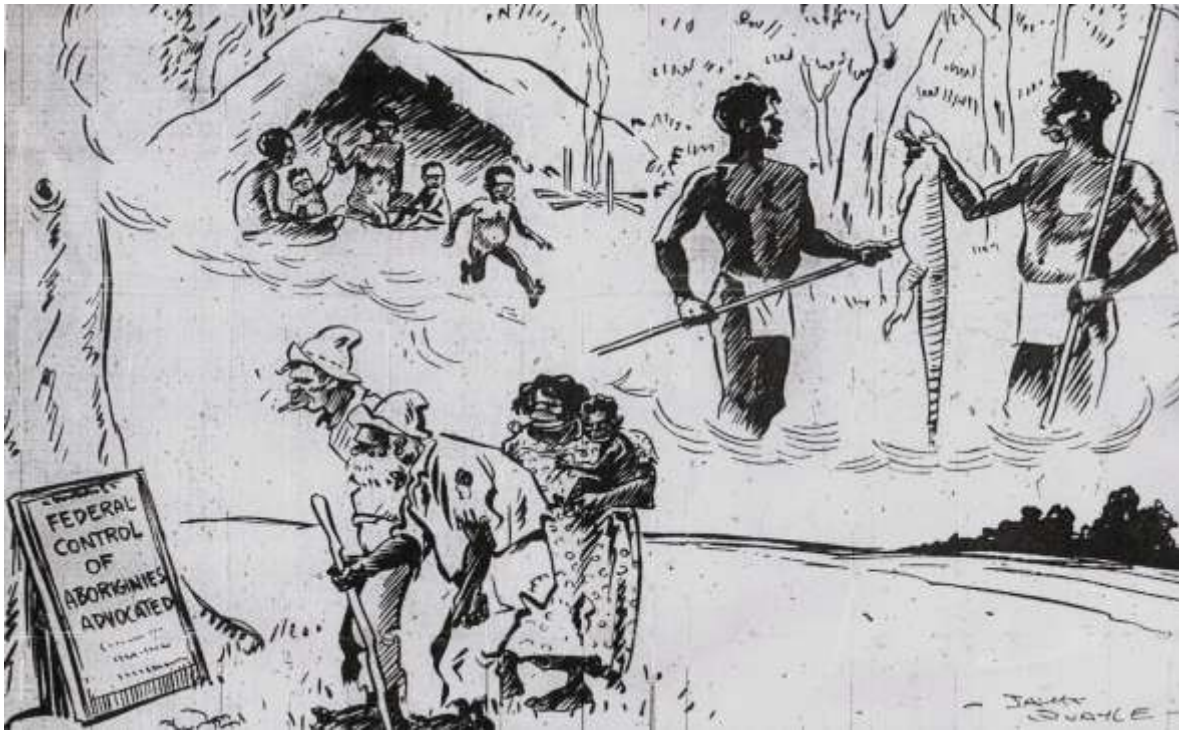
In this respect the following opinion, and accompanying indictment of the treatment of Aborigines, was expressed in Adelaide in 1857:

Had they been a race equal to the New Zealander, Government would have spared no means if they could have got possession of the land by supplying them with food and medicine... To visit the encampments of the natives is distressing; exposure at this season of the year, many ill, without food, almost denuded, living at the mercy of their own tribe, is a disgrace... [to those] who have amassed wealth, to the destruction of their common necessities of life and health.

To conclude this brief excursion into the decimation of the Aboriginal nations of South Australia, and the mercenary conduct that was more than evident in respect of the rapacious 'land grabbing' of early colonial days, it could be considered appropriate to recall Justice Deane's comment from the High Court of Australia when he observed that Australian law 'has still not reached the stage of retreat from injustice'.

Finally, perhaps the indigenous people may, today, find meagre solace in the words imprinted on T-shirts following that celebrated court case:

Captain Cook Stole Our Land - Eddie Mabo Got it Back



Sources

Interested readers are referred to the website - www.slsa.sa.gov.au/manning - where many of the quotations in the text are to be found, along with their respective source and further essays on the subjects of Aborigines and land settlement.

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South Australian Record, 15 November 1839, p. 270; *Southern Australian*, 22 December 1838, p. 4; *Adelaide Chronicle*, 24 March 1840, p. 2, *Observer*, 8 March 1856, p.7, 7 June 1856, p. 1 (supp.), 25 June 1856, 4 September 1858, p. 4 (supp.), 2 September 1899, p. 51, 13 September 1902, p. 23,, 30 September 1911, p. 39; *Chronicle*, 3 November 1860, p. 5, 31 January 1935, p. 48; *Irish Harp*, 6 March 1874, p. 4, 24 December 1874, p. 4; *Southern Australian*, 11 January 1842, p. 4, 7 June 1842, p. 3, 15 June 1847, p. 2; *Register*, 30 May 1840, p. 6, 6 August 1842, 24 April 1844, p. 3, 9 April 1879, p. 5, 24 April 1889, p. 5, 27 August 1904, p. 3; 1 September 1904, p.3, 28 October 1905, p. 10 ; *Border Watch*, 29 January 1870. *Advertiser*, 3, 6, 9 & 12 September 1904, pp. 13, 7, 4 & 4, 18 February 1984 (The Saturday Review).

For an essay on Colonel Light that defends his role in the foundation of Adelaide see *Manning's Place Names of South Australia - From Aaron Creek to Zion Hill* (Gould Books-2006), Appendix 9.

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 R. Foster, 'The Aborigines Location in Adelaide- South Australia's first "mission" to the Aborigines'.
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The article was refused for publication by the Historical Society of SA and an extract from my reply is as follows:

Thank you for responses to my request for consideration of my article to appear in the SA Historical Society's journal.

I have considered the specifications insisted upon by the said Society and advise that I neither wish to 'prune' my text nor do have I any desire to spend countless hours backtracking my sources and annotating same - I celebrate my 82nd birthday next week and I want to spend any available time I have left on this mortal coil in completing my social history of the Lower South East, which I consider to be far more rewarding than complying with the Society's foible.

Please do not misunderstand my reaction - most of my historical works have included 'sources' - indeed, my 1990 publication on nomenclature prompted the reviewer to comment that such inclusion was a 'rare treat indeed' while the foreword by Susan Marsden included this remark - 'His thoroughness both in the research itself and his documentation of it provides a model that many historians could well emulate.'

Any reader of those compliments must, surely, realise that I am not a 'taker in of washing' as many of our 'academic' historians and others have engaged in over recent decades - I give you one instance of such shoddy work - go back to Cockburn's nomenclature of 1908, and follow through all that has been written since as to the identity of the founder of the town of Mount Gambier (Gambierton), and you will find one name only - Hastings Cunningham.

This persisted until the publication of my *Romance of Place Names* in 1986 when, from primary sources, I proved that it was E.P.S. Sturt.

I forwarded my version to the *Border Watch*, my letter was published and, in the next edition rebutted by Les Hill, a local historian.

My response was refused publication; I took my complaint against the learned Editor to the Press Council and about three months later my rebuttal was published!

The Society's avowed stance, from where I sit, suggests that if a statement is not 'footnoted' it could be subjected to doubts as to its authenticity - if so, its head is buried in the sand. For example, peruse the 'footnoted' works of Grenfell Price, Douglas Pike *et al*, and their eager acceptance of Edward Hodder's biography of George F. Angas, which is riddled with factual errors that have flowed over into the revered Australian Dictionary of Biography and elsewhere!

My work, forwarded to you, represents extracts from all but 30 years of intermittent research and I draw your attention re the heinous 'absence' of footnotes to my introductory words under the 'Sources' heading of my article. Surely, this coupled with my bibliography, should prove more than satisfactory to interested researchers and students who desire to enter into further historical research on the subject?

Further, to my mind, it would take them away from their desks and annotated history books and, hopefully, lead them down the path to undertaking personal research *vis a vis* the reprehensible 'taking in of washing' that has stultified the historical scene in South Australia.

I pose one question - Where would the history of nomenclature be today if I had sat at my desk and digested the works of Cockburn, Harris, Talbot, Praithe and Tolley and a host of others emanating from district historians, etc? - Their 'annotations' as to sources were no more than an impediment on the path to the truth - please do not misunderstand me; I do not hold my work out to be gospel!

Aftermath

I sent a copy of my essay to my friend and fellow historian, Peter Rymill, at Penola who asked me

Had you been in charge, how would you have handled the colonization of Australia? I suppose one possibility would be to have none at all, but if it hadn't been us, it would have been someone else. So, please assume you were the omnipotent Portuguese or Japanese lawmaker and governor of SA, and do outline for me how you would have protected the rights of the Aborigines.

I replied as follows:

More Humane Laws for Aborigines in Colonial South Australia

In a leading article, the editor of the SA Register said that 'an intelligent blackfellow might well be excused for coming to the conclusion that civilisation is a pious fraud', to which a fair thinking person might have ventured to add that no intelligent being, black or white, could possibly have come to any other conclusion, unless it was that civilisation was a fraud and lacking in piety.

(Register, 13 November 1897)

I have been asked to:

Assume yourself to be Governor of SA and outline how I would have protected the rights of the Aborigines
- I go a little further and have given myself, also, a place as 'Boss cocky' in the Colonial Office from whence came the outpourings of government on colonial affairs together with instructions to governors.

Before heaping further accusations against those latter-day malefactors, whom I castigated in my article, and placing myself in the exalted position in the Colonial Office, I proffer a comment or two on the laxity surrounding the formation of South Australia, fire another shot across the bows of joint stock companies of the mid-19th century, present a mild attack on the colonial churches and some of their flock and, finally, suggest that a more humane treatment of the indigenous people should have prevailed in colonial South Australia - I explain the background to my stance on 'social matters' a little later and, for the moment, commend the following to you:

The worst sin towards our fellow man is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them; that's the essence of inhumanity.
(George Bernard Shaw – *The Devil's Disciple*)

A Fact that Raises an Excess of Bile within My Vitals

The South Australian Constitution Act was drawn up by the SA Company, which promoted the venture, and not by the British government. Ministers 'sanctioned' the introduction of the Bill without giving any 'undue encouragement'.

It was debated and read a second time in an almost empty House of Commons; however, some members were critical of the haste with which the Bill was handled.

I have traversed later events in my essay and I suggest that you may care to refer to Henry Reynold's *Law of the Land* for a comprehensive examination of the intrigue and skuldugery evident within the hallowed halls of the Colonisation Commissioners and elsewhere.

A Few More Words on Joint Stock Companies, et al

I believe I have expressed, adequately or otherwise, my thoughts on the rape of South Australian landscape by ruthless financiers - too harsh, Peter? - then substitute 'pseudo-Christians' - among whom was George Fife Angas. Collectively, under the cloak of professed Christianity, they proceeded, in a united fashion, with their despicable cause. I quote from another work of mine written and published in 1997:

Joint stock companies, however imperfect, became a permanent and influential feature of commerce and finance; indeed, readers of a contemporary novelist, Charles Dickens, will note that the misers portrayed in his works concerning the social life in England were not conventional old men, gloating over disinterred hoards of coins, but ruthless financiers who amassed great wealth at the expense of others.

Aided and abetted by such types of mankind and, thankfully, others of a less menacing disposition, South Australia was planned to be a place free from the convict taint and where religious tolerance would prevail...

Among these indiscretions was the 'advanced liberals and physical radicals' who, in respect of the West Australian settlement at Swan River, 'unfairly persisted in regarding the project as a device to enrich the relatives of Sir Robert Peel' and proceeded to make great political capital of the careless manner with which land was given away.

This factor, coupled with a shortage of labour, led to the failure of the West Australian colony. In South Australia, land, instead of being given away, was sold at such a price as to prevent a labourer from becoming a land-holder too quickly, while the proceeds from such sales were used to pay the passages of suitable immigrants, thus bolstering the work force of the colony.

On occasions South Australia became a haven for the sons of capitalists who had been 'troublesome at home.' - *I then continued with the life story of one such person – Frederick Estcourt Bucknall and his grandiose scheme on the upper reaches of the Port River that led him and his partners close to penury.* [See under 'South End' in the nomenclature text.]

A Christian Thought Coupled with a Modicum of Psychology

I said in my essay that:

- [1] For about the first three years of European settlement the indigenous Kaurna people, who were shy and intelligent, coupled with an innate curiosity in respect of the whims and fancies of the white invaders, lived in relative harmony...
- [2] They became increasingly hostile. The colonists acquired their lands and drove off the game while the settlers' stock began to destroy plants and shrubs that were a valuable source of food.

I pose you the following for consideration:

You are the chief of the Kurna people and one of your clan sneaks into a colonist's tent and steals his gold watch. He is apprehended, hauled before the local magistrate, found guilty in accordance with 'British' law and sentenced to a public lashing of 75 strokes of the 'cat-o'-nine-tails'.

Would this lead you away from 'relative harmony' into 'hostility' with his tormentors?

If the 'culprit' had been admonished only, after explaining what the penalty would have been under white man's law and, perhaps, chained for 24 hours, would you have been more disposed to continue with your people's 'friendly co-existence'?

If I were the Governor I would have had no hesitation in choosing the 'carrot' in preference to the 'stick' in my attempt to maintain peace and harmony with the Kurna.

The Uncaring Churches in Colonial South Australia

Those capitalists, with whom I have taken exception, were, like Angas, invariably 'holier-than-thou' Christians but, to my mind, the majority of them were inclined to practise their faith on the Sabbath day only within the confines of their Church, indeed:

*Give us this day our daily bread,
He prayed at early morn;
And then went on the Stock Exchange
To raise the price of corn.*

At the risk of excommunication, I repeat a few infernal words from some of my latter-day ramblings concerning the Churches in South Australia during the 19th century - in all the years I researched our local newspapers I never came across a thundering sermon from any pulpit against the indignities heaped upon the Aborigines by the white interloper:

The church that stands still while the world moves on, uttering moral truisms in the abstract, which it takes no pains to enforce, will be left high and dry along with the arid theologies that mankind, aspiring for practical religion, have forsaken long ago.

The unregulated competition of a social state, which apotheosised self-interest as the supreme motive in industrial activities and relations, the exploitation of labour as a mere 'commodity', the deceit and tricks, the speculative spirit that ran to the excesses of the gamester - these were evils which a community professing to have Christian principles at heart could not reconcile with its former creed.

It was not necessary for the Church to secularise itself in entering the lists against such abuses as these.

The measure of the real influence, on those who sat under its ministrations, could be found in the extent to which the ethical teaching bore fruit in the actual conduct of life.

The Church should have kept in touch with social problems and its action in standing aloof from the economic [and Aboriginal?] questions of the day showed a want of sympathy with the workers in their desire to improve their social conditions.

It seemed to many that the Church would not touch anything that had the slightest relationship to everyday life and, regretfully, professing Christians, as a rule, looked upon their work as complete in nursing their pastor and their pastor's work in nursing them.

One continual round of preaching, hymn singing, bazaars, Sunday school treats, and nicely distributed kid-gloved charity, seemed to be the aim of the orthodox churches.

The Hanging of Thomas Donnelly

You comment that 'the execution at least lays to rest any suggestion that Aboriginal genocide was official government policy.' I quote another opinion on this subject:

It is telling that the only European hanged for killing an Aborigine person in colonial South Australia, was an ex-convict, Thomas Donnelly. Donnelly's hanging in 1847 was held out as an example of the legal system's impartiality, yet it did little to alter the essential realities of frontier violence.

Indeed, it may merely have ensured that Indigenous deaths at settlers' hands became more covert. (*Fatal Collisions*, page 7)

It was only Moorhouse's direct intervention in the case that led to the arrest, conviction and execution of Donnelly ... it is clear that both Moorhouse's diligence and the example of Donnelly encouraged those who had killed Aboriginal people to do their best to keep their activities from the attention of the law.

See Dewdney's note about another employee on Aroona, Johnny Bose, who 'would have, if caught at home', got into trouble for shooting an impudent Black, but then in his wisdom kept out of the way until matters quietened. (*Fatal Collisions*, p. 157) (See also reminiscences of Richard Dewdney - *Register*, 26 March 1924, page 10e)

Further, listen to E.P.S. Sturt in 1846:

It is impossible to get at the truth among the rest of the ruffians who infest the neighbourhood and I believe a wholesale system of murder has been carried on, which is most difficult to obtain any evidence of. (GRG24/6/1906/1846)

And so, with the 'Golden Rule' – DO UNTO OTHERS AS YOU WOULD HAVE THEM DO UNTO YOU - ringing in my ears, and echoes from past industrial encounters gnawing away at my psyche, I attempt to answer your probing and logical question:

**Lord Geoffrey Manning - Head of the Colonial Office from 1833 -
His Remedies for the Amelioration of Injustices Perpetrated against SA Aborigines**

(1) *As for the Sale of Land 'Occupied' by Indigenous People*

The *Colonisation Act* would have stipulated precisely that 20% of monies received from all land sold within the colony were to be held in trust for the Aborigines.

Further, a Colonial Protector of Aborigines, would have been designated in the Letters Patent and I would have consulted with John F. Buxton, MP, as to a likely candidate.

Further, I would have ensured that the laws of Great Britain would not apply to the Aborigines and this man would have been given wide powers to deal with all charges levelled against Aborigines and to attend to their welfare. Capital punishment would have been illegal in respect of Aborigines.

(2) *As for the Governor*

The Governor would be just that and not have the Resident Commissioner abrogating certain decisions emanating from the said gentleman.

Lord Manning would have bowed to Governor Manning's plea for wider powers than those given to him because of the interminable time taken for instructions to arrive from England and conversely, reports and despatches sent 'Home'.

If same was granted I would have suggested that my tenure as Governor should be judged on the effectiveness of my administration over the 'wider powers' entrusted to me. Thus, the 'Tyranny of Distance' would have been defeated!

I would have appointed District Protectors of Aborigines as settlement progressed - see example hereunder.

(3) *District Protectors*

According to Christina Smith there were five 'tribes' of Aborigines in the South-East and so, at the time of the introduction of occupation licences, I would have sought advice from settlers such as Duncan Stewart as to the location of the main hunting grounds of the respective Aborigines. Let us suppose that the total land ranged over by the Booandik totalled 50,000 acres then, say, 10 %, in one holding and including all or part of their hunting ground, would have been reserved for their absolute use and enjoyment.

At a time considered appropriate by the Governor, a District Protector in the form of a 'qualified' person would be appointed - Crown Rangers need not apply! His duties would have been subject to oversight by the 'head' Protector in Adelaide.

In due course, I would have envisaged that at least four District Protectors would have been domiciled in the South East - say at Bordertown, Robe, Mount Gambier and Naracoorte.

(4) *As for British Law and its Imposition Upon the Aborigines*

In my essay I say:

Perhaps it is a trite comment, but it would appear that it was impossible for the Aborigines to consent either to the occupation of their land or on their enforced subjection to English law for they were incapable of comprehending the import and results of either one or the other. One might be excused for concluding that, in their estimation of right and wrong, 'the killing of a white invader of their country [would be] rather more virtuous than criminal.' (*Have you any argument against this conclusion?*)

As Lord Manning of the Colonial Office I would have fostered a clause of the *SA Colonisation Act* that exempted the Aborigines from the provisions of British Law and put their behaviour, etc., under the control of the Colonial Protector.

(5) *As Regards Aboriginal Health*

I said this in my essay:

From the closing months of 1836 the Aborigines use of the land, together with customs going back for thousands of years, were to be slowly, but surely, all but exterminated by the intrusion of the British settler and the accompanying laws and diseases of their so-called 'civilisation'.

Great suffering was occasioned, especially among the aged and infirm natives, by the insufficient and ill-timed supplies, both in blankets and provisions. Disease was induced by this partial and irregular clothing - pulmonary complaints prevailed to a fearful extent during the winter of 1859.

By 1860, it was admitted, universally, that they were fast decreasing in number, the cause being attributed to partial assumption of semi-civilised habits - where formerly they clothed themselves in the skins of animals taken in the chase, by this time they were, in great measure, dependent upon the scanty dole of blankets issued by the government, which supplies were most irregular.

And I gave many examples of the woeful neglect of the Aborigines:

Hoar frost covered the hill all round... [On] the side of [it]... lay huddled together in a fretting mass, two reeking specimens of sable humanity.

What a sight - what a picture of uncompensated, unmitigated, hopeless misery. A venerable old patriarch, pillowed on the icy grass, with his grey locks dappled in blood, forced by fierce pulmonic convulsions from his weakened lungs...

His blind old lubra lay beside him. All the covering that this frail pair could muster... was, for him, a coarse rotten remnant of a shirt; for her, a filthy abomination in the shape of a dilapidated opossum rug...

Money from the Aboriginal Land Fund would have been forthcoming to give the Aborigines ongoing medical attention, provision of blankets and food, etc.

(6) *Occupiers and Lessees of Land*

Any occupier or lessee of Crown land, if found guilty of an unlawful offence against Aborigines, whether by his own hand or that of an employee, would be subjected to such penalty as stipulated by law and, in addition, suffer the cancellation of his leasehold agreement.

He would be entitled to reimbursement for any improvements made upon his land; however, any monies received upon transfer of the said lease to another person would be paid into the Protector's Land Fund.

(7) *Owners of Freehold Land*

Any owner of freehold land, if found guilty of an unlawful offence against Aborigines, whether by his own hand, family member or of a servant, would be subjected to such penalty as stipulated by law and, in addition, incur a fine not exceeding £100 which would be paid into the Protector's Land Fund.

(8) *All Other Citizens*

Any other citizen, if found guilty of an unlawful offence against Aborigines, would incur a fine not exceeding £200 which would be paid into the Protector's Land Fund.

Explanatory Note

I realise, of course, the inherent difficulties that could arise, because many Aborigines would be unaware of the 'new' law and so, in many cases, justice could only be forthcoming if evidence as to the 'crime' was evidenced by a third party, presumably a concerned colonist who, like our respective selves, had some of the 'milk of human kindness' running through his/her veins!

Valediction

So there you are Peter - You have Lord Manning's/Governor Manning's suggestions that, they believed, would have improved the lot of the Aborigines - I trust, from where you sit, they are not considered Utopian; indeed, through my aged and, hopefully, wise plebeian eyes they redound with Christian ideals, benevolence and common decency - as opposed to yesteryear's tight-fisted order of things *vis a vis* Angas, *et al* - Would they be amiss in today's troubled times?

Finally, I repeat some words of early settlers from which one can only conclude that those within early colonial society who circumvented the intention of the Imperial government in respect of Aboriginal lands, and subjected them to the rigours of British justice', have, in the wake of their rapacity, much to answer for:

[They] are far superior to the ordinary race of New Hollanders. Their friendly disposition, honesty and inoffensive conduct may fairly set at rest all the fears that might, at first, have been entertained.

We have a Humane Society here; despised and insulted as they are by some. I allude to the blacks of the Adelaide tribe. The colonists have had several proofs of the active, humane and persevering conduct of our friendly natives, whenever an occasion presents itself.

(Register, 3 June 1837, Adelaide Chronicle, 31 December 1839)

So Endeth the Lesson - Let us Pray:

May the Lord have mercy upon those who turn themselves against the modest and benevolent procedures narrated above that were instituted by Lord Manning in the face of intrigue and opposition from forces within the covey of Colonisation Commissioners and the South Australian Company.

Amen

Mr Rymill had this to say in reply:

I look forward to reading it again carefully, but have gained the impression that, in broad terms, colonisation would still have occurred, but in a much fairer way. However, I am interested in the proposal that the Aboriginal people would not be answerable to British law. Is this taking a step that would inevitably lead to some form of apartheid?

To this query I responded:

Looking into my crystal ball I thought that if my proposal was instituted at the outset then, in the 'fullness of time', aided and abetted by my other proposals as outlined, the two races would have come closer together and after say, 50-100 years, the law could have been amended, thereby doing away with any suggestion of apartheid.

Appendix 47

The First Fleet to South Australia and Aspects of Early Colonial History

During the first four years of emigration from Great Britain to South Australia, it was a notorious fact that ships, condemned as unfit for further service, in every trade, were patched up and chartered to bring out migrants. A question may arise as to how this was accomplished? There were many ship owners along the banks of the River Thames who possessed sufficient influence to get a leaky ship and charter it to take out free emigrants and convicts to the Australian colonies. The enormous sacrifices that took place during those years ought to have been sufficient to have deterred the money-grubbing emigration speculators from risking people's lives in rotten ships in the future.

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

Introduction



Awaiting Departure to South Australia at an Emigrants' Depot

The accommodation provided in emigrant ships was usually divided into three classes, namely, cabin, intermediate and steerage. The cost of an adult passage in a cabin was from £60 to £70, an intermediate about £35, the difference being principally in the range of food provided. Cabin passengers messed with the ship's captain and were entitled to one meal of fresh meat every day, together with a pint of wine and a moderate quantity of spirits and malt liquor:

Liveliness of mind and activity of body are great accessories to preserving health and content amongst passengers on ship-board. Cleanliness is likewise indispensable for respectability in the eyes of fellow-passengers, but especially in one's own and the general health.

Nothing is likely to produce disease and fever, as dirt; and the crowded state of the emigrant ship (however roomy) imperatively requires that no accumulation of filth be permitted even in the berths of the superior passengers. Let none shrink from the sea-water bath for his person and his cabin.

From 22 February 1836, until 22 December of that year, fifteen ships left for South Australian waters, the first to arrive being the South Australian Company's *Duke of York*, of 190 tons. Originally a 'Falmouth packet, built for speed', she sailed to and from New York until the South Australian Company purchased her.

She departed on 24 February 1836 and anchored in Nepean Bay on 27 July 1836 with 38 passengers, under the command of Captain C. Morgan who 'was not only an excellent seaman, but a man of high Christian character':

Every night prayers were offered and on Sunday, both morning and evening, Divine service was held. On the Sunday afternoon the children were gathered together for religious instruction.

Later, she was wrecked off Moreton Bay on the Queensland coast following which he returned to England and took charge of the missionary ship *Camden*, sailing her to the South Sea Islands... he died at Saint Kilda, Melbourne, in 1864.

The *Duke of York* and was followed by:

Lady Mary Pelham - Barque, named after the wife of the second Earl of Chichester, 206 tons, departed 30 March 1836; Captain R. Ross; anchored Nepean Bay, 30 July 1836; 29 passengers - Some records opt for 28 July as the date of arrival. She was lost while whaling in 1839.

John Pirie - Schooner, 105 tons; Captain G. Martin, departed on 22 February 1836, arrived 16 August 1836; 38 passengers - another source says 28 August. She was reported to have been lost in Van Diemen's Land in 1850.

Rapid - Brig, 161 tons, built in Yarmouth in 1826; Captain, Colonel William Light; departed 1 May 1836; anchored Nepean Bay, 2 August 1836 - other sources say 19 or 20 August; 24 passengers. In April 1841 she was 'lost in the China Seas'.

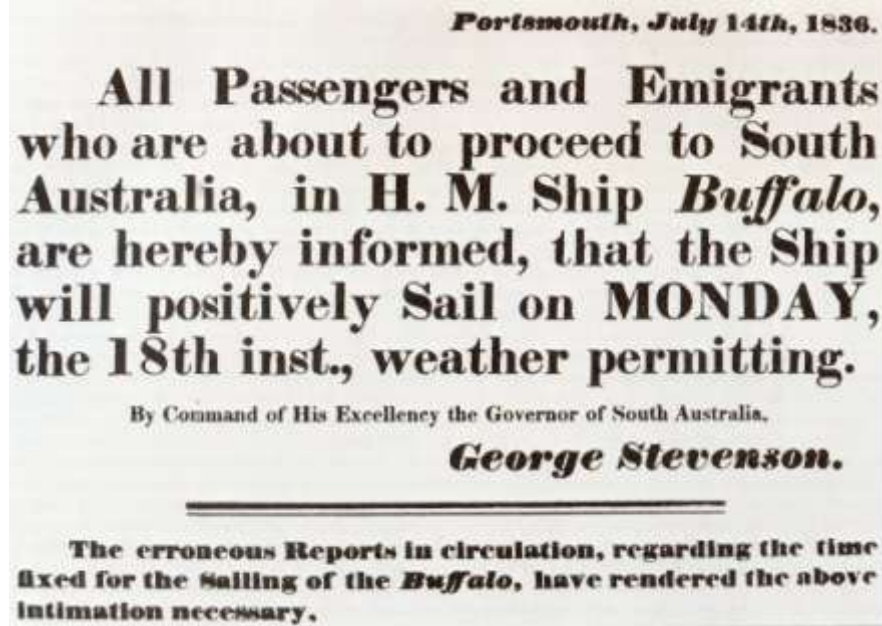
Cygnets - Barque, 239 tons built at Calcutta in 1827; Captain J. Rolls; departed 20 March 1836, anchored in Nepean Bay, 11 September 1836 and in Holdfast Bay 5 November 1836; 84 passengers.

Emma - Barque, 164 tons; Captain T. Nelson; departed 21 April 1836, anchored Nepean Bay, 5 October 1836; 22 passengers.

Africaine - Barque, 316 tons; Captain J.F. Duff; departed 28 June 1836, anchored in Nepean Bay, 2 November 1836 (another source says 6 November) and in Holdfast Bay on 8 November 1836; 76 passengers.

Tam o' Shanter - Barque, 360 tons; Captain Freeman; departed 20 July 1836, anchored in Nepean Bay, 30 November 1836 (other sources say 5 October and 20 November) and in Holdfast Bay on 17 December 1836; 74 passengers.

HMS *Buffalo* - 850 tons, built at Calcutta in 1813; Captain John Hindmarsh, RN; departed 23 July 1836, anchored in Port Lincoln, 24 December 1836 and in Holdfast Bay on 28 December 1836; 174 passengers. She was lost in Mercury Bay, New Zealand, in July 1840.



The above-named ships brought out a total of 549 men, women and children, the nucleus of the colony and, often, the vagaries of shipboard diet were the cause for complaint:

Such was the scarcity of the ship's dietary, we are told a rat was skinned, dressed and eaten by the cabin passengers, while anything they could lay their hands on was grabbed by those in the steerage... It is the opinion of all or a great majority of the passengers that several lives, out of the seventeen that died, might have been saved if proper attention had been paid and medical comforts served out to them.

The following ships departed from the United Kingdom in 1836 and arrived after the foundation ceremony of 28 December: *William Hutt*, 260 tons, Captain Heming; *Coromandel*, 662 tons, Captain W. Chesser; *Sarah and Elizabeth*, 269 tons, Captain J. Wakeling; *John Renwick*, 403 tons, Captain W. Lemmington; *Mary and Jane*, 196 tons, Captain R. Todd; *South Australian*, 236 tons, Captain A. Allan:

For the reassurance of the timid it is worthy of record, that with creditable acknowledgement of God's providence, the directors of the South Australian Company state that they have not to report a loss, while on their passage out with emigrants, of one of the numerous vessels which have left the British shores; the degree of mortality having been less than the ordinary average on land; a fact in reference to which, while acknowledging the hand of the Almighty as the great first cause, the board bear testimony to the excellent regulations of the commissioners, as instrumental to this result.

Unfortunately, in 1840, there were several ships fitting out in the port of London that should have been condemned and broken up. For instance, the *Java*, with about 300 immigrants on board, sailed early in 1840 and the sides of her hull were so rotten that the ship's carpenters engaged in fitting her declared that its planks would not retain a screw or a nail.

It was true that persons were appointed by the government to inspect these ships and report on their seaworthiness but, unfortunately, those individuals were too apt to be deceived by eyesight and neglected to examine a vessel minutely.

They went on board and found everything fresh and new and concluded that the ship was seaworthy. However, in many instances, if they had taken the trouble to raise a plank or two and thrust a knife into the sides of the vessel, they would have found the woods crumble to pieces. It is certain there was a great deal of misconduct.

A Sad Commentary on Emigrant Ships

We should be grieved if our description of the foul doings on the *Indian* were to go forth among the humbler classes of our countrymen, who may be turning their thoughts to emigration, without modification. All ships are not like the *Indian*. To produce such a state of facts requires the union of an execrable captain with a still more execrable surgeon.

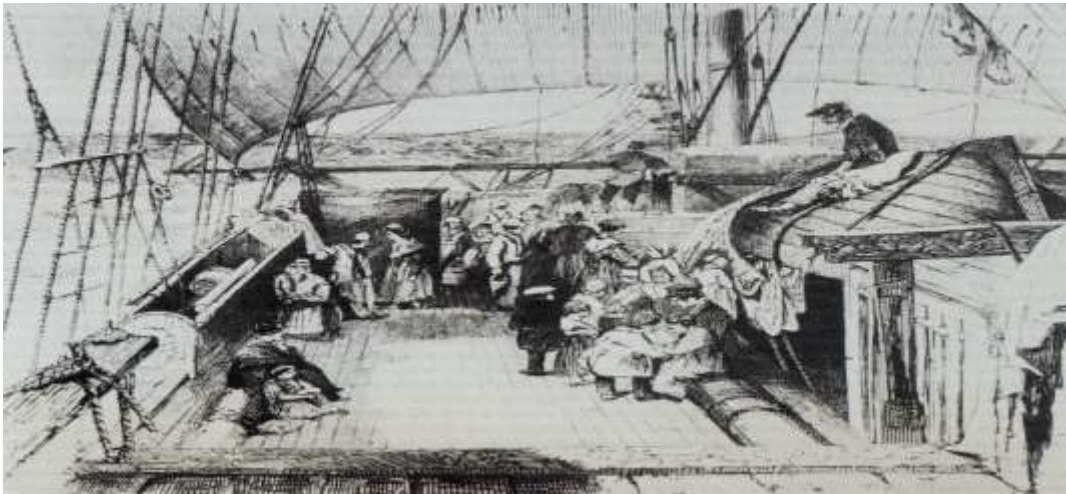
(South Australian, 11 June 1850)

In later years it was apparent that emigrant ships were often overcrowded and proper ventilation not secured below. The consequence of this was that, on reaching equatorial latitudes, fever broke out and the mortality, particularly among the children, was horrific. Prior to 1849, official records contained no information, whatever, of the mortality that it was natural to suppose on many emigrant ships. In fact, even when records were obliged to be kept it was almost as bad as none at all, for neither the cause nor date of death were given. The *Phoebe* arrived in May 1846 when many passengers stated that, while the provisions were of good quality, they were curtailed as to quantity.

Further, the porter allowed to mothers, who had infants at the breast, was frequently found to have been diluted with water.

**FARMERS'
LABOURERS**
OF GOOD CHARACTER an opportunity now offers of going out under very
favourable circumstances to the new Colony of
South Australia,
Established by Act of Parliament, under the protection and regulation of the British Government, with great likelihood of
being very advantageous to all industrious Settlers and their Families.
For this Settlement (the situation of which is very healthy and pleasant)
The Swallow,
A good and well provided Ship, will sail with a number of other Settlers from
Plymouth in about three weeks
FROM THIS DATE,
When a free Passage will be provided for about Twenty Farmers' Labourers, a Blacksmith who can Shoe Horses, and a Man accustomed to work in a Slate Quarry, of respectable characters, with their Families; the ages of the Parents not to be more than thirty years each. Further particulars may be had by application to
Mr. FEASTON, Agent for Tavistock & the Neighbourhood.
N.B. The Labourers will be engaged before they go out, if they wish it, for the first three years, to wit, at 14s. 6d. a week for the first Year, and 12s. and 10s. for the second and third Years; and the Blacksmith and Slater at Wages in proportion.

In the case of two ships arriving in 1849 (*Brankenmoor* and *Prince Regent*) not only were the dates and causes of death omitted, but names also, the only mention being the word 'adult' or 'child', as the case might have been. The *Constance*, 1849, had 19 deaths, all unspecified, and amongst persons of all ages; followed by the *Samuel Boddington*, *Himalaya* and *Ascendant* with an aggregate of 30 deaths, none of which were accounted for. The *Emily* and the *Harry Lorrequer*, which arrived in 1849, and the *Lysander* and *Omega* in 1850, were the only vessels of these years that disclosed the dates of death as well as the names of the deceased, but no cause of death was recorded!



Passengers passing time on deck in fair weather

'Death has stalked over the waters, and the shark and the porpoise have made many a meal of human carcasses supplied from the cholera ship - the bodies of men, women and children.' Such was a startling allegation in January 1850 about the *Douglas* - or what was called the 'Death Ship'. The horrendous story of the vessel's journey to South Australia is told best in the words of the Editor of the *Register*:

True, there was a variety to relieve the direful monotony on the voyage. Sales of effects belonging to the departed took place, and large sums were realised thereby; bodies, scarcely cold, were toppled into the deep, with little, if any, ceremonial Christian burial. A thoughtless captain, desirous of dispersing the gloom, danced on the deck with a lady's bustle...

An officer was taken into adultery and a defrauded husband quenched his wrath with a glass of rum; a beer shop was opened by a penny-turning passenger, on the strength of a stock of porter bought from the captain... It is the opinion of all or a great majority of the passengers that several lives, out of the seventeen that died, might have been saved if proper attention had been paid and medical comforts served out to them.

Three officers... had 'fancy girls' selected from among the fair passengers. These libertine pranks occasioned little or no surprise on board. With abhorrence we visited the ship and saw one poor fellow in articulo mortis, whom Dr Duncan had kindly and promptly visited. Until that gentleman came he was dying with no friendly hand to aid him among his fellow-passengers: custom had made them cold and careless... English emigration agents for these cheap ships are mere sordid actors in a dismal farce.

The Emigration Agent here is not, we believe, called upon to interfere when persons have arrived without any charge upon the Land Fund of this colony; but in our mind the claims of humanity are imperative, and such claims ought not to be shirked under any pretence...

In conclusion, we regret to state that, whilst we have been writing, death has been busy again; more victims have been added to the dismal catalogue of mortality on board the death-ship, under concomitant circumstances of the most disgusting loathsomeness and intoxication.

But what decency, what sobriety, what cleanliness, what humanity can be expected on board a vessel whose commander and surgeon are habitually drunk?

Many men less culpable have been tried for manslaughter, and we fear that the lives of some of the passengers by the *Douglas* will be charged against those who pretended to command and superintend, but forsook or neglected their duty. Britons, bestir yourselves! The honour of the British name is at stake, and all through the reckless use of stimulating drinks.

A few months later the *Stratheden* arrived and it seemed cursed with the class known as 'medical drunkards' who seemed to flock to these shores as if to a congenial clime. Let our learned Editor recite the story of this individual, who earned for himself a niche in the portrait gallery of mad doctors:

The medical chest, with its phials and fittings were, it is true, at the service of the sick, but the unsteady hand and intoxicated brain of the wretched sot who should have administered the physic and medicines were unfit to compound the one, or apply the other; and had it not been for the fortunate presence of a passenger doctor, there is no knowing what fatal consequences might have resulted...

Under the influence of some singular calculation the doctor appears to have supposed that the medical comforts were put on board for his own use; at all events he prescribed them for himself, and most scrupulously (or rather unscrupulously), followed the prescription.

For gross obscenity in the cabin, whilst under the influence of drink, the unworthy doctor of the *Stratheden* was banished from the cabin by the commander; and he even so far forgot himself as to challenge the chief officer to a pugilistic encounter... Unlike the *Douglas*, however, the *Stratheden* was fortunately under the command of a gentleman and skilful navigator...

Command of a gentleman and skilful navigator.

SCALE OF PROVISIONS FOR EACH ADULT INTERMEDIATE PASSENGER. (ISSUED WEEKLY.)

1 lb. of Preserved Meat	4 lb. of Bread	1 lb. of Tea	1 pint of Pickled Vinegar
1 lb. of Soap and Breadcrumbs	1 pint of Flour	1 lb. of Coffee	1 oz. of Mustard
1 lb. of assorted Beans	1 pint of Peas	1 lb. of Butter	1 oz. of Pepper
1 lb. of Taro	1 lb. of Oatmeal	1 lb. of Cheese	1 lb. of Salt
1 lb. of Ham	1 lb. of Preserved Milk	1 lb. of Raisins	7 lbs. Potatoes, or 1 lb. Preserved do.
1 lb. of Salt Beef or Pork	1 lb. of Sugar	1 lb. of Biscuits	

SCALE OF PROVISIONS FOR EACH ADULT STEERAGE PASSENGER.

DAYS.	Bread.	Flour.	Peas.	Beans.	Tea.	Coffee.	Butter.	Salt.	Mustard.	Oatmeal.	Vinegar.	Pickled Cabbage.	Water.
	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.
SUNDAY	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.
MONDAY	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.
TUESDAY	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.
WEDNESDAY ..	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.
THURSDAY	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.
FRIDAY	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.
SATURDAY	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.

Children above 1 and under 14 years of age are victualled and charged for in the proportion of one-half of the above Scale of Provisions and rates of charges.

All Passengers (excepting those in the Cabin) must be provided with the following utensils, viz.—a knife and fork, a table and a teaspoon, a metal plate, a hook pin and a drinking mug. In all cases Passengers find their own bedding.

The following quantities of Luggage, including what the Passengers may choose to stow in their Cabin, will be taken for each Adult, and in proportion for Children, free of charge, viz.—

Cabin...40 cubic feet. Intermediate...30 ditto. Steerage...10 ditto. Any additional will be charged at the rate of 1/6 per foot.

A deposit of one-half of the amount of agreed Passage-money, to be paid at the time the Berths are assigned, the balance to be paid prior to Embarkation. Persons engaging Accommodation for themselves or others, and not actually Embarking, will be held responsible for one-half of the amount of Passage Money, and be required to pay the same whether they may have made a deposit or not.

For further particulars apply to the undersigned, who is constantly dispatching a succession of superior first-class Ships, (Regular Traders) to each of the Australian Colonies.

WILLIAM L. HOTCHKIN.
3, EAST INDIA CHAMBERS, LEADENHALL STREET, LONDON.

E. COLLEN, Printer, 17, Freshwater-street.

Scale of provisions for passengers

EMIGRATION
TO
SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Her Majesty's Colonization Commissioners having determined to dispatch in the course of a few weeks a large number of Emigrants, all eligible persons may obtain, by making an IMMEDIATE application, a

FREE PASSAGE!

The classes of persons now in requisition are
Agricultural Laborers,
SHEPHERDS, CARPENTERS
BLACKSMITHS
AND
STONE MASONS
And all Persons connected with Building.
Application to be made to
Mr. I. LATIMER,
Rosewin-row, TRURO.

S. HARRIS, PRINTER AND BOOKBINDER, BURLING STREY, TRURO.

The *Ascendant* was out again in 1851, with still more deaths and, as before, unspecified; the same remarks held good for the *Hydaspes*. In the same year the *Reliance* arrived, having lost 19 passengers of all ages, and from various numerated causes. In 1852, the *Amazon* arrived, having lost 19 passengers - of the dates or causes of whose deaths no mention was made.

The *Phoebe Dunbar* added materially to the casualties of that year, there being 13 deaths; also the *Gloucester* with 23 deaths, the *Sea Park* and *Macedon*, 14 each and the memorable *Shackamaxon* with 61:

There are many others that might be included in this enumeration but I forbear. By reference to the published Immigration Agent's reports one finds continued complaints of inefficiency and neglect on the part of surgeons, matrons and those other officers to whom the management of the emigrants was entrusted. Gratuities were often stopped and fines sometimes inflicted.

With reference to the *Shackamaxon*, the charges against the Surgeon-Superintendent were so serious that a Board of Enquiry was appointed and its report stated that all the responsible personnel performed 'with the least approach to efficiency, the responsible duties with which they were entrusted.' In respect of those ships where the cause of death was reported, a sad list of fatal ailments was disclosed. Fever, convulsions, inflammation, cholera, diarrhoea, bronchitis, measles and scarlatina constituted the majority of the cases.

In some ships, such as the *Medina* in 1852, from July 10 to August 13 twelve deaths occurred from diarrhoea; next year on the *Neptune* 'measles and diarrhoea carried off sixteen victims'; a greater number, smitten down by various maladies, were 'buried' from the *Epaminondas* about the same time.

Pre-Colonial Settlers

After coming to an anchor, some black substances were seen moving about on the shore, by some of the young gentlemen, and were thought to be animals of some kind, but the wiser ones who thought they were lumps of stone, and that imagination supplied them with motion, laughed at this, asking if they were not elephants.

(Log of the *Investigator*, 22 February 1802)

As a harbour, Nepean Bay, completely protected by a sandy reef that formed an excellent breakwater extending from Point Marsden several miles to the eastward, was unsurpassed, for it could accommodate hundreds of vessels, while ships of up to 700 tons could anchor within half a mile of the landing place. Every captain who visited the place was unanimous in bearing testimony to the excellence of the harbour which, from May to November, had a small river emptying into it, its course being about 20 miles, with water being 'sweet at the mouth at low tide.'

Captain Morgan of the *Duke of York* was beseeched by his passengers and crew to allow one of them to have the credit of being the first immigrant to set foot on the virgin soil, but with the characteristic romance of a sailor he decided that the infant daughter of Mrs Beare should be the favoured individual, and a boat's crew was sent ashore with the child in the strong arms of a stalwart sailor, who waded through the shallow water and put the little one's tiny feet upon the sand amidst three hearty British cheers from the boat's crew and a responsive volley of hurrahs from the distant vessel.

CAPTAIN MORGAN – PRAYER NOOK

KANGAROO ISLAND'S FIRST OFFICIAL SETTLERS SAILED INTO NEPEAN BAY ABOARD THE DUKE OF YORK EARLY ON 27TH JULY 1836 WHEN IN SIGHT OF THE ISLAND THE PREVIOUS EVENING. CAPTAIN ROBERT CLARK MORGAN, A DEVOUT WESLEYAN, GATHERED THE PASSENGERS FOR A PRAYER MEETING AND SOON AFTER LANDING CONDUCTED A SHORT SERVICE TO GIVE THANKS FOR THEIR SAFE ARRIVAL.

"THIS SOUTHERN LAND"
JEAN M. NUNN M.A.

DEDICATED 1996

2009 photograph by Ruth Lang

Courtesy Robert Lang

Although 'Baby Beare' was the first lawful settler to land upon Kangaroo Island, she was far from the first to put foot upon its wild shores for, in 1824, George Bates landed at Dashwood Bay and, long before his advent the island was occupied by a number of adventurous men, mostly sailors who had deserted or arranged to be landed from sailing ships.

FREE EMIGRATION
TO
PORT ADELAIDE,
South Australia.

An opportunity now offers itself to all **MARRIED** persons, of useful occupations, particularly to **AGRICULTURAL LABORERS, CARPENTERS, BUILDERS, STONEMASONS, SHEPHERDS, and BLACKSMITHS,** of obtaining a

FREE PASSAGE
TO
PORT ADELAIDE,
IN
South Australia,

A FREE COLONY, where there are no convicts sent, and where every person who emigrates is as free as he is in this country.

Besides the classes of persons enumerated above, Bakers, Blacksmiths, Braziers and Tinmen, Smiths, Shipwrights, Boat Builders, Wheelwrights, Sawyers, Cabinet Makers, Coopers, Curriers, Farriers, Millwrights, Harness Makers, Boot and Shoemakers, Tailors, Tanners, Brickmakers, Lime Burners, and all persons engaged in the erection of buildings are always in great request. The applicants must be able to obtain a good character as honest, sober, industrious men. They must be real laborers going out to work in the Colony, of sound mind and body, not less than 15 nor more than 30 years of age, and married. The rule as to age is occasionally departed from in favor of the parents of large families. As a general rule, each child is considered as extending the age one year. The sisters of married applicants are allowed to go free, if of good character.

The province of South Australia is a delightfully fertile and salubrious country, in every respect well adapted to the constitution of Englishmen, and is one of the most flourishing of all our colonies. *It is well watered,*—and there have never been any complaints from the colonists of a want of this valuable element; on the contrary, the letters from Cornishmen who have written home are very satisfactory on this point. It should be borne in mind that complaints of a scarcity of water do not relate to Port Adelaide, but to other settlements not connected with South Australia.

Emigrants wishing to obtain a free passage this year may now have that opportunity if they apply **IMMEDIATELY** to

Mr. I. LATIMER, Truro,
who is empowered by her Majesty's Colonization Commissioners to engage for that fine first-class teak-built ship the

JAVA, of 1200 TONS.

This ship's accommodations are unusually spacious and lofty, and are so arranged as to insure the comfort of all the passengers. She will carry *two Surgeons, and two School-masters;* the latter of whom will be regularly employed in teaching the emigrants and their children. The vessel will call at **PLYMOUTH,** to take in Cornish passengers, on or about the 16th of OCTOBER; but in order to ensure a passage, application should be made forthwith. Every kind of information, and the necessary papers may be obtained of Mr. Latimer.

E. BEARD, PRINTER, BOOKBINDER, &c., BOSCOWEN STREET, TRURO.

An 1840 Notice to Entice Migration to South Australia

Much has been written about European settlement on Kangaroo Island before the arrival of the *Duke of York* in 1836 and it is all but certain that, prior to 1806, visits were transient in nature - at this time a gang of sealers took up permanent occupation - three years later the *Sydney Gazette* reported that Joseph Murrell and two other men had arrived from Kangaroo Island where they, and six others, had been stranded for three years.

The first 'permanent' settler was Thomas Whalley who, in 1816, left the whaling ship, *General Gates*, and landed at Bews Point (now Rolls Point), immediately beneath where the telegraph station once stood. Two years later he induced a man named Billy Day to leave a whaler, which anchored there, and join him in a Robinson Crusoe life.

The first settler had, therefore, been twenty years upon the island when the legal colonizers landed and he had, by general consent, been elected as chief man under the title of 'Governor' Whalley.

He had taken a man named George Cooper into partnership and they had managed to get some female Aborigines and established a small farm upon the Three Well River, afterwards called the 'Cygnet'.

Another early settler was John Stokes, who is recorded as arriving at Kangaroo Island, in 1817, and living at Stokes Bay. He was followed by Harry Smith, who came to American River, in 1819, with a tent, gun and food. Later, he lived at the Cygnet River and, finally, set up a home at a bay that, today, is mapped as Smith Bay. Both these names appear, first, on Captain Bloomfield Douglas's map of 1857.

There are some queer stories extant about how these men were treated by the new settlers of 1836 - how Whalley was bullied and persecuted and almost compelled to sell out his livestock at an 'alarming sacrifice' and afterwards refused the chance of buying back a single cock and hen and a sow pig at exorbitant prices.

Whalley dropped dead in Adelaide in the 1860s; he was a man of some education and abilities and sent his son to Tasmania to be educated. Almost to the time of his death in 1895, George Bates complained that he was robbed of £200 worth of whalebone which he had stacked up on the beach at Encounter Bay, and that whilst he lived in penury those who had 'annexed' his property were rolling in wealth.

The old residents upon the island were not the lawless set of men they have been represented to be. Their ranks were recruited at times by undesirable characters, but the example of Whalley, perhaps, and the natural honesty of the brave and reckless old salts, would not allow them to associate with runaway convicts, who occasionally tried to join them - these fellows were generally glad to reshuffle upon the first opportunity.

Still, the sailors' proverbial love of rum and tobacco did lead them into some wild excesses whenever a certain old captain or other traders came around for their peltries. It is said that it was usual to set a keg of rum upon the deck directly the anchor was dropped, knock the head out and place plenty of pannikins around. Not a word about sale of skins, etc., was allowed to be spoken until every visitor had imbibed copiously, and then the captains obtained the most liberal bargains!

After the orgy was over the men generally found themselves on shore, very seedy, with splitting headaches, fevered circulation, a few groceries, perhaps a bottle or so of rum, and some tobacco, and always a good supply of twine with which to make snares to catch more wallaby. Of course, the vessel had gone, and so were all the settlers' skins.

Appendix 48

A Pot-pourri of Penola and District - The First Twenty Years and The Aborigines of South Australia and the Lower South East

This part of our territory is in a rather anomalous position. Politically it is part of South Australia but commercially and socially it is part of New South Wales [sic]. The settlers all occupy South Australian land for which they pay a licence and an assessment to our Government, but in other respects they are members of the Port Philip community. All their flour and other provisions, their wool bags, their wines, spirits and tobacco are supplied by the merchants of Melbourne and Portland. Thus are the best lands of the colony occupied by aliens who contribute very little to the support of our government and by taking their liquors and tobacco from Portland Bay actually deprive us of revenue.

(*Southern Australian*, 18 May 1849)

Introduction

Penola is a beautiful town built in the centre of what, at this time of the year, is usually a delightful swamp, but this being the dry season the swamp was necessarily dry too... The houses I found much like other homes, built respectively of stone, wood and mud, the inhabitants peaceful and quiet... There are two hotels in Penola the landlords of which (if they get paid) must be doing well as the Penolaites like their beer; but from what I saw of business at Penola I imagine the credit system must predominate. The only busy person I saw here was the bailiff of the court and the doctor. These necessary evils were flourishing amazingly...

(*Chronicle*, 9 June 1866)

The first pioneer to really open up the South East was Charles Bonney who, in 1839, in company with nine Europeans and two Aborigines brought 300 cattle, several horses and two bullock drays overland and, in the process, discovered and named Lake Hawdon, Mount Muirhead and Mount Benson.

Later, residents of the South East made a presentation of £700 to him as an acknowledgement of the successful manner in which he had parcelled out the waste lands of the district in his capacity of Commissioner of Public Works in the first representative South Australian government in 1857.

Among those who signed the address to him were Messrs Edward and Robert Leake, John McIntyre, Hastings Cunningham, William Vansittart and George Glen.

In a letter to the Governor on 23 July 1842, the Colonial Secretary, Charles Sturt, reported that he had received a letter from a Mr Whyte – he is assumed to have been the occupier of Koonongwooton Station at Coleraine, in Victoria:

I have much pleasure in forwarding a letter received just as I was leaving this [office] and which I did not open until I got home ... I need make no observation on the language of praise used by Mr Whyte in discussing this tract of country but I am sure Your Excellency will be as glad as I am to learn that the peninsula of Cape Jervis is not our only oasis in the desert. Would it not be as well to [search] under the direction of Mr [Bonney?] as regards squatting licences for conflicting interests may clash when the knowledge of such a valuable tract of land of country existing in so favourable a position becomes generally known. The character of the country must be remarkable... and I have no doubt the country Your Excellency saw in your late excursion to the southward is a continuation of that described by Mr Whyte.

Further, on 2 August 1842 the *Southern Australian* stated that:

It is with unfeigned pleasure we have to announce the discovery of a splendid tract of country within the boundaries of the province, 90 miles in length by 30 miles across, stretching along the western bank of the Glenelg and extending westwards as far as Rivoli Bay, the whole admirably adapted for purposes of grazing or agriculture... About 10 miles from Mount Schank there is a good harbour which the discoverer says must eventually be the shipping place of Australia Felix. The whole of this splendid tract of country is said to resemble a nobleman's park on a large scale and is well watered.

From the description given to it cannot contain less than two million acres of available land or, in other words, nearly as much as has been discovered in the province. Already parties from Victoria are thinking of establishing themselves in this new territory and a further exploration of it, we presume, will be immediately ordered.

A gentleman signing himself 'Abd-El-Kader' wrote to the *Border Watch* in 1879 on the subject of 'The Drainage Works and the Drying up of the Swamps' said that he had arrived in New South Wales in 1817 and, since 1838, resided in the western district of Victoria and the south eastern district of South Australia during which period he had many opportunities of noticing the changes and cycles of seasons:

In 1837 [*sic*] Charles Bonney passed through the district to Adelaide with cattle and it is known by old hands what difficulties, distress and misery that gentleman experienced for want of water... Whilst on the journey he sank a well to considerable depth without success in a lagoon well known as Reedy Lagoon.

This lagoon had never been known to be dry since settlement of white fellows in the district, in 1846 [*sic*], until the last two or three seasons. Messrs Hamilton and Scott, and also Captain Hart, passed through the district about a year after Bonney and found very little surface water.

In 1841-42 a party of three or four gentlemen from the Hopkins, Victoria, explored the portion of this district extending south from Morambro to Mount Gambier and reported on their return a magnificently grassed country but no surface water - none in Dismal Swamp or elsewhere barring the craters on Glencoe station and Mount Gambier.

In 1844, Mr Evelyn Sturt brought stock over from New South Wales, crossing Victoria to this district and pitched his camp near Kalangadoo under the shady branches of the eucalypti, thinking it a perfect paradise of a place. In 1854, a vessel drawing 8 feet of water could have sailed over the spot very comfortably.

The same year (1844) the Messrs Leake brought over stock from Adelaide and settled at Lake Leake. They saw scarcely any surface water.

About the same time Messrs J. & W. Robertson settled on the Mosquito Creek. There was water in the creek, but little, if any, on the plains.

The same year Mr Wallace settled on Mosquito Creek and, while out exploring, discovered what is called the Penola Swamp, then perfectly dry, and on which he galloped down an emu and killed it in the middle of the swamp.

This swamp, in 1855, was filled over its banks and timber 50 years old perished in consequence; [it] has now been dry for the last three years.

As regards some of the early settlers, the *Southern Australian* of 1 August, 15 August and 19 December 1843 said that:

We are informed on the authority of the gentleman recently arrived from the Portland side, that from the confines of the colony on the east to Rivoli Bay and the Lake, the country is a succession of splendid sheep runs and that, especially in the neighbourhood of Mount Gambier, the Portland Bay settlers are rapidly taking up the finest country.

We have been informed on the authority of a Portland Bay settler that at Mount Gambier, and along the bank of the Glenelg, there are about 100,000 sheep alone from Portland Bay depasturing within this colony. So, if it were only for the squatting licences, a survey of the country is necessary and important.

There are several parties already across the SA boundary; among them Henty has a cattle station; a Mr Arthur with sheep and cattle; also a Mr Wallace with sheep and cattle belonging to the Hon. [Lord] Talbot. These are the principal settlers; others will shortly follow, as our runs are getting very crowded.

The first governor to visit the district was Governor George Grey in 1844, when he was accompanied by Messrs Charles Bonney and Thomas Burr, the Deputy Surveyor General, Mr Gisborne and Mr George French Angas. Also in the party were five mounted constables, two sappers and miners, together with two drays loaded with provisions for two months.

They started from the River Bremer on March 10 and reached Mount Gambier on 5 April and, near Mount Schank, found a Mr Arthur, one of two brothers, who had brought over a flock of sheep from New South Wales. Mr Arthur received the party in a beard of twelve months and, surrounded by his magpies, cockatoos and dogs, appeared to be a modern-day Robinson Crusoe. He did not sit on a chair, for his stools and nearly everything else was carved out of the coralline limestone.

The first men to obtain an occupation licence of land that was to encompass Kincaid and Naracoorte were Messrs Charles Sherratt and George Ormerod.

Their application, dated 6 May 1845, and with the address of 'Woorlirtina Creek', described the land as '60 miles north of Rivoli Bay known as the run country':

We are at present stationed upon a small creek about two miles and a half in length running from a timbered range into an open plain. Taking our hut on the creek as a centre we [wish] to apply for a block as described below running four miles east of the creek, 6 miles west, four miles south and eight miles north, this including tracts of unavailable land...

We have at present on the station 2,000 sheep.

The Pastoralists Settle In

*Good luck to the hoof and horn,
Good luck to the flock of the fleece,
But down with the growers of corn,
And the blessings of plenty and peace.*

*Perpetual leases - hip, hurrah!
And neither rates nor rent to pay,
Your modest lieges ever pray.
E.C.H.O., of 'Fair' S.A.*
(Observer, 21 December 1850)

None but the grassy places were taken up by the first pastoralists, but even they were chosen with caution because there was no running water to be found and most of the swamps showed signs of drying up in one season of the year. Owing to these restrictions the actual amount of settlement was small because the good grassy lands bore a trifling proportion to the actual area of the district.

These tracts were to be found on the Mosquito Plains, stretching in a width for ten miles from Penola to Lawson's at Padthaway, that is 64 miles, and along the banks of Reedy and Avenue Creeks for about a mile on each side, while, south of Penola, it was about five miles wide stretching down as far as the Mount Burr Ranges where the volcanic tract of Mount Gambier opened out.

In July 1846, Charles Bonney reported that he had returned from the southern districts where he had engaged in settling the boundaries of runs preparatory to the offering of occupation licences:

I have visited nearly all the runs in the district and have taken such notes of the boundaries as I will hope enable me to prepare the greater part of the licences that have been applied for [He talks on the necessity for defining the Victorian boundary] because a number of bad characters resort to this [disputed] ground knowing that the police cannot interfere with them until the question of jurisdiction is determined. In consequence of the swampy nature of the country through which the boundary passes I do not think that anything can be done in the matter before the month of October.

In some parts of the district I found a good understanding existing between the settlers and the natives, but along the coast the natives continue their depredations and will not hold any communication with the settlers. These natives have the habit of killing horses which is very unusual and which is more likely to exasperate the settlers against them than any other crime.

Many of the settlers expressed their willingness to contribute towards a supply of rations at stated periods as the most likely means of [stopping] their depredations.

This visit may have been prompted by a letter from Alexander Cameron, junior, dated 8 March 1846 from 'Magil', the native name for his run in the Penola district:

Since I took possession of my run Smith and Mr Nickle came and took up their quarters within half a mile of my hut which I intend to keep as long as I can. About a week ago [a Mr Bowden] came and stationed himself in the middle of my run... My stock is as follows: 3,000 sheep, 50 head of cattle and 3 horses. The extent of my run is 48 square miles. The sooner you will come Mr Bonney the better...

However, complaints continued to be made and, in October 1847, Mr Bowden was again the villain of the piece when he was the subject of derision from Duncan Cameron:

I sometimes lose sheep and find some of my earmark in Bowden's flock... If Bowden was a man of good Christian character I would have less reason to suspect his honesty... When I was in Adelaide in November 1845 you gave me leave to occupy three stations which would command a run of 12 miles by riding two miles from each hut in every direction. I have now but 9½ by 4 or 38 sections which according to my number of stock is the smallest run in this neighbourhood. Still I am perfectly satisfied with what you gave me and I trust in the honour of your protection against my present tormentors. I have now to observe that my selection of a run was made and my license.... paid 12 months before the Austins sent flocks.

On 21 November 1846 James Dickson wrote to the Commissioner of Crown lands from Maaoupe (*sic*):

I arrived here with about 700 head of cattle on the 20th July last and found the ground that I had applied for on the 15 June unoccupied by any person. About the 12th September last Mr Bowden put two flocks of sheep on the SE side about 4 miles N of the SW corner of Mr Cameron's boundary line and kept them there for about six weeks after which he removed them ... You must allow me to protest against the Austins.

The words of Norman Wallace in his evocative reminiscences title *Bush Lawyer* may be a fitting closure to this part of the district's history:

It is interesting to observe the difference between the people of the Tatiara, including their neighbours of the Victorian Wimmera, and those of the Lower South-East. It can be likened to the differences which grew up between adjacent English counties, long settled into the fixed communities of earlier times.

Our first settlers were mainly Victorian, of Celtic origin – Scottish sheepmen, and Irish dairymen and potato growers from their settlement on the western Victorian coast.

The Tatiara was largely settled from Adelaide, the most English of all Australian cities. With the English traders and yeomen had come a good proportion of sturdy farmers of German descent, sons and grandsons of the immigrants who had settled around Adelaide before the turn of the century.

In the three counties south of the Gap the early squatters had built their stately homesteads, where they lived for many years in the manner of lairds or county squires. Some, like the Riddoch brothers, south of Penola, almost controlled the nomination of political aspirants

A Proposed Early Hotel

An 1848 letter from Evelyn P.S. Sturt, of Compton, in his official capacity as a local magistrate contains the following:

I beg to enclose a memorial by a person named Donald McArthur signed by the settlers to the north of [Compton] for... a licence to enable them to open a public house [on] his station near the Mosquito Creek. Donald McArthur has applied for the purchase of an 80 acre section.

He is, I believe, a respectable person and I have no doubt that a house of accommodation would be a convenience to the public.

The memorial reads:

To the worshipful, the bench of magistrates assembled and to E.P.S. Sturt, Esquire.

The humble memorial of Donald McArthur of Limestone Ridge in the County of Robe.

That your memorialist is about to build a house of wood to contain six rooms and a convenient bar and taproom at his station situate at Limestone Ridge for the convenience of the public and which will be situate on the road to Portland and Mount Gambier....

Your memorialists station is distant 50 miles from any other house in the neighbourhood...

We the undersigned believe Mr McArthur to be an honest, sober and industrious man and in every respect fit to keep a public house - [The signatories are - Jas. Dickson, Maaoupe [*sic*]; Duncan Cameron; Henry Seymour; William Wallace, Elderslie; H. Sampson, Avenue; Oliver & Smith, Broadmeadows; Robert Ballantyne; William Vansittart; Alexander Stewart, Mosquito Plains; Alexander Cameron, Limestone Ridge; *[the next signature appears to be 'Alex Cameron' - address unreadable]*; Ewen Cameron. *[They all have addresses but some are unreadable.]*

(State Records Office (SRO) - A24/6/A955 – 1848)

Smuggling Across the Border

John Calder, a merchant in Robe Town, had this to say in respect of smuggling across the border:

I beg to call your attention to the extensive smuggling carried on in this district in the hope that some measures may be adopted for its suppression and for the protection... of local merchants.

Within this district there are three public houses carrying on a large and lucrative trade [and they] receive all spirits, wines and stores from either Melbourne or Portland and all this trade is carried on in open day and under the eyes of the police yet there has been no attempt made to put a stop to it as the remedy is so simple.

But, moreover, this country is infested with hawkers - many of a very questionable character who carry on an extensive... trade in everything and those settlers who receive all their supplies from Adelaide complain bitterly of the nuisance and that they are unable to compete with them in price, especially in tobacco and other heavy duty goods.

In addition to the three publicans alluded to, the fourth, who at present receives his supplies from Adelaide, has been repeatedly urged to get them at Portland Bay under a written guarantee that he would not have to pay thereon the duties payable in this province!

I state this fact merely to show that the parties have been permitted to carry on this system so long that they think they can do so with the most perfect impunity. The loss to the revenue I cannot calculate at less than £2,000 besides the manifest injustice done to the settlers and publicans who receive all their supplies in the province.

As the system has been allowed to go on so long, perhaps it would be advisable to give say six month's notice - after which all goods imported across the border or otherwise - that had not paid the duties... thereon would be liable to seizure.

The authorities in Adelaide disagreed with the assertion that the 'remedy [was] so simple' and remarked that the boundary line was so extensive that it would 'be expedient to regulate our overland trade by legislative enactment.' (SRO – GRG 24/6/A1171 – 1849)

Author's Note - Mr Calder was, apparently, the first storekeeper in the township of Robe and, on 25 January 1849, Mr Butler, the Government resident, recommended his appointment as a 'Commissioner of the Peace', while in May 1849 he applied for a licence for the Royal Arms Hotel. Further, in a letter to John White Esq (Avenue) he said: 'I have opened a store in this place, and will be able to supply the settlers with every thing they require – either in rations – slops or ironmongery; and from the large building I have erected will be able to store all the wool safely...' (SLSA, *White papers*)

He came to South Australia from Sydney on the *John Pirie* in 1839 as a surveyor, at the behest of Captain Charles Sturt who, at the time was in the throes of taking up the position of Surveyor-General in South Australia. Tiring of this occupation, Calder obtained a position in the Customs Department at Port Adelaide from which he resigned in 1846, while shipping notes indicate that he departed for Guichen Bay in September 1848.

Inverness Hotel

A hotel inspector's report for the period March 1851 to March 1853 shows the Inverness Hotel being conducted by Duncan McKinnon and that it comprised of a bar, taproom, two rooms, five bedrooms, five stalls in a stable supplied with corn and a stockyard. A comment from the inspector reads as follows:

I think this house is not required here as it is distant only 12 miles from Penola and it is represented to me that Mr McKinnon is not a fit person, is in the habit of drinking to excess. Some of the settlers in this immediate neighbourhood are much opposed to a public house in that [place?].

He applied for a renewal of his licence on 2 February 1856 and, strangely, the approval stated that it was to be called the 'Inverness Hotel'; his application was supported by Henry Seymour of Mosquito Plains and Donald McArthur of Limestone Ridge.

In March 1856 an inspector said that it was 'tolerably well kept, but it has been reported to me that he is not careful in keeping it as quiet as it should be on the Sabbath.'

The licence passed to Donald McDonald in 1858. (SRO - GRG4/83/8)

Proposed Pound

On 20 December 1851, Henry Seymour forwarded to the authorities in Adelaide a memorial from settlers 'southward of his station to that of Mr Wood situated at Mount Gambier' - about 20 miles of country. It reads:

That many of your memorialists are greatly injured on their property by reason of cattle trespassing on their runs.

That some of the settlers stock their runs with sheep and thereby agist their cattle on their neighbours' runs which is attended with great inconvenience and loss.

That there are others who have no runs and who can keep cattle and under a pretence of collecting their stock, pick up unbranded calves of property of others and the increase of lost cattle which are in themselves a great inconvenience to your memorialists.

That there are several respectable parties in the district willing to undertake the charge of the pound and ready to give the necessary security and your memorialists beg leave to suggest Penola as the most central situation for a pound.

The signatories were D.F. Minnett, Henry Seymour, C.F. McKinnon, C. Doughty, John Wood, Thomas Allen Wells, H.M. Muir, Donald McArthur and Duncan Cameron.

The docket is endorsed:

Inform Mr Seymour that His Excellency cannot accede to the prayer for the erection of a pound as difficulties attend to carrying out the law under the present Act. [SRO – GRG 24/6/A10 – 1852]

The Pound was established in 1855 – the relevant dockets are 1854 – A 2122, A 3194, A3540, W 753, W754, W869 and W 905.

Governor MacDonnell's Visit

The principal object was to meet and become personally acquainted with the settlers 'so assembled at Penola.' Upon arrival he proceeded to the racecourse in Mr Derwas Jones's carriage to the grandstand where he was introduced to several ladies of the district. At the conclusion he inspected the new police station, courthouse and pound, recently

erected. In the evening a public dinner was held and Mr Hastings Cunningham presided with Mr George Glen as vice-chairman. (*Register*, 27 February 1856)]

Drainage of the South-East

On this subject, of course, there were dissenters and, decidedly, Mr R.D. Hanson opposed the suggestion of forming canals and, with regard to the value of the drainage scheme, stated that 250 square miles of country was likely to be benefited by the works currently in progress, while Father J.E. Tenison Woods at Penola declared that the reclaimed land would be highly valuable and on 18 September 1865 he addressed the Commissioner of Crown Lands:

I have the honor to place at the disposal of the government a report upon the Geology, Physical ... drainage and mineralogy of the South Eastern district. I have been induced to do this because I believe information upon these subjects is much wanted now that the government is about to spend large sums upon the district. I have been further encouraged to the task as the published information at the disposal of the government is of the most unsatisfactory kind, drawn up under every disadvantage and with necessarily only slender information. [*See Appendix 36*]

Having travelled over every part of the district for the last nine years I believe I have been thoroughly augmented with its physical features and as my studies have otherwise lain in the same direction I have thought that my conclusions and opinions would be of some value. I have treated the subject entirely in its utilitarian form principally keeping in view the drainage, road making, the opening of quarries and the quality of the soils.

With regard to my remuneration for these papers I would rather leave such a matter to the consideration of the government, but as I am informed that money would be spent upon drainage at once provided there were definite information on the subject as to the situation and quality of land to be benefited by it, I think remuneration to me should be laid aside rather than any delay should take place in the publication of these papers and maps, especially as they may be very useful to the engineers and contractors of the district.

As there is no geological survey for the colony, I believe that the maps and sections will do all that will be required for this portion of the colony for a very long time and even obviate the necessity for the enormous expense of any such survey.

In October 1866 he was offered fifty pounds for his plans and given 25 copies of same.

As to the natural state of the country, a surveyor, H.M. Addison, has left us with a vivid description of the wet lands prior to drainage:

On the swamps swans nested and ducks could be seen in their thousands. Some days we would see kangaroos travelling in Indian file, the last one being a mile from its leader. There were flocks of black cockatoos. We could not tame these birds but the native companions would dance round us, bowing and scraping in a comical fashion.

Every swamp was infested with leeches and you had to tuck your trousers inside your socks before crossing them. The swampy country was alive with snakes and in one morning I could have killed six that crossed my track. Ammonia was about the only remedy for snakebite we knew. [*SRO – GRG 24/6*]

Killanoola

‘We travelled by way of Mr Dixon’s station and reached Killanoola (Mr Seymour’s) about noon. Mr Seymour gave me a hearty welcome, such as the squatters are accustomed to give to persons travelling in the bush who know how to behave themselves... [His] house is pleasantly situated on rising ground from which you look over a vast expanse of flat country, much of it unfortunately being swampy...

‘The land was rather poor, only suitable for pastoral purposes. Around the house there were some portions of soil of superior quality which had been diligently cultivated. But the whole of the Mosquito country is comparatively poor. The choice land is undoubtedly around Mount Gambier and Penola.’ (*Observer*, 2 June 1866, page 5)

Sickness and Destitution

During the sad ravages of the fever at Penola a great number of poor working men were laid up and their case was left entirely to a charitable few and was it not for the exceeding liberality of Messrs McClure and Hinckley many would have perished... What we want is a hospital on a very small scale [and] if a small four-roomed home were built I would undertake to charge myself with its support (Signed J.E Tenison Woods).

Before the establishment of a Destitute Board at Mount Gambier we were often made painfully aware of cases of distress which were and could not be properly alleviated because systematic benevolence was unknown. The burden fell upon a few and those often least able to bear it and until a provision similar to that established at Mount Gambier, combined with a house of accommodation, as suggested by Reverend Woods, be provided, they will occur and continue to reflect disgrace upon a community that ought to know and do its duty better than it does.

(*Border Watch*, 7 July 1866)

Local Farming

The agricultural capabilities of the Penola district are likely to be fully tested next season, no less than from 1,200 to 1,500 acres being now got ready for the plough. The largest cultivator will be our member, Mr Riddoch, who breaks up about 600 acres and Mr Ralston who will have nearly as much under crop.

There were a number of smaller farmers and a project was on foot for building a mill by shares.

(*Border Watch*, 27 March 1867)

The Chinese Invasion

Penola was situated about 75 miles from Guichen Bay and the route was a most dreary one and was lined with Chinese camps and remnants of clothing and manufactures of an oriental character which were scattered along the line of the march reminding one of the debris of a fugitive army.

The town itself, at times, presented revolting scenes of intoxication and Father Tenison Woods recalled a drunken spectacle that seemed to disgust the Celestials encamped around the township.

He attributed this debauchery to the demoralising example formerly set by old convicts, who, having nothing to live for would expend all their earnings on stations in drink at the nearest township. The custom thus continued to the present time... Whilst he was in the district 30 violent deaths occurred solely through intemperance.

(Border Watch, 20 July 1867)

Rivers of Mud

Upon the centre of a spacious plain

An island made by heavy rain,

Penola stands; and [on] Australia's far stretching coast

No inland town of muddier site can boast.

The streets off the main road were literally rivers of mud through which individual enterprise planted footpaths.

(Border Watch, 24 June 1868)

A Local Brewery

Messrs Gebhardt and Seelinger's Brewery commenced operations on 16 September 1867 and it produced about eight hogsheads per week. The boiler and coppers were made at Mount Gambier and the building was erected by Mr James Stark of Penola. *(Border Watch, 15 July 1868)*

Brickworks & Saw Mill

The Penola brickworks were established by Mr Charles Aubrey on his property close to the town and in about two months he produced 20,000 bricks.. *(Border Watch, 5 August 1868)*

The Penola Steam Saw Mill stood on Crown land about 10 miles south of Penola and was owned by Messrs Riddoch who commenced the business of cutting stringybark and redgum in January 1868.

The mill employed 10 men and turned out 1,000 feet on an average every day and it was moved frequently because there was not a great quantity of good timber in one place.

Football Match

A football match at Penola between the Town and Country Clubs on Mr McLure's farm - the spectators were numerous and the Penola Band attended. *(Border Watch, 26 August 1868)*

The Aborigines of South Australia and the Lower South East

Shame Upon Us! We take their land and drive away their food by what we call civilization, and then deny them shelter from a storm... What comes of all the hypocrisy of our wishes to better their condition? The police drive them into the bush to murder shepherds, and then we cry out for more police... What can a maddened black think of our Christianity to deny him the sod on which he was born? You grow hundreds of bushels of corn on his land but deny him the crumbs that fall from the table... They kill a sheep, but you drive his kangaroo away. You now drive him away from his own, his native land - out upon it; how can God's all-seeing eye approve of this?

(Adelaide Times, 24 May 1851)

Introduction

There is a poor blackfellow near [Millicent] who is suffering from paralysis in one side. He is in a state of nudity and for a time lay in the sand and ashes near his fire, but has since been supplied with some old bags. He has only one piece of blanket with which he partially covers himself when he observes company approaching. I hear he has burnt his clothing which was supplied to him by the police...

Is there no place to which he can be taken where he will be properly cared for? If not, he is no better off than a horse or bullock which would, in such a case, be shot in order that its pain might cease, but because he is human he must die for want of attention, food and proper shelter and clothing.

(Border Watch, 19 April 1879)

According to Rev F. W. Taplin, a long-time missionary at Point McLeay Aboriginal Mission (Raukkan), there are grounds for believing that the Australian Aborigines are descendants of two races. In one case we find the representative of a light-skinned active people with lank straight hair and slightly angular features and a sullen, morose disposition. On the other hand a 'curly wig', black skin, thick set, hairy frame with bright eyes twinkling humour and good nature.

He went on to say that peculiarities of language, tradition and system of kinship supported this theory and had led to various suppositions regarding the origin of the Australian Aborigines, perhaps the most favoured being the

assumption that they were descendants of certain wanderers from southern India who, in the course of their migration, were subject to admixture with the inhabitants of the Malaysian Peninsula.

However, the work of a modern anthropologist, the late Norman B. Tindale, has shown that Rev Taplin's 'theory' was no more than guesswork - Tindale's findings were summarised by the late Professor Manning Clark as follows:

The first [arrivals] were the Negrito people - short, dark-skinned, curly-haired and broad-nosed - who were forced to migrate from their hunting grounds in south-east Asia by the movement into those areas of people of a higher material culture, at a time when Tasmania, Australia and New Guinea formed part of the land mass of Asia.

Later, another people arrived - the Murrayians, who were related to the Ainu in Japan and either destroyed the Negritos or drove them into valleys behind Cairns, and south to what is now Tasmania, the islands of Bass Strait and Kangaroo Island. Then, in turn, the Murrayians were challenged and displaced by the Carpentarians - a people probably related to the Vedda of Ceylon, who settled in the northern portion of Australia after driving the Murrayians southwards in their turn...

The Coming of the White Man

We have taken their country and brought amongst them all the vices of civilisation with very little of its virtues. These vices have been carrying them off wholesale and at no distant day the blackman will be as much a curiosity as the bunyip. Why should we accelerate the pace? Why should we be recklessly guilty in the matter? We may not be able to avert the extinction of the race, but in common humanity, we should do what little we can to stay the rate of mortality and at least extend to the black the attentions we give even the brute creation...

(Border Watch, 29 January 1870)

When the white man arrived they, firstly, took possession of the land, then cut down the forests, destroyed the kangaroos and other native game and gave the natives to understand that, if they encroached in any way against their boundaries, they would take upon themselves the task of clearing them out. In return for their land and their game what was given them? Civilisation was introduced - Yes, but what sort of civilisation? Well, they were taught to lie, cheat, smoke tobacco and drink intoxicating liquors.

The colonists introduced diseases amongst them that had the effect of making them die off like rotten sheep. In a word, they were initiated in all the vices of Europeans, without inculcating or exhibiting towards them any of the counteracting virtues, and the result was that those natives, who had intercourse with the colonists, were more cruel, more treacherous and ten times more to be dreaded than those never brought into contact with the boasted civilisation.

In the earlier days of the colony, it was the policy of the government to conciliate the natives - to make reserves upon which they could encamp at their leisure. Some 8,000 acres were allotted as Aboriginal Reserves and it was the intention that they should have the opportunity of settling down and cultivating the soil, but their nomadic habits, being incompatible with steady industrial pursuits, the object of making these reserves was frustrated.

Accordingly, the greater portion of them was let on lease and, in 1860, £1,000 was received in rents and this sum went into general revenue. Indeed, it was quite clear that the race was doomed to extinction and it was only a matter of time before the reserves reverted to the Crown.

Structures resembling pigsties were built on the Park Lands at the back of the gaol for them to live in, and there were frequent distributions of food and blankets for the purpose of compensating for the loss of these items, obtained by the chase prior to the occupation of their hunting grounds by the white man. And, besides all this, a white man was appointed, at a good salary, to look after their interests under the title 'Protector of Aborigines':

In due time the white man became rich and powerful, while the blacks became poor, weak, degraded and vicious - all the white man's work. It was to the interlopers' interests to let them alone, while being ruined in health and morals by the industrious apostles of vice, so plentiful in the ranks of the white man, for thereby their numbers could be thinned and money could be saved which in common decency the settlers were compelled to set apart for their use.

When they became completely demoralised the settlers had a further excuse for neglecting them - they were wicked, they led the whites astray and were not to be allowed to remain amongst them, but be banished to some place where degradation would not be a reproach to the offenders.

For example, in August 1899 at Glenelg, there was a camp on the banks of the Patowalonga providing shelter for about ten Aborigines.

The surroundings were anything but pleasant and, with only a few bags overhead, they had experienced a particularly trying time during the previous cold winter. At first it was thought possible to build a room of some sort, but the owners of the land on which the camp was situated could not be found and, therefore, the best alternative was to remove them to the mission station at Point McLeay.

Accordingly, willing hands stoked a fire that disposed of the camp and accumulated rubbish, while the Glenelg contingent, together with others, and numbering eighteen in all, were sent away by train on 1 September to Milang, en route to Point McLeay, 'the district to which they belong', while a reporter furnished an illuminating paragraph that gave an interesting insight into the inherent lack of Christian charity within the dominant European population:

The drinking and begging of these people render their presence about Adelaide very undesirable and it is a fruitful source of evil to them. The Commissioner of Police has issued instructions that in future their camps will not be allowed at or near the city.

The *South Australian Colonisation Act*, passed by the British Parliament in 1834, declared the lands of the new colony to be 'waste and unoccupied'. The Act's clear denial of the Aborigines' rights to land met with considerable opposition from humanitarian circles in Great Britain, including Lord Glenelg, Sir George Grey and other influential men in the Colonial Office in London.

The Colonial Office subsequently enshrined the principal of Aboriginal land rights by inserting in the Letters Patent, the document issued to the Colonization Commissioners early in 1836 to formally establish the colony of South Australia, a clause which recognized the prior rights of the Aborigines to the land and guaranteed that 'any lands now actually occupied or enjoyed by [the] Natives' would not be alienated.

After protracted negotiations with the Colonial Office, the Colonization Commissioners agreed to the appointment of a Protector to safeguard the Aborigines' interests. Among his duties, the Protector was required to ensure that any land opened up for public sale had been voluntarily ceded and fairly purchased from the Aborigines.

The Commissioners agreed to set aside 20% of the proceeds from all land sales in the colony to be used for the benefit of the Aborigines and also committed the South Australia Company to protecting 'the natives in the unmolested exercise of their rights of property should such a right be found to exist.'

In the new colony, these commitments were soon forgotten and all the lands were declared open for public sale. A few of the more enlightened colonists saw the Aborigines' dispossession as unjust and public debate on the issue flared occasionally in the newspapers.

Colonial officials, missionaries, and others who had close contact with the Kaurna, soon became aware that they did have a well-defined system of land ownership.

In 1839, a year after taking up the position of Protector, Moorhouse wrote:

We find - what the Europeans thought the Aborigines of Australia did not possess - territorial rights, families owning and holding certain districts of land which pass from fathers to sons, never to daughters, with as much regularity as property in our own country.

Similarly, Teichelmann, one of the Lutheran missionaries, observed that:

Each tribe has a certain district of the country as a property received by their forefathers, the boundaries of which are fixed.

From the closing months of 1836 their use of the land, together with customs going back for thousands of years, were to be slowly, but surely, all but exterminated by the intrusion of the British settler and the accompanying laws and diseases of their so-called 'civilisation'. It has been said that the first contact of this ethos with barbarism, wherever it occurs, 'is accompanied or speedily followed by conflict; and the results of that conflict and attendant circumstances is almost invariably the extinction, not of barbarism merely, but of the barbarians.' Prophetic words, indeed!

In June 1837, following a proclamation by Governor Hindmarsh in respect of the indigenous Aborigines, Sir John Jeffcott, the first colonial judge, delivered a charge to 'The Grand Jury of the Province' and, during his address, suggested, scrupulously, that the colonists should avoid giving them offence and to respect their property at all times. He urged them not to teach them British vices and thus render them more debased than when they were found but, by example, 'lead them into the paths of civilization and virtue.'

The great Father of the human family... has placed us amongst them, and given us to enjoy the land which is their birthright, - no doubt for his own wise purposes and, it may be hoped with a view to their ultimate conversion to His holy religion.

These sentiments echoed the wishes of the Commissioners for South Australia in London who, being aware of the injustice and cruelty meted out to the Aborigines in New South Wales and Tasmania, were determined that the rights of Aborigines would be protected in the new colony, and it was agreed that the following objectives should be sought:

To guard them against personal outrage and violence.

To protect them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary right to soil, wherever such right may be found to exist.

To make it an invariable and cardinal condition in all bargains and treaties entered into with the natives for the cession of lands possessed by them in occupation or enjoyment, that permanent subsistence should be supplied to them from some other source.

To promote amongst them the spread of civilisation and the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion.

In addition, it was enacted that they were to be treated as British subjects and that all aggression upon them would be strictly punished, while an officer of the Crown would be appointed especially to look over their welfare.

Such inherent platitudes were anathema to the more ruthless settler who suggested that they should be either mercifully exterminated or left to 'the scarcely less certain but cruel fate of perishing by the loathsome diseases or excesses which [had] never failed to follow their contacts with whites.' The more saintly among the interlopers held the view that they should be placed in a school where 'all the mysteries of science, refinement and religion' could be inculcated within them.

Relations with the Aborigines of the Lower South East

Respecting the case of murder just tried before Mr Sturt I have to remark that altho [*sic*] I have no doubt the native was shot by Morgan (?), yet I do not think there remains the smallest chance of procuring evidence at any future period but think the mere fact of the man having been apprehended and tried may have a good effect in preventing a system of cold-blooded murder which I have reason to believe has been very common about the border of Port Philip.

Respecting the natives generally in this district I beg to inform you that for the last two or three months they have not been troublesome, at least not near so much as was expected... I have lately had a great deal of intercourse with them and have found them to be very intelligent; they are beginning to form very just notions of the purposes of the police; a native constable would be of the greatest benefit...

(GRG 5/2/97a – 1846 -Extract from a Letter from Corporal McCulloch to Commissioner of Police)

The aboriginal natives of this district are gradually dying out. Last week two of them disappeared from this mundane sphere. One was an aged member of the Booandik tribe, well known in the district as Old Tom, who died at the Up and Down Rocks... [He] was always an abstainer from the white man's 'firewater' and to this fact he was in a great measure indebted for his length of days. His last request was one to Mrs Smith, the local protectress, to give his blanket, etc., to a young native attendant who was his nurse for a long time...

(Observer, 10 February 1883)

The Aborigines of the South East were once composed of powerful tribes, each occupying its own territory that seemed to be strictly defined and territorial rights guarded jealously. Each had different dialects and the names of the tribes were Booandik, Pinegunga, Mootatunga, Wichitunga and Polingunga, of which the first named was the most powerful. The tract of country occupied by the Booandik extended from the mouth of the River Glenelg to Rivoli Bay North (Beachport) for about 30 miles inland. Irrespective of their territory they were divided into two classes - Kumite and Kroke - and here the curious tribal custom in relation to marriage occurred. A Kroke had to always marry a Kumite woman and a Kumite could only marry a Kroke woman, while any children were placed in the mother's class.

Infants were betrothed to one another by their parents according to a system of exchange called 'wootambou' and Mrs Smith, who wrote a book on their life style, suggested that 'their marriage customs clearly indicate their sense that virtue is honour.' Polygamy was the rule, most of the men having two wives and there was clear evidence that infanticide was once practised and at times mothers ate their infants.

Among their legends it was said the Port MacDonnell originated through the anger of an Aboriginal hero who caught a woman stealing his store of gum and to punish her he extended his right leg towards Cape Northumberland and his left to Green Point, thus forming the present coast there.

In the 1840s, the River Glenelg was a favourite camping place and, at McPherson's station, it was reported that after an attack by the Aborigines:

The overseer lay in a very dangerous state having been speared a few days before while taking his usual ride around the run. He had dismounted at the time of the murderous attack and although speared in eight places he managed to get upon his horse and ride home. Tolmer affirmed that the destruction of property was dreadful particularly on the sheep runs. In many instances whole flocks were driven away and destroyed, while in others from 100 to 200 sheep had been taken.

The cattle owners also suffered and Mr Leake, at Glencoe, described the natives as follows:

They were numerous, small in stature and very active and fierce. About 60 or 70 attacked one of my shepherds and although he was well armed and fired several shots at them, they succeeded in spearing him and stealing about 40 sheep.

Leake and a party went in hot pursuit and surprised the natives while they were busy cooking the sheep. There was about 200 of them drawn up in a half-moon form and gave battle, but on receiving two rounds from the guns they fled leaving their spears, tomahawks, waddies and cooked sheep. They had left 20 fires burning and the ground was strewn with offal, while parts of sheep hung from the branches of trees.

Evelyn P.S. Sturt of the Compton Station recalled that:

The natives were very inimical when we first arrived. Our neighbour, Mr Leake, suffered many losses from them but we escaped any attack which I attribute to the astonishment they evinced at seeing a good rifle aimed by a correct eye, for not a crow would dare to caw on the highest tree near our camp, but a rifle ball reached him...

I have always thought that this gained us their respect. They gave me the name of a chief who had fallen in battle and affirmed that I had again come among them as a white fellow.

George Riddoch who was closely associated with the Aborigines, and speaking of them as they were in 1865, said, in retrospect, that they were 'fairly civilised, smart, sharp as needles, as docile as whites, ready to do a good day's work for wages. Alas, they are now down and out.'

What was considered to be the cruelest murder of an Aborigine in the South East occurred in the 1840s and an eye witness recounted this sad story:

I was living on a sheep station near one of the bays in the South East and not far from the boundary of the colony. It was a wild country and the settlers were few and far between. Many of the men employed there were old convicts who had found their way over the River Glenelg into the 'saint-like air' of South Australia... In addition it was 300 miles from Adelaide and if reckless treatment of the natives could anywhere escape punishment it would be in this out of the way part of the world. But such escape was not easy in those days of incomplete protection and defective police organisation, as my narrative will soon show.

It was a sultry afternoon in the early part of summer. A heavy brooding stillness peculiar to Australia in close weather covered the country. Scarcely a breath of air moved the thick dark trees in the bush and as I walked down to the seashore, the water, which was far out, was as calm as a lake... Towards evening I turned homeward and was approaching a swamp not far from the station when I heard a pistol shot and soon afterwards the cry of a native., 'White man, come! White man, come!'

I ran up a rise of ground that overlooked the station on the one side and an aboriginal camp of miamias on the other and, turning in the latter direction, I saw a native crawling in apparent pain from one miamia to the swamp, where he evidently wanted a drink. On running to his assistance I saw that he was bleeding profusely from a pistol wound in the side, but he could only indicate by gestures that he had been shot by some one near the wurleys. Soon afterwards he died.

The native who was killed had long been a favourite about the station under the name of Kingberri and sometimes Billy... He was a fellow of infinite jest and a willing worker about the station, now lying ruthlessly shot. Who had perpetrated this barbarous crime - for every settler would consider it, although we were Glenelg sheepfarmers and were hundreds of miles away from Courts of Justice.

My first step was to call the men from the station and two of them carried the warm body of Kingberri to the huts and I started off with the others in the direction of the wurleys. Here we met the deceased's two lubras... who knew nothing of the perpetrator, but said that a 'whitefellow, him called Port Phillip Bill' was in the neighbourhood of the wurleys the previous day with a 'picaninny gun' (a pistol).

Upon this man, who was a discharged shepherd, our suspicions fell for he was known to have caused much offence to Kingberri by his conduct in reference to the younger lubra, Emily, who had the misfortune to be much better looking than the generality of Australian black women...

Six of us started off towards the river and, after a two day search, we were fortunate enough to find the rascal skulking in a hut, accompanied by a black boy called Jacky. Both were handed over to the police neither admitting nor denying the crime... The pistol as well as the bullets are damning proof of his guilt. There was no Coroner's inquest and poor Kingberri lay sleeping in his grave beneath the dark sheoak trees and the cheerful Emily was by this time the light of some other blackfellow's wurley.

But the law was in motion and the Protector of Aborigines came down for the purpose of disinterring the remains and of formally ascertaining the cause of death. This is done and in the dead body a bullet is found... which shall now recoil and slay the murderer. But how to satisfy the majesty of the law? What is the name of the deceased? How is he to be described? Will not his very existence at the time of the tragedy be questioned? Yes, but the gallows was not to be robbed of its due and therefore 12 jurymen found the following verdict:

Guilty of murder of a certain man, being an Aboriginal native of Australia, whose name is to the jurors unknown to this present time.

I look upon that trial, considering all the circumstances of the case - the distant scene of the murder and the numerous opportunities for escaping punishment - as a complete answer to the false charge that in this colony, in its early days, was indifferent to the treatment of the Aborigines, especially those on the south east border of the province... The avenging arm of the law struck with unerring aim and the murderer died admitting that he committed the crime, but denying that it was premeditated...

Such then was the punishment inflicted... When according to Mr Kingsley, it was 'social ostracism' for a Protector of Aborigines in this colony to dare to stand between the squatters and the blackfellows and when it was 'easier to find water in the desert than to find mercy for the savages.' So much for English fiction and Australian fact.

In 1873, at Lacepede Bay several natives were encamped near the township and their wants were carefully attended to by Police Trooper Morris:

There were a few sick and infirm ones among them, who require daily rations, but the others can obtain fish generally for their support, and some are employed by the settlers. A school for native children is established at Kingston and is supported by private contributions, the inmates receiving the ordinary rations from the government. The average number attending is twelve, and those I examined appeared to be carefully instructed. This is the only depot where I found a place for keeping the stores exposed to the weather, but a trifling outlay on the building will put it in a proper state.

The children were catered for at a school conducted by Miss Armstrong who informed visitors that there was 'comparatively little difficulty in teaching penmanship, but arithmetic was a very formidable task.' It was situated near the mouth of the Maria Creek.

Many attempts were made to 'Christianise' the local aborigines and James Smith and his wife did fine work among the Booandik people and, for some 35 years, Mrs Smith was closely associated with them and one of her sons learned their language and became the native interpreter for the district. Mr Smith was the son of a Congregational

minister and, possessing letters of introduction to Rev Thomas Q. Stow, he remained for a time in South Australia and then went on to Port Philip (Melbourne) and took the position of school teacher.

Subsequently, a settlement was founded at Rivoli Bay, largely through the efforts of his brother-in-law, Captain Underwood, who had established a store there, of which Mr Smith became manager. This was in 1845. In this way he became the principal pioneer in that part of the colony. [See under 'Rivoli Bay' in the nomenclature text.]

He remained there about 10 years, not only looking after Captain Underwood's interests, but acting as postmaster and agent for the South Australian Company, the Leake brothers and other settlers in contiguous districts.

In 1852, he removed to Mount Gambier where he opened a school 'under the volcano' near the cave. This he conducted for about 16 months finally giving up the day school in the interests of his farm and establishing a night school for adults.

It was at Rivoli Bay that Mr & Mrs Smith began their mission and it has been said that it began along these lines:

Mr Smith had been on business at the Glencoe Station and on his way home some distance from the track he heard a loud noise and rode in the direction from whence it came. He came across a sad scene - an aboriginal woman was lying on the ground and an infant was sucking at her breast. All around were men and women howling, yelling, shrieking, tearing their hair and plastering themselves with mud. The soul of James Smith was stirred. The outcome was that his wife opened a home or school for native children at Rivoli Bay.

Following removal to Mount Gambier, in 1852, Mr & Mrs Smith carried with them their interest in the moral and spiritual welfare of the Aborigines. Here a mission was started through the efforts of Bishop Short, the Baroness Burdett-Coutts having granted him a sum of money for such a purpose. Mr Smith died in 1860 but his wife was asked to take charge at Cockatoo Valley, contiguous to what is now known as Rosaville.

Through lack of funds the mission closed in 1867 but Mrs Smith, assisted by her son, who knew the language, continued her good and gracious work. Gradually, the Aborigines - once numbered by hundreds - died out. Her name deserves to be perpetuated.

In May 1869 it had twelve inmates and, four girls, previously residing there, had been fitted for and placed in domestic service. Of these sixteen, ten were half-castes and one little fellow, who spoke English fluently, announced himself as 'Willy, Duke of Normandy', while another was introduced as 'Johnny Short', being named after the Bishop of Adelaide who took a great interest in the institution.

All the inmates were descendants of the Penganka (Pinegunga) and Booandik nations that formerly occupied the land from Mount Gambier to the Tatiara. They were prone to fevers and whooping cough and Dr Peel, the Assistant Colonial Surgeon resident at Mount Gambier, supplied any necessary medicines at his own cost.

Another survivor was an Aborigine with the European name of Charles Runga and an 1888 newspaper report says:

There is working on the Kingston to Naracoorte line... an Aborigine named Charles Runga who has been on the line in the South East from its commencement, I believe.

He had a few acres of land given to him where he built a cottage and until lately has been able to go home every evening to his wife and family. A few days ago this hard working industrious black received notice to leave in a fortnight... Now he is a workman equal to any on the line... One time they thought of making him a ganger and he ran the line daily for years...

[Editor's note - There is no truth in the above statements but we have learned from another authority that the dismissal was made on economic grounds.]

In the early days of settlement the Aborigines on the Mosquito Plains near Naracoorte constituted a numerous and warlike people who resented the occupation of their hunting grounds. Indeed, this antipathy eventuated in the discovery of one of the greatest curiosities in the form of an Aborigine mummy - this is discussed hereunder. 'Yallum Jacky' was the last member of the Penola people and, about 1901, his wife died and, bereft of kith and kin, his mind became deranged and he was removed to Adelaide Lunatic Asylum where he died in 1902.

Affrays with the Aborigines

By July 1844, Mr Robert Leake had about 7,000 sheep and thirty men attached to his establishment and, in a letter to his brother in Adelaide, said that:

We are in such a rich country near Mount Gambier on a fresh water lake 3 miles round. We have had about 50 sheep killed by the blacks; [we have] succeeded in beating them off [but] have not seen them since; we shot one and wounded others. We are not at all afraid of them but a small party will never do here.

A little earlier, on 5 June 1844 he addressed the Commissioner of Police in Adelaide:

I have to report to you that two battles I and my men have had with the savages in this part of South Australia wherein one was shot and I believe two wounded. They have attacked my flocks and men no less than eight different times, wounding one man and spearing fifty sheep and carrying off twenty... A police force ought to be stationed in this part of the province to protect life and property.

On this occasion, when 'the natives of the Rivoli Bay district and Glenelg [had] been treated in a manner which can only be called atrocious', it was reported that eight natives were shot and, further, that damper had been poisoned with 'corrosive sublimate', while another method of ill treatment was to 'drive the natives from the only watering places in the neighbourhood.'

Further, the native women had been 'sought after by the shepherds, whilst the men were driven from the stations with threats.'

A review of these circumstances was made in Adelaide by the Commissioner of Police who advised that he had:

Taken steps to endeavour to obtain evidence from the men now in Adelaide sufficient to justify me bringing a warrant to apprehend Mr McIntyre and others present with Mr Leake, although in the absence of the bodies of the slaughtered natives it may be impossible to mount...

I consider that the secrecy in which these transactions have been cloaked, ... although shortly afterwards a Magistrate, Mr Evelyn Sturt, was on the spot and could have investigated the facts had the parties been desirous of relieving themselves of any intimation of guilt, leaves sufficient grounds coupled with certain details which have reached me to justify me in believing that there has been unlawful bloodshed. Should I issue warrants and no magistrate is to be found in the district to investigate the charges, the only course [will then] be to bring the parties before myself.

In a Government Resident's report of 31 January 1847 from Robe Town, Mr G.V. Butler said that 'the following outrages have been brought under my notice by the police during the past quarter being the first of my residence in this district':

A man named Carney was murdered on his way from Mr Mayfield's to Mr McBean's station - the Aboriginal native who is supposed to be the murderer has been sent to Adelaide for trial.

James McKenzie charged an Aborigine and his lubra with assaulting him on his way from Mr Campbell's to Mr Davenport's station - the natives were brought here, the man was severely wounded - having communicated with the Advocate General on the subject they have been discharged - the male prisoner was attended by Mr Healy and his wound cured.

I have also caused enquiries to be made respecting the disappearance of William Shearer (?) from Mr Cameron's station but the result has been very unsatisfactory. It appears Shearer had been perfectly mad for the last two or three months of his life - that on the 17th November he made his escape from his keeper and ran into the bush quite naked. The natives say he was killed and thrown into a water hole...

He was then cut into pieces ... every waterhole and lagoon has been searched but without success... all information tends to the belief that he has been murdered and I have issued a warrant for the apprehension of three natives supposed to be concerned in the business.

He then went on to suggest that a Sub-protector of Aborigines should be appointed to the district, 'whose first duty would be to make himself master of the language in these parts and attend all investigations in which natives were concerned. [This] would be met with approbation...':

Humanity and justice to the natives as well as justice and protection to the settlers render it very desirable that an interpreter of some description should be obtained - On the one hand a native cannot be punished if he is unable to defend himself from ignorance of what he is waged against him - on the other hand the shepherd and others when they observe the natives escape punishment are induced to take the law into their own hands and acting on the instinct of self-preservation it is impossible to say what may be the result to the Aborigines as they may often suffer without the slightest chance of the aggressor being detected.

On 30 April 1846, E. P.S. Sturt, at Compton, reported on police attendance at 'skirmishes' and remarked that with winter approaching the natives were 'mustering in great numbers and we are visited by many of the Glenelg tribe, members of which have left that river owing to the numerous murders and depredations committed by them. This circumstance, I fear, render them seriously troublesome for some time. I have also to report an attack upon Mr Leake's sheep after robbing the shepherd's hut:

At Mr Leake's request I proceeded in quest of the natives accompanied by himself and Corporal McCulloch. We tracked them and the sheep to a scrub where we found about 60 of the unfortunate animals with all four legs broken and otherwise mutilated.

After putting them out of their misery, we continued tracking them at Tea Tree Scrub; we also mounted and endeavoured to approach them unheard but they soon noticed us and seized their spears. On rushing towards them they soon took to the scrub and after firing a few useless shots to alarm them we were obliged to give up... We destroyed their spears and burned large quantities of meat and fat...

Mr Sturt attached depositions signed by Jeremiah Robins, policeman, Isaac Dewson, policeman, regarding another incident, namely, an attack on 'Mr Sterling's shepherd'. The Commissioner of Police noted 'an apparent conflict between Sturt's report and those of the police' because 'three natives had been shot and probably mortally wounded' and went on to say that 'depositions were not taken from all witnesses and magistrates should be instructed that their investigations should be as complete as possible. The Colonial Secretary concurred!'

In respect of this affray Mr Leake commented that:

We are attacked on all sides by blacks. If something be not done it will not be safe to go in any part of the country. We have lost 500 sheep; further particulars I will forward by first opportunity.

To this matter the Commissioner of Police concluded that:

Mr Leake may have been justified on this occasion in the steps he took to recover his property, but one thing is clear that where any contact, probably as in this case resulting in the death of some of the parties, has occurred, there should be immediate and legal enquiry for the purpose of ascertaining the facts as far as they can be had, and if necessary of punishing unnecessary acts of bloodshed. It is to be appreciated that at a distance from the control of proper authorities, the effect of them taking the law into their own hands will be to [legitimise?] the proceedings of settlers and betray them into acts of unjustifiable hostility...

In the mid-1840s, Mrs Christina Smith told this very human story following the arrival of her family at Rivoli Bay in 1846:

Prior to our arrival a man named Michael Whelan had caused a hut to be built about 300 yards from the corner where we lived. He hoped to get it licensed as a public house - eventually he succeeded and began doing a good trade in the grog line with the bullock drivers and neighbouring shepherds., most of which were 'old hands' and had done time in Van Diemen's Land - I heard many of them relate the cruelty they endured and of the brutalising effect it had on them - one of them named Donnelly showed my husband his lashed-scarred back. Poor fellow, he was fond of drink and when returning under the effects to his work on Davenport's station, about 16 miles from here, he ruthlessly shot a blackfellow... he fled across the border to Victoria but the police followed him... he was tried and found guilty of murder and hanged.

The Tarpeena Publican versus Reverend J.E. Tenison Woods

Whether the native is guilty or not of atrocity with which he is charged has, clearly, nothing to do with the principles we have ever maintained should regulate our communication... which are, non-interference with their laws as executed among themselves... Inoffensive natives are not to be shot like wild dogs with impunity...

(SA Gazette & Mining Journal, 1 September 1849)

A most explicit account of the state of the general well-being of the South East Aborigines, following two decades of infiltration by squatters and others, is to be found in a series of correspondence in the *Register* in mid-1866 from which a discerning reader might be enabled to deduce the truth.

At the outset, in May of that year a report was published which read, in part, as follows:

The second grievance is the state of the aboriginal population which is a disgrace to a Christian community. The Crown Lands Ranger, Mr Egan, is the nominal Protector of the blacks and under him the police at various places dispense the rations. The whole thing, however, is done in a clumsy and perfunctory manner. The police are the worst persons the government could appoint to give out the rations as the poor blacks have a natural dread of these gentlemen.

A case recently occurred here when some of the natives obtained grog and got drunk and because they would not inform the police where they obtained the drink the rations of the whole company were stopped for a fortnight. Father Woods heard of the case and visited the poor old fellow and gave him some medicine, but he was too far gone - the man died of sheer inanition [*sic*]...

The protection of Aborigines in the South East I am assured is a mere farce and the question is asked why Dr Walker does not come down frequently and look after them.

A few weeks later, Reverend J.E. Tenison Woods sought to clarify certain assertions made previously and to plea for a radical change to the methods employed by the government in the treatment of the local Aborigines:

Your correspondent has called attention to the sad state of the natives in this district. Well I say most conscientiously that a more hideous crying evil does not exist among Christians. These poor savages after being degraded and diseased by the vices of - shall we call it civilisation - are but to die, in our midst, of starvation... I have seen them dying within a stone's throw of abundance and luxury. I have seen them so corroded by disease that they might be said to be rotting away even in life, and there was none there to give aid. I have even found one lying in the water where he had been left by his companions whose emaciated condition would not enable them to carry him further through the morass. I have known them to die of cold, starvation and of drunkenness and all these things amongst men who had grown rich on their lands and boasted of the Christian name...

I assert most vehemently that we are bound to do something for them if only to smooth their path to the grave. True, the government does something but a more wretched inefficient system could not be devised. Here is a specimen - The Crown Land Ranger [Mr Egan] lives with his son who keeps a public house. It is a wayside inn far from any police protection - at least 18 miles. Here the rations are kept and there the blacks congregate in numbers, and there also congregate the usual society of a bush public house. Imagine the rest. Alas! I have often wished there were no rations at all.

Here is another instance. Blankets are, or should be, provided for the natives. The other day a poor native dying at my place [and] suffered much from the cold. I applied for blankets for him. Yes, I was told there are blankets but they were at Robe 25 miles away. Another instance. This native friend - a good, poor lad with many fine points in his character, savage though he was, and I wished to have him buried with some respect to his human nature and the thought that Christ had shed His blood for him after all. Oh, yes, he could be buried at government expense but no coffin would be allowed! What, then? A cart, could he have blankets? They were at Robe. Could he have any covering? The government would not pay for it. Poor Tommy! He sleeps in an old cloak of mine; his pillow, I trust, none the harder for the treatment of the more civilised brethren...

Oh, good people of Adelaide, who respect your characters as men of humanity and wish your names to go down to posterity with something better than execration for your treatment of this fast-fading race, do something for them in the name of God. If you only saw their state, if you only saw their rations - but I have said enough - for I feel sure better days are in store.

I should like to add the names of those settlers in the district who have distinguished themselves above all others in their care for the blacks and their unfailing kindness to them - Messrs Lawson, Bonney and McLeod in the Tatiara; Henry Jones, James Hunter and Andrew Watson for the rest of the district.

The proprietor of the Tarpeena 'bush inn', being the son of the Crown Lands Ranger, responded in a letter dated 2 July 1866:

How is it possible for the blacks to die of starvation when there are so many depots in the district...? Further, the district is thickly timbered and abounds with game... It is therefore morally and physically impossible for the aborigines to be dying of starvation in our midst... If Mr Woods really witnessed the distress among the blacks which he describes in his spirited letter it is discreditable to him not to have applied to the quarter where he well knew that relief could be obtained...

The vile insinuations about the bush public house, the want of police protection, the blacks congregating in numbers, which is untrue... I fling back with contempt...

Further, in conversation with the Protector, Mr Egan replied dryly, 'Mr Woods cares very little about the blacks. His appeal to the good Christian people of Adelaide is a great slur on the good Christian people of this district who, one and all, treat the blacks with great kindness and consideration.'

In a letter dated 6 July, the Reverend Woods reentered the fray and, ignoring the personal insults emanating from Mr Egan at Tarpeena, informed his fellow colonists that:

Let me state in respect of your special correspondent that there have been complaints and accusations of misstatement in which he wrote about a native here dying of starvation. I believe your correspondent derived his information from me and I willingly take the responsibility of the story, but to satisfy those officers who feel themselves aggrieved by it, I here give the facts which they can comment upon or explain at their leisure - [he then recites a lengthy account of King Tom and the circumstances surrounding his death which are in conflict with Mr Egan's subsequent account and concluded by saying]:

Some temporary relief was obtained for poor Tom and he revived to some extent; but three days after the annual races occurred at Penola and on the same evening, as was usual on such occasions, our streets were traversed by maddened yelling tribes of drunken blacks. In the end they were all locked up and King Tom left, I suppose, without his usual attendance, for when I went there next day to enquire after him he was dead and had died, I conscientiously believe, for want of food.

Now on all this I do not blame the police... But I do blame the system. Why should they be the distributor of rations? Why should they be saddled with a duty for which they are not paid - which has the effect of congregating natives in towns from which it should be our most earnest object to keep them away?... To my knowledge the majority suffers hunger rather than go to the police for their food. If, however, they do go and one gets locked up for drunkenness, they all decamp in terror and thus the rations are saved...

The 'system' as it is seen at Naracoorte is still more remarkable. No rations are supplied there at all... The camp contains about 30 blacks, three of whom are prostrate from sickness. I went to see them. The same emaciation and the same cry for food met me at the outset. There was hunger and starvation there beyond doubt. On enquiry I found that the only rations obtained were by the written orders to the storekeeper from Mr Eyre, the Ranger - an officer who I believe means well towards the natives and would do more if he could.

The storekeeper told me that for some time past all orders for rations had been refused. And what wonder? The government won't pay for what they have already and there on the books of a storekeeper at Kincaid stands the name of Mr Wildman, Commissioner of Crown Lands, for a small account, significantly small, of tea, sugar and flour supplied to the natives since October 1865. Payment has been asked for and no reply received, so now the blacks live on the precarious earnings which their poor services can obtain... The sick cannot work, the aged cannot work and it is not everyone who can look for such heroism as I have known amongst them, where the son of an old man worked for a day's rations and took them to his father, going without himself...

Here, too, is an instance of an evil of another kind in which I conceal names and places for obvious reasons. In compliance with a request from a charitable person I went to see a young lubra who was dying in a hut on a certain station. She was in the last stage of consumption and by her side sat a really beautiful little half-caste girl, about three years old. She was, however, smothered in dirt and not even decently covered by a few squalid rags. The mother seemed proud to tell me that the father of the child was a 'gentleman' of some little means who lived hard by and in whose service she had been until she had fallen sick... And this 'gentleman' had thus consigned his offspring to the wretched squalor of savages, and had abandoned its mother, it might have been for aught he knew, to starvation...

Good and abundant rations should be provided and not left at the townships but at such stations where the natives are known to congregate. The settlers would gladly see to their fair and equal distribution, for many of them have supplied food for years past without any government aid at all. Blankets should be provided at the same places. These alone if left in the hands of settlers would be of great service. Mr Lawson, of Padthaway, has no less than 20 natives at his station for two months waiting for a promised supply of blankets which, as far as he knew, were still at Guichen Bay...

Above all stringent enquiries should be made in the case of half-caste children so that their fathers should be forced to take some of the responsibility of the care and the education of children now bidding fair to become

the worst kinds of savages that we have. This is no light evil; nay, I can assure my fellow colonists that it is a very grave one as any one can see who will take an account of the half-caste children in this district...

I could not, in the interests of humanity, keep silence in the sight of so much misery which my voice might probably help to alleviate, but I sadly feel that unless some at least of my suggestions are carried out, what I have urged and what you have so ably advocated, and the present visit of the Chief Inspector will be of no avail.

Support for Reverend Woods' avowed stance in respect of government neglect was forthcoming from a citizen writing under the pseudonym of 'Veritas' who castigated Mr Egan:

It would appear that Mr Egan was troubled with a violent bilious attack... His charges are so reckless and indiscriminate, and he puts forward his opinions with so much confidence that he reminds me forcibly of an Irishman in a faction fight who strikes out indiscriminately at friend and foe... The thinking public know that there are few virtues to be learned at any public house... I believe Mr Woods to be substantially correct. I accompanied him on one occasion to the blacks' camp where one Tom King was lying very sick and he, and those who were with him, said they had nothing to eat, at least they had nothing that a sick man, not even a blackfellow, could eat.

They also said that they had no rations from the police for some time. Mr Woods made immediate enquiry and I believe he was told that the magistrate advised the police to give them no rations for a fortnight in order, if possible, to make them tell who it was that was serving them with drink, and for my part I quite agree with the magistrate. I think the plan was a good one, though it was hard for the poor fellow who was dying.

Mr Egan does not appear to advantage unless as his own trumpeter - 'my house is as well kept as any in the district' - 'tis well he says. Poor fellow, his feelings must be finely moulded to take exception to such action; so, I think he is quite alone in his opinion. He is also much annoyed because Mr Woods should appear to take more notice of the blacks than other clergymen do! If he but knew the many amiable qualities of the talented gentleman he seeks to abuse, he would know no object was too low for his sympathy and no trouble too much when tending to alleviate pain and misery. With these few remarks, Mr Editor, I will leave him in the hands of a discriminating public

In August 1866, Mr Egan again disputed many of Reverend Woods' claims and in a virulent attack against that gentleman said, *inter alia*:

[As regards the blanket episode] I can fearlessly contradict that statement; it is not true. Mr Woods did not apply to the officer in charge of the blacks' stores at Penola for a blanket; had he done so he would have got one. In fact, the Sub-protector did not know that Tommy was ill until after his death. He took ill on the 8th of May, remained at Mr Woods' place until the 21st when he died suddenly. During this time Mr Wood attended to him. Had the Sub-protector been informed of Tommy's illness he would have employed Dr Barlas to attend him. Under proper medical treatment he may have recovered.

During Mr Woods' 10 years painful experience of 'appalling distress' among the blacks he can only fasten upon one doubtful fact to prove his many sweeping assertions... King Tom was very old and emaciated previous to his death; he was a long time ill; he had a chronic disease which was accelerated by a cold which he caught when washing sheep at the Mandara Station in Victoria. When he got a little better he crawled into Mr Robertson's station at Wrattenbully [*sic*]; at all those stations he would have got plenty of food. As the races were approaching he crawled on to Comaum, 12 miles from Penola; here he remained for a week and had plenty of food given to him every day by Charley, a very intelligent black man, who works on the station.

From thence he came to Penola, accompanied by two lubras who remained with him and attended upon him up to his death. Charley, who fed him at Comaum, was also with him when he died (for he likewise came to the races) and he assisted to bury him. Charley says that King Tom had plenty of food but was too ill to eat it; he could only drink and he had an abundance of tea...

The greedy avidity with which a black devours his food is no evidence he died of starvation. There was one sick here for several weeks; she had three pannikins of sago every day, one pound of meat and as much vegetables as she liked, with bread; yet, she was 'woefully emaciated' and half an hour before she died she ate a pint pannikin full of sago with a 'greedy avidity' which would make Mr Woods say that she died from want of food.

[As regards the stoppage of rations] the intelligent blacks with whom I conversed say that the rations were not stopped and the officer in charge says the same. The blacks laugh at Mr Woods writing that they are frightened to go to the police station for their tucker...

I am afraid that Mr Woods draws largely on his imagination for his facts. What is he driving at? Does he expect the government to feed all the blacks in the district - young and old healthy and unhealthy? If that be his object he could not do them a greater injury, besides the injury he would do the settlers by depriving them of labour. Ranger Egan will encourage none that are able to work around Tarpeena. The same remarks apply to Border Town and Naracoorte...

About 18 months ago a number of natives congregated on a certain station some miles away from any town. There was no 'bush public house', no 'police protection' but plenty of bushmen. There was about £25 to £30 worth of grog drunk amongst them; their drunkenness, debauchery and ruin held high revelry on that occasion.

How does Mr Wood know that the rations are kept at the Tarpeena public house? He has never been there, nor has he ever seen where the rations are kept. He ought to be more cautious when he writes. A clergyman should

have a strict regard for the truth... There is little danger I will compromise my father's private or official character by giving the blacks grog, and the very few who are generally around here is perhaps the best proof that they get none.

In giving advice about the management of the aborigines Mr Woods ought to visit Point MacLeay and take a leaf out of Mr Taplin's book; there he would learn the true and only proper way of improving their condition.

In his letter he said that Christ shed His blood for the blacks. Well, what has he done for their immortal souls during his 10 years residence as a missionary priest among them?

Has he learned their language, translated any portion of the Holy Scriptures into their vernacular tongue and taught at least some of them to read it, and told them about that blood which he says was shed for them and which cleanses all sin? [Signed - Laurence Mac Egan, junior]

And how did they receive the intoxicating liquors? A report at this period of time, while not referring specifically to the Tarpeena public house, said:

Many of the young Aborigines were employed as shearers by the squatters and, when paid, they would go to a white shepherd and say 'I will take care of the flock, will you go and get me a gallon of grog.'

In other cases it was common knowledge that in the South East they were openly supplied with intoxicating drinks.

To conclude this enlightening discussion, the words of the Crown Ranger at Tarpeena, Egan (senior), in an annual report to his superiors in Adelaide in August 1866, discredits much of the untimely and ill-considered outpourings from his son:

November being the season for washing and shearing sheep in the district the aborigines disperse among the different stations in search of employment. When the work is done they are paid off and with few exceptions spend their money on grog. I got information that the blacks, sheep washing on Benara Station, would be paid off...

I went there and remained all night to see the result. About 10 pm I heard a great noise in their camp. They had sent to the Mount for grog and were getting drunk. Next morning they were all (males and females) drunk and fighting. Harry, who was driving a flock of sheep for Dr Browne, went up to their camp and was wounded by Jackey. I complained to the police but the sergeant said he had not sufficient men to look after the blacks.

I spoke to the Stipendiary Magistrate who got a warrant filed and went after Jackey who got one month with hard labour in Robe Gaol...

During the last quarter there has been a great deal of sickness amongst the blacks throughout the district. They suffer very much from the cold at this season and require warmer blankets than those hitherto supplied and a more liberal allowance of clothing for both men and women. I take this opportunity to direct the attention of Government to the suggestions made in my report of the 9th March, 1863 relative to blankets and beg respectfully for their adoption.

Crocodiles and Petrified Aborigines

That the native tribes are doomed to fall before the white usurpers of their soil is generally admitted... We would either let them alone and, regarding them as mere animals in human shape, supply them with food... or else subject them to a mild species of coercion.

(Observer, 29 May 1847)

March 1861 hailed the advent of three Australian crocodiles in Adelaide - stuffed, of course - that had been shot at Port Curtis and exhibited in King William Street in a room north of the old Beehive corner, and one of them measured 19 feet.

The adventurer - Craig (or Craigie) by name - who exhibited them, profited considerably by his enterprise in bringing them here. Finding that acting as showman was such a paying game, our colonial Barnum was on the lookout for something fresh in the show business and, hearing or reading of petrified native in the caves of Mosquito Plains, near Naracoorte, went there, wrapped the native up in blankets, and was transporting its petrified remains towards the border of the colony when he was caught by the police, who took charge of the body, but not the man, returned the former to its resting place in the cave and placed some iron bars around it to keep it from being plucked by other adventurers - but they didn't:

For years this had been a curiosity which strangers visited as one of the wonders of this part of the country and, when Craigie abstracted it, a medical magistrate at once issued a warrant for his arrest for which entirely illegal act the worthy JP suffered severely in pocket, besides being harassed by legal proceedings.

The government stuck to the mummy, whereupon Craigie brought a suit against it, but lost, Judge Gwynne ruling that the action could not lie, as the article had no commercial value. Mr Strangways with his grim humour suggested a prosecution of Craigie for removing stone without a licence; but then the article was not stone...

An account of this curiosity, as given in his book on the geology of South Australia, may be of historical interest here:

The history of his coming there is a sad one. The blacks, in addition to destroying 300 sheep by throwing them down the caves and afterwards murdering [*sic*] Mr Brown, caused the white settlers to resolve upon being revenged. They assembled and set out with the significant motto 'Let not your right hand know what your left hand doeth.'

The natives resisted desperately and some were shot in every part of the country. One, wandering near these caves, was seen and brought to the ground by a rifle ball. Badly wounded, he managed to crawl away unobserved, and thinking that he would be sought for as long as life was in him, crept down into the lowest and darkest recess in the cavern, where he rightly judged few would follow him. There he died, uncoffined.

Not a tear was shed over him, but drops of water fell upon him from the rocks above and when (a long time after) his remains were discovered the limestone had encased him in a strong shroud, which to this day preserves his remains from decay.

The strong shroud of limestone and iron bars were, however, not sufficient to protect him from the wily showman. He burst the bars, took the petrified one away again in his blankets, supped with the policeman who was after him at a wayside tavern, the swag containing the native being under the table, and got away, exhibited his prize all over England, and finally sold it for £25 - so the story goes. The protective bars may still be seen in the cave.

Another version of the massacre contends that it was instrumental in the discovery of the caves:

Many years ago a pastoral settler named Brown was tending a flock of sheep when he was set upon by the natives and speared to death. The alarm was given to neighbours who collected with a view to avenge the murder and recover 900 sheep which were missing.

The tracks of the sheep were traced to the very hole through which we descended to Robertson's Ballroom and, on still further investigation, it was discovered that the whole of the sheep had been thrown down into the subterranean chamber and that the forelegs of all the poor brutes had been cruelly broken.

Here, also, some blackfellows were found in charge of the sheep and a conflict took place between the blacks and the whites. A blackfellow was in deadly conflict with one of the settlers named Robertson, who seemed to be getting the worst of the tussle, when one of his companions shot the native in the breast and wounded him mortally.

Relaxing his hold he crawled away into the inner recesses of the cave where he died and years afterwards his body was discovered in the course of petrification and excited the wonder and astonishment of all who saw it

An Aboriginal Legend

At one time the land extended southward as far as the eye could carry from the spot on which the township of Port MacDonnell stands. A splendid forest of evergreen trees, including a wattle, out of which oozed a profusion of delicious gum and a rich profusion of beautiful flowers and grass grew upon it. A man of great height, fearful in his anger and a terror to trespassers on this favoured ground, was the owner.

One hot summer's day, whilst taking a walk through his land, he saw at the foot of the wattle tree a basket of gum. His anger rose and in a rage with a voice like thunder, he cried, 'Who is robbing me of my food?' Looking up he saw a woman concealed among the boughs and in a loud voice demanded the thief to come down. Trembling, she obeyed and pleaded for her life. He was relentless and told her he would drown her for robbing him.

Filled with rage he seated himself on the grass, extended his right leg towards Cape Northumberland (Kinneang) and his left towards Green Point, raised his arms above his head and in a giant voice called upon the sea to come and drown the woman. The sea advanced, covering his beautiful land and destroyed the offending woman. It returned no more to its former bed and thus formed the present coast of MacDonnell Bay.

The Treatment of Aborigines at Tarpeena and Mount Gambier

A few aborigines were to be seen 'knocking about' the town and the sight of the lubras was ludicrous, fluttering in the finest rags of civilisation... We have never solved the problem why these races die off instead of incorporating with more civilised races; for the few individual instances of aboriginal young persons acquiring English habits and education are but the exception to the general rule.

(*Border Watch*, 20 June 1862)

By September 1862 there was a kind of Aboriginal refuge at Tarpeena where sick natives could be attended to at government expense and to many European interlopers its existence was expected to be of limited duration because 'the blacks are dying out; but we should let them die out decently.'

Previously, in May 1862 a poor blackfellow named Jim Crow was lying in the police paddock at Mount Gambier for several days in a pitiable condition from a severe attack of inflammation of the lungs and he had no shelter beyond a piece of bark and no covering except a remnant of a blanket.

To this event the Editor of the *Border Watch* opined that 'in the midst of a Christian community it was a pity that he had to lie outside and die like a dog' and had it not been for the kindness of Mrs Wehl he would have remained there.

Taking umbrage at this report Mr Egan, the Crown Ranger at Tarpeena and responsible locally for the Aborigines' general welfare, addressed the *Border Watch*:

The lady deserves much praise who not only saved poor Jim Crow from 'joining his old companions in the land of spirits' but saved the good, pious people of Mount Gambier from the serious charge of allowing one poor blackfellow taken suddenly ill... to die from starvation at their doors...

You forgot to mention there is a depot at Tarpeena, where all sick, infirm and destitute aborigines who choose to go there are daily supplied with rations, and a blanket given to them... Jim Crow is well acquainted with that fact as you are for he has been there with his lubra, Louie, and they have had rations and a blanket given to them. It is therefore his own fault that he is destitute...

On the 3rd of this month I visited the blacks in the police paddock there. I offered to remove old King Charley to Tarpeena in a cart. I saw Jim Crow and he appeared to be in good health then...

To this heartless epistle the Editor responded:

Mr Egan truly says that the blackfellow prefers his mia-mia in the bush, and his wandering mode of life, to the most comfortable mansion that can be prepared for him. We have no desire to see mansions erected for the accommodation of these creatures while they are in a state of health, but we certainly think an asylum is the most suitable place for them when they are sick.

No doubt they are very tenderly cared for and nursed at Tarpeena but then they do not happen to be at Tarpeena when they fall sick... Does Mr Egan mean that [Jim Crow] was in a fit state to go there? Or does he mean us to infer that Jim should have had a few days notice of his approaching illness and should have started off immediately to that happy retreat...

In June 1863 the Editor of the *Border Watch* informed his readers of further evidence of the apparent neglect of Mr Egan:

We print the following for [his] benefit... and to show that our remarks on the condition of the sick blacks were not out of place. In a letter to Mr Egan, Dr Graham said:

I address this note to you hoping you will do something for a poor black woman that has got her hip out of joint. She has lain for a month and cannot walk at all. If you do something for her it will be a great charity.

This black woman has been lying for a month within a few miles of Allandale [*sic*] and yet her case has not attracted the attention of the Ranger...

This state of affairs prompted a citizen with a modicum of Christian charity to say:

There are a large number of them continually wandering around Mount Gambier dependent in a great measure for relief upon the beneficence of charitably-disposed persons. In the face of these things, then, the establishment of an asylum for Aborigines at Mount Gambier is the only means by which these miserable and unfortunate creatures can obtain that relief to which they are entitled at the hands of government...

However, this suggestion did not meet with the approval of Dr Clindening, the medical officer in the Mount Gambier district, who was of the opinion that no additional depot should be established because it would entail a great deal of additional labour on the officers and would in no way add to the comfort of the natives, and further:

All the able bodied men found employment in wood cutting, but their habits were so migratory and their movements so uncertain that they cannot be depended upon for any length of time and on this account the greater number of them were unemployed. Great misery was caused among them by the fact that irresponsible settlers provided them with intoxicating drink which caused fighting and quarrelling among them.

By 1863, there were but a few Aborigines remaining in the MacDonnell Bay district and throughout the winter months they suffered a good deal when Dr Byass, with a degree of humanity, administered medicine to them free of charge and the local correspondent again raised the name of their supposed 'Protector', Mr Egan:

I feel satisfied that my bringing their case under the notice of Mr Egan, will at once induce him to order a supply of rations for their use and see that in future they have regular medical attendance now that we have a resident doctor...

A 'well-known blackfellow', Bobby, died at Benaira (*sic*) station in May 1864 where he had been suffering from a lingering disease for several months:

He was one of the most intelligent of the blacks and had considerable knowledge of the Scriptures and of a future state. Before dying a considerable number of the blacks gathered around him and he warned them very earnestly of the evil of their ways and advised them to give up swearing and drinking. He expressed a firm hope of going to heaven himself and wished them all to be good and get there too.

The year 1865 saw many Aborigines frequenting the town where their favourite camp sites were the police paddock and a property owned by Mrs Mitchell at Hedley Park and, in March of that year, two of them died and were buried in Mrs Mitchell's paddock, the first being 'Old Polly' who was generally 'well liked here as being very handy and good tempered.' The next was Neddy McRae, belonging to the Casterton district, and he was in the town receiving medical treatment having had the cap of his knee knocked out.

In the same month, at the Licensing Court the magistrate, Mr Lyon, informed the applicants that the government was determined to stop the practice of supplying drink to the blacks and that if any of them transgressed they would have their licence taken away.

He referred to an orgy on Benara Station, where 20 or 30 drunken blacks set to and broke one another's skulls and suggested that if it became a weekly occurrence the race would soon be exterminated. He concluded with the comment that 'Will not the outrage of the Avenue find many a parallel when drink becomes abundant?' Later, Mr Egan commented on this episode:

As is customary a good many of them were employed about the sheep during the shearing; they earned about £25... All the money was invested in grog [which they] obtained from stores where they could get whisky and rum at £1 per gallon. Many of the shearers and other workmen brought bottles of spirits as a decoy to the lubras and took them into the scrub for an improper purpose... I have recommended in a former letter that the government should give no encouragement to these poor creatures to remain about towns where they have every facility for obtaining grog...

To these sad events a concerned citizen addressed his neighbours with a gentle lecture on Christian ethics and the fate of two further ill-fated Aborigines:

There is something melancholy in the thought that the Aborigines... are rapidly passing away and that the work of extermination seems in great measure to be owing to passive neglect of the people who occupy their lands. It is true that in their semi-civilised state they are rendered more liable to disease, especially rheumatism and consumption, than in their primitive condition when the opossum rug took the place of the blanket, and hunting and fishing supplied their wants liberally; but yet kind and persevering efforts in the localities they resort to could teach them, and teach to the young at least, something that might elevate their social and moral condition...

Two interesting youths of the Rivoli Bay tribe known as Harry and the Duke of Wellington, each aged 19 years, affected with diseases of the lungs lived for some time in a mia-mia near the site of the new jail in the police paddock. Their subsistence was very precarious, being absent from their tribe, and but for the sympathy and kindness of some good neighbours they would probably have perished as they were unable to do much for themselves.

Mrs Smith... supplied them with many comforts and eventually at their request [having referred] to her as 'their Mother', had them brought to her homestead on her dray a few days prior to their removal by death which occurred 12 or 14 hours [later]... Harry, alarmed at his friend's death... before morning called out, 'Come, come, I die.' They did all they could to restore him but he quickly sank and died, first witnessing that 'the great sinner was washed from his sins and forgiven' and his last words were, 'Tell them', (that is the blacks), 'what Jesus did.' and died... Two little mounds besides the late Mr Smith's homestead mark the graves of these young men. They were wrapped in their blankets and thus lowered to the grave as no provision had been made for either a coffin or free burial in the cemetery.

This appeal prompted a suggestion that:

Before the winter sets in could not some money be collected to erect a shed in the police paddock to shelter these poor people from the severity of the weather? Five or six have died since February and in almost every case from disease of the lungs - contracted from their exposure in the wretched hovels they put up - lying on damp ground with wet blankets and wind and rain penetrating their wurlies...

Conclusion

An example of the degradation of the Booandik people was evident in February 1881 when an Aboriginal corroboree was held on the Exhibition Ground where about thirteen of them, the majority of the survivors of the once numerous tribe, assembled and, having 'dressed' themselves in the original corroboree costume, admitted the intending spectators on payment of sixpence a head.

No one, except boys attempted to cheat and as there were about 150 in the enclosures the amount received must have been nearly £4. 'Tiger seemed to act as manager of the event and Old Billy was singer and master of ceremonies. A lubra with a bag of sand acted as drummer. For a time they danced without a fire but afterwards one was lit and they danced around it, beating their sticks vigorously all the while. There is to be another tonight.'

To conclude this brief excursion into the decimation of the Aboriginal nations of South Australia, and in particular the South East, it might be fitting to quote from a report in the *Border Watch* in 1875 and an editorial in the *Advertiser* in 1903:

Gunarmin, better known as Old Kitty Livingston, who was generally regarded as the oldest surviving Aboriginal female member of the once numerous and powerful Boandik tribe, died at Mount Gambier on 5 May 1875. Old Kitty was aunt to Old Caroline, well known in the district, and left two sons - Bobby Livingston and Long Jimmy - who resided near the border. Before her death she was very weak and debilitated and 'seemed to derive no pleasure from anything in life but her dogs.' ['Queen Caroline, the oldest Aboriginal woman died at her wurley in Hedley Park']

The inaction in respect to the strengthening of the existing law for safeguarding the rights of the blacks, who is [sic] practically helpless to redress his own wrongs, except by such acts of reprisal as are natural to the savage, and who is often incapable of understanding the extent of injury done to himself and his race, contrasts unpleasantly with the attempts to secure his complete subjugation...

The object of authorising whipping in addition to punishment by imprisonment for cattle raiding is not likely to meet with much favour... There is something [about it]... too strongly reminiscent of the middle ages...

Sources

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Aboriginal Legend - *Register*, 19 November 1877, p. 5.

Conclusion - *Border Watch*, 12 May 1875, 23 Feb 1881, *Advertiser*, 5 October 1903, p. 4.

Acknowledgement

In recent years it has been my good fortune to find an historian in the South-East who has an appetite for seeking out primary sources of history where, invariably, the truth is to be found. Thank you. Peter Rymill, for enhancing my appreciation of the multi-faceted layers of the Lower South-East in the 19th century.

This work has been enhanced by your co-operation and an apparent bottomless archive of historical fact and accompanying minutiae.

Appendix 49

Coaching Days in the Lower South East

Coming from Adelaide the South East may, at first, be said to be fairly impinged upon when the puffing little flat-bottomed steamer from Milang had landed the traveller at Meningie, where a coach stood waiting to convey him along the shore of the Coorong to Kingston. Owing to the fact that mail requirements required this journey to be made, except on Sundays, at night time, this route acquired an undeservedly bad name.

(Advertiser, 29 June 1885)

Introduction

The poor horses were in a most disgusting and deplorable condition, their necks were quite raw, and the blood streamed from the sore places; it was truly painful and revolting to see them.

(Advertiser, 4 March 1861)

In the early days of South Australia an 'overlander' was a hero in the eyes of less adventurous people who stayed at home and 'kept shop' in Adelaide and contiguous villages. It was true that pioneers had ventured as far as Echunga, Mount Pleasant and other places in the 'bush'. The overlanders' slouched cabbage tree hats, leather belts, long stock whips and leather 'strapped' and 'seated' trousers, the black 'cutty' pipe and, above all, their long hair, unkempt beards and bronzed faces, distinguished them from the smug, clean-shaved, white-neckclothed merchants, clerks, artisans and others who, at that time, followed the absurd fashions of the old country. What a change occurred by the close of the 19th century.

Within the colony of South Australia in the 1840s, the creaking bullock dray was the sole transport available and, by the turn of the century, many colonists in the prime of life could remember the days when railways and sleeping cars were unknown and where the cloud of dust, which was the herald of a coach-and-four, was to be seen on every country road, through cloud or sunshine, across rivers, and over hills, that would appal many a modern driver; often with axles afire, these antiquated vehicles carried their living load from the city to the outermost fringe of settlement. They were guided by men who knew nothing of fear.

In the 1840s, the mail was transported by police officers and, in 1848, Corporal McCulloch, who was stationed at Mount Gambier, was ordered to investigate and report on the 'overland mail route':

I have the honour to inform you of the result of my enquiry relative to the understanding existing between the police engaged in carrying the overland mail and the settlers at whose place they are stationed. The Company's overseer at Lake Albert informed me that owing to the way in which he had been cheated by PC Shoubridge he would not, after the present PC is relieved, allow another to live at his station.

At Salt Creek I perceive that PC [Cross?] is building a hut for his own use. PC Bald (?) informed me that owing to the disagreeable position in which he is placed at Mr Morris's station he had three months previously applied to be relieved and at Mr Johnson's the case is similar.

On the whole it would appear that the settlers wish the police to work, some of the latter do not like Mr Cook or work with the ruffians who are at every station in this district and altho [*sic*] they may pay for their rations... the settlers do not like to see them loitering about their stations and consequently the bad working of the present arrangement.

With regard to the present line of road in winter I think it will be possible but do not think the journey between Johnson's and Morris's can be performed in one day. Messrs Stewart and Pow have a station eight miles further south at the McBean's old place but they do not wish to have a policeman stationed at their place.

As regards the branch line to Guichen Bay I am informed by Cpl Bury (?) that in winter it will be impracticable and in this opinion I concur...

When the gold diggings started in Victoria in 1851, a great number of South Australians rushed off by the overland tracks. Some used horses but the majority took bullocks and drays. To reach the El Dorado more quickly many of them took the track through the Ninety Mile Desert, or as it was then called, Long Desert, beginning about 10 miles east of Wellington on the River Murray and ending near Border Town.

Between the river and the commencement of the desert was an open space known as Cooke's Plains consisting of fairly good arable soil and, at the edge of the desert, was the 'Twelve-mile' where water and the first camp, or halting place, was made. Beyond this, at intervals, were wells and swampy springs.

To travel from Adelaide to Wellington in four days was considered exemplary and, from there to Border Town, a bullock driver was happy if he got through within another five, whilst a good many took from a fortnight to three weeks to travel between Adelaide and Bordertown. Reminiscing in 1898 a colonist proclaimed that:

We have moved so quickly in these new lands, that the present generation, accustomed to travel in every direction by means of the 'iron horse', are apt to forget or despise the methods which were the glory of their father's day...

By the close of the 19th century, the largest and oldest surviving establishment of its kind in Australia was Hill & Company, whose Adelaide headquarters were in Pirie Street and originally opened by William Rounsevell in 1844:

Day by day for half a century from those gates flowed a steady yet immense stream of every description of vehicle from the spring cart to the coach-and-eight... In its palmy days as many as 1,000 horses were required to carry on its enormous traffic.

Some of the 'staging posts' could only be described as primitive, one being described as follows:

Fancy a little pine hut divided into a kitchen and three bedrooms, the cob [*clay mixed with gravel and straw used for building walls, etc*] a great deal broken away from between the slabs, and the chimney persistently smoking as to decline to draw at all unless all the doors were open. No woman's face brightens the scene; no woman's hands to battle with the dirt... The venerable cook smokes as he prepares the supper and bears relics of many a former feast upon his shiny trousers. Those who are the most impudent get the beds; those who are honest get the floor...

One of the longest and most difficult of the many lines was that of Adelaide to Port MacDonnell, a distance of some 600 km (circa 350 miles). Accordingly, it was little wonder that some people 'could not muster the courage to undertake the journey more than once in a dozen years', for by the time they reached their destination 'every bone in their body must have been shaken.'

It was no light responsibility to be the driver of a team of six or eight horses attached to a crowded coach through the Adelaide hills and across the swampy wastes of the Coorong and the lower South East.

Coaching in the South East

The coach of the 1860s differed very materially from that of later years and, up until the early 1870s, it provided accommodation for a mail guard, who was in the employ of the Postmaster-General. He occupied a seat at the rear of the coach, similar to a driver's seat behind a hansom cab but by about 1872 'his warpaint was then considered by an impecunious government to be unnecessary and his services were dispensed with.'

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

For a resident of Adelaide, the South East was as remote as a foreign country. Indeed, in the early days one could not help feeling that Melbourne, rather than Adelaide, held the greater influence. It was, however, a lone land for it was about two day's hard travelling from either metropolis. The mails took 48 hours by coach and anyone who made the journey was not anxious to repeat it.

An alternative means of transport was available by sea. The traveller, therefore, had a choice of evils; he could be tossed about by either sea or land and neither could be recommended, for on land there were only ordinary bush tracks, in the wet season up to the axles in water in many places; and on sea a small steamer of about 250 tons, when exposed to the long wash along the coast, was able to dance about with great liveliness and vigour.

In 1852, the Government stopped the mail runs; they were renewed partially in the following year, but it went 'no further than McIntosh's', leaving the township at Guichen Bay completely cut off and it was said, with a grim foreboding of events to come for many decades:

Unless the Government performs with promptitude those duties the settlers will be looking to Melbourne instead of Adelaide as the metropolis of their country... Trade is now lost to this province and the course at present adopted by the Government is certainly calculated to alienate their sympathies also.

In 1866, the Roman Catholic priest, Father Tenison Woods, who had been domiciled in the Penola district for a decade or more, feared that, unless important and extensive alterations were made to mail arrangements and passenger convenience, the south eastern district would become, in all but name, a Victorian Province:

It is a very rare thing to see a South Australian newspaper, but their Victorian counterparts were anxiously looked for. The natural result of this is that the people are Victorian in their sympathies... The rapidity of communication with Victoria, has, little by little, cut off all business with South Australia and thrown it into the hands of Victorian merchants.

In the early days, most people dealt with Adelaide for it then took from five to six days to communicate with that place and the same with Melbourne but, in 1860, they got communication with Melbourne in three days and at about the same time MacDonnell Bay had opened up.

From that time Melbourne was all but exclusive as a place of business:

It takes now 10 days with the best chance and making the best of arrangements to write a letter and get an answer at Penola from Adelaide and it will take exactly five days to do the same with Melbourne.

In evidence at a committee of enquiry, Mr J. D. Sutherland stated that most of the residents were Victorians; their family connections were there and business relations were carried on with Portland and Hamilton.

There were no inducements held out by Adelaide business people or by the Government of South Australia. Dr Browne of Moorak agreed and said that his labour was almost entirely from Victoria.

In the summer of 1867 a trip by mail coach from Adelaide to Mount Gambier was described in the following terms:

It was under dire necessity that I chose that mode of transit, for I had heard the journey described as most fatiguing, especially as involving heat, dust and sand by day and sleepless travelling throughout the night. This continued through 48 hours, was certainly no delightful prospect... The mail by which I had elected to make my journey left on Thursday from the Post Office at 10.30 pm...

Dreading the sleeplessness of the journey, instead of waiting for the night mail I came on by Strathalbyn coach which leaves at 3 pm, arriving at about 7.30 pm. Here I found the Milang mail was about to start as soon as the letters had been given out and by it I came on, arriving at Milang about 9.

The coach, by which the latter journey is made, is one of the new vehicles Cobb & Co have put on the road and is the perfection of comfort. There is a dashing look about it which reminded one of the old stage coach whose traditional bright red and black it retains for its colours; but in structure it closely resembles a double buggy. There are two seats which I should say would comfortably accommodate five persons besides the driver...

Anticipating the night mail I was able to secure six hours of very satisfactory sleep at the Milang Hotel and in the morning when the mail arrived from Adelaide was ready to go on board the steamer...

The water of Lake Alexandrina was very low and from the muddy character of that in our wake it was evident that we had, sometimes, but an inch or two of water to come and go upon over the two feet which the steamer draws. Shortly after 9 found us at Meningie.

Here two stone cottages, chiefly used for refreshment, are all the buildings to be seen. The rest of the journey during the day was performed in an open American wagon, the proper coach having met with some damage. At Magrath's Flat we stopped to dine between 11 and 12 (but remember we had breakfasted at 5 a.m.) and here all was clean and comfortable.

The drive along the Coorong was delightful, the summer track being that chosen, a considerable portion of which is a most exhilarating gallop along level sands... We observed that the new telegraph posts were completed as far as Policeman's Point.

They are a great improvement on the old ones and are also turned to the purpose of mile posts, the mileage being marked in conspicuous figures.

The rate of travelling this day was often 11 miles an hour and throughout the whole journey a speed of between 7 and 8 miles an hour, including stoppages, is maintained. Tea is provided at Coolatoo and the traveller certainly need not complain of deficient provision. The place is left behind a little before nightfall and at 11 o'clock the mail arrives at Lacepede Bay... Just as day was breaking we left Kingston which, in that foggy air and at that time in the morning, looked a very squalid tumble-down place, hardly justifying the boastfulness of the inhabitants...

The 10 miles eastward of Kingston is through scrub dreary enough to strike despair into the least imaginative soul and over what I think I must set down as the most objectionable variety of bad road to be met with on route, where bad road is the rule and smooth travelling a rare exception. I can stand stumps and roots of trees crossing the track and ruts and sandhills, but to travel over an apparently sandy track, in which the rocks cropping up unseen jar every nerve and fibre of the frame, is just a little more than mortal endurance can stand.

About 9 o'clock we arrived at Rogers' Station where we had a clean and good breakfast. The heat had by this time become intense and travelling in an open conveyance approaching to torture. At MacBean's we found a covered coach into whose welcome shelter we crept with no little alacrity. We stopped at Naracoorte to dine and reached Penola as the sun was getting low.

Leaving between 6 and 7 we arrived at Mount Gambier a few minutes after half past 10 - a distance of 312 miles had thus been accomplished in 48 hours and of this six hours was devoted to rest at Kingston.

The horses were in splendid condition and the driving perfectly wonderful. Four drivers divided the journey between them... But I cannot help saying that the fare is exorbitantly high.

To Mount Gambier is £5.10s. to which another pound must be added for expenses on the way - more than this if the traveller shares the common and delusive belief that frequent 'refreshers' enable him better to bear up against unusual fatigue...

However, contrary to this apparent uneventful excursion, the horrors of south eastern roads were impressed vividly on those who travelled along the mail routes of the 1860s during the winter months. A breakdown was no rare occurrence but, in June 1869, one incident was particularly aggravating.

The mail from Adelaide was doing the night stages between Lacepede Bay and Naracoorte when it was overtaken by a succession of storms of rain that 'rendered the swampy tracks still more swampy and the dreary prospect still more dreary':

Through some strange infatuation one of the changing places on the line had been abolished so that the last team of horses had to cover a stage of about 27 miles... The jaded horses, after reaching McBean's, the site of the abandoned station, turned up rusty and objected to complete the journey.

By dint of whipcord admonitions they were induced to go a mile or two onwards but, at length, aided by darkness, they left the track and quickly got enveloped in the swamps so thoroughly that extraction seemed impossible.

Hour after hour was spent in endeavouring to get a fresh start; but all in vain. Finally, the coach was lightened and the unfortunate guard had to load two of the horses with the mailbags and set off to complete the stage.

For ten miles he had to carry them; but this was not the worst of it, for an unlucky passenger, Mr Charles Aubrey of Mount Gambier, having spent his strength in trying to recover the coach, set out to walk and trudged the whole distance in mud half way up to his knees. The finale was that the mail arrived six hours late and with such a limitless number of 'cursory' remarks being made they could not have failed to astonish the Road Board members had they heard of them.

The mail coach, with four or five horses, would be loaded with passenger and luggage and commence ploughing its way through mud and water and an occasional sandy or limestone ridge. It was impossible to keep the timetable and, consequently, night travelling was unavoidable. The driver was required to be a patient, careful, even-tempered and resourceful man with a thorough knowledge of the track.

Stopping places were few and far between; the pace was slow and, owing to the rolling and lurching of the coach, an experience akin to seasickness was not unknown among the passengers. In some watercourses the water at crossing places would, on occasions, be over the floor of the coach, but those parts of the track most dreaded were the 'gluepots', a succession of deep holes full of sticky pipeclay mud and, here and there, a broken pole had to be replaced sometimes.

Sleep for the passengers was out of the question and the discomfort had to be endured in silent misery:

I had been informed that the road along the Coorong was frightfully rough going over boulders for miles, the stone being up to nearly two feet in height... I occasionally got a nasty bump on the back of my head through the top rail of the coach coming violently forward whenever we went into a rut across the track. The most disagreeable thing on the whole journey was the flights of 'midges', as the driver called them, which every now and then assailed us in myriads.

These did not sting, though they made a noise like the singing of mosquitoes, but they were so thick I could catch a dozen by simply making a grasp through the air, and they settled in hundreds on my hair, got into my eyes, nose and ears and made me generally miserable. I tried to wrap my head in a pocket handkerchief, but was very glad to get it untied again, for they began to crowd in thicker than before.

The other nuisance proceeded from the carcasses of 3,000 sheep scattered along the road, portion of a huge flock of 10,000 which was being most indiscreetly travelled in one mob. There was scarcely any feed for the poor animals and water was even more scarce and the driver is reported to have been unacquainted with the locality and drove the famished animals past the wells.

Let us accompany an apprehensive passenger on a coach trip to Naracoorte via Kingston in 1875:

Good coaches, capital teams, clever, careful drivers and an excellent road make the journey very enjoyable as far as Strathalbyn, when a less pretentious vehicle, with a pair of horses, succeeds and the remaining 12 miles on the macadamised way to Milang are got over in an hour, thus accomplishing 47 miles from the city with three changes of horses. Here we go by steamer across the lakes...

Here the passengers coil on the couches whenever they feel disposed to slumber. They are not supposed to disrobe, but those who appreciate comfort kick off their boots [and] at about four o'clock [the vessel] made fast to the head of the jetty at Meningie... We were [about] six hours in accomplishing it.

There are no lights or beacons to guide the steamer which is supposed to go all hours and all weathers, never stopping except when there is a fog. The township consists of a few houses about the shore of the lake and a small farming district furnishes most of its trade. This is not by any means a flourishing location. As poor old Pasquin used to say, with rather less truth of Adelaide, it is a good sheeprun spoiled...

The tribes that used to be so numerous all along this branch of the sea appeared to have nearly died out, drink, consumption and other diseases having swept them away, excepts such remnants scattered about the squatting stations or sheltered and cared for at Point Macleay Mission.

At Magrath Flat there is a public house... [and] we succeeded in rousing two sleepy females... These good women provided the hungry travellers with tea and slices of bread and butter... After passing Wood's Well and

Policeman's Point we came to Salt Creek; forever notorious as the scene of one of the most diabolical murders ever committed... Coolatoo is a usual halting place where dinner is welcome and is provided by the landlord of the hotel in liberal quantities and variety.

We passed through Mr Gall's run and into Messrs Cooke's which then extends to the farming holdings about Lacepede Bay. On both these stations horse breeding is carried on extensively, the proprietors apparently going in for draught stock principally...

Coming to the bridge crossing Maria Creek we observed a tributary pouring into it through an artificial channel a rushing stream and were informed that this was a drain from a swamp in the vicinity...

We rested an hour at the Ship Inn kept in the old English style by Mr and Mrs George [and] after a good feed and half-roasting ourselves at a roaring fire we braced ourselves for the supreme effort of the trip, the coaching from Kingston to Naracoorte, a distance of about 52 miles.

The road for four-fifths of its length goes through wretched, valueless land [covered with] stunted scrub and small timber and by the alternation of sand, stone and swamp, the horses had to work and tear their way through. After two or three miles of metalled road the dangers and discomforts commenced and lasted until within about eight miles of Naracoorte.

Sometimes the poor horses were toiling through deep sand, then floundering through swamps, or straining and heaving through gluepots... For a large part of the journey no road is visible as the drivers are continually obliged to strike out fresh tracks, as the old ones are cut up or ploughed down, so as to become more or less impassable...

Often when the animals appear to sink to their chests or stifles, it seems impossible that they can extract themselves and pull the coach through... Mr Handyside, the contractor for the South Eastern mails, deserves credit for having collected so many staunch horses that can be depended upon for such an undertaking.

Occasionally, the drivers lose themselves and have to camp until daylight in the scrub and such an experience nearly fell our lot.

[Our driver] knew he was on unfamiliar ground and performed some circle sailing in the unsuccessful attempt to pick up some track or object that should show him his position. A passenger produced a compass, discovered that we were returning to Lacepede Bay, though on no track. The right course was soon taken and the road recovered after about a half an hour's delay...

Not many days before a coach with a full complement of passengers stuck fast and was broken in the attempt to extricate it, when all hands - male and female - with the exception of one lady who was ill, had to get out and proceed on foot for several miles, much of the distance through water...

The last eight or nine miles is pleasant travelling through open country and at Naracoorte, which we reached a little before sunrise, and with as little delay as possible betook ourselves to bed, having had but one hour's sleep since leaving Adelaide, 39 hours before.

In the coaching days, four and a half days were consumed in the transmission of mails from Adelaide to the South East; later it was shortened to about 45 hours and, following the opening of the railway in 1887, the distance could be traversed in about a fourth of that time.

By 1887, there was no doubt that the sympathies of the people were largely with Melbourne. This was not their fault, but due, in part, to their geographical position and the neglect of the legislature in respect of that part of the colony.

Conclusion

We have moved so quickly in these new lands, that the present generation, accustomed to travel in every direction by means of the 'iron horse', are apt to forget or despise the methods which were the glory of their father's day...

(G.H. Manning, *A Colonial Experience*)

When the first combustion engines snorted so fearlessly upon our roads in the early 1900s few people saw in the nauseous clouds of vapour a future network of bitumen roads in South Australia crowded with motor cars. The saving of time and money made possible by motor transport became so apparent as the years rolled by, the horse was relegated gradually to the background. Hill & Co ceased to run coaches in about May 1921 when the mail coach to Gumeracha was withdrawn from service.

Possibly the last man to drive a coach in South Australia was Mr Frank Adams who spent 50 years working for John Hill & Co and Fewster & Co and, in May 1932, he was to be seen constantly on the streets of Adelaide driving an old landau for Duncan & Fraser Ltd to direct attention to new and old methods of transport.

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Conclusion - *Advertiser*, 11 May 1921, p. 10, *The Mail*, 9 April 1927, p. 1, *The News*, 24 May 1932, p. 4.

Appendix 50

Millicent and District in the 19th Century

A few years ago Millicent was little better than a swamp with here and there a hillock raising its head modestly out of the water and offering, generously, itself for the wild fowl to rest upon. The land when not covered, was sour and irresponsible to the cultivator but, within a few years, aided by drainage of the wet lands, where rank grass once grew, you could walk up to your knees in a lucerne patch or rape crop.

(Register, 27 January 1902)

George Glen came to the colony about 1845 and settled on a property he called Mayurra in partnership with Samuel Davenport and William Vansittart. Later, Mr Davenport gave up his interest in the run and Mr Vansittart met with a fatal accident and, accordingly, the property became vested in George Glen. The last remnants of his leasehold land were resumed on 12 July 1871 and a survey for a town was undertaken by James W. Jones and offered for sale on 7 December 1871 taking the name of 'Millicent', after the Christian name of the wife George Glen. Its streets were named after himself and connections, probably as a solatium for the loss he sustained on the resumption of his run.

A fact never given publicity by the authorities was that an 'office genius' in Adelaide first located it at Poolna in the bed of Colcallat Creek on section 171, Hundred of Mount Muirhead, where the water ran 10 feet deep in a wet winter and, had it stayed there, it would at times been 'able to give Venice points and a beating in the matter of wetness.' Afterwards, it was surveyed at its present day location 'about two miles out on the Rivoli Bay South road.'

'The site now occupied by the town was very much an afterthought for that ridge was a favourite camp site for the "drainers" while the scheme was in progress and, where churches were to stand later, sly grog shops carried on a brisk trade. One of the bootleggers later shot Bailiff Conway of Mount Gambier following a difference of opinion over the execution of a warrant and was ultimately hanged.

'One night the camp's population got word that a contractor, short on his pay sheet, intended to make a moonlight departure to avoid paying his workmen. It was not a case for the Absconding Debtors Act and, that night, the ridge out as far as Snuggery was picketed by earnest men with shotguns who wished to say a parting word to their employer who, having got timely notice of the pickets, decided to stay and see his creditors in daylight.'

Within four years of its foundation, in late 1871, the infant township comprised of a post office, three stores, two saddlers, two blacksmiths, two public houses, a tanning establishment, two shoemakers, a butcher, baker and three private houses. Mr Henry Hart was the proprietor of a mill where he made flour and a large store was being erected for Messrs Fidler & Webb. By the close of 1879 there were 154 houses in the township and a startling variety of churches for seven different religious denominations.

There were two banks, two hotels, a school with 131 students, an Exchange Hall capable of accommodating 300 people and an Institute.

Sources - *Register*, 3 and 11 February 1875, pp. 6 and 7, 14 September 1880, p. 5, 21 February 1885, p. 5, 17 March 1923, p. 10, *Advertiser*, 22 February 1875, p. 2, *The Mail*, 25 June 1932, p. 16.

Extracts from Newspapers

The residents should in their form of prayer include a special reference to the drainage works. [See Appendix 36]

'In them the town has its being. They have transformed the neighbourhood from a swamp into a garden... Root crops grow luxuriantly. Upon these numerous pigs are fed and sent up to the factories at the Mount...':

Having taken up land in a new agricultural locality they naturally suffer from a variety of 'wants' and are adopting resolute methods for making these as widely known as possible... the Millicent people feel strongly the desirableness of improvements in the land law... The next petition is for the immediate completion of the drainage scheme... Another subject brought forward... is the necessity for a port to be declared at the southern end of Rivoli Bay...

(Observer, 13 June 1874, p. 2)

The Archbishop of Adelaide visited the town who [*sic*] held a divine service in the schoolroom following which a public meeting was held when it was suggested that a room should be built and used as a Sunday School and church services on Sundays.

A subscription list was opened and more than £22 promised. Foundation stone of the 'first chapel' was laid on 8 October 1874.

(Border Watch, 21 March 1874, 14 October 1874)

The 6th of March 1875 was a gala day for litigants when Whelan's Hotel was turned into a local court and the first case that occupied the attention of the JPs, George and Thomas Glen. was that of James William Anderson, a cook

at the South Avenue station, who was charged by Mr A. H. Florance of stealing from his place a gold brooch, one spare bracelet, one silver watch and one toilet bottle having a total value of about £9.

(Border Watch, 10 March 1875)

An experimental farm was established about four miles north west of Millicent bounded on the south by the railway and extending northward about 150 chains with a breadth of about 70 chains. The land was of several qualities, good, bad and indifferent - chiefly indifferent.

The soil is shallow and of a light loamy description with sand patches and limestone cropping out all over the surface.

Mr Perkin intends to try chicory - which ought to thrive there - also tobacco, hops, vines and trees of all descriptions... Stock of all description will be raised and kept on the farm as soon as the paddocks, etc., are ready...

The overseer of the farm has received permission to alter the site of the farm and I believe the foot of Mount Muirhead has been decided upon - where it should have been in the first instance.

(Border Watch, 29 September 1877, 3 November 1877)

Mr J. Bennet, a farmer of Millicent, discovered a guano deposit in a cave about seven miles from the town at Narrow Neck and examination showed that it contained about 2,000 tons.

A lease was obtained from the government and a company formed and as the cave was not far from the railway line it was hoped that the marketing of the product would be simplified. The guano was favourably received by local farmers.

(Border Watch, 20 April 1878)

Millicent hemmed in by fires. Mounts McIntyre and Campbell were on fire. The Wyrie Swamp was ablaze and extended as far as Lake Bonney and German Flat. Further south at Murrumbum, Mr R.J. Holland's fencing caught alight and a considerable portion destroyed.

The greatest losers were the Sutherland brothers at Narrow Neck, Everything on their property was destroyed with the exception of a stone dwelling house, a heapful of contractor's barrows, a keg of blasting powder. A neighbour, Mr McColl, lost one mile of brush fencing and 100 acres of grass.

At a subsequent inquest the jury decided that the fire was caused by sparks from a 'locomotive' used by drainage contractors.

(Border Watch, 8 January 1879)

A new schoolhouse at Nangula Springs, completed only a few days before was destroyed by an act of incendiarism.

(Border Watch, 11 January 1879)

The porous nature of the soil in the township was a cause for concern in respect of cesspools that gathered in the vicinity of wells upon which the residents depended for their water supply and a citizen complained:

In every instance when a well is sunk a water closet is erected within a few yards...

Poisonous matter from the closets impregnates the water and is sure to be disastrous and if something is not done medical men will reap a rich harvest by an outbreak of typhoid, cholera, or some other alarming epidemic.

(Border Watch, 15 January 1879)

There was great excitement at Millicent owing to a report that the Kelly gang were making thither to get away by sea. The police have information that the Kelly's are corresponding with Millicent people who are connected with them in Victoria. Superintendent Peterswald is there with rifles and ammunition.

The Wheeler trio entertained the locals with a performance 'devoid of vulgarism and coarseness' and it was reported the Frank Wheeler, the junior member, was a perfect act and as a nigger or a German or any other character, he represented them to the letter.

The show concluded with a comedietta [*sic*] entitled 'Divorce' and gave the audience a treat, the whole house being convulsed with laughter.

(Border Watch, 12 March 1879)

A meeting was held at Tantram's Hotel for the purpose of forming a football club - President, Mr G. Glen; Secretary and Treasurer, F.W. Breton; Committeemen, Messrs W.W. Day, G.D.E. Plunkett, Harris and Stirling. 25 members were enrolled.

(Border Watch, 31 May 1879)

A second brass band called the Millicent Admiration Band was formed under the leadership of Mr Ward. There were 10 members who had their own instruments which they had paid for. Members were H. Ward, H. Rule, E.J. Harvey, J. Dewar, J. Mack, W. Tantram, J. Clayfild, S.M. Martin, G.D.E Plunkett.

(Border Watch, 16 August 1879 13 September 1879)

A party of about ten men went on a kangaroo hunt on the Mount Muirhead Flats where, for a time, everything went merrily the horseman bagging several brushers and an old man, although a few novices in the art of bush riding kissed mother earth several times. The day proved a chapter of accidents from beginning to end.

One horse bolted and tossed his rider into a drain while another was unshipped twice and finally was fairly up a tree; Mr Kelsy, teller at a local bank, was thrown with great violence and his head hit a stone; picked up insensible he was removed to a bullock driver's camp until a buggy was procured to take him back to town. Considerably bruised and shaken, Dr Mustard prophesied that he would be unfit for duty for at least a week

(Border Watch, 20 August 1879)

Appendix 51

Genesis of the White Australia Policy and The Chinese in the South East

Did the Almighty give the Paleface a perpetual charter to rule all the non-white races of the world? Hitherto it has rather seemed to be the case, but of late the coloured man is beginning to doubt and to ask for the credentials by virtue of which the Paleface claims a right to dispose of his coloured brother and everything that he has. [The Paleface is] inclined to consider protection of birds of the air, a prevention of cruelty to animals as a more heavenly duty than to protect against such conduct of the brother white as that of killing, murdering and drowning the non-white...

(Register, 5 October 1900)

Origins of the White Australia Policy

Shall I expose to you a few of the immoralities practised by Europeans in China? I dare not. They are too foul to be mentioned. But I need not take anyone to China to witness immorality of the most revolting nature. Look at your boasted morality of Adelaide! Your regenerating Christianity does very little to improve the morals of your citizens. Dignitaries of the Church, functionaries of the law, the black cloth, the long robe, the wig as well as the Chinaman's wide-brimmed sun hat are polluted.

(G.H. Manning, A Colonial Experience)

No other article of faith was so generally and tenaciously held by Australians as the policy of 'White Australia'. It was accepted among all parties; it had, indeed, been promoted from a political aim to a national ideal. So firmly was the doctrine established that partisan appropriation and exploitation of it ceased to be profitable and it was even feasible to discuss modifications of the policy in certain regions without arousing alarm, except among a few self-appointed and clamorous defenders of a faith professed universally.

When a national conviction was in danger, passion and intolerance were enlisted in its defence. When it had become securely entrenched, a milder and more reasonable temper prevailed in relation to it. By the turn of the 20th century, however, the community was realising that, at its best, it was a negative policy - that the mere barring of the gate against coloured races could not be regarded as the last word in Australian relations with the surplus population of the outside world.

The White Australia policy experienced various vicissitudes. It was not always as popular as, for instance, in 1900. At the outset of colonisation, so far from the proximity of the continent to the millions of Asia being considered, a detriment, or a reason for the proclamation of an exclusive policy, proximity to the east was regarded as 'one of its peculiar advantages' and the prospect of securing an abundance of cheap labour quoted as an inducement for the foundation of the new settlement. At first, the penal nature of the colony in New South Wales obviated the need for importing labour and, frequently, arriving contingents of white immigrants alleviated the troubles of the pastoralists and others. But, periodically, there was a labour famine and the importation and indenture of Indians and, later, Chinese coolies were resorted to.

So, early as 1841, we find an immigration committee in Sydney reporting against the principle on the grounds that 'no system of coolie immigration could be established that would prevent numbers of Indians from remaining permanently in the colony' and, accordingly, the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, reported to Lord Glenelg that the introduction of coolie labourers would prove 'a sacrifice of permanent advantage to temporary expediency' - a penetrating observation which has remained true ever since.

Lord Glenelg, a strong slavery abolitionist, pointed out that the formation of a class separated by race and habits from the rest of the labouring population was most undesirable and would check the emigration of British agricultural classes. Controversies over contract coloured labour, however, were soon silenced by a more disquieting development.

At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, large numbers of Asiatics began to flow into the country and, as a consequence of this invasion, the White Australia policy was born. Anti-Chinese riots took place on the goldfields and Restriction Acts were passed in Victoria and New South Wales, but were evaded by a simple expedient - In the first six months of 1857 no fewer than 14,488 Chinese landed at Guichen Bay, in South Australia, and quietly made their way overland to the goldfields. South Australia was, therefore, induced to fall into legislative line.

In 1876, Queensland set about the penalisation of Asiatics, but the various Colonial enactments then caused the British government serious perturbation on account of complications with China. A constitutional crisis arose in Brisbane owing to the Governor's reservation of the Bill and the Queensland premier sought the co-operation of the other colonies on the ground that 'our rights (of self-government) and our civilisation may be compromised and our

social political system may be imperilled, if on any plea whatever a Chinese immigrant is forced upon us against our wishes and interests.'

The long strike of seamen in 1878 against the proposal of the ASN Company to utilise Chinese labour on vessels trading on the Queensland coast - a strike that was widely supported - marked another stage in the anti-Asiatic agitation and had its effect on the Kanaka indenture system. In 1860, an international conference sought to bring about uniform restrictive legislation, but an important exception to the general policy was the indisposition of South Australia to apply its Act to the Northern Territory.

Stubbornly, the South Australian Legislative Council refused to place the Territory on the same footing as the south. 'To pass the Bill', said Sir Richard C. Baker, 'would be to put in the keystone of an arch of folly commemorative of our dealings with the Northern Territory.' This attitude was modified later by the menace of disease importation and by the fact that the Chinese showed little inclination to engage in tropical agriculture, but South Australians could still 'see no solution of the problem of the development the Australian tropics...'

In 1878, the South Australian government showed that it was not averse to using imported labour on the construction of its northern railways and those Chinese workers were subjected to abuse at Port Adelaide by a band of youths:

In April 1878 the *Lubra* departed from Port Adelaide for Port Augusta 'with the Celestial navvies' engaged by the contractor of the Government Gums Railway... Potatoes and other missiles were hurled at the Chinamen for some time when one of them became so exasperated that he threatened to return the treatment with sticks. He was, however, prevented from doing so and eventually the boys were made to desist by other onlookers...

Not until federation did the various restrictive laws passed by the colonies develop into absolute exclusion on non-European immigrants, the widespread sentiment of the Australian community crystallising in the Commonwealth Restriction Act, with its drastic language test. It is curious to note the Japanese did not enter the immigration controversy until about 1895. It is curious, also, in view of the claim made frequently on behalf of the Labor Party to authorship of the White Australia policy, to observe that it was in being long before it was heard of and a glance at its development shows that such a statement is not in accordance with fact.

Though the leaders of the people admitted the cogency of the industrial reason for the exclusion of Asiatics of the coolie classes, one and all, including the leaders of this party, believed that the higher social and political grounds for their policy were more conclusive than those of the Labor Party.

The Chinese Invasion, Guichen Bay and the Gold Rush

Surely, it is time that this excessive immigration of unsuitable colonists should be stopped. We left the home of our fathers to found in this part of the world a nation... But our hopes will be frustrated, our anticipations blasted and our love for our adopted land quenched unless an effectual stop is put to the introduction of an element that promises soon to disorganise society by introducing the manners, customs and vicious institutions of the most depraved nation on the face of the earth...

(*Register*, 14 May 1857)

The pursuance of the White Australia Policy rendered the Chinaman a curiosity in South Australia and, by the middle of the 20th century, he was seen rarely, either in the city or the outback. It is a fact, however, that over 14,000 of them landed in South Australia in the first half of 1857 and detailed records show that 22 vessels, arriving at Robe between January 17 and May 3 of that year, landed 10,154 immigrants - all Chinese.

Repeated requests from the miners on the Victorian fields stirred the government of that colony and, in 1855, it imposed duties of one shilling a ton on every vessel (half-yearly) and five shillings for each passenger other than Chinese for whom £10 had to be paid. Further, only one Chinese passenger could be landed for each ten tons of the vessel's tonnage. This impost curtailed the immigrant trade for a time but then it was realised that if Chinamen were landed in South Australia they would not have to pay anything.

The *Argus* in Melbourne on 4 June 1856, p. 2 said:

The present Act for checking the introduction of the Chinese has proved at all events a partial failure.

Like Southey's rats they seem to come:

*In at the windows, and under the floors,
And down through the ceilings, and up through the floors.*

If Mr Childers stops the way at Portland they land at Rivoli Bay [*sic*] and cross the frontier where they please.

Or they accompany Captain Cadell up the Murray and reach the goldfields that way.

The *Melbourne Herald* drew a historical parallel between the City of Adelaide and the capital of ancient Greece. Athens had its Themistocles who though he 'could not fiddle, knew how to turn a little city into a great one' and it concluded that Adelaide must have its 'Themistocles because it wished to annex the goldfields, because Adelaide wished the ocean steamers to call and leave their mails en route and because Adelaide chuckled over the Chinese immigration as a means of profiting by the evasion of the Victorian law.'

The Editor of the *Register* was quick to respond:

With regard to the cry of 'annex the goldfields' the *Herald* ought to know that it is pure drivelling, unmitigated absurdity which no six men in Adelaide of sane mind ever dreamed of. Adelaide is desirous of sharing in the enterprise and profit of the overland trade for which the Murray river offers certain facilities.

And equally mistaken is the *Herald* in supposing that Adelaide ‘chuckles’ over the Chinese arrivals; or is desirous of pocketing the trifling gains derived from these Celestial birds of passage... In the course of our observations upon Victorian affairs we have once or twice commented on the Anti-Chinese Act passed by the legislature of the sister colony. We ventured to doubt the expediency of some of the provisions of the Act and to suggest that alterations would be necessary. This was before the arrival of the first Chinese ship at Port Adelaide...

Guichen Bay, on which Robe was situated, was the nearest suitable harbour to the diggings while others went to Port Adelaide but from there they had a longer walk - unless they could afford the means of conveyance. Some entered Victoria by taking a boat up the River Murray and on this entrance there were no dues to be paid, though a communication from the Victorian to the South Australian government, asking that colony to impose some restriction, said that if something was not done, impositions would be put on Chinese immigrants entering in that way:

On 8 April 1856, a party of 150 Chinese left Adelaide for the Victorian diggings. Their escort, under the command of Lionel Edwards, late a carter on the Port road, consisted of five men each in charge of a two horse dray, for the conveyance of their food, cooking utensils and general luggage. The average rate of travelling was 12 miles a day. The chief Chinaman of the party had for several years lived in South Australia where he amassed a considerable sum through his industry and economy. Later, he returned to his native land and induced this large party to migrate with him to the goldfields. The overland route, though very boggy in winter was considered preferable to the Guichen Bay route which suffered still more from heavy winter rains.

Guichen Bay was by no means a safe harbour and, between February and June 1857, no less than three vessels were wrecked but, surprisingly, with little loss of life - the *Phaeton* in February, the *Sultana* in April and the *Koenig Willem II* in June were all lost. Like all the immigrant vessels to Robe they had come from Hong Kong, eager to land their passengers and return to China for another batch - it is known that there were between 30,000 and 40,000 Chinamen in Victoria in June 1857.

Henry D. Melville was the first Sub-Collector of Customs at Robe, a position he held for 14 years, and recalled the Chinese invasion of the 1850s:

They crossed on foot to evade the poll tax of £10 per head and the government of the sister state never forgave South Australia for this loss to them of about £20,000. I had great difficulty securing the opium for duty and on one occasion Ormerod’s store was broken open by the Chinamen to gain possession of the cases containing it.

There were then about 3,000 celestials camping about the township and Lt Saunders and 40 men of the 12th Regiment were sent to keep order. The Chinamen were a great benefit to Robe for they paid for all they obtained and must have left thousands of pounds in the district.

On a lighter note, Charles Savage, reminiscing in 1925 said:

I remember that one time there were five ships laying in the bay each with about 400 Chinamen on board. They formed a big camp near Robe and Tom Hales (the jockey) and I slipped across to the camp one night and cut the ropes of several of the tents. The Chinamen swarmed out like ants and gave chase, each man carrying a knife. Tom and I knew the country thoroughly so we got away safely, but were glad of police protection when we got to the Hales’s house. The Chinamen gathered a green weed growing on the rocks near the beach and ate it like cabbage.

Further away at Mount Gambier, a party of Chinamen arrived in July 1856 and:

Many of them seemed footsore and exhausted upon their arrival. They carried all their effects with them slung on the extremities of a bamboo cane in true Chinese fashion. One thing is particularly noticeable about them is their uniform good behaviour whilst in encampment.

Amongst the several relays passing through here, I have invariably remarked perfect good order and decorum. Their national vice, however, of gambling accompanies them whilst on the road and it is singular, though painful, to observe how intensely the passion for play burns in this effeminate race.

In 1863, it was reported that 51 Chinamen were charged at the Hamilton Police Court with entering the colony of Victoria without paying the capitation tax and were committed to the Portland gaol for one month’s imprisonment and hard labour. One hundred and twenty-two of them had landed at Guichen Bay from the *Independence* and set off for the diggings laden with luggage carried by means of bamboo canes and escaped the penalty of crossing the border until they arrived eight miles beyond Hamilton, where the unfortunate 51 were ‘apprised early one morning by a trooper that their presence was required at Hamilton.’

Not all the Chinamen proceeded to the diggings and it is apparent that a few found employment on local stations for, in September 1864, the sudden death of John Swan, ‘the Chinaman who has long settled on the Benaira [*sic*] station in the employ of Mr Lorimer’ was reported while, in 1875, four Chinamen secured four acres of land ‘in Mr Blume’s paddock next to the German Chapel’ and set up as market gardeners and, by October 1878, the health inspector had reported that the gardeners’ dwelling was far too small for the number of people inhabiting it.

They had come from Melbourne, where they had been settled for seven years, and an opinion was expressed that ‘vegetable growing will prove a poor game at Mount Gambier. Nature is too bountiful for market gardeners.’ Time was to disprove this statement for members of the Chinese race were still active as market gardeners on a property along Penola Road, beyond Frew Park and Shepherd’s Saw Mill, until occupied for the same purpose by Mr James Rowell in the late 1940s.

Sources

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Appendix 52

Industries of the Lower South East in the 19th Century

I wish to remind you that Mount Gambier has become a flourishing town through nothing more nor less than the farmers settling here. Without them Mount Gambier would be a poor, miserable place, with mail once a fortnight, land in the township worth perhaps five pounds an acre, whereas at present it is a flourishing town supporting flour mills and tradesmen of nearly every kind. Give the farmer a chance to get upon what some call worthless land, let them have it in blocks from one to ten miles, they will find parts to cultivate and the population of the district would double itself in twelve months. [Signed - W. Paltridge]

(*Border Watch*, 8 October 1864)

Introduction

A cockatoo farmer is one who scratches over the surface of his land for a few years, cultivates wheat only, ploughing with a double plough about four inches deep for a year or two, scarifying two inches deep the succeeding one, reaping with the stripper, burning his stubbles until the soil is filled with wild oats, then perhaps taking a couple of crops of dirty hay, when he moves on to 'fresh fields and pastures new', repeating the operation ad infinitum.

(*Register*, 6 January 1876)

When the plain upon which Adelaide stands was first occupied by European settlers grave doubts were expressed as to whether cereals could ever be grown in so dry and hot a climate, but a few bold experimentalists determined to try and were successful beyond all expectation. Gradually, the pioneer farmers moved southward and south-eastwards to the hilly country about Mount Barker, or beautiful grassy plains at Aldinga, Willunga, etc., where the kangaroo grass stood up to seven feet high - these areas became highly favoured because of the relative attributes of ease of transit and conveyance.

Here, for some twenty years, they were very successful until the area became 'wheat sick' and exhausted and degenerated into 'dirty hay' fields. Finally, to eke out a living, the few, who chose to remain, resorted to supporting a few sheep on their ruined paddocks. In later years a similar debacle was to be encountered in the lower South East.

Thus, happy homesteads were deserted and farmers trekked northward on to larger holdings which they proceeded to despoil upon the same wasteful plan. The flour mills, stores, villages, etc., that were established in consequence of the first highly successful farming, languished, and finally the mills, stores, wheelwrights, smiths and machinery shops closed. In the northern areas the collapse was more sudden because hay growing could not follow so successfully upon the failure of wheat. Indeed, because the wheatgrowers commenced with the multiple ploughs, the stripper, the firestick and finished with the mullenizer, the stump-jumper, and even in some cases when new land was taken up, the bushes were rolled flat, burnt, seed sown on the sandy soil and harrowed in without the use of a plough or any other implement.

The Press, as the voice of the people, spoke out and many suggestions were made. Customs returns were examined and it was found that the colony was importing many hundreds of thousands of pounds worth of merchandise that could be grown, produced and manufactured by its own people - these included olive oil, wine, dried and preserved fruits, bacon, cheese, butter, potatoes. Gradually, the farmers began to realise that there was money to be made if the suggestions were implemented.

According to Mr Albert Molineux, the first wheat grown in South Australia was on a quarter acre block on Montefiore Hill while, later, Captain Robertson grew a successful crop near the Half Way Hotel on the Port Road. However, the identity of the first wheat grower in the colony has been subjected to much debate for, in 1887, the *Register* reproduced a letter from Mr Allan McLean who claimed to be the first man to 'turn the sod'.

Dissenting comments followed and a correspondent opined that, 'The first land turned up was in North Adelaide, in what was then known as Hack's Garden, also a small piece of land on South Terrace and that by the pioneer ploughman, John Watson.'

At first, harvesting was done with a reap hook and sickle and, until the general adoption of the Ridley stripper, the sheaves were stooked in the usual way and threshed out with the aid of fluted rollers made of a log of wood tapered from the thick end to a small point at the other extremity. Another method - and perhaps the most universal - was to tramp the grain out with bullocks after the manner in vogue in Biblical days. The wheat was then put on to a tarpaulin and, with shovels, thrown across the wind against the sheet.

The reaping machine, or 'stripper' as it was called at Mount Gambier, was not used universally as it was on the northern farms. More than half the fields were cut down with a mowing machine or sickle and this was due to a

variety of causes. In some cases the crops were too heavy for the stripper, the weight of the wheat in the machine entailing too great a draught for the horses in light soil. In others, the fern was too thick, the comb being choked continually by it, thus rendering it impossible to save the grain. Accordingly, very little stripping was done, the mower and binder taking the place of the reaping machine in the field and the steam thresher acted as a substitute for the winnower. By this means the straw and chaff were saved so there was little waste

When wheat growing was first attempted in South Australia success was achieved at once, although only European varieties were available, but when the districts with warmer conditions and lower rainfall were cropped it was found that the then known varieties were not altogether suitable. It was soon seen that the liability of attacks of red rust and take-all, and the comparative dryness of the Spring season, demanded different types of wheat if success was to be obtained. (*See under 'Gluyas' and 'Tuscan' in the nomenclature text.*)

From Cereal Growing to Diversification in the Lower South East

The main agricultural settlement in the South East took place in the 1860s within the Mount Gambier district because, close to the base of the Mount, the soil was deepest. For instance, at OB Flat and Yahl there were several paddocks, notably those of Davis Bros. McLean and Johann Lange, that were estimated to yield from 50 to 60 bushels to the acre. Further out the soil became shallower until, outside of a five mile radius, there appeared the old formation of sandy loam, resting upon limy subsoil.

It was here that many of the deserted homesteads of those who migrated to the Wimmera from the late 1860s were to be found. These men were, generally, tenants paying in some cases a rental of 18 shillings per acre for the land to large proprietors who obtained it chiefly a £1 per acre in earlier times:

With poor land and a heavy rent those farmers, though hard working and industrious, found it utterly impossible to make any headway and in the liberal provision of the Victorian land law experienced a change from a species of white slavery to comparative independence. Those who could do so gathered up the wrecks of their fortune and left for Victoria, principally to Horsham, actually driven out of the colony by the short-sighted policy of the government in keeping those lands capable of cultivation locked up against them.

Other hazards they had to contend with were the ravages of kangaroos and bush fires:

The new settlers, having laboured night and day to secure their wheat from the kangaroos have met with the misfortune of having it all swept away by fire... These farmers have nothing to live on now, to say nothing of paying rent, buying flour and seed wheat and living for the next 12 months...

For the first ten years wheat was grown on the well known colonial system. Later, grass raising experiments commenced amongst a few; good results followed such as the practice of the keeping of superior sheep (chiefly Lincoln) in combination with a smaller quantity of crop culture that included wheat, barley, peas, rye and oats, alternate with potatoes. Along with this there was attention to farm buildings, gardens and orchards and to the breeding of draught stock which placed the agricultural practice of Mount Gambier in advance of any other South Australian district.

An 1866 census indicated that the population of the County of Grey had doubled within the previous five years and a reference to agricultural returns showed that, while in 1861 the extent of land under wheat was but about 4,000 acres, by 1866 it had been raised to 13,571 acres. The great landowners in the district were W.J.T. Clark, E.J. Leake, J. Ellis and W.J. Browne, each owning upwards of 50,000 acres each.

However, as recalled previously, the choice land was all in the vicinity of Mount Gambier where the wheat was prepared for market in the fields from which drays took it to Captain French's store at MacDonnell Bay, under arrangements with the Farmers' Club, at five pence per bushel. In all practical respects it was closer to Melbourne than to Adelaide and when people talked about 'going to town' they meant Melbourne. Indeed, the means of access to Adelaide were disgraceful for there were no means of overland conveyance except by the mail cart.

In 1866, the government attempted to supply labour to the district, but many of the men sent were wholly unfit for farm work and it was agreed, generally, that the labour had been supplied on the principle of relieving the nightmare of useless hands in Adelaide, than of meeting the requirements of the Mount Gambier district. The immediate result was an amount of pauperism hitherto unheard of in the district, and a desertion of about 25 families, chiefly freeholders, who sought 'better facilities for settling on and obtaining land' while others objected to the high rents imposed by the land owners, coupled with an inability to get sufficient land for the employment of their families.

Then came the potato discovery when it was found, by experimenting, that the only bar to successful potato culture in the district, the frost, could be avoided by planting in November, and that heavy yields of wheat could be obtained by following the potatoes. By 1874, some 1,500 acres were under cultivation and doubled within twelve months when returns of up to 20 tons per acre were obtained.

Additionally, hop gardens became more extensive, the acreage under sown grasses in the County of Grey exceeded 22,000 acres (out of 24,000 in the whole colony) and the farmer turned his mind and labour towards other primary industries such as dairy farming, tobacco, fruit and chicory growing, while the Government contemplated forestry on a grand scale.

By the 1870s, farmers chose, generally, to take up new land, under the Government's credit system, provided the price was not run up by absurd competition among them. There were rich, moist land in the South East but, notwithstanding their fertility, it was not held in high favour due, no doubt, to the high rents demanded by the squatters, who were the principal land owners, and the distance from a port of shipment or railway station for both the freeholder and lessee alike.

From a social point of view the greatest evil of the colony's liberalised land laws was a tendency to change of homestead that was fostered and encouraged amongst the farmers, young and old. Not only were the young men intent upon going out and getting farms of their own which, of course, was perhaps reasonable and necessary, but many of the older settlers were induced to break up their old homes and seek 'fresh fields and pastures new' in distant parts of the country. It was the wives who suffered most severely by this migration and, of necessity, many years were to pass before they attained the advantage of schools for their children.

By 1870, the near environs of Naracoorte could not be called a farming district because only a few colonists tilled the land for it was a fact that the land not taken up was inferior. Indeed, if the few farmers who had selected good land could have taken up inferior sections, the situation might have been stabilised but, unfortunately, they were all hemmed in by 'dummies'.

Within the last three months large numbers of bona fide settlers have visited Naracoorte [*sic*] hoping to be able to make selections in that locality; but as all the more valuable sites were selected at an early date the great majority have gone back disappointed or have gone on to Victoria to make a choice in that country.

In a case of this sort, decisive steps should be taken and large tracts of country should be thrown open for selection in the South East... and at the same time constructing a railway which will develop the resources of that portion of the colony and convey the produce to market.

A few miles away at Penola, the prosperity and settlement of the neighbourhood with agriculturists was of a steady and permanent character until the passing of the Victorian Land Bill, after which many of the 'best residents' selected land there and, by April 1870, were upon the eve of leaving to settle on it:

The present state of things has the direct tendency to demoralize the whole community and is steadily undermining our social and political fabric. Misery has overtaken us and there is more in preparation for us...

Our case is so bad that nothing but an extreme remedy will suffice to cure it... When all the truth is told it is discovered that the extreme and reckless system of credit hitherto in operation here has resulted in giving fictitious price to everything, land and money not excepted...

South of Mount Gambier the situation was no better and in the Hundred of Caroline, the most south-easterly Hundred in the colony:

There was formerly a good deal of farming tried there. But the farms did not pay and the agriculturist has now given way to the sheep, the farms having been sold and formed into small runs, varying in size from 500 to 3,000 acres.

There are, however, some Education lands for which about one shilling an acre rental per annum is being paid. Somebody, no doubt, reaps the benefit of this; but, judging by the quality of the land we passed through, I should not think it is the lessee...

By April 1870, it was estimated that 400 agriculturists had left, or were leaving their holdings in South Australia, and of these some 240 went to Victoria. The reasons given were that our land system lacked liberality when compared with its neighbour and this grievance was brought forward by both freeholder and tenant farmers.

The former, finding that they could rely no longer upon their exhausted land, wished to change their location and the latter, having no incentive to remain in possession of impoverished soil at the expiry of their leases, looked out for more favourable terms in more prolific parts of the continent.

By the close of 1872, the days of exclusive wheat growing were numbered at Mount Gambier because the bulk of the land was 'wheat sick', but it could still grow more grass and feed more stock to the acre than in the old days 'when it was no uncommon occurrence to lose both sheep and shepherd in the kangaroo grass.' Accordingly, the farmer looked towards his sheep, cattle, grass seeds, potatoes and peas to 'make up his bank account.'

By 1880, potato growing was the leading industry in the Mount Gambier district and, in 1878, 2,556 acres were under crop. Wheat occupied 8,000 acres but was greatly damaged by frost and grubs, while barley and oats were scarcely grown, the farmers having been frightened by the havoc made by caterpillars in December 1878. Peas, too, had gone out of favour because of the trouble in threshing them. Sheep were found on most farms and proved most profitable for they kept down the butcher's bill, cleaned the land and, in addition, gave an excellent profit. Also, a good first cross between the Merino and the Lincoln was found to be the most useful and profitable.

By the close of the 1870s, farming was a thing of the past near Naracoorte and you had to go seven miles towards Morambro, and nearly 20 towards Binnun, before you met with any farms except Mr T. Hinckley's close to the town. When the Hundred of Naracoorte was opened for selection under the Strangway's Act in 1867 a good deal of it was taken up by men who only meant to sell it and their land was purchased by the station holders. For some distances around the township one could see ruined homesteads and old wheat paddocks, the traces of a time that once promised great things for Naracoorte.

During the 1888 season, 1,700 acres in one block on Glencoe Station yielded an average of 20 bushels of wheat to the acre and there was plenty of land quite as good as this, but it was safely locked up from the people. Instead of developing to the utmost the great natural advantages of the South East, the legislators, in vain, spent tens of thousands of pounds with stupid attempts to force Nature in the north:

They seem to fancy that, although Nature by the heat and drought of the north forbids it, they are stronger than Nature and in despite of her laws can make an agricultural country out of that dry and thirsty land. The result is 'concession to farmers' and the 'surrender' systems which have cost the colony hundreds of thousands of pounds. Meanwhile they neglect and, indeed, greatly abuse things God has given them in these parts...

Again, in order to accommodate the large and important district of which Mount Gambier was the centre, a township was laid out and sold at Beachport, a long and expensive screw pile jetty put down, commodious public buildings erected and a railway made to Mount Gambier which, till then, had only the unreliable and dangerous roadstead of Port MacDonnell. 'Well and good, but wait a while!'

The next performance was to drive away the population that should make the railway pay and this was effected by the 'leasing system under which no man could acquire a snug little farm in fee simple to hand down to his children after him. What was the consequence of this wise legislation?'

While score upon scores of farmers have trooped over the border to enjoy the wise and liberal land laws of Victoria I do not know a single instance of a well-to-do farmer coming over to us. If our legislators had wished to strike a blow at the prosperity of their colony, and to enrich Victoria by our loss, they could have adopted no surer means than this devil inspired 'leasing' system which encourages emigration and at the same time prohibits settlement. What sublime statesmanship!

Then, after driving away the existing population and practically preventing any strangers from settling in the district the complaint is raised that the railway does not pay. What steps are taken then by the Railways Commissioner? Oh! of course, he curtails expenses as much as possible during the dead season and offers every inducement to attract trade during the busy season. Indeed, does he? No, there would be too much businesslike common sense about that.

The way we meet the difficulty is - run the trains regularly every day all through October to the end of January, when there is little or no produce to ship, and on the 1st February - when the wheat is reaped, thrashed, bagged and ready to be sent down the line for shipment to be followed in due course by the potatoes - then cut off three trains per week.. That is exactly what has been done and with what result?

The very first week of the month 300 tons of wheat, the property of a local miller, which he fully intended to be sent to Beachport, has been carted to Port MacDonnell instead, and there is plenty more to follow. Thus, in one week and one line under the wise administration of Hon. A. Catt and Mr A.G. Pendleton, the sum of £127.10s has been lost to the railways department and yet they plead an excuse for their action that the railway 'does not pay'.

Again why should the south east be always used as an experimental ground for every new freak and fad of the powers that be. If the leasing system be good why not apply it to the north also. If paltry so called economy be the order of the day, why not enforce it throughout the length and breadth of the colony? If every idle, useless, incompetent official throughout the Civil Service were dismissed tomorrow a far greater saving would result, without any injury to the public, than can ever be effected by these miserable changes which are hurtful to both the public purse and the public convenience.

The question is no new one among us in this district; it is discussed more and more frequently amongst us as the months roll on... the country east of the Murray belongs to Victoria geographically. That it may be a part of Victoria politically is the fervent wish of many and many a south-easterner.

However, the rest of the colony may feel, I say to my fellow residents in the South East, 'Don't you think it is about time to agitate for separation and connection with Victoria?' What would you be leaving? A colony reduced to the verge of bankruptcy by the imbecility of its rulers; a treasury so depleted it will sacrifice the convenience of the people for a saving of £100 a year, and will even stoop to dishonesty in confiscating the funds of its school boards of advice; a government that forbids a poor man to acquire the freehold of 500 acres as a home for himself and a heritage for his children, while it has allowed a rich man to accumulate thousands of acres at £1 per acre; a legislature which is swayed and dominated by an overwhelming majority of bankers, squatters and their employees - the lawyers; a Civil Service second to none in the world for its expensiveness, incapacity, extravagance and negligence - a Civil Service where the servant is the master of the public and his conveniences and his interests, and years are paramount. Leave all this; join Victoria and what will you gain?

Union with a colony in the full tide of prosperity - strong in wealth and strong in population - which has no need to curtail your privilege for the sake of a few paltry pounds, which can boast of 'statesmen' such as Service, Gillies and Berry- men who are indeed 'heads' of their departments and not servants of servants; a legislature which in its wise liberality spares not and stints not expense in developing the resources of the land.

The continuing poor yields of wheat and other cereals in the mid-1880s naturally started a cry among the farming community. In many cases, little had been done in fostering dairy products such as butter and cheese, until a tariff passed in 1888 doubled the duties on all these items. Even then it was difficult to get any district to take up the production and all attempts in a direction north of Adelaide met with a luke warm reception. Indeed, the Mount Gambier district was the only part of the colony to institute a factory system.

By 1890, the question of cultivation of the land was becoming a dead letter and the aim of most settlers was to increase their holdings to about 1,000 acres and run up to a 1,000 sheep and a few head of good cows, the milk from which could be sold readily to the cheese factories.

The land required manure for agricultural purposes and breaking the surface without applying it injured the prospects of the country. However, one drawback was 'coast disease' and it was necessary to remove flocks inland to more healthy country. The star thistle was also a nuisance and sheep travelling through it got their wool into a poor state:

The life of a farmer was not without its troubles for dry weather, hot winds, blight, red rust, slugs and caterpillars destroyed both green and straw crops. Mangold wurzels thrived and oats and barley gave large returns, at times.

In evidence of a reckless manner in which some tried to get a living out of the land one need only to look at the Hundreds of Joyce and the Mosquito Plains in 1890. There, farmers who had been successful in drier districts settled upon country that was wet for the most part or subject to flooding. Instead of studying the peculiarities of their situation and endeavouring to find out the practices likely to prove applicable to the locality, soil and climate, they acted upon past experience and turned over as much land, indiscriminately chosen, as they could in the time allotted by the terms of their lease or credit provisions. The result in most cases was distressing and was it not that many were enabled to turn to sheep husbandry, the outcome would have been disastrous:

Nearly all the old settlers have, on the damper country, long ago abandoned the attempt to live by wheat growing. At one time this land was believed capable of sustaining a large population and the system of agriculture obtaining in the old country was introduced. So thought not a few who considered themselves competent judges of soil. Most of the farmers developed into small squatters or graziers

Before we turn to an analysis of many of the industries that followed the cessation of wheat growing as a commercial venture in the lower South East, mention must be made of the macabre pleasure obtained by the Editor of the *Register* who, in 1895, said there was 'something pathetic in the spectacle of the South Australian farmers who broke up their homes to go to the Wimmera country having now to repeat the heart-racking operation and seek fresh spheres of activity':

The majority of the farmers are in great distress and pretty well all of them have been ruined; the position altogether is desperate... Whilst the voice of the bailiff is heard so frequently in the houses of the over-mortgaged and distressed selectors, who can wonder if the harassed selectors show a disposition to move to other localities having brighter prospects? Some have returned to South Australia... Others have gone to Western Australia in the hope of replenishing their depleted pouches from the gold-laden pockets of the colonial Cinderella. But the larger number appears to be moving to New South Wales...

Dairy Farming in the 19th Century

The Americans said 'corn and hogs go together' but it was possible to go one further and say 'Maize, pigs and cows go together' because the refuse from farm dairy or factory mixed with corn, made a wonderful aid to the formation of meat on a pig.

(*Register*, 20 May 1891)

By the close of the 1870s, the dairy occupied an important position on many farms and the only hindrance to further development was the lack of a ready market. The local consumption was limited and no special effort had been made to secure an outside outlet.

For many years, dairying was carried on what was called a 'cockatoo scale' until the lectures and writing of Mr Hugh Walpole, who was dispatched by Mr Fowler of Adelaide, roused the people of the South-East into a knowledge of the advantages of cooperative dairying and he can be described as the father of factory butter and cheese making in the district. He demonstrated in a scientific, yet intelligible way, the capabilities of limestone pasturages and peaty country for dairying and in many ways lent invaluable aid to the establishment of one of the most important industries in the colony. Strange to say he was, with all his undoubted theoretical knowledge of dairying, a poor practical manager and left the South-East for Victoria, where he died in the early 1890s.

He established the pioneer factory near Umpherston's Caves in the 1880s but it was not as successful as some that came later. It was the first in the field of manufacture on the American factory principle and to show the farmers that a good living could be made for the greatest part of the year.

There were two other small factories in the district the one at Compton being managed by Mr Spurge. Pig breeding was combined with these operations producing about 130 lbs of cheese daily. It is of interest to note that, in July 1880, Mr David Miller from Gippsland visited Mount Gambier to ascertain what the prospects were for opening a cheese factory.

The dairy factory at OB Flat was started in a small way by Mr Parriss in a primitive building and, as the owner modestly remarked, was 'decidedly flat and required improving in many ways,' and it was concluded that a man who could toil away almost single-handed, and with such primitive buildings and appliances turn out a weekly average in the 1888 season of 1,300 lbs of good factory cheese, deserved to succeed. He had a splendid herd of cows and purchased additional supplies of milk from local farmers at four pence a gallon.

At Lucieton, the Tantanoola factory was operated by the aforementioned Mr Walpole and he purchased 400 gallons of milk daily from surrounding farmers. The first consignment of cheese was received and opened on Thursday, 16 December 1886 at the rooms of Messrs Sandford & Co., Currie Street, in the presence of the city merchants and leading grocers.

In January 1887, a meeting of farmers was held in the Murrumbidgee school house, five miles from Millicent by those interested in the formation of a cheese factory company, when a number of questions were asked of Mr Walpole. The factory was established in the same year under the management of Mr J. Legg and it became the largest and most complete establishment erected on the factory system in the colony, processing about 800 gallons of milk daily.

Five miles beyond Millicent towards Mount Muirhead the Millicent Dairy Company's factory was managed by a Mr Noble. Early in 1886, complaints were received in regard to the facilities provided for the transport of dairy produce from the South-East and reports were requested from the station masters at Millicent, Tantanoola, Mount Gambier and Penola.

It was alleged that butter from Penola became tainted because it was put in the same refrigerator as fish, but the Central Agricultural Bureau dismissed the suggestion because only one application had been made for Penola produce to be refrigerated.

Bacon Factories

The Boobec Bacon Factory was alone in the district and did business principally with the Adelaide market on an extensive scale. In the early days when pigs were scarce their buyers crossed the border for a supply, but this changed following the arrival of cheese factories when waste products were utilised in pig farming.

Later, Messrs Saunders, Sandford & Company established a branch of their business in large premises known as the Old Brewery and named it the Adelaide Ham and Bacon Factory.

In Commercial Street was the Mount Gambier Ham and Bacon Factory owned by Mr C. Engelbrecht and opened in 1878 when he bartered goods for pork which he attempted to turn into bacon and hams but was not very successful at the outset.

However, within two years he was turning out produce of top quality; 30 to 50 pigs were killed and cured weekly and the green bacon sent to Port Adelaide for smoking.

Chicory Growing

About 1868, experiments were made at Mount Gambier which proved that heavy crops of chicory could be grown. This root took kindly to the soil - so kindly, in fact, that owing to the defective knowledge of the growers they were afraid they would never clear the ground of it again.

Mr T. Wilson, of the Commercial Mills, brought some knowledge of the plant with him and, having produced some first class seed, he planted about half an acre as an experiment which resulted in a net profit of £6-9-4.

In June 1883, Messrs D. & J. Fowler wrote to Professor Custance at the Roseworthy Agricultural College offering 'to contract for and purchase [its] production of green chicory root...' to which they received a response that he 'did not expect to have any for disposal this season...'

Accordingly, the company distributed chicory seed to interested parties and, in 1888, a cultivator of Rendelsham reported that:

The sale of chicory has helped me considerably; although the profit is as yet small... The washing is the most tedious of all. The getting it out of the ground costs £4 per acre... Our flats are terribly bad for frosts and chicory is affected very little by it; so, although there is a good deal of trouble there is very little risk in this respect and much praise is due to you for introducing an industry likely to be of great benefit to the drainage district...

The production of pure chicory for the colonial markets was of incalculable benefit and *The Advertiser* published a summary of the industry's progress in January 1893:

Messrs Harper & Co and Messrs Fowler & Co, of Adelaide, embarked in the industry some years ago and they have found a rival in Mr J.B. Carr who has erected steam chicory works at Beachport on Rivoli Bay... It might be well to produce by reference of the factory at Beachport to the capabilities of the Rendelsham area for the growth of the chicory root.

The swampy lands with their black, peaty soil are peculiarly fitted for root crops... It was my pleasure to meet with the settler who first introduced chicory cultivation to Rendelsham. He started in a small way... last year he delivered 140 tons for £3.5s. a ton in the trucks at Rendelsham under contract with Mr Fowler...

At the same time it was announced that Mr Carr had decided to embark on the manufacture of 'dandelion coffee' and to this end planted an acre or two of land near Millicent with the dandelion 'familiar to the sight of us Australians' and was 'complimented on the quality of the chicory they have recently placed before the public through their agents, Messrs Bickford & Co., Adelaide.'

Forestry

Fools destroy trees; wise men plant them. As there are at least as many fools as wise men in a community and as a fool can do more mischief in a minute than a wise man can repair in a lifetime, the trees suffer, and the country suffers too.

(Register, 6 March 1914)

South Australia was the pioneer State among the Australian group to undertake the work of government afforestation - a subject on which the people generally exhibited a strange apathy, notwithstanding its vital importance to the whole population. As late as the 1870s, colonists were allowed to slash about the woods to their heart's content and, until the early 1880s, there was no effort made to protect our few forests and most wanton destruction occurred.

Upon payment of a small sum, any person could be licensed to cut as much timber as he pleased and to leave as much refuse as he liked. It was illegal to light fires in the open air except under stringent regulations, but it was

common practice with settlers in scrub and timbered country to 'have a good burn' whenever the weather was dry and warm enough. The effect of all this was that all young trees were killed and the old ones gradually destroyed.

Mr. F.E.H.W. Krichauff rendered a distinct service to posterity when, on 7 September 1870, in the House of Assembly, he moved for reports on the best size of reserves for forest purposes, where they should be made, the best and most economical means of preserving the native timber on them and of planting and replanting the reserves as permanent state forests.

All other states were endowed by Nature, but this colony was, to a large extent, covered with stunted eucalyptus and other species of little or no commercial value, interspersed with comparatively small areas of good quality red gum, blue gum and stringy bark.

On 10 November 1875, a forestry board was appointed while, in 1876, Mr J. Curnow was nominated as nurseryman at Wirrabara and Mr C. Beale at Mount Gambier:

Mr Beale, ranger, is now laying out the nursery in the valley close to the Leg-of-Mutton lake and forming a pathway to the top of the bank down to it... A neat, commodious and well appointed residence will be erected for the caretaker on the top of the bank, south east of the hospital... [It] will contain four rooms and will be provided with an underground tank... Mr T. Haig is the contractor...

At the same time, arrangements were made to bring Mr J.E. Brown from England as our first Conservator of Forests. He arrived in 1878 and, within 10 years, there were 32 reserves extending from Mount Gambier to Quorn and varying in size from 160 to 50,000 acres, while six million trees had been planted on them and 300 men employed.

Some plantings had taken place during the two years preceding his arrival and it was then that *Pinus radiata* was first suggested as a possible commercial species. Mr E. Smith, a nurseryman, was one of the first to realise its commercial value and he, no doubt, was impressed by a specimen seen in the Botanic Gardens.

To South Australia is due the credit of demonstrating the commercial possibilities of *Pinus insignis*, or Monterey pine, and it is interesting to note that, in 1878, forty acres were planted at Wirrabara Forest and, in 1881, thirty acres at Mount Gambier. From that time on pine forests were developed and milling commenced first at Wirrabara in 1902 on a 25 year stand. This mill operated continually from that date until it was closed in 1935, all available stands of millable timber having been cut out.

It was not until 1910 that the full value of *Pinus radiata* was realised, chiefly because of its quick growing qualities. From that time the annual planting of that species increased until about 1924 when private enterprise became interested. Subsequently, a Royal Commission found that *Pinus radiata* could supply about 65 per cent of Australia's softwood requirements and that South Australia could plant, with safety, 3,000 acres of that timber annually, 'of which about 2,500 acres should be in the South East.'

In the South-East, the prevailing indigenous trees near the coast were *Banksia marginata*, *Casuarina quadreivalis* and several species of *Melaleuca* - all indicative of poor and swampy soil. Some of the ridges were covered with stringybark and the margins of the running swamps had a few redgums, but as a rule the banksias (honeysuckles) were the principal trees. As the higher lands were reached, especially towards Naracoorte, between there and Mount Gambier, and from that line up to Border Town, there were a great number of gum trees of various kinds and of good height and girth.

On the extensive sheep runs, which were nearly all enclosed with sheep-proof fences, the landscape was parklike with numerous trees growing a short distance apart and very little undergrowth to interfere with the grass. Over some hundreds of square miles beyond Mount Gambier near Dismal Swamp, the tall, straight-stemmed, noble gums had been killed, probably by some beetle, and, strange to say, no seedlings came up to take their place.

There were innumerable tall blackwoods and a considerable number of black wattles. The soil was sandy to a depth of about two feet and here, as well as an immense area around Mount Gambier, the bracken fern grew thickly to a height of three feet or more, preventing the growth of grass and all useful herbage. The sparse population, combined with the fact that nearly the whole of the South East had been 'gobbled up' by a few sheep farmers resulted beneficially so far as the preservation of timber was concerned.

In September 1873, Mr Goyder, accompanied by Mr Smith, a nurseryman of Adelaide, made an inspection of the Lake Reserve, including the Botanic Garden Reserve and he reported upon it as a suitable location for a forest reserve and it was understood he recommended it as a site for a forest nursery and one or two blocks for planting with forest trees. In due course, it was gazetted as a forest reserve and included the best grazing ground and the only accessible watering places.

At this time he also selected a place for a nursery and, during his return to Adelaide, visited Mount McIntyre and Mount Burr where he selected sites for a second and third reserve.

The forest reserves near Mount Gambier were sown with more than 200,000 trees in the last few years of the 1870s and were principally eucalyptus, pine, catalpa, planes, elms and oaks, while the forest reserves at Millicent and Mount Burr were in an embryonic state. In 1885 there were about 46,000 acres of land reserved for forest culture in the South-East - Mount Gambier, 250; Mount Burr, 14,742; Mt Muirhead Flat, 573; Glen Roy Flat, 8,150; Mundulla, 1,020; Border Town, 8,150; Cave Range, 5,345; Penola, 8,769; Mount McIntyre, 5,966.

The Mount Gambier reserve was situated on the southern slope of the extinct volcano, including the Leg of Mutton Lake and a nice sheltered valley where the nursery propagated indigenous and exotic trees. In 1884, 1,000 plants were put out; they were *Pinus insignis* with a few eucalyptus and only 700 survived. The following year the whole reserve was planted with about 63,000 eucalypts of various kinds, 11,000 oaks, 8,000 pines and a miscellaneous lot

of catalpas, planes, Queensland box, ash, cork elms, etc. The ravages of opossums, hares, wallabies and kangaroos necessitated regular plantings each year to offset the losses.

The forest was in charge of Mr Charles Reade, well known formerly as a gardener to Mr G.S. Fowler. His residence was perched on the top of a rise above the lake and regular visitors were members of the local gun club seeking permission to hunt game and animals within the forest and, considering that in one year Mr Reade killed 300 opossums, 200 hares and 50 kangaroos they 'always had a fair chance for sport.'

The Mount Burr Reserve contained valuable forests, chiefly stringybark, and a thick undergrowth of shrubs, etc. in which kangaroos and wallabies were abundant. They were very destructive to the young trees, especially the golden wattles that grew readily from seeds thrown on the ground.

The Mount McIntyre reserve included some excellent land upon which covetous eyes were laid by some who seemed to think that every piece of good land in the colony ought to be sold to the farmers. It contained some 6,000 acres and its little nursery was hemmed in by a rabbit proof fence which, however, was put up so loosely in parts that no bunny with the least enterprise would be deterred for a second by it from forcing his way into the toothsome little trees.

A large proportion of this reserve was a natural habitat of red gum and the growth of this tree was encouraged by the system of natural regeneration. In suitable spots it was intended to form small plantations of exotics, protected by a vermin fence of wire netting four feet high. Here, in excess of 16,000 trees raised in the Mount Gambier nursery were planted including, *Pinus austriaca*, oaks, cork elms, poplars, Catalpa species, etc., and about 70 per cent survived.

The great drawback was the want of thorough drainage and it was expected that a main drain being constructed through the reserve as a part of Mr Goyder's plans to drain the Millicent and Mt McIntyre flats would alleviate the situation:

Fruit Colony

The Penola Fruit Colony was established in the late 1880s on the Yallum Estate by Mr John Riddoch, the well known proprietor of Katnook and Yallum estates which were surveyed into 10 blocks and 600 acres and sold to the public at £10 per acre.

In 1892, 300 acres of trees and vines were added to 11,000 fruit trees and 48,000 rooted vines, already existing. By the close of that year, 56 blocks had been selected by 29 persons who took up areas up to 40 acres - the maximum allowed to any one settler - and among the holders were people of various nationalities, including an Anglo-Indian and a Chinaman.

The genesis of the colony lies with a Scotsman, William Wilson, who, after being moderately successful at the Victorian goldfields, came to Penola in the 1870s and purchased two acres of land upon which he planted and nurtured fruit trees and vines.

With its underlying terra rosa soil the progress of the plantings was astonishing to both himself and John Riddoch, the 'feudal lord' of the district. An all but impossible partnership between these two men was the forerunner of the Coonawarra district we know today and it has been recorded that it was Wilson who prompted Riddoch to establish the Penola Fruit Colony which came to pass in June 1890.

Riddoch built a winery and purchased grapes from the growers and stored the resultant wine in a cellar with a capacity of 75,000 gallons. A promise he never kept to the growers was the erection of a jam factory. By the turn of the 20th century the colony was producing wine of a superior quality in addition to dried fruit, while apples were shipped to the United Kingdom. The settlement was to become known as the Coonawarra Fruit Colony.

Some of the settlers went into the enterprise with insufficient capital and the period of waiting for fruit trees to bear proved too much for them and the inevitable happened and, by the close of the century, there were only 18 families settled there.

Wine cellars were an adjunct to the colony and managed by Mr McBain, a former assistant viticulturist at Roseworthy College and, in 1901, 53,000 gallons of wine, practically all claret, were made, thus doubling the vintage of the previous season.

The wine secured a good reputation and, a consignment sent to London, realised a price of 3s. 9d. per gallon. It was at this time that Thomas Hardy and J.H. Foureur, a native of Epernay, paid a visit to the colony and said that the nature of the soil, subsoil and climate were all in favour of the production of champagne and recommended that Mr Riddoch plant Pinot Noir grapes.

This advice was followed by the planting of 30 acres but the growth was most disappointing and they were 'nearly all uprooted'.

Hop Gardens

In May 1868, the Editor of the *Border Watch* observed that the cultivation of hops at Lobethal had been 'attended with complete success' and suggested to farmers in this district the desirability of 'forming upon their lands some plantations forthwith.'

Mr T. Williams, Dr Browne's manager at Moorak, claimed he was responsible for its introduction into the district in 1868 and at times he made up to £50 per acre off the land - not, however, reckoning for the cost of production:

We hear that Mr Thomas Williams is about to try the experiment of growing hops in the Yahl Paddock. He has just received a parcel of 1,000 prime plants from Tasmania and these will be set out on a suitable piece of

ground under the direction of an experienced hop grower. The result of this trial will be watched with much interest.

However, Mr James Kilsby contended he had grown hops at Bentleyville, out past Glenburnie, since the early 1860s and, in 1873, erected a kiln capable of drying about 300 bushels per hour, when a brewer in Adelaide remarked that his hops were 'much better than those imported.'

In 1880, he had 10 acres under cultivation from which, at times, he obtained a yield of up to 17 cwt. to the acre, when the average yield was 7 to 8 cwt. per acre.

Mr Thomas Williams commenced hop picking at Yahl Paddock on 18 March 1870 and his produce was commented upon favourably by the Adelaide Press:

These Yahl hops are in excellent order and have the most fragrant odour... [He] has arranged for the sale of the whole of his season's growth at two shillings and two pence per pound... If other agriculturists do not follow his example they deserve to have their pockets empty forever. There is no fear of overstocking the market.

His success was such that, in 1871, several nearby farmers were induced to commence cultivation and, accordingly, '10,000 poles [were] carted this season from the Kilbride Run, 25 to 30 miles distant, for the hop gardens here.' By 1872, he had built a double drying kiln on his property, measuring 38 by 18 feet on the floor at a cost of £300, and 'we should like to see the experiment Mr Williams has carried out so patiently and satisfactorily taken up and worked out in other likely localities.'

The picking was done by women and children who were paid at the rate of three pence per bushel and they earned about five shilling a day.

With this success other farmers took up the challenge and, when the industry became established, the hop gardens were situated within the limits of the Mount Gambier East Council and the area of the volcanic ash. The yield in a single year was sometimes worth £40 to £50 per acre - equal to the price of the land.

The climate was favourable and, although hop yields were uncertain, a good average crop was far more to be depended upon than in the county of Kent and other districts of the old country. But, unfortunately, the cost of production and in-gathering was great and the industry failed to develop to any great extent.

A visitor to the district in 1875 was impressed with the numerous hop gardens, some consisting of small plots of half an acre near farm houses and others extending upwards to 16 acres.

The largest was at Moorak under the management of Mr Williams, while the Bentley Hop Gardens, owned by Mr Kilsby, produced about 1,500 lbs. per acre on his eight acre holding of a 'silver grape' variety obtained from Tasmania. (*See under 'Bentley' in the nomenclature text.*)

At this time it was thought that fortunes were to be made but the total district yield in 1879 was only 229 hundredweight as against 18,000 tons of potatoes.

By the close of 1879, a succession of bad seasons and low prices gave the hop industry a serious blow and, in that year, the total acreage under cultivation had decreased by about 20 per cent over the previous year.

However, Mr Simms the Adelaide brewer visited the Yahl hop gardens and was 'greatly pleased with what he saw.'

Flax Growing

In 1864, an experiment in flax growing was conducted by a Mr Gardiner, at Dr Wehl's, when he sowed one pound of flax seed its yield being about 101 pounds of seed, while the straw was of good quality.

A few years later Dr Wehl commented that he had cultivated flax in the past but discontinued it because of the lack of a colonial market:

Some of it I scutched and sent to Melbourne where, coarse as it was, it was declared to be worth £50 a ton for rope making. Some rope and twine was made of it and that, together with the flax, was exhibited at the Intercolonial Exhibition of Melbourne in 1868 where it competed with some articles from Victoria and Tasmania and was awarded the great medal, but the two following years it was seriously affected by frost...

At a meeting at Robe in June 1872 it was resolved that it was desirable to 'bring under crop from 10 to 15 acres of flax as an experiment' and, for this purpose, a company was formed. Accordingly, the Robe people applied to the government for the use of land between Baker Range and Clay Wells where about 40 acres were planted in late 1872.

At the same time at Mount Gambier, the local agricultural society wrote to the secretary of the Chamber of Manufactures for a supply of seed which was distributed by the firm of Fidler & Webb. However, by 1874 the Adelaide distributor was informed that a 775lb. consignment of seed was 'very dirty' and the farmers were loth to pay for it and, further, a conclusion had been reached that there was no economic future in the growing of flax because of persistent attacks by grubs.

Potato Growing

Potatoes are an excellent feed for both horses and cattle. For dairy cows they improve both the quality and quantity of milk... At Mount Gambier cows almost universally eat potatoes and many of them are so fond them that they will go to considerable trouble to get them when opportunity offers.

(*Border Watch*, 7 October 1876)

During 1872, Messrs Fidler & Webb imported from England a few pounds of a new variety of potato named 'Sutton's red skin Flourball' and it was said that it had proved to be free from disease, kept well and had splendid cooking qualities. Indeed, in the 1874 season it proved to be an 'excellent cropper' in the Mount Gambier district when it was estimated that 12,000 tons were raised out of which 9,000 tons were exported bringing to the community about £30,000.

It was found by experiment that the only bar to successful potato culture, the frost, could be avoided by planting in November. Indeed, one acre of potatoes was reckoned as six acres of wheat under the cultivation clauses of the Lands Act and many of the farmers took advantage of this and put potatoes in instead of cereals.

In 1877, the potato yield at Mount Schank was most satisfactory from a planting of 200 acres and, in the following year, 1,500 acres of the Mount Schank station was leased to farmers who sowed 1,000 acres to wheat and 500 to potatoes and, in a magnanimous gesture, the owner only sought a proportion of the crop as rent.

By 1885, nearly all vacant allotments facing the principal streets grew potatoes and the owners got out of the tubers a great deal more than the rates they had to pay but, by 1889, the industry was considered to be a speculative enterprise because for one owner of the soil, who put in his own crop, there were at least 20 growers who did not own a foot of land on which the 'farinaceous beauties were brought to fruition.'

For example, Dr Browne at Moorak rented certain paddocks for the potato season at about £3 per acre. Some gentlemen speculators secured this land and got it cropped at about £1 an acre - then took the risks of the season and stood by awaiting results.

They might have expected a good price but, as in many seasons past, the plants were cut down by frost compelling them to quit their meagre crop to the local distillery at a little more than what they paid for putting the seed in the ground.

About 830 acres of the Moorak estate were leased by some 20 growers whose holdings ranged from 20 acres upwards, the following being the principal ones: G. Janeway, A.B. Sinclair, W. Berkerfield, W. Bailey, V. Stuckey, D. McArthur, S. Earl, Pegler, W.H. Renfrey, T. Williams, J. McNamee, R. Wallace, Edwards, J. Sinclair, W. Peel and O'Neill. The holdings at Yahl amounted to about 800 acres and were worked by Messrs Ruwoldt, W. Hay, C. Blune, T.H. Williams, John Lange, D. Buchanan, Joseph Lange, Norman, senior, Messrs Hill, W. Umpherstone, Lehmann, C. MacArthur, A. Smith, Kannenberg, J. Umpherstone, W. Mitchell and Nitschke.

OB Flat growers occupied 400 acres and they were G. Norman, Davis brothers, A.C. Spehr, G. Coutts, J. Smith, Laube, W. Spehr, O. Spehr, A. McLean, P. Hay, J. Parvis and J. Schinkel. At Compton there were 250 acres held by J. Frew, T.H. Williams, J. Hay, J. Powell, Honan, Sasinowsky, J. MacFarlane and Collins, while at Square Mile there were Vorwerk brothers, Unger, and Patzel brothers.

Another class of grower was the working speculator who secured a piece of land and with the aid of, perhaps, his sons, got in his crop and either sent it to market himself or sold it in the ground to local buyers. The buyers again were two classes - the trading dealer who supplied the Adelaide market regularly, or the speculative dealer who gave a certain sum per acre for the whole crop, took the risk of the yield and stipulated for delivery in bags at the railway station in the quantities required. He sent either truckloads to the Adelaide merchant or to the agent who auctioned them weekly.

In 1885, there was a glut in the market and loads taken down to Port MacDonnell for shipment were actually cast into the sea because the Adelaide agents required a cheque to be forwarded in advance to cover any costs of sales that would not cover the expense of sending them to the metropolitan market.

The principal potato fields were at Moorak, OB Flat, Yahl, Compton and Square Mile while, at Millicent, there were only about 300 acres, grown principally on the ridges thrown up from the drains.

In the 1880s, the land in the potato districts of Yahl and OB Flat was worth about £40 per acre, while some nearer the town changed hands for a higher price but it was evident that the grower was plagued with seasonal difficulties:

I am glad to see the Treasurer has promised a deputation to see if the distillation laws may not be relaxed in some way in favour of distillation from potatoes for there was a shameful waste of this vegetable in the district. Driving through Yahl and OB Flat hundreds of tons were lying under hedgerows rotting, ostensibly because the land had been 'sticky' where the general crop was gathered and these gleanings - a ton or more to the acre sometimes - were not worth the gathering and the cost of sending to market.

This situation was remedied when Messrs Bagot and Krichauff pressed Parliament for amendments to the relevant Act of parliament following which local growers congratulated them 'in pressing it on to a safe conclusion in 1885.'

Quarrying

The name of the Hanging Rock quarries were renowned throughout the colony and belonged to the government but leased to Mr John Frew. They were practically inexhaustible in extent and besides the red dolomite, so common in Mount Gambier buildings, there was, close at hand, a grey dolomite hardly less durable and white-and-grey freestone; the latter was used in the Adelaide University and was said to be like Caen stone and obtainable at about half the price.

The red dolomite formed a splendid cliff, 40 to 40 feet high and about 600 yards in length. Mr Frew sent some to a Melbourne Exhibition and hoped to open a trade with both that city and Adelaide. The railway to Rivoli Bay was within two miles of the quarry and the lessor constructed a tramway to connect with it: He complained that, hitherto, because the Tantanoola station yard was 18 inches deep in mud, he had to cart the stone to Snuggery, six miles distant.

Sugar Beet

For an essay on this subject see Appendix 16.

Tobacco Growing

To all appearances the demand will continue large, for the race of smokers does not seem likely to die out. It embraces now representatives of all conditions, sects and parties, from the ragged city Arab who emerges from the East End slums, sauntering behind a dirty clay pipe or semi-cabbage leaf cigar, to the blasé swell at West End casinos; from the struggling mechanic with his cutty or rolling quid-loving tar to the successful merchant who delights in meerschaum or Havana; while even the bewigged counsel, grave judge or belted Knight does not resist the seductive pipe or cheroot. Some refuse to touch because they have seen, they believe, the debasing effect of the narcotic poison.

(*Register*, 13 July 1869, p. 2)

When tobacco growing was first undertaken in the Mount Gambier district in the early 1860s by Mr John Watt, near the Wesleyan Chapel, where he had 200 plants 'all strong and healthy', the censorious editor of the *Border Watch* decreed that he opposed its cultivation because 'its scourging and deleterious properties might seriously interfere with our cereals.' At the time local tobacco was selling as high as 3s. 6d. per pound but 'the weed was not of the best sort - not being pure Virginian and the rudest means were employed in the growing and manufacture.' However, by May 1863 the first sale of any considerable quantity of tobacco was effected when Mr G.C. Crouch of Portland purchased same from a Mr Grosser.

It was not until the 1880s that this industry became a commercial proposition when a representative of the firm Way Lee & Company of Adelaide sent a representative to the South East to look for a suitable place to grow tobacco. Having examined several places on the main drain and others he came to Mr James Bird's property abutting Drains Nod. 36 and 38 'both of which were never dry', on the eastern side of the railway line at about two miles in a south-easterly direction from Millicent.

Immediately, he entered into an agreement with Mr Bird and leased two small paddocks containing about 40 acres and, at the end of September 1887, nine Chinamen arrived and commenced work planting and, apparently, the only threat to production was 'a small caterpillar had threatened damage to the leaves' but 'by strict attention' the grub was kept in check.

By 24 February 1888 there were 24 acres in various stages of growth and the prospective crop had been purchased by Messrs Dixon & Company of Adelaide, but doubts were expressed as to the industry's immediate future:

The growing of tobacco must be very profitable, but I very much question if any of our farmers here would make it pay. They would not devote so much time and trouble in its production as the Chinese and to try and grow it without doing so would be a losing game.

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Appendix 53

Life on a Cattle Station at Bull Creek/Finiss Flat in the Early 1840s

The pictures drawn in his reminiscences show stretches of life at its most predatory or most self-indulgent or most foolish, but also stretches, increasing in intensity, as well as in number, of progress, improvement, conscience, good neighbourliness and kindness, from the care of Dr Mayo on the ship to South Australia for the sick and dying or the friendly solicitude of some of the first class passengers for the wretched 'assisted immigrants', to the network of voluntary charities built up in 19th century South Australia. Frost had the essential stuff of the creative pioneer, not the exploiter or scrounger. It is fitting that his name be revived for our sesquicentenary.

(Sir Walter Crocker – cited in the Foreword of the Memoirs of Thomas Frost)

Aged 18 years, I secured a job on a large dairy station on the Finiss River under the firm of 'Field and Barker' (Lieutenant Field and Alfred Barker), who had a large cattle station there, the run consisting of twelve square miles. The station premises were situated close to the river on the edge of Finiss Flat, which was the form of a triangle, bounded by the river on one side and Bull Creek on the other. The Flat comprised about 700 acres, the whole being black loam, covered with splendid green grass all the year round. The place was the finest spot I have ever seen in the country.

There was water in abundance in both creek and river throughout the year and the run itself was hemmed in for at least half the distance around by almost impenetrable scrub - the beauty of the place was indelibly fixed on my memory. Here I spent nearly two years of my life and a very happy time it was. I never seemed lonely for we had two families on the station – Alfred Barker, his wife, two children and several girl servants; Mr Saby, the dairyman, his wife, three children and myself.

I soon managed to provide myself with warm and comfortable clothing, boots, etc., and our living was first class. Mrs Saby was not only a first class dairy hand, but she made bread and cake in first rate style; we had plenty of eggs, butter (in five pound blocks), bacon, ham and fresh and salt pork without stint, and away from many temptations, alone with Nature in its beauty and grandeur, not forgetting, I trust, the Glorious Creator of all, and the bountiful giver of all good.

Our lives, although somewhat monotonous, were pretty comfortable and healthy and we had a variety, both in work and amusement, stock riding, hunting, shooting ducks, quails, pigeons, exploring over rocks and hills, often, no doubt, where white men had never been before, then on moonless nights, hunting opossums and curlews till the early morning hours. We caught and killed many kangaroos which we skinned and dressed to make stockwhips and, occasionally, we got a few emus; just below their skin is a coat of yellow fat which produces the celebrated 'Emu Oil' worth ten shillings and sixpence [\$1-05] per pint.

The nearest neighbour we had was a sheep farmer named McHarg, about four miles from our station. He had a wife, one son and three daughters, one of whom was a shepherdess, having charge of a flock – she named every animal and could tell them apart by the look of their countenance and they would come to her when called by name. She was the youngest daughter, a fine, good looking Scotch girl who, later, married Mr Henry Field.

A sad event occurred in the family about a year before I went to the Finiss. The eldest McHarg daughter was employed as a tent keeper to a party of surveyors, who were camped about 1½ miles from our station. One day, leave was given her and she started for home to visit her parents but she never arrived. As soon as it was known troopers and stockmen were sent out in search, exploring the country in all directions, without success.

One day a Mr Reeves called at our station on horseback from Currency Creek and he told us that a day or two before, as he was passing through thick scrub, he noticed a human skull and other bones. As he had seen similar scenes in his rambles, which he always judged to be those of natives, he did not take much notice. However, something induced him to dismount when he was surprised to find decayed teeth, a very unusual thing with natives.

He at once set to work and uncovered it, when he found the remnants of female apparel and two books. He brought these articles to our station; they were much rotted but the books were preserved and, inside the covers, words had been scratched with a pin.

After some trouble, the record was deciphered of the poor young woman's existence for 26 days in the scrub where she survived principally upon grubs, picked from scrub bark, till she got faint and weak and had made a wurley to

protect herself from wild dogs. There was also a message to her mother and father, begging them to prepare for death and tenderly bidding them farewell – this was two years after the date of her being lost; thus the mournful tragedy was cleared up.

Although I was happy at the Finnis, there was one drawback – our Sunday's work was the same as on other days and there was no church to attend and, apart from the Bible, I had nothing to lead my thoughts from my daily duties. Mr Saby was a very passionate man addicted to swearing and we sometimes had visitors who assailed me with temptations from time to time. I am glad to say that I was enabled, by God's mercy, to shake them off.

Later, Mr Barker removed to Yankalilla and the firm resolved to give up the Finnis Station. They made me an offer to take the run off their hands. I felt it was very kind of them but, unacquainted with business, and young as I was and without means, I thought it quite useless. The rent of the run was only £21 per annum and the firm offered me 100 or more cows I might choose for £3 per head.

It was indeed a generous offer and was from the heart and I have no doubt that it came from Lieutenant Field, who always manifested great partiality for me. So in my ignorance, I thanked them but told them I was unable to accept the offer and, thus, I found afterwards I missed a fortune. I then proceeded to Adelaide.

Appendix 54

*George Strickland Kingston – A Brief Essay upon His Life and Times
together with
A Dissertation on the Founding and Survey of the City of Adelaide
and
The Demise of Colonel William Light*

Introduction

Born in 1807 at Bandon, County Cork, Ireland, he came to the colony in the *Cygnets* which departed from London on 20 March 1836, arriving at Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island, on 11 September 1836. His first position in the colonial hierarchy was that of Deputy-Surveyor to Colonel Light; he returned to England in 1837 for the purpose of soliciting money and material for the survey department. Later, Colonel Light expressed his misgivings about Kingston's mission in a letter to E.G. Wakefield, in London:

He is much worse than any of the junior assistants I had and whom he used to abuse so much to me, and for this reason I consented to his going home in the *Rapid*. I did not send him... He confessed to me that surveying was not his forte, but that he was an engineer. I told him not to come again as Deputy-Surveyor, which he said he would do...

Upon his return in June 1838, and in the wake of Colonel Light's resignation, he applied for the position of Surveyor-General, but Governor Gawler was averse to the application and aired his views:

He is unpopular, particularly among the younger surveyors. The promotion, I am persuaded, would have had altogether a bad effect, I therefore refused it... There is however an excellent substitute in the person of Captain Sturt.

In 1839, he was appointed Civil Engineer and Inspector of Public Works in which capacity he designed and superintended the south-eastern portion of the Adelaide Gaol and other Government edifices. Later, he became prominent in the public life of the colony, sat in the first Legislative Council, was elected on a representative basis in 1851 for the seat of Burra, and became Speaker in the House of Assembly in the first Parliament in 1857. Elected Speaker again in 1865, he held office until 1880 and, for services rendered, was knighted by Queen Victoria.

In respect of a proposed jetty at Glenelg, in September 1853, he moved in the Legislative Council that the petition be taken into consideration and that an Address be presented to the Governor; this motion was lost by a majority of six, while in December of that year Captain J.F. Duff addressed His Excellency the Governor in respect of a jetty and, in doing so, traversed the merits and demerits of both Port Adelaide and Glenelg as ports while, at the same time, passing a scathing opinion on colonial legislators:

I do not presume to suppose that the state of Port Adelaide has escaped your attention; nor would I attempt to bring the facts before you in this, perhaps, irregular way, were it not that, since it has become the fashion to construct legislators out of merchants and tradesmen, and to substitute their individual opinions for the former plan of examining experienced practical witnesses before Committees, the only impartial tribunal attainable by the public is the higher portion of the legislature...

His parliamentary career was not without caustic comment because, in the *Register* of 15 July 1864 a disgruntled constituent, within the electorate of Burra, castigated him on his parliamentary performance:

The honourable gentleman has been accustomed to be very warmly welcomed on the few occasions on which he has condescended to visit the district he misrepresents...

I scarcely think it would be safe for him to venture up here now unless he brought the whole volunteer force...

With a friendlier disposition and a measure of sarcasm the *Adelaide Punch* burst into verse in 1875:

Social Acrostics

*So long you have sat in the House as the Speaker
In patience o'er its sage counsels presiding,
Ready at all times to soften its pique, or
Gravey its steps in the best pathways guiding.
So long, that we esteem you a fixture;
Keep then the post while your brain keeps its vigour,
In wisdom rule over the horrible mixture.
Now it's a bedlam, but if it were bigger,
Gracious! You'd soon lead the life of a nigger
Slaving and sweating to keep things in train,
Trying to shape to some purpose the jumble,
O, dear Sir George, if it's labour in vain,
Never repine, it will keep your soul humble.*

Peter Rymill, the Penola historian, recorded the following in respect of an ancestor, John Riddoch:

Parliament, which at this time did not seem to know the meaning of corruption, was a veritable imbroglio. As a contemporary pen recorded: 'Parties are divided on particular subjects. There is a squatting party and an anti-squatting party; a Government House party and a party opposed to Government House; a religious endowment party and a party unfavourable to religious endowments; but as to well-defined of political demarcation you might as well look for ink spots on the moon. The want of party organisation produces a chronic state of ministerial instability.'

On one occasion, in November 1872, the overbearing Kingston locked the doors of the Assembly to prevent unwelcome visits from the Governor and inadvertently excluded Riddoch and a colleague as well. Not to be deterred, the doughty Riddoch kicked the door in and calmly resumed his rightful seat.

He died at sea in October 1880 and was buried off Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka); a report and obituary, published in the *Register* on 28 October and 6 December 1880, contain several historical inaccuracies in respect of his contribution to early surveys; at the same time, the author of the former paused from writing a litany of encomiums to express the opinion that the deceased gentleman possessed 'an impetuous temper' and was inclined at times to 'push his authority to the extreme' and, further, that it could have been possible 'to obtain a Speaker of greater tact'.

Early Days in Adelaide

This new colony... perfectly unshackled by prison discipline, by military governors, and by immense civil establishments, and wholly independent and free, threatens to annihilate the other colonies. If it be successfully established, the colony of New South Wales will probably become an inferior, subordinate and subservient appendage to it.

(*Sydney Herald*, 26 October 1835 - cited in *Register*, 28 December 1911, page 9c.)

On a warm summer's day in November 1836 Lt W.G. Field, of the *Rapid*, George S. Kingston and John Morphett were trekking over the Adelaide plain when Mr Kingston's dog got the scent of water and dashed towards it to slake its thirst. Thus, the watercourse was discovered being named 'River Torrens' in 1837 by Governor Hindmarsh - in her reminiscences, Helen Mantegani said that the discovery of the River Torrens belongs to Mr Kingston's dog that was 'out with his master and being thirsty, smelt the water and showed the way.'

What they saw was a chain of large waterholes bounded by large gum trees and scrub; these holes varied in size the largest being over 200 yards in length, some of which were so deep that even the most daring of divers could not bottom them. It was not long, however, before the colonists cut away every vestige of timber along the banks and carted away the gravel for roadmaking and home building

In a reminiscent mood in the *Register* of 21 May 1877, page 6, George Kingston was to record that on Thursday, 29 December 1836, he joined Colonel Light at his camp on the river when they spent some time in examining the locality which he had recommended to Colonel Light as the site of the city. The Governor and Mr Hurtle Fisher came up to the camp in the afternoon when Colonel Light informed them that he had decided on fixing the site 'on the spot I [Kingston] had pointed out.'

The Governor objected strongly and stated that it was too far from the harbour and, on examining the plain on the way back to the camp, Colonel Light, in deference to the Governor, agreed to fix the site about one-and-a-half miles to the westward.

On 31 December 1836, Colonel Light spent some time with Kingston in thoroughly examining the new site for the city as recommended by the Governor, when Colonel Light felt convinced that not only the situation in question was

liable to be flooded but that in every other respect the natural features there did not afford the same advantages for the site of the capital, as the more elevated position pointed out by Kingston and which he had determined on the Thursday before. Finally, Colonel Light decided to fix the site as first preferred by him. Thus ended the first act in the foundation of the city.

During the ensuing months Governor Hindmarsh continued to harangue Light, while at the same time making conflicting statements to his superiors in England. For example, on 1 November 1837, in a tranquil manner, he addressed Lord Glenelg:

With regard to the colony itself nothing can be more satisfactory than its progress... The climate is delightful, and the land far surpasses in richness and capabilities anything yet known in New Holland... The drawback that Adelaide suffers from its distance from the Harbour or Glenelg roads, is almost compensated by its superior advantages in point of situation.

In a complete turn around, some six weeks later, he informed the Secretary of State that he intended to recommend that the site of the capital be removed. The evil genius behind this astounding decision was George Stevenson who, as editor of the *SA Gazette & Colonial Register*, reported the discovery of a splendid harbour at the mouth of the River Murray.

These specious tidings emanated from a Kangaroo Island sealer named Walker [Probably Thomas Whalley, who left a whaling ship named the *General Gates* in 1816] and it was said: 'It is hard to say who was the original liar, Walker or Stevenson.' This blatant attempt at deception resulted in a demand for land at 'Walker's Harbour' and the Governor, in a stupid move, albeit with intent to further his own pecuniary interests, intimated that he would take up two sections there once the land had been surveyed.

As previously stated, Light was unimpressed with the Encounter Bay area and this move to undermine his surveying authority was repugnant to him and he protested to the Commissioners in London:

So if I now go on this fool's trip, losing perhaps six months of time looking for some place to please these gentlemen, some other drunken sealer, for a lark only, come and say he has seen another harbour as superior as Plymouth Sound is to Goodwin Sands... nothing but self-interest prevails [here], and e'er long we shall witness it too forcibly.

The Governor was not to be denied and, aided and abetted by the Resident Commissioner, James H. Fisher, time and money was spent in fruitless explorations, when Captain Lipson departed by sea and an overland party set out across the all but unexplored Mount Lofty Range. Following the loss of four lives at the mouth of the River Murray the Governor was informed that there was no 'practicable communication between the Murray and the sea...'

However, Mr Strangways, the progenitor of these tidings, went on to say that if a breakwater were to be built abutting Granite Island a large harbour would be available and added his opinion that 'this site is the most eligible... we have seen in the Colony for the first town.'

This news was accepted gleefully by Governor Hindmarsh, who proceeded to seek permission from the Home authorities to remove the capital to Encounter Bay! Light was incensed at this underhanded move and proceeded methodically and logically to demolish the spurious suggestions as to the worth of the lauded site. An 'Old Poem', written by A.H. Davis, a prominent journalist in the earliest days of Adelaide on the subject of 'Governors', was republished in the *Register* on 23 August 1920 - two paragraphs read as follows in respect of Governor Hindmarsh:

*Startling and brief was his career -
He brought a character rather queer.
(Surrounded, indeed, by a vapour light);
But he passed again into palpable night;
For, though to dazzle and blaze was his cue,
One might see the black nucleus peeping through.*

*Frivolous, vain and something worse;
Ambitious, proud with an empty purse;
Wanting the power, but having the will,
By any means that purse to fill.
He is gone - there is justice in that without flaw,
To Heligoland with his father-in-law.*

The Survey of Adelaide

The reasons that led me to fix Adelaide where it is I do not expect to be generally understood or calmly judged of at the present. My enemies, however, by disputing their validity in every particular, have done me a good service of fixing the whole of the responsibility upon me. I am perfectly willing to bear it; and leave to posterity, and not to them, to decide whether I am entitled to praise or to blame.

(Colonel Light's *Brief Journal*)

Despite intermittent harassment and disapproval from both the Governor and influential citizens, as discussed above, the survey of the city and North Adelaide was completed on 10 March 1837. It comprised 1,042 sections - 591 allotments were sold for cash; one allotment was set apart for the Town Hall; four allotments for public buildings; 38 cancelled to form public squares and 408 were reserved for the holders of preliminary land orders.

The first land was sold on 27 March 1837 when 591 town acres were purchased at an average of a little over £5 (\$10) per acre. Within a few years these allotments were selling at from £80 to £100 each, and for those considered to be well situated as much as £250 were demanded

A severe blow to Light and his loyal band of surveyors came in December 1837 when a letter arrived from the Commissioners in London criticising his choice for the capital. His reply was brief and to the point: 'find someone else to take my place.'

An uneasy peace reigned pending further advice from London and so Light set out on an exploration northward where he named such features as the Barossa Range and Lyndoch Valley. By March 1838, over 100,000 acres of rural sections of land had been surveyed and, on 17 May, by a strange quirk of fate, Light obtained, in a ballot, the honour of making the first choice for the selection of a country section [modern-day Thebarton] 'which the blackguard Editor of the [SA] *Gazette* [& *Colonial Register*] laid hold of to hint at something like a trick.'

On 15 April 1838, the *Lord Goderich* arrived with further gloomy news for Colonel Light, for the Commissioners were of the opinion that surveys were proceeding too slowly and advised him that they had sought the opinion of an 'expert', Lieutenant Dawson of the Royal Engineers, who offered the opinion that the daily output of each surveyor was far too low and proceeded to give his opinions as to how the surveys could be expedited. In a lengthy and unequivocal response to the Resident Commissioner, Light left no doubt as to his opinion of the machinations of bureaucracy and concluded that if similar complaints were forthcoming he hoped to be relieved of all surveying.

The South Australian Company, which had a large amount of capital employed in the infant colony, in a move to protect its interests, informed the Colonisation Commissioners that, if the company was to avoid liquidation, urgent moves were necessary to speed up surveys and to this end running surveys should be undertaken.

This type of survey was diametrically opposed to that of the trigonometrical method and, as to efficacy, was open to question. However, in their wisdom, and following professional advice from Lieutenant Dawson, they acceded to the Company's request.

Lurking in the background in London at this time was George Kingston and there would appear to be no doubt that he was, by acts of self-aggrandisement, 'feeding' Lt Dawson and the Commissioners with his own thoughts on surveys within South Australia. This is given further credence in a remark made by the Commissioners to the effect that Light 'had sent home one of the most efficient officers of the surveying staff.'

Upon hearing of Kingston's machinations Light was understandably enraged. His response in the form of a letter to E.G. Wakefield was erudite, coupled with a reasoned condemnation of Kingston; it reads in part:

Your letter was too late. I had sent my resignation in December last. I could not stand all the attacks that were made against me; those by the ignorant or the malevolent here I did not care for, but to find by every ship from England a long list of censures passed by the Commissioners on my proceedings, and forwarded through Mr Rowland Hill, who I firmly believe to be a mover and writer of these, is more than my feelings can stand...

Mr Hill [then] calls in the aid of Lt Dawson to prove that I have not done my duty [and] to my mortification, the next vessel brought a reproof still stronger and more insulting, for here I see that not only has Lt. Dawson been again consulted, but even Mr Kingston has been questioned on the proper mode of surveying and I now receive a method and a diagram drawn out by Mr Kingston, my subordinate, with instructions from Mr R. Hill to follow them...

What would the Commissioners think if I told them that Mr Kingston (an officer of their own appointment), and who was to command the whole expedition had any accident happened to me, knew not how to survey. He is totally incapable of surveying - of triangulating a country he knows nothing...

I am now completely tired of serving the Commissioners and, after founding their colony for them in spite of every abuse, I may now retire to seek a livelihood by my own industry... I will make one remark to you in the shape of a question. Is it likely that the Commissioners could have found many surveyors to stand against the powerful attacks from the Governor, the Press, and many others as firmly as I have done for their good?

... I am harassed in mind beyond all you can conceive... I have, thank God, always acted conscientiously, and I have hitherto met with approbation from my superiors, from men of the highest rank, and now on the wane of life to find my conduct, my character, called in question. By whom? By Mr Rowland Hill and vulgar men. My God, I cannot stand this.

You have been deceived... I am tired of Mr Kingston, and he shall have the management of the survey as soon as he arrives.

The *Rapid* returned from England on 21 June 1838, with George S. Kingston as a passenger, bringing further vilification, together with instructions for the beleaguered Surveyor-General who was called upon to state, in writing, within a week whether he would undertake a running survey of 150 square miles. If he refused to accede to this ultimatum the Resident Commissioner was empowered to give the superintendence of the survey to Mr Kingston.

Light's response was immediate:

I am allowed one week to consider whether I will undertake a running survey... I do not require one week... but say at once that I will not do it, and that I despise and condemn the language used by Mr Rowland Hill. The subject of the correspondence, etc., etc., between him and Mr Kingston I shall note at leisure.

In the meantime, I must add, that Mr Hill's motive is too apparent to be misunderstood.

Finally, in another letter to George Palmer, in London in 1838, Colonel Light said:

It has been hinted to me that Mr Kingston took to himself the credits of the site and plan of this town - if he did it is false; he had nothing to do with it but marking off his own town acres and in doing this he blundered - when I had constructed the plan and surveys performed by myself, Mr Kingston asked me to allow him to make one copy (of my own drawing).

I gave him leave - he set his apprentice to work to copy several which he sold at 12 guineas each as his own surveying and drawing - I could say much more of this man but he is too contemptible...

Light's formal resignation in June 1838 was followed by a loyal band of surveyors in July 1838, with the exception of three members. One of the more recently arrived, B.P. Winter, wrote of his feelings toward his superior:

It is my determination to stand or fall with Colonel Light under whom I have had the honor to serve for the last two months, and because I see very little prospect of an advantage to an inferior officer like myself when the Superior who has passed through all the dangers and difficulties of a first settlement in a new colony, in the services of the Commissioners, is to be rewarded as Colonel Light has been.

However, Colonel Light was not without a vestige of support in the colony for, on 5 June 1838, a dinner was given in his honour, with John Morphett presiding as Chairman. His avowed enemy, George Stevenson of the *SA Gazette & Colonial Register*, published a report of the event; a précis follows:

[Mr Morphett said that he had the honour] to propose the health of our talented and esteemed guest, Colonel Light. (The applause which followed this announcement was enthusiastic beyond description - we have attended many public meetings on popular and other occasions, but never witnessed so soul-stirring a scene. The chairman remained standing for a considerable time without the possibility of obtaining a hearing, and he continued.) I am delighted the way you have received my proposed toast...

The Colonial Commissioner then made a few remarks: 'Gentlemen, if the combination of every thing that was honourable, every thing that was gentlemanly, coupled with extraordinary talents, centred in one man, that one person was him on whom you have bestowed a testimony of your regard, and indeed the object of that testimony is most richly deserving of it...'

Colonel Light rose to address the meeting, but his emotion was so great that after several ineffectual efforts to do so he reseated himself. The company instantly rose *en masse*, and the applause lasted a considerable time. Colonel Light hoped the company would allow him to propose a toast which he felt would be received with much enthusiasm: 'The laboring classes of the colony.' Immense cheering acclaimed the toast.

The remarkable achievements of Colonel Light and his assistants have been subjected to close scrutiny over recent decades by scholars and, as recently as July 2004, 'The Light Myth' was examined in the *Adelaide Review* where the conclusion was reached that his importance in the history of Adelaide was largely a myth that has been perpetuated for 170 years:

The true story was disclosed in academic research 20 years ago. It has never been refuted, just ignored. The act of denial is a brick in the wall between Adelaide and the future.

According to their research, primary source evidence attributed the honour of planning the city to George Strickland Kingston and, further, that the plan was 'originally designed in England.'

Finally, this conclusion was drawn:

William Light was a soldier with no education, and a painter and draftsman of moderate ability... As Light himself reported to the resident Commissioner James Fisher on April 15 [1837], the survey of Adelaide was carried out by qualified civil engineer, Kingston and his assistants, including military engineer, Finnis. Light's major contribution to the founding of Adelaide was to rubber-stamp Kingston's choice of site - after twice changing his mind and initially yielding to the domineering Hindmarsh. The true founder was the versatile George Kingston...

However, the sentiments expressed in the last paragraph are at variance with Kingston's recall of events of 31 December 1836 as narrated above.

Further, in *Founder of a City*, Geoffrey Dutton observes that:

[Kingston's claim] is as reasonable as for a reconnaissance officer to claim that he has won the battle because he informed his commanding officer of the whereabouts of the enemy. Light sent Kingston to gather information about the Torrens and the Adelaide plain; Light then tested this information against his personal observation, and made his decision.

In respect of Kingston's surveying abilities, the eminent historian, Douglas Pike, proffered the following opinion, which supports Governor Gawler's appraisal as recorded in the introduction to this dissertation:

Contemptuous to his superiors, obnoxious to his equals and a petty tyrant to all below him, he was an indifferent surveyor of land and the land he selected for Rowland and Matthew Hill showed that he was a poor judge of value.

Obviously, one of his underlings, the surveyor R.G. Symonds, supported these sentiments in 1838:

In your last week's paper you make public Mr Kingston's 'Undeniable talents as a Civil Engineer'. As you make no allusion to the great abilities displayed by this illustrious personage while in the public service, you will perhaps in your next give one of the many instances of his *surveying* talents.

During the survey of the proposed town of Adelaide, at the commencement of last year, this *talented* individual undertook the subdivision of the town into square sections of one acre each, and actually discovered a new method of extracting the square root, giving 333½ links for the side of a section.

After working for ten days one of his assistants hinted his mistake, when of course your 'paragon of surveyors' had to begin over again. As this happened at a time when certain parties were most clamorous about the slow progress of the survey, it is just they should know to whom they are so greatly indebted. In conclusion, R.G. Symonds, wrote the following satirical poem:

On Reading the Mystified Square Controversy in the S A Register

*The difference between one mile square and square mile one
Oh! Why should it puzzle me?
The last refers to area alone,
The first to boundary.*

*In laying out our Adelaide City
Square acres were the go,
And puzzled many – more's the pity!
Even the D.S.G.L.* [Deputy Surveyor-General] was so.*

*For our new Northern Capital,
Half-acres are the rule,
If square, to find root principle
Need we all go back to school?*

*Vide S A Gazette & Colonial Register, November, 1838

In the course of time the unfettered truth contained in Light's correspondence, where he vehemently defended his actions, resulted in an 'olive branch' being extended to him, when Robert Torrens, Chairman of the South Australian Commissioners in London, wrote to him prior to Governor Gawler's departure from England:

I believe he [Gawler] possesses in an unusual degree the conciliatory manner, and the determined purpose, which are calculated to extinguish jealousies and dissensions, and to restore to the Colony that harmony and cooperation which weakness and wickedness have disturbed.

I have great satisfaction in announcing to you that you have been appointed a member of the [South Australian Legislative] Council; and I confidently hope that as brother heroes of the Peninsula, Colonel Gawler and yourself, will act together in what he has happily called 'he mighty energy of mutual confidence...'

Your representations on subjects connected with the survey came too late to be useful, and it is much to be regretted that your opinions were not fully expressed to the Commissioners... But enough of past mistakes... I request it of you, as a personal favour to myself, that you will exert your influence in restoring harmony, and in inducing all parties to forget and forgive...

This letter was penned in London on 31 May 1838 but Light, as previously explained, had already, before its receipt, 'cried enough' and written in poignant terms to Mr Torrens: 'My disgust and hatred now of all that has transpired makes me sick of serving and I hope soon to be my own master...'

However, a remedy of all the past injustices heaped upon Light was in Governor Gawler's hands but, unfortunately, he was impervious when it came to recognising the state of his compatriots wounded pride, nor the debt owed to him by the colony. A petition from concerned citizens seeking Light's reappointment mysteriously disappeared and other machinations within Government circles stymied any semblance of justice to the lamenting Colonel Light.

Among the excuses brought forward by Governor Gawler was the suggestion that his health, 'I have reason to be sure, is and then was altogether unequal to the situation' which, apparently, in retrospect, was not without foundation. However, it must be said that Light's reappointment, if only for a short time, 'would have salved his wounded honour.' Shortly after his arrival in South Australia the Governor was placed in an embarrassing position when a letter arrived from the Commissioners in London intimating that they had 'not considered it necessary to accept [Light's] resignation.'

Gawler's reaction must be considered all but dishonourable for he went to Light's home and, finding him absent, wrote the following letter:

The object of my call was to make to you a communication from the Commissioners, which I trust will be gratifying to you, and strengthen the impression which I have endeavoured to convey, that there exists amongst them a most friendly feeling towards you.

It gives me however pain to say that it is not in my power to endeavour to carry their ultimate object into effect, as after waiting for three weeks after my arrival in this colony in hopes of seeing a course by which I might induce you to accept again the office of Surveyor-General, I sent a strong communication with regard to this situation to Captain Sturt, that I could not retract from it. I did not calculate, when I wrote to Captain Sturt, upon having the opportunity which the enclosed expression of the feelings of the Commissioners would have afforded me, if the office had continued open.

In view of the fact that Governor Gawler had decided on Sturt as Light's replacement shortly after his arrival, his overt action can only be classified as underhanded and unworthy of a self-proclaimed pious man.

Colonel Light's Death and Aftermath

[Colonel Light] gave up his command to undertake the duty of Surveyor-General from the entire desire to serve his own country, although he sacrificed his pecuniary interest materially in doing so. He was a beautiful draftsman, a great linguist, a daring and accomplished horseman, and a brave and gallant soldier, as all his companions in arms can testify.

(Colonel George Palmer, Colonisation Commissioner, cited in the *Register*, 23 February 1874, page 6a.)

As the summer of 1839 progressed, Light's health regressed and his diary entries are evidence of a man in dire straits; additionally, his financial position was perilous. As autumn approached he addressed his friend and mentor, Colonel George Palmer:

I am now living a most retired life and doing what I can for my own support, independent of Patronage of any kind. My losses have pulled me down in purse sadly, but before two years more are passed, if I live so long, I hope to be clear and as comfortable as a broken constitution from harassed mind will admit.

I thank God amidst all my anxieties and troubles my conscience has never for one moment caused me pain, but on the contrary, because I know that if not during my life my proceedings be defended, they will be when I am dead...

Shortly after midnight on 6 October 1839 he died, aged fifty-four and, a few days later, the Editor of the *SA Gazette & Colonial Register*, put aside his vitriolic pen and, in a mood of compassion, coupled with a veiled apology, wrote an obituary:

We should ill discharge our duty if we hesitated to repeat here our humble testimony to his high professional ability or to his worth as a man. That on many points of Colonel Light's proceedings... we entertained views at variance with his, is notorious; but we are not so self-opinionated as to assert that in all instances those views were correct, or that in any way Colonel Light's conduct was not governed by a sincere desire to promote what he conceived to be the permanent interests of the province.

Yet, even in the hottest times of political dissension - and we can safely appeal to the columns of this journal in proof of the fact - our esteem for the amiable character of Colonel Light, and our respect for his great and varied talents, were not exceeded by those entertained by his warmest admirers...

On the day of the funeral, by government decree, all shops closed and 'from the time the procession left Thebarton [*sic*] till its arrival at Trinity Church minute guns were fired by a party stationed at Hindmarsh, and the colours at Government House were hoisted at half-mast... four hundred and twenty-three gentlemen, all in deep mourning, formed in procession...' At his request, previously expressed, he was laid to rest in Light Square and Joseph Bell, who was the first to import a hearse into South Australia, used that conveyance for the first time when conducting Colonel Light's remains to Light Square.

His friends in the City lost no time in forming a committee to raise funds 'towards erecting a lasting monument to the worth and services of that great and distinguished man...' When subscriptions were first collected they were not sufficient to justify the committee in approving any design and, accordingly, the funds were left on deposit, with interest, with the South Australian Banking Company.

There was much dissension as to the best location for the structure; some felt the suggestion of Light Square to be absurd while others plumped for Mount Lofty 'as it is the only one of any consequence to enable the traveller or seaman to discover the direction of the metropolis of this country.'

Early in 1843, a memorial stone was laid in Light Square over Colonel Light's grave and, ironically, the proposed monument was designed by George S. Kingston in the form of a pentagonal Gothic cross 'in the style of the ancient... crosses, the most admirable of which were raised by Edward the First at places on which the body of his beloved Queen Eleanor rested when being conveyed to Westminster Abbey for interment.'

The tender of a Mr Lewis was accepted for its construction and, early in 1844, he was 'at his post'. However, by June of that year a lack of funds prevented its completion but, never daunted, a 'grand concert' was arranged to augment the working fund. With assistance from government the project was completed in 1846, but there does not appear to have been a formal unveiling ceremony. In 1854, a high fence was erected around it to save it 'from desecration by some ruffians.'

By 1892, the monument was in a parlous condition and, concerned at its decay, the city authorities commissioned an architect, Daniel Garlick, to inspect and report upon its state of repair. He concluded that salt damp was eating it away due to the absence of a damp course; further, he opined that a cement render which had been coated over the whole structure had only hastened its demise and concluded that 'it will crumble into dust in a few years.'

By 1904, it was realised that two projects should be undertaken, namely, a replacement memorial in Light Square and a monument, depicting Colonel Light, to be erected in Victoria Square. As to the first suggestion the design of an architect, Mr H.L. Jackman was accepted in October 1904; it was to be 31 feet in height, the same as its predecessor, and the crowning feature was 'a splendid symbol of the work of the first surveyor... in the shape of a bronze theodolite. An unassuming memorial wreath of bronze is secured to the polished surface of the shaft... the structure is of South Australian granite.'

In 1919, a wreath from the first Australian Town Planning Conference, held in Adelaide in 1917, was attached to the statue and, in 1938, it was shifted to Montefiore Hill to a place now known as 'Light's Vision'; a plaque was added to the pedestal bearing an extract from his journals.

Colonel Light's story would not be complete without a comment on a picturesque civic ceremony that takes place at the first meeting of the Adelaide City Council in the new municipal year to which ex-City fathers are always invited.

The memory of our first Surveyor-General is pledged in colonial wine drawn from a massive silver bowl the gift of George Palmer, who has featured throughout this narrative. He also presented the Adelaide Corporation, through Sir Samuel Davenport, with a portrait of the said gentleman in uniform, copied in 1876 from a full-length picture in the possession of his grand-nephew, the Rev. William Lewis Mason, British Chaplain at Compiègne.

Marino

Section 244 of 'Survey B' was purchased by George S. Kingston in April 1839 and, on it, he built a small house, calling it 'Marino'; this became an Inn that he leased to Robert Bristow and, later an advertisement regarding 'Sea Bathing - Marino' was made in *Southern Australian*, 19 November 1841, page 1e:

Mr Burslem begs to announce that he has purchased the property lately occupied by Mr Bristow on the beach three miles below Glenelg consisting of a hotel and boarding house known by the name of Marino...

He has a cart which will be in Adelaide every day for fresh meat, *etc.*

Milk will be supplied from his own cows and the garden is well stocked with vegetables and fruit.

Excellent fish are... obtained and game of most kinds is abundant ... A laundress who resides within a short distance will call for linen twice a week...

[F.H. Burslem, a surveyor, arrived in the colony in 1838.]

In 1847, Matthew Smith gave the name **Marino** to a subdivision of part sections 245 and 246 into 4-acre blocks which he described as 'these beautiful plots of land [which] command a bird's eye view of the gulf...' and, in 1879, described as follows:

The long established (on paper) township of ... Marino [has] not as yet shaken the lethargy of years.

Building sites of convenient sizes, and in many cases of choice position, are in plenty; but population, permanent or migratory, is conspicuous by its absence.

The absence of any hotel accommodation at or near the terminus of the [railway] line [at Brighton] is inconvenient for casual visitors, who, unless forewarned and providentially forearmed, are fain to take an early opportunity of availing themselves of the earliest means of return to the centre of civilisation and beer.

In 1913, today's suburb of **Marino** was laid out on part sections 215 and 247, Hundred of Noarlunga, by E.C. Saunders and E. Ashby.

In respect of its nomenclature, N.A. Webb, an amateur anthropologist and Industrial Court Judge, said *marra* means 'a hand'; *marrana* is the plural and means 'the hands or paws'; this has been corrupted to 'Marino' and is given credence by documentation in the SA Museum:

It is derived from *marana* meaning 'place of the hand', from the idea that the Mount Lofty Ranges is the body of a recumbent giant man whose hand and arm are on the Marino spur running into the sea between Marino and Hallett Cove.

It is of some interest to note that, on early maps, Marino Rocks is shown as 'Marina' - was it a corruption of *Marrana*?

Further, to confuse the matter, Rodney Cockburn says, *inter alia*:

A writer in the *South Australian Magazine* Volume 1, 1841-42 says: 'Marino was not named as some suppose, from a seaport in Italy, but probably from San Marino, the inland town in a Republic of the same name, situated on that side which is bounded by the Adriatic sea and called after its founder San Marinus - [this place was the reputed hermitage of Saint Marinus, a Dalmatian mason].

Finally, Professor Tindale suggested that it may be derived from *marina* - 'the netting place'.

The foregoing explanations are a précis of previous writing on its nomenclature. However, the genesis of the suburb's name is believed to have been in Ireland, because some 20 km north of his birthplace in Ireland lies the River Lee, the left bank of which is the location of Lough Mahon, whose most prominent feature is 'Marino Point' and this place, no doubt, held some significance for George Kingston.

Kingston Park

The *Register* of 6 December 1919, page 8f, reported as follows:

A request was made that the government should purchase the estate of the late Rt. Hon. C.C. Kingston for the purpose of a model suburb and for a soldier settlement. An alternative scheme was suggested for the purchase of the foreshore portion as a public reserve and a recreation park...

There was no fresh water in the vicinity for visitors, except the spring which ran through this land, and which was highly mineralised and possibly of medicinal value. The whole property was exceedingly valuable and included the best quarry in the district.

The Portland Cement Company negotiated for this quarry some years ago and was unable to obtain it... The corporation did not merely want a park for Brighton, they wanted a national park...

At the time of the Vaughan Government, the town-planner had drawn up designs for a model suburb to take in the whole of the Kingston Estate and the plans could still be utilised...

Subsequently, the Adelaide suburb was laid out by Lucy Kingston in 1921 on part sections 244-5, Hundred of Noarlunga, when it was described as 'the pick of the western coastline for natural beauty, elevation and scenic perfection...' Its Aboriginal name was *tulukudangk*.

Foundation of Kingston, SE

In 1858, there is a report on Mr A. Cooke and his departure for Lacepede Bay 'with a number of mechanics, labourers, etc, and all the requisite stores for commencing a new township on his property at Maria Creek to be called Kingston...' In 1858, the South-East town, known as **Kingston SE** since 1940, was laid out first as a private town by G.S. Kingston, who subdivided part of section 508, Hundred of Lacepede.

In November 1861, the government surveyed a town of **Kingston** and, in 1867, Messrs J. and A. Cooke subdivided portion of section 511 into the town of 'Lacepede' while, in April 1877, the government laid out 'Rosetown'. Thus, the Kingston of today is a conglomerate of those four towns

Kingston was peculiar in its composition and history for there were four townships rolled into one, or two Kingston's proper and two suburban towns all within a few yards of one another. One of the causes for this strange combination was that George Kingston, who owned the original township, wanted very high prices for allotments

Further Commemorative Nomenclature

The **Hundred of Bandon** in the County of Albert was proclaimed on 21 July 1898 and named in honour of Sir George S. Kingston who was born at Bandon, County Cork, Ireland. The name was noticed first in 1609 when, 'James I granted to Henry Becher the privilege of a Saturday's market and two fairs at the town lately built on the south side of the River Bandon.' It derives from the Gaelic *bean-dun* - 'bean hill'.

Georgetown, 11 km south of Gladstone, surveyed in 1869 by Conrad Wornum, was offered for sale on 15 September 1870 as **George Town**; it received its present designation on 5 April 1979. Its derivation is uncertain but, probably, it was named after Sir George Kingston, a member for the district in about 1870 when he won an election against Charles Mann.

Rodney Cockburn suggests it was named in memory of George Fisher who, with his brother Charles, once held the Bundaleer station, while in 1936 it was said the name 'was bestowed as a mark of loyalty to the reigning house of Great Britain and her dominions.' Of some significance is that three of the town's streets were named Fisher, Hurtle and Pitts - 'Hurtle' remind us of Sir J. Hurtle Fisher while E.W. Pitts was C.B. Fisher's manager.

A newspaper report said this about the infant town:

In the abstract [it] is a wretched place - it is guiltless of anything like useful ornament. No trees grow there - they know better... In summer it is... very hot and you swallow the dust in slices. In winter your boots have a small farm attached to each. Georgetown is celebrated for its fleas... it is said that they actually pulled a shearer out of bed one night...

Sir George Strickland Kingston's is remembered further by the **Hundred of Kingston**, in the County of Burra, proclaimed on 23 February 1860 and **Mount Kingston**, west of Lake Eyre North and **Kingston Terrace** In North Adelaide.

Mr Kingston also involved himself in subdividing land in the metropolitan area - in 1873, in association with R.B. Colley, he created **Clairville** in the Port Adelaide district and, as an extension, laid out **Farnham**, in partnership with F.J. Sanderson, in 1874.

Finally, **Sod Hut** takes its name from the 'Sod Hut Inn', leased by Daniel O'Leary (1815-1905) from G.S. Kingston in the 1840s. He purchased the freehold (section 21, Hundred of Koorunga) in 1852, when it was said to be 'a sorry halting place, it has been unroofed by the hands of wanton despoilers.' There is a record of the 'Sod Hut Mine' being worked in the early days of the Colony prior to the discovery of the Burra bonanza in 1845.

Newspaper References in respect of Sir George Kingston

A poem on G.S. Kingston in The Adelaide Punch, 19 October 1878, page 10.

The official opening of Kingston Park was reported in the Advertiser, 1 July 1929.

Information on the subdivision is in the Register, 5 May 1921, page 4c.

'Charles Cameron Kingston - A Family History' appears in the Register on 4 December 1922, page 10c.

The purchase by the government of what was to become 'Kingston Park' is reported in the Register, 8, 10 and 13 November 1924, pages 9f, 10h and 5b.

'New Pleasure Resort' is in the Register on 10 November 1924, page 10h; also see 6, 11 and 18 February 1926, pages 10h, 5d and 4c, 12, 14 and 17 February 1927, pages 10f, 8e-10d and 5c.

Photographs and information on Kingston Park are in the Chronicle, 19 February 1927, pages 39 and 48.

The official opening of Kingston Park is reported in the Advertiser, 1 July 1929, page 16c.

For an informative exchange of letters between George S. Kingston and George Fife Angas during 1869 on the 'Foundation of South Australia' see Advertiser, 28 December 1929, page 13g.

The retirement of G.S. Kingston is reported in the Register, 28 October 1880, page 4g; his death and an obituary are reported in the Register, 6 December 1880, pages 4g-5f, Observer, 11 December 1880, pages 988d-999a.

Postscript

In July 2012 Mr Peter Martin, a descendant of William Hodges, who was indentured to Colonel William Light forwarded to me autobiographical details of the said gentleman who was 'the last survivor of the *Rapid*'. They appear hereunder in an edited form:

The deceased, who came to- South Australia in the brig *Rapid* with Col. Light was the last survivor of the *Killant* and was well versed in the history of the province from its foundation. In the course of an interesting interview three or four years ago, Mr. Hodges remarked: Yes; we sailed from London on May 1, 1836, in the *Rapid*, the Commissioners' surveying vessel, to fix the site of the chief city in South Australia and, the best port in the vicinity.

I was 14 years and eight months old when I left home, and was to serve under Col. Light for three years. My indentures were drawn up in the Commissioners' office, Adelphi terrace, London. We came direct to South Australia, not calling at any ports, and arrived at Antechamber Bay, Kangaroo Island, on August 20 of the same year. That was a Saturday night. On the Sunday Capt. Martin, of the *John Pirie*, which was anchored at Kingscote, came down in a whaleboat and boarded our vessel.

On the Monday we set sail for Nepean Bay. There we found two other vessels, the names of which I forget, and a lot of people belonging to the South Australian Company, who had arrived some days before us. We lay there about a fortnight, during which time I had my fifteenth birthday.

When we had made our ship snug for coasting we sailed over to the mainland, landing wherever we could. During the time we were at Kangaroo Island we fell in with one of the islanders, and Col. Light engaged him and his two black women as interpreters, as Col. Light wanted to correspond with the blacks. One of the black women told us that there was a large river up the Gulf. She had not visited it herself, but had heard of it from the men belonging to her tribe, Encounter Bay. We found it after some difficulty, and it is the present Port.

We took our boats up the river. There were numerous ducks and black swans on the water, and we knocked some of them over with the oars and boathooks, and brought them aboard. On the first occasion we couldn't find the proper channel. We buoyed the entrance to it with casks, and Col. Light was so impressed with the place that he made up his mind that the settlement must be somewhere in the vicinity of where Adelaide now stands.

The First Surveyors - We sailed away to Kangaroo Island, and on our journey we saw a boat making for us somewhere off Noarlunga. Mr. George Kingston and Mr. John Morphett were in the boat, which belonged to one of the islanders. They told us that the *Cygnets* had arrived with the surveyors and the survey labourers. Among them were Capt. Finniss, as well as wives and children of some of the labourers. We brought them over to the mainland, and formed a temporary depot at Rapid Bay, under the charge of Mr. George Kingston. We left several men, together with their wives, there. It was there the first birth occurred.

The *Cygnets* was sent to Port Lincoln to await the arrival of the *Buffalo*, with Governor Hindmarsh on board. I often heard Col. Light say that Capt. Hindmarsh was strongly in favour of Port Lincoln being the place of settlement, and so it was expected that the *Buffalo* would make there. After we had brought our vessel up the Port, Col. Light finally decided that it should be the place of residence. There was no news of the *Cygnets* or of the *Buffalo*, so in the beginning of December we went to Port Lincoln. We found the *Cygnets* still lying there, but no Governor had arrived. On our journey back we sighted the *Tam o' Shanter*. We placed one of our officers, Mr. Pullen, afterwards Admiral Pullen, on board in charge of the *Tam o' Shanter*, and maneuvered her over to the present Port. We sailed ahead and they were to follow us. When we got as far as Schnapper Point we found that the *Tam o' Shanter* was not following. We went to see what detained the *Tam o' Shanter*. When we got aboard Mr. Pullen reported that Capt. Freeman had run the vessel on to the bar. Next morning Col. Light visited when Capt. Freeman said that she floated during the night. Col. Light said that Capt. Freeman should have hove his vessel off the bar and that he was responsible for the vessel being on shore. We spent Christmas in 1836 lying in Port Adelaide.

Then we were ordered to go to Sydney in the *Rapid* to fetch horses for the use of the Survey Department. There were no cattle here then of any sort. During the time we were away the surveyors were busy laying out the City of Adelaide. After we came back, the town being finished, they started to survey the preliminary sections that were purchased in England. The *Rapid* was sent home to report progress, and Mr. George Kingston was appointed to interview the Commissioners and to state how far things had gone on. I asked Col. Light to let me remain with him on shore instead of going home. During the time the vessel was away we were busy surveying the Port road and suburban sections between the city and the Port, and mapping out the harbour. That was the last work Col. Light did outside his office.

Resignation of Col. Light - We were camped on the Thebarton section when Mr. Kingston arrived back in the *Rapid*. Col. Light resigned office as Surveyor-General, and Mr. Kingston superseded thereto. When we were in Sydney we chartered a vessel to bring cattle down here. By this time we were allowed fresh meat two days a week - we had to go to the Government butcher, Mr. Crisp, for it. We were camped on the Thebarton section, on the bank of the river, and the men said we had better go and get an order for our meat. The men went to Col. Light, and he told them he would give them an order, that it was due, but that they would have to see Mr. Kingston, as he had resigned. Two of the men saw Mr. Kingston, who said - 'Col. Light has resigned, so you boys had better join me.' He took the names of the men, and asked them if there was anybody else. They said - 'There is young Bill Hodge's.' I was minding the tent. Mr. Kingston said - 'Oh, I must have him.' When they came home I told them that they had no business to put my name down, I think, as near as I can judge,

A couple of days afterwards the men felt uneasy and they prepared to go and see Col. Light as to what they were to do. I also went. I was the first one to go in to see him. He said he understood that my self and others had agreed to join Mr. Kingston. I made answer and said I had never seen Mr. Kingston, much less agreed to join his party. He told me that was false. I said if it was a lie I didn't tell it. He said if I wished my indentures cancelled I could have it done. I replied 'thank you; when will you do it?'

He said he would send them over Mr. James Hurtle Fisher and that it should be done at 2 o'clock that afternoon. I was summoned into their presence, and Mr. Fisher remarked - 'Light I don't think I can cancel these indentures without the consent of the father.' I was only a lad, and felt indignant at being told that I had spoken a falsehood, and said my father was a long way off, and that I was able and willing to get my living for myself. Mr. Fisher said 'You are; then on that condition I will cancel them.' And so my indentures were cancelled.

On the following morning Col. Light, finding that he had made a mistake, sent for me, but I was young and hot-headed, and took the silly advice of the oldest man among us, who growled out - 'I wouldn't go and see him again; he blamed you wrongly. Col. Light had said to me when we were in the field - 'Let me see, Hodges; you didn't get a town acre.'

I answered that I was away at Sydney getting horses at the time. Col. Light replied - 'Well, we must see and get you one.' Most of the men had one town acre, and one of them had two. If I had gone and seen Col. Light instead of taking the old man's advice I should have got a town acre. When you look back over the past you can see where you have made mistakes.

Hodge's Career - Well. I went with Mr. Kingston, and served under him in the Survey Department. After a while I was transferred to Mr. Simmons, surveyor. Then I went to the Survey Department under Mr. Cannon. [sic] It was about this time we had orders to go and survey Hack's special survey at Echunga.

We had a tent pitched on the acre about where the Laxmr [sic] League Hall is now in Hindley Street I was ordered to take two men by Mr. Cannon, [sic] and find a peg at the corner of South and West Terraces and chain down the Bay road - they used to call it the South road then - and relay [sic] out Dr. Everard's two sections. Dr. Everard and his son went with us. That was the last day's work I did for the Government.

I could not get on with Mr. Cannon [sic]. We had two or three tiffs, and I thought it was better for me to sever my connection with the department. Some days after that I articulated myself to Mr Catchlove and some builders. They were building the old original clubhouse in Hindley Street. I was working there with others, when Mrs. Williams, the proprietress, said to me, 'Dear me, William, what is that?' I said, 'Where?' looked out, and said it must be Buffalo Row.

A young man named Joseph Drew came from the workshop in Waymouth Street, and told me that Col. Light's place was burned down, also Mr. Fisher's. We went to the fire and I found that everything belonging to me had been destroyed, including clothes and all the money I had saved.

Col. Light's Grave - Yes; I saw Col-Light's coffin lowered into the grave in Light Square, above which the old monument stands.' There was a great procession of people at the funeral. There was nobody who did not like Col. Light; but he had many difficulties to contend with. You know Governor Hindmarsh thought the capital should have been at Port Lincoln.

At the Diggings - The longest spell I have been away from South Australia is 22 months; but I have always considered South Australia my home. The week after I got back from California we got news of the goldfield discovery in Victoria. I left my wife and family here, and went to Mount Alexander goldfield. I did fairly well. I had a party of six men and a boy besides myself. I was boss of the party. In Christmas week of 1851 I washed, cleaned, weighed, and shared with my mates 52 lb. 10 oz. of gold. I had too many mates though. I remember two men leaving for Fryer's Creek, and giving their hole to us. We had not gone in 18 inches before we got gold. That is included in the 52 lb. 10 oz.

When I returned I entered into business. The first house I kept was the Foundry Hotel. I went to Tothill Creek farming, and I kept the Royal Oak up there. I have kept a number of houses in the city.

Willing to Work at Eighty-one - But most unfortunate of late, what with one thing and another. I have lost every thing I had. I am 81 years of age next birthday. I was independent 40 years ago, but I lost all in speculation and business. I have always worked hard for my living, but now I have no money to go into business. I could do light work behind a counter, but I am too old for manual labour I thank God that my health is so good at my time of life. Of those who came out on the *Rapid* the only two left alive are William Jacob and myself.' (Mr. Jacob subsequently died).

The First Race Meeting - 'I was present at the first racing meeting at Thebarton, in January. 1838. An entire called Black Jack that we brought- down from Sydney ran there. I remember Mr. James Hurtle Fisher coming out of the tent at the races and saying: 'Here you are Thorn (that was John Thorn) and Hodges: ask your friends to have a glass of wine with you.'

During the last few years of his life Mr. Hodges resided at Norwood.