

A Social History of Thebarton

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This manuscript was never published by my father or subject to editorial review.

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Chapter 1

The Aborigines of the Adelaide Plains

Shame upon us! We take their land and drive away their food by what we call civilisation 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, page 6e.)

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 representatives of a light-skinned active race 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 good humour and good nature.

He goes on to say that peculiarities of language, tradition and system of kinship support this theory and have led to various suppositions regarding the origin of the Australian Aborigines, perhaps the most favoured being the assumption that they are 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 modern anthropologist, the late Norman B. Tindale, has shown that Rev. Taplin's 'theory' was no more than guess-work - 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 in 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...

They seldom remained many weeks in one locality but wandered about in detached groups or separate families; frequently the whole tribe would come together and barter such commodities as each family possessed. In the evenings past occurrences were related and, by the male adults, future prospects and plans considered. At dawn all implements were sharpened when the young and vigorous males and females would start out in search for sustenance - the male after animals and the female after plant food; the sick and aged remained at home in care of one or two healthy 'elders'.

Occasionally, many tribes assembled for either conviviality or war - if for the latter a battle would ensue at daybreak. These contests were cold-blooded and cruel and took place not to avenge past injuries, but simply to manifest the activity of young men of different tribes. These battles, viewed by bipartisan spectators, sometimes lasted three or four hours when scarcely a word was spoken, except an intermittent shrill cry when someone narrowly escaped a spear.

The ceremonial rituals of the tribe were numerous. The males passed through three particular stages, each accompanied by a specific ceremony. At ten years, boys were covered with blood drawn from the arm of an adult in the ceremony called wilya kundarti. Circumcision was done at the age of twelve and from this time a wudna was worn as a public covering. At the same time the head was smeared with grease and ochre, an opossum band tied around the forehead and this was worn until he had recovered from the tribal elder's surgery.

Wilgaru was the final ceremony - the body was tattooed and the participant's body drenched with blood drawn from the arm of a burka (or senior of the tribe). A kadlotti (a girdle) of human hair was worn around the waist thus indicating that he was permitted the use of all tribal implements and weapons.

Within the tribes there were 'sorcerers' or 'wise men' who by charms and magic ceremonies tended to the 'spiritual' needs of their communities and their roles in the aspect of death and healing were omnipresent:

Most deaths, apart from those of the very young and very old, were ascribed to sorcery and a variety of rituals designed to establish the identity of the sorcerer, accompanied the burial ceremony... In most areas there was an individual considered especially gifted in the practice of magic and sorcery. These native doctors, or 'clever men' as they are sometimes called, went through a special process of initiation in which they learnt and developed their magical powers.

In the Western Desert, the native doctor received his power from the Rainbow Serpent, an important supernatural being associated with rain and deep water-holes. In the Murray/South-East the native doctor was "made" by a spirit inserting a magical substance, such as quartz crystal, into the postulant's side. Native doctors were credited with great spiritual powers to heal the sick, foretell the future, send their totemic spirits out of their bodies and, in the South-East, to ascend to the sky and communicate with the ancestral being and spirits of the dead.☐

One local observer has left his impressions of the various palliative measures employed by the tribal 'doctors':

Internal pains, inflammatory or otherwise, are attributed to paitya (vermin in general)... The remedy consists in applying the mouth to the surface where the pain is seated, and the paitya or blood sucked out, and a bunch of gum leaves waved over the surface. For head-ache, pains in the abdomen and extremities, other modes are sometimes adopted - the sick person lies stretched on the ground while another presses with his feet or hands the aching part, or cold water is sprinkled over, and the gum leaves used as before.

Bloodletting is occasionally adopted to relieve weight and oppression in the system. The most rational system obtains in the adjusting of fractured bones of the legs in syphilitic diseases. In the former cases, after the bones have been placed in proper apposition, splints and bandages are applied in the European manner, and, in the latter, wood-ashes, or the astringent bark of the wattle, are applied to the surface of the sores. Superficial wounds are left to cure themselves.

Chest infections seem to have mainly been treated with the steam bath technique, although with several possible plant sources of steam. Muscular and rheumatic pain was mainly relieved through the application of various plants that [drew] blood away from the damaged area.

Some of the medicines listed here, for example Sheoak Apple and Sow Thistle, are important food sources as well as medicines. Both plants were described by the Aboriginal informants as "blood medicines"... Some medicines, such as the "friends" of Aboriginal healers, were used in a fashion that place more emphasis on the ritual than on the organic base of the cure.²

From the closing months of 1836 their use of the land, together with customs going back for thousands of years, was 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 Aboriginals, 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 avoid scrupulously 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 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:

1. To guard them against personal outrage and violence.
2. To protect them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary right to soil, wherever such right may be found to exist.
3. 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.
4. 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 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.

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 sluggish state... Why do the Government inveigle us to these distant climes without some protection against these wretches?'

For about the first three years of European settlement the indigenous Kurna tribe, 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.

However, this initial euphoria was short-lived. The Commissioners' edict in respect of land acquisition was not implemented and the natives became increasingly hostile. The colonist acquired their lands and drove off the game while the settlers' stock began to destroy plants and shrubs which were a valuable source of food. The Colonial Secretary, Mr Gouger, observed wryly:

No legal provision by way of 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.^[2]

Many attempts were made to 'Christianise' the Kurna; 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 – 'they are satisfied with the tradition of their forefathers' .^[2]

A similar experiment was conducted in 1838 when the Government had a row of pise huts erected on the North Park Lands for the accommodation of the Kurna tribe 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' for the natives merely used the quarters as a wind break and chose to sleep outside 'in their customary umbrageous dormitories.'

In 1842 the inhabitants of the village of Thebarton were outraged when Mr Peter Cook, a local butcher, had his watch stolen. In due course Monyitya, a member of the Kurna tribe, was arraigned before the dispensers of Her Majesty's colonial justice and found guilty of theft.

A public flogging was prescribed at the Adelaide gaol and at the appointed hour several hundred citizens who possessed, no doubt, strong stomachs and a sadistic bent, gathered before the flogging rack among whom 'we regretted to observe a number of women'; some, no doubt, were from Thebarton.

Having been secured to the triangle [he] received fifty lashes of a cat-o'-nine-tails, which he bore with commendable fortitude... The operator then gave him some water... At the command of the Sheriff, twenty-five more lashes were administered... after which he was conducted away by two of his tribe...

Our reporter has subsequently to see 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.

Perhaps it is a trite comment, but it would appear that it was impossible for the Kaurna 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.'

The Kaurna tribe population sank from 650 in 1841 to 150 in 1856 and a striking example of the 'ethnic cleansing' of this embattled, and now extinct, people is in the following quotation from an Adelaide newspaper which is a positive indictment of the indifference which 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.

So, while the Kaurna tribe and others throughout South Australia were flogged, degraded, abused and socially ignored, prior to all but disappearing from the face of the earth, the village of Thebarton grew slowly upon the old tribal land. To its foundation and the trials and tribulations of early residents we now turn.

Chapter 2

Colonel William Light

Surveyor of Adelaide

He 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.)

In Light Square, Adelaide lies the mortal remains of a man who, in the opinion of his compatriots, 'was as brave as any other who ever wore the uniform of a British officer.' Following his

appointment as the founding Governor of South Australia, Sir John Hindmarsh recommended to the English authorities that Colonel William Light be appointed as Resident Commissioner in the fledgling colony, but due to the whims of Robert Torrens, Chairman of the South Australian Commissioners, he was offered, and accepted, the post of Surveyor General. (1)

Colonel Palmer, a South Australian Commissioner, takes up the story – ‘Mr Montefiore and myself were deputed the duty of superintending and fitting out... of the little brig the *Rapid* previous to her sailing from this country with the first surveyors to form a settlement on the South Coast of New Holland. Although the responsibility rested with us, the whole credit... was due to our gallant friend Colonel Light, our only duty being to urge the taking of a larger quantity of stores and instruments than that which he himself proposed, so anxious was he to meet the economical views of the South Australian Board, and of conducting the expedition upon the strictest economy.

‘Upon taking leave of my poor friend... a few hours previous to her sailing, the last words he said to me were, “ Now, I trust to your sending us out some split peas and a little pork, in case we may be unable to catch kangaroos, or too much engaged to spare the time from our surveying duties, for my experience during the Peninsular war nothing kept so well or was so nutritious...”.’ (2)

The *Rapid*, of 162 tons, sailed on 4 May 1836 and arrived at Kangaroo Island on 19 August 1836. Among Light's instructions were to explore the coast line in an endeavour to find a suitable location for the main settlement.

At Port Lincoln he found ‘no requisites whatever’ for a site for a capital - the land appeared poor and barren and the only available water was a spring below high-water mark. As to Encounter Bay he opined – ‘Sand alone can never preserve a clear channel against the scud of the sea, and particularly such as most inevitably be thrown on the coast about [that place].’ (3)

Proceeding northwards he examined the creek which today abuts the modern-day Port Adelaide; to his eyes the plain spreading to the east ‘presented a most attractive appearance, resembling English park scenery. It sloped backwards for several miles to a line of shady hills intersected by picturesque valleys, terminating in the elevated range of Mount Lofty.’ (4)

As he considered the harbour ‘beautiful and safe’ he all but determined a location on the plain as the position for a future city. Earlier, on 6 November 1836, George S. Kingston, William G. Field, first mate of the *Rapid*, and John Morphett had discovered a river; it was subsequently dubbed the River Torrens by Governor Hindmarsh on 3 June 1837.

On Thursday, 29 December 1836, George S. Kingston, the Deputy Surveyor General, ‘joined Colonel Light at his camp on the river... when we spent some time in examining the locality which I had recommended to him for the site of the city as far east as King William Street, and expressed himself fully satisfied with the situation. The Governor and Mr Fisher came up to the camp in the afternoon. Colonel Light informed them that he had decided on fixing the site ... on the spot I had pointed out...

'The next morning... Colonel Light accompanied the Governor and walked with him to examine the site... The Governor objected strongly to the site as being 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 1 1/2 miles to the westward... After the Governor's departure [Colonel Light] informed me of what had taken place. We spent the evening in talking over the matter, when I expressed my regret for his thus allowing his better judgement to be biased by the opinions of one so much his inferior.'

On 31 December 1836 Colonel Light spent some time with Kingston in thoroughly examining the banks of the river 'and the plain near our camp, 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 me and which he had determined on the Thursday before, and much to my satisfaction decided finally to fix the site as first determined on by him... Thus ended the first act in the foundation of the city...' (5)

Both before and after the arrival of Governor Hindmarsh Colonel Light 'and his gallant friends Field and Pullen' had many difficulties to contend with - Colonel Palmer continues – 'They, however, commenced their arduous duties under the direction and support of their indefatigable leader with a zeal and assiduity worthy of the country from whence they were deputed. Although Colonel Light was supplied with such provisions and instruments as his little brig could carry, his exchequer was but limited, and (notwithstanding all his deputy surveyors and surveying labourers were promised wages at a certain rate previous to their embarkation) shortly after he had commenced his operations on shore the funds placed at his disposal by the Commissioners became exhausted.

'He then induced the men to continue their duties by receiving payments from time to time in notes-of-hand of his own after all the ready money belonging to himself which he chanced to have with him had been advanced by him for that purpose, and he completed the survey of the Town of Adelaide by his credit with the Banking Company.

'Upon the arrival of the Governor... he was still compelled to continue the same mode of paying the men, who, from the great confidence they placed in their leader, accepted this mode of payment. The South Australian Company's agent, also placing the greatest possible reliance on Colonel Light's honour and integrity, cashed these notes-of-hand for the workmen, or supplied them with necessaries in lieu of them to a certain extent, consequently at that important period the surveys were in danger of coming to a suspension, and in that case the formation of the colony might have failed.

'[He then] applied to Mr Fisher for aid at this important crisis. The latter stated his regret that he had no money at his command for Colonel Light's purposes, but mentioned having just received from the Commissioners in England some pork and peas. This he was ordered to sell in the colony, and he therefore offered to place his pork at the Colonel's disposal.

'The Manager of the South Australian Company being most anxious to forward Colonel Light's views, and to assist him in every possible manner, agreed to purchase a large quantity of this pork at 20 per cent profit upon the invoice price, as ordered by the Secretary to the Commissioners, expecting it would be required for the purposes of the Company, whalers, or other persons, viz., 400 Germans from Bremen, whom they were sending out to South Australia. He then gave Colonel Light and additional credit for £500, and took his notes-of-hand from the surveying labourers to that amount, and then the survey went on...'

Despite intermittent harassment and disapproval from both the Governor and influential citizens 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; thirty eight 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. The outcome of the boom was disappointment for the majority, and in witnessing of the resale some four or five years afterwards at prices not reaching one-fifth of those rates. (6)

The human side of Colonel Light is exemplified by an interesting snippet of history concerning a Mr Corney who came out to South Australia 'with the survey party under Mr Kingston':

When the survey of Adelaide was being commenced all the officers and men were grouped around Colonel Light who said to Corney "Now, Corney, undo the chain and if you live to be an old man you can say you measured the first town acre..."(7)

Douglas Pike proffers the following opinion of George. S. Kingston, Colonel Light's deputy – '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.'(8)

One of his underlings, the surveyor R.G. Symonds, obviously supported these sentiments when he wrote the following satirical poem:

On Reading the Mystified Square Controversy in the South Australian 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.GL* 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 South Australian Gazette, November, 1838 (9)

Colonel Light was of a similar persuasion for in May 1837 he informed William G. Wakefield, the 'father' of the South Australian colonisation system that his deputy '[was] totally incapable of surveying - of triangulating a country he knows nothing. He is much worse than any of the junior assistants and whom he used to abuse so much to me...'

During the ensuing months Gov Hindmarsh continued to harangue Light while at the same time making conflicting statements to his superiors in England. On 1 November 1837 he addressed Lord Glenelg in a tranquil manner:

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. (10)

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. (11) The evil genius behind this astounding decision was George Stevenson who, as editor of the 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 and as Geoffrey Dutton succinctly remarks, 'It is hard to say who was the original liar, Walker or Stevenson.' (12) 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.(13)

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 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 gleefully accepted by Gov Hindmarsh who proceeded to seek permission from the Home authorities to remove the capital to Encounter Bay! Light was incensed at this underhand move and proceeded methodically and logically to demolish the spurious suggestions as to the worth of the lauded site.

A further 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 Lyn(e)doch 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 'which the blackguard Editor of the Gazette laid hold of to hint at something like a trick.'(14)

In 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 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 is diametrically opposed to that of the trigonometrical method and, as to efficacy, is open to question. However, in their wisdom and following professional advice from Lt. Dawson they acceded to the Company's request.

Lurking in the background in London at this time was G.S. 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... 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. 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...

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.

However, 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, Stevenson of the SA Gazette & Colonial Register, published a report of the event; a precis 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.

The *Rapid* arrived from England on 21 June 1838 bringing further vilification together with instructions for the beleaguered Surveyor-General; he 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.

Light's loyal band of surveyors, with the exception of three members, resigned in July 1838. 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.

After his resignation Light went into business with B.T. Finniss when their firm advertised itself as being willing 'to negotiate all business connected with the selection and agency of land in this colony.'

Thus, Kingston took over and almost immediately Surveyor Nixon resigned and lambasted him – 'Your manner was altogether that of a master towards his slave than as the conduct of one gentleman to another.' Gov Gawler, following an application from Kingston for the vacant position, 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 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 "the 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 had 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...' (15)

However, a remedy of all the past injustices heaped upon Light was in Gov 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 Gov 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.'(16)

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. (17)

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.¶ Perhaps it is fitting to conclude this sorry saga by quoting from Light's Brief Journal which, indeed, would be more than an appropriate epitaph for this remarkable man:

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.

In the next chapter we discuss Colonel Light's final days in South Australia but before doing so it must be said that his plan of Adelaide has not been without its critics over the years; for example, following a lecture given by Mr E. Phillips Dancker to the Institute of Architects, in which he was

critical of some aspects of Adelaide's design, several correspondents added their considered opinions:

Hard facts disprove the claim that Colonel Light was a superb town planner... The failure comes in the subdivision. Streets should run across the compass, so that both sides shall have their fair share of sun and shade. Long, straight streets are uninteresting, and, in a hot windy land, are undesirable. The placing of the squares has resulted in their inevitable crucifixion by traffic requirements...

I deplore lost opportunities such as the fine boulevard which might have overlooked the river, and the lack of a single block on which public building might be placed to advantage.

The Bible is my warrant. The "New Jerusalem" which is to come down out of heaven, is described as lying "four-square the length as large as the breadth", and Adelaide "lieth four-square" and the length is as large as the breadth... (18)

1. Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent* (1967 edition), p. 105, *Register*, 6 April 1911, p. 6d.
2. An 1841 letter from Colonel Palmer to George Fife Angas cited in the *Register*, 23 February 1874, p. 6a.
3. William Light, *Brief Journal*, pp.36-37.
4. *Register*, 9 March 1904, p. 5c.
5. George S. Kingston in a letter to the editor of the *Register*, 21 May 1877, p. 6e - author's emphasis. In *Founder of a City*, Geoffrey Dutton observes - "[Kingston's claim] is as reasonable as for a reconnaissance officer to claim that he has won the battle because he informed the 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..."
6. *Register*, 26 March 1910, p. 6b, *The Mail*, 16 January 1926, p. 1a.
7. *Register*, 20 January 1883, p. 5b; also see *Register*, 24 January 1883 (supp), page 1c.)
8. Pike, op cit, p. 108.
9. *Advertiser*, 5 February 1864, page 3c.
10. Cited in Dutton, op cit, p. 252.
11. Hindmarsh to Glenelg, 1 November 1837. Cited in Dutton, op cit, p. 234.
12. *2nd report of Select Committee*, Appendix, p. 162. Dutton, *ibid*.
13. Dutton, op cit, p. 235.

14. Ibid, p. 236.
15. Ibid, p. 244.
16. Light Papers in Mortlock Library (PRG 1), Register, 16 June 1838, p. 4a, *Register*, 8 August 1901, p. 6d (interview with William Jacob), Dutton, op cit, Chapter XVIII.
17. Dutton, op cit, pp. 273-274 and 288.
18. Ibid, pp. 276-277.
19. See *Advertiser*, 8, 9 and 13 November 1934, pp. 18e, 28c and 18c, *The News*, 2 November 1934, p. 5d.

Chapter 3

Colonel William Light - His Final Days

Retiring into private life Colonel Light attempted to find solace in the activities of his surveying partnership with B.T. Finniss and, despite his deteriorating health, he participated in a special survey for the South Australian Company in the Lyn(e)doch Valley in December 1838. However, by 21 January 1839 he was forced to return to Adelaide following several collapses in the severe heat.

At this time Light had contracted with William Gandy, brother of his de facto wife, Maria, to build a home on section 1 of the provisional survey which, as previously related, had been allotted to him. While awaiting its completion he continued to reside in a flimsy and inflammable hut on North Terrace. One night at 2 pm the hut of his next door neighbour burst into flame; the breeze freshened and within a short time Light's dwelling was an inferno. Nothing was saved except the clothes they stood up in.

In a macabre gesture the Governor invited the despondent Light to Government House for a meal; he was less than amused:

He had never asked me inside his home until I was unfortunately burnt out of my own, when he knew that I had not saved a shirt or a pair of stockings, in short nothing... The next day he sent me a Governor's personal card of invitation to dinner - of course I refused.

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... (1)

Shortly after midnight on 6 October 1839 he died, aged fifty-four, and a few days later the editor of 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. (2)

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 foundation 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' but 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.' (3)

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.'

Accordingly, it was evident that action, both at the government and civic level, was necessary in order to perpetuate the late Surveyor-General's memory; however, from the outset it was evident that public movements are similar in one respect in that 'renewed interest alternates with unsympathetic lassitude.'

A preliminary meeting was held in the Town Hall on 15 January 1892 when the Mayor, Mr F.W. Bullock, presided over a representative gathering which decided that a public appeal be made for funds to erect a replacement for the existing edifice in Light Square. On 25 November 1892 tenders were called and by April 1893 twenty-three designs had been received; 'drawings in pen and ink, sepia and a few quite adequately developed' were brought before the committee but:

The nearest approach to [Light's] physical presentment as far as we know was that of a sculptor, who had modelled our first surveyor in plaster of Paris in correct military custom... The pose was easy and natural and the carriage of the head good, and the suggestiveness of the hand pointing as indicating the city... was a happy idea.

All suggestions were rejected and the project then fell into years of apathy; however, it is apparent that the committee approved of the 'hand pointing' idea. By July 1897 public contributions had amounted to £400 with a further £500 promised by the Adelaide City Council while, previously, the government of Sir John Downer had promised a gift of £1,000 but it later transpired that "it was placed on the estimates but afterwards struck out."

By 1901 another wave of action flowed over the community and a cry went up that the obvious time to lay a foundation stone for the project was in April 1902 'on the same date as the memorial at Victor Harbor' to commemorate the meeting between Captain Matthew Flinders and the Frenchman, Captain Nicolas Baudin. This ideal foundered quickly.

By 1904 the committee had come to realise that two projects should be undertaken, viz., 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 November 1904 tenders were called for the removal of the 'old city landmark' while, at the same time, Mr J.J. Leahy's tender for the erection of the replacement was accepted. Messrs A.W. Dobbie & Co did the casting for the bronze work, Mr F. Burmeister the engraving, while Mr F.H. Herring was entrusted to polish the monolith in his factory on West Terrace.

It was placed in position on 14 June 1905 and unveiled by the Mayor on 21 June; the statue, sculptured by Mr W. Birnie Rhind, ARSA, of Edinburgh, Scotland was unveiled by the Governor, Sir George Le Hunte, on 21 November 1906 at a site in the 'centre of King William Street 30 feet south of Franklin Street alignment.'(4)

In 1919 a wreath from the first Australian Town Planning Conference held in Adelaide in 1917 was attached to the statue; during 1938 it was shifted to Montefiore Hill to a place now known as "Light's Vision" and 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 which 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. (5)

Theberton Hall and Theberton Cottage

He named the house on section 1 "Theberton (sic) Cottage"; it was 'a substantial brick house, containing four large and lofty rooms, one underground and a back kitchen - commands a fine view of the bay [...]... a stable, with saddle room - and a well of capital water.' 'In front of the cottage there was a flagstaff made of a spar from the *Rapid*.'

In 1793, William Light had been sent to England from Penang and put into the care of Mr George Doughty, a trusted friend of his father, of Theberton Hall, Suffolk, east of Ipswich; it was the fond memories of this period of his life which prompted the move to name his home 'Theberton'. Its present day rendition as Thebarton is credited to a typographical error when his Brief Journal was published and, indeed, many conveyancing documents of allotments in Thebarton from 1839 have the name spelt in its two forms.

In 1928 the then owner of Theberton Hall, Mrs Doughty-Whyte, offered the property to the Adelaide City Council, Fortunately, a member of the Council, Mr Matters, was in England at the time and with the assistance of an architect inspected the hall which was found to be in a bad

state of repair and owing to the lack of drainage facilities, water supply, electric light and gas the Council, in due course, graciously declined the offer.

As for Colonel Light's cottage in Thebarton, it changed hands many times over the years and upon being purchased by Colton, Palmer & Preston Ltd it was demolished and in August 1927 the Mayor of Thebarton, Mr H.S. Hatwell, unveiled a memorial tablet at the site in the vicinity of Cawthorne and Winwood Streets; it has since been relocated within the grounds of the SA Brewing Company.

Prior to its demolition attempts had been made to preserve it but many factors worked against interested parties; many letters to the press expressed the belief that public sentiment was being exploited by the owners of the property; further, rumours were abroad that Colonel Light had not seen the cottage, nor had he lived in it, and in other ways doubts were thrown on its historical interest - this was probably due possibly to the considerable additions made to it between 1841 and 1879.

To conclude our remarks on William Light it would seem proper to introduce the reader to Miss Maria Gandy, his housekeeper/de facto wife. In the early 1830s Light often frequented the village of Twyford, a little north of Southampton, and when the *Rapid* sailed for South Australia she accompanied him; she was then aged 24 years. Her father was a labourer but by her gracious manner she endeared herself to the crew and passengers of the ship who invariably described her as a 'Lady'.

However, in some sections of colonial society she was a pariah for the simple reason that the Colonel's wife, Mary, was still alive and the relationship was abhorrent to some pious souls, including a jaundiced clergy. In a comprehensive editorial in the *Register* in 1904 on the life and times of the revered Colonel Light the following brief extract is indicative of the moral suasions of the times:

His beautiful and accomplished wife... did not accompany him to South Australia... He must have missed the touch of a lovely wife's hand in the weary weeks which immediately preceded his death. (6)

His beloved companion of some seven years was the sole beneficiary under the provisions of his will; in 1840 she married Dr George Mayo and seven years later died from tuberculosis contracted whilst nursing her late partner.

We now turn to the foundation of the village of Thebarton and an analysis of the lives of its inhabitants.

1. The primary sources for the above exposition are to be found in Geoffrey Dutton, *Founder of a City*, Chapter XX.
2. See *Register*, 12 October 1839 for the editorial, an account of Light's funeral and an advertisement in

respect of a memorial.

3. Register, 24 July 1841, p. 3e, 18 and 22 February 1843, pp. 2f and 2d, 23 September 1843, p. 1b, 12 June 1844, p. 3d, 30 September 1846, p. 4c, 31 July 1854, p. 3c.
4. Register, 16 January 1892, p. 6c, 28 April 1892, pp. 4g and 5b, 1 October 1892, p. 2a (supp.), 25 November 1892, p. 5c, 15 April 1893, p. 1f (supp.), 21 July 1897, p. 6d, 31 July 1901, p. 4f, 15 August 1901, p. 9h, 19 September 1903, p. 9c, 25 February 1904, p. 7h, 13 April 1904, p. 4 f, 10 and 31 May 1904, pp. 7c and 7i, 18 and 19 October 1904, pp. 4f and 4f, 12 November 1904, p. 6d -f, 19 January 1905, p. 4e, 1 and 10 February 1905, pp. 4i and 4d, 13 May 1905, p. 10e, 15, 20, 21, 22 and 28 June 1905, pp. 4f, 4d, 7, 7 and 7c, 31 October 1905, p. 4f, 21 and 27 November 1906, pp. 4e and 4f.
5. Register, 21 June 1905, p. 7.
6. Register, 12 November 1904, p. 6b.

Chapter 4

The Village of Thebarton

Upon his removal to Thebarton 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. (1)

Secondly, as previously stated, he was in acute financial difficulty and, in attempt to alleviate this matter, decided to subdivide his land; 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.'(2)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. (3)

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 Appendix A 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...' (4)

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 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 in Appendix A 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. (5)

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 in Chapter Seven. 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.

Henry Shearing (1831-1908) has left an evocative account of his parent's 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. (6)

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...

Later, the same correspondent wrote on the subject with further insight and compassion, - the comment he makes on 'wealth' is more than appropriate today when one considers the plundering of the nation's wealth by irresponsible, greedy and predatory "entrepreneurs", including banks, during the 1980s; the poor and underprivileged, of course, still remain in our society in spite of statements emanating from politicians in rash and ill-considered pre-election promises.

Indeed, there would appear to be no argument against the proposition that, over the past decade, social mores have been abandoned and the pursuit of profit put before the long-established precept of accountability:

If the poor had clean healthy houses to live in there would be less sickness, misery, drunkenness and crime, better morals and consequent increased happiness and prosperity...

All wealth is wasted that does not honour God and benefit man... but no real good can be accomplished until the poor have improved houses to dwell in; for as a clean soul cannot exist in a vicious body, neither can religion or morality thrive in filthy hovels.

Home is, as it were, a sacred well, whose waters give life and happiness... Building grand churches or recklessly giving alms does little good, because so many of the poor make the public house their church... (7)

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. (8)

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... (9)

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. (10)

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.' (11) 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. (Later hotels are discussed in Chapter Seven.)

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. (12)

In *The Nature of History*, the author, Arthur Marwick, says – 'We cannot escape our history. Our lives are governed by what happened in the past, our decisions by what we believe to have happened. Without a knowledge of history, man and society would run adrift, a rudderless craft on the uncharted sea of time.' (13)

To further that article of historical belief, in the following chapters we analyse in detail many social matters which concerned our ancestors, not only in Thebarton, but throughout the length and breadth of South Australia.

1. Cited in Ingrid Srubjen, *Town of Thebarton* (unpublished), p. 2.
2. *Register*, 23 February 1839, p. 6b.
Colonel Light created 24 one-acre allotments. Three of them fronting the Port Road were sold. It has been recorded that one of the purchasers was George Gandy - this is incorrect. During his lifetime Col Light had agreed to sell to that gentleman but on 11 December 1839 'Miss Maria Gandy by direction of George Gandy' sold the lot in question to Thomas Toole who, in turn, sold to Patrick McCarron in 1849 who built the Squatters Arms Hotel thereon - see Application no. 8215 in the General Registry Office.
2. See Application no. 11438; for the other three sales see Applications nos. 15363, 15184 and 8215. The balance of the land, excluding that included in 'Thebarton', comprising 97 acres, was brought under the Real Property Act in 1877 prior to 'Southwark' being laid out upon it.
3. The statement made elsewhere (see, eg, *Between the City and the Sea*, p. 19) in respect of the advertisement of 23 February 1839, viz., that 'prices of the twenty-four blocks which were offered ranged from £40 to £80 and were quickly taken up', is not substantiated by records in the General Registry Office, as noted in the previous paragraph, and in the 'Hundreds' and 'Township' books in the Lands Titles Office.
4. The quotation is from *The Thebarton Story*, unpublished manuscript held by the Corporation of Thebarton. Information on Great Tom o' Lincoln Hotel is in Application no. 11438 in the General Registry Office.

5. Cited in Ingrid Srubjen, *Town of Thebarton* (unpublished), Chapter Two, p. 4.
6. *Register*, 7 April 1868, page 3g; also see 5 and 12 May 1868, pages 3h and 3c, 5 June 1869 page 3d, Peter Donovan, *Between the City and the Sea*, pp.19-20. Author's emphasis.
7. Srubjen, op cit, Chapter Two, p. 14.

8. Cited in Margaret Hopton, *John Reynell of Reynella*,

- p. 86. *Register*, 26 October 1844, p. 3a.
9. Application no. 8215 in the General Registry Office.
10. Thebarton Heritage Survey - Draft Report, p. 19.
11. *Cyclopaedia of South Australia*.
12. Cited in Peter Donovan, *Between the City and the Sea*, p. xvi.

Chapter 5

Housing, Domestic Life and Leisure Activities

We simply uphold the fact that home influence and early surroundings mould the character and sway the temperament more than priest or sage, teacher or philanthropist, ever can, with all their schemes and appliances to boot.

(*Advertiser*, 10 March 1877, page 4d.)

Introduction

There is no doubt that the early settlers evinced great boldness in coming to South Australia, for it was no light undertaking for men and women, with their children, to leave the comforts and convenience of civilisation to settle in a country whose geographical position was not very generally understood and of whose productive powers nothing was known; they had their privations, their disappointments and their losses which they met bravely.

In respect of their houses, an early critic in South Australia stated quite vehemently that the English race, wherever it may emigrate, would persist, 'in spite of all reason to the contrary', in building in a style which had persisted for many decades; viz., 'a right-angled stiff, rigid square front, with a regular row of grim windows; a grim door exactly in the centre, a roof which is neither high enough or low enough.' Further, the walls were invariably too thin for the extreme heat of summer while windows were left exposed to the sun's rays.(1)

Upon arrival in Adelaide those artisans and labourers without contracts for employment in the colony were housed in Emigration Square located on the Park Lands at the end of Hindley Street. 'Brought from the discomforts of shipboard, [they were] lodged in a square of not exceeding ten feet, exposed to wind, water, heat and cold...; often into the same small square are crammed two families, evincing the great regard paid by the authorities to decency and general comfort, sadly destroying morality and engendering in the habitus from many steaming carcasses, diseases, miseries and death.'

It consisted of a 'good number of weatherboard houses which had been brought from England in framework. They were fixed on brick, about a foot from the ground, and had strong board floors and gabled ends, with the door and window facing west and east... The hospital, the dispensary and the resident doctor's quarters were in the centre of the square.' (2)

From these surroundings they ventured forth each day in search of work and as soon as their finances would permit newspapers were scanned, land agents consulted and the task of providing shelter for the family proceeded.

Housing

According to the architect Daniel Garlick (1818-1902), who arrived in the Katherine Stewart Forbes in 1837, 'there were as many architects as houses as every settler planned and built his own residence.' The Garlick family's first home was built of gum logs - square blocks of turf were employed for walling-up between the uprights. The rafters were secured from the pine forests where Enfield now stands and the Reedbeds supplied the roofing material; doors and windows were constructed from some ship fittings. Eventually the home was purchased by the Government as a residence for the first governor of the gaol.

In a short time reed and mud walls were abandoned and 'what were known as "pizey" walls were introduced by a man named "Pizey" Nicholls.' A wooden frame was used for their construction and when the subsoil was mixed with water to a certain consistency it was thrown in between the boards and left until it set thoroughly, when the framework was raised higher and the operation repeated. (3)

By 1839 brickmakers were operating at Thebarton and Hindmarsh and 'with plenty of limestone available for burning and an abundant supply of sand... in the bed of the Torrens, better classes of habitations began to spring up.'

One builder was critical of the colonial brick and condemned it as 'being a pale half-burnt description. They were, as a chemist would say, "soluble in water"... There are a few London or Cowley brickmakers here [and they] alone seem to possess the art of making hard, durable bricks...'

Early stone houses were built of 'round, rubbly limestone, with untempered mortar and badly founded." Later, the use of squared stone and better bricks and mortar became general, the most economic material for walls being "the compact stone found near Brownhill Creek.' (4)

Few of the wooden houses sent out from England answered the expectations of the importers or fulfilled the promise of the builders, and most became infested with white ants. In her reminiscences Mrs Foreman of Thebarton recalled that in 1839 newcomers lived in 'single-roomed cottages built of hardwood palings with earth floors; others were pise or shingle.' (5)

As is the case today there were always self-proclaimed experts on hand to advise the supposed unwary in respect of real estate and appendages for, in 1845, a local artisan proffered some advice to expectant house-builders:

1. Take care that the [surveyor/builder] does not persuade you that the best site is the lowest part of the land.

2. Insist upon the ground floor being placed at least four inches above the ground level.
3. If joists and boards are used, strew quick lime plentifully between the joints as a preservative against white ants.
5. Look to the proportions of the opening of windows and those of the door/or doors; there is a rule extant whereby these proportions are adjusted; but the artisans here seem to have forgotten it.
6. Use good seasoned timber for the Australian cedar, as also the stringy bark and gum, sell so readily that the vendors are as unable as they are willing to keep it long enough to season.
7. See that your roof exceeds in height one-third of the span, and that your shingles have good overlap.
8. A wide verandah around your dwelling is an important addition to the personal happiness of its inmates.
9. Brick and stone are on about a par in point of expense and convenience. However, although it may be difficult to obtain stone of a good colour, anything is better in appearance than the dirty red of Adelaide bricks. (6)

It was further advised that, where practicable, the building of brick homes be done in the cooler months of the year when rain or dew would moisten the bricks and other absorbent materials such as lime and mortar. (7)

Without an Act to control builders, building material and standards of construction, many complaints were forthcoming from disgruntled home buyers:

The swarm of small buildings that rise, as if by magic, in every part of the town and which, from their dimensions and structure, are more calculated for caging animals of the size of monkeys, or for travelling watchboxes, than for the daily and nightly inhabitations of human beings... [they] enclose apartments of an average of seven feet by six... that give good promise of becoming, in due time, admirable nurseries of every description of disease and pestilence... (8)

In the early days of the colony wooden shingles were used all but universally for roofing purposes but by 1846 the supply had diminished when timber splitters, taking umbrage at increased timber cutting licences, left for 'the distant mines'; by 1858 the shingle had all but disappeared due to excessive fire insurance premiums demanded by rapacious companies. Slate and galvanised iron then became the fashion; the latter was also used extensively to furnish kitchens and bathrooms and 'to its graceful curve our verandahs owe their principal beauty.' (9)

By the mid-1850s buildings of a hazardous character were still being erected and it became apparent to civic authorities that some form of control would have to be enacted containing regulations:

To guard against the danger of fire by restricting the use of flammable material together with the use of proper precautions with respect to chimneys, flues, parapets, etc.

To secure stability in buildings... and that each house be self-supported and not unfairly throw its weight upon its neighbours.

To promote the public health, by insisting on proper house drainage.

Appropriate legislation was passed and by 1857 wooden roofs were prohibited; all rain and water pipes and gutters were to be made of metal and all cesspools and privies enclosed with brick walls. (10)

It was one thing to have rules and regulations and another to enforce them for, in 1877, labourers' houses were still cramped in area with low ceilings and inconvenient windows, small fireplaces and ill-enclosed cesspits so close to doors and windows as to make the air an unhealthy pollutant. Further, bedrooms could seldom be ventilated without opening the front doors and the windows.

Living rooms served as kitchens, washhouse and general workroom; on washing days the generally unwholesome habitations were increased by steam from washing tubs and the evaporation of dirty suds thrown out into the streets.

The following extract from an 1877 newspaper suggests that the Building Act was a farce:

There is a collection of abominations scarcely credible to those who have not seen them. A roadway raised full 18 inches by accumulated filth, consolidated by traffic... walls rotting away from damp... privies built under cover, where nothing can sweeten the premises in which they are situated - a dank, stuffy and polluted air, sickening and poisonous, pervades it all. (11)

It was at this time that the noted English author, Anthony Trollope, visited Adelaide and in his oft-quoted narrative declared that Adelaide was 'one of the pleasantest towns among the colonies...' No doubt his host, Sir Thomas Elder of Birksgate, and others within colonial aristocracy, led him away from the poverty and degradation of the labouring classes for they receive not one word in his account of ramblings throughout the city and suburbs, which he extolled as having a grandiloquent new Post Office and a beautiful Botanic Garden - if he had been directed a kilometre or two westwards along the banks of the River Torrens near the Adelaide Gaol he would have come upon a latter-day 'Pinky Flat', 'The Willows':

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. (12)

The earliest houses in Thebarton were of humble and often temporary construction, built of pise, wattle and daub, brick, concrete, stone and wood; cottages had symmetrical fronts with central door and windows either side.

Today, a number of pise and brick cottages built in the 1840s and 1850s can be seen in the vicinity of Chapel and Maria Streets, although renovations have largely obscured original materials. Some of the older parts of the town have some simple brick and stone cottages, with corrugated iron roofs and verandahs - they date from the 1870s. Most are built of bluestone, sandstone and brick, often with a bay window at the front.

There is an excellent example of a row of semi-detached sandstone villas in Rose Street between Dew and Parker Streets, which were probably erected in the 1890s. There are also examples of the art nouveau style which became popular from 1900 to 1914. (13)

Later subdivisions such as Hemington and New Thebarton produced a different style of house - larger detached homes and cottages built on larger blocks, generally with greater setbacks from the streets. The Greeks and Italians have altered many of these houses, particularly in Torrensville, to adapt to their life styles and cultural mores. Alterations to verandahs, construction of brick arches and new windows, tiling to roofs and new facades have altered whole streetscapes in these locations.

The early 1880s brought an influx of development into the Mile End area where its wider streets and rear access lanes gave a purely residential scene, with a greater variety of building styles, progressing over a greater time span. Larger, ornate return verandah villas on corner blocks combine with the more simply detailed houses and groups of smaller single-fronted cottages and attached dwellings to create a distinctive urban environment.

A new spate of development occurred at the turn of the century, particularly in Torrensville around Wainhouse, Danby and Northcote Streets and in parts of Mile End. The most significant group of houses dating from this era are the workmen's cottages - with their castellated detailing, these pairs of attached cottages lining two sides of a block of Rose Street form a significant architectural statement.

These cottages were built following a bequest of #25,000 pounds from Sir Thomas Elder in 1897 following which the Adelaide Workmen's Homes was created under the control of trustees. The first sixteen homes at Thebarton were built in 1902; each had a cellar and bathroom adjoining the kitchen, a twelve gallon copper and a stove and were ready for occupation by 1903. (14)

Domestic Life

The colonial housewife was expected to administer first aid, tend the family garden and poultry and exterminate household pests and to this end the local press was only too willing to provide assistance, eg:

Cure for colds - Two tablespoons of black beer taken with hot water, sugar and about half a glass of old rum, immediately before going to bed.

To relieve dysentery - Take a tumbler of cold water, thicken it with wheat flour to about the consistency of cream and drink it. Repeat several times during the course of the day.

Cure for corns - One teaspoon of tar, one ditto of coarse brown sugar and one ditto of saltpetre. The whole to be warmed together and spread on kid leather the size of the corn and in two days it will be drawn out.

Cure for delirium tremens - Hot coffee and a decoction of wormwood are said to constitute a better remedy for this fearful effect of drunkenness than any of the usual prescriptions of medical men.

How to make leeches bite - Throw the leech into a saucer containing beer and leave it until it gets quite lively.

To destroy flies - Half a teaspoon of ground black pepper, one teaspoon of brown sugar and one tablespoon of cream mixed well together and placed in a plate, will attract and destroy flies without any danger of poisoning children.

To make hens lay - Mix with the poultry food a sufficient quantity of eggshells and chalk, which they will eat greedily and lay twice or thrice as many eggs as before. (15)

Cooking was conducted over open fireplaces but, occasionally, a Sunday treat was arranged in the form of roast meat which was cooked at the local bakery; alas, this unsubtle form of Sabbath breaking was frowned upon by some of the stricter religious sects:

The wealthier classes of society are very little interested in [bakers cooking Sunday dinners], but their poorer neighbours look with considerable anxiety to the decision arrived at. There are many... who are unable to provide themselves and families with a hot dinner upon any day of the week except Sunday; the bakers' oven affords facilities the poor man's home does not present... A total closing of the bakehouses on the Lord's Day [will] probably affect the attendances at the place of worship. (16)

The heat of domestic open fires dictated that cooking utensils be provided with long handles and makeshift systems of pulleys helped lower them onto the flames; the housewife also made hand protectors (oven mittens) to ward off the heat emanating from the fire.

Unlike today there were but few labour-saving devices and cooking aids in early colonial households. However, in 1849, Mr Roberts, a former engineer with the Yatala Smelting Works, invented a cooking apparatus whereby 'the processes of baking, roasting and boiling are accomplished to admiration; and these are not all, for, while the laundress is heating her flatirons on the hotplate, she may be roasting some potatoes for supper in the ashpan below... The fuel may be coal, charcoal or wood.' (17)

Later, Mr Drury, an employee of Mr Nettlebeck in Gawler Place invented a gas fire which could 'be used as an ordinary grate' and boasted that if used the housewife would never have the bother of wet wood or smoky chimneys.' A Star Washing Machine was exhibited in 1879 and the proud inventor's boast was that 'the clothes do not have to bear the severe friction which is the fault of most machines... it is durable and can be worked with ease... clothing of an ordinary family can be washed in an hour-and-a-half.' (18)

By the 1860s the manufacturing firm of A.M. Simpson & Son was well established and provided South Australian households with ovens. However, while making cooking easier they also created work as they required regular coats of black lead, while the flue needed a weekly cleaning out with soda and water; if cracks appeared and soot and smoke appeared they were subjected to a remedial coat of moist ash and salt. The judging of temperatures for cooking was an art which came with experience and ingenuity - one method was to place some flour on a dish in the oven and, dependent on its colour upon removal, the cook would have an approximation on the heat of the fire.

At the back of all stoves would be a cast-iron pot in which all water remaining after the cooking of vegetables would be poured and retained as stock for future soups and stews. Its neighbour would be a large black 'fountain' complete with a tap to provide hot water at all times.

If there was a well in the backyard it became a repository for butter and cream which was lowered into its cool depths in billycans or buckets. The name of the former has a most interesting derivation - Passengers on board early sailing ships were treated twice a week with bouilli soup which was contained in half-gallon cans; when emptied and fitted with a handle they were used for boiling water for tea making and a host of other purposes. The Australian adaptability found no difficulty in transposing 'bouilli can' to 'billy-can'! (19)

The chore of ironing clothes was carried out by various types of flat instruments the most common of which were either heated on stoves or in the fire itself; to prevent the soiling of clothes from smut the irons were treated with beeswax. Box irons were equipped with receptacles in which were placed red hot coals and if they should start to cool the operator would give it an energetic swing to regenerate the coals.

The first form of lighting was "slush lamps" made from the fat from slaughtered animals which, for Thebartonians, was readily available from the slaughtering yards on the park lands; primitive candles were home made from tallow mixed with beeswax or lard with alum; an alternative was to melt the surplus fat from from the "family joint" into moulds made for the purpose by the "pioneer tinsmith of Hindley Street, which then constituted Adelaide proper".² Until the 1840s the safety match was unknown thus adding to the importance of keeping a fire alive. Kerosene was discovered in 1850 and in ensuing years a variety of model lamps became available.

Food such as flour, rolled oats and sugar were packed in calico, jute or hessian bags and innovative housewives utilised them in many ways. The larger bags made excellent pillow slips, while others were used for hanging salted meat; the finer-textured were made into children's clothing and domestic rugs. (20)

Leisure Activities

Personal Reminiscence

Sarah Hannam (nee Holmes) recalled some of the entertainments engaged in by Thebartonians in the early days when she spoke to a reporter from the Express and Journal on 27 May 1933:

As a thoughtless, carefree child she remembers racing off with her brothers to see the last public hanging at the Adelaide Gaol, clambering up on the gate with them to get a good view. Crowds, she said, were present and such an event was looked upon almost as an outing. However, after that time those in power decided such exhibitions should be stopped.

It was a red-letter day, too, when the father brought them all to see the Agricultural and horticultural Show on Frome Road... the day was exceedingly hot... and young ladies wore an unbelievable amount of clothing and she remembers under two starched and belaced petticoats she wore a flannel one, which, to add to its cumbersomeness was tucked; knickers reached to the ankles, and even children had their crinolines. Later, the jaunting cars appeared and were, with the voluminous skirts, most comfortable to ride in... (21)

On the Beaches

With the advent of summer months the pools in the bed of the River Torrens became an attractive place to cool off for Thebarton citizens but with the coming of the Port railway they quickly sought less polluted water for their leisure moments. While sea bathing was an activity attractive to many people the moral standards of the day were an inhibition in making it a pastime to be shared mutually by the whole family.

Other forms of transport to the seaside were aboard one of the numerous carts that traded along the Port Road or, for the more affluent, in the 'Comet' described as:

A handsome commodious vehicle built by Mr Matthews of Weymouth [sic] Street for our "crack whip", Mr Charles Tanner. It is adapted for the comfortable conveyance of twelve passengers inside, and five, besides the driver, outside. (22)

With the advent of the railway to Port Adelaide in the mid-1850s another seaside excursion other than to Glenelg was available to Thebarton families but the hierarchy of the churches and their satellites raised serious objections and a worker was to complain:

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... (23)

Once upon the beach a problem arose as to undressing and donning bathing attire- '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...' (24)

This procedure applied generally until the late 1840s when bathing machines were introduced:

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. (25)

In 1928 a lady of Adelaide published entertaining reminiscences of 'Sea Bathing Sixty Years Ago' together with comments on the changes in public attitudes to 'mixed bathing':

There were no trams or trains (except to 'Mudholia' [Port Adelaide]) 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...

The women folk by payment had the use of bathing machines. These were weird contrivances like a tiny room on wheels, and the woman in charge would hitch a horse to this caravan after the ladies had clambered aboard and tow it out into two feet of water. Those inside the 'kennel' would doff the multitudinous garments then worn, and then don the bathing suit.

Shades of our grandmothers! How they must stare at the present-day bathing suit of the ladies and contrast it with the affair they used to wear [which] 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... a girl able to swim was as rare as the dodo.

There was a tremendous hubbub when women began to adopt more fitting bathing costumes, and there was nearly a riot at Glenelg when the first woman appeared in tight-fitting shorts and vest. All honour to the plucky women who dared the reproaches of Mrs Grundy and the sneers and innuendoes of their jealous contemporaries...

As for the first who tried mixed bathing (though confined to strictly to family parties) they had to encounter opposition from the parochial small-minded rulers of the shore. There were prosecutions of persons who dared to invade reserves set apart for the opposite sex, and the 'wowsers' of those days wrote reams of fiery denunciation. But commonsense and perseverance at last brought about a change in public opinion... (26)

The varying attitudes of the public can be gauged from the following extracts from newspapers:

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.

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.

On the sandy reach at Henley Beach,
Mixed bathing is the fashion.
Some sea nymphs in tights look horrible frights,
While in the briny they're jumping and splashing.

They would have you believe they're not daughters of Eve
That the attraction's the charm of the water;
But everyone knows the magnets are beaus,
And the tights are the cause of the slaughter.

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.

In spite of "wowers", 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...

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. (27)

The Switchback Railway

Within walking distance of Thebarton and on the southern side of the Adelaide Oval lay a switchback railway 450 feet in length and built in a series of grades; 'indeed an undulating course is the only necessity attribute, as the progress of the cars is affected purely by their own weight on the declines.'

The starting point was approached by a wide stairway where the passengers took their seat in small carriages, which carried ten persons. An attendant would start the car rolling with a push and a lengthy decline forced it up an incline, and downhill a second time before a precipitous grade was met with; this was very steep and the cars shot down 'at a terrific rate' amidst shrieks from the terrified passengers; another upward slope was then reached and at the halfway mark was a station.

Here, men received and transferred the car to the other rails along which it travelled in the same way back to the embarking station for another journey – 'The sensation is pleasant and the pastime free from danger if passengers hold to seats as they should do.' (28)¶

The Circus

From the early 1850s the circus was a never-ending joy to the children of Thebarton and over the years many groups set up their tents in the Park Lands or at the western end of Waymouth Street.

In 1865 Ashton's Anglo-Saxon circus was well patronised and on 29 March every available seat was occupied. The entertainment commenced with vaulting by the whole troupe followed by 'an astonishing feat of throwing a double somersault' when the performer, suffering from a slight lameness, executed it in such a manner as to earn continued applause. Master Combo Combo then entertained with a series of postures on a table twisting himself about in such a fashion that the audience doubted as to whether he had any bones in his body.

A little girl then arrived on horseback and completed some clever evolutions. The 'somersaulter' reappeared and gave an exhibition of his muscular strength by throwing a number of 56-pound weights about at random and with great dexterity. Butterfly, the trick pony, performed some amusing feats and an Aboriginal youth then astounded the assembled crowd by 'performing the

intrepid feat of throwing a back somersault while on horseback over some canvas stretched across one side of the ring for the purpose.'

'The second portion of the entertainment introduced Mr J. Ashton and Black Eagle, whose unrivalled performances with the handkerchief, in the volunteer's march, firing off a pistol, unsaddling itself, taking a hat from the head of one of the audience and half a crown from a bucket of water, removing a kettle from a flaming fire, dancing a hornpipe and finally thanking the audience on its knees for their patronage, showed to how high a degree the horse is susceptible of training...'

'Various acts followed and the entertainment was brought to a conclusion "by the enacting of the amusing afterpiece "A Ride to Donnybrook Fair on a One-wheeled Shay" Throughout the evening the audience were continually excited by the oddities and humorous remarks of the clown...' (29)

A 'Grand Roman Hippodrome' occasionally appeared on the Adelaide scene when two circus companies would pit their skills in agility and daring against one another. In 1873 the competitors were from Mr Burton's National Circus Company and Messrs Bird & Taylor's American Circus; the venue was the Exhibition Ground on North Terrace.

'The weather was uncomfortably wet and the streets were as sloppily disagreeable as any misanthrope could have desired, so that the procession which started to "make a Roman holiday" about 11.30 a.m. from Pirie Street was not very imposing.'

At the oval 1,800 expectant spectators assembled and a series of races and events got under way. 'The gay green and gold, blue and gold, and crimson and gold chariots with "fiery steeds" [together with] sturdy-limbed men in antique dresses and helmets gleaming in the oft-clouded sun, presented a pretty if not awe inspiring site... More than once men, horses and hurdles came down crash...'

In addition to the races were many "feats of strength and activity familiar to circus frequenters" including an aerial bicycler, jugglers and clowns. At the end of proceedings Mr Burton pocketed the purse of #200 because his troupe won the most events. Although there were some sceptics who suspected collusion between the avowed rivals the respective owners emphatically denied the charge.(30)

Skating

By 1878 this pastime was firmly established in Adelaide and two rinks catered for patrons; one at the City Baths and the other "in Bent Street between Rundle and Grenfell Streets." The latter was lit by numerous gas jets and "the winter scene at the south end makes one shiver to look at, and the smooth white floors conveys to some extent the idea of ice, and it is necessarily finer, smoother, and infinitely less noisy than wood. Before it is in perfect order the floor has to receive another coating of prepared chalk...'

‘... In a few minutes the rink was covered with a procession of performers on the rollers - from the neophyte, striking out wildly and ever and anon exhibiting the soles of his feet to admirers but astonished onlookers, to the finished rinker executing spread eagles, figures of eight, and other feats of skill... Ladies especially, who were not as a rule to obtain much exercise, would find it specially invigorating.’ (31)

The Volunteer Corps

Following the outbreak of the Crimean War, fears within the colony relating to a probable attacks by Russian warships, prompted the Government to pass the Volunteer Military Force Act in September 1854 and by November of that year about 2,000 men had answered the call to the colours.

A detachment was formed within the West Torrens district and many men from Thebarton volunteered their services. It would not be correct to define the movement as an ‘aggregate of clubs’ meeting simply for recreation but there appears to be no doubt that it arose chiefly from that desire.

An editor of a newspaper voiced his opinions on the patriotism of young men, their courage and desire to defend their country:

Those who can eschew the dangerous luxury of a warm bed in the morning and breathe the fresh air at early drill, find the practice extremely exhilarating. It tends, too, to give strength to the limbs, a graceful carriage to the body, and a large increase to the qualities of sharp-sightedness and decision, which are so useful in the more serious concerns of life.

One can almost tell our volunteers as we pass them in the street if they have been steady at drill. There is a bold upright bearing, and a manly self-conscious look, not to be gained by those whom necessity alone pricks on to exertion.

In this age of record unemployment levels and with many young men being led into crime, drug addiction and a general disregard of ethical standards of behaviour there could be a substantive case made for the reintroduction of a scheme similar to that of the 19th century.

Miscellany

To those men of Thebarton who owned a shot gun the plains of Adelaide, especially those to the north of Bowden, were alive with native quail and, as such, a welcome addition to the kitchen tables. However, by 1864 the wholesale slaughter of native birds was of concern to many nature lovers:

At present there is not [a magpie or laughing jackass] within miles of the town, even tame birds being shot at if they are permitted any liberty. Quails are getting scarce, fly-catchers are all gone and even larks are being killed by hundreds. (32)

1. *South Australian*, 20 January 1846, p. 3b.

2. For comments on Emigration Square see *Register*, 13 April 1839, page 3c, 18 February 1843, page 2d, 16 May 1846, page 2c, *Southern Australian*, 26 June 1839, page 2e, *Register*, 27 July 1911, page 9c *Advertiser*, 8 January 1932, page 14i.
3. *Register*, 26 June 1910, p. 6c.
4. *Observer*, 14 December 1844, p. 3a.
- 5.. *The News*, 10 April 1929, p. 6c.
6. *Register*, 8 November 1845, p. 4a.
7. *Register*, 9 March 1854, p. 3e.
8. *Adelaide Times*, 7 May 1849, page 3b.
9. *Observer*, 30 May 1846, p. 6b, *Register*, 30 January 1858, p. 2g, 24 April 1868, p. 2f.
10. *Register*, 21 July 1855, p. 2f, 2 February 1856, p. 2b, *Observer*, 6 and 13 September 1856, pp. 6g and 1d (supp.).
11. Comprehensive information on the houses occupied by the labouring class is in the *Advertiser*, 20 and 28 February 1877, pages 4e and 7b, 10 and 12 March 1877, pages 4d and 6c, 2, 10 and 16 April 1877, pages 4f, 4f and 5a, 10 and 14 May 1877, pages 4c and 4e.
12. *Advertiser*, 21 February 1878, page 4e.
13. *Thebarton Heritage Survey* (Draft Report), July 1991, p. 25.
14. *Thebarton Heritage Survey*, October 1991.
- 15.. *Observer*, 23 December 1843, p. 6a, 4 May 1844, p. 3.
16. *Advertiser*, 14 September 1858, page 3d.
17. *Observer*, 29 December 1849, p. 3b.
18. *Observer*, 18 July 1874, p. 7c, 22 February 1879, p. 3e.
19. *Register*, 1 December 1916, page 9e.
20. *Observer*, 28 September 1889, p. 34a.
21. See Jennifer Isaacs, *Pioneer Women of the Bush and Outback*.
22. Cited in Ingrid Srubjen, *Town of Thebarton* (unpublished), Chapter Three, p. 19.
23. *Register*, 14 February 1850, page 3d.
24. *Register*, 29 and 30 April 1856, pages 3d and 3d; also see 3 and 19 May 1856, pages 3f and 3e, 22 January 1857, page 3f, 22 December 1857, page 3d, 2 January 1858, page 3e.
25. Mrs Alfred Watts, *Memories of Early Days in South Australia* (Adelaide, 1882), p. 71; cited in John Daly, *Elysian Fields* p. 75.
26. *Adelaide Times*, 11 March 1850, page 3d.

27. *Register*, 11 January 1928, p. 12d.
28. *Register*, 6, 8 and 21 January 1910, pp. 7c, 6f and 10d, 12 October 1912, page 11c, 24 February 1913, page 9f, 9 and 14 November 1916, pp. 9h and 9e, 20 January 1923, page 14d.
29. *Register*, 2 and 14 January 1889, pp. 4h and 5b.
30. *Observer*, 1 April 1865, p. 1f (supp.).
31. *Observer*, 31 May 1873, p. 11g. A return "match" is reported on 21 June 1873, p. 6c. *Register*, 22 June 1878, p. 5c-d.
32. A report of a shooting accident near Bowden is in the *Register*, 1 April 1848, p. 2d; also see *South Australian* 26 November 1841, p. 2d, *Register*, 25 October 1864, page 3b, 5 November 1864, page 2e, 6 December 1864, page 3b, 16 February 1924, p. 5b.

Chapter 6

Sources for Water Supply

Wells and Rain Water

The first well sunk in South Australia was undertaken by Mr James Cronk at the end of 1836. He arrived in the *Africaine* and 'a day or two after the proclamation there was difficulty in obtaining water and with the assistance of a few shipmates he sunk a well and secured a moderate supply at 14 feet.' Later, he sunk two wells in Halifax and Gilles Streets; 'these brought him in three pounds per week as he charged as he charged one shilling per week for each house he supplied...' (1)

In his reminiscences published in 1919 Henry Breaker tells of the fatigue entailed in obtaining water from the River Torrens in barrels and which prompted his father to sink a well on his property in Halifax Street where at 79 feet he got good water- 'At 70 feet he met with rock, ribbed and waved like the sea beach, and it was found to be studded with cockleshells.' (2)

Some early settlers in Thebarton dug wells in their backyards but many complaints were made about their lack of fencing and by 1851 one disgruntled citizen was to denounce them as 'yawning sepulchers... ready to swallow up alive any unwary mite who chances to stray in the vicinity.' (3)

Another non-polluted water supply was rainwater; it was, indeed, a blessing when used for laundry and other household purposes. 'The roofs of houses were usually shingle or paling and the guttering of wood. The run-off was collected in hogsheads and it had a yellow colour and tasted of wood.' (4)

The River Torrens

On a warm summer's day in November 1836 Lt W.G. Field, of the Rapid and an early purchaser of allotments in Theberton, 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. (5)

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.

With the loss of its natural surface the watercourse was destroyed as the banks between the waterholes gradually washed away and deposited in the waterholes - the process of levelling began and continued 'until the river assumed its present desolate appearance' which by 1878 was commented upon in condemnatory terms:

Those who have recently arrived in the colony... can scarcely be made to believe that there were ever deep clear pools, or shady corners of finny inhabitants in the unsightly chasm at present known as the River Torrens, whose waters are black with sewage of the town, and whose odour is not only offensive but injurious to health... (6)

Henry Breaker was aged six years when he came out in the Buffalo with his parents and recalled that in the early days of settlement the bed of the River Torrens was generally green with grass and reeds under which surface the main part of the stream percolated out of sight.

Thomas Frost who arrived in the Asia in 1839 wrote of his excursions to the river and attendant hardship and tragedy:

The greatest difficulty of all was getting good water. The river was the only supply and when flooded or drying up the water was scarcely fit to drink, and to get it we had to roll it in barrels up the river banks.

This was the job my eldest cousin and self had to do almost every day and it was a heavy pull, a double rope being secured to iron hoops or chains, working on spindles fixed to both ends of the barrel. When obtained the water was far from pure.

We all suffered from dysentery; our poor afflicted cousin Maria was the first to give up to this and my old grandmother did not long survive her, but passed away after a time of great suffering; thus both were taken from us after a few months of colonial life.

The heat and droughts were, at first, almost unbearable; many deaths occurred and medical help at that time was far from efficient, as many diseases which prevailed were new to their experience; the young children, especially, suffered most. (7)

To counter the contagion emanating from the polluted water the colonists were advised to make and use water filters. The directions for manufacture of these all but ineffective devices were:

Take an earthen jar or barrel and turn the narrow end downwards; insert a tap near the bottom; insert a piece of slate or lead perforated with holes; put in four inches of clean, washed gravel, the size of peas; add four to five inches of clear sand; add four to five inches of clean, washed charcoal; add another layer of sand.

The citizens of Thebarton were fortunate in having the river virtually at their backdoors and it became a favourite venue for swimming. Further, domestic cows and goats, which supplied milk to households, were taken to the river on a daily basis where their effluvia flowed readily into the stream causing an irate observer of a like happening to proclaim that he was disgusted 'at seeing some dozen cows and horses drinking and making their deposits in the reservoir created by the [corporation] in the formation of what is called the City Ford.' (8)

It was a paradise for the children of Adelaide, Hindmarsh and Thebarton - lurking in deep holes were 'yabbies' which, when cooked, were hawked around for a profit of a few pennies; minnows were hooked with string and pin while, for small recompense, native women could be persuaded to dive for mussels. Such offerings from the river were a welcome addition to the frugal dinner tables of the working classes of Adelaide and adjacent suburbs. (9)

From the earliest days the river was a favoured resort for bathers during the searing heat of summer, but by 1850 the City Council had imposed prohibitive by-laws against which many complaints were forthcoming:

Authorities allow cattle to be driven to the river [and] deposit evacuations in the gentle stream. If any individual is found exercising that vocation which is 'next to godliness' on any part of the Torrens between the Aboriginal Location and the Company's Bridge, the myrmidons of the law dart upon him... Where are we to wash off that dust? (10)

A newspaper editor viewed these remarks as ill-advised and commented that because the restrictions had been imposed 'in deference to the opinions of scientific men' such a course was necessary to preserve the health of the city. (11)

The restrictions remained in place until 1856 when the City Council instructed inspectors not to interfere with persons bathing below the ford between 6 pm and 8 am; thus the residents of Thebarton were again able to use the river for recreational purposes. (12)

It is apparent that the local Kurna tribe were either given immunity from the by-laws or chose to ignore them:

Is it not shameful and disgusting that the blacks should be allowed to paddle about and impregnate the water with the washing of their filthy bodies within a few feet of where the North Adelaide carriers lift the water... Men and boys, with their filthy clothing, half-immersed, may be seen every day snaring sprats, looking for crawfish, and the like, and dogs without number swimming about. (13)

These concerns were apparently ill-founded for, in mid-1859, a chemical analysis of water taken from near the ford and environs was undertaken by Dr Smith, Professor of Chemistry at the Sydney University, who proclaimed it as "pure and wholesome" with a taste he described as 'soft and flattish, but not disagreeable'. This considered opinion was challenged by another analytical chemist who published information showing that while the Melbourne water supply had an 11.86% of solid matter in it the comparable figure for Adelaide was 33.76%. (14)

Among the poorer people in Thebarton were a few widows who eked out an existence by keeping a cow or two and selling milk but by 1855 they were obliged to urge their 'weary legs' further up the river for watering purposes because of pollution caused by the slaughter yard which operated on the banks of the river adjacent to Thebarton:

Blood... diluted with... water spreads through the sand and the water particles being evaporated by the blazing sun leave the more solid parts to settle on the sand and become putrid [and] full of rank, green poisonous slime. (Pollution by tanners and fellmongers is dealt with in Chapter Seven.) (15)

As the population of Adelaide and its embryonic suburbs of Hindmarsh and Thebarton increased a few enterprising colonists took up the occupation of water-carting. Prices were a basic one shilling per load and increased by one penny for each street south of Hindley Street. In hot weather, the river being low, the water carts, which were prone to spring leaks after being driven a mile or two, invariably dispensed tepid water, by no means clean - Their advice would be "let it settle for a few hours". (16)

Agitation from the press and inhabitants prompted the Government to finance a scheme to supply the city with reticulated water and by 12 March 1862, 2,694 houses were connected to the mains. (17)

However, this had a harmful effect on the Thebarton inhabitants for their water supply from the River Torrens became scant in quantity and inferior in quality due, primarily, to the diversion of the river water to the reservoir for the Adelaide waterworks. Considering that they, too, were entitled to share in 'a supply of the pure element' a few of the leading inhabitants, including Messrs Dew and Hemingway, together with Mr Pearson, Chairman of the West Torrens District Council, addressed the Commissioner of Public Works, requesting that a main be laid along or near the Port Road.

Their request was considered by the Adelaide City Council which consented promptly to the continuation of a supply pipe from West Terrace to a point where the local people could have a stand-pipe erected for their own use. The only stipulation made by the Council was that the supply pipe should be laid in the plantation adjoining and forming part of the Port Road, and that for the protection of city property the work should be carried out by the City Surveyor.

The work was completed late in January 1864; the cost was met by some of the more affluent citizens on the understanding 'that they shall be repaid by consumers', while the Government attached a meter to the main and charged at the rate of one shilling and sixpence (15 cents) per thousand gallons supplied. (18)

On 27 June 1993 the *Sunday Mail* proclaimed many revelations under a banner headline - OUR RIVER OF FILTH - and its investigative reporter referred to the "shameful sight" as "an eyesore that turns tourists' stomachs". His considered comments were followed by 'What the Experts Say' - they included KESAB General Manager, Chairman of the River Torrens Improvements Standing Committee and the Leader of the Opposition - it must be said that the latter's 'expertise' in this area was ill-defined!

Not to be outdone by its contemporary's 'revelations' the Advertiser, on 29 June 1993, presented a leading article on "Turning the Tide on Water Quality", where resource specialists argued for 'unique approaches to solve the State's worsening water-quality problems' and concluded that 'the bulk of Adelaide's water needs... [will] come from stormwater-replenished ground-water sources via bores...'

As early as 1848 the subject of artesian wells had been to the fore as a means of water supply but its protagonist was informed by the spokesman of an embryonic water company that he 'had it on good authority that an artesian well could not be obtained here.' (19)

And so, today, the argument has come full circle and a cry for greater reliance on artesian water is again abroad, together with a proposal to introduce an aquifer concept. The Sunday Mail report echoes much of what has been recorded above for it expresses concern at the ongoing pollution of the river and the washing away of its banks. Years of inaction have again raised the cry of it being 'turned into a health risk', a situation which has prevailed since 1837.

Remedies have been suggested including increased penalties for rubbish dumping, "more litter bins and greater co-ordination by local and State government to encourage better management" and the implementation of a "total management strategy". With the control of the river and near environs spread among various bodies there is little wonder that 'confusion and inactivity reigns' - a process which commenced in 1837 and which promises to continue into the future aided and abetted by a singular absence of civic pride.

1. *Advertiser*, 6 July 1904, p. 8g.
 2. *Register*, 16 December 1919, p. 6e.
 3. *Observer*, 17 May 1851, p. 4e.
 4. *Register*, 25 December 1919, p. 7c.
 5. Reminiscences of Helen Mantegani held in Mortlock Library; *Register*, 3 June 1837.
 6. *Register*, 6 June 1870, p. 6b, 9 March 1878, p. 6a, *Advertiser*, 1 September 1936, (special edition) p.25.
 7. *Register*, 16 December 1919, p. 6e, G.H. Manning (ed.), *Memoirs of Thomas Frost*, p. 27.
 8. *Register*, 10 December 1850, p. 4b.
 9. *Advertiser*, 1 September 1936 (special edition), p. 25.
 10. *Register*, 28 February 1850, p. 3e.
 11. *Register*, 2 April 1850, p. 3a.
 12. *Register*, 12 November 1856, p. 2f.
 13. *Adelaide Times*, 17 April 1852, p. 3f.
 14. *Register*, 11 June 1859, p. 2g, *Advertiser*, 28 February 1860, p. 3a.
 15. *Register*, 11 January 1855, p. 3b.
 16. *South Australian*, 5 December 1845, p. 3a, *Register*, 16 December 1919, p. 6e.
 17. *Register*, 20 May 1862, p. 2g.
 18. *Register*, 30 January 1864, p. 2b (supp.).
 19. *South Australian*, 17 and 27 October 1848, pp. 3b and 1b (supp.).
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Chapter 7

Industries

A Workplace for the Labour Force of Thebarton

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.).)

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 we have seen in Chapter 6 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

The first tannery in Thebarton was set up by Messrs R.L. Ingham and George T. Bean in 1839 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 slaughteryards and upon arrival at the factory the wool was removed during several operations and 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.

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 employed '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, gambier, an extract from the leaves of *Uncania gambier* and *sumac* from Sicily.

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 bookbinding purposes.

There were two other tanneries in the Bowden/Brompton district at this time, viz., 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 and during the 19th (the hottest day of the season) one portion of my cattle were 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 but, as can be seen in

Chapter 6, 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 established a firebricks and terracotta business in the Littlehampton area.

From the time Hindmarsh was laid out it was renowned for its brickmaking 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

The earliest 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 was a potter's wheel 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 was firstly biscuit-baked and then glazed. There was a pugmill 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 Co 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 Co, 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 easily moved 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; the mill was 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 was 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 there were 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 by hand-worked wires into bars.

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 in 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 machinery specially imported.

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.

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 as 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 was 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...

Hotels

The earliest hotels in Thebarton, viz., Great Tom o' Lincoln, Wheatsheaf and Forresters and Squatters Arms, are discussed in Chapter Four. 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 1983 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, and support from the Chamber of Manufactures, the South Australian Bottle Company was formed in 1874. One of the directors, Mr W. Bickford, was about to proceed to England and 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 cricketering 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 a 650 men.

Perry Engineering Co.

At age ten years Samuel Perry was apprenticed into the iron company Colebrockdale in Shropshire, England where he served for seven years and at age twenty-two he migrated to Australia. He first settled 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 the company's 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; by repute he was a doctor of medicine and arrived in Adelaide in the William Wilson in 1849 as the ship's surgeon; he first practised at Burra later moving to Hindmarsh to set up as a doctor, dentist and chemist.⁹ (See Chapter Fifteen for a court case involving Mr Scammell.)

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.

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Chapter 8

Industrial Relations in Respect of the Thebarton Work Force; Destitution, Charity and Unemployment - 1837-1900

The cry for justice on the part of the oppressed can no longer be stifled by the rude hand of brute force, even were it desirable. The question therefore to be decided, is, shall mistrust, discontent and antagonism prevail, instead of a right, a feeling, a golden rule understanding between employer and employed to every branch of industry?... Are their interests necessarily hostile? By no means; unless they choose to render them so by grasping rapacity on either side.
(*Register*, 2 March 1850, page 2e.)

Introduction

Most of the men who purchased allotments in Thebarton from Colonel Light early in October 1839 were artisans among whom were bricklayers, masons, carpenters, glaziers, shoemakers, tailors, etc, together with a number of labourers. The 'Mother Country' they left was abounding in poverty and want and for those who had been employed low wages, long hours of labour and the tyranny of employers were rampant.

The colony to which they came emerged primarily because of a concern by English capitalists to find profitable investments overseas. The fledgling colony was 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.

The basis for this scheme had been suggested in 1835 by George Fife Angas and it became a launching pad from which he and his South Australian Company were to reap infinitesimal rewards. 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.

The surveyors who were required to cut up the country were strong in their criticism, while Captain Charles Sturt styled 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. (1)

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 – 'Those who acquired these sections did so not by saving their wages but by setting up as land agents, storekeepers, licensed victuallers and contractors. In the lists of land-buyers only one name was distinguished by the title "labourer".' (2)

Unions and the Origins of Arbitration

In nineteenth century South Australia the main reforms in working conditions stemmed from the struggles of the working class and the path they took to industrial justice was difficult and sometimes bitter due to the use of draconian laws by many employers. Poor wages and harsh working conditions endured by the colonial working class led to the establishment of legal procedures for the settlement of legal disputes in South Australia.

The roots of the call for a system of state interference in the conduct of industrial relations can be gleaned from the attitude of some vested interests - the employers and capitalists - towards the labour force of the colony. Early in 1837 the colonial gentry prevailed upon Governor Hindmarsh to pass his government's first law directed at oppressing the protest and dissent of labour. The Masters and Servants Act was a harsh law for if an employer deemed his workers to be in neglect of duty they were liable to six month's imprisonment and the forfeiture of wages.

This law was a mirror of the feudal and aristocratic elitism common in Great Britain and offensive to the labouring class in the infant colony. Fortunately, the Act was rejected by the British Government as too repressive but during its short period of operation a number of unwarranted punishments were inflicted:

The record of the Resident Magistrates Court cites thirteen successful actions by masters against servants in little more than a year... Workers sentenced to imprisonment for terms of between a fortnight and three weeks and were chained to trees in the parklands... (3)

The fact that such a law existed, and was to return in a modified form in 1841, indicates the foundations of the colony were not always laid in harmony. In this environment the working class organised to defend itself and advance working conditions and wages. The first craft unions were established during the 1840s; in 1870 the first industrial union was formed (railways) and, in 1876, trade unions were given official sanction by the government of James Penn Boucaut.

Boucaut served three times as Premier over the years 1866 to 1878 and his remarks, in a letter to the Secretary of the Moonta Branch of the Miners' Union, alludes to the nature of political power in the Colony:

The whole state is controlled by a coterie of half a dozen men in Adelaide [who] 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...

It is not fair to expect the press to help you until you help yourselves. Recollect that the press, like other mercantile institutions, must consider those who principally support it... I have felt the truth of the sneer - "the working man cares nothing of politics when his belly is full", consequently he is habitually deceived. I was two years a working man at weekly wages and the iron entered too deeply into my soul to be forgotten.

I have never been unjust to capital, but I hate its assumption that capital is Lord over all. Few men have felt so much, as I, the opposition and vile slander of a clique of monopolists, who really govern South Australia and would, if they could, ruin all who stand in their way.
(4)

A Masters And Servants Act was still on the statute books in August 1882 when 13 masons' labourers, employed on a daily basis by Messrs Robin and Hack at Port Adelaide, were refused an increase in wages and, accordingly, decided to withdraw their labour by walking off the building site. Their employers took umbrage and sought legal advice and, in due course, charged them under the provisions of the Act with 'unlawfully absenting themselves from their service'.

According to a report of the trial the magistrate reached a strange conclusion when he contended that the alleged offenders were duty bound under the provisions of the Act to give a day's notice before leaving their master's employ. His decision was to fine each man 'two day's and one hour's pay'!

A few days after the Court's decree was made known an irate carpenter, and no doubt a compatriot of the 'criminals', informed the Editor of the Register that, in his opinion:

The first principle of all laws is that they should equally govern those in authority and those subservient to higher power. If they have not this aim they are unjust... It is most desirable in every way that perfect accord and harmony should exist between capital and labour, yet how can this be attained if men are dealt with in such an arbitrary and uncompromising spirit as that displayed by the informants in [this case].

There is no extant record to show whether the conservative government of the day took any notice of the foregoing cry for real justice. Indeed, the aggrieved labourers and the carpenter were, no doubt, in agreement with the words of a local poet who sprang to their defence with a few lines, the underlying philosophy of which is still applicable today:

Ill fades the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.
Princes and lords may flourish and fade,
A breath can take them as a breath has made;

But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied. (5)

The lack of union power was demonstrated in 1890 when many of them failed to defend their members' conditions in the face of concerted efforts by employers to erode the strength of the working class. The widespread success of the employers was facilitated by the advent of economic depression and unemployment. Many politicians, who had a commitment to help improve the lot of the working class, saw the need to use government legislation to check the ruthlessness of employers and thus the divisiveness that their victory over the unions caused in the community.

Charles C. Kingston introduced a private member's Bill into parliament in December 1890 which sought to establish compulsory arbitration procedures by government-appointed officials, thereby encouraging the formation of unions and associations:

The State has ample right to interfere and provide the peacemakers. The right of the state to interfere with a view for the good of the many was admitted now, where one hundred years ago it was denied. (6)

The idea that the State had a responsibility to intervene in the labour market, does not necessarily derive from socialist thought, but, rather, from traditions prevailing in liberal thought, viz., utilitarianism and social liberalism. These liberal approaches to politics had gained popular support in British politics and became influential in Australia during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

For the utilitarian the role of government was to regulate many individual interests that came in to constant conflict in society. The maxim of utilitarianism was 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number' where, basically, happiness was defined as what each individual thought constituted being happy. Certain things were, however, universally recognised as harming 'happiness'; for example, strikes inconvenienced the public. Therefore, argued the utilitarian, the State should intervene in some way to assist adjudication, end disputes and so minimise inconvenience.

On the other hand, social liberals placed less emphasis on individual desires and stressed the common interest of all citizens in striving for harmony in society and conditions conducive to human development. It was assumed by social liberals that no fundamental conflict of interests existed in society and, accordingly, it was the role of democratically elected governments to weld a community where conflict was duly dealt with by the State. It is debatable as to which liberal tradition was dominant, but it is clear that it was due to the influence of both that the concept of arbitration took root in South Australia.

The representatives of the employers, who formed the government in 1890 did not share the political outlook of either creed; they were conservatives who sought, basically, the protection of the power and wealth of employers and pastoralists. It was not until C.C. Kingston became

Premier in 1893 that an arbitration Bill was passed through the House of Assembly. However, it was never effective due to a mass of amendments moved in the Legislative Council.

While the working class was weak politically, and certainly the high unemployment caused by the depression of the early 1890s caused considerable industrial weaknesses, the employers opposed arbitration and insisted upon their "freedom" to use their property (labour was regarded as their property while it was working for them), as they saw fit.

However, when the depression ended the workers felt more confident to press their unions to seek improvements in wages and conditions, the employers began to see arbitration as a means of ending strikes and generally frustrating the activities of unions. In many respects these traits, apparent at the birth of arbitration, have remained: in hard economic times the arbitration courts protect labour from the worst abuses of the employers and, conversely, during prosperous time the advance of workers' living standards can be frustrated by the employers' use of arbitration. (7)

We now turn to the role of the working class of Thebarton in the industrial scene of the nineteenth century, while at the same time venturing into the misery and poverty brought about by periodic recessions and unemployment, together with an appraisal of amelioratory measures taken by individuals, unions and government.

Destitution, Charity and Unemployment

On a hard straw mattress lay a pale thin woman covered by a blanket (which I had sent her the night before). On a box behind the door sat five pale delicate children covered by a few rags. No food in the house, no wood, the room bare and cold...
(*Register*, 10 May 1886, page 7d)

In 1838-1839 land speculation was rife in South Australia and while it was normally the prerogative of the wealthy class it also encompassed some of the working class who had been persuaded to purchase small parcels of land at an exorbitant price, paid for in weekly instalments. On many occasions they were left lamenting when with a payment or two to go they had no ready cash and were obliged to relinquish their land and thus lose hard-earned savings. (8)

The words 'pauper' and 'destitute' are all but synonymous but the former was rarely used in the early days of South Australia for, in England, it referred to a person in receipt of Poor Law relief and such a person was disbarred from applying for free emigration.

Following Governor Gawler's recall and the institution of his successor's harsh fiscal policy a depression settled over the colony causing widespread unemployment and misery. With neither a poor house nor any system of parochial relief for its indigent poor, coupled with Governor Grey's policy towards the unemployed, it remained for the Church to provide some measure of temporary relief.

Accordingly, The South Australian Philanthropic Institution was founded in August 1841 with, paradoxically, the Governor as Patron! A year later the president was pleased to report that, in total, the sum of #82 had been distributed to needy persons one of whom was a poor widow who had been "seized for a few shillings due for rent, and that the expenses incurred by levying the distress had trebled the original amount" - the institution then "immediately stepped forward and caused the widow's heart to rejoice." The Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society was formed in 1850 and the New Benevolent Society in 1858. (9)

The founders of South Australia in England realised that many immigrants could be subjected to periods of temporary unemployment and, accordingly, in 1838 Governor Gawler received certain instructions:

On the arrival of the immigrants in the colony they will be received by an officer who will supply their immediate wants, assist them in reaching the place of their destination, be ready to advise them in case of difficulty, and at all times give them employment at reduced wages, on the Government works, if from any cause they should be unable to obtain it elsewhere. (10)

Governor Grey viewed this edict with some concern and considered that the destitute should be treated no differently from a British pauper; he then urged labourers to seek work in the country and tried to reduce the wages paid to those who chose to remain. Alarmed at these measures representatives of the Working Men's Association marched to Government House and presented a petition:

The working classes as a body have experienced such rapid and fearful change that should the same causes continue to press upon them, they fear the worst consequences must necessarily follow... if the various attempts to reduce the price of labour are allowed still to operate against the producers of all wealth, they (the producers) must remain at best the same degraded miserable beings to which they are at present reduced, if not to a state of actual bondage. (11)

The Governor nonchalantly responded by docking them a day's pay! Difficulties in defining the bounds for 'destitution' prompted the promulgation of regulations in 1842:

No able-bodied labourers were to be given assistance and any man seeking same was to earn his relief payments by working on public works.

Whether new arrivals or not those seeking relief were to move to 'Emigration Square' - this was imposed because a willingness to do so would constitute a test for destitution.

Men were to be prepared to be sent to the country to seek permanent employment while their families were supported at the "Square".

Any man refusing an offer of private employment at a rate of pay greater than that obtainable on public works would be removed from Government employment and be ineligible for same in the future.

If through accident or sickness a destitute person was unable to work on public works he had to remain at the hospital where he could be attended by the Colonial Surgeon.

These stipulations, together with other measures, proved successful and 'by January 1843 the Governor was able to report that, apart from the hospitalised destitute, there were no demands being made upon the government for assistance, and all the men formerly employed on public works had taken private employment. However, Grey received no thanks; he was abused, harassed and threatened with impeachment by the colonists, and his superiors in London considered that he had acted weakly by condoning a system of public charity to undeserving pauper migrants.' (12)

By 1849 the legislature had authorised the formation of a Destitute Board and two years later plans were drawn up for a Destitute Asylum in modern-day Kintore Avenue. The Board's duty was not to administer charity, but to avert actual starvation. The interests of humanity were, however, too strong and it practically administered 'charity' but 'not of an excessive character'. (13)

However, there were some aspects of its operations which perturbed the local press:

We are no advocates for needless severity in prison discipline, but it scarcely comports with our idea of right and wrong that criminals should be better treated than the destitute poor. Yet such is literally the case... (14)

Before the coming of organised unions, in times of depression and unemployment the working class of the colony invariably sought redress by organising public meetings of dissent. In September 1851 a number of artisans, mechanics and labourers held a mass meeting when several of them recited their grievances; eg, a Mr Malthouse, a mason of Hindmarsh, said he had a wife and seven children and they all would have starved but for the credit he had been able to obtain and that was now all but exhausted.

Their subsequent protest to the government met with editorial support from the Register the Editor of which protested against the edict of 'going to the country' to seek work:

They have most likely not the means of even purchasing the necessary supply of food whilst on the tramp for an engagement... How is it to be expected that they can willingly leave their wives and children in town without the means of support, and exposed also to the many disadvantages and temptations which resulted from the continued absence of the father from the home. (15)

Just prior to an election in 1854 the unemployed gathered on "the north side of the footbridge" and decided that the labour question should be kept prominently before the candidates and to 'elect no man as their representative who was opposed to their interests.' (16)

The press was again in sympathy with unemployed men in 1867 and said of one of their meetings that 'there was a painful earnestness and an eloquence higher than that of mere words in the rough, rugged and often ungrammatical pleadings of the men who stood up to tell the simple tale of their sorrows.' A deputation met the Chief Secretary who made a most revealing statement when he declared that he would speak for himself and his colleagues and declare 'that they had been quite unaware of the deep distress existing.'

The Honourable, the Chief Secretary, was uninformed because the daily press was full of complaints at the time; indeed, his colleague, John Colton, MP, said only two months later that while there were those who pleaded for cheap labour, the cottages in which the poorer class lived were generally very inferior and very dirty, and yet the rents were higher and ought to be reduced:

Our legislation has brought the people here, crowded them together, and put the land - the sole source of their supplies - beyond their reach. A consequence of this is that many of the poor in this country are so caged up with vice by poverty that it is almost as improbable for them to be virtuous as it would be if they were in the worst dens of London. (17)

Further, only one month after the Chief Secretary made his profound statement the editor of the *Register* castigated the government:

It was pointed out several months ago that men were demanding work or food at the corners of the streets, and it was asked why the ministry did not do what had to be done on similar cases twice before since the introduction of responsible government - that was to supply a labour test at some moderate distance from town. It was shown that this had checked the evil [of street meetings and demonstrations] on previous occasions, and that, if used at once, it would probably have the same effect now.

But instead of this nothing was done by the authorities, excepting that a very illogical and somewhat irritating letter was issued from the Destitute Board. The government, in fact, sat still with their usual masterly inactivity until a number of unemployed in and around the city had increased to three or four hundred, and then they were forced hurriedly to obtain the assistance of the Corporation, who, on being supplied with Government funds, employed a number of men...

Such, then, is the muddle into which the Government have got through a disinclination to grapple with the difficulty when it first presented itself...

By 1870 it was apparent that this situation had not improved and unemployment agitation assumed 'new and more exciting' phases. On 28 February 1870 the Commissioner of Public Works offered, through a deputation, to employ those who wished to work in trenching the New Asylum paddock at piece work rates. This proposal did not satisfy the men at the time and on the following Tuesday a crowd 'consisting chiefly of strong, healthy-looking, able-bodied labourers' gathered outside the Treasury Buildings.

It was soon evident that they were in an angry mood and twenty policemen were summoned; they had no sooner arrived when the men, including many from Thebarton, invaded the building and 'commenced ascending the staircase, shouting, howling and vowing vengeance upon the Government.' The policemen formed a cordon and attempted to clear the passages when a number of public servants came to their assistance and 'by sheer strength [they] succeeded in expelling labourers and the police indiscriminately, and then all the doors were securely bolted.'

'Exasperated at the defeat of their attempt to gain the presence of the Ministers, the assemblage endeavoured to hustle the Commissioner of Public Works; the Commissioner of Police interposed and Mr Colton judiciously retired. Mr Hamilton, as a precautionary measure, then sent for a body of the mounted police.' By midday there were over 200 labourers present together with a 'large concourse of spectators' who jammed the footpaths avidly awaiting further developments.

Finally, the men decided to rush the stores and about 100 of them "formed in rough order in the middle of the street" but with a sudden change of heart they "betook themselves to the vacant space on the Town Hall Acre where one of their number, taking his stand on a mud-cart, harangued them in language which evidently met with general approbation." He said that they were ready to work but that 1/10 (18 cents) a day was insufficient to meet the needs of themselves and families for it would barely suffice to buy food let alone rent, firewood and other necessities.

'Amidst general cheering he advised all pick and shovel men to get their tools, collect [sic] at one o'clock, and demand work or bread." The mob then dispersed and vowed to return in the afternoon. At 1.30 they gathered and marched towards the Treasury where "more than a score of policemen essayed to hold the steps against them" only to be pushed aside and "a most vigorous effort was made to drive into the Treasury door, which shook before the pressure brought to bear against it.'

A melee ensued, the police drew their truncheons and mounted troopers arrived at the gallop and 'speedily cleared the pavement...' The men then reassembled 'opposite the old and new Post-Office buildings'; stones were propelled and nearby shopkeepers put up their shutters, arrests were made and the fracas continued; finally, order was restored by the police aided and abetted by "peaceable citizens'. (18)

To alleviate the hunger among many unemployed a soup kitchen was opened in 1870 in the Servants' Home in Hanson Street and became well patronised but there were complaints

forthcoming because members of the Catholic community complained of it being open on a Friday 'which is observed as a fast day'!

Those responsible for the largesse dispensed at the kitchen quickly responded:

Considering those who most need our help have imposed on them a habitual fast extending much beyond one day in the week, we may be pardoned if we extend to those who are willing to receive it the opportunity of a comfortable meal on a day many Christians... observe as a fast day. (19)

The establishment comprised a kitchen with a large copper capable of holding about 150 quarts, and in this 120 lbs. weight of bones (in bags) and 30 lbs. of solid meat (in bags) were placed, added to which there were 30 gallons of water, six bunches of carrots, three bunches of turnips, a few celery tops, and some peas or onions. Thanks to the generosity of a kindly gentleman, bacon was also used for he kindly donated one hundred-weight - it was used sparingly to enrich the soup!

The meat was on the boil from about 11 o'clock in the morning to 10 o'clock at night, and the vegetables were not put in until the following day - the day of issue. The fat skimmed from the boiler was turned into first class dripping, and sold in quantities of half-pounds to each applicant at the rate of threepence per [pound]. About 15 [pounds] of dripping were obtained from each boiling and there was always a ready sale for it.

Mrs Stapley was in charge of this operation and had a wonderful faculty for economising and utilising the materials at her command. For instance, she would take the refuse beef and bacon after the boiling was completed, and with the aid of pepper and salt and a little spice she made very good potted meat, which was sold for two-pence per cupful.

The kitchen did not pay, each quart of soup costing about 1 3/4d. and being sold for 1d. The loss was made up for by private benevolence, but it was satisfactory to know that the kitchen was a great boon to deserving families. The system of relief was to issue tickets at one penny each, entitling the holder to one quart of soup, and anyone was at liberty to purchase these tickets, and sell them or give them away to persons in needy circumstances.

The name of every individual to whom soup was issued was entered in a book and when it was known that help was being given to people in full work the supply was stopped. In April 1870 the average daily issue was from 110 to 120 quarts and the excellence of the soup was undoubted. (20)

The Trials of Thebarton Workers in the Last Two Decades of the Nineteenth Century

Introduction

Economic recession and recurrent drought during the 1880s took its toll on the working class of Thebarton and, indeed, throughout South Australia - this was exacerbated by the failure of The Commercial Bank of South Australia in February 1886 when its manager, aptly named Mr Crooks, was found to have been lending recklessly and keeping directors uninformed of nefarious banking practices which eventually found him convicted of theft.

When his malpractice came to the notice of his superiors a hastily convened shareholders' meeting was held in the Adelaide Town Hall and one might be excused for concluding that the hapless events which followed have an uncanny resemblance to the recent "crash" of the State Bank of South Australia. A contributor to the Letters to the Editor column of the Advertiser of 18 February 1991 gave readers much to contemplate when he wrote of the 1886 meeting and later events:

One director thought the manager a "vagabond" while the last director to speak finished by asking the shareholders "What shall we do with this man?" One disgruntled shareholder cried out: 'Lynch the bastard.'

The State Bank shareholders - the citizens of this State - may well be excused for sharing, with our friend of years gone by, a similar sentiment. While the royal commission is welcomed, much more needs to be done than, metaphorically speaking, lynching the bastards. It is time to correct, as Hugh Stretton puts it, 'Labor's Mistake' and recognise the truth of B.A. Santamaria's observation that bank deregulation encouraged 'greed'...

This local disaster was to be followed by similar events on a national scale. Australia had become exceptionally reliant upon British capital during the 1880s and this had, according to one historian, 'disguised a large deficit in the balance of payments on current account'. In effect, Australia's economic health remained dependent upon a capital inflow which represented about one half of all its imports. In 1891, as the result of recession in Britain and the United States, overseas markets were cut severely and foreign investment declined sharply. Without the prop of foreign investment colonial governments were unable to halt the slide into depression and a growing lack of confidence in the banking system.

In February 1890 the Premier Building Association in Melbourne crashed, followed by more than forty building and financial associations in Sydney and Melbourne in the next two years. In January 1893 the Federal Bank of Australia was the first bank to close; by mid-year eleven other trading banks followed. Few Australians remained unscathed by the bank crashes and the chronic unemployment that followed during the 1890s. Many small farmers lost their land as banks foreclosed on mortgages and working class people lost their life savings when banks were wound up.

These traumatic events had a profound impact on the economy, and in other areas, for they contributed to a hastening of the federation of Australian states, contributed to the origin of the political labour movement and undermined the 'Victorian' optimism and, for many, faith in capitalist society. (21)

The Trials of the Working Class

It was in the mid-1880s that the working class began to emerge as a political force and challenge the capitalist system and its inherent wealth, which the worker saw as a powerful enemy and all but invincible when supported by monopolies. They began to ask questions - Why should a miserable life of incessant toil ensure them nothing but an old age of dependency, whilst it added to the store of the wealthy man? Why should one man rolling in wealth never be obliged to do an hours work, whilst his neighbour had to work all his days for a bare pittance? Were not all men equal?

The answers to these questions were to be sought by the worker through organised trades unions which asserted three great principles - that all men are equal; that all men have a right to an equal share of the external resources of nature; that all men have equal requirements. Further, there was a firm conviction that all men were equal because all are alike born with an equal right to life and its blessings and that the capitalist and the worker was each endowed with gifts and possessions, varying indeed in quality and quantity, but similar in origin.

An ardent unionist put his case as follows:

Trades Unions [are] the protest of the poor against the tyranny of capital. The opposition which would be absurd and ineffectual as coming from an individual operative becomes serious when it is undertaken by a large and powerful organization of operatives. It took years of struggle before the system was pronounced lawful in Great Britain, and before 1867 the members of any trades union were liable to prosecution for a conspiracy to restrain trade. Since then, however, trades unionism has grown and flourished, and it bids fair to be the most successful opponent of the rule of capital until an enlightened and true system of co-operation is introduced. (22)

Much has been written on the economic conditions of the period 1880 to 1900 and needs no repetition here, but the plight of wives and widows has rarely been examined on a personal level and before we turn to other matters let us look into their frugal homes at Thebarton and elsewhere and hear of their trials and tribulations in the troubled state of South Australia during this period.

Destitution and Poverty

Mrs G... lived in a cottage of three rooms amidst some of the oldest houses in the west end of Adelaide; whilst neat and tidy the atmosphere of the centre room (the bedroom) was stifling, due to defective ventilation and not neglect on her part. Her husband was unemployed due to being sacked from his job by an employer who also refused to pay wages due for several weeks work - he had been compelled to hear his children ask for food and was unable to comply. Mrs G's relatives, who could ill afford to help them, had nevertheless kept them from starving, while a kind old lady nearby sent occasional supplies of food.

In acknowledging their plight a reporter addressed himself to the husband's former employer:

Should these lines be read by the gentleman who owes his fellow-man upwards of #40, I hope he will... pay this money... Doubtless he thinks he can ignore the debt because... his creditor has not sufficient means and cannot get anything to do to earn enough to defray the cost of legal proceedings.

Mrs L... lived alone and was supposed to pay half a crown a week for the room in which she lived. Her landlady allowed her the use of a bed upon which was an old mattress and a quilt. An old trunk containing a little clothing and "what she [stood] up in" was all she had in the world. She was a widow with two grown up sons; for a time she was in domestic service and worked hard for several weeks but was denied payment by her mistress whose husband got into debt and so Mrs L was left lamenting. The destitute authorities refused her rations because she had sons who could keep her but she did not know of their whereabouts.

Mrs S... had been deserted by her husband for four years; she had two daughters old enough "to go into service" and a son aged 14 "nearly naked for want of boots and clothes". She was receiving temporary relief from the Charity Organisation Society and her name was sent in to the Sisters of Mercy who promised to visit. She pleaded for some kind person to take her daughters into service and expressed the hope that the Boys' Brigade would take her son in hand and keep him off the streets.

Mr and Mrs E... live in a tumble-down old shanty... Mr E had walked 230 odd miles to Orroroo where he was earning 4/6 (45 cents) a day. Mrs E was a partial invalid but was clean and tidy and her face 'literally beamed with happiness'. As there was a little ground to spare behind the house, the visiting reporter suggested she might consider growing a few flowers for sale for she was too sensitive to apply for help.

Mrs T... and family of four children lived with and mainly on the charity of Mrs M..., a clean, respectable woman who earned her living as a laundress and who granted the widow and children shelter in consideration for the former's kindness in looking after Mrs M's children during her absence from home. Mrs T had been in hospital ... under treatment for injuries received by being knocked down and run over by a hansom cab ... and found it hard to do the one half-day's washing per week which was all she got to earn bread for her children.

The visiting reporter saw a pair of second-hand boots which Mrs T had bought for a trifling sum - the family had all been shoeless. One girl went out on a Sabbath morning, the other wore them in the afternoon, and the mother went barefooted, but would wear them to Church in the evening.

Mrs M who sheltered this family had, two years hence, been in hospital and her three children were left in the care of her husband who "sold out everything and kept the money." By the time she left the hospital he had "cleared the colony" and left the children with a neighbour. She had no recourse other than wander about the streets with her children looking for a home. At last weary and worn she sat down on a doorstep when one of children asked, "Mamma, why don't you ask God to give us a bed tonight?" The mother said she had already sent up a prayer when a door was opened by a good Samaritan who took them in.

She obtained work washing clothes for a reverend gentleman's family. As time went on she got additional work and worked from 6 a.m. until 2 p.m. nearly every day washing and ironing and sewed clothes at night to earn 14 shillings (\$1-40) a week. She had twin babies 16 months old and was grateful when she met Mrs T who was very kind to her "little ones". Mrs M rested on Sunday afternoons, after cooking the only hot dinner her children got each week, and then went to Church in the evening. (23)

Driven to Prostitution

There were other women who used prostitution as a means to provide for themselves and their families:

If the means were at hand, many, I believe might be saved... There are many very young... many who have only been lately on the streets - many who are anxious to give up their wicked life, provided that they could obtain a decent situation.

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...

I have seen more of this class in about four or five nights in Adelaide than I have seen in proportion in a great many larger towns in England... Some of the females looked as if they ought to have been at school or at home with their parents... (24)

To counter this evil 'The Women of the White Cross' frequented the streets of Adelaide on a different mission:

There are heroines in Adelaide - devoted, self-sacrificing, courageous women, who leave the comfort of their homes to go out into the moral gutters of our city, when, under the shadow of night, vice comes forth without a blush upon its face to pursue its vocation of evil... (25)

To conclude these brief remarks on the 'social evil', as prostitution was termed in the Victorian era, consider a comment emanating from a young woman committed to a life of prostitution which gives an indication of a certain hypocrisy among the upper classes of Adelaide society:

We are despised by everyone, even our mothers and brothers, and are looked upon by the public as no better than beasts of the field... Mention [has been made] of young girls passing through the dance room to the brothel, but in my case it was not so... [I] was reared in a Baptist family and always attended church twice every Sunday... I know for a fact that there are gentlemen who go with their families to church on Sunday nights, and who come direct from there to our house...

Sweated Labour

Finally, the insidious "sweating" of female labour by callous employers also led many women into brothels and once there they, in the fullness of time, became introduced to vice, lechery and disease:

The poor distrust the Church. Why? For ages past the rich man's gospel has been preached thus to the less fortunate - "My brethren, remember if your lot is hard you must strive to bear it patiently. Carry your cross and it will be exchanged for a crown hereafter." And when the poor man reflects that the Archbishop of Canterbury gets £13,000 a year for carrying his cross his bile is stirred...

It goes without saying that, if people could afford to be married, there would be less prostitution, but when great firms pay only two and a half-pence for the making of a man's shirt - the seamstress to find the cotton - and it is so easy to step aside from the path of virtue, what is the sequence? (26)

At this juncture it would be fitting, perhaps, to reproduce the following tilt at the inappropriate use of wealth which appeared in the local press at this period; its message is still applicable today:

When once the rich learn to love riches for the sake of use and not merely for their own selfish gratifications... then indeed we shall arrive at a better condition of affairs... [If] we were to see a little more manifestation that the wealth of the world was loved for the sake of use and not merely for a sort of missionary-box system of Christianity, then, indeed, the poor would be without excuse, for work would be more abundant and the poor, instead of being a thorn in the side of the wealthy aristocrats, would become their willing servants. (27)

Charity at Work

In the 1880s 'exceptional distress' prevailed in Adelaide and had the effect of "bringing once more to the fore the charity of all sorts"; the more affluent offered money and contributions of all kinds 'as their mite towards alleviating the distress, furnishing thus a conclusive proof that Adelaide had only to know of deserving cases for help to come from willing hands.' One such case was described by a charity worker:

The latch was turned by a poor little woman in a threadbare cotton dress and shamefacedness as she asked us to come in. We sat down on two angular, decrepit chairs with backs bent and legs shaky through age. She, suckling an old-faced baby, thinly clad, entrusted her weight to a soap box, disguised by an ancient canvas covering... During more than six years she has supported her family by scrubbing and washing day and night...

Why does the law allow people to live - breathing a fetid atmosphere in such wretched houses in this "bright Australia". I am quite prepared to hear some sleek well-fed member

rise in his place in Parliament and say that these descriptions are exaggerated; but, more than that I am ready to prove that they are not... (28)

The depression was at its peak in 1884 and the plight of the working class in Thebarton and elsewhere was to continue into the 1890s. With winter approaching the charitable organisations could not cope with the demand for food and clothing and so Alderman Kither of the Adelaide City Council set about remedying the situation by distributing free soup and bread from his premises in Rundle Street, commencing on 27 May 1884. At the first distribution thirty gallons of soup and forty loaves of bread 'were carried off by eager and indigent and genuinely grateful applicants':

As each applicant came he was closely scrutinised without being aware of it; but except in one case the absence of imposition and the presence of pressing poverty was attested by one of the missionaries [assisting Mr Kither]. There was no mere sentiment about the affair, and there was no attempt by distasteful sermonising to make the gift scarcely valued because of the necessity it entailed to listen to ancient and excellent maxims and fragmentary bits of religious advice. And, above all, there was no Bumbledom. The poor people were welcomed with a cheery greeting and a hearty hand shake; they were given their bread and soup; they were asked to come again so long as the need lasted; and - there was the end of it.

The character of the utensils brought varied as the colours of the chameleon. There was a respectable billy-can and a demoralized old half-pannican which had been over the fire since some remote period in the far distant past. There was the war-scarred jug with handle amputated and lip completely gone; there were preserve jars, polished and unpolished, rough and smooth; there were great water ewers, damaged mostly, and homely porringers. In three or four cases a milk pail was brought, two or three needy families borrowing the nearest dairyman's most serviceable utensil.

Nearly all displayed a lively gratitude to Mr Kither and the dispensers of his timely relief. Specially this is true of one poor old woman, with nose and chin in remarkably close acquaintanceship; owing to the teeth having long shifted to other quarters, and with clothes which seemed as if specially rent with grief at the demise of a former scarecrow master. This poor old lady let tear-globes cross the rather dilapidated bridge of her withered nose, and so reach her chin, as she said huskily... 'Oh, you dunno how I thanks you. When I got that ticket I was wond'r'in' what I should ha' today for a bit o' dinner. I had nawthin' in the house.'

This distribution will be continued every day between noon and two o'clock, Sundays excepted. On Wednesday the bread was supplied as a gift by Messrs A. and W.D. Thomas, bakers, and a continued supply from other bakers was assured for the rest of the week. Within a few weeks destitute people were flocking into the city from the suburbs and on 11 June 1884 "195 families were relieved" including "genuinely needy persons" from Thebarton, Bowden and Hindmarsh and as a consequence "the supply was very much taxed."

By this time the conduct of the relief campaign was too much for Mr Kither and his small band of helpers and so a committee was formed at the end of May 1884 under the auspices of Mr G.C. Knight of D.& J. Fowler Ltd and a room in Trim Street close to Mr Kither's butcher shop was rented for the purpose of assisting in the distribution of the free food. (29)

'This committee disbanded on 9 August 1884 when the last of the general distribution of food to all and firewood and clothing to the especially needy was witnessed on Saturday... The work occupied from shortly before noon until nearly 4 o'clock and it was about 5 o'clock before the committee ceased from their self-imposed tasks. The distribution was made at the office in Twin Street.

'Here each applicant, having been questioned as explained below was supplied - with particular reference to the Sunday dinner - with bread, tea and sugar, a little joint of meat... and, besides delicacies in case of sickness, a small bag of potatoes. Thus burdened they were checked out at the side entrance and passed on to the soup kitchen...

'It had been announced that the distribution would begin at noon and half an hour before some of the poor folk had gathered. Their numbers swelled gradually until about half-past 12 o'clock the space in front of the office was thronged by a motley crowd of all sizes and ages, and in varying stages of misery, and raggedness, and dirt... The pressing they kept up was so severe that three of the female applicants - poor, emaciated, perpetually sorrow-laden creatures - fainted through the excessive exertion necessary to enable them to hold up at all. Some of them had to wait fully three hours thus hemmed in, and whilst they waited the rain poured down persistently, doubtless wetting the worst-clad through and through...'

This evocative report continues with derogatory comments on the condition of destitute women and is a sad reflection upon the male conception of the place of females in colonial society. This latter-day male chauvinist goes on to describe these unfortunate ladies and offers no comment on the appearance of their male counterparts.

'Several women had dirt fairly engrained in their hands and arms and faces - actually soaked in like grated nutmeg on the surface of a tapioca pudding! ... Some of the towels and other scarcely describable rags which they brought to wrap up the gifts in were disgusting in their dirtiness. A few of the children, too, who brought them were so filthy as to their hands that (according to a facetious committeeman) they might tarnish charcoal if they touched it. Their eyes were fringed with dirt, and the head of one boy was so thickly spread with it as to suggest the idea that his hair grew out of it like grass through a top dressing of manure.'

Our reporter with, no doubt, a full stomach and fresh from a morning tub proceeds on his rampage against the destitute people of the city and suburbs - 'Surely the poor need some trumpet-toned, big-brained, great-hearted man, whom they will hear, to preach to them the gospel of cleanliness; to tell them that dirt and disease are father and son, and that they are very

partial to and rarely absent from each other; that one dirty family may infect a whole neighbourhood - ay, and in times of epidemic decimate perhaps half a city.

'There are, of course, scores of cleanly poor, wrapped up in threadbare clothes, but neat and tidy. The homes of these people are, but for their bareness, pleasant to look upon." He proceeds with his mockery - "The deal table shines, and you could almost see to comb your hair by looking at the brass door knob. But this is not true of half of them. The rest, now they are fed, should be led out by one by one into the market place and scrubbed, the majority looking on for the good the example would do them, while the minority were smarting under the friction.

'The committee have found that the direst poverty is accompanied by the greatest amount of foulness. Where poor people are clean it has not been so bad to raise them. Where, rarely through necessity, they eat and sleep in the same clothes, day after day and night after night, never removing their garments from week's beginning to week's end, it is next to an impossibility to help them.'

At this juncture our reporter injects a lighter vein to his narrative - 'To prevent a repetition of the pocket-picking which has been detected thrice on similar occasions, the Commissioner of Police sent a detective and constable and as these kept back the crowd with official zeal, you would occasionally hear some bold pauper make facetious comments. These would be renewed when a sadly crushed old woman, unable to bear the pressure longer, would viciously elbow those close to her, and tell them not to crowd their betters...

'Then the elbow mania would spread, and the whole crowd would sway to and fro in bad temper. At length some joker would launch forth with a witty sally, and turn the tide of wrath in this sea of ragged humanity would show itself by a ripple of merry laughter passing rapidly over it. The crowd was a curious study!... At tables near the doors were posted Mr Scott, JP, Miss Spence, Mr R. Hay, Mr T Rhodes, Councillor Green and Mr Sowden. They were furnished with lists containing these headings: - Name, nation, how long in the colony, number of children, how many at day school, at Sunday school and at work, religion, occupation, and general remarks as to circumstances - if husband out of work, and if so how long and why...'

'The people answered readily and ingenuously, except in a very few cases, and the sum of their communications will form most interesting reading... There were on Saturday 900 applicants supplied with food... About two-thirds of the applicants live in the city; Brompton furnishes the next largest number; Lower North Adelaide and Bowden and Hindmarsh are about equal; Parkside and Kensington and Norwood come next... Thebarton is almost as prominent, and the least so are in the order of their naming - Goodwood, Hackney, Prospect, Walkerville, Eastwood, Maylands, Unley and the Grange...

'According to my estimate fully 75 per cent of the children who are old enough attend day school, and about 50 per cent go to Sunday school. There would be a greater proportion according to the parents if their little ones had clothes fit to wear. The Irish show as well as any other nationality in this calculation...'

Seventy per cent of the [destitute] were Irish; most of them Catholics... There was not one Chinaman and not a single Jew... I notice... that amongst the committee helpers no lady or gentleman of the Catholic Church appeared at any time. The other denominations were fairly represented, members of the Jewish Church being praiseworthily energetic. (30)

And so this worthy cause closed down its operations on account of the fact that "the prospect [of jobs] generally was brightening... To the generosity of Mr Kither... no praise could be too high. Such generosity the committee could not hope to sufficiently recognise, but so noble-minded a man would assuredly have his reward... Hundreds of people who otherwise would this winter have had to half-starve and shiver in destitute homes, and some who but for this movement would have died, had reason to be thankful for the timely aid..." rendered with the backing and support of the Register newspaper.

Twelve months later the destitution still persisted in some quarters and in a charitable gesture the Advertiser conducted a poor relief fund managed by suburban committees and, in August 1885, Mr E.J. Ronald of the Thebarton committee reported that up to 17 August forty cases had been relieved in the district at a cost of about £25. A soup kitchen was established at Hindmarsh to assist in the amelioration of destitution prevailing in the area, including Thebarton; a short history of its foundation was given by a reporter following an interview with its founder, Mr W. Shearing:

About two months ago, he said, some cases of distress in the neighbourhood came to his notice, upon which he interviewed the missionary of the town, Mr Harkness, with a view to establishing a soup kitchen. That gentleman disapproved of the idea. Mr Shearing then started one himself. Mr Oxenham kindly agreed to supply the meat and Mr J. Longman volunteered to forward a certain quantity of bread weekly as long as the distress lasted. To avoid any sectarian feeling Mr Hunwick was asked to form one of the committee... "To what do you attribute the distress?", I asked Mr Shearing. And said he - "To scarcity of work in the neighbourhood. Some two years ago I employed ninety hands in my brickmaking establishment and at the present time I have not a third of that number, because the trade is so dull. I am only one among others.

There are other large works here at a standstill or nearly so. The extensive pottery works of Mr Marks are almost idle and Messrs Wright, Weeks & Co and the Brickmaking Company have reduced their staff considerably... We have not only to provide for people in our neighbourhood but we have to relieve people coming here from all parts of the country... It was our original intention to discontinue the soup kitchen at the end of the present month, but I do not see now when we are to leave it off. ' (31)

Another organisation intent upon easing the plight of the poor and unemployed was the Sunday Brigade and its subsidiary the Breakfast Brigade "who energetically march through our streets early on Sunday mornings when most good Christians are asleep." They provided a free breakfast on the Lord's day and commenced operation in 1883 and, beginning with about 30 sittings, in 1886 they were providing in the vicinity of 150 each week. "From the byways and slums, half-

naked, ragged and dirty, they come, and all are treated kindly, whatever their class or their creed." (30)

Pawnbrokers

The plight of the destitute working class was exacerbated by the role of the pawnbroker; it has been said that an unscrupulous lawyer's conscience is made of indiarubber and, by the same reasoning, that of a pawnbroker fabricated out of the most easily stretched elastic. In the 1880s these gentlemen received the poor and destitute into their places of trading and into 'unholy hands some dearly cherished little household god, and, more than all, a not inconsiderable share in the family earnings for... many months was pledged.'

The poor people who borrowed tried hard for the first few weeks to keep up payments, but by the time they had, say, half-paid the pawnbroker their luck usually grew worse and they never went into the pawnbroker again unless to pawn another household treasure. In most cases the benevolent broker levied an interest of one penny per week on every shilling borrowed (one cent on 10 cents) with three months allowed for repayment:

If it therefore goes on fifty-two weeks in the year, by the end of December there will have been paid upon that advanced shilling no less than fifty-two pennies, besides four other pennies for the renewed ticket. That is near to 500 per cent interest... (32)

Relief Works

As a remedial measure to the chronic lack of work the government employed men on relief works and by February 1886 1,080 men were engaged in various projects around the State whereas in the previous year at the same time only 600 occupied such positions. One location was at Marree where the men worked on railway construction; in May 1886 a tragedy occurred when five men were killed and in editorial comment in the Register it is said that the government:

Had the inhumanity to demand from the relatives... payment of the costs incurred in burying [two of] those unfortunate men. This action is without parallel in meanness and audacity... We have no hesitation in saying that this mean haggling over corpses is a disgrace to the government. (33)

Conclusion

Misery and depression continued in Thebarton into the 1890s while the emerging Labor movement sought political power and pointed to impending class conflicts; the following remarks made by a parliamentarian (G.W. Cotton), sympathetic to the cause of the working-class, and two members of that class with diverse opinions as to the road to be followed are, perhaps, a suitable close to this chapter:

Some of us think we see the dawn of a Christian socialism, when the strong in brain and heavy in purse shall need no goading to induce them to share their superior endowments with their weaker brethren...

Alas! in these days an employer, with his almighty weapons of capital, and the help of "democratic" Government (save the mark), dare do anything, even from starving men to death on the "freedom of contract" racket, to throwing them into prison for demanding their rights... I believe, with Lord Lytton, that 'The people, like the air, is rarely heard, save when it speaks in thunder.'

Unions have bin formed... for the purposes of securing the rites of the wage earners, but reely to giv kumfortable billets to men who prefer to poak their noses into other people's bisnes, to doin an onest day's work... Fellow workers bewair; unionism has already gone 2 far and if pushed much further will kill the guse that lays the golden eg. (34)

1. Cited in Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent* (1967), p. 178.
2. Ibid, p. 182.
3. J. Moss, *Sound of Trumpets*; History of the Labour Movement in South Australia, pp. 14 and 16, G.H. & H.R. Manning, *Worth Fighting For*, Work and Industrial Relations in the Banking Industry in South Australia, p. 18. Much of this section on unions and arbitration is taken from the latter work and I am indebted to my son, Haydon Manning, Ph.D., for his input on this subject.
4. *Boucaut Papers*, Mortlock Library of SA, ref. no. 97/379 of 28 August 1874.
5. *Register*, 17 August 1882, page 4f, 23 August 1882 (supp.), page 2a, 15 April 1887, page 7b (poem).
6. Cited in Manning & Manning, op. cit. p. 18.
7. Manning & Manning, op. cit., pp. 18-19.
8. *Register*, 14 August 1841, p. 4c.
9. *Register*, 11 August 1841, p. 4c, 8 October 1842, p. 3b, 18 June 1851, *Observer*, 14 and 21 August 1858, pp. 1d (supp.) and 3d.
10. *Third Annual Report of Colonization Commissioners* (Appendix II), p. 39 - cited in Christopher Nance, The Destitute in Early Colonial South Australia, in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, Number 7, 1980, p. 50.
11. *Southern Australian*, 19 October 1841.
12. Nance, op cit, pp. 52-53.
13. *Observer*, 11 July 1857, p. 5d. For other comments on the Destitute Board see 6 August 1859, p. 6f, 8 and 29 March 1862, pp. 6d and 6d, 5 April 1862, p. 6c, 5 July 1862, p. 5g. The Destitute Asylum is described on 15 June

- 1867, p.4e.
14. *Observer*, 4 April 1857, p. 6d.
 15. *Register*, 27 and 29 September 1851, pp. 3a and 2b.
 16. *Observer*, 19 August 1854, p. 9a.
 17. See, for example, *Register*, 13 September 1867, p. 3h, *Observer*, 28 March 1868, p. 12c, 16 May 1868, p. 7f.
 18. *Observer*, 5 March 1870, p. 13d.
 19. *Observer*, 9 and 23 April 1870, pp. 5c and 9c.
 20. *Observer*, 28 April 1870, p. 6c.
 21. This introduction is taken from G.H. & H.R. Manning, *Worth Fighting For*, Work and Industrial Relations in the Banking Industry in South Australia[R], pp.8-10. The historian mentioned is P. Love - see *his Labour and Money Power: Australian Populism 1890-1950*.
 22. See editorials in the *Register*, 30 March 1886, p. 4h, 17 April 1886, p. 4g.
 23. *Register*, 23 April 1886, p. 6. Other cases appear in this report.
 24. *Register*, 28 December 1885.
 25. *Register*, 3 September 1860, p. 3b, 1 October 1877, pp. 4d and 5a, *Register*, 9 February 1878, page 6f, *Advertiser*, 5, 11 and 14 July 1884, p. 7a, 6c and 6g, *Advertiser*, 5, 11 and 14 July 1884, pp. 7a, 6c and 6g, *Register*, 24, 29 and 31 December 1903, pp. 6b, 6g and 7g.
 26. *Register*, 23 April 1887, p. 6e.
 27. *Register*, 26 May 1884, p. 5g.
 28. *Register*, 31 May 1884, p. 5a, *Observer*, 31 May 1884, p. 36, *Register*, 14 June 1884, p. 5c.
 29. *Observer*, 16 August 1884, p. 33, *Register*, 31 July 1884, p.6b, 26 August 1884, page 7a.
 30. *Advertiser*, 19 August 1885, p.7a, *Register*, 8 August 1885, p. 5.
 31. *Register*, 6 April 1886, p. 6a.
 32. *Register*, 11 August 1885, p. 6a.
 33. *Register*, 19 May 1886, p. 4h.
 34. *Register*, 14 September 1886, p. 7g, 6 February 1886, p. 5b, 20 October 1891, p. 7c, *Advertiser*, 28 September 1892, page 7e; also see *Register*, 3 and 9 November 1891, pp. 7g and 3f.

Chapter 9

Sport

Encourage... manly pastimes... for such sports are the germs of sound morality and permanent happiness - of national prosperity and of national honour.

(Register, 23 January 1847)

In his introduction to John Daly's *Elysian Fields* Sir Donald Bradman suggests that "sport in Australia has often been described as a national passion, even an obsession." (1)

The early residents of Thebarton, with adjacent park lands available for cricket, football and the scores of nameless games common to adults and children of the day, were adherents to this creed and among the first to initiate sporting activities. Indeed, their devotion to the creation and nurturing of field games and other 'manly pastimes' is of some importance in the history of South Australia and, with some employers granting a Saturday half-holiday in the late 1850s, an impetus was given to 'healthy and invigorating sports' and young men were lured away from finding enjoyment 'in the haunts of vice.' (2)

Cricket

Cricket has not met with such favour in South Australia as in the other colonies... There is much to be said in praise of this noble game...

(Register, 23 July 1861, p. 2d)

The game of cricket originated in England and the first match recorded in detail was played on 18 June 1744 between Kent and a team described as 'the World combined' or, in effect, 'the rest of England'. Richard Newland was the captain of the latter and was later to teach the rudiments of the game to Richard Nyren, who became the "head and right arm" of Hambledon Cricket Club and author of *The Cricketers of My Time* in 1833. (3)

It 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 ground 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.' However, they 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 - one might be excused for concluding that modern-day 'sledging' on the field has abrogated these noble sentiments! (3)

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 said:

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. (5)

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, which had been born in Adelaide on a tide of beer, made its own way in the realm of manly colonial sports. (6 0

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. (7)

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. (8)

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. (9)

The Thebarton Club disbanded in 1875 and a new club called 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. (10)

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. (11)

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. (12)

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. (13)

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. (14)

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. (15)

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 are 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. (16)

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... (17)

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 in 1994, he went on to complain about the umpire whose performance he considered had been 'anything but impartial'!

By 1882 the Editor of the Register had become alarmed at the prevalence of bad sportsmanship and unruly behaviour. 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.' (18)

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.

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)

Introduction

In its infancy horse racing was considered to be an innocent and manly amusement, mainly patronised by 'gentlemen of high honour and probity' but by the late 1860s discerning reporters were putting forward suggestions that a certain "rascality" was discernible in 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 States 'some scandalous tricks... [had] come to light to the infinite disgust of every right-minded patron of racing. Notorious horsey men down on their luck, have 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 Tattersall's 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... (19)

With revelations from the industry in recent years 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 asking – 'What Has Changed?' in the past century.

Racing at Thebarton

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.

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. (20)

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.

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. (21)

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...' (22)

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. (23)

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.

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.' (24)

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. (25)

By 1862 an unhappy division existed between Mr P.B. Coglin, 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, Coglin, 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 Coglin 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 Coglin 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.. (26)

However, in spite of all the antagonism against him Mr Bagot's will prevailed and on 15 January 1863 he and 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. (27)

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. (28)

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 Chapter Seven)

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 it 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 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 was conducted and a 'party of crack shots... agreed to patronise the "spread" ' which consisted 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. (29)

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. (30)

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. (31)

Boxing and Wrestling

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.' (32)

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. (33)

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. (34)

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. (35)

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. (34) 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.' (36)

Thebarton Recreation Ground

By the turn of the 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 either to be played on the Park Lands or on 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.' (37)

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 again discussed at a meeting of towns-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. (38)

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. (39)

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.

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. (40) In 1922 the proceeds from this event were used to erect imposing entrance gates, a grandstand and scoreboard at a cost of £451.

Bowls

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 a bowling club. The terrace ran parallel with the hills railway line southward from Henley Beach Road and was practically unused by vehicles and,

locally, it was 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 court. (41)

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 were facing 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. (42)

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.

1. John A. Daly, Elysian Fields, p. 58.
2. Register, 23 July 1861, p. 2d.
3. John Arlott, Concerning Cricket, p. 8.
4. Register, 8 November 1859, p. 2c, 30 January 1862, p. 3d. A "single-wicket" match is advertised in the South Australian, 24 November 1838.
5. Advertiser, 1 September 1936 (special edition), p. 56.
6. Particulars of matches, players, etc., are in the Register, 25 November 1846, p. 3a, 2 December 1846, p.3a, 12 May 1847, p. 3c, 27 October 1847, p. 2e, 24 May 1851, p. 6e, 24 May 1851, p. 6e, 17 September 1860, p. 3c, 23 April 1867, p. 3e, 25 February 1873, p. 6d, Advertiser, 19 January 1875, p. 1d (supp.).
7. Observer, 26 April 1862, p. 7a.
8. Register, 17 January 1876, p. 6g.
9. Southern Australian, 17 March 1843, p. 2.
10. Register, 28 March 1853, p. 1e.
11. Advertiser, 1 September 1936 (special edition), p. 77, Elysian Fields, p. 58.
12. Register, 17 September 1860, p. 3e; also see 18 September 1860, p. 3g, 20 May 1861, p. 3e.
13. Advertiser, 1 September 1936 (special edition), p. 77.
14. Observer, 10 April 1869, p. 5e, 10 and 17 July 1869, pp. 7f and 5c.
15. Observer, 25 March 1876, p. 7d, 15 April 1876, p. 5d, 22 July 1876, p. 3g.
16. Register, 28 July 1877. p. 16c.
17. Register, 7 and 9 August 1877, pp. 5b and 5b, 20 June 1882, p. 5b.
18. Advertiser, 3 February 1868, p. 2g.
19. Cited in the History of the South Australian Jockey Club, p. 3.
20. Register, 20 January 1838, p.3b, John Daly, Elysian Fields, pp. 29-31. See Advertiser, 27 December 1886 for reminiscences of early Adelaide and the racecourse and Murray D. Thompson, The Development of the South Australian Racing Industry, B.A.(Hons.) thesis, University of Adelaide, 1969. It is apparent that the cricket venue was within the racecourse.

21. Register, 7 January 1846, page 3a; also see 15 and 17 January 1846, pp. 2d and 2a.
22. Cited in Peter Donovan, *Between the City and the Sea*, p. 99. The Register of 8 September 1847 says, inter alia, "first leap at Mr Gell's place from which the course formed a half-circle throughout the fields to the winning post on Mr Chambers' section... There were two pigmy booths near the winning post."
23. Ingrid Srubjen, *Town of Thebarton* (unpublished manuscript), Chapter Three, pp. 8 and 9.
24. Register, 1 June 1869, p. 2f.
25. West Torrens Council Minutes of 25 August 1863.
26. Advertiser, 11 October 1867, p. 2d, Register, 19 August 1911, p. 8c, 2 November 1921, p. 4b, Advertiser, 1 September 1936, (special edition), p. 60, *The Thebarton Story*, unpublished manuscript held by the Corporation of the Town of Thebarton.
27. See application no. 16306 in the General Registry Office and Certificate of Title, Volume 275, Folio 188.
28. Register, 1 and 2 January 1869, pp. 3. An advertisement for the newly created subdivision of West Adelaide on land previously used as the racecourse is in the Register, 13 September 1882, p. 8d.
29. Register, 25 June 1853, p. 3f, 4 May 1854, p. 3e.
30. Advertiser, 8 October 1868, p. 2e.
31. South Australian, 30 June 1848, page 3a.
32. Register, 22 November 1845, p. 2e, Observer, 22 January 1848, p. 2c.
33. Register, 7 February 1894, p. 5c.
34. Register, 22 November 1845, p. 2e, 31 December 1848, p. 2d, 8 January 1848, p. 4e, South Australian, 18 January 1848, p. 2f, Observer, 22 January 1848, p. 2c, 3 October 1863, p. 5a, 14 November 1863, p. 4g.
36. South Australian Magazine, 1841-1842, p. 477, *The Thebarton Story*, unpublished manuscript held by the Thebarton Corporation.
36. Adelaide Times, 13 April 1850, p. 3f, Observer 11 August 1851, 1 December 1883, p. 19a, Register 15 February 1884, p. 5c, Advertiser, 26 May 1936, p. 19a.
37. Observer, 28 July 1855, p. 4h.
38. Register, 17 April 1906, p. 6h.
39. Register, 5 and 7 October 1907, pp. 7g and 7c.
40. Register, 2 and 21 June 1910, pp. 6f and 6g.
41. Advertiser, 29 October 1921, p. 10c.

42. Register, 27 August 1906, p. 4g.

Chapter 10

Transport and Public Utilities

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... (Editorial on "Holiday Driving", *Register*, 22 April 1870, page 4f)

Introduction

The early roads in the district were in name only and hindered traffic; the Reedbeds Road was the most important being declared as such in 1841 and by 1855 it had been surfaced but only extended from Underdale to Fulham the problem being relieved when Kintore Street was declared a public road in 1855 thus giving residents direct access to Adelaide along Henley Beach Road.

Many attempts to build bridges strong enough to withstand floodwaters of the Torrens failed and by 1851 the only local one to survive was Wilkins' Bridge which had been opened by John B. Neales in December 1844. (See under 'Hotels') It was the 'only means of communication for heavily laden drays between Adelaide, the Port and northern districts' and as such was of significant importance.

Taylor's Bridge named after the tanner, John Taylor, 'one of the chief actors', was opened on 1 July 1858 by Miss Emery; it was a wooden structure and was replaced by a new bridge in 1903 when it was christened by Miss Daisy Brooker in the presence of the Treasurer of South Australia, the Hon. Richard Butler. (1)

Prior to the commencement of the rail service to Port Adelaide, Thebarton was serviced by a spring dray drawn by two horses in tandem; it passed along the Port Road twice a day and this, for those citizens without their own means of transport, was the only mode of conveyance and the 'cart would be crowded in a way that would set the SPCA investigating now.' (2)

Port Adelaide Railway

The construction of this railway was a source of employment for many labourers and artisans residing in Thebarton and it was a gala day when it opened on 19 April 1856. The Adelaide railway station was built of rough stone from the adjacent quarry (at the foot of the present-day ramp), with brick quoins and cornices in the Anglo-Italian style of architecture. The single platform catered for both arrivals and departures the line, in the first instance, being laid with a single track, whilst provision was made for future expansion both as to platforms and tracks.

However, by 1877 nothing had been done to improve these facilities and a second train could not enter the principal terminus 'until the one preceding it had cleared out.' At Morphett Street the

line crossed at road level and gates were provided to control vehicular traffic; the line then entered a cutting through the cattle market hill which at its greatest depth was nineteen feet.

The bridge over the Torrens was constructed of timber and consisted of trussed girders springing from stone abutments, based on a concrete foundation protected by sheet piling. The timber for the superstructure was Swan River mahogany.

From the river to Bowden the line was fenced and on the adjacent Park Lands it had been planned that the proposed Gawler line would meet with the Port line. Crossing the Great North Road by a level crossing the line entered the town of Bowden about 90 yards north of the Port Road and the station was placed between the two main streets of Bowden and Brompton; these streets were carried under the railway by bridges, the ravines in the neighbourhood affording means of drainage.

A new street was made leading from the station to the Port Road thus communicating direct with Hindmarsh. A road was opened along the north side of the railway to Brompton, giving a communication between Brompton and Bowden - one which was not reserved for the use of the inhabitants in laying out these towns; thus bringing Brompton as well as Hindmarsh within easy reach of the Bowden station. (3)

No sleepers were used for the railway - pieces of timber about one foot square were connected by smaller pieces of timber at right angles and dovetailed into the opposite square pieces and the metal rails laid on top and parallel to the longitudinals and bolted to them. These timbers lasted for about twenty years when they were replaced by sleepers. (4)

Coaches and Omnibuses

Coach driving and work in livery stables were other occupations engaged in by some residents of Thebarton 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 one horse, 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." (5)

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.' Subsequently, these vehicles went so much out of repair that their licences were taken away.

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 gradually disappeared as each licensing day, which occurred every six months, came around.

The 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.' (6)

By 1920 trains, trams and motor cars had made intrusions into the cabman's income but it was the motor buses that hammered the last nail in the industry's coffin; funerals were its only steady source of financial reward together with conveying 'drunks' to the watch-house and pay-rolls to and from banks.

In 1900 there were 377 licensed cabmen and by 1 July 1925 only 39 remained. But the cab still retained a certain aura of romance for it was an ideal match-maker and many an eligible young bachelor regretted the day when he could no longer lounge beside a fair lady on padded seats.

In 1929 Mr D. McDougall who had been a 'cabbie' since 1869 reminisced upon the days when skirts swept the ground and legs were called limbs:

In those days cabs stood in the middle of King William Street, and met the old horse cars which used to come down Hindley Street... North Terrace was mostly paddocks... There

were no houses in East Adelaide and only wide, open spaces between the Maid and Magpie and Payneham Road.

Those were the days of great hunts when we would be commissioned to drive the grand ladies after the gentlemen on their horses. Well I remember the days of the long skirts, when the girls would have to lift their dresses high when getting into the cab for fear of soiling their skirts.

Then the women wore mutton-chop sleeves and would sit carefully in the farthest corner of my cab, because they were afraid of crushing them. Those were the days when it took many yards of material to make a dress, and such a rustling they made when women got on to the step.

Cabmen were also in demand when the great balls were held. I would call for parties at 8 o'clock, and after driving to the dance would stop until 3 o'clock in the morning. Then would come the drive home through the night, and we would get back to the city just as dawn was breaking.

During the stay of the Duke of Edinburgh in Adelaide the cabmen made a fortune. It must be remembered that there was little other means of conveyance besides our vehicles which were constantly in demand from morning till night. (7)

Tramways

By the 1870s 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:

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.

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... (8)

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. (9)

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. (10)

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.

Horse Trams, Tram Drivers and Boy Conductors

Under the laws which regulated horse trams there was no effectual check on the number of passengers which could be carried for a conductor could overload his tram to any extent and be safe from prosecution because the private Act of Parliament controlling the company was superior to any corporation by-laws - so the tramcars were overloaded with impunity and the passengers who complained had no redress.

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.

The laws governing tram cars were eventually amended to give local authorities control over some aspects of the company's operations and the first prosecution was launched in 1906 when Arthur Hutchinson of West Hindmarsh, a driver for the Adelaide, Hindmarsh and Henley Beach Tramway Company, was charged with permitting "a larger number of passengers than was specified in the licence, viz., five in excess."

Counsel for the defence suggested that the alleged overcrowding was 'due to the greed of the company and its desire to draw in the filthy lucre'. After heated exchanges between counsel for both sides the unfortunate defendant was allowed to leave without a blot on his escutcheon for the learned magistrate ruled that portion of the council by-laws were repugnant at law. (11)

Another inconvenience was the presence of dogs which were permitted in tram cars "to the great annoyance of persons inside" while the ever-present drunkard was 'far more objectionable than a dog in a crowded vehicle.'

Roomy carriages became close and stuffy and the loading at the top and on the steps was a check on ventilation. There were notices in the trams that any complaint or incivility or otherwise should be made to the secretary of the company in writing but they probably found 'themselves in a correspondence which [ended] in nothing.'

It was suggested that an appeal to the driver would be useful, but his hands were full minding his horses and attending to the call bell and the state of the traffic in the streets, and had no time in transit for altercations and no power to do anything except complain upon return to the depot - the long hours they had to keep were against any special zeal in this direction.

Each tramcar had a driver and conductor, the latter usually a boy. The smaller cars had fare-boxes into which all the fares in tickets or money was put. At the end of each journey the driver and conductor delivered a weighbill showing the number of persons carried, and this of course had to agree with the tickets and money in the box, of which the company manager kept the key.

In the large cars the stationary boxes were closed and the tram conductor went around with a box which would have served very well for church collection purposes. Its secular character was, however, manifest from its being so constructed that money or tickets could not be taken from it except by use of the key.

In the smaller cars a strap attached to a bells in front and behind ran along the whole length of the vehicle above the gangway, and by pulling it a passenger could secure the immediate attention from the driver. In the larger, the alarm bells were rung by touching a cord, which ran

along either side above the windows, that on the driver's side being intended for him and the other for the conductor.

The men who drove the cars were most 'respectable and steady; their daily task [was] severe and protracted.' They worked from twelve to fourteen hours a day and had no special times for meals - they took them when they could. If they were off duty from sickness or any other cause, they had to "place a shilling for every trip made in their absence." They received a holiday every other Sunday and one week every year, the latter being a concession only introduced in 1881.

A newspaper editor had some remarks on the young boys employed as conductors:

... Some special provision is necessary. A sort of an attempt was made some time ago... to put badges with numbers on their hats. However this regulation, if it be one, is observed only to a limited extent; many of the lads have no badges at all, and it is within our knowledge that the boys change badges and hats too at times - so that travelling on one car at different times of the day may ring the changes and baffle if not quite prevent positive identification.

In 1903 a tramboy, aged sixteen years, was accused of stealing a tin worth threepence (two cents) and five shillings (fifty cents) in money from the company and upon being found guilty was ordered a whipping of ten strokes. (12)

In 1891 the Register carried an informative and perceptive article, purporting to be the story of a day of a tram car written in the first person; it reads in part:

Of others who patronise me I will mention the schoolgirl, who with her satchel filled with overnight homework travels to school to have it and herself corrected, and, apeing the manners of her older sisters, talks fashion, garden parties and babies...

Government and bank clerks... are as rule a garrulous lot, especially when happening to be clad in summery and elegantly patterned tweeds; they take a seat recently vacated by dear little innocents, who inadvertently leave fragments of strawberries, cherries and jam tarts with greasy surroundings on the seats of our inexpensive means of locomotion.

On Saturday afternoons we experience a change and an increase of customers to the annoyance of our weary-shouldered and ditto-legged draggers - our horses. Our gallant defenders, the Volunteers, with cleanly accoutrements and dirty pipes, we then muster from each intersecting roadside...

Should there be a football match or races on the Old Course [Victoria Park] we "take in" those who bet and barrack, as a sort of preliminary, possibly to the "taking in" now perhaps they only too often participate in at such gatherings, where that curse of the sport - betting - is so rampant. However, money like our wheels is round, and therefore resembles us in being "licensed to travel", sometimes to our advantage, but oftener to

others who, like parasites, live on us in the matter of adding to or getting rid of their daily necessities.

During the evening we convey the patrons of pleasure both in and out of town, and on our last trips, especially on Saturday nights, we occasionally gather in some who, fortunately for themselves, do not have to walk home, as the number of steps then occasioned in the performance of that exercise might in many instances be multiplied by three.

Unfortunately for us we are seldom enabled to indulge in the luxury of what our children used to term "tub night". No, our baths or washing down are, unfortunately, few and far between. The company we keep go more for dividends...

Other stories I could tell, but I am nearing what the conductors call the "terminus", where our weary horses have their heated harness taken off, to rest probably on their wearied puffed legs for the night. Some of the poor brutes don't lie down, probably out of fear of not being able to get up again; but if we had happened to have been blessed with a good season our manager might have sold a lot of them to the farmers, and so allowed many of them to spend the rest of their days in peaceful glades, where in youth they gambolled at their mother's sides.

Alas! the poor creatures may now have to bow their bent knees to the stern decree of fate and draggle me and my passengers along until at last they are led with dotty footsteps to take one last leaden ticket which the poor brutes collect on the slopes of the river near Frome Bridge. Faithful until death; for in so doing another mite is added to the revenue of the Company they had so well served.

And now, my patrons, I bid ye farewell in print. I, a thing mechanical, have given you my history. Compare the lines I traverse with the lines of life, and each resembles the other in many respects. At first they were, as I found them, comparatively smooth and straight, with many curves and points at which we may run off, but with a judicious application of the brake they may be successfully negotiated.

As time rolls on they become disjointed and jolty, and with old age creeping on we go slower, whether uphill, with heavy pulling, or downhill; I, like you, I trust, will endeavour to keep the track. (13)

Horse Tram Boys

Many youths from working class families in Thebarton were employed as conductors on the horse trams and one of them has left us with a poignant account of his life, both at home and in the work place:

Father was very poor - sometimes in work, sometimes out of it - sometimes drunk and sometimes sober - and there were seven of us to keep and very little to do it with. There were times when the baker wouldn't trust us for bread, and the butcher gave us up more than once.

Father tried to dodge the schoolmaster and kept me away from school so that I might earn a little to help the family, but the School Visitor was one too many and father was fined five shillings, for the magistrate said the boy must be taught whatever happened; and when father asked 'What, even if the kids have to starve?' the magistrate answered quite angry like, 'Don't you go and question the action of a wise and liberal Government, my man, or I'll make it ten shillings.'

After this I went to school again, and often got more driven into my head than put in my stomach; but I persevered and thought of the future before me, for mother had often said that if I got along with my books she would get my uncle who drove one of the tramcars, to use his influence with the Company and get me a billet as a tramboy.

When I came home one night with the red band round my cap and my number printed on it my little brothers were as proud as though I had been made a policeman, and they all, even down to the baby (for there is always a baby in our house) had a try on, and made up their minds to become tramboys themselves when they grew old enough, the cheeky little beggars.

'Brush your clothes and polish your boots, and keep your face and hands clean, and be civil and honest', says Mr Jones, the manager, 'and mind you ring the bell whenever you take a fare, and the Company will stand by you and God will bless you...'

There are few boys who see as much of life as a tramboy. Take the early morning trams for instance. The working men go by these. Wife stands at the door with a half-dressed kid in her arms, other kids scrambling up the picket fence without much clothes on, and with a great deal of dirt on their faces... Most of these men carry their dinners with them in red handkerchiefs with perhaps the neck of a bottle of cold tea sticking out of their pockets.

They mostly ride on the top of the car and they mostly smoke and spit... About 9 o'clock the Government officers and clerks and shop people begin to move, they carry their dinners too, mostly in little black bags or wicker baskets, and they read the newspapers and talk politics, and squeeze themselves almost up to nothing in order to give a friend a seat... Well-blackened briar-root pipes or mild cigarettes are all the go with these fellows...

They chatter about cricket and football, and volunteering, and the theatre, and seem about the lightest-hearted of all our passengers. Inside the same car are probably several girls going to school. A lot of books tied round with a strap, a roll of music and perhaps a little velvet bag in gaudy colours, full of nothing.

Some tittering away to themselves, and ridiculing their teachers; some, I often fancy, ridiculing me - regular little cheats I call them and no mistake. The way they try and palm off children's tickets upon you when they ought to pay grown-up price is nothing short of robbery...

As for the schoolboys they mostly like to ride in front with the driver. You never see them looking at their books; they are safely stowed away in their satchels, together with tops, and bits of string and apples and things. Schoolboys are generally chummy, and call a fellow by his Christian name (mine is Bob), and they lark with you, and like to pull the bell, and give you a sly push when you are standing on the outside step, and sometimes they knock my cap off by accident, and sometimes I knock theirs off by accident; but I don't mind and they don't mind - larks is larks and boys is boys. But as for girls - high and haughty, and aggravating, and cheating, and proud of it - that is their game.

Later on the old fogies and the merchants and lawyers begin to move. Keep a civil head, and mind your P's and Q's is the tramboy's game then...Ask them to make room for any over the regulation number and see what you will get for your pains...

Mr Brown the merchant leans over and talks to Mr Smith the lawyer, and they bawl at one another about all sorts of things, and complain of the noise made by the car, and Mr Robinson and Mr Clark, who both wear muffles and warm gloves for nine months of the year, compare notes as to their last severe cold, caught, they are both sure, in the draughts of the tram cars...

The sufferings I have seen people submit to on account of umbrellas is beyond belief. A practical hand will never sit near a man with an umbrella; the points of the ribs are sharp and uncontrollable, and in wet weather the dripping concentrates, and probably forms a small river down a fellow's back. I haven't said a word about the ladies yet - they don't come on till later; but when they do come they keep things pretty lively for a tramboy. I will tell you about them another time. (14)

The Tram Horses

A typical tramway company had a stable to accommodate ninety horses made of corrugated iron on a framework of timber. Stalls were constructed in two tiers, each having two rows of stands, the horses in the two standing with their heads inward; each row of stalls accommodated twenty-two. The stands were separated in three of the rows by poles from the manger suspended by chains, but in the case of the fourth the divisions are fixtures, as it was found that some of the horses, from being vicious or fidgety, required to be kept more to themselves than the rest.

At the southern end was the feed-room and from this two small tramways ran down between the mangers of each tier. A truck carrying the feed ran along from end to end at feeding-time, the contrivance saving a great deal of labour, as each box was easily supplied by them men with its measures of feed as the truck passes along. There were eight stablemen kept busy grooming and

effecting changes of teams which were effected 70 times each day. Two trips a day were done by each horse. (15)

With the introduction of electric trams the horses could well have expected being "put out to grass" but their owners had different ideas as the following report indicates:

The old and the new clashed almost pathetically at North Adelaide on Wednesday afternoon. There was a sale of tram horses at the local sheds, and while the veteran four-legged servants of the travelling public were severing ties, electric cars whizzed by with a note of superiority.

The closing scene - was it comedy or tragedy? - was witnessed by over a thousand people. How unhappy was the prospect - the days when tired animals pulled abominably crowded vehicles (antiquities of a forgotten civilisation) around corkscrew hills and up long slopes to the tune of a vigorous whipping, and the sarcastic indignation of those on board.

That regime of exhausted horses and exasperated passengers, seems never to have existed, so familiar have become the glories of the new system. The people have won the splendid reward of waiting; what of the horses? 'I reckon those poor beggars deserve to be in clover all the rest of their lives,' remarked a sympathetic onlooker.

But there is no sentiment in commerce. Today horses mean money. Farmers especially want them. The area of cultivation is rapidly increasing; new agricultural districts are opening, and the export of draughts to Western Australia and other countries has not improved matters. A good horse is a valuable asset.

The auction was conducted by Messrs Coles and Thomas and 'cockies' came from everywhere and were in the majority and 'the tramway authorities showed appreciable enterprise by charging 1/- ((10 cents)) for admission to the auction.'

After the horses had been disposed of, wagon-loads of harness, obviously as old as some of the animals, "and older than many of the jokes said about them" were brought under the hammer; this sale accounted for #150 in an overall total of £2,032. (16)

The Adelaide and Hindmarsh Tramway Company

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 Jervois 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.' (17)

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. (18)

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. (19)

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! (20)

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.' (21)

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... (22)

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. (23)

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. (24)

Velocipedes and Bicycles

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, p. 3c)

By the close of the 1860s a new invention in the form of velocipedes attracted the attention of Thebartonians and, indeed, 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 by no means a recent invention 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.

About 1818 William Clarkson in England sought patent protection of his plan for constructing velocipedes but due to a fire in the Patents Office in 1836 the model upon which he based his claim was lost to posterity. In France a 'bold attempt' was made to turn the velocipede to 'practical account' and mounted upon them country postmen delivered their mails expeditiously but winter, and its accompanying snow storms, caused them to be laid up for long periods.

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.

Where at first motion was accomplished by strenuous feet movements and later by elaborate levers, the pressure of the foot on concentric rods connected with cranks was all that was needed to bring into play the "principle of the oscillating fulcrum."

On a bicycle the rider was perched upon a saddle raised upon a rod connecting the two wheels, which were placed one after the other. The steering was accomplished by means of a regulator raised above the front wheel and terminating in a pair of handles. The momentum was given by the feet acting alternately upon the propellers or cranks projecting from the axle of the same wheel.

In a tricycle the seat was between the two hinder-wheels; the steering gear was over the third (in the front). The feet rested upon the pedals branching out from below the axle uniting the back pair of wheels and by a simple contrivance they could be made to act as brakes.

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 veloce-making will assume a prominent place among our local industries. (25)

A devotee of this new form of transport analysed the comparative merits of the bicycle vis a vis the tricycle in response to a newspaper report favouring the latter:

First, let us select a bicycle just high enough to allow the rider to touch the ground on [each] side with his toes when he strides over the saddle, then put the pedal on the off side in an upright position, the rider sitting on the saddle, his left foot on the ground, and his right foot on the off side pedal.

He then starts off with his right foot; as soon as the machine is in motion he places his left foot on the pedal, and thus the so-called perilous feat of mounting and starting is accomplished without the aid of a passing stranger to shove off.

When he wants to stop, by reversing the pressure of the feet, or by applying the brake, the velocipede is immediately brought to a stop and the rider puts his feet on the ground without damage to either his pants or his knees. The great advantage of the bicycle is that it is much easier propelled; you can guide it with greater ease and describe sharper curves... The difficulty of balancing is greatly magnified. It is very much like learning to skate.

I think the fact that three and four wheeled velocipedes having been for many years before the public without coming very extensively into use is sufficient proof that there must be great advantages in favour of the bicycle to produce such a rush of them as has lately been experienced in France, America and England.

I believe... the velocipede is destined to do good in many ways. It will be an excellent substitute for rowing until we get the dam again; it provides the young or those following sedentary employments a healthy and invigorating exercise, and will enable many to live at greater distances from their employment than at present thus getting the benefit of a purer atmosphere for themselves and families without losing time in travelling. (26)

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. (27)

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... (28)

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 the late Mr R. Newell... came third.'

However, despite the general public euphoria for the velocipede a 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. (29)

Early in the 1870s two riders from overseas startled Adelaideans when they appeared on the 'ordinary' or high bicycle. These machines became very popular and a "monster bicycle race" was run on the city's streets and two years later a six days' race was held on land now occupied by the Central Market. (30)

In 1870 Mr P.J. Williams made a bicycle which he admitted was 'rather heavy'. Being all iron it would today be regarded more as a road roller than a vehicle for light and easy riding. Mr W. Tyler made the "ordinary" in 1884 and Mr W. Kuhnle was one of the first to ride a 'Tyler' and 'Billie's' in performances on the high wheel both as a trick rider and a track performer.

Many clubs were formed in the early 1880s and had frequent excursions out into the country:

The pace to Modbury was tolerably fast and the captain's bugle-signals woke the echoes pretty frequently to manoeuvre the cavalcade, and it may be mentioned that some of the pedalists, more from carelessness than wilfulness, straggled despite the captain's calls... (31)

In 1885 a new bicycle styled 'The Kangaroo' and 'the horse of the future' was imported from overseas; it had a front wheel three feet in diameter and was 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.

The forks were continued eight inches below the centre of the wheel, and on each end was attached a short axle known as a sprocket wheel, over which an endless chain ran, connecting with similar wheels on the main axle. The treadles and cranks which drove the lower sprocket wheel were thus placed low down, and the rider was well 'over his work' but not perched so high as on the ordinary machine. (32)

As the pastime of cycling boomed the honourable members of the Corporation of Adelaide, as is its wont today, decided that they should boost the City's coffers:

One gentleman has been fined half a sovereign for merely leading his two-wheeled steed across the Park Lands... 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...

When two or three nurse-girls, each with a well-freighted perambulator, get together for a gossip in Rundle Street they can create an obstruction to the traffic, which half a dozen cyclists, leading their machines all abreast, could hardly produce. (33)

On a happier note it is pleasing to report that cycling in South Australia holds, or did hold until 1924, a world record for when the Norwood Cycling Club came into existence in 1883 its first patron and president, Sir E.T. Smith and Mr R.K. Threlfall, respectively held their positions for close on forty years. (34)

The Metropolitan Adelaide Transport System (MATS)

]Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's bloods and probably will not be realised. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work... (35)

Following World War II the expansion of industry and the arrival of large numbers of migrants from Europe and elsewhere culminated in a rapid extension of the metropolitan area. Industry was encouraged to move to the southern suburbs in an effort to avoid transport problems caused by the concentration of industry in the north-western suburbs.

'Traffic and transport became increasingly important and the number of motor vehicles increased to such an extent that it became evident, even in the 1940s, that the road width of 66 feet adopted by Colonel Light was soon to prove insufficient, and a programme of widening was started.'

'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.

In 1962 at the behest of the South Australian Government a study was undertaken under the auspices of the Town Planning Committee under the chairmanship of Mr S.B. Hart. In due course it presented its findings and recommendations which paid particular attention to amendments required to the Town Planning Act of 1929-1957 for the orderly development of metropolitan Adelaide.

By 1968 it was apparent that the existing arterial road system, if continued on its prevailing way, would be incapable of coping with traffic. Accordingly, the MATS plan was presented to the Government for consideration following a joint study by government and local government bodies in co-operation with three consultants. This transportation plan provided for a series of freeways and expressways at a total cost of 450 million dollars, which included a figure of about 130 million dollars for land acquisition purposes.

Of particular significance to the town of Thebarton was the proposed Noarlunga Freeway and North Adelaide Connector - within the Council area the land required by the freeway and associated roads within the Adelaide-wide proposal included, firstly, at the southern end of the Town most of the land between South Road and Railway Terrace and, secondly, in the northern section, part of the land between Holland and Cawthorne Streets. A point of significant convergence of all the respective freeways and connectors in the whole system was to be on the northern side of the River Torrens between the Port Road and the river - this took the form of a large interchange and would have entailed significant land acquisition.

The origin of a freeway on the western side of Adelaide was premised on the flat terrain, extensive vacant land in Edwardstown and Marion and the constraint of the Darlington escarpment, together with surplus government land at the disused sewerage works at Islington. Other reasons for the placement of the western freeway were based on the large areas of vacant land in private and public ownership and the poor housing stock on the northern side of the River Torrens, particularly in the vicinity of the gasworks at Brompton.

The public announcement of the MATS plan appeared in the The News on Monday, 12 August 1968 under an emotive headline '3,000 Homes To Go'; the Premier of the day was Steele Hall of the Liberal Party who was soon replaced by the Labor Party with Don Dunstan at the helm. The new Minister of Transport, whose seat included Edwardstown, took up the cause of public resentment towards the proposal by arguing that the citizens of metropolitan Adelaide should all travel by public transport; further, it was argued, albeit flimsily, that a freeway to the southern areas would only serve to promote a southern dormitory suburb at the expense of locally-associated industrial and commercial work places.

New independent consultants were commissioned to write reports on a dial-a-bus system which was intended to traverse local roads to accommodate commuters. What of business and the citizens of Thebarton amidst the political web? - Mr Graham Copley of the Corporation of Thebarton has kindly provided a response to this question and other facets surrounding the MATS Plan:

In order to set things in context it is important to realise that the objectives of the freeway system included those of:

Assisting commercial vehicles to travel between the southern and western areas, Port Adelaide, Gillman, Port Wakefield and Modbury.

Increasing the base of secondary industry, thus enhancing the capacity and growth of the city.

Removing some of the existing blighted areas of Adelaide, particularly on the northern side of the River Torrens.

Property purchase meant using some land for freeways and other for light industrial buffer strips and the remainder for release to housing renewal. Within the objectives and proposals of the freeway system, its placement on all sides of Adelaide and the narrative of political debate in the 1970s successive State governments vacillated until 1991. Some governments while having an empathy with the link between productivity and supporting infrastructure were politically paralysed and indecisive; others were simply anti-freeway in a rather populist manner - In 1991 the freeway plan was legally laid to rest by the State Government.

Hence, over a period of two decades home and factory owners in Thebarton were always aware of the possibility that their properties could be resumed. Such a situation thwarted owners from either planning their future direction in business or realizing their haven in retirement or in a home in which to raise a family. Those owners who had the financial resources and ability to leave the area chose accordingly and, as a result, Thebarton declined due to the threatened imposts of the proposed freeway.

Quite noticeably, the buildings declined in upkeep in the late 1960s, particularly in areas near the River Torrens; many houses became rented properties due to the relatively low prices appertaining to them, while government ownership of properties also increased within the freeway corridor. Thus, areas changed visually while the social fabric declined in the wake of diminished community interest.

One strong force within the Thebarton community remained and this was the very strong family links within the Italian and Greek migrant community. Whilst these people were struggling to gain a foothold in their new country, they at least maintained the structure of their houses both in and near the corridor - a prime example of this effect lies in the suburb of Mile End.

Due to the restriction on development by the proposed freeway and thanks to the industrious efforts of home owners, the heritage housing stock of Thebarton remains largely intact today. Contemporary house-people exhibit an increasing degree of gentrification by virtue of disposable income and consumer preferences as regards enhancing their homes and demanding that their streetscapes be attractive and safe.

Much housing infill has occurred in the past five years in land previously designated for the freeway. Attractive new villas can now be found in Holland and Smith Streets on what was

previously government land. This renewal has evidently been one of the catalysts for other urban infill which, noticeably, dots the town in Thebarton, Mile End and Torrensville. A recent notable housing development is at the the Horwood Bagshaw property immediately to the south of King Street. Due to improvements in efficiency due to technology and decreasing rural incomes the former machinery manufacturer left the area in the early 1970s. The vacant site lay dormant until 1993 when attractive housing began to be released.

Industrial buildings in the area have also changed in recent years; the Faulding company in Stirling Street moved in 1989 as its buildings had become unworkable for its enterprise. The new owner is the University of Adelaide which has commenced an attractive and economically sustainable technology campus on the banks of the River Torrens. The SA Brewing Company, Johnston-Pahl in the old Scott Bonnar building near the University and Coca-Cola Bottlers in Cawthorne Street have also worked to notably improve their corporate image and surrounds from one of a basic industrial form to one softened with good urban design.

Thebarton Council has also worked with great result to improve the streetscape and calming of traffic in streets which comprised the freeway site. In order to overcome the unfortunate interface between industrial and housing properties, the Council also passed a Supplementary Development Plan in 1990 which gave designated land uses and so avoided the mixing of housing and industry. This bold and necessary action was only possible with the demise of the freeway and it has given heart and predictability to home owners, industry and good developers.

The demise of the freeway has improved the social and physical fabric of the Thebarton community. Whilst the freeway placed restrictions on development and planning, it certainly has left the benefit of good quality heritage style housing, the release of land for urban renewal and the creation of housing stock for European migrants close to the Adelaide central business district.

On the other hand, other costs have been borne by the community and Thebarton over two decades of government indecision and politicizing of a physical infrastructure issue of considerable social and commercial overtones for Thebarton. One could ask the question - What would have been the result for Thebarton and Adelaide had the planners and politicians pulled together the strands of government and all elements of the community and involved the processes of community awareness and education on the matters of the freeway?

Arguably, based on contemporary thinking the freeway plan may not have even reached the public consultation phase. Accordingly, more significant gentrification would have occurred much earlier in Thebarton and its suburbs as has occurred in similar areas such as Carlton in Melbourne. With or without the freeway proposal, the vision of Colonel Light that Thebarton have a broad industrial base is ever-diminishing. This is due to the forces of gentrification which within the development process have little interest in the location of industry and its access being in the western suburbs and close to a central business district such as Adelaide. (36)

Public Utilities

Fire Brigade

In 1994 it is difficult to imagine that in the mid-nineteenth century the country between Bowden and North Adelaide was an open plain; in 1853 tinder-dry grass exploded into flame and with a prevailing south-west wind it raced towards Wellington Square where citizens were kept busy in drawing water from wells in an effort to combat the flames. Early in 1864 Mr Harrold's slaughterhouse at Mile End was destroyed by fire to which the newspapers nonchalantly objected to the "low and undecided tones of the new fire bell" established on a frame at the Adelaide police station.

Attempts were made in the 1880s to have the government provide fire-fighting facilities in Thebarton but all pleas were unsuccessful; however, a number of public-spirited citizens formed a voluntary brigade, purchased their own uniforms, trained in the evenings and mounted ancient equipment on a hand-truck; in the event of a conflagration all hands turned to and manually pushed the cart to the outbreak! Needless to say this was less than satisfactory and great reliance was placed on the brigades from Hindmarsh and Adelaide.

A fire at Thomas Hardy's Bankside winery in October 1904 was attended by the Hindmarsh Fire Brigade but it was all but useless because the River Torrens was dry and no other source of supply was readily available. The Adelaide brigade came on the scene and by connecting its hoses to those of their Hindmarsh counterparts they ran a line to the nearest hydrant about 800 yards distant. Soon wine began spilling into cellars from boiling casks and the commanding officer decided to utilise the wine in lieu of water in the fire fighting process.

This inferno was followed by a blaze at George Wilcox & Co, skin and hide merchants, at Hindmarsh in 1907 but by the time the Hindmarsh Brigade arrived the fire had spread to the adjoining Apollo Soap Works finally penetrating to G.H. Michell's store. In 1909 it was the turn of Reid's Victoria Tannery at Hindmarsh, the proprietor of which, ironically, was the man who had founded the local volunteer fire brigade. (37)

Agitation for a fire brigade at Thebarton commenced in 1914 when 'a big fire occurred in the district and the members of the local town council... awoke to the fact that they had a responsibility to the ratepayers to protect their properties from fire.' At the request of the council the Fire Brigades Board submitted a report as to the best way of establishing a local unit but the council deferred the matter on 'the grounds of economy.'

On 6 January 1917 a new station, and the first erected under The Fire Brigades Act of 1914, was opened at Carlton Parade, Torrensville. The station was commanded by Station Officer Hopkins, a foreman and "two unmarried firemen." Ample provision was made for these members with quarters for the single men and a separate residence for the station officer. The area served by the brigade was five square miles bounded by the River Torrens on the north and Keswick to the south and embracing a population of 15,000. (38)

Mr Jack Wells was employed at the station for forty years and recalled that all fire alarms were checked every day by a fireman who pedalled a bicycle from Hindmarsh Bridge to the Park Lands,

across Anzac Highway, down Marion Road to Mooringe Avenue and over to the River Torrens. He also recalled the fire alarm boxes which instructed a caller, in event of a fire, 'To break the glass and turn the handle' - this action enabled direct telephonic communication to be made with the station. This piece of equipment was invented in Adelaide and eventually adopted world-wide.

The Mile End Railway Yards

About 1908 it became evident to the authorities that to afford relief from congestion at the Adelaide Railway Station and provide further accommodation for travellers it would be necessary to relocate the goods sheds and to this end a site at Mile End was decided upon.

Work commenced in 1910 when about thirty men were employed on a contract system and by 1912 250,000 yards of soil had been removed and 4 1/2 miles of railway track laid south of the Mile End junction.

Located between Gladstone and Hilton Roads were two coal staiths and to the west of them was a locomotive staith where coal engines were handled and close by were a blacksmith's shop for repairing switches, a shop for overhauling motor tricycles, a department for repairing electrical appliances, a shop for repairing signals and inter-locking gear and a carpenter's department.

Three cottages were erected in Nottingham Avenue, Keswick for the accommodation of officials connected with the yard while near the junction the Government purchased several private homes which were razed for railway purposes. (39)

Law & Order

By 1861 it was the firm opinion of many residents of Thebarton and Hindmarsh that the presence of a 'large body of police in Adelaide tended to drive the lawless people into the suburban townships.' A further cause for alarm was females being insulted in local streets, homes robbed of firewood and indecent conduct and obscene language engaged in by boys outside places of worship on the Sabbath day.

To arrive at a way of combating these nuisances a meeting was held at Hindmarsh in March 1861 when it was decided to petition the government to provide police protection in the neighbourhood. However, it was not until 1867 that a police station was erected in Hindmarsh. By 1892 two policeman were engaged in official duties but due to troubled times in the City one was removed.

In 1907, at his own request, the Sergeant in charge was removed on account of the 'disgraceful living conditions' provided. No repairs or renovations had been done since the station was built; the dining room and kitchen were combined and so dark that even in the middle of the day a light from a gas jet was always needed. No bath or convenience were provided and to wash a tap and sink at the rear were the only means provided. Strangely, £200 placed on the estimates in 1903 had never been expended! Happily the matter was rectified in 1911 when a new two-storey building, including a courtroom, was built on the front of the old cottage. (40)

A foot-policeman was appointed to maintain law and order in the Thebarton district early in 1881 and, in the course of time, a police station was built at 135 South Road; it was closed during the 1980s. (41)

1. *Register*, 18 December 1844, p. 3b, 5 August 1846, p. 4b, *Advertiser*, 18 December 1903, p. 4f, *Thebarton Heritage Survey* (Draft Report), 1991, pp. 20-23.
2. Reminiscences of Sarah Hannam, *Express and Journal*, 27 May 1933.
3. *Observer*, 10 February 1855, p. 7h, *Register*, 14 April 1877, p. 5e.
4. *Register*, 22 July 1927, p. 15c.
5. Desmond O'Connor, *From Crewman to Cabbie*, *Journal of the Historical Society of SA*, Number 19, 1991, p. 16.
6. *Observer*, 15 February 1879, p. 13d, *Advertiser*, 25 June 1879, p. 4e.
7. *Mail*, 24 October 1925, p. 1g, 14 December 1929, p. 44 - photographs of cabs and cabmen appear in the latter; also see *News*, 6 January 1927, p. 15.
8. *Register*, 25 October 1880, p. 6a.
9. *Register*, 24 October 1894, p. 4h, 20 July 1901, p. 8h.
10. *Register*, 17 November 1910, pages 6c-8b, 23 November 1910, page 5g.
11. *Register*, 1 January 1907, p. 7d, *Thebarton Heritage Survey* (Draft Report), July 1991.
12. *Register*, 28 November 1906, p. 11a.
13. *Register*, 18 September 1878, p. 6d, *Advertiser*, 19 April 1881, p. 4c, 27 October 1903, p. 8b.
14. *Register*, 16 November 1891, p. 6c.
15. *Register*, 28 April 1884, p. 6a.
16. *Register*, 18 September 1878, p. 6d.
17. *Register*, 15 April 1909, p. 7f.
18. *Register*, 25 October 1880, p. 6a.
19. *Register*, 9 October 1882, p. 6f, 13 February 1883, p. 1c (supp.)
20. *Register*, 25 October 1880, p. 6a, 1 February 1881, p. 1d (supp.), 21 July 1881, p. 5c, 1 August 1882, p. 1a (supp.).
21. *Register*, 9 October 1886, p. 7g, 18 November 1886, p. 5b.
22. *Register*, 10 and 18 January 1889, pp. 5a and 5a, 15 May 1889, p. 6e.
23. *Register*, 28 May 1889, pp. 6a and 7h.
24. *Register*, 1 February 1890, p. 6e.
25. *Register*, 2 June 1908, p. 10h.
26. *Register*, 31 May 1869, p. 3c.
27. *Observer*, 5 June 1869, p. 7e.
28. *Advertiser*, 9 February 1924, p. 19f.
29. *Mail*, 4 August 1917, p. 16c; also see 12 January 1924, p. 25c.
30. *Register*, 13 December 1869, p. 3a.
31. *Mail*, 12 January 1924, p. 25c, *Register*, 26 January 1880, p. 5b, *Observer*, 24 June 1882, p. 16a, 1 July 1882, p. 20a.
32. *Register*, 14 August 1882, p. 5a.
33. *Register*, 19 May 1885, p. 5c.

34. *Register*, 23 October 1897, p. 9i. A further complaint and editorial comment appears on 4 and 10 March 1899.
35. *Mail*, 12 January 1924, p. 25c.
36. Statement in 1907 by Daniel H. Burnham while engaged in the preparation of the plan of Chicago, USA; cited in *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide*, 1962.
37. Michael Page & Malcolm Bryant, *Muscle and Pluck Forever*, The South Australian Fire Service 1840-1982.
38. *Register*, 8 January 1917, p. 8f.
39. *Advertiser*, 26 July 1912, p. 12a. A comprehensive history of the railway yards is in *The Recorder*, July 1983.
40. *Register*, 23 March 1861, p. 3d, 5 March 1867, p. 3a, 24 April 1907, p. 5b, 7 May 1907, p. 4f, Ronald Parsons, *Hindmarsh Town*, pp. 153-155.
41. Information kindly supplied by Mr Robert Clyne of the Police Historical Society; see *SA Police Gazette*, 1881, p. 30.

Chapter 11

Education

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, page 2d)

Introduction

In December 1836 Walter Bromley, for twenty-five years an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had founded the first school in North America in 1813, decided to migrate to South Australia in the Duke of York and it was at Kingscote in December 1836 that he conducted South Australia's first school when he assembled twenty-four children under a tree.

The first school established on the mainland was opened in 1838 by Mr J.B. Shepherdson and as the years progressed several private schools were established but there was no appropriation of public funds until 1846 when grants were made to encourage private schools. Many of the schools were denominational and this led to an opinion that, in fact, such grants were an aid to sectarian teaching and, accordingly, the Act was repealed in 1851 'thereby throwing on the Government the responsibility of providing some State system of education.' By the end of 1853 there were 69 schools with 3,177 enrolled pupils and at the end of 1856 the figures were 139 and 6,185, respectively.

A Board of Education was created to establish schools and to recognise those already in existence. This system revealed many weaknesses and education became compulsory in an Act of 1875, but it did not become free until 1892, although parents unable to pay could obtain exemptions.

A comment by B.T. Finniss, the first Premier of South Australia, on education for the lower classes is of some interest:

There was a time within my recollection when Church and State were leagued against the education of the labouring classes - If you educate labour, where shall we find men willing to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. I heard this frequently in my youth in England. (1)

Education in Thebarton

Introduction

By 1850 two schools were being conducted in Thebarton by Miss Evans and Henry Watson and correspondence to the Colonial Secretary from parents attest to the fact that they desired to have their children "under the tuition" of these two teachers; the number of pupils enrolled at the establishments was 24 and 32 respectively. Some of the parents named in documentation are,

Elizabeth Cartwright, Mary Barnett, John Hemingway, John Sutton, Sarah Tucker, James Ingham, Thomas Newman, Mrs Jakes, Mrs Foreman, Sarah Southwell, Edward Hudson, Mrs Wilmshurst, John Webb, Henry Nichols, Harriett Read, C. Beddome, J. Pool, Priscilla Cockburn, Josiah Novis, Susannah Pearce, C. Snowball, James Williams, M. Molineux and Mrs Ashton of the Adelaide Gaol.

Their places of abode were shown as Thebarton, Theberton, Park Lands and Gaol; Mr Thomas Gilbert, JP, certified to the fact that Miss Evans was a 'person of moral habits' and that proper accommodation had been provided for the students while Governor Young approved her application on 1 June 1850. In mid-1851 Henry Watson purchased Lots 5 and 6 in Chapel Street and this, no doubt, was the location of his school; he retired in 1863 and Mr Haddrick taught in his stead. In the early 1860s Mr McGreeth and his wife attracted 66 students to their school in George Street and this number had increased to 114 by 1872.

Dr William Wyatt reported favourably on Mr Watson's school and the capabilities of him and his wife as teachers while a student gave her impressions:

Although the attendance at Mr Watson's school has been injuriously affected of late, by a decrease of population in Thebarton, his unwearied attention and zealous endeavours to supply the pupils entrusted to his charge with a sound and useful education have been most gratifying. The girls are under the able supervision of his wife.

[I] had only to go next door to school, which was kept by a very severe young man named Watson, and his sterner elderly wife. In time they worked it into a big school, the children sat on backless forms and had to bring their fees regularly every morning. (2)

The chanting of tables in Chapel Street must have been a familiar sound, for Alfred Bell opened yet another school which offered a wider range of subjects than previously arranged in the village. In addition to reading, writing and arithmetic he offered lessons in grammar, geography and English history. He departed in 1857 when Mrs Elizabeth Rogers commenced teaching further along Chapel Street where singing was in the curriculum. Later, she removed to a house in Maria Street where, in 1867, a Mr Rix took over.

The United Methodist Church in Chapel Street was purchased by Mr R.T. Burnard who opened a school in a cottage to the rear of the church. A school was still being conducted there in 1880 by a Mr Warburton. (3)

Attendance at all these schools was voluntary and available at a cost of a few pence per week; nevertheless, most pupils received a smattering of elementary education. However, many parents were not over-enthused with the benefits of a rudimentary education for their children preferring to send them out to work:

Parents are forgetful; or worse than forgetfulness - are regardless of the irreparable injury which they inflict upon their offspring, whose "school-days" are sacrificed to the love of gain, and whose future prospects are blighted forever... To keep a child from school in

order to make a few shillings out of its labour, is the unwise and the most cruel course that can be adopted. (4)

Primary School

When a Department of Education was established the people of Thebarton soon advanced a claim for a public school and in 1876 a deputation comprising Messrs George Dew, Robert Strutton, Thomas Newman and W.H. Crosby commenced overtures to the Council of Education and two years later land was purchased from the South Australian Company at the north-east corner of South and Henley Beach Roads.

The site was chosen by Hon. Ebenezer Ward, MP, the first Minister of Education, and Thomas Hardy of Bankside was first chairman of the school committee, an office he filled for twenty-five years; he also purchased two allotments adjoining the school and held the land into the 20th century. During that time he refused many offers for it and in later years when the school needed to expand he sold it to the Department of Education at cost price. Similarly, Mr George Lea, a carpenter in Thebarton, held land on the north side of the school and in due course he, too, sold it at a figure less than the original purchase price. (5)

The school opened in 1879 with Mr R.T. Burnard (a former teacher in Thebarton in earlier days) as Head Master; 230 students enrolled and were taught by Mr Burnard, his sister, Emily, Kate Nootnagel and Mary Herbert. The fee was fourpence a week for children under seven years and sixpence per week for all others; free tuition was provided for those with parents in straitened circumstances.

Within five years there were some people in the local community expressing strong doubts as to the efficacy of State Schools:

I maintain that State Schools are and must be the source of immense evil... From the vilest of habitations, from the lowest of public houses, from the wretched tenements that crowd by-streets reeking with immorality of every description, the polluted children, who have never seen anything but vice, are gathered in and placed in daily intercourse with the children of the decent poor... (6)

Early in the 20th century additional land was purchased on South Road and Rose Street and extra classrooms built but by 1911 when enrolments had reached 1,000 it was necessary to rent local halls to provide adequate teaching facilities. As a 'temporary' measure a row of classrooms was built in 1912; they were to remain for twenty years!

In July 1911 the school was honoured by a visit from the Governor, Sir Day Bosanquet, and having inspected the drum and fife band and the children at drill he addressed them. It was their Arbor Day, he said, and in that connection he was concerned that a great many trees were cut down and not replaced, for it was well known that trees attracted rain.

He told them that he had recently attended a meeting of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and had heard awful accounts of cruelty to birds in order to get feathers for ladies' hats; he hoped the girls of the school would never wear feathers in their hats when they grew up. Mr M.W. Mellor, President-elect of the Australasian Ornithological Union then gave an interesting address on 'Bird-Life' - he may have had in mind a comment on the destruction of birds for the adornment of ladies:

The woods made lonely of the happy and exquisite creatures who filled them with gay color and sweet song, are eloquent with silent accusation. Callow broods left motherless to perish have pathetically appealed to the tenderest emotions of the woman's nature; but all in vain... Every appeal on the ground of cruelty involved, or the essential vulgarity of such array, has hitherto been widely disregarded. Women will not spare the birds...

Subsequently, the trees were planted by the vice-regal representative and other visitors, together with standard roses presented by Mr H.W. Copas of the Findon Nursery; to their universal delight the 1,100 students were then granted a half-day's holiday. (7)

By 1913 members of the Thebarton Council were perturbed at the obsolescence of the school and waited upon the Acting Minister of Education, Hon. J.G. Bice, and made out a strong case for 'greatly improved accommodation'. A temporary school room of fibrous cement was insanitary and cold 'and it was an absolutely cruel thing' to have a class of some thirty children shivering in an iron shed in the yard in midwinter in the presence of a teacher in a warm coat.

There was no proper accommodation where the children could eat their lunches and many improvised by placing boards beneath trees while rain was dripping from above. The sanitary arrangements were only adequate for an enrolment of about 600 pupils and this was held responsible for an outbreak of diphtheria which had necessitated closure for some weeks. Members of the Council also reported that many children were being sent to other schools because of the inadequacy of facilities. (8)

A further problem arose in 1915 when the leaving age was raised to fourteen years; to accommodate this demand a new building was planned for Rose Street 'further from the noise of passing traffic.' Accordingly, a deputation to the responsible Minister eventuated and further complaints were made - The headmaster had no office and there was no retiring room for lady teachers. The Hon A.W. Styles, MLC, and a member of the delegation, invited the Minister to visit the school on a hot day when he would see the scholars being taught in a dirty tin shed, close to water troughs where the children had to wash. Notwithstanding that the water was boiled many children carried drinking water to school in bottles. (9)

A public meeting, chaired by the Mayor, Mr James. L. Leal, was held in the Thebarton Town Hall in September 1921 for the purpose of creating a greater interest in school matters; at the time the school had '1,100 scholars in the primary school with a total roll call of 1,635, but there was connected with it many discouraging conditions... and the Government... had not done all they should have done to supply these needs...'

It was obvious that the school was 'out of date' - There were seats without backs and in one room there were 90 children with seating accommodation for 46 and the old residence had been converted into a classroom and was 'crowded out'. Proceedings concluded with a request to the Government to expedite the construction of an infant school the funds for which had been appropriated by the last parliament and to complete the evening "an excellent programme of musical and elocutionary items" was provided by the scholars and others. (10)

A student at the school during 1914-1915 has left some reminiscences of her schooldays:

I was a child older than my years, female of the species, imbued with an insatiable curiosity of mind, a quality not much tolerated in those days. I was punished for just about everything. Method of punishment was caning or smacking across the face. Left-handedness was a cardinal sin, and always forgetting names, dates and places (all we were taught) were also frowned upon. And there was always with me too, considerable incompetence with sewing. Give the devil his due, however, I must admit I was rewarded whenever I did things well... I excelled in sketching. My teacher's name does not concern us here, except to say she was fiftyish, and inspired us in little else than fear.

Her schooldays came to an end when a book titled What Every Married Mother Should Know was found in her possession:

After a dreadful letter to my parents about me being a misfit, a freak and a delinquent child... I left school soon after, being recommended by my parents to do so. I then entered the school of hard knocks, which was far more beneficial to me. No BA degree is awarded, but one learns that laughter is the best medicine. (11)

The Central School

In 1923 Mr W.T. McCoy, Director of Education, visited the United States of America and Europe where he was impressed with the conduct of 'entral'schools which offered a wide scope of practical education, including post-primary vocation instruction in technical, commercial and domestic arts. Upon his return the Thebarton School was chosen as a "torch-bearer" for this departure from previously accepted teaching norms. The Central School opened in 1925 but many students left for the School of Mines or Adelaide High School when they were unable to gain entry into their chosen course of study.

The foundation stone of a two-storey building was laid by Hon L.L. Hill, Minister of Education, on 22 November 1926, who told the assembled gathering that the new building would have a frontage of 115 feet to Henley Beach Road and a depth of a like amount. It was to be of brick structure and comprise twelve classrooms, with two on the ground floor having a collapsible partition to enable them to be used as an assembly hall. Dual desks were to be provided throughout and the floors sound-proofed; the contractor was to be Mr W.H. Pearman of Mile End.

Mr Hill also furnished some statistical information about the primary and infant schools - The primary school had opened in 1879 with an enrolment of 230 pupils; in 1912 the average had grown to 880. Subsequently a school had opened at Cowandilla when the enrolment fell to 670 in 1915 and at the present time there were 1,674 on the roll (581 boys, 578 girls and 515 at the infant school which had opened in 1923). (12)

Hon. M. McIntosh was Minister of Education in 1928 when he came down from the city to open the school which had been retitled the Thebarton Girls' Central School (later renamed Thebarton Girls' Technical School) - this apparently occurred because male enrolments had been in decline over the period since the laying of the foundation stone in 1926. (13)

The Infant School

The Infant School's Mothers' Club was formed in March 1923 with Mrs H. Bridgman as Secretary; she was succeeded by Mrs D. McGarry and Mrs W.H. Mason, while, in 1928, Mrs J. Pilcher had been Treasurer since its foundation. At the latter date the other committee members were, Mrs G. Bertram and Miss Mitchell (Vice-Presidents) and Mesdames E.C. Russell, A. Cook. T.E. Brindle, H. Cohen, W.T. Footer, C.G. Williamson, C.A. Liebich, C. Plumpton, H. Justin, A.J. Hall and A. Townley.

The club was not formed for monetary purposes but as a link between mothers and teachers, with one aim - the welfare of 'the little ones, of whom there are 598 on the roll.' Much was done in providing Montessori material, libraries, pencil sharpeners, free work material, a treadle sewing machine, gramophone and records, mats, leadlights, specimen and museum cupboards, crockery, hall clock, gas grill and ring, electric light and radiators, waste paper baskets, and many other items. (14)

The Technical School

As a major industrial centre of Adelaide, Thebarton and its near environs became home for many artisans, mechanics and engineers and, thus, an obvious domicile for a technical school. Accordingly, the government purchased twenty-two acres of land in the Danby Estate bounded by South Road, Meyer, Ashley and Shipster Streets. It was here, in 1919, that the Thebarton Boys' Technical High School was built comprising a complex consisting of workshops fitted out with modern machinery, lathes, planes, mills and drills together with laboratories for the teaching of science. A dedication for the school was held in May 1917.

On 12 February 1921 the Mail announced in bold headlines - MONEY TO BURN - ABANDONED TECHNICAL SCHOOL - COSTLY NEGLECT AT THEBARTON; according to the report which followed, the school had been completed for eighteen months but remained uninhabited and abandoned. The appointment of the members for the school council had been gazetted on 30 October 1919 and in January 1920 the council, the Minister for Education and Commissioner of Public Works inspected the school when the council urged an appropriation of funds to complete the workshops; it was not to open until 1924.

As a type it was the first in the State and many years were to pass before it was joined by similar institutions. After three years of study young men were enabled to enter the workforce in their chosen trade and for those with exceptional ability University careers were available to further their studies. Its motto was *Carpe Diem* being taken from an ode by Horace and the complete passage was translated by Professor H. Darnley Taylor of the Adelaide University:

E'en as we speak, lo envious time has flown,
Today's your own;
So pluck the rose forthwith, nor trust one jot
Tomorrow's lot.

One might draw a conclusion from these sage words that, even in the troubled economic times and racial tensions of the 1990s, to make the most of every day is not only appropriate for students but is a goal for all to achieve.

In 1974 the Girls' Technical High School closed and the co-educational Thebarton High School emerged from its ashes with a changed curriculum, broader in subjects taught but still retaining the practical hands-on-teaching; the girls were given the opportunity to enrol in the previously strictly "males only" subjects of woodwork and printing.

Following the cessation of World War II in 1945 this school became multi-national and in the 1950s fifty per cent of all students were of Greek or Italian origin; later still they were joined by youngsters from Asian countries such as Vietnam and Cambodia. Parents of these children were accorded the opportunity to attend "after-school" lessons in the English language and such lessons were complemented by contributions from their children who were exposed to its peculiarities in the school environment.

Since the 1970s the High School has become the scene for exciting innovative experiments for the Department of Education desired the school's facilities to be used by adults, as well as providing student education up to the matriculation level. In other words, the authorities attempted to create a community centre or civic rallying point for all of the district's ethnic community.

In the 1980s attendances at high schools began to diminish and Thebarton High School was among those to suffer from a lack of students; it was renamed the Thebarton Senior College and in the 1990s a drive to attract older students was successful. To achieve this a limited but costly series of advertisements were placed in newspapers and a special display mounted in the school's foyer.

In many overseas countries schools operate on a "shift" system where, for example, children and teachers assemble early in the morning and work until midday when their places are taken by an afternoon session while, in the evenings, further classes are conducted. The Thebarton Senior College has adopted similar schedules - lectures begin at 8 a.m. and continue until 5.30 p.m. and, gradually, evening classes have been introduced.

Such programmes of education are extremely economical in the use of buildings, lecture rooms, laboratories, workshops and equipment. Those who entered the school advanced multifarious reasons for so doing - some who had dropped out realised the importance of matriculating; some who had studied overseas were soon to accept the fact of the need to pass local examinations; others were keen to overcome a weakness in certain subjects while some sought fluency in English and, last but not least, some members of the community attended for no other reason than an inherent love for studying. The campus is to be of an entirely adult status in 1994. (15)

Kindergartens

It was not until 1940 that the tiny tots of Thebarton were catered for with the opening of the Lady Gowrie Child Centre in Dew Street. This facility was to be funded by the Government apart from a contribution from the Corporation in providing a road from the main entrance to the Centre which was set back some distance from Dew Street.

In 1938 a sum of £6,000 was provided by the Commonwealth Government and in Adelaide Miss Kathleen Mellor, later president of the Kindergarten Union, devoted her considerable skills to oversee the construction of the Centre which was officially opened on 28 August 1940.

Private and Church Schools

The minister of St James Church from 1892 to 1900, the Reverend J.G. Pitcher, was aware of the problems of overcrowding, inadequate facilities and poor standards of teaching and discipline prevalent in the public school system at that time. He came to the conclusion that the best way to overcome these problems was to establish a day school associated with the church.

This was first opened in the Methodist Hall, New Thebarton, (now the Torrensville Masonic Hall). As soon as the new school was finished the day school moved there and remained open until 1899; the building was opened on 21 May 1895 by Chief Justice Way. The school was reopened on 28 January 1908 under the direction of Rev. S. Moncrieff, with eight pupils on the roll. It closed for the last time in December 1968, although the Uniting Church owned the building until 1990. (15)

Temple College is non-denominational, private and multi-racial teaching academy inaugurated at Unley Park by Mr Bruce Robson, B.Sc., Dip. Ed. In 1984 it purchased Hardy's building on Henley Beach Road and in the following year seventy students were enrolled for studies at Years 8 and 9. The front portion of the property was sold to Plumbers Cooperative Ltd and a two-storey brick building was erected for the college.

It has built up a reputation for teaching excellence and by 1991 student population had risen to more than 300 students; its curriculum includes a wide variety of subjects and the moral, cultural and physical aspects of education are vigorously promoted.

Saint George College

Saint George College is the only bilingual Greek Orthodox school in South Australia and its commencement was a significant achievement in the history of the Greek community of South Australia. It was the vision and courage of Reverend Diogenis Patsouris, together with the

committee of the Greek Orthodox Community of Saint George, Thebarton and Western Suburbs, to commence a bilingual school fostering the ethos of the Greek Orthodox values. With the blessing of Archbishop Stylianos, and the help and cooperation of many, the idea had to become a reality with the submissions for its registration by State and Federal governments.

In addition, as there were no facilities at this time, the Church Community purchased properties adjacent to the Church for the school. A foundation stone for the college was laid on 13 March 1983 by the then Premier, Mr John Bannon. Finally, government registration was granted in October 1983 only after an enormous amount of hard work on the part of the committee and others who had the firm belief in the founding of the school. Subsequently, curriculum based on the notion of bilingual education had to be written and staff employed.

The college proudly began instruction on 7 February 1984 with 31 students and three staff at Year 1, Year 2 and Year 3 levels. In each ensuing year another year level was added and in 1988 the first Year 7 class was commenced. Over the years, enrolments have steadily increased to 208 students and, currently, there are 15 on the staff, including two Greek language teachers; the teaching of the Greek language is the focus of the educational programme. It is anticipated that the college will extend into secondary years in the near future.

The establishment of the college has meant that parents have a real choice in the education for their children as the college fulfils the spiritual, cultural and educational needs of parents. The philosophy of the college is to develop each child as a whole person in a caring environment which provides love, discipline and understanding, all of which underpin the Greek Orthodox values. Many people dedicated a large amount of time and energy to this exciting concept in education because of their belief that the Greek culture, language, Orthodox religion and history would be enhanced by the provision of a Greek Orthodox school. Now the college enjoys an excellent reputation among the Greek community because of its strong Greek Orthodox ethos, high ideals and academic achievement.

The Community of Saint George has the total responsibility of the college, which is administered by a board of management whose membership is identified and recommended by the Community to His Eminence, Archbishop Stylianos, who makes the appointments of members of the board who have the aspirations and knowledge to make a positive contribution to education. The first Chairman of the Board was Mr John Kiosoglous and the present chairman is Mr Basil Taliangis. The first principal was Mr Kon Foriadis, followed by Miss Stella Pagonis, Mr George Genimahakotis and, currently, Mrs Barbara Wing who became principal in 1989. The curriculum is extensive, covering all the requirements for education for the 21st century. Cultural events and activities form a focus for the students recognising and reaffirming their Greek cultural heritage.

In October 1993, the Premier of South Australia, Mr Arnold, announced that Saint George Greek Orthodox Community and Parish of Thebarton and Western Districts had bought the former Thebarton Primary School site. The acquisition of these buildings will permit gradual expansion in enrolment of the college extending to a secondary school.

The college celebrated a decade of bilingual education in 1993, with events which marked the significant dates in the history of the college which, with the assistance of the Community of Saint George, will continue to strive to provide an excellent education for students in the challenging times ahead. (16)

Catholic Schools

In the early years of settlement in Thebarton children from Catholic families attended any of the schools in the area but in the 1860s the church hierarchy decided that their young flock were not receiving appropriate religious instruction. Accordingly, Father Julian Tenison Woods initiated a building fund to erect a small school in Dew Street under the auspices of the Sisters of Saint Joseph.

The school did not flourish, due possibly to lack of space and qualified teachers but this was to change upon the arrival of Father Healy from Western Australia. His visits to the suburb by horse and trap were so frequent that his track across the Parklands to Thebarton became known as 'ather Healy' Path' He became the district's first parish priest and was instrumental in opening another Saint Joseph Convent in Kintore Street at the rear of the Queen of Angels Church in 1885; he removed to Brooklyn Park, then part of Thebarton Parish but now part of Salesian College, in the same year.

The first Catholic Church in Thebarton was opened by Archbishop Reynolds on 8 August 1883; during the week it operated as a school under the tutelage of the Sisters of Saint Joseph who came from the city each day to teach; it is now used as a parish hall; in 1924 new convent extensions were opened and blessed by Archbishop Spence.

St Joseph's, Thebarton was the first private school in South Australia to receive a Federal Government Grant and at the time there was no more deserving one - Ninety per cent of its students were of Italian origin with both social and language problems while their parents were, invariably, in receipt of low incomes. Many pupils were on the free book list and unable to go on school excursions because of lack of the necessary fare.

On 20 September 1891 a cottage at 8 Formby Street, Mile End, transformed by Father Healy to serve as a school chapel for the district, was dedicated by Bishop Reynolds. One of Father Healy's cherished ambitions was to establish a boys' school in Thebarton and to this purpose he canvassed zealously. He was finally rewarded when an unpretentious galvanised iron building lined with matchboard and dried seaweed, 40 feet by 23 feet and nick-named 'he Kennel' was constructed and opened by Archbishop O'Reilly on 1 September 1895 and the St John the Baptist Brothers and pupils moved there from Formby Street; by 1900 eighty-three boys were enrolled. In 1933 extensions were undertaken and ten years later the Marist Brothers took charge.

Meanwhile, in 1921 the community mourned the passing of Monsignor Healy whose past dedication had ensured the progress of Catholic education in Thebarton. His successor was Father Smyth and a major step during his incumbency was the establishment of the Diocesan Technical School which was opened by Archbishop Beovich on 20 July 1941; it had a life of only twenty years

for it closed in 1961 due to falling enrolments. This was to be followed by a threat to the level of Catholic education in the area due to the ever-increasing cost of maintaining the several schools and to counter this malady a School Board was inaugurated to deal with the immediate problems.

In 1973 enrolments at the Brothers' School had diminished and their problems were exacerbated by the need to provide classrooms for the teaching of English to Italian migrant children who made up a large proportion of students; lessons were bilingual in infant classes while Italian studies were fostered in the upper primary and lower secondary classes. This school became co-educational in 1975 and had its name changed to "Kilmara", a name designed to honour Mary McKillop, the founder of the Sisters of St Joseph and the Marist Brothers for their work in the two campuses; from an admittedly sub-standard school it was hailed as a model catholic educational facility; it closed in 1991.

1. *Advertiser*, 12 July 1933, p. 40, *Register*, 1 August 1879 (supp.), page 2f.
- 2 Cited in Ingrid Srubjen, *Town of Thebarton*, (unpublished) Chapter Three, pp. 5 and 6. See *Express and Journal*, 27 May 1933.
3. *Register*, 17 December 1880, p. 6e. Inward correspondence to the Colonial Secretary held in the Public Records Office, nos. A 1140 and A 1161 of 1850. Unless indicated by specific notations this chapter has been compiled by reference to *The Thebarton Story*, an unpublished manuscript in possession of the Corporation of the Town of Thebarton and some of the phraseology used comes from that work.
- 4 *Advertiser*, 14 July 1858, page 2c.
5. *Register*, 24 November 1926, p. 10b.
- 6 *Register*, 20 May 1884, p. 7h.
7. *Register*, 1 November 1911, p. 9h, *Advertiser*, 22 February 1902, p. 6e.
- 8 *Register*, 25 June 1913, p. 17f.
9. *Advertiser*, 20 February 1915, p. 19f. The school toilets were condemned by the Thebarton Local Board of Health in 1916 - see *Local Board of Health Minutes* in Public Records Office - MRG 84/26/1.
10. *Advertiser*, 9 September 1921, p. 13f.
11. Srubjen, op cit.
12. *Register*, 24 November 1926, p. 10b.
13. *Register*, 3 April 1928, p. 11g.
14. *News*, 20 December 1928, p. 11c.
15. *Thebarton Heritage Survey*, October 1991, p. 86.
16. The text of this section was kindly provided by Mr Joe Fayad of the Corporation of Thebarton.

Chapter 12

Local Government and Civic Affairs

It would not be a bad thing if [the Mayor] would realise that as there were brave men before Agamemnon, so there are men in Thebarton equally anxious with himself to serve the best interests of the township.
(*Register*, 6 July 1888)

Introduction

In 1881 ratepayers in Thebarton petitioned the Government seeking the creation of a new ward in the West Torrens District Council to look after the interests of ratepayers in Thebarton and, accordingly, in August of that year, Thomas Hardy was elected to the position, but his appointment was declared invalid and Mr Joseph Stevenson took his place.

Earlier, in 1878 moves were made by the West Torrens Council to build a suitable district hall and in July 1879 Mr Stevenson offered to build one. This was accepted and an office and hall were erected on the northern side of Henley Beach Road between West and Clifford Streets - later to be used by the Methodist Church and the Freemasons.

In October 1882 many ratepayers petitioned for separation while a few weeks later another sector plumped for maintaining the status quo. The Acting-Governor, Sir Samuel Way, arbitrated the case and came down in favour of the separationists and on 8 February 1883 the Corporation of the Town of Thebarton was proclaimed in the *Government Gazette*.

The first Thebarton Council was made up of nominated members and on 12 February 1883 it conducted its inaugural meeting in the Harvey Room of the Squatters' Arms Hotel; its members were:

The Mayor - Benjamin Taylor, JP

Strangways Ward- Thomas Pritchard and James Vardon

Musgrave Ward - Edwin C. Hemingway and William C. Pepper

Jervois Ward - Joseph Stevenson and James Manning

Torrens Ward - James B. Broderick and Richard Wilson

Its first Town Clerk was Charles Loader, but a few months later the position was advertised when Abel William Parker was the successful applicant. His duties combined the offices of Clerk, Surveyor, Assessor, Collector, Secretary and Inspector of the Local Board of Health.

The Corporation's district was, at first, divided into seven divisions:

Hemmington - The deposited plan no. 346 in the Lands Titles Office shows "Hemmington". John Hemingway (c.1816-1881), a butcher of Thebarton, created the subdivision in 1873 on part section 46. He was an active member of the West Torrens District Council and a captain in the South Australian Cavalry.

Henley Park - Walter Reynell, (1846-1919) laid it out on part section 46 in 1884 and in advertising it he said '[It] adjoins the land on which the new handsome Thebarton Town Hall is now being erected [and] is very handy to the Henley Beach and Hindmarsh trams. The Model School is close by.'

New Thebarton - This was subdivided in 1878 on section 94, Hundred of Adelaide.

Southwark - It has been recorded that Southwark was subdivided at the "call of the National Building Society" but primary source records do not support this contention. In May 1878 Messrs A.S. Patterson and G.G. Mayo sold the broadacres on which Southwark stands today to W.A. Cawthorne, agent (he also purchased allotments in Thebarton at this time on behalf of the SA Building Society - see Appendix A). The land was purchased on 19 August 1880 by Messrs. J. Phillips, doctor and G.C. Shierlaw, draper, who laid out the suburb, the first sale of an allotment being registered on 31 May 1881. (1)

Thebarton West - This extension to the town was created in the 1870s on section 46, Hundred of Adelaide.

Torrensville - It would appear that The Corporation's subdivision of this name was corrupted from 'Torrenside' which was laid out by David Reid Tanner in 1878 on part section 46 because the suburb of Torrensville was not laid out until

1908.

Later, they were consolidated into three suburbs - Thebarton, Mile End and Torrensville.

Within a few months of incorporation an acrimonious dispute arose between Councillor Stevenson and the Town Clerk which all but culminated in fisticuffs; the former resigned in May 1884 and was replaced by Mr R.B. Cuming.

Earlier, in controversial circumstances, His Worship the Mayor departed from the public gaze when he tendered his resignation on 25 September 1883 to which the Council responded:

We, the undersigned view with regret the manner in which Mr B. Taylor, JP, has treated the Council in not calling them together to lay his resignation before them, he having ample time to call a special meeting... he had been in town ten days previous.

Mr G.M. Dew, an experienced West Torrens Councillor filled the gap until Mr E.J. Ronald was appointed by the government on 25 October 1883; he served until 1887.

The Thebarton Town Halls

In its infancy the Council's field of activities were to do with road surfacing, pollution control, impounding cattle which strayed over the 1,038 acres under its jurisdiction and other matters of civil necessity; of prime concern was the matter of a place of domicile for its operations. A site was chosen at the corner of South Road and George Street and, following a loan from Messrs Reynell and Reincke of £1,700, plans were prepared by Messrs Withall and Wells, whilst James King & Sons were the successful tenderers for its construction at a cost of £1,130; Mr W.H. Medwell was in charge of the masonry work.

The memorial stone was laid by the Mayor's wife, Mrs E.J. Ronald, on 9 May 1886; the Mayor spoke to the assemblage of dignitaries and citizens and expressed pleasure that the ratepayers' dreams were to be fulfilled. He proudly announced that the hall, when completed, would be one of the largest halls in South Australia and, in a parochial Parthian shot, said it would be 'about ten feet larger than the Norwood Town Hall.' The hall, he concluded, would seat 1,000 people and he hoped that in the not too distant future a two-storeyed building would grace the front of it.

When completed the building was 80 feet in length, 40 feet in breadth and 30 feet in height; the walls were of brick and stone upon concrete foundations and underneath there was a temporary Council Chamber 40 feet long by 12 feet wide. Following the ceremony a procession of 'gentlemen in fancy costumes' was formed in front of the Squatters' Arms Hotel and marched to the Town Hall site, headed by a brass band, and accompanied by a large crowd of persons. On the ground there was a pavilion with a grandstand and a refreshment stall. Considerable amusement was caused for two or three hours by a cricket match engaged in by the gentlemen in fancy costumes - ghosts, clowns, barristers, priests, police-constables, etc, being represented...' (2)

By 1906, while considered to be one of Adelaide's finest municipal halls, it was apparent that it was sadly lacking in conveniences for there were no cloak or dressing rooms for either the performers or the audience, nor was there a supper room. The Council held its meetings in a dingy cellar-like compartment beneath the stage of the hall, and when it did so the hall could not be hired out because any noise would interfere with the conduct of business.

Further, the council chamber was so small that deputations of only a small size could be accommodated and if ratepayers wished to attend as observers they had to stand on the steps leading to the chamber, which also served as corporation office, dressing room for both stage and hall, Mayor's parlour and supper room. Many attempts were made to remedy the defects, but the matter stagnated for years due to antipathy on the 'part of ratepayers to spend money for the purpose' many of whom considered it to be all but a 'white elephant'.

The discerning ratepayer contended that while the chambers were central it would not be in a few years 'on account of the population in to the south and west, and assert that it is under an overwhelming disadvantage by being so far from the main road.' Further, it was distant from the tram line "and on wet nights almost inaccessible". Undeterred, the council gave instructions for plans and specifications for proposed improvements be drawn up. (3)

A poll of ratepayers was held on in July 1906 to decide whether the corporation should issue debentures for borrowing £1,400 'for the purpose of erecting suitable municipal offices, supper, cloak and dressing rooms, in connection with the present hall' and 'a heated discussion was continued throughout the afternoon at the door of the booth.' Out of 1,750 voters on the roll having, collectively, 3,463 votes, 352 voters recorded 707 votes - 330 were in favour and 377 against. Today, the old Town Hall is the home of the Junction Theatre.

In the mid-1920s land was acquired by the Corporation facing Henley Beach Road; later it purchased an 80 feet frontage to Taylor's (South) Road from the Thebarton Institute. Finance was an immediate problem but in 1927 the ratepayers agreed for the necessary money to be raised and the Mayor, Mr H.S. Hatwell, laid the foundation stone in September 1927. At this time the town had a population of about 17,600, 3,560 houses and streets aggregating 25 miles in length.

It was formally opened on 11 June 1928 by Mr Hatwell and in his address he said that he was proud of the work accomplished by the council and private enterprise over the past few years - the oval, the technical school, the public school, Savings Bank, church buildings and the fine 'open door to the city', the Bakewell Bridge. His council was firmly of the opinion that 'they were giving the ratepayers a fine business proposition and a building that was a credit to the town.'

After the opening ceremony, a gymnastic display was given by Mr R.G. Shorthose and a number of his pupils, Mr B. Davies rendered a solo, and a 'number of pictures were screened when the lighting effects were shown to advantage.' (4)

A Mayor's Brief Sojourn in Office

In October 1885 a local newspaper printed a snippet of information on Thebarton and concluded with the comment that 'Thebartonians being gradually civilized [have] now got a brass band and a town hall.' Incensed at this derogatory slight on the fledgling Corporation and its citizens a resident, Mr B.J. McCarthy (to be Mayor in 1888), responded. In view of his future antipathy towards his councillors the letter he penned in rebuttal is worthy of reproduction for it gives an insight into his character while, at the same time, being of historical interest:

I strongly and indignantly enter my protest against the gratuitous insult offered to the inhabitants of this the oldest [*sic*] suburban, but withal newest corporate town of South Australia. Some two years ago I began looking around for a quiet, respectable, and law-abiding suburb wherein, after forty-six years residence (in which time I have seen many ups and downs) in sunny South Australia, I might, peaceably, calmly, and quietly end my days.

I tried Kensington, Norwood, Kent Town, Parkside, Hyde Park and a host of other suburbs of aristocratic pretensions, but in all of them I found ladies of seductive ways, but alas! also of easy virtue. Sir, I had lived in Currie Street west for a number of years, and I wanted to 'ease mine aching eyes' for a time at least from the sickening sights that there meet the eye at all hours of the day.

At last I selected Thebarton, as the one suburb free from any dens inhabited by the social evil class. In this town, under the vigilant eye of Sergeant Miller, the demi-monde cannot abide. The Blue Ribbon Army with their brass band, and the strong Temperance Society, under the leadership of the good Father Healy, C.C. - also with their brass band - are the principal causes of rendering this happy town one of the most calm and deliciously quiet spots around Adelaide wherein the old sojourner who has borne the heat and burden of the day can calmly sit down and smoke the calumet of peace, his happy reveries being only occasionally broken by the harmoniously blended tones of the two above-named bands playing "The Bonny Bit of Blue" and "The Wearing of the Green".

Sir, I assert that... it is one of the most respectable and civilized retreats in the whole of South Australia... In conclusion, Sir, I am in great hopes after seeing the fraternal meeting of our worthy mayor and His Excellency the Governor at the great music festival held at our Town Hall last evening that his Worship will be recommended for a knighthood or a C.M.G. at least... (5)

Mr McCarthy assumed the role of Mayor in 1888 and on the morning of 6 July 1888 his ratepayers were to read in the Register a bold headline - Municipal Squabbles and Grievances - it was apparent the members of the Council were at loggerheads:

The Mayor is a young hand with the broom and wants to sweep vigorously, while the majority of the Council are old hands and much more sedate and obedient to routine. Mr B.J. McCarthy is the Mayor, and he seems to have more than an ordinary idea of the importance of his office and of the power which he can wield. Councillor Pepper - ominous

name - is the leader of the opposition and is anxious to conserve the privileges of the Council as against those of the Mayor.

The easiest solution would be to make Mr Pepper Mayor. Failing this, which is impossible just at present, it would not be a bad thing if he would realise that as there were brave men before Agamemnon, so there are men in Thebarton equally anxious with himself to serve the best interests of the township. They may be mistaken in their mode of going about the business. But, all the same, they may have no private ends to serve. Indeed, outsiders are ready to believe that both parties in the Thebarton Council have no other end in view than the advancement of the welfare of the township over which they have no control.

The Editor then recited the facts of the case in dispute and concluded:

The business of a Corporation cannot be run on lines such as His Worship adopted. There are certain channels through which communications should pass, and nothing is gained by a departure from time-honoured regulations... Another point also cropped up on account of the mayor's signing minutes before they were confirmed. This matter was tried... in the Police Court and... the Mayor was fined. This will hardly tend to harmonise the opposing elements in the Council...

Prophetic words, indeed; the matter dragged on amidst acrimony for a few months until Mr James Manning assumed the role of Mayor following Mr McCarthy's short, but eventful, reign. (6)

An Old-Time Election

Municipal elections of December 1911 were to create a deal of animosity between the Labor and Liberal factions among the ratepayers of Thebarton. The major point at issue was a pamphlet issued by the Liberal interests which the Labor forces believed 'misconverted the electors' and resulted in six of the available seven vacant seats falling to the Liberals.

The offending pamphlet, which was unsigned and 'did not even have the printer's imprint', read as follows:

We appeal to your patriotism and your common-sense to exercise your right to vote today, so as to make yourselves fully and widely heard. The matter is urgent. Unless those who hold that there is no room for improvement in the management of our municipal affairs take action today judgement may go by default, and our town may drift into even a more unsatisfactory condition than at present.

We appeal, therefore, to those who disapprove of the present state of affairs to support the under-mentioned candidates. Our municipal affairs should be absolutely non-political because - "When all are for a party, few are for our town." We say this with no disrespect for those - mostly personal friends of our own - who differ from us on this point, but with a determination on our part to place the claims on our town first.

In conclusion, we ask for a good old British standard of fair play and courtesy in debate, and oppose any introduction of political or religious differences into our municipal affairs.

The defeated Labor candidates caused a 'noisy meeting' and 'excitement at Thebarton' at the declaration of the poll. The Hon. E.L.W. Klauer, MP, former Alderman and defeated candidate for the Mayoralty, was damning when he verbally flayed his opponents and regretted, 'apart from party politics, that the people of Thebarton had not realised and appreciated his efforts in the council during the past six years.' He fervently declared that the ratepayers had been deceived by the 'Conservative organisation [and] their machinery and devices and... spurious literature' and declared he 'would disdain to congratulate himself if he had gained his seat with the assistance of those pamphlets.'

Another victim to the onslaught from the Liberals was former Alderman Menhennett and he ventured the opinion that what had just transpired was 'the dirtiest work he had seen during his quarter of a century's connection with municipal elections was done by one man...' A compatriot, Mr J.G. Branstrom, considered that 'religion mentioned in pamphlets had nothing to do with municipal affairs... It was a disgrace to the Liberal Party...' At this juncture the newspaper report says 'uproar' eventuated – 'If they were going to adopt such tactics it would not be long before they lost all they had gained.' – 'Cheers and dissent' followed this revelation!

The man responsible for the 'vile literature' emanating from the Liberal camp was Mr A.E. Kildael, Honorary Secretary of the Thebarton Branch of the Liberal Union; he took umbrage at the aspersions cast upon him and proffered a defence together with certain views on the political 'face' of the community:

It is passing strange, and an illustration of the irony of fate, that certain persons were found declaiming against reckless and unjustifiable political tactics at the declaration of the poll on Saturday evening at Thebarton. In view of certain recent happenings their protestations had a palpably spurious ring about them. The manifesto which our opponents in their wrath termed "vile literature" I am content to leave to the judgement of the public to decide whether it merits the title that some of the beaten candidates bestowed on it.

Abuse of Liberals has always been the largest asset among a section of the residents of Thebarton, though today we are proud to admit that it is a rapidly diminishing asset. Not far back it was a common saying, 'Live in Thebarton, and you will learn to howl.' One had only to attend any political meeting in this district and observe the 'courteous' treatment meted to Liberals. Happily, we are now a much improved community, because political toleration is winning the day.

As Secretary... I take the responsibility for issuing the so-called "vile literature." Perhaps our opponents would like us to submit all future manifestos to them for approval, or maybe they expect us to get a "permit" before distribution. There was absolutely no secret

about our literature; it was open and above board, and I claim that it was mean and unwarrantable to class it as 'vile'.

[We] will continue to proceed along clean, firm and fair lines, so that no blot or stain may mar the character of this branch. In time even our political opponents - who are sometimes courteous enough to declare that they would sooner vote for a 'nigger' or a 'Chinaman' than a member of the Liberal Union - may find little to criticise and much to edify and enlighten them as how to play the game of politics fairly and squarely.

In conclusion may I add that the ratepayers of Thebarton are not noodles, they understand what they are doing, and are not as easily bluffed as our opponents would have the public believe. The whole trouble is that some people have burnt the gruel - prepared by themselves - and now don't like its taste. (7)

The reference to the voting peculiarities of members of the Labor movement in respect of Aborigines and aliens was not a trait confined to one particular section of society for it existed throughout the whole population of South Australia and knew no boundaries, political or otherwise.

However, within the community there were some imbued with Christian charity and perception and prepared to inform our legislators of the need for racial tolerance:

Mr Parsons, [MP,] admires [Chinamen] but at a distance, and the greater the distance the greater the admiration. His chief ground of opposition... is that of antagonism of races. The old notion that all people are made of one blood to dwell together upon the face of the earth is ignored in his policy. The lessons of charity, the obligations to preach and promote peace on earth and goodwill towards men, acquire in his hands a peculiar interpretation.

It is lamentable that we should have a government and law-makers - poor ignorant creatures many of them - capable of promoting a Bill so mean, selfish, cruel and unjust in its nature and intentions... they and their predecessors have helped to clear off the original race and owners of Australia... (8)

The Great War

When war was declared in 1914 the Mayor, Mr Thompson Green, conveyed to the Governor of South Australia expressions of loyalty to the Crown from the Council and offered every assistance within their powers. The community was split in their opinion as to whether men should be conscripted but the members of Council were unanimous in their opposition and formed a recruiting committee to encourage enlistments. The whole community became imbued with patriotic fever while local school children contributed enthusiastically to the Red Cross, the Keswick Soldiers' Hospital, the Belgian Relief Fund and the Wattle League Sewing Circle which knitted thousands of socks and mittens for the troops.

Almost a thousand men enlisted from the district and, sadly, eighty young men never returned. Those who survived the blood baths of Gallipoli and France were given a rousing welcome when they returned while State and Commonwealth governments pledged their support in providing funds to build homes. The State Bank of South Australia offered loans at 4½% repayable over fifty years while provision was made for the widows of deceased servicemen to rent houses at six shillings (60 cents) a week.

The Torrens Floodwaters Relief Scheme

While not a direct concern of the Council the periodical flooding of the River Torrens caused havoc in the district and its aftermath in the form of damaged roads and kerbing were a burden on available finance. Henley Beach Road was often a morass and as late as 1917 the river burst its banks at the Adelaide Chemical Works.

In April 1889 'the town [was] in commotion, and not the oldest resident [could] remember a flood of so severe a character.' The local press described the scene within Thebarton:

In the early hours of the morning it rose rapidly, washed away Mr David Reed's bridge, which spans the river from the Riverside Road, Hindmarsh to West Thebarton. The stables which are situated on the slope of the bank on the Thebarton side are still under water, and the horses, in order to keep their heads above the water, had to place their feet on the manger and were not relieved for a considerable time... because the bridge to the stables had been cut off... At this time Taylor's Bridge was totally submerged...

Mr Reeves of the Rosebery Dairy, is also a great sufferer, and Mr Pegler of Henley Beach Road has had his dairy washed away and also part of his residence. Just below Taylor's Bridge on the Thebarton side stand the Adelaide Blanket Factory and the Adelaide Chemical Works and here the river overflowed with terrible force... The water... rushed over the banks... like a cataract, flooding out the buildings, setting jars, casks, etc, adrift, rushing down the well and breaking down the steam pumps, and finally through the chemical house...

The floodwaters taking a south-westerly direction did the most damage in Underdale. Mrs Norman and family had to leave their house, and remove the cows to safety... The bridge known as Holbrook's is a wreck... At about 5 o'clock in the afternoon Peacock's new bridge went down on the Hindmarsh side through the bank being washed away... Many persons were fishing for logs out of the river, and one man falling in narrowly escaped a watery grave... Tons of wood have been carted away, and loads of melons and such-like vegetables have been collected, the banks of the river presenting quite an animated appearance by persons so occupied... (9)

Plans for flood mitigation were submitted to the government in 1925 and referred to a Standing Committee which recommended the introduction of a Bill which included a clause stipulating that 75% of the cost was to be borne by riparian councils; however, the Bill lapsed when it was pointed out that most of the floodwaters emanated from the eastern suburbs.

In 1932 a meeting was convened comprising delegates from the E&W.S. Department, Thebarton, West Torrens and Grange Councils and the Unemployed Relief Council when the Mayor, Mr Langdon, stressed the urgency of solving the flood problem. The total cost was estimated at £140,000; the Commonwealth Government contributed one half of this amount and the State Government the remainder; the latter also accepted the responsibility of meeting one third of the annual interest payable while the Councils agreed to meet the remainder over a term of fifty-eight years.

The benefits which transpired following the completion of the scheme in 1937 were remarkable - The Reedbeds were reclaimed and attractive suburbs were laid out on the land and the lakes which covered, periodically, the Kooyonga Golf Course, disappeared forever. The key to the scheme was the formation of Breakout Creek which was concreted to divert the mouth of the River Torrens to an outlet at Henley Beach. (9)

Thebarton Institute and Library

During the nineteenth century Mechanics' Institutes, comprising a newspaper-reading room, lecture room and library were established in most suburbs and many country towns but it was not until 7 August 1899 that the Thebarton Institute was incorporated and by 1900 the membership totalled 48 and 490 books were in the library; in 1905 the figures were 138 and 1,320 respectively.

The library was first started in two rooms in the State School but by 1903 this accommodation was proving itself inadequate and plans were made to purchase a building of its own. Assisted by the ladies of Thebarton an 'Empire Fair' was held and this raised sufficient money to purchase a block of land with a fifty foot frontage to Henley Beach Road on the corner of Taylor's (South) Road at a cost of £300 and 'which was entirely free of debt.' However, the building of an institute was impossible at that time, but sufficient funds were in hand to erect the front portion which included two business premises - which would provide rentals for sinking fund purposes - a reading room and library.

Further, the committee was pleased to report that 'an American millionaire had given [them] strong encouragement, and the members hoped some day to obtain from him a big cheque which would go to the building fund.' The inscription stone read - 'This stone was laid by C.B. Ware, Esq., President of the Institute and ex-Mayor of Thebarton, 14th January 1905. The institute was founded by C.E. Kerr, Esq., 7th August 1899.' 'Mr Ware was presented with a silver trowel suitably inscribed and during afternoon tea the West Suburban Band, under Bandmaster Mr W. Gooley, played selections.'

The building was of freestone with cement dressings; the two business premises were 18 feet by 17 feet; the library 28 feet by 21 feet; a reading room 18 feet by 16 feet and lavatory accommodation. It was proposed to add a hall 85 feet by 40 feet, retiring rooms and a stage at a later date.

The formal opening took place in May 1905 when 'at the request of the Secretary, Mr C.E. Kerr, the Minister of Education, Hon. J.R. Anderson, asked Mrs C.B. Ware to open the building' which had cost £590. To celebrate the occasion a fair was held, the stalls being located in the library and in a spacious marquee erected at the rear of the Institute. 'The stalls were attractively decorated and well laden with goods' and presided over by:

Plain Work - Mesdames Isley, sen. (in charge), Bennett, Isley, jun., Cooke and F. Crafter.

Fancy Work - Mesdames G. Ware (in charge), J.B. Burden, J. Crafter, Misses Crafter and Douglas.

Afternoon - Mesdames C.B. Ware, (in charge), R.B. Cuming and Tea - McNamara, Misses Metters, Rawlings, Cooke (2), Knight, Penhall and Howie.

Sweets - Mesdames F. Ellis (in charge), Rischbeith, Moore and Fischer.

Flowers - Mesdames F. Metters (in charge), Lemon and Miss Barnes.

Cakes - Mesdames J. Rowell (in charge), Leitch, Beal and McCarthy.

Buttonholes - Misses Collins, Knight and Pfennig.

Butterflies - Misses L. Ellis and A. Martindale. (10)

In 1970 the Highways Department notified the Institute committee that their 'old cornerstone' would have to be demolished for a road-widening programme. Accordingly, it was decided to transfer the freehold to the Corporation under the provisions of the Libraries and Institutes Act; a joint body was formed to face the task of finding alternative accommodation, and the members agreed on the purchase of a fine old house near the Town Hall at 160 South Road built circa 1900 and currently occupied by Mrs G.T. Bridgman.

After internal and external renovations it was fitted out with shelving and supplied with books which were issued on loan and free to the public; it was formally opened by the Director-General of Education, Mr A.W. Jones, on 24 June 1972.

Brickbats for the Council

In days gone by ratepayers were not averse to going 'public' and airing their views on local government; in 1907 a correspondent to a local newspaper censured members of the Council for their despoliation of Henley Beach Road, while at the same time providing us with an interesting piece of history:

Over 20 years ago a few residents of Thebarton and West Torrens district planted the Henley Beach Road, from the railway junction to Lockleys, with suitable trees. The father of the scheme was Mr Thomas Hardy, who had always watched and watered, tied up and replaced. The trees have now grown, make a fine glade and are admired by many. The

road to the beach is considered one of the prettiest drives during the summer months outside the city.

This was one time a dreary, dusty track, nothing green was visible in the shape of foliage, until the beautiful evergreen gumtrees were met with at Lockleys. The Henley road avenues was planted and looked after at no cost to the Town Council of Thebarton. Therefore, I consider the wishes of the residents should be considered. Any one can plant a tree, but will they promise to look after it, water and nourish it from the rough weather until matured.

It is evident the Council of Thebarton do not know the value of trees. The new water-table near Hardy's wine cellars, now in course of construction, could be put a few inches out - not more than three - to save the trees, or the kerbstone could block on either side; the same is done in the city and the other side of the river. The footpath here is over 13 feet wide, which is not required; this could be reduced to 10 feet. The water-table could be put down on the inside, giving over 3 feet to the roadway, which will be required when we have two lines of tram rails.

Our City Fathers are spending hundred in tree planting to beautify their sidewalks and drives and our council are doing all they can to destroy the only beauty we have, as we have no reserves or oval to recruit and admire. (12)

The Great Depression of the 1930s

The inhabitants of the industrial suburb of Thebarton underwent years of poverty and misery as manufacturers put off staff to avoid liquidation of their companies, while wages were cut dramatically. Unemployment rose to 30% while charity workers with limited funds and resources were hard put to satisfy the demand for assistance. In a repetition of the 1880s, soup kitchens were opened by both the Salvation Army and Churches while the Council employed workers on a day by day basis.

An Unemployed Association was formed and was ostracised by many because some people believed it was controlled by Communists while, on a practical note, the Council instituted the Young People's Unemployment Scheme where boys and girls were encouraged to grow vegetables on vacant land in the district. The personal reminiscences of Thebarton residents of life in these years are in Town of Thebarton, by Ingrid Srubjen (unpublished - copy in the Thebarton Library).

World War II

With the outbreak of war in September 1939 the Commonwealth Government were to take over the conduct of every aspect of the lives of Australian citizens and, after the dastardly bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941, the country was threatened with invasion for the first time. In October 1940 the Council, at a sponsored farewell gathering for troops, presented each man with a wallet inscribed 'With Best Wishes from the Citizens of Thebarton'; later, an Honour Roll was erected outside the Town Hall.

At night blackouts were enforced and courses in air raid precautions were delivered by the Mayor after he had been trained by a Mr Inkley. In 1942, the Department of Civil Defence constructed a partly-underground sub-control station at the corner of Ashley Street and South Road and it was here that sixteen operators worked around the clock in handling messages from Warden's posts. The station was connected by telephone to the Fire Brigade, the E&WS Department, the gas and electricity supply companies and the Council office. After the war the building, for a time, was used by the Saint John's Ambulance Brigade and the Girl Guides until, finally, in 1975 it was acquired by the Australian Society of magicians Assembly No.2, Adelaide.

Community air raid shelters were placed in strategic areas throughout the town by utilising well sand-bagged concrete pipes while the old Town Hall was made ready to serve as a casualty station; some householders had their own shelters in the form excavated trenches while a more elaborate structure was built on the roof of the present town hall where men armed with binoculars were housed and employed in searching for enemy aircraft intent on bombing and strafing Thebarton. The post was manned by employees of Metters Ltd. It was indeed fortunate that these facilities were never put to the test of actual engagement with the enemy but the fellowship and camaraderie created helped immeasurably to bond the community.

The presence of air raid shelters, blackouts and gas masks, coupled with the bombing of Darwin and the miniature submarine attacks in Sydney Harbour brought to the notice of the citizens that the horrors of war were at their very doorsteps. The women of Thebarton performed miracles; community activities raised funds to succour the fighting men while volunteers knitted socks, pullovers, mufflers, balaclava helmets, gloves and embarkation bags.

The children of Thebarton also made an outstanding contribution to the war effort in the form of the Children's Patriotic Fund which was established in 1942. On any day after school and art week-ends the children scoured the district collecting items such as bottles, scrap metal, waste paper, tyres (motor car and bicycle), rags and used batteries for sale and eventual recycling. The Headmaster, Mr Hand, organised a band of sixty boys in red, gold and black uniforms to complement the school choir and this conglomerate played and sang at marches, parades and concerts which were held regularly to raise funds for the war effort.

As the war dragged on to its conclusion in 1945 the Council had difficulty in maintaining essential services due to petrol rationing while the Department of War Organisation of Industry kept a vigilant eye on material in short supply. The Municipal Tramways Trust agreed to run tramlines along George and Albert Streets, provided the Council bought certain properties to enable the thoroughfares to be widened; the department opposed this proposition but the Council persisted and, finally, obtained the requisite permit and work commenced.

Post-War Immigration

The displaced people of Europe were to find a home in Australia from 1947 when a Labor Government enacted a humanitarian piece of legislation to succour the victims of the war; there

were other facets to the Government's decision, of course, one being a growing concern of Australia's under-population.

By early 1952 South Australia had taken in 31,500 'non-British' migrants and the slow process of assimilation commenced. Language difficulties were a problem while many of the professional people were to resent the fact that, in many cases, their qualifications were not recognised. There were social and psychological barriers to overcome and for many the land was "very strange, lonely and boring at the weekends."

The social composition of the Town of Thebarton has been markedly changed from its pre- World War II 'British' stock to a conglomerate of races; by 1954 the Greek community made up 3.4% of its population and the Italians 2.3% and in the space of seven years the Greek population had more than doubled to 7.4% and the Italians to 6.9%; Its non-British content was 33.8% in 1966.

A great proportion of the Greek community in Adelaide have tended to either settle in the city or in the western suburbs of Thebarton and Torrensville; this particular choice was governed by several factors such as proximity to place of employment, the relative cheapness of real estate and a need to live in areas where contact with social groups, churches and their culture were readily available.

Many facets of Greek culture may be seen in Thebarton including, the Greek Orthodox Church, society buildings such as the Castellorizian House in Danby Street and the Panrhodian Hall on Henley Beach Road which cater particularly for residents hailing from particular regions or provinces of the home country. (13)

The Community Centre

The idea of community centres originated within the Department of Community Services and from this flowed a prototype at the Parks in Angle Park. It was designed to provide a central focus for the activities of the young and old in a perceptible community where the resources of primary and secondary are combined with adult education.

The Parks centre offers sporting facilities, health services, services for senior citizens and the frail aged, the disabled and the unemployed. In addition, it presents opportunities to those interested in art, ballet, drama, crafts, calisthenics and even the martial arts; an admirable adjunct would be a shopping complex. The core of the plan is to maintain a comprehensive free library suitable for all ages, including those with sight impediments. The advance of technology indicates that it would need to be equipped with cassettes, videos and television.

The Thebarton Community Centre was based on this concept, but on a smaller scale, due to the spread of population and the unavailability of a suitable central venue. The intention was to cooperate with the High School to combine adult education with the normal secondary curriculum. A centre was opened in a converted house and the merits of such a progressive plan soon became apparent.

In 1979, the Premier of South Australia, John Bannon, announced that his government would allocate four and a half million dollars to construct the Thebarton Community Centre; however, a delay occurred with a change of government. On 5 May 1980 an agreement was reached between the Department of Social Services and the Council whereby the control of social services would become the responsibility of the Corporation. The cost was to be funded jointly by the State and the Council for the first three years and thereafter by the Council. Adult education was to be developed by the High School leading, eventually, to the formation of the Thebarton Senior College.

The community centre moved to Danby Street and finally established permanent headquarters on South Road next to the Town Hall. The necessity for such a department was accentuated by the multicultural composition of the population comprising a higher ratio of non-Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-Saxon than any other area of local government in the State. A breakdown of such groups in Thebarton demonstrate this:

Anglo-Saxon Australian	38%
Greek/Australian	21%
Italian/Australian	19%
Asian/Australian	14%
Other, including Aboriginals	8%

The success of the service was enhanced by the recruitment of interpreters; first Greek and Italian, then Vietnamese, Chinese and Cambodian.

One of the most enterprising achievements of the Council was the introduction of the Thebarton Newsletter in June 1979. In a foreword to the first issue the Mayor, Dr J.A. Flaherty said – ‘My Council is planning to publish the newsletter on a regular basis throughout the year to provide better liaison between the electors and the Council.’

The first bulletin included the announcement of differential rating, planning for the publication of a history of Thebarton, purchase of Hallett's brickyard, the introduction of a mobile library and the redevelopment of both the old Town Hall and the vacant land on the corner of Henley Beach and South Roads.

An exciting innovation in 1980 was the printing of a translation of the most important news both in Greek and Italian. The first amusing cartoons by Simon Kneebone added to the attractiveness of the publication. Peter Carpenter, Community Development Officer, was the editor and he and the Community Development Department were responsible for the lively contents.

The newsletter also carries news of the success of Thebarton residents. In 1981 Dr Jim Flaherty was awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia the Queen's Birthday Honour Lists for services to the community and local government.

In the same year Mrs Cordelia Allen of Lurline Street, Mile End was selected as Thebarton's citizen of the year; she had been a member of the Women's Service Association for eighteen years, sixteen as President, and had served for a similar period on the Community Hospital Auxiliary, as well as being Secretary to the Congregational Guild for seventeen years and, for a time, President of the Cowandilla Primary School Mothers' Club. In 1981 she was a member of Thebarton's Community Development Board as convenor of the Voluntary Agencies Committee.

Mrs Franca Antonello, a community development worker with the Council, was awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia for service in the field of migrant welfare. Resident in Australia since 1951, she was a diligent worker in the Italian community. Additionally, the paper reported the resignation from the Council of Alderman Colin Shearing, a member of one of Thebarton's most distinguished families (his great-grandfather had settled in the town in 1839). He had served on the Council from 1939, a period of forty-two years.

Disposal of Waste

All councils throughout the nation experience difficulties in the collection and disposal of waste matter and in this regard Thebarton was no exception. In the mid-1930s the situation was crying out for a remedy and so Councillors inspected a waste disposal system in Melbourne, designed by a Mr Griffin, which they considered would be ideal for the Council's specific problem.

Walter Burley Griffin, the designer of Canberra, also specialised in the construction of incinerators and with an innate flair he made these mundane facilities into almost an art form. On 31 July 1936 the Council accepted Griffin's Reverberatory and Engineering Company's tender of \$4,988 to build a furnace on land situated on West Thebarton Road on the edge of a disused pit from which clay had been dug for the manufacture of bricks.

The ingenious scheme provided for garbage to be tipped into the maw of the furnace at street level and the residual ash was discharged into the pughole by gravitation thus reclaiming the land. In 1964 the Council adopted more modern methods of rubbish disposal and the incinerator was closed when extensive renovations were made and, in 1970, the premises were let to the Wireless Institute of Australia (SA Division). Today, the premises are still Council property and is on the classified list of the National Trust of South Australia.

Boy Scouts and Girl Guides

In the mid-1930s The Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Association approached the Council seeking £300 to shift from their makeshift headquarters into a more permanent edifice which they hoped to build in August Street. The civic authority was pleased to assist this worthy cause and on 15 April 1939 its foundation stone was laid by the Mayor, Mr H.S. Hatwell; its opening was effected by the Governor and Chief Scout of South Australia, Sir Malcolm Barclay Harvey, on 16 September 1939.

The Women's Service Association

This highly acclaimed charity organisation began in 1922 when the women of Thebarton became deeply disturbed about the incidence of poverty in the town; since that time more than \$70,000

has been raised to alleviate distress. At its inaugural meeting in August 1921 the Mayoress, Mrs Leal, was appointed President with Mrs Willsmore as Secretary. At first, the funds were raised by the conduct of fetes, garden parties, jumble sales, street stalls, concerts and pageants organised by the late Mrs Elsie Lawrence; some early members were Mesdames Field, Hatwell, Silver and Witty.

In retrospect Mrs Leal said:

I was only a young woman at the time and I had a young family. My husband appreciated my difficulties and suggested that I should form a standing committee... which could deal with each situation as it arose, instead of having to call a new body together each time a proposition was put to me. Our constitution enabled us to cover a wide variety of philanthropic and social activities. One result was to develop a real community spirit among our public-minded women. (14)

In the distribution of funds local charities were given preference; however, its goodwill embraced the Adelaide Hospital Kiosk, the Cerebral Palsy Children's School at Ashford and the Children's Hospital which was endowed with a cot in Colton Ward. A cosmopolitan gesture in 1981 was the gift to the Church of Saint Peter in Theberton, Suffolk to enable its organ to be restored. Until recent times the association was responsible solely for the local branch of the Mothers' and Babies' Health Association.

The Youth Centre

In the early days of World War II the executive committee of the National Fitness Association circularised metropolitan corporations offering to assist any bodies that would further their objectives, among them being 'to co-ordinate and assist the work of all organisations contributing to the general fitness of the citizens.' In 1943 Mr C.B. Henderson approached the Council on behalf of several residents and sought approval to establish a Thebarton Youth Community Centre.

The National Fitness Council supported the scheme and advised that if the Council would sponsor the centre it would be eligible for Commonwealth Government funding. The centre opened on 27 June 1944 in a hall next to the Royal Hotel on Henley Beach Road, with Mr Ken Leal as President and able support forthcoming from the Women's Service Association. The boys and girls were separated into groups of the same age and engaged in gymnastics, games, folk dancing, square-dancing and basketball. They were entertained, also, by the showing of sixteen millimetre films, visiting speakers, musical evenings and religious discussions. Holiday camps were held each year at various venues and were well-attended and popular.

In 1947, the club moved to the band room in School Lane, off Rose Street, and it was hoped that it would be its permanent headquarters; however, this was not to be for they were given notice that the hall would be required by the school and, therefore, found themselves homeless. Fortunately, the Returned Servicemen's League which leased the old Town Hall on South Road were willing to sublet the premises on week nights at a nominal rental.

In July 1948 the young people moved their equipment into the hall and on the seventeenth a fire destroyed the interior of the building and their chattels. With commendable initiative the members organised a film benefit night at the Town Hall and in a short time were ready to resume operations with new equipment in a rebuilt structure which was renamed the Thebarton Community Centre.

Centenary of the Corporation

In 1983 the residents of Thebarton could look back upon 100 years of local government and in a celebratory mood the Mayor, Mr J.F. Keough, together with his Aldermen and Councillors resolved to mark the occasion in style and the man delegated to convene the festivities was Mr Joseph Fayad, Community Development and Recreation Officer.

The week of celebration commenced with a re-enactment of the first council meeting in the Squatters' Arms Hotel on the Port Road where a scene was set to duplicate as closely as possible the meeting in 1883. A garden party on the Thebarton Oval and King's Park attracted a large number of former residents as well as present-day Thebartonians. Sulkies, traps and gigs were resurrected to be driven in procession while many guests responded to a request to dress in period costume; children entered into the spirit of the occasion and came bedecked in frills and furbelows and the result was a nostalgic spectacle enjoyed by all.

A celebrity concert was staged in the theatre and an exhibition of relics from the past was conducted in the Town Hall. By a happy coincidence the South Australian Railways was celebrating the centenary of the opening of the line to Nairne and, accordingly, both bodies sponsored a joint steam-train trip into the Mount Lofty Ranges.

The Council also determined to sponsor the construction of homes for the elderly as a permanent memorial of the occasion. Therefore, in cooperation with the South Australian Housing Trust fifteen one-bedroom and two two-bedroom units were built at the corner of Ballantyne Street and Neville Road, Thebarton; the units are available to approved applicants at low rentals.

A bus, especially modified to accommodate people in wheel chairs and the frail elderly, was purchased thus enabling the house-bound, the very old and the disabled to be taken shopping and enjoy the pleasures of a scenic trip. The cost of this vehicle was met by the generosity of local service groups with the Rotary Club, the Women's Service Association and ethnic groups featuring prominently in the fund-raising effort.

The River Torrens Linear Park

In 1964 a committee of eight members was appointed to advise the Minister of Works, and later the Minister for Water Resources, on all matters relating to the improvement of the environs of the River Torrens and among its members were Council delegates from Thebarton. The mitigation of flooding and the enhancement of the river's natural beauty were priority measures to be considered.

In the course of time a magnificent linear park was constructed which included walking, jogging and cycling paths, sports grounds, barbecues, picnic grounds and children's playgrounds. The Thebarton section of the park commences at the quaint Holland Street bridge which once accommodated one-way north-south vehicular traffic along its narrow span (it is now a pedestrian overway). On the Hindmarsh side are the walking, jogging and cycling tracks.

The stroll down the Thebarton trail will be enhanced through the acquisition of the former Faulding's site by the Adelaide University where it will construct a Commerce and Research Precinct; the purchase was financed by the generosity of bequests to that body by generations of South Australians. The master plan provides for a large development comprising offices, laboratories, lecture rooms, etc, with appropriate landscaping with the Winwood and Queen Street extensions being paved with trees planted to form two impressive entrances to the complex.

The River Torrens Committee engaged the Thebarton Council to beautify the banks to the boundary with West Torrens. Twenty-six previously unemployed men set to work and joined forces with the Council's permanent labour force and in six months converted a kilometre of deserted river bank into a verdant oasis. They built retaining wall, installed lighting, constructed tables and benches alongside strategically place barbecues for picnickers; blue gums, wattles and shrubs were planted, complementing the lawns sweeping down to the river's edge.

1. See Application no. 16484 in the General Registry Office and Deposited Plan no. 1038 and Certificate of Title, Volume 273, Folio 208 in the Lands Titles Office.
2. *Register*, 11 May 1885, p. 6a. Unless indicated by specific source notations this chapter has been compiled from information contained in *The Thebarton Story*, an unpublished manuscript held by the Corporation of Thebarton; some of the phraseology also comes from that work.
3. *Register*, 15 March 1906, p. 4f.
4. *Register*, 2 July 1906, p. 3g.
5. *Register*, 15 September 1927, p. 16a, 12 June 1928, p. 12a, Advertiser, 9 June 1928, p. 21e.
6. *Register*, 13 October 1885, p. 6e. The oldest suburban town is Hindmarsh.
7. For a complete account of the saga see *Register*, 25 February 1888, p. 6e, 6 and 7 March 1888, pp. 4g and 7d, 27 and 28 July 1888, pp. 5a and 6g.
8. *Register*, 4 December 1911, pp. 9c and 10c.
9. *Register*, 17 June 1881, p. 4e, 18 November 1896, p. 7g.
10. *Observer*, 20 April 1889, p. 38e.
11. *Register*, 20 March 1907, p. 9e.
12. *The Flinders History of South Australia - Social History*, Chapter 5, Thebarton Heritage Survey, October 1991, p. 15.
13. Cited in Ingrid Srubjen, *Town of Thebarton* (unpublished).

Chapter 13

Religion

[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 were 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 Karananis 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 no longer cope with the ever-increasing demand for pastoral succour and comfort; accordingly, land was purchased in Chapel Street by Reverend James Draper on which was built a chapel 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, 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. 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 have also 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 number five in the newly subdivided area of Fremantle. 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, 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 which 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 which 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.

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 - this site housed, later, the Kilmara Secondary School. (See Chapter Eleven).

The Catholic congregation in Thebarton outgrew rapidly 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 that £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 tinkettle 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"'.²

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 barmans' 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)

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.

Chapter 14

A Day in the Life of Thebarton - 1907

Introduction

Like all the satellite villages around Adelaide, the commercial life of Thebarton commenced with the 'essential' of the period, namely, a hotel; with progress, churches brought spiritual comfort to their parishioners and general stores, butcher shops, etc, opened for business. To service the diverse needs of Thebartonians schools were opened, entertainment provided in the form of magic lantern shows, while the mortal remains of the deceased had to be prepared for appropriate burial rites.

In today's realm of fast food outlets and supermarkets the leisurely trading of days gone by has departed forever; many trades have disappeared or changed beyond recognition - but let us pause for a moment and enter into the lives of some of those who contributed towards the well-being of Thebarton in the days of 1907.

The Plumber

Our plumber maintains that he works hand in hand with the doctor for the public good and insists that modern civilisation owes a debt to him that is not satisfied by remuneration for his work. His duties? Well this is how he sums them up:

1. To keep water out of houses (roof work).
2. To get water into houses and store and distribute it where required.
3. To get water out of houses after it has served its purpose.

He also undertakes the functions of galvanised iron worker, gasfitter, glazier, coppersmith and tinsmith and in connection with the more restricted operations as a leadworker, from which the name of his trade is derived (Latin *plumbum* - lead). He also works hand in hand with the smoke-test man as many residents have learned to their cost. After the vicious smoke has curled its way through tiny leaks the owner of the premises is given a mandamus to have the vents repaired within a certain number of hours.

The man with the firepot and soldering iron is called and in exchange for hard cash the customer has the satisfaction of knowing that the shining patches put on the pipes have possibly saved him from falling victims to fevers and various other diseases. Just now it appears that the increasing adoption of Marseilles tile roofing will displace to a large extent the use of galvanised iron for the covering of suburban villas, but the plumber is not disturbed by that. He holds that the fortune which brought him the harvest of deep drainage work when times were bad will enable him to profit by a later march of science.

In support of this contention he submits that already English architects are talking about a renaissance of the old ornamental and artistic lead waterheads, gutters, downpipes, sundials and

the like to lend attractiveness to the plain brick fronts of the more modern houses. He also points with satisfaction to the larger popularity of small gables and turrets which also make more work for the plumber.

The ordinary man in the street can find cause for marvelling at the facility with which the plumber can lift a globe of molten solder on his iron and smoothly run it along just where it is required, while in his own hands the feat is well nigh impossible. His tools comprise implements of the most awkward appearance and of many materials including flannel, wool, copper, iron and steel; and in many of his operations he does not despise the grease from a tallow candle, in others he seeks the aid of the hardest of all substances, the diamond.

One of his mysterious masterpieces of work - an evidence of skill rather than a result of commercial value - is the manufacture of pipe in the form of a double cross (six ends) beaten in one piece out of a flat sheet of lead. This is accomplished by first hammering the ductile metal into somewhat the form of a football case and afterwards by dint of much patience drawing one portion out and delving another part in on mandrils until the desired result is obtained.

The School Headmaster

He leaves his home at 7.30 a.m. and upon arrival at the school starts on his pupil teachers and monitors for they have lessons every morning upon the subject of 'The Principles of Teaching'. At 'first bell' at 9.15 he makes his way into the yard for the morning 'fall-in' and inspection and from 9.20 until 9.30 he is occupied in an observation lesson, that is, a talk about the weather and noting the clouds in the sky, the direction of the wind, rainfall (if any) since the previous morning, reading of the barometer and thermometer. This lesson is usually concluded by making a simple forecast of the possible weather for the next 24 hours. Then one boy is told off to copy the Register weather map on a large map, which is always kept hanging in the shelter shed.

Parents are interviewed between 9.30 and 10 and he allows himself an hour a day to attend to correspondence. He calls upon each class once a day and often takes a whole lesson thus enabling him to know the weaker pupils and at the same time allowing time for teachers to get on with their endless correction work. He leaves for home at about 5.30 and scarcely a single night passes without further work connected with the school; he carefully looks over work prepared by pupil teachers and plans his work for the ensuing day.

At the school there are two grades of assistants. A chief assistant (male) takes precedence over everyone else in the school except the headmaster; he teaches a class and has innumerable other duties. The assistants are responsible for their classes and at lunch times are rostered as to "yard" duty while the children play. On Saturday mornings they are kept busy making teaching models, apparatus, relief maps and so on.

Nearly every teacher is engaged in some university work and also in a systematic course of reading on the subject of education. Much time, too, is taken up with cadet work. Most of the teachers are ladies; they are born teachers but the work tells on them. Managing large classes and working in hot, stuffy atmospheres with little rest from the time of starting till night, must in the

long run undermine their health. It is not the class that beats the teacher, it is the number in them - it is a blot on the school system when you have an assistant teacher controlling 70 pupils. Tackle that size class for a year and a holiday at the conclusion is essential.

The Housewife

The average housewife in Thebarton works about twelve hours a day 'in a domestic gilded cage - sometimes by the joys of matrimony and the song of children.' Truly, there are few moments when a married woman with children and without help can claim freedom from duty or immunity from work. Pleasure and recreation she must dismiss from contemplation or practice.

Lest one be accused of exaggeration let me detail a typical daily round of a Thebarton housewife. The family consists of herself, husband and three children, the latter comprising a baby, a boy three years old, and another boy of school age. The husband works in a factory for good wages, but these are insufficient to pay for domestic help at the present tariff.

The wife rises at six o'clock to cook an early breakfast for her husband and at seven the children are dressed, with another breakfast to follow; at 8.30 the eldest is sent to school. Then the working day begins in earnest. Need I enumerate all the items of labour in the house when a few will suffice - such as the eternal washing-up, cooking, dusting, ironing, polishing, scrubbing, sewing, mending, sweeping, darning, baking, keeping children clean and in order - an endless task in itself - and sundry other jobs in the category of an occupation pre-eminent for monotony.

About two o'clock the mother faces a pile of clothes that require mending operations on a large scale, and at five o'clock returns to the kitchen to prepare her husband's tea. Washing-up follows and the time arrives to bath the children and put them to bed. With reasonable luck about eight o'clock the tired mother may have a breathing space after being on duty for fourteen hours, but crediting her with a spell we strike the average of twelve hours as her working day.

Of course, there is an alternative; she can abandon the struggle, take the line of least resistance, allow the house to remain in chaos and permit the children to exist in neglect. But to her credit she carries out the unending drudgery with fortitude little short of heroism. Our local doctor tells me that a large number of women in Thebarton are victims of complaint due to overwork in the home and some are in hospital either resting or seeking a cure - often arrested by return to conditions that caused the breakdown. This is part of the price we pay for the housewife's twelve-hour day.

Another result is recorded in figures of premature mortality among infants, still-born babies. or more tragic still, the occasions when a woman's strength is insufficient to bear the ordeal of maternity, and a further victim of the twelve-hour day passes to the Great Beyond. There is another price that few 'helpless' housewives can hope to escape. This is a premature ageing, where the married girl of 20 looks 30, and the woman of 40 is transformed with an outer mask of old age.

In such conditions how can marriage be popularised or the advent of children welcomed in a house that strives to be a home, where the average woman works without change in tasks that never cease, that are without reward, frequently devoid of recognition, almost invariably the cost of health - sometimes of temper - and not seldom accompanied by the final loss of marital happiness and security.

If women must continue to regard the home as a place of monotonous and unending servitude, I foresee the time when there will be a revolt. To avert this tragedy, for the sake of women we must reduce the 12-hour day and banish the 12-hour look.

The Barmaid

The barmaid is often a much-misunderstood and misrepresented woman and the constant butt of many grandmotherly reformers as well as of many thoroughly sincere folk. The question has been asked - Does she encourage drinking? The hotel bar has been described as 'the busy man's recreation, the idle man's business, the melancholy man's sanctuary, the stranger's welcome, the scholar's kindness and the citizen's courtesy.' If that is accepted then the influence of the drinking saloons is not the hand that serves the liquor.

It is wonderful what a barmaid will do for one pound a day; she will work from early morning till midnight and later with just a few hours in the open air occasionally to keep the complexion going. The calling demands special qualifications for the successful barmaid must be of an excessively amiable temperament with a smile and a pleasant word for everybody. A certain amount of 'stage presence' is useful, although not indispensable, and there is ample scope for conversational talents. Above all the absence of tact will cause friction more than anything else.

How to tell a liquor-stupefied man to harness his thirst is a delicate task which frequently brings into play the diplomatic resources of the bartender and she can scarcely be blamed for sometimes breaking the law about serving intoxicated persons. She will have a numerous clientele who will treat her with the respect due to her sex. You will rarely see her drink with anybody, for in her heart of hearts the average barmaid is the keenest advocate of temperance inside or outside the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Her convictions, however, are not allowed to come to the surface, for if they did her one pound a week and three meals a day and complexion walks would be gone. No, the poor barmaid is not a special contributing force to the drink traffic. Her abolition would probably not bung up one hogshead of beer. As for the surroundings of a drinking saloon not being healthy for young women there is little doubt that a bar is largely what the lady in attendance makes it. A man can tell at a glance what measure of respect he is going to mete out to the barmaids and they all have their own ways of commanding that respect when they wish.

The Undertaker

A story is told about our local undertaker and he is still trying to live it down. A short time ago he was commissioned by the relative of a deceased to obtain the body from the public hospital and convey it to their residence preparatory to placing it in its last resting place. The undertaker sent

one of his men along to take the necessary measurements, and then set about making the coffin. Having accomplished so much he went to the hospital and the corpse was delivered; but the coffin was too long and after the body was taken to the residence one of the women of the house fainted, while another screamed.

The undertaker was as innocent as the corpse but, a further a visit to the hospital found another excitable undertaker walking up and down the morgue fanning his flushed face with a hat and exclaiming, 'A man can't even get the right body nowadays. I have no more chance of getting my corpse into the coffin than I have of flying.' The two men looked at one another and slowly the situation dawned upon them. The right men had measured the wrong bodies!

His funeral parlour has a coachhouse which is occupied by three hearses, some mourning coaches and other vehicles. Carefully groomed horses feed contentedly in the looseboxes; one of them was a former ex-hurdler and was, no doubt, more proud of his glossy black coat than of his deeds on the turf. In a cupboard in the men's room were three or four tall hats and black ties. Our undertaker is also a raconteur and delights in telling stories appertaining to his profession.

An old lady had a number of boarded-out children under her charge and when one of them died she sent for me. On the way to the cemetery we picked up our popular clergyman who made himself very pleasant. The lady was so delighted with his manner that when we arrived at the cemetery she bowed and curtsied and backed until she fell into the child's grave. Well, her proportions were ample and the grave was small, but three of us got her out.

The Dog Catcher

From the time the first house was built and occupied in Thebarton, 'man's best friend', the dog, became a prerequisite in sharing the home and hearth of many families. But there were others in the community who failed to appreciate their presence and in 1848 a resident issued a note of warning to those which frequented the River Torrens:

All dogs and other animals of the canine species are hereby warned that any further molestation by them of the putrid carcasses in the great hole near the lower watering-place will be attended with the risk of having their living carcasses mingled with the unburied dead. (1)

Local shopkeepers were also listed among the 'dog-hating' fraternity:

I am surrounded by dogs by day and night - dogs digging into my house, jumping through my shop windows, running away with meat and loaves of bread, and endangering the life of every horseman who passes by... A heavy tax [should] be enforced on all the canine tribe. (2)

Another disgruntled citizen suggested an all-out campaign to purge the district by a concerted community effort:

We would at once propose a crusade against the suburban swarm of dogs whilst the population is still strong enough for the task of extermination. (3)

In the course of time the dog became, in number, of plague proportions despite the levying of licence fees; by 1907 the Corporation of Thebarton had its local dog-catcher who roamed the streets snaring neglected and disowned dogs. A reporter has left us a first hand account of a day in the life of the catcher:

I had pictured them tempting them with a piece of beefsteak in one hand and lassoing them with a rope in the other. He does it without bait or lasso. As he cycles along the streets or walks leisurely over the park lands nobody would guess his mission - much less would the dog suspect his machinations. To all appearances he is intent on pursuing the even tenor of his way, when with a dart he pounces upon an unwary little mongrel and secures it with a rope. He catches sight of another - this time a fox terrier, but the latter spies him and keeps out of reach. He tries to coax it but scenting trouble it refuses to be wheedled into capture. The next victim is a bigger dog and more game. It faces him defiantly and as he makes a feint to grasp it by the back of the neck it ducks aside and shows its teeth, growling ominously.

He resorts to strategy. Shaking his fist in its face he goads it on until a fitting opportunity enables him to thrust the closed hand in its mouth. Few would care to emulate the example, but he doesn't mind. He always gets his quarry and withdraws his hand uninjured. Sometimes he carries a baton but the bike pump often serves as a 'quietener'. A fair day's haul is about seven dogs and in the four months he was engaged last year he caught 173 of which 142 were destroyed, thirty were released and one escaped.

It was almost pitiable to see the 'prisoners' at the council's depot. They were chained in a shed waiting to be claimed. If their owners did not appear in a reasonable time their fate was sealed. They were mostly yellow mongrels, but the exceptions included a smart looking greyhound, a sharp little terrier and a water spaniel. One could not help feeling sorry for the last-named. Whenever it was approached it sat up on its hind legs mutely imploring to be released and allowed to go home. It was evidently someone's pet, well trained and well looked after.

The Rent Collector

'Mother ain't 'ome, and sez will you call to-morrer.' That, the collector said, was a common answer to the knock at a door. His life is like the policeman's in the Pirates of Penzance - Not a happy one. It is said that a fool and his money is soon parted but most tenants are not in that category; it is a hard job to part money from some of them and when they do they think they are conferring a favour.

He gets into his office at about 8 a.m. and goes through his books and steps out into the street at about nine o'clock and keeps going until about 6 p.m. The worst times are the weeks following race days. At house after house it is - 'We backed the wrong horse, but we will pay next week.' From one firm a collector may get a fixed salary or a small salary and commission. But the man

who collects for a number of firms on commission only has the worst time, as he will get only doubtful ones that ensure a lot of trouble with small results.

A collector has to find horse and trap or bicycle and that all reduces his money. The time payment men have about the best of it as the goods are sold on the hire system, so that the payments must be kept up or they will lose them and the collector has the chance of picking up commission on fresh sales when the old ones expire. He says his occupation is healthy in spite of the fact that on some days he was wet through to the skin and on others nearly roasted.

'I think we are a necessary evil', he said, 'some people would never pay if we didn't call on them. One large firm decided to ease their collectors by attaching to the account a slip notifying that for the future the collector would not call and requesting customers to forward cheques. The customers were delighted and the firm found that the new rule did not pay.'

The Postman

Nobody dislikes the postman or any of his auxiliaries. They bring many of the pleasant surprises and excitements as well as the irritating disappointments of life. The postman is popular and deserves to be - which is another matter. Our postman has a red face, shines with mirth and he is always jokey. A poetry lover, too; he can recite all sorts of verse including Shakespeare. As he handed to me a long official communication he exclaimed in melodramatic tones:

-- read o'er this
And after, this, and then
To breakfast with what appetite you have.

'This' was from the Deputy Commissioner of Taxes who under penalties demanded a certain return. Confound that postman's ill-timed merriment. A postman's lot is not a happy one. Leaving out the actual office work, look at the weary miles they have to walk every day. Why, the distance would kill anybody but a trained athlete or a postman. His morning round takes him about four hours and after lunch the afternoon round is got ready which is followed by another four hours of tramping around Thebarton; on the average he walks about 15 miles a day.

He prefers 'mostly winter when its summer and summer when it's raining cats and dogs. If you're strong with a constitution like a horse you get accustomed to it, but if you're weak and liable to take cold - take on something else. Some funny people in the district? You bet. Some have queer notions of what a postman should do. One lady asked me if I would call back in half an hour as she would have a letter ready for me to post. Another had a note pinned to her door telling me she was away for a few days and asking me to leave her mail with a friend who lived a mile away and out of my round.'

Finally, they have trouble with dogs. 'See that darn (pointing to a neatly-mended ragged tear in the leg of his trousers). That was caused by Blank's dog. I could show you his teeth marks in my leg. He was a big ugly brute - just the kind to take mean advantage. Several times he has tried to

eat me but I objected. Still the owner would not chain him up; but after he had sampled my leg he had to take in an ounce of lead.'

The Dustman

Old boots, broken crockery, kitchen refuse, rags and fish tins. What more profitable occupation can be named than that of collecting them. Yet banish the dustman and what a nuisance would result. As purifiers of backyards they do work that must be done by someone, and fortunate it is for householders that such men can be found to do it - well, too, generally. Of course, the scavenger cannot wear kid gloves, high collar, patent leather boots and a nosegay, but what matter. His stock-in-trade are an old tub and a roomy tipdray with a horse to match.

Tramping by the side of his steed, or in the wake of his rumbling dray, the dustman plods along the lanes and byways - usually a bit of a philosopher after his own fashion. Rarely does he see the householder because the household rubbish is not kept too close to the house. Generally the only welcome he gets is from dogs - occasionally cross dogs.

The 'Boss' scavenger talks:

Our chaps are as happy as Larry. The work is healthy and they never have an ache or pain. It makes 'em as hard as barbwire and there's no strain on the mind. Talk about smells giving people fever! Why, there can't be anything in it. I'm not fond of dirt but I've noticed that the nervous folk are the first to go under when they get scared with these germ notions - it wouldn't do for our chaps to worry their heads about them.

It's pretty hard graft. They can get eight bob [shillings] a day anywhere at other work but seem to be content to carry those old tubs around for seven. You see it's constant and that's why they stick to it. We get our really busy times. It's when the cauliflowers are in. You'd be surprised at the difference they make to us. Think of all the stalks and leaves the people throw away compared with what they eat.

We get on well with people taking 'em all through. It's only now and then we have a bit of a 'scrummage'. Last week a fellow objected to our chap opening his white gate with dirty hands. But, then, the poor cove was only newly-married, so you mustn't be too hard on him. Dare say he will get the conceit taken out of him before too long. We are not bound to cart away anything and everything.

One lady was wild when we had to tell her that brickbats, garden cuttings and yard sweepings were not in our line. The circulars headed 'Duties of the Scavenger' which we carry round save no end of arguments. People think at first it's a bit of lawyer's work of your own but you can see for yourself that they're issued by the Local Board of Health.

No home dog likes to see strangers taking stuff away - specially bones; and that's why they want to go for our chaps. But we can refuse to go into any yard where a savage dog is off the chain. One got at me the other day. When my hands touched the tins he started to

bark like mad and brought the missus out. 'That's only his play', she said. But where the cur nipped me and hung on until I lifted him away with the point of my boot I thought it was no play for me. The lady said she was sorry, but Towser must have been in a bad temper that morning. I guess he was sorry, too, when he felt my boot.

We have some funny experiences. The other day a lady offered one of our chaps half a crown if he could find her false teeth among the rubbish. How she lost them I don't know, but she said she had hunted all over the place except the dustbin. Another one had lost her wedding ring while sweeping the floor. She was a sweet young thing and was in a terrible fluster about telling her husband. Any of our chaps would have eaten his hat if only he could have handed her that little bit of jewellery.

I am often asked whether we pick up anything valuable. My reply is that if we were to wait till we made a fortune out of what's left in Thebarton dustheaps we'd be as old as two blooming Methuselahs and a Wandering Jew and a half, and then die as poor as Lazarus's dog.

The Milkman

He begins his day a 3 a.m. every morning and as soon as he tumbles out of bed he bails the cows, feeds them and after a while commences milking which takes he and helpers about an hour. The milk is then strained and the cans filled and put in the carts. He says they don't use them 'new-fangled' milking machines, thank goodness! They then have a snack, harness the horses and start the rounds and upon completion they 'fix up the neddies' and put any milk left over into a can. And then its time for breakfast – 'can't you eat these mornings - rather. After three hours on the cart your appetite's got an edge as sharp as a razor.' They then make up their returns which are checked by the boss, wash out and clean the cans, sweep and spread lime in the stalls and mix the afternoon feed for the cows.

Although the life of a milkman, on the whole, is not prosaic, and far from a bed of roses, there are many compensations in it. Humorous episodes often tend to counterbalance drawbacks and disadvantages. According to statements made recently during the hearing of a court case, in which a milk vendor took a prominent part, it is by no means a unique experience for customers, on rising in the morning, to find that the usual quantity of milk has not been left. Next day a note to this effect awaits the milkman who realises then that somebody has been up to tricks. Invariably, investigations disclose that a boy on his way to work has taken to sampling the supply.

In the immigration days in South Australia one new chum who had come out as a 'farm labourer' and therefore knew nothing about farming was engaged in a dairy. At night he was told to rise early in the morning and milk the cows. At breakfast time - no milk. The man was found to have baled the bull and he explained – 'The beggar gave me such a lot of bother that I've not been able to start milking yet.' No, this was not the man who afterwards sent a mob of wethers to stock a sheep station in the north.

The Parson

To say a parson works on Sunday and has all the week off to get ready is to be flippant as our local minister explained:

Last Sunday I started with a short meeting before the morning service, conducted a funeral service in the afternoon, spoke in the street before entering church in the evening and afterwards celebrated the communion. That was mental toil switching the mind off and on from subject to subject and concentrating all of energy and thought on the matter of immediate moment.

We have no average day, and our work is not like office routine. This morning my work began with a study of public questions as placed before us by The Register. Next I gave hours to a batch of correspondence. Up till a few weeks ago I had a private secretary of my own. A clergyman's salary won't stand such luxuries; but the poor fellow - a well educated man, apparently - had to be kept from starving while he pulled himself together and looked around.

Eleven o'clock found me at the vestry; I attend here as regularly as a business man his office. Half a dozen people were waiting for an interview. In trouble of all sorts! Unemployed, hungry, homeless, wretched men and women. That is the penalty of living in this poorer district. It is not typical. I studiously refrain from breaking into my meal hour. Regularity improves the digestion and the odd minutes of after-rest constitute my recreation moments. Then I do what reading I can - never half as much as I would wish.

Tonight I badly want to go to a lecture at the University but I must stick to my Bible study class. That will occupy not only my evening. It is not merely attending the meeting, or the actual talking while there - it is the preparation that runs away with the minutes and the hours. Yes, I think I will get back to my study and think hard for a little while.

The District Nurse

The excellent system upon which the District Trained Nursing Society is based has been the means of placing many benefits within reach of those who would have been denied them. One must see the nurse's work in order to fully appreciate the good she is doing among that section of the community to which her efforts are confined. Her duty at the best is not light.

Usually mounted on a bicycle she begins her round as early as the average businessman reaches his office, but sunset does not always find her labour ended. Sometimes in the summer, particularly when typhoid is prevalent, it is not completed until late at night. Bodily fatigue often combines to make her day more arduous, but withal you find her the same - patient, hopeful, painstaking and ever ready with a smile and a kind word for the sufferer. What joy and comfort she imparts many can testify.

The educational value of her work none can compute. Willing and forbearing, she instils into the homes of the poor many of the principles of health and sanitation and when the maternal head of the household is afflicted her deft hands often find scope for little touches here and there that

perchance have not appealed to one of tender years upon whom the responsibilities have devolved. Nurse is deservedly popular with the children. Young though they may be they welcome her visits to the humble cottage, for they know that she is a benefactress come to aid them in their direst need.

The first call on a recent day was to a little fellow of eight years who was suffering from spinal curvature and an abscess. The wound had to be syringed and plugged and the doing of these duties completed 222 visits to this patient alone. A mile away an incurable patient was found to be restless and suffering great pain. An injection brought speedy relief. The gracious thanks emanating from her patients is a small reward for her life of self-sacrifice and loving service.

Our local butcher starts his day at six o'clock when he feeds his horses and goes into the city to get the day's meat from the freezing works. Back at the shop the meat is cut into joints, he loads his cart and makes a block of sausages; he is then ready for a good breakfast. By nine o'clock he has started on his round which he completes about 1.30 p.m. He then feeds his horse, makes up his cash and if he's lucky he will have dinner at about two o'clock.

In the afternoon there's sausage meat to be trimmed up for mincing the next day and the hooks and bars in the shop to be cleaned. After that he harnesses up again and goes to a nearby paddock from which he gets some sheep for slaughtering; this is a daily event and on Friday's he usually kills a pig and a calf. The carcasses then have to be dressed, the offal to be cleaned and the fat taken off, the skins hung up to dry and the slaughterhouse washed out.

The meat is then taken to the shop and cut into joints. Then there is brine to be made for the salt meat and to be forced into the beef, mutton and pork with a brine pump, and tripe and oxtails to be cleaned. On the first four weekdays he finishes at about 7 p.m., on Friday's 9 p.m. while on Saturday he labours until 10 p.m.

On his rounds he meets bad and good people. The biggest trouble he has is with people who want to handle the meat before they buy. Others have the cheek to ask him to go back to the shop and bring them a particular joint after he has shown all he had in his cart. Often he is asked to kill a fowl because his customer hasn't got the heart to do it. Then there are the 'catsmeat' misers - women who buy tuppence worth of 'meat' for the cat, when there's no order for the house - and no cat!

There work is much easier now than it was a few years ago for freezers and cool chambers have done away with lots of the hard graft. It used to be a frequent thing in hot weather to turn out at 4 a.m. in the morning and kill before breakfast; and if there wasn't meat enough then, they had to come back from the round and kill another lot. All the summer they killed mutton after sundown so as to dodge the flies, and cut up early the next morning. Now the meat can be kept several days all through the year, and it gets a better flavour.

The Bootmaker

He is a sensible man, our local cobbler. He sticks to the last like a true son of leather, although he did advise me to be anything except a bootmaker. But he would not talk about himself. He is not used to it. His shop is the assembling place for all sorts and conditions of purveyors of news. All that he does not actually read of in the newspapers (his work permits only a cursory glance) he hears from chance callers. In return he prophesies on the events of the morrow anything from likely weather to who will win the next test match.

He was talking to me steadily while he contrived to cut two soles from a piece of leather in which I could see only a sole and a bit. But finally it appeared that he was right and I was wrong. In years gone by, he said, he mended mostly men's boots, but now there were quite as many women's. I asked him what the moral was. He replied that he knew nothing about such things.

He told me that leather was very dear whether imported or home made and by the time he paid two shillings for the soles and odd pence for the nails and other items, and put in the necessary work, there was no great surplus for bread and jam. However, he had worried along and was healthy – 'So What's the Odds', he concluded.

The Lantern Operator

I asked our local lantern operator how long he had been at the job and he entered into an interesting discourse on the profession and the latest form of public entertainment, the cinematograph:

Oh, since I was at school. After seeing one of the crude instruments of my early days exhibited at a Band of Hope meeting I procured materials and directions and made a magic lantern and began to experiment with it with a two-wick oil lamp. The views which had particularly struck my fancy were gaily coloured slides depicting people in action. This business is constantly growing in importance. No university, college, or public school even, is complete without its lantern outfit and shutters to darken its lecture room at midday for demonstration purposes; and it is beginning to be recognised that education through the eye to the mind is quicker and more permanent than the tedious drumming in of abstract information.

I expect to see the day when many costly chemical and other experiments will be adequately illustrated in progress to our State school students by means of the cinematograph. There are some funny incidents occasionally when lantern slides get out of order. At a missionary lecture the announcement – 'The next picture will show you one of our best-loved teachers surrounded by his domestic circle' was followed by the appearance of a burly cannibal and his 15 wives!

The common house fly has several times bothered me exceedingly. In the summer evenings these pests often get on the slide and are projected on to the sheet enormously magnified. In one instance when a lady vocalist was engaged on an illustrated song, and had come to the death bed scene, her equanimity was completely upset by a tittering audience, which, as she had her back to the screen, was totally inexplicable. A fly had

settled on the lens, and appeared as a fearful monster two feet long, tickling an angel's foot. The lantern was never more popular than it is today. The favourite subject here for lecture purposes appear to be first-rate views of Australian scenery.

The cinematograph? Well, it is a great institution, and can be made a powerful factor in public instruction and entertainment, but a high grade of pictures must be insisted upon. I shall never forget the thrill that went through me when I first saw an exhibition of the triumph of science represented in the realm of animated pictures. Before they are safe for indiscriminate use some less combustible material must be invented for the films. (4)

1. *Register*, 25 March 1848, p. 4a.
2. *Register*, 3 June 1857, p. 3f.
3. *Observer*, 1 October 1859, p. 6e.
4. The tales in this chapter have been adapted from a series of articles in the *Register* over the period July 1907 to February 1908. The story of the housewife comes from an article by H.V.S. Carey in the *News*, 19 October 1923, p. 6e.

Chapter 15

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 remains 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 a number of 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) 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 Plummer; 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 Dagleish, 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 carefully collected 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. 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 1 ½ 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 Theberton 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 vaccination 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 breed 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" which ran into the West Torrens district were 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. 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.

The South Australian Government acquired the property in 1947 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 nurse's quarters, dead trees and the old verandahs on the main building.

Work then proceeded with new quarters for the nurses and two ward which were opened by Sir Lyell McEwin; on 4 December 1977, Mayor Dr Jim Flaherty declared open major improvements 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)

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.
24. Information on the hospital was taken from manuscripts in the possession of the Thebarton Corporation.

Chapter 16

The Role of Women in the Community

‘By restricting women's functions almost exclusively to sex functions and shutting her out from the work and the interests of the world, in other words, from her "race functions", a sex distinction has been produced harmful not only to the woman but to the species... It is bad for the sex and for the species that women should be treated as hot-house plants.’
(*Advertiser*, 4 August 1899, page 4f.)

Introduction

Women of the 1990s may, no doubt, experience a range of emotions ranging from incredulity, anger, frustration and perhaps, for a few, a sense of loss or envy, when they read the many press statements which relate to various aspects of the lives of women of the 1800s, when they were invariably portrayed as being endowed, primarily, with sweet motherly love’. (1)

Few would wish to return to the conditions of 150 years ago when the economic status of a woman in society was little different from that of a child. Today, it is recognised, almost generally, that women have a right to achieve their individual potential in areas of intellect and physical development in an atmosphere free from sexual prejudice/bias and, thus, to be adjudged the equal of their male counterparts.

Some of the following comments made in 1936 appear to be resurfacing today:

Nevertheless, it is apparent that the increasing employment of women outside the home is likely to raise, not only acute economic problems, but social problems as well. Without doubt, more difficult adjustments than have attended other phases of women's progress, will be necessary before complete economic equality can be achieved...

A place has been made in the economic world for the girls and women who must support themselves and even dependent relatives. The right of single women, apart from any wage-earning considerations, to have a career outside domestic service, has been admitted; but this invasion of trades and professions by women has naturally accentuated the problem of unemployment among men. (2)

The general theme of the above seems to be that women should, in justice, be treated with equality in the workforce and at home but only insofar that such female advancement in society does not disadvantage men - in which instance, for women, it would be a case of ‘back to the homes’ or into paid domestic service. One could be forgiven, perhaps, for feeling that, in the 1800s, the burden of economic and social ills rested on the backs of women.

Before discussing, briefly, facets of the role of women in the work-force, together with the vagaries of education of women in South Australia and its consequent emergence as a powerful force in their eventual emancipation, it could be said that all South Australians should be proud of the fact that their male ancestors, through persistent female pressure and, on occasions, a measure of political expediency, were responsible for several notable 'firsts', viz:

South Australia was the first Australian State to grant parliamentary franchise to women; the Act was passed in 1894.

The University of Adelaide was the first in Australia to grant degrees to women and to institute a commercial course.

The Adelaide City Council was the first in Australia to appoint a trained nurse to its health staff.

It was in Adelaide in 1915 that women justices were first appointed in Australia, and this was the first Australian city where a woman justice presided on the bench.

The experiment of women police was first tried in Adelaide in 1914 and the Advertiser of 13 November 1915, page 15b made the following comment:

The lively young spirits who wander about the parks, will find in Miss Cocks and Miss Ross friends who desire to protect them against wrongdoings and temptations that might be placed in their way.

The appointment of women on the advisory censorship board was first made in Adelaide in 1917.

For many years a strange anomaly existed in South Australia for, while women had the right to sit in parliament and on municipal councils, many years were to pass before they did so. In 1919, following a requisition from ratepayers, Mrs Benny was appointed to the Brighton Council as a representative of Seacliff Ward, thus becoming the only female municipalist in Australia. A year later she was opposed by four males in a poll and was returned with a handsome majority. The first women to enter South Australia's parliament were Mrs Joyce Steele to the lower house and Mrs Jessie Cooper to the legislative council in 1959. (3)

The reason(s) for this interminable delay was, perhaps, explained by Ms Carol Bacchi in 1986 when commenting upon the campaign waged by Mrs L.E. Polkinghorne for 'equal rights' during the early days of the great depression of the 1930s:

Women won the vote in South Australia partly because of the strength of the domestic ideology. They were invited to have a say in the public domain because they represented the home, not because of any desire for them to leave it... The feeling persists in the eighties that women will spend only a portion of their lives in the work-force and their real goal in life is to find some man to support them. As a result the commitment among young

girls to find a career and train for it remains haphazard... Moreover, all the prejudices about the problems of hiring someone who will one day leave continue to affect the types of jobs offered to women and their promotional prospects. (4)

However, the past decade has seen feminist politics challenge successfully the view that woman's natural place is in the home and, by gaining the support of the labour movement, exposed the injustice inherent in denying women education and training and, thus, career opportunities. The enactment of the Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act enhanced the lot of women in the work-force but its effective implementation is uncertain because employers cannot be fined for breaches. However, it does place some moral responsibility on them!

Equal opportunity represents only a step towards facilitating women's career aspirations as many other factors must be taken into account if they are to pursue a career realistically. Any successful attempt to achieve this depends upon the availability of child care, improved award conditions and, at a more profound level, a radical re-orientation of gender roles.

Today there is a growing number of males who are prepared to accept either full or part-time care of their children but while, to some extent, it remains the socially accepted norm that women are the primary child-rearers, it is imperative that those who wish to have children and make a career, have access to child-care.

One of the most stressful problems confronted by working parents, particularly working mothers, concern employers' lack of empathy for the claim that awards should provide paid leave to care for ill dependants - without such provisions many women are discouraged from returning to work on a full or part-time basis.

For those who choose to have children the single most important means to this end concerns recognition by males that parenting is not naturally best done by women. For some, this is a profoundly difficult matter to accept because it involves questioning the perceived wisdom of gender roles. However, if women are to forge careers in any number, it is vital that this point is recognised within the community as being valid. (5)

Women in Industry

In the Factories

By the 1870s many women were working in factories in Adelaide and its suburbs, which to some observers were a breeding ground for vice and corruption:

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the various ways in which the ranks of street-walkers are replenished, but perhaps in South Australia there are special circumstances tending to promote this form of vice... The factory system now extending in this colony... is said already to be increasing the number of our social outcasts... The work is comparatively light and attracts a great number of young girls, who are thrown together without any

effective moral supervision. Amongst so many there are pretty sure to be some of doubtful purity, whose example under the surroundings of factory life spreads contagion. (6)

Understandably, this indictment raised a storm of protest within the community and the following week a letter from a correspondent was discussed in an editorial column:

The writer does his clients gross injustice in trying to make out that we have charged them as a class with impropriety. We have done nothing of the kind; but at the same time he has not attempted to show that there is not good ground for the remarks which actually appear in the article. What we designed to point out were the dangers connected with the factory system...

That there are connected with the factories many young women of unimpeachable character 'fit to appear in the drawing rooms of the best in the land', we are ready to admit; but that does not alter the fact that there are others who are likely to remain on low wages, but who manage somehow to dress extravagantly, and who through the "unwatched liberty" accorded them are able to form doubtful intimacies which produce the most pernicious results. (7)

The role of those men in society who, as the learned editor infers, would lead these young women into "temptation", and any suggestion of legal barriers and penalties to prevent "exploitation" of the workers, is, sadly, conspicuous by its absence!

In 1878 it was the turn of John Darling, MP, to impeach the morality of women factory workers when he "added the disgusting assination that they had to supplement their income by disreputable means." His former servant was brought into his vilifications in the House and she responded in kind through the press when she informed readers she was far better off in the factory at twenty shillings a week for eight hours a day labour than in his household at ten shillings and sixteen hours, respectively. (8)

Another furore erupted in 1883 when the Adelaide City Council decided to debate the issue of juvenile morality and was adjudged as overstepping "the reasonable limits of corporate wisdom" following remarks by 'councillor after councillor' that the factories were the nurseries of vice and that:

It would be well to prohibit female work in factories altogether, as much for the sake of public morality and the right fitting of girls for the duties of married life as for the convenience of sorely pressed housekeepers who cannot get domestic servants...

The editor then proceeded to educate the offending councillors and said that available statistics suggested that the ranks of prostitution were filled primarily from domestic servants! Thus, the vagaries of the press became self-evident and even more so when he concluded:

The factory girl must make her arrangements for a home somewhere, and in Adelaide it is generally with her own parents; and though she has more liberty in the evenings and on Sundays than the girls at service, and may have a somewhat fast appearance on the street, we believe that the statistics of Adelaide will prove that the refugees at the Destitute Asylum and elsewhere are much more filled by servants than by those who work in the factories...

But when mistresses write to the newspapers that the way to cure evils under which they groan is to give lower wages and less liberty, and when our civic representatives propose to close a large and valuable department of industry against women altogether, one begins to wonder whether for the moment common sense has not lost its way... (9)

The finale of this sordid episode came when an article headed 'A Factory Girl's Experience - Related by Herself' appeared in June 1883; while it is apparent that the story had been 'ghosted' it, nevertheless, was a salutary response to all those 'goodie-goodies' in the community - It reads in part:

How long have I been a factory girl? Ever since my father died - thirteen years ago... We are not angels; we are only hard-working creatures, no better and no worse as a class than the same number of women in any station in life, and there may be some wrong-doer among us...

Have we lost the respect due to us as women, because we have to labour for a livelihood! Are there no black sheep among the butchers and publicans of Adelaide, and would it be fair to brand alike everyone pursuing these callings! Yet this is the only argument that these wise men have advanced against us. God forgive them! (10)

At this time, the general attitude of the male sex towards female labour is exemplified in an exchange before a Royal Commission in England, in respect of the employment of women in the textile industry. The Chairman remarked to a witness representing the male trade union - 'Surely women have a right to live?' and the response came 'Yes, so long as they do not interfere with us'

The reason for this opposition to women coming from their own class was patently obvious. Men sought to drive them from factory employment in the hope of increasing opportunities for themselves to labour and to raise the standard of wages by limiting the supply to that extent; this policy, however, was short-sighted. Women deserved a living and if they were not permitted to earn their own livelihood, any increase of wages resulting from the non-competition of women workers would have been more than exhausted in the maintenance of the male worker of a large number of economically dependent women.

Speaking generally, the hope of the future appeared to lie in raising the status of domestic duties, so that they could be performed by educated and refined women without loss of social prestige and in opening outside employment to all women who desired or needed it for economic independence. (11)

Organisation of a Female Trade Union

The iniquities of the sweating system still seems to fail to arouse the public conscience sufficiently... There are women at this present moment [who] if they slave their hardest, morning, afternoon and night, from week's end to week's end, they cannot possibly make more than about 1s and 3d ((12 cents)) a day...
(*Register*, 6 May 1893, page 4h.)

In December 1889 the Mayor of Adelaide, in response to a requisition, called a public meeting in the town hall for the purpose of considering the 'sweating' system in Adelaide, more especially as it affected women. At the meeting, Mary Lee, a long-time advocate for women's rights, proposed that those in attendance should request the United Trades and Labour Council to form a female trade union.

A woman signing herself 'Hopeful' expressed her pleasure at this significant foray into a previously male dominated regime:

I have been waiting for two years hoping that something might be done and wishing I could in some way help my fellow workers, for from bitter experience I have proved many of the statements [made] as to the low prices we get for our work. Work is no disgrace, there is a dignity in labour; and in forming our union we want all to understand that it is defence not defiance. We want to work together as women for the mutual good of all...

Let us as true-hearted women try to stop this unjust competition going on in our midst, so that by-and-by we may be able to command a fair day's pay for a fair day's work; that we may be able to live, which we cannot do now, and look everyone in the face and say we owe no one anything. We the women workers will ever be indebted to those gentlemen who have moved in this matter for us, and I hope at some not far-distant time they may have a seat among our lawmakers. (12)

In the March 1890 the female work force were invited to join the Working Women's Trade Union, its foundation members being Mrs Mary Lee, Mrs Auguste Zadow and Mrs Agnes A. Milne. Mrs Zadow sat on the Trades and Labor Council and was one of two or three women who attended regularly at meetings. There was no factory legislation, nothing to protect women and children from working any number of hours and nothing on the Statute books protecting women from unfair and unjust conditions of employment.

Following the formation of the women's union a Commission was appointed to enquire into the conditions of factory life of which Mr C.C. Kingston was chairman. Mrs Zadow was one of the principal witnesses and as a result legislation was passed aimed at protect working women from 'sweated labor' and in general to try to improve their working conditions.

Shortly thereafter it was decided to appoint a female inspector of factories and Mrs Zadow was chosen for the position. By 1891 one-third of all factory workers in South Australia were females and they were able to bring their complaints more freely before her, than when all the officials were men. Further, she was able to help in the correction of many wrongs such as excessive hours, bad conditions and lack of proper sanitation in the workplace.

Education of Women

The education of woman is seldom conducted with the view of making her dependent on self for happiness. From infancy she is taught to feed on the admiration of others. She dresses, and sings, and pants for praise... Home is her chief sphere of influence - and there she has reposing in her bosom the destinies of nations and empires.

(Observer, 24 May 1845, page 7.)

In the 1870s moves were abroad to extend the suffrage to women and it was considered if this was to be accomplished it was of first importance to make improvements in the education of females. At this time little had been done to create and set in place a rational curriculum of studies which would accord female students an opportunity to establish a sound academic base.

Much more attention was paid to schemes for promoting the intellectual development of young men than to plans for advancing the educational attainments of young women. That this was a state of things which ought not to exist was patent to all who took the trouble to reflect upon the influence which women exerted, and the part they played in moulding the minds of succeeding generations.

A newspaper editor of the day, although, perhaps, not expressing a majority view, proclaimed:

We hold it to be seemly and right that the sexes should in actual life keep to their own separate spheres; but there is much prejudice still existing which needlessly limits women's spheres, while to attempt to exclude her from the severer studies embraced within the regions of political economy and natural science is in the interests of the race a most suicidal proceeding... It may be taken pretty well for granted that a system of education which produces good teachers will also produce wives and mothers competent to train their children to be good and useful citizens.

At this time the educational authorities in South Australia had their attention drawn to a 'superior training seminary for girls' in New Zealand which had achieved outstanding results in the teaching of languages, philosophy, political economy, etc, together with more ordinary subjects such as arithmetic, spelling and needlework. In 1874 the subject of establishing high schools for girls was being discussed.

Earlier, an attempt had been made to organise a "Ladies' College" in Adelaide under the sponsorship of the then Governor, Sir James Fergusson and Lady Fergusson; it was unsuccessful. A concerned woman aired her views on the subject:

It has been comfortably assumed by the stronger sex that in natural intellectual qualities women are inferior to men, and the argument was built on this assumption that it would be utterly useless to give them the same kind of education which liberally educated young men receive... There is no doubt that the existing methods of female education are not best calculated to develop the intellectual strength of women. (13)

A government-funded school was established in 1880 and in June of that year Miss Cargill, a school mistress from Brisbane, was appointed as principal; it commenced in temporary premises in Franklin Street later moving to Gouger Street. (14) Fees were charged as in ordinary ladies' schools and the average annual cost of a girl's education was £13/2/6 (\$26-25). By 1883 complaints were forthcoming as to its capacity to adequately educate its students to an acceptable level of competence.

It hindsight it would appear that the school was not a success:

Considering that the results attained by this institution have in times past been surpassed by the Central Model School, it is impossible to see how it is entitled to the distinctive name of an 'Advanced School' It is in reality a class school, and ought never to have been established with State funds... In its four years of existence ((it has)) only succeeded in proving that a Government endowed institution can become self-supporting in its competition with private establishments by following in the lines laid down by its rivals...

It merged, subsequently, with the Adelaide High School circa 1906. (15)

Employment of 'Educated' Women

One difficult problem was finding remunerative employment for educated females. In the 1860s it was suggested that the only avenues open for this class were as teachers in public schools, schoolmistresses and private governesses.

A commentator of the day voiced his opinions on the subject but could only conclude that:

Beyond teaching, we see but little prospect here at present for educated women. It might be possible to employ a few in the working the electric telegraph. The delicate touch of females has been found in England admirably adapted to the manipulation of the telegraph and it would be so here. The employment of female labour in [this] department, being cheaper than that of men, would lessen the expense of working the telegraph [and] perhaps diminish the cost of messages and thus bring the valuable invention into more general use... (16)

In 1885 Mr Charles Todd furnished a report to the government on this matter and concluded that the employment of females had worked fairly well, but as telegraph operators they were not strong enough to bear the strain of a busy line - this was about the sum and substance of what was generally expected when the system was introduced. He pointed out that they did very well

in suburban and smaller country offices where the work was neither arduous nor harassing, and their employment at these places was attended with general economy, while the public were as equally well served as if men filled the positions.

Mr. Todd appears not to have furnished evidence to support his summation that women were not 'strong enough' to perform sustained telegraphic tasks. When one reflects on the high level performance of women telegraphists in the United Kingdom under conditions of war when their work-load could not be classed as anything but sustained and stressful, the foregoing opinion seems a little weak!

Women first became employed in mercantile offices in the mid-1880s and reports show that a Miss Gill was employed in the General Post Office as a typist in 1883 while in June 1885 Miss Isabel Watson was one of "just three girls" working as clerks in lawyer's offices; none were engaged in bank work. (17)

Tertiary Education for Women

There is no university in which women are not making every year conquests as substantial as those achieved by men; but no thoughtful mind would regard a girl graduate as typical of her sex...

(*Advertiser*, 14 December 1929, p. 24f.)

In 1881 a great triumph was achieved by the champions of higher education for women when the University of Cambridge was induced, after long delays and with much reluctance, granted to some extent the privileges of its degrees to women and the Editor of the Register announced to his readers:.

In the first place the idea was an innovation, and as such dangerous; girls had always done very well on the accomplishments and etceteras which they acquired in ladies' seminaries; they had, it was said, made good wives and mothers, and as that was their proper and only desirable vocation, why make any change? If once women took to learning too much, they would want to be always reading or doing something equally inconvenient and out of place, instead of looking after their babies and managing their households; besides they might by some ill chance (though it was held to be unlikely) get to know more than their husbands, actual or potential, and what would happen then? Others again thought that it would be injurious to the girls themselves, and would make them thin, pale and unhealthy, and prevent their marrying.

But there was a still more practical objection yet, for if women were to be educated like men and pass examinations 'and all that sought of thing, you know', the next step would be that they would compete with men for employment in the world and possibly outstrip them. The bare idea of this was sufficient to raise a perfect whirlwind of jealous opposition - a storm, alas, which in many quarters has not even died down, to the men's shame let it be spoken...

Those who have favoured the movement of higher education for women have been accused of a desire to make women unwomanly, and to see them take the places of men in the toil and turmoil of life, leaving aside all thoughts of marriage, and disdaining the functions of wife and mothers... (18)

The University of Adelaide pre-empted the move made by Cambridge University and admitted women as from the date of its foundation in 1876 and, as discussed earlier, was the first in Australia to do so - Melbourne followed in 1881 by virtue of the University Act of 1881 and Sydney 'at the matriculation examinations of 1882 following a resolution of the Senate of the University in June 1881.'

The first female graduate from Adelaide was Edith Emily Dornwell who took a Bachelor of Science degree as from 16 December 1885 – 'The most brilliant student in the science course up to the present has been a woman - Miss Dornwell who passed the first, second and third year of that course first class. In elementary physiology... the women have been distinctly superior to the men...' (19)

The matter of 'Degrees for Women' was the subject for editorial comment in 1897:

Indeed, even opponents of the admission of women to the distinctions and honours of a University career seem to have reached the conclusion that it is too late to keep them out by arguments about the feminine incapacity for study, for collegiate life, unsexing influences of scientific study, and its tendency to unfit them for the duties they may hereafter be called on to perform.

A good deal has been said during the controversy about contingencies that would certainly have to be faced and the question has been repeatedly raised - if ladies became wranglers and medallists, why should they not compete for scholarships and if for scholarships, why not for fellowships? (20)

The literature of the mid-1800s is full of the miserable inefficiency of women's education but, as the years passed by, they conquered their right to impart instruction, elementary and advanced, not only to their own sex but to students generally. Their invasion of the medical world was slower but up to the time of the Great War they were steadily increasing in number and they were expected to "extend their energies" to the law. (21)

Women as Nurses and Medical Practitioners

By the end of the 1870s a debate of some twenty-five years standing was still underway in respect of woman's fitness and unfitness for certain spheres of labour. The conservative forces of the day maintained that what she had been 'in the habit of doing during ages of primitive barbarism and centuries of semi-civilisation was still fit for her to undertake - but no more. One of the avocations which has thus been peacefully assigned to women, is the care of the sick.'

But the matter of admission of women to the study and practice of medicine was a different matter; while they were permitted to 'make poultices and bandages, to keep watch and ward through the weary midnight hours, to attend on men through the delirium of fever, and to prepare palatable food to tempt the appetite of weary convalescents' the question of women studying to become legally qualified to write prescriptions for pills and potions was, indeed, a wholly different matter and one which demanded not only decision but severity...

The objections raised by those who are adverse to women entering the medical profession lack neither number or variety. There is the first oft-repeated one that a woman's proper sphere is the domestic circle and the duties that devolve on her therein.

So much stress is laid on this point that one might imagine the domestic hearth is in danger of being left desolate; but the fact that there is an increasingly large number of women who remain unmarried cannot be traced to the removal of disabilities to their entering on lucrative spheres of labour... We cannot but perceive how inevitable it is that new fields of work and mental activity should be won for women... The triumphs she will win in this field will be as marked as those which she is now every day achieving in the modern but no less useful avocation of nurse. (22)

In England, when the question of the admission of women to full membership of the British Medical Association was put to the vote in 1878, the majority was against the concession. Before any colonial branch could admit female members it was necessary to obtain permission from the parent association and in South Australia strong pressure was brought to bear in order to get a reversal of the decision.

Early in 1892 Dr Laura Fowler applied for membership when the Honorary Secretary of the South Australian Branch, Dr Lendon, "strongly urged upon the attention of all members the very inconsistent course which was being adopted in refusing to allow to women the privileges and advantages of being recognised by the Association..." Circulars were sent out to the members which resulted in forty-six out of seventy-five votes recorded being in favour of the proposed reform. Meanwhile the Victorian branch had taken a similar step and had forwarded a request to England and, eventually, the home authority acceded to the colonial request. (23)

Dr Laura Fowler was the first woman doctor trained at the Adelaide University obtaining her degree in 1891. She took her learning and skill to India where she was a medical missionary, 'as Dr Mayo was some years later.' In 1935 it was said that there is plenty of room in the world for women doctors, and Adelaide has produced four in the last three years; at present [1935] there are ten girls taking the course. (24)

In 1883 Mrs Annie J. Chambers was appointed public vaccinator at Morgan - the first medical appointment conferred on any woman in South Australia. The editor of an Adelaide newspaper said it was an indication of that world-wide movement which had for its object a readjustment of occupations as between man and woman and concluded by quoting some lines Tennyson put into the mouth of one of his female characters:

Oh I wish
I were some great princess! I would build,
Far off from men, a college like a man's,
And I would teach them all that men are taught-
We are twice as quick.

He then proceeded to enter a plea for the acceptance of women into the higher realms of learning:

The old mode of regarding women as very much the inferior of man in intellectual disputes has given place, not without struggles, to a more rational attitude... Women are fit for something more than counting buttons, measuring tape, selling small quantities of sugar and tea, minding babies, or acting as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the increasing recognition of this is one of the chief social features of this century...

[Their] capacity for business and shrewdness of observation which they display after short training, warrants the prediction that this part of our social economy will gradually be handed over to women to a far greater extent than at present. These are, however, but additional signs that the world in its need is turning to women, and that to "sit and darn and fatten household sinners" is not her only mission. (25)

Women and the Law

It was not until the second decade of the 20th century that the first woman graduated as a lawyer from the University of Adelaide but, as early as 1888, a suggestion was made that women should be permitted to undertake legal studies:

The Adelaide University affords great assistance to the study of law... the University exams are constantly proving our girl students are quite a match for the boys when they have the same advantages... They could as women lawyers give vast help and protection to many injured women; they would raise the general respect of the community for women, and also help to get laws which will be fair and equal to the female sex... Moreover, legal women will greatly assist all women in the proper use of Parliamentary franchise. (26)

In 1911 a Bill was introduced into the South Australian parliament providing an opportunity "of deciding whether or not women [should] be permitted to practise as lawyers". At this time "two members of the handsomer sex' were practising in Melbourne but there were none in Adelaide due to the fact that those in authority at the university contended that the right had to be conferred by Statute.

Prejudice died hard at law, as it did in medicine - most judges opposed the innovation and the legal profession was, generally, widespread in the opinion that the incoming of the new class of competition would lessen the rewards offered to the gentlemen of the long robe and long tongue.

A great deal could be urged in support of the contention that woman should be more successful as poet, or artist, or scientist than as Judge or magistrate - because, broadly speaking, the better the woman the less her judicial faculty. The more she is a creature of sentiment, the more she appeals to man...

Last year a bold minister of religion in South Australia - who, nevertheless, continues to survive - besought the women of his congregation to remove their garden-roof hats in church so that other worshippers might see the preacher as well as hear him... At the same time a Judge... in London expressed horror at the suggestion by a woman witness that she should take her hat off in court... If a male witness had attempted to wear a hat, there would have been an even stronger objection to such an innovation.

Mr Attorney-General Denny has an inspiring theme for a capital speech, and he might explain casually, in relation to these circumstances, why it should be wrong for a woman to be bareheaded in court; why it should be right for her to be bareheaded in church; and why the British constitution should be in danger if men were not bareheaded in both places? (27)

It has not been recorded if this gentle piece of satire influenced the debate on the Bill in the House but, in due course, it became law.

It was in 1916 that the first woman took her law degree - "the brilliant Mary Kitson." She became the first notary public in Australia and "being specially interested in juvenile delinquency, was twice granted a Carnegie Scholarship for research, and one very suitable for a capable and sympathetic woman." By 1935 female students had a Law Students' Society of their own. (28)

In 1915, in an innovative mood, the Vaughan Labor government appointed four women as Justices of the Peace; they were Mrs E.W. Nicholls, President of the WCTU, Mrs T. Price, widow of the first Labor Premier of South Australia, Mrs E. Cullen, a member of the Hospitals Board and Miss C.E. Dixon, matron of the Travellers' Aid Society:

It is contrary to the practice of centuries to allow women to come into this sphere. People who have old-fashioned ideas will object to women being mixed up with men in legal matters, but no doubt it would be a pleasant feeling to them if their wives and daughters wanted to swear information to know that they would be able to appear before women justices instead of men for the purpose. (29)

Women and the Pulpit

The Editor of the Register turned his attention to this subject in 1926:

The ethical training of the human family from birth to adolescence lies almost entirely within the province of woman, and the nature of woman tends generally to a more spiritual outlook on life than the utilitarian mind of man. It seems an anomaly, therefore,

that she remains excluded from the active spiritual administrations of the Church, for which her natural gifts of mind, heart and experience would appear to have specially fitted her.

While the barriers of nearly all trades and professions have gradually been lowered before the oncoming of the modern woman, the stronghold of the Church remains virtually intact, the seat of prejudices and traditions, which will not admit the meeting of the sexes upon equal ground... The puritans of the primitive Church grew to look upon women as savouring of evil and realised that to approach their God with anything like a pure heart and a clean conscience, there must be a coming out and a separation from the tempting sex, which the inflammable nature of man could not withstand.

Vows of celibacy were taken, priestesses and prophetesses and vestal maidens were eliminated, and man settled down with a sigh of relief to his theological studies, while his wife attended to the poor and suffering. Since then the Church has offered neither place or opportunity for woman to exercise any spiritual authority...

Never in history have women battled for the right to preach as they have battled for the right to vote, and therein, perhaps, lies the chief reason that the church barriers are still up. As a matter of fact, with notable and rare exceptions, woman has no vocation and no desire to preach. Her methods are much more direct. Like the Salvation Army, she prefers to go into the highways and hedges, the alleys and the by-lanes and exert her influence direct. Her spiritual aspirations have taken practical form.

She is deeply interested in sanitation, in feeding babies properly and in making men and women stand up to their personal obligations, even though she has not the authority to read the marriage service over them. She has, perhaps, small respect for the theologians as such, but much more regard for the practical workaday Christian...

The gospel of purity and cleanliness, health, honesty and truth needs not the surplice and the stole for its presentment, and the personal touch gets nearer home than the average pulpit utterances. It may be predicted that the woman who yields her life and mental and spiritual gifts to the service of humanity will never find her destiny in the ordained priesthood, while so much work lies close at her hand. (30)

One wonders how many women the editor canvassed to establish his stated notion that their desire to become ordained ministers of religion was "rare". Were those of "the surplice and stole", inadequately trained in their roles as pastors to their flocks and their many needs? Perhaps, by a reiteration of the affirmation of the value of the "hands on" service to humanity performed by the women, it would be self-fulfilling, and thus keep the priest in his pulpit and the women out of it? - This being so, women could continue to deliver 'the gospel of purity and cleanliness, health and honesty' (sans clerical robe) and be rewarded by words of commendation from the 'Ordained' and editors.

Miss George, 'the energetic and enthusiastic secretary of the WCTU enjoys the distinction of being the first recognised lady-preacher in the colony having been accepted by the Wesleyan denomination and decorated with the insignia of office...' - so announced the Advertiser on 2 April 1896 and the report went on to say:

Practically, the Wesleyan statute said that only women of extraordinary ability who had an extraordinary call should be allowed to preach in the churches, but at the last General Conference it was altered and women were placed on a level with men... She was placed on trial on 17 December 1894. This was the day before the Women's Suffrage Bill passage, so that the Church led the State in extending privilege to women... She now has the right to preach from any Wesleyan pulpit in the colony.

In 1927 Rev. Winifred Kiek, BA, BD, was ordained as minister of the Colonel Light Gardens Congregational Church; she was the first woman in Australia to receive the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. (31)

The Tide Turns

Women now hunt big game, fly over oceans and continents, write, manage, produce, enforce laws, act as firemen, glassblowers and masons... until comparatively recently regarded as the prerogative of men. Equality is being attained in an ever-widening field... The whole of this trend has run counter to the old assumption that men were the 'natural' breadwinners in the economic order.

(Advertiser, 26 September 1936, page 22c.)

In the second decade of the 20th century economic causes were operating to increase the avenues for female labour for, by that time, they were being employed as tailoresses and tobacco workers, clerks and typists, teachers and telegraphists all drawn from a sex who, in another age, might have found abundant employment in their own homes. In all these directions they demonstrated their capacity and justified their right to protest against the 'narrow construction put on the duties of sex by Fitzgerald... when writing on the death of Mrs Browning – "She and her sex had better mind the kitchen".'

At this time the number of women entering the labour market was increasing constantly with a corresponding decrease in marriage and birth rates which may or not have been a direct result of increasing feminine independence. Established custom had set up a law under which the male provided a home and sustenance with the female's role being a carer for the family. And those who saw the doors of the labour market closed to women found here one of their strongest arguments.

This faction contended that every woman who filled a position did so at the expense of a man and augmented the social disorder by which males were prevented from adequately providing for their women, who must then necessarily work for their own livelihood. But, argued others, many women were compelled to support themselves and others and why should all doors leading to

economic independence be closed? By 1919 forty-four per cent of young women in the Commonwealth at the age of 18 to 20 were in the wage-earning class. (32)

Women in Offices

In November 1915, under the auspices of the League of Loyal Women and the Institute of Accountants, classes for the purpose of training young women and girls were set up and in a very short time sixty were engaged in various classes. A male clerk sneered at this innovation and forecast a disaster to commercial life in Adelaide if the women were let loose with pen and blotter in a world previously controlled by men:

These young ladies mostly belong to a class of society where the monetary consideration is of little or no consequence... It is nonsense to believe that a clerical education can be gained by a few weeks tuition, and I should like to see the ledgers manipulated by this emergency class.

Are they to retain the positions now gained when the war is over, and the originally employed clerks and bookkeepers do not return, and by doing so take the bread out of the mouths of married men and little children?. (33)

As to their entry into the banking industry the male fraternity were not enamoured with their presence:

When one realises that a number of women add two and two and make anything but four, one is not surprised that mankind hesitates before voicing a definite statement as to woman's capacity to understand complicated finance... (34)

What Are We to do With Our Women?

Such was the question posed by the Editor of the Register in mid-1916. He was of the opinion that 'the future will hold no greater problem for the social worker than the suitable industrial equipment of the army of women who must, as one of the effects of the war, become either self-dependent or be thrown on the mercy of public charity.'

Because of the severe loss of the youth of the country the population of male vis a vis female was in imbalance and, accordingly, the future indicated that many women would have to support themselves, and in many cases support others – 'the question will be how best to meet the necessity for training them to become skilled workers.'

One of the comparatively few satisfactory measures of the effect of the war was that women emerged triumphantly from the demands for war service, and the medical profession expressed the belief that the more general employment of women in certain healthy - as distinct from unduly strenuous and unhealthy - occupations previously confined to male workers was showing a tendency to development which could affect beneficially the future physique of the race.

The assumption that women lacked the physical endurance necessary for continuous industrial employment was based on the result of work done under conditions which militated against

equally against the male worker. At the time it was agreed that no woman should be expected to combine outside industrial occupations with the performance of domestic duties; but, unfortunately, only in the rarest of cases did this occur.

Another disability which hampered the female worker was the standard of living necessary for a woman. In both male and female workers the most efficient were those who were well fed daily - in the case of females it was essential that they were not at a disadvantage of first having to cook it! These factors considered there was no reason - beyond the existence of the prejudices of social custom and the vested interests of unionism - why women should not have become valuable industrial units.

However, two courses were necessary; firstly, to reserve for women workers only those occupations for which they were best suited by strength and adaptability, thus releasing men for the more laborious tasks; secondly, to widen the avenues of employment of new and suitable industries for the absorption of female labour. (35)

In her struggle for industrial emancipation woman was trebly handicapped - she had to share with her male colleague the general disability of industrial workers to oscillate between good and bad times in the labour market, and she had also to meet the prejudice which strived to keep her out of the market. She also had to combat the passive resistance of some trades unions and the active opposition of others, and of the male workers generally, to women's industrial employment.

Then, too, she was faced by the opprobrium of her own sex which regarded the domestic sphere as the only legitimate channel for the exercise of woman's energies. A financial authority of the day wrote - 'The labour market has been revolutionised by the discovery that women can in many trades work as hard as men.' Accordingly, by early 1917 it was realised that instead of women becoming the rival of the male worker there was every chance of her development with a wise handling of the position, into an honourable comrade of industry.' (36)

Finally, a report from the Committee on Women in Industry stated, inter alia, that 'war work proved women to have greater physical strength and endurance than has been expected and that they will 'stand the monotony of a fast repetition job far better than men'.' (37)

Women at War

Just as in the Victorian era when Florence Nightingale went with a band of trained nurses to care for the casualties of war on the Crimean Peninsula, South Australian women emulated her example. The first three to leave South Australia were Misses E.S. Davidson, M. Graham and Crosby White. The former was awarded the second class Royal Red Cross in Egypt and the first class similar decoration after her arrival in Italy; she was also made a Commander of the British Empire.

Another who gave sterling service was Miss E.R. Uren and for her services in Salonika she was awarded the Royal Red Cross and the rank of honorary serving sister of the Order of St John of Jerusalem. Matron Lucy Daw left Adelaide in April 1915 and served for four years, receiving the

1915 Star, the Service and Peace Medals; other ladies who spent a number of years serving overseas were Sister G. Barnes, Miss J. Sinclair-Wood, Matron J. Jenkins and Sister L. Rinder.

Conclusion

Since the close of World War II there has been enormous changes in the lives of women in the community, particularly in the participation of married women in the labour force- this acceleration has challenged the underlying philosophy of our forbears which insisted that marriage and motherhood were the primary function of the female of the species. In 1994 the number of female politicians is showing a marked increase and their influence in political decision-making will, hopefully, lead to a more harmonious environment for future generations to explore further the attainment of equal rights for all.

Sources

1. *Observer*, 21 July 1843.
2. *Advertiser*, 26 September 1936, page 22c.
3. *Mail*, 11 November 1922, p. 2g, *The Flinders History of South Australia - Social History*, p. 403.
The statement that Adelaide University was the first in Australia to admit women to the faculty of medicine is disputed in the *Register*, 31 March 1917, p. 6f.
4. See G.H. & H.R. Manning, *Worth Fighting For*, Work and Industrial Relations in the Banking Industry in South Australia, Chapter 11.
5. *Observer* 22 March 1873, p. 13f.
6. *Observer*, 29 March 1873, p. 13c.
7. *Register*, 31 May 1878, p. 7c, *Advertiser*, 5 June 1878, p. 3f.
8. *Register*, 30 May 1883, p. 4g. For information on the wage rates in factories see Jim Moss, *Sound of Trumpets*, p. 196.
9. *Register*, 4 June 1883, p. 6b.
10. *Register*, 8 June 1911, p. 14e.
11. *Advertiser*, 5 February 1890, p. 7d.
12. *Advertiser*, 11 February 1873, page 2d, *Register*, 15 January 1874, p. 5a, *Advertiser*, 1 July 1869, p. 2f; also see *Advertiser*, 8, 23, 28 and 29 July 1869, pp. 2f, 3b, 2g and 2h. For information on earlier attempts to establish a ladies' college see *Advertiser*, 17 May 1875, p. 2b,
Register, 28 October 1878, p. 4d.
13. *Register*, 21 June 1880, p. 4g.
14. *Register*, 16 January 1883, p. 4e, 3 March 1913, p. 9c.
15. *Register*, 7 April 1862, p. 7g.
16. *Advertiser*, 8 January 1936, p. 21a, 11 February 1936, p.19b.
17. *Advertiser*, 5 April 1881, p. 4e.
18. *Register*, 7 May 1889, p. 7b.
19. *Advertiser*, 1 June 1897, p. 4g.
20. *Register*, 8 June 1911, p. 14e.
21. *Register*, 10 November 1879, p. 4c.
22. *Register*, 30 August 1892, p. 4h.
23. *Advertiser*, 9 February 1935, p. 9d.

24. *Observer*, 3 November 1883, p. 24e.
25. *Register*, 28 December 1888, p. 6e.
26. *Register*, 24 October 1911, p. 4b.
27. *Advertiser*, 9 February 1935, p. 9d.
28. *Advertiser*, 8 July 1915, p. 8f.
29. *Register*, 20 March 1926, p. 8e.
30. *Register*, 11 June 1927, p. 10h.
31. *Register*, 18 January 1912, p. 4d .*Advertiser*, 17 June 1919, p. 6c.
32. *Register*, 30 October 1915, p. 9b, 10 and 23 November 1915, pp. 6f and 7c.
33. *News*, 9 February 1924.
34. *Register*, 3 May 1916, p. 4c.
35. *Register*, 17 March 1917, p. 5c.
36. *Register*, 26 May 1920. p.6f.
37. *News*, 25 April 1934, p. 6d.

APPENDIX A

Information on the 344 Allotments in Theberton 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.
Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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 (?) - George M. Dew in 1911.	Unknown	25899 - 899/182	Purchased by Robert Strutton on 16-11-1872. Brought under RPA by
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 by Robert May, Thomas Ottaway, Newman, groom on	2-10-1839	12573 - 176/70	Lot 53 purchased by George Dew, baker on 15 November 1853 and storekeeper on 31 December 1853. Lots 54 and 55 purchased by licensed victualler on 21 March 1844. All three purchased by Thomas 25 May 1863.

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	?	?

Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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; 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 shoemaker; 28 March 1853,		10678 - 145/141	Subsequent owners, 8 January 1851, Edward Molineux, James Marriott, gardener, 4 May 1853, Michael Spellacy, carter; 25 September 1855, Jonathan Powell, butcher.	
80 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 storekeeper; 1864, Henry	2-10-1839	7828 - 93/150	Subsequent owners, 5 October 1846, David Downing, 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 August 1860,	12-11-1839	15060 - 230/181	Subsequent owners, 13 August 1853, Henry Lee, labourer; 17 William Hemmingway, blacksmith; 16 June 1866, John Hemmingway, butcher; 1 June 1867, John Mountney, dealer.	
86 Samuel McGlinn licensed victualler; 6	2-10-1839	102 - 2/145	Subsequent owners, 6 December 1840, William Wilkins, 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	?	?	
Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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 Foster,	2-10-1839	26434 - 1033/166	Sold to John Foreman on 21 July 1848; leased for 14 years to Anthony 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.
	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	?	?

Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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, Colman Kildea, labourer.
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.

Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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	2-10-1839	17337 - 309/166	Purchased by the Catholic Church Endowment Society on 17 September 1853.

159)

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, gentleman	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.

Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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 Mountney, labourer; 14 February 1865, Owen Conolan, labourer.
207	Mary A. Bridgeman	18-9-1848	16171 - 261/169 Subsequent owners, 7 February 1853, John Mountney. 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 Donnithorpe; 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	?	?

Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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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, carpenter;	2-10-1839	4114 - 42/13	Subsequent owners, 19 November 1839, Thomas Bridgman, 11 December 1839, George W. Johnson, builder.
216	Samuel Crettenden of Light's Village, labourer	2-10-1839	7072 - 81/145	He later 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 May	2-10-1839	3807 - 33/196	Subsequent owners, 13 April 1845, John Daws, policeman; 17 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 butcher; 14 June 1850, 10 September	2-10-1839	10319 - 139/34	Subsequent owners, 21 August 1840, Edward Furniss, Walter Waite, compositor; 24 July 1855, George Dew, baker; 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.			
Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
240	John Combs, plasterer	2-10-1839	?	?
241	William Whitehead, February cabinet maker	2-10-1839	4511 - 46/80	Subsequent owners, 4 April 1846, Frederick W. Emery, yeoman; 11 1854, George Vick, carter; 11 September 1856, Samuel Chapman, gardener; 7 August 1858, Charles Giles, nurseryman..
242	?	?	?	?
243	Thomas Toole John Newman, grocer.	11-12-1839	14071 - 205/187	Subsequent owners, 2 December 1848, James Lewis, carrier; 1854, Painter; 9 October 1854, George Dew, baker and Thomas
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 brought under	?	18062 - 340/233	Purchased by Walter W. Waite, printer, on 7 November 1848; RPA by John Burgan in 1880.
251	Thomas Ottaway, labourer	2-10-1839	?	?
252	William Homer, shoemaker January 1883; brought	2-10-1839	22396 - 572/47	Purchased by Burnet P. Mudge, minister of the gospel, on 19 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	Unknown	28116 - 1703/104	Possessory title obtained by A.V., C.J. & C.S. Richardson in 1938.

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 Pengelley 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. Trevaill in 1923.

262 Willaim 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.

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.

Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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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.
Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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 Bucknall & Minifie on 4	14-6-1842	15683 - 247/130	Lot 327 was purchased by Thomas Ottaway who sold to Messrs 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.
Lot No.	Name of Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Application No. & C/T/ reference.	Remarks
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	?	?
.....			
341) Reuben Richardson, police officer			
342) do	13-7-1840	20062 - 475/185	Lot 340 brought under RPA by National Building Society in 1884; lots
341 & 342 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 B

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'.

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.

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 which won the 1865 Adelaide Cup on the Thebarton Racecourse; its owner was J.C. James.

Falcon Avenue - Falcon was the name of a horse which 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 (see Chapter Two).

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 which 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 Chapter Seven).

Roebuck Street - The name of a horse which 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 C

Corporation of the Town of Thebarton

Town Clerks

Name	Length of Service
Charles Loader	1883-1884
Abel William Parker	1884-1905
Hubert Henry Crowell	1905-1907
Ernerst Frederick C. Filsell	1907-1908
Stanley Hopkins Shepherd	1908
Edwin James Filsell (Acting)	1908
John Joseph White	1909-1913
Charles Edmund Wyett	1913-1943
Charles Landers Ryan	1944-1945
William Herbert Brady	1945-1953
Reginald Cecil Tucker	1953-1968
Robert George Lewis	1968-1973
Melvyn John Baker	1973-1977
John Anthony Hanson	1977-1986
Merv Jenkins (Acting)	1986
Wolfgang Waclawik	1986

Mayors

Benjamin Taylor	1883
Edward John Ronald	1883-1887
Bartholomew J. McCarthy	1887-1888
James Manning	1888-1890
Edwin C. Hemmingway	1890-1893
Robert Burns Cuming	1893-1894
Charles Boxer Ware	1894-1897
Robert Burns Cuming	1897-1901
Charles Boxer Ware	1901-1903
William H. Goodenough	1904-1908
Alfred William Styles	1908-1911
Alexander A. Collins	1911-1913
Thompson Green	1913-1916
Arthur William Lemon	1916-1917
Alfred J. Blackwell	1917-1919
James Leonard Leal	1919-1922

Albert Henry Pretty	1922-1924
Edwin Thomas Isley	1924-1926
Harry Sumner Hatwell	1926-1928
Matthew Watson	1928-1931
Jules Langdon	1931-1937
Harry Sumner Hatwell	1937-1939
Albert George Inkley	1939-1942
Oliver R. Turner	1942-1944
Arthur Avalon House	1944-1946
John Witty	1946-1949
Frank Alan Haddrick	1949-1956
Norman Edwin Najar	1956-1960
Raymond Leslie Crafter	1960-1967
Ray Ernest Brereton	1967-1968
Colin George T. Shearing	1968-1971
Henry Ross Heddle	1971-1974
Dr J.A. Flaherty	1974-1980
John Francis Keough	1980-1985
John Alan Lindner	1985-1987
Annette P. O'Rielley	1987-

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Kiek, Rev Winifred
Kerr, C.
Kildael, A.E.
Kildea, Col(e)man
Kingston, C.C.
Kirby, Rev J.C.
Kither
Kitson, Mary
Klauer, E.L.W.
Knight, G.C.
Knight, James

L

Lambeth, Richard
Lane, John
Laughton, George
Lawrence, Elsie
Lawson, E.A.
Lea, George
Leahy, J.J.
Leal, J.L.
Leal, Ken
Lean, A.F.
Lee, Henry
Lee, Mary
Lewis, Samuel
Liebich. C.A.
Light, Colonel
Lillyman

Lind, William
Lipson, Captain
Liptrott, G.L.
Logan, James
Lord Goderich
Longman
Lowe, Anne
Lowe, Edward
Lyn(e)doch Valley

M

Macgeorge, James
Mackenzie, George
Magarey
Malcolm, Sydney A.
Malone, Mary
Malone, Michael
Malthouse
Manning, James
Manure Works
Marks, George
Marks, W.G.
Maraun, Louis
Martindale, A.
Marriott, James
Marshall, Robert
Mason & Cox Ltd.
Mason, W.H.
Masters and Servants Act
Matthews, William
Maxted, Rev W.J.C.
May, John
Mayne, James
Mayfield, Edwin
Maynard, George
McCarron, Patrick
McCarthy, B.J.
McDougall, James
McGarry, D.
McGlinn, Samuel
McGuinness, Owen
McKay, Thomas
McLean, Elizabeth V.
Mellor, M.W.

Menhennett
Merritt, John
Metters
Middleton, E.
Mills, George
Mills, John E.
Minifie, W.A.
Mitchelson, Edward
Mitton, Josiah
Mofflin
Molineux, Edward
Montefiore
Moody, Christopher A.
Moore, George
Moran, Robert
Morphett, John
Morse, Ann
Mount(e)ney, John
Mudge, Rev B.P.
Muecke, E.C.
Murray, David
Myers, Charles
Myers, W.J.T.
Mayo, Dr George

N

Najar, N.E.
National Building Society
Naughton, Thomas
Nelson, Thomas
Nettlebeck
Newell, Richard
Newman. C.
Newman, Thomas
Newman, William
Nicholls, Henry
Nicholls, "Pizey"
Nixon
Noble, Amos
Nootnagel, Kate
Norman, Ellis
Northover, Elizabeth
Novis, Josiah
Norton, Thomas

O

O'Grady, Mary
O'Grady, Michael
Olarens Shaw, Charles
O'Loughlin, Dennis
O'Loughlin, John
O'Reilly, Katherine
O'Rielly, James
Ottaway, Thomas
Ottaway, G.
Oxenham

P

Painter, John
Pallant, Bridget
Palmer, Col. George
Parker, Abel W.
Patent Medicines
Peacock & Sons
Pearce, Samuel
Pearce, Susannah
Pearman, W.H.
Pearson, Charles M.
Pearson, M.
Pengelley, William
Penley, Goulbourn
Penley, John
Pepper, William C.
Perry Engineering Co.
Phillips, Mary
Pigeon shooting
Pilcher, J.
Pitcher, Rev J.G.
Plummer, J.B.
Plumpton, C.
Pool, J.
Port Adelaide Railway
Port Lincoln
Powell, Jonathan
Power, James
Poyzer, George
Printz
Pritchard, Thomas

Provincial Gas Co.
Pullen, Lt.
Pyke, Richard
Pyne, F.E.

Q
Quackery
Quail shooting
Quinn, Mary

R
Railways
Raphael, Ralph
Rapid
Rayner, Rev G.
Read, Charles
Read, George
Read, Harriet
Reid
Reseigh
Reynell, Walter
Rhind, W. Birnie
Rhind, William G.
Rhodes, Willaim
Richards, Mary A.
Richards, William
Richardson, Reuben
Richardson, William
Riches, E.A.
Richmond, Honorah
Ridley, John
Ridgway, John
Ridgway, William
Rinder, L.
Rintoull, James
Risdon, William
River Torrens
Rix
Roberts, Joel
Roberts, Jonathon
Roberts, Thomas
Robertson, George
Robinson, William
Robson, Bruce

Rogers, Elizabeth
Ronald, E.J.
Ropemaking
Russell, E.C.
Rowe, John
Rowell, J.
Rudd, James T.
Ryan, James
Ryan, John

S

Salter, Henry
Sanders
Sarre, John
Saunders, Richard
Sayers, William J.
Scammell, Luther
Scanlan, Patrick
Scarlet fever
Schofield, William
Scott, Bonnar Ltd.
Shaw & Co.
Shearing, G. & W.
Shearing, Henry
Shepherd, George
Shepherdson, J.B.
Shipp, James
Simms, Thomas C.
Simpson, Archibald
Simpson, A.M. & Son
Sinclair-Wood, J.
Skating
Smallpox
Smallwood, Samuel
Smedley, Francis
Smith, Charles
Smith, David
Smith, E.J.
Smith, William
Snowball, C.
Soapmaking
Soper, John
South Adelaide Football Club
South Australian Company

Southwell, Sarah
Southwick, Thomas L.
Sparshott, Frederick
Sparshott, James F.
Spellacy, Michael
Stapley, Mrs
Stephens, Edward
Stevenson, Joseph
Storer, John
Strutton, Isabella
Strutton, R.
Sturt, Captain Charles
Styles, A.W.
Sugars, George
Sugars, Mary E.
Sutton, John
Symes, Thomas D.
Symonds, R.G.

T

Tamlin
Tanner, Charles
Tanneries
Taylor, Benjamin
Taylor, John
Taylor, Henry
Thorn, John
Tilney, George E.
Timber merchants
Tingey, James
Todd, Charles
Tomlinson, Thomas
Toole, Thomas
Torrens, Roberet
Town Halls
Town, William B.
Townley, A.
Travena, W.
Trevaill, Thomas J.
Trollope, Anthony
Trott, Charles
Tucker, Sarah
Tully, James
Tunbridge

Turner, William F.
Tyler, W.
Typhoid fever
Tyrie, W.A.

U

Union Engineering Co.
Uren, E.R.

V

Vardon, James
Vick, George
Volunteer Corps

W

Wade, Robert
Wainwright, William
Waite, Walter
Wakefield, E.G.
Warburton
Ward, Ebenezer
Ware
Warland, George
Warland, Robert
Warn, Jacob
Warren
Water carts
Water, William
Watson, Henry
Watts, John
Wear, Edward
Webb, John
Webber, Richard
Wells, Jack
Welsby, John
Wesley
West & Co.
Western, Henry
Western Oxygen Co.
White, Charles
White, Crosby
White, Henry
White, Rev T.G.

Whitefield, William
Whitford
Whitehead, William
Whittenbury, Hannah
Wigg, E.S. & Co.
Wilks, George
Wilkins, William
Williams, F.J.
Williams, James
Williams, Rev D.J.
Williamson, C.G.
Willis, William
Wilmshurst
Wilson, Charles A.
Wilson, Ellie C.
Wilson, Richard
Winter, B.P.
Wishart, Alexander
Women's Service Association
Woollen factory
Wrestling
Wright, William
Wyatt, Dr William
Wylie, Benjamin

Y

Yelland, Joseph
Young Australian
Young, Governor
Youth Centre

Z

Zadow