

Occasional Essays on South Australian History

Researched and Written by Geoffrey H. Manning

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Part I - Former South Australian Settlements

Essay No. 1 - Angepena

Introduction

"Mining - Ways That Are Dark" and "Salting a Mine" were headlines of the *Advertiser* in the 1890s in respect of the Golden Treasure mine at Angepena in the North Flinders Ranges in which several prominent members of parliament were interested but, in the fullness of time they realised they had been swindled:

They talked about the wonderful mine that was going to pay so handsomely, and at nights when tired eyelids dropped over tired eyes it [was] said that the Angepena Treasure... rose up before them and in their sleep they were deceived into imagining that they were wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice... [They now] go seriously on their way convinced that there is more money in dry as dust politics than in dazzling Angepena Treasures.

The Angepena Run was taken up by John Baker (1813-1872) on 28 March 1856, his head station being Pernunna, that adjoined Angepena to the north. In 1858 he went to England and became involved in a scandal over the contents of a prospectus for the Great Northern Copper Mining Company in which he was intimately involved - such was the hue and cry of many dubious claims made in the document, the South Australian Government appointed a Select Committee at which Mr Baker refused to give evidence.

Mining in the Angepena District

The short-lived Mochatoona Mine, about five kilometres NNW of Angepena station, was worked in 1859-1860; at first it was considered to be a wonderful copper discovery warranting "vigorous developmental work" but, as with most of the copper "shows" in the Flinders Ranges, the surface lode did not extend to greater depths.

Late in 1892 a report of an alluvial gold find in the area prompted a visit by Mr J.V. Parkes, Inspector of Mines, who reported finding 40 prospectors on a field that, in his opinion, was "worth prospecting". The land was "about five miles east of Angipena (*sic*) old station"; the majority of the diggers managed to scrape together enough gold to supply their necessary wants and in this regard meat in the form of wethers from the local station was freely available until non-payment by some diggers led to the cessation of that facility.

The embryo town emerged in 1893 when 50 men were living in tents and crude huts, two stores were open for business and two butchers plied their trade. The nearest water supply was obtained from Nolla Nollina Spring about a mile from the town. In winter months the local creek ran occasionally and to prevent its spoliation a quarter of a mile of its banks was reserved for domestic water purposes.

By August 1893 there were over 300 men on the field when Mounted Constable Brown took up residence; no cells were provided for prisoners but chains driven into blocks of wood served the purpose - an Angepena Police Station had been manned from the 1850s until the prolonged drought of the 1860s found the law enforcers retreating to Blinman. To complete the services provided to the inhabitants a post office opened in July 1893 with Mr Doig as postmaster.

A month later it was reported that Mr McPherson had made a "splendid find" which assayed about 6-8 ounces to the ton, while Mr Mailey, a local storekeeper, had been shown a nugget estimated to weigh "fully 50 ounces" - to this 30 diggers responded by telegraphing the Commissioner of Crown Lands and expressing their disbelief. However, it would appear that these reports, which time proved to be false, set the minds of two prospectors working on a scheme that would lead one of them to gaol with a sentence of eighteen months hard labour.

In September 1894 a company, the Angipena (*sic*) Treasure Mining Company issued a prospectus for 40,000 one pound shares - 20,000 fully paid-up to be paid to the vendors in part payment for the mine (together with a cash payment of #700) and the balance to be offered for public subscription - the directors' names read like a "Who's Who" of the local parliament - namely, Messrs G. Riddoch, A.R. Addison, J.H. Howe and A. Poynton. Their expectations were based on what they had every reason to believe was most reliable and authoritative evidence of the presence of an "unusually rich lode". Further, they were only too proud to state that their speculation had a patriotic element in that they were promoting a genuine and promising gold mine in South Australia!

Both Mr White and Mr Poynton had visited the property in August 1894 and from samples taken personally from the shafts by Messrs Howe and Addison they concluded that the reef closely resembled the Great Boulder Mine at Kalgoorlie which was making a fortune for its proprietors. Then to seal the matter the "late Inspector of Mines" concluded that it was "one of the best surface shows I have met with in South Australia." A parcel of ore taken from the main shaft gave an average return of over four ounces to the ton.

The matter duly came to trial early in 1896 when, in sentencing the "salter", the Chief Justice said that if a guilty verdict had not been forthcoming it was possible that nothing would have been heard of "matters in connection with the floating of the company." His Honour "felt constrained to speak strongly in reference to the omission from the prospectus of certain facts which might have considerably influenced the share-investing public had they been made known" and he commented adversely on the "liberal provisions made by the promoters" which, if realised, would have benefited them to the detriment of shareholders. In a final tilt the Judge referred "not unfairly", to the candid dealing which the public naturally expects from gentlemen holding high public positions that was not apparent in the case before him - but as a politician would say - "Regrettable facts remained" - to this indictment the humbled, and temporarily impecunious, politicians declined to respond!

Sources

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Occasional Essays on South Australian History

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Part I - Essay No. 2 - Colton

Michael Kenny was born in County Clare, Ireland on 24 December 1809 and sailed in the *Brakenmoor* for Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) where he arrived on 6 April 1842. After many adventures on the island and in the Gippsland district on the mainland he was enticed to South Australia by his brother who was farming at Morphett Vale. In the years that followed he "brought all [his] relations from unfortunate, famine stricken Ireland and assisted to build at Morphett Vale the first Catholic Church that was built with stone and mortar in the colony."

By 1855 he had purchased 500 acres of land near Shea-oak Log where he remained for twenty years and, during that period, he and John Barrow of Ashwell started the Light Farmers' Club that played an important part in bringing a reform Land Bill into public notice. In 1871 he went to Yorke Peninsula where he "secured" farms for several of his sons; late in 1876 he sailed from Oyster Bay (Stansbury) in the *Selector* for Port Lincoln from whence he trekked overland to the Hundred of Colton where he established "Balla McKenny", a property of some 9,000 acres.

Other land in the Hundred was taken up eagerly by selectors and numbers of "cockies" made their homes and "flourished within its limits." Indeed, by 1906 it was a district of large families, totals of "19, 16, 15 and 12 giving point to the local saying that no family [was] worthy of the name until it had obtained double figures." In this respect Michael Kenny's son, Michael Stephen White Kenny (1852-1934), fathered in excess of 15 children over the period 1877 to 1908!

Bad times came to the farmers in the 1880s when rabbits and kangaroos became plentiful; consequently, many of the settlers lacked the labour and capital to "fence out the pests." However, one ingenious selector "captured a big old man kangaroo, strapped a cattle bell around its neck, dressed him up in a red shirt and let him go. The old man in endeavouring to come up to his mates, gave them such a scare that for days he was seen and heard chasing in the rear. For months the locality was entirely free from kangaroos, and the old man was found dead on the cliffs with his funeral bell and red shroud around him."

At this time the Government bonus for rabbit scalps, coupled with the high price for kangaroo skins, brought many hunters to the district; many of them made up to twenty pounds a week but, in time, the scalp money was discontinued, hides fell in value and a closed season was proclaimed for marsupials.

On 21 December 1880 Daniel Thomas Kenny (1849-1934), Michael Kelly's eldest son entered into an agreement with the Department of Lands to purchase sections 43W and 59, Hundred of Colton, comprising 97 and 274 acres respectively - this land adjoined the junction of five roads and as such was a prime sight for a hotel to cater for travellers in an area that was gradually being opened up for closer settlement. His brother, Michael S.W. Kenny, took over the land on 12 April 1887 and completed the purchase of same in 1902. During this period he was active in alienating portion of it, which the *Register* of 25 May 1901 described as a "private township"- his contribution was providing land for a showground in 1894, a hall in 1903 and, with the cooperation of his brother, the erection of a hotel that opened for business in 1884; at other times he was described as a "banker", postmaster and pound keeper.

Adjacent to the Kenny land, the government reserved for a school a small portion of section 57 - it opened in 1885 and closed in 1956, while in 1886 the Catholic Church purchased section 76c (two acres) followed by the purchase of section 57c (two acres)

by the Church of England in 1904. The nucleus of the settlement was all but completed with the opening of a general store together with a blacksmith's shop on section 60b (later renumbered 192).

Sources

Advertiser, 9 August 1906, page 8, 4 August 1932, page 10i, *Observer*, 20 August 1897, page 47e, *Register*, 24 February 1887, page 3g.

Letters from the Kenny family and other settlers in the district in respect of the rabbit plague are to be found in the *Register*, 9 February 1881, page 2c (supplement), 2 and 24 March 1881, pages 7e and 3c (supp.), 22 August 1882, page 1c (supp.), 12 September 1882, page 1c (supp.), 13 March 1884, page 7e, 11 August 1884, page 7a, 4 November 1884, page 7a, 8 May 1885, page 3h, 3 and 26 November 1885, pages 7g and 7e, 12, 18, 19, 20 and 26 January 1886, pages 6b, 5d, 7c, 7d and 6g, 2 and 9 February 1886, pages 7f and 5f, 24 April 1886, page 6h, 10 and 12 May 1886, pages 7h and 6b, 10 July 1886, page 7e, 2, 7, 16 and 28 August 1886, pages 6d, 3g-h-7f, 3f and 7g, 7 September 1886, page 3b, 7 December 1886, page 7c, 2 June 1887, page 3g, 1 March 1888, page 6c, 9 July 1888, page 7h, 14 August 1888, page 7f, 13 December 1888, page 6g, 8 September 1891, page 7d.

See Crown Lease, Volume 4, Folio 49 for details of D.T. Kenny's agreement to purchase sections 43W and 59. For the alienation of M.S.W. Kenny's land for community purposes see Certificates of Title, Volume 700, Folio 17, 719/166 and 582/100.

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Part I - Essay No. 3 - Hammond

Land Rush Folly

In the 1860s and the following decade a persistent cry was abroad about the alleged insidious and ongoing robbing of the "people's land" by squatters, and this agitation was so persistent in town and country, there arose a pressing and overwhelming movement for resumption of pastoral leases and agricultural extension. It was claimed that rain would follow the plough but, in the years ahead, those who attempted to farm outside of Goyder's line of rainfall were to learn that the plough, in the majority of seasons, would look in vain for the rain. A voluble reporter envisaged this embryonic Pandora's box being "tickled into an abundant harvest and bearing on its breasts thousands of smiling homesteads of a well-contented class of yeomanry, who [would] make South Australia a giant among these British colonies."

There were several factors that led to this indiscriminate quest for arable land; firstly, in districts such as that extending from Aldinga through McLaren Vale to Willunga the soil had become "wheat sick" through over-cropping and, accordingly, those farmers whose cash flow had diminished sought greener pastures in the vast virgin land to the north; secondly, the government was concerned at the exodus of farmers to the Wimmera district of Victoria and were intent on stopping the outflow of both farmers and capital; thirdly, the State's coffers could only benefit from revenue generated by the sale of land.

The conservative forces had both negative and positive argument against any change in the colonial land system - they consoled themselves with the reflection that reform was impracticable, that there could be no free selection without "dummies" and no

conditions of settlement that could not be evaded. Indeed, their creed was that by no law could capital be deprived of, what was defined by colonial gentry and capitalists of the day, its "natural power".

The reformers themselves only asked that a fair trial be given to a certain principle - they did not guarantee it against practical difficulties or abuses, but undertook to grapple with them as they arose. Accordingly, Mr Strangways scheme, which he introduced into parliament late in 1868, had the constituent elements of free selection, deferred payments, classification and conditions of settlement. All of these had been offered previously to the parliament in isolated forms and refused; indeed, the classification of the first Ayers scheme, for instance, was encumbered with an impracticable system of tender.

Closer Settlement

Following heated debate in the House of Assembly and the introduction of a wealth of amendments in the Legislative Council the Bill was finally passed early in 1869 and in that year Georgetown was one of the first towns surveyed to service land subdivided for closer settlement and, being within Goyder's line, was destined to flourish. However, a newspaper report of 1875 painted this melancholy picture:

In the abstract [it] is a wretched place - it is guiltless of anything like useful ornament. No trees grow there - they know better... In summer it is... very hot and you swallow the dust in slices. In winter your boots have a small farm attached to each. Georgetown is celebrated for its fleas... it is said that they actually pulled a shearer out of bed one night...

The development of other arable districts with proven reliable rainfall surrounding towns like Anama, Euromina and Canowie was aborted by affluent pastoralists buying the land to the detriment of others who lacked the requisite capital. Thus, following amendments to "Strangways Act", by 1874 Goyder's line was breached, new Hundreds and towns were surveyed and a great land rush began and it was not halted until Hundreds were created as far north as Blinman.

The first town created outside Goyder's line was Pekina in 1875 followed by Orroroo and Wilmington in 1876. Governor Jervois had a field day in 1879 when, as the colony's sole nomenclator for government townships, he named eight of them after either members of his family or former army acquaintances; they were Amyton, Carrieton, Chapmanton, Cradock, Gordon, Hammond, Johnburgh and Stephenston.

The Town of Hammond and District

Land in the Hundred of Coonatto, proclaimed on 23 March 1876, was cut up into holdings of between 100-300 acres and as the years progressed it was cultivated far too heavily and fallowing was rarely practised. Thus, excessive ploughing caused the land to drift, fences were covered and dams silted up. Dust storms were prevalent and on occasions it was necessary to light house lanterns during the day.

There were good seasons but many of them were offset by four or five unproductive ones. A good season enticed the discouraged toiler in whose breast "hope sprang eternal" to take the course of a gambler in an attempt to alleviate his plight. While government gave tangible sympathy to the farmers' struggles in the form of rent relief and seed wheat supplies, in a good year they did not participate in the general bounty because their monetary returns were offset by the repayment of past concessions.

Hammond and district supported a strong Catholic community and from January 1883 an annual sports day was held, the first on the banks of Coonatto Creek on property

owned by Mr P.J. Walsh. Prior to the event mass was celebrated in the Roman Catholic classroom (Saint Alexius) and in the evening a ball was held in the assembly room of the hotel where "upwards of 50 couples [danced]... until the lights in the room began to pale before the rising sun." The day-time competitive events included pig races, standing high jumps, tilting matches and the Hammond Cup, a sprint over 100 yards - among the winners were J. Barry, T. Kinnane, J. Chapman (who led the field in the Old Man's Race and was awarded a bottle of whisky) and M. Kennedy; the pig was caught in grand style by T. McDonald.

A Jockey Club was established in 1881 and its first meeting held a month later; in 1884 those with an equestrian bent assembled on Mr D. McLellan's property "one mile south of the township", where 1,000 people or more gathered to bet, eat, imbibe and appreciate "some charming music" provided by the Wallaroo Brass Band.

By 1885 Hammond, had seventeen houses and a population of 70 souls and the housewives' perennial complaint was the lack of a domestic water supply that could only be obtained from underground tanks fed by run off from the roofs of houses - all attempts at striking subterranean water had failed.

To alleviate this situation a large dam known as the South Whim Dam on the Coonatto run was utilised and in August 1886 it was deepened, fenced and fitted with a pump and troughs; a resident was appointed to collect fees for water supplied. Earlier, in March 1886 artesian water was struck at 230 feet that flowed up to 18,000 gallons per hour but, unfortunately, it was only suitable for stock.

By October 1888 the public dam was dry and recourse was made to the railway reservoir for domestic purposes; supplies for stock had to be carted as the government bore was lying idle for want of pumping appliances. In April 1892 the citizens demanded that a reservoir be erected in the foothills to the east of Hammond but, in their wisdom, the authorities decided to increase the supply in the railway reservoir by constructing a drain to divert stormwater from some watercourses. Finally, in 1900 the Commissioner of Public Works relented and the District Council was authorised by its ratepayers to raise the necessary sum to build a catchment dam.

By 1895 the embattled farmers had come to realise that a fortune was not to come their way from agriculture so many turned to dairying; this industry reached such proportions that Mr C.H. Tuckwell erected a butter factory in Hammond - it was fitted with a DeLaval separator and the latest improvements in butter-making machinery; the whole factory was driven by steam power generated from Leigh Creek coal.

However, in 1909 the cattle of the district were stricken with a disease commonly known as "dry bible" - cows have four stomachs and the third was known colloquially as the "bible" because it contained a great number of folds or leaves. Local herds of cattle were all but decimated - one farmer lost 24 bullocks and steers and on numerous farms milch cows died by the hundreds; strangely, cows within the town precincts were not affected. No cure was known and farmers resorted to "quack" medicines - one owner gave an ailing cow 56 ounces of Epsom salts, two gallons of linseed oil thickened with two bars of soap, duly flaked!

At the turn of the century it was pitiable to see the results that some ignorant farmers had inflicted upon the landscape. From about 1910 there was, finally, a universal realisation that to continue using the land for primary industry was a sure road to bankruptcy - for some, suicide! The crippling drought of 1914 accelerated an exodus of population and slowly, but surely, the land returned to the pastoralists, albeit in a

poorer condition than that which obtained in the 1870s. By the 1960s Hammond was in its death throes; the school closed in 1969 and the hotel that was licensed in 1877 ceased to trade as from 10 March 1972.

Indeed, the words of J.H. Browne who, with his brother, W.J. Browne, established the Booborowie Run in 1843 and pioneered exploration of country further northwards, must have been a bitter pill to those who advocated the violation of Goyder's line for agricultural purposes - following the resumption of the Arkaba Run and the survey of the Hundred of Arkaba Mr Browne said:

How much longer will it take our legislators to learn that all the country north of "Goyder's Rainfall" line is only fit for pastoral purposes.

Over a century later one can only conclude, simply, that the experiment of closer settlement outside Goyder's line failed to recognise Nature's limitations and as such was a costly incursion.

Sources

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Occasional Essays on South Australian History

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Part I- Essay No. 4 - Ghost Towns of South Australia - Inneston

A Background to the Gypsum Industry in South Australia

Prior to the Great War of 1914-1918 the gypsum resources of South Australia were not worked to any great extent, but the cessation of supplies from overseas prompted some local companies to get their product on the market. The history of gypsum production on York Peninsula commenced in the early 1870s when a miscellaneous lease was granted in the Hundred of Melville over an area covering portion of Lake Fowler. Until 1898 this lease changed hands on several occasions when the Castle Salt Company became the proprietor; it retained the salt lease and transferred the gypsum leases to other companies.

Mr W.S. Douglas took up lease number 81 in 1874 over a lake to the east of Yorketown, passing to Mr A. Tocchi in 1883 who sold it to South Australian Plaster of Paris, Cement, Salt, and Chemical Manures Co Ltd - it proved unsuccessful and was liquidated in 1886.

In 1889 the Australian Gypsum and Whiting Co Ltd of Melbourne took up leases at Marion Bay fifty miles south of Edithburgh where it proceeded to build a jetty and lay a tramline to the gypsum fields that were only a short distance from the shore. After spending about \$70,000 it went into liquidation in 1898 when its property was taken over by Mr A.H. Hassell who held the leases for over twenty years and supplied rock gypsum to the manufacturers of plaster and for other purposes.

Gypsum had a number of uses in the first half of the 20th century a small percentage was added to the clinker prior to the final grinding in the manufacture of cement; raw gypsum may be used as a fertiliser; when finely ground it can be used for filling the pores on paper and was an essential ingredient in the manufacture of paint, kalsomine and crayons. Its main use, however, was in the production of plaster of paris and whitening; the latter was used as a domestic cleaning agent, by soap manufacturers, commercial painters used it as did aerated water manufacturers for the generation of carbonic acid gas.

Inneston

From about 1915 a village flourished amidst dense scrub at the bottom of York Peninsula its very existence being supported by the manufacture of plaster of paris derived from gypsum deposits in a local lagoon. Its creation, according to a contemporary newspaper report, was due to "the genius of one man":

Visitors to Cape Spencer are comparatively few; but it is surprising that so little is known about this model settlement - an industrial organisation that knows no labour disputes, where the masters and men mingle as equals, where foremen are unknown, where a fair task is allotted to every man and where the principal of a fair deal is put into practice... Cooperation has brought satisfaction.

Although the whole settlement is controlled by the promoters, no restrictions are placed in the way of other business people and traders who may desire to enter. They have not come. The men belong to the union. Masters and men live together in complete harmony, ministering to each other's welfare - an inspiring example to other industrial organisations, a monument to the enterprise and humanitarianism of the founder, and a credit to Australia.

Its foundation was undertaken by an enterprising man, W.R.D. Innes, who began to exploit gypsum deposits in the vicinity of Cape Spencer in 1913. By horse and dray locomotion he made his way through scrub country and camped in a valley overlooking the Althorpe Islands and beside a gypsum lake. He enticed his brother, J.A.S. Innes, away from his Victorian farm and, later, his son, Hector, joined the firm that was to become the Peninsular Plaster Company after experimental work had been carried out in Melbourne.

Great determination and ingenuity were displayed in creating and nurturing the industry; for example, soundings and tide movements were recorded every day for two years before the site of a jetty was decided upon in Stenhouse Bay, which was named after a director of the Peninsular Plaster Company. At the outset the gypsum was shipped over a cliff face by a chute until the jetty was erected at a cost of \$11,000. At this time the government, in its wisdom, levied jetty dues for the company's privilege of shipping from a place erected and maintained at its expense!

At first the gypsum was shipped to Melbourne for treatment but by 1916 the manufacture of plaster was commenced at the lake and by 1927 the factory was operating for twenty-four hours a day on every day of the week and over the period 1916-1927 300,000 tons of gypsum were extracted. The raw gypsum was blasted from the deposit and transported on a ropeway to a dump from which it was fed into a hopper. It was then crushed, washed and calcined in six kettles and delivered to in bags as plaster of paris to the jetty along a narrow gauge tramline, the hauling being done by oil-driven tractors.

In the early days of the settlement the workers were housed under canvas but as the company flourished it built substantial stone houses and gave them to the married men, rent free, while bachelors were supplied with quarters for board and lodging at nominal rates. A community hall was erected and fitted with a piano and gramophone and a post office and school built at company expense. By 1927 there were 80 men on the pay-roll and at that time few communities in South Australia could match the number of motor cars per head of population. The residents lived well; "only the best quality goods [were] demanded and the store [sold] up to six hundred-weight of chocolates per month [*sic*]."

Although the settlement was within 80 kilometres of larger peninsula towns it was isolated except by sea communication. To ease this situation the company established its own mail, telegraph and postal services. Mr Innes constructed nine miles of telephone line and, later, handed it over to the Post and Telegraph Department only to be advised that his company was to be charged for using it and was asked to "investigate the most trifling irregularity in the service" conducted by company clerks.

The supply of bread and meat was unsatisfactory so one of the workers was appointed to the position of both baker and butcher. Bread was made at set intervals and cattle were obtained from the company's herd of some 200 beasts and killed three times a week; he sold his produce over the shop counter, ran his own motor car and had his "rooms fitted with an elaborate wireless set and other devices."

The settlement had its own general store, fully stocked, where items were sold at reasonable prices, and a chemist, while sporting enthusiasts were provided with a cricket and football oval, croquet ground and golf links. Electricity was provided to all houses and commercial buildings, an agency for two banks was conducted by company clerks while in the mid-1920s arable land within the leasehold was planted with barley; thus, "all of the 14,000 acres [*sic - other reports state 200 acres as the total holding*] held in the lease [was] being tested for its full productivity."

Until 1927 the settlement was known simply as "the camp at Cape Spencer" but following a parliamentary visit in October 1927 members of the party decided that the town should have a name, "and it was named with due ceremony after its founder..."

The town wasted away and by 1973 it was uninhabited and it is now included in the Innes National Park, while the community hall was demolished by the park authority to prevent unauthorised occupation of the premises by itinerant campers. The impact of the town on the environment within the park remains today - woodcutters' tracks wend their way through the scrub in all directions where native timber was cut to feed the steam-powered boilers at the gypsum works. This prime heritage site was neglected until 1992 when an enthusiastic group, including former residents, commenced a rehabilitation programme for the remnants of this unique town.

Sources

R. Lockhart Jack, *The Salt and Gypsum Industry of South Australia*, Advertiser, 26 October 1927, page 16c, 5 February 1992, page 22, Observer, 5 November 1927, page 22e, *West of the Peesey*.

Today, the name of Silverton is best associated with a town close to Broken Hill which for over 100 years or more has enriched the nation with its fabulous deposit of silver-lead ore. However, before it was discovered the most productive silver mines in South Australia spawned a town of Silverton in 1864 on part section 116, six kilometres from "Campbell's Creek and Talisker Mine" that lay in the Hundred of Waitpinga near Cape Jervis.

Many towns in South Australia have suffered dwindling population coupled with a creeping paralysis but, somehow, manage to struggle on. But Silverton is no more and the once bustling village has been replaced by stands of eucalypts and other native and imported flora. Close by, and concealed beneath the growth of decades, can be found the rusting remains of machinery used at the Talisker Mine which in its heyday produced ore assaying from 63 to 91 ounces of silver to the ton - during its ten years of "active" life from 1862 it smelted, on site, ore that gave up 889 tons of silver-lead that grossed in excess of £29,000.

In the early 1860s John McLeod, accompanied by a cousin of the same name, while searching for gold at the foot of Fleurieu Peninsula (at that time unnamed) came upon specimens of minerals that proved to be silver-lead ore. A mineral claim was lodged when his title was disputed but eventually maintained when the Talisker Mining Company Syndicate was formed with "five or six gentlemen". The discoverers, who hailed from the Isle of Skye in Scotland, took the name from their homeland - it derives from the Norman word *hjalli-sker* that translates as "shelf-like rock".

At first the miners were provided with a large tent as living quarters, a blacksmith shop was built where picks, *etc.*, were pointed, while a substantial hut built of slabs served as both the manager's residence, a store room and cellar and the miners' eating apartment replete with a spacious kitchen. Thirty-two men were employed and the first shipment of 17 tons of "first class" ore was shipped to Port Adelaide in the cutter *Breeze* on 9 October 1862 from a small port known as "The Fishery" near Cape Jervis.

In an early report to the Company the Mine Captain said:

I am sending a box of specimens obtained from the drive as a sample of the lode... I am highly pleased... we may expect to cut a lode of extraordinary richness. There is every prospect of the mine becoming increasingly remunerative.

Later, the Secretary of the company was to conclude that the ore at the 33 fathom level was superior "to anything ever previously discovered in the mine, or probably in the colony." When these opinions came to public notice there was an exodus from the metropolitan area and elsewhere to this new El Dorado, either to seek employment at the mine or provide services to the miners and their families who gradually moved out of the communal tent into wattle and daub huts erected adjacent to the mine at the behest of the company.

At Silverton a hotel was the first building erected in the town and was followed by shops and an eating house; by 1866 a dozen or more cottages were occupied by workers engaged in wood cutting and the transport of ore. A Wesleyan Chapel was built and services were conducted there for nine years until 1875 when the congregation had moved on. The town was serviced twice a week by Rounsevell's coach to Adelaide via Glenburn.

By the close of the 1860s the two bugbears associated with mining were evident - paucity of finance and lack of adequate pumping equipment to cope with an abnormal influx of water into the mine. The Mine Captain was adamant that:

All that is required to properly develop the resources of the mine is an increase of funds... [It] has not yet paid a dividend... due solely to the mine being imperfectly worked owing to the want of funds...

His advice did not go unheeded - the company had commenced operations with a capital of £6,000 with two increases in 1865 and 1869 totalling £34,000 but all to no avail for by 1872 water was flowing into the mine faster than funds could be found to pump it out! Finally, in 1872 "the company was unable to finance further development and operation ceased" leaving lamenting shareholders to ponder the fact that during the company's lifetime no dividend had been paid.

But there were some entrepreneurs in mining circles who believed that hidden wealth was to be exploited at lower depths in the mine and in 1917 an Adelaide syndicate took over the property:

The first consignment of heavy pumping machinery in connection with the unwatering of the Talisker silver mine... has been sent from Adelaide.... It consists of a 50 h.p. latest type of traction engine, which will provide necessary power for driving a powerful pumping plant, recently purchased from the Government... The main shaft of the mine is more than 400 ft. deep and is connected by numerous drivers, tunnels and stopes.

Below the 133 ft. level the mine is full of water. More than 50 years have elapsed since the property was worked below the water level; but although the dry levels are now being systematically mined, the syndicate has resolved to get richer ore, stated to exist at the deeper level. The unwatering operations, which represent a big undertaking, are in charge of Mr Edgar Hornwool, who is making preparations for raising more than 350,000 gallons daily. If successful, the mine, it is estimated, will give employment to several hundred men.

The company's hopes for riches were soon dashed - after winning some 600 tons of ore the mine closed in 1920. In 1924 the Department of Mines pumped out the water and its experts made an inspection and reported that all seven shafts along the lode had collapsed - "two of them had completely disappeared leaving no trace - and the stopes between the 42 feet level and the surface have caved in... the mine workings are now completely inaccessible."

Silverton and the Talisker mine are no more and a fitting closure to their story might well be the words of a visitor to the sites some fifty years ago - "Over this very ground the sweating teamsters with creaking bullock wagons had carted the dressed ore...; that here, where we now heard only the wind in the tree tops and the calls of the bush birds, the street had resounded with the noise of children at play. Here the people had touched their caps to all powerful mine captains, first, Captain Price, and later, Captain Tresize, who I was told... firmly believed to the end that Talisker was a richer mine than Broken Hill... I felt as if I was trampling on the broken hearts of the people, who came here some 90 years ago with such high hopes, such rosy dreams of the future of the place... I well remember as I drove back through the trees to the highway, the sobbing of the wind seemed like a call from the ghosts of the past, an uneasy sighing redolent of faith misplaced and cherished hopes and dreams unrealised."

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Essay No. 6 - Ulooloo

Introduction

In the mid-1860s Thomas Harvey of Kapunda took up land about 40 kilometres north-east of Burra. He was an experienced miner and from the quantity of quartz in the locality of Ulooloo Creek he and a friend, Mr Brayley, determined to sink exploratory holes where, in 1869, out of three tubs of "stuff", two penny-weights of gold were procured.

Destitution in Adelaide

At this time the streets of Adelaide were clogged with men at the corners of the streets demanding work or food and to alleviate the situation it was asked why the ministry did not do what had been done twice before on similar cases since the introduction of responsible government - that was to supply a labour test at some moderate distance from town. It had been shown that this had checked the evil of street meetings and demonstrations on previous occasions.

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, however, "sat still with their usual masterly inactivity" until a number of unemployed in and around the city had increased to three or four hundred.

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 in King William Street adjoining the north-eastern corner of Victoria Square.

It was soon evident that they were in an angry mood and twenty policemen were summoned; they had no sooner arrived than the men 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".

The Gold Rush to Ulooloo

Some of the unemployed preferred to be their own masters and the untried country surrounding Ulooloo Creek became attractive to them. Early in 1871 Mr Westcott and supporters of his prospecting enterprise went to the site with a mining warden and two experienced diggers (Messrs Goddard and Griffiths), who had come from the Barossa goldfield. Within a short time one and a half ounces of gold had been fossicked after about ten hours of cradling. That night, "after a good supper, a rubber of whist, and some half-hour in admiring the Aurora Australis, which appeared in great brilliance... [they] turned in for the night in a tent... [some] found outside billets under the lee of carts, or any other shelter that could be found."

Mr Westcott's claim at Ulooloo was about half a mile from Mr Chewings' head station and following its successful debut a great excitement ensued in Adelaide where it was claimed that the discovery and "the practical operations, which are already in progress, will of course revolutionise the character of the settlement to which the country has been devoted." Subsequently, a considerable amount of rough gold of excellent quality was found, including one nugget which weighed over a pound; there was a firm belief in many minds that a payable goldfield destined to rival those of Victoria had been found.

A rush commenced and by the end of 1871 the town comprised of tents, huts made from pine timber cut from the banks of the creek and a store conducted by Mr Simmons from Burra; the population was about 250. A licensed shanty served as a hotel and was reported to dispense up to ten hogsheads of beer weekly but some residents objected to "crowds of idle people" and "scenes of debauchery" and called for the presence of the police so that law and order could be preserved.

In September 1871 the foundation stone of Ulooloo Goldfields Wesleyan Chapel was laid on land presented by Messrs Brayley and Stephens, at whose stations religious services had been held for about the preceding ten years. In January 1872 the "Reverend Mr Leggoe from Fiji preached twice to large congregations - a large concourse gathered from the diggings and surrounding country to manifest their appreciation of the creature comforts provided and show their sympathy with the effort

to meet the spiritual and educational wants of the neighbourhood." By 1873 a school was being conducted there by Mr W.G. Torr.

Ulooloo Creek was not a continuous stream but a chain of water-holes and water could be obtained anywhere by sinking through the surface shingle. At first the prospectors pegged their claims along the creek - an ordinary alluvial claim was not to exceed 10 yards square; ordinary creek claims included a creek frontage of 20 yards and a similar depth on both banks, while prospectors' working claims were from 30 to 200 yards square, increasing in size with the distance from any previously "officially known worked diggings". The greatest drawback was the scarcity of water in the tributary creeks which only ran during winter rains; this made it necessary to cart the washdirt a long distance.

The story was told of an old digger, German Jack, who came back to the diggings one night carrying stone bearing gold in great quantities. The news spread like wildfire and in Burra a syndicate was floated to set German Jack and his mate to work building a shaft. Their success was all but phenomenal for they produced many samples of stone containing rough gold.

The syndicate decided to send a man to Adelaide to raise more cash and a local builder was selected. On his way south he submitted the samples to the knife of an enquiring friend. The gold fell from the stone and investigation revealed that it was not reef gold but alluvial which had been hammered into the crevices of the ironstone, the recesses being filled with gunpowder and dried cement!

By the end of the 1870s all that remained of the settlement was the church; in 1881 a newspaper report caused great excitement when it announced that "a reef may have been found at last." Many men came but left in despair and it was left to a mining engineer to declare that "without capital" the Ulooloo goldfield would be a failure. In 1882 a company "of 30,000 shares" was floated to locate the El Dorado - it lost its money! In 1886 a government party sunk a shaft on both sides of the creek and put in a 70 feet tunnel which was declared to be "nothing but a farce". Not to be deterred the government had a party of men working there in 1894 on a sustenance allowance - ten shillings a week and whatever gold they could find; their work was a failure as all they did was turn over "old ground".

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Part II - 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.)

Essay No. 1 - 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 work-force 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 19th. century, 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:

¹ *Observer*, 21 July 1843.

² *Advertiser*, 26 September 1936, page 22c.

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 1959.¹

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.

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!

¹ *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.

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.¹

In the following five essays the role of women in the community is examined and commented upon in respect of the many changes in attitudes and thinking which have occurred over more than one hundred years in respect of the home, education and the workplace.

Essay No. 2 - 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.

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:

¹ See G.H. & H.R. Manning, *Worth Fighting For, Work and Industrial Relations in the Banking Industry in South Australia*, Chapter 11.

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.

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.

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...

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!

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.

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.

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.

Essay No. 3 - 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.)

Introducticon

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.

A School for Females

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.¹

¹ *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.

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.¹ 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* 1906.²

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...³

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

¹ *Register*, 21 June 1880, p. 4g.

² *Register*, 16 January 1883, p. 4e, 3 March 1913, p. 9c.

³ *Register*, 7 April 1862, p. 7g.

1885 Miss Isabel Watson was one of "just three girls" working as clerks in lawyer's offices; none were engaged in bank work.¹

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, page 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, to grant 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...²

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..."³

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

¹ *Advertiser*, 8 January 1936, p. 21a, 11 February 1936, p. 19b.

² *Advertiser*, 5 April 1881, p. 4e.

³ *Register*, 7 May 1889, p. 7b.

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?¹

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.²

Essay No. 4 - Women in the Work-Place

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."³

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.

¹ *Advertiser*, 1 June 1897, p. 4g.

² *Register*, 8 June 1911, p. 14e.

³ *Register*, 10 November 1879, p. 4c.

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.¹

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."²

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.³

Female Lawyers

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:

¹ *Register*, 30 August 1892, p. 4h.

² *Advertiser*, 9 February 1935, p. 9d.

³ *Observer*, 3 November 1883, p. 24e.

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.¹

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?"² 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.³

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

¹ *Register*, 28 December 1888, p. 6e.

² *Register*, 24 October 1911, p. 4b.

³ *Advertiser*, 9 February 1935, p. 9d.

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.¹

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?²

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...³

Essay No. 5 - 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

¹ *Advertiser*, 8 July 1915, p. 8f.

² *Register*, 30 October 1915, p. 9b, 10 and 23 November 1915, pp. 6f and 7c.

³ *News*, 9 February 1924.

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."

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.

Essay No. 6 - 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.)

Introduction

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.

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.

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."

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""."

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.

Part III - Social Matters

Essay No. 1 - Industrial Relations and the Working Class -

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

Prior to 1840 most of the men who purchased allotments in villages such as Hindmarsh and Thebarton 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 has been given the informal paradoxical title of "paradise of dissent"; but, at the outset, it was much more a paradise for the privileged classes acting for and on behalf of English capitalists as they set about purchasing large tracts of the best land by means of the iniquitous system of special surveys.

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

¹ Cited in Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent* (1967), p. 178.

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"". "¹

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...²

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

¹ Ibid, p. 182.

² 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. 1.8 Much of this section on unions and arbitration is taken from the latter work

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.¹

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.²

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.

¹ Boucaut Papers, Mortlock Library of SA, ref. no. 97/379 of 28 August 1874.

28. e 4f, 23 August 1882
(supp.), page 2a, 15 April 1887, page 7b (poem).

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.¹

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.²

¹ Cited in Manning & Manning, *op. cit.* p. 18.

² Manning & Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

In the next three essays we turn to the role of the working class 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.

Essay No. 2 - Destitution, Unemployment, Riots and Soup Kitchens - 1837-1900

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)

Introduction

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.¹

Unemployment and Destitution

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 1858.²

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

¹ *Register*, 14 August 1841, p. 4c.

² *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.

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.¹

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.²

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."³

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 what is modern-day Kintore Avenue. The Board's duty was not to administer charity, but to avert actual starvation.

¹ *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.

² *Southern Australian*, 19 October 1841.

³ Nance, op cit, pp. 52-53.

The interests of humanity were, however, too strong and it practically administered "charity" but "not of an excessive character".¹

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...²

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.³

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."⁴

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

¹ *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.

² *Observer*, 4 April 1857, p. 6d.

³ *Register*, 27 and 29 September 1851, pp. 3a and 2b.

⁴ *Observer*, 19 August 1854, p. 9a.

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.¹

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...

Riots in the City Streets

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

¹ See, for example, *Register*, 13 September 1867, p. 3h, *Observer*, 28 March 1868, p. 12c, 16 May 1868, p. 7f.

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".¹

Soup Kitchen for the Destitute

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.²

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

¹ *Observer*, 5 March 1870, p. 13d.

² *Observer*, 9 and 23 April 1870, pp. 5c and 9c.

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.¹

Essay No. 3 - The Trials of Workers in the Last Two Decades of the Nineteenth Century

It is time that labour succeeded in holding its own in the affairs of life. This it cannot expect to do at once, but something may be gained first by combination against monopoly and the undue authority of capital, and then by cooperation.

(*Register*, 17 April 1886, page 4g)

Introduction

Economic recession and recurrent drought during the 1880s took its toll on the working class 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 1891 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.

¹ *Observer*, 28 1870, p. 6c.

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.¹

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.²

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 and hear of their trials and tribulations in the troubled state of South Australia during this period.

Destitution and Poverty

¹ The introduction is taken from G.H. & H.R. Manning, *Worth Fighting For, Work and Industrial Relations in the Banking Industry in South Australia*, pp.8-10. The historian mentioned is P. Love - see his *Labour and Money Power: Australian Populism 1890-1950*.

² See editorials in the *Register*, 30 March 1886, p. 4h, 17 April 1886, p. 4g.

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.¹

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...

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...²

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:

¹ *Register*, 23 April 1886, p. 6. Other cases appear in this report.

² *Register*, 28 December 1885.

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?¹

To conclude this essay 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.²

Essay No. 4 - Charity at Work in the 1880s

On Sunday morning miscellaneous food... was furnished to an eager crowd, who pressed eagerly together and stretched from the eastern footpath of Twin Street to the western, and some of whom waited thus packed for nearly an hour and a half... The people nearly without an exception ill-dressed, dirty and ragged, and the children bare-footed for the greater part.
(*Register* 12 June 1884, page 5h)

Introduction

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...³

¹ *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.

² *Register*, 23 April 1887, p. 6e.

³ *Register*, 26 May 1884, p. 5g.

Alderman Kither and His Charitable Work

The depression was at its peak in 1884 and the plight of the working class 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'rin' 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."

Food Distribution in Twin Street

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.¹

"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

¹ *Register*, 31 May 1884, p. 5a, *Observer*, 31 May 1884 p. 36, *Register*, 14 June 1884, p. 5c.

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."

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.¹

Suburban Relief Funds

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; 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

¹ *Observer*, 16 August 1884, p. 33, *Register*[R], 31 July 1884, p.6b, 26 August 1884, page 7a.

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.¹

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."²

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...³

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:

¹ *Advertiser*, 19 August 1885, p.7a, *Register*, 8 August 1885, p. 5.

² *Register*, 6 April 1886, p. 6a.

³ *Register*, 11 August 1885, p. 6a.

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.¹

Conclusion

Misery and depression continued 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 essay:

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 peeple'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.²

Essay No. 5 - The Aborigines of the Adelaide Plains

Shame Upon Us! We take their land and drive away their food by what we call civilization, and then deny them shelter from a storm... What comes of all the hypocrisy of our wishes to better their condition?... The police drive them into the bush to murder shepherds, and then we cry out for more police... What can a maddened black think of our Christianity to deny him the sod on which he was born?... You grow hundreds of bushels of corn on his land but deny him the crumbs that fall from the table... They kill a sheep, but you drive his kangaroo away. You now drive him away from his own, his native land - out upon it; how can God's all-seeing eye approve of this? (*Adelaide Times*, 24 May 1851, page 6e.)

Introduction

According to Rev F. W. Taplin, a long-time missionary at Point McLeay Aboriginal Mission (Raukkan), there are grounds for believing that the Australian Aborigines are descendants of two races. In one case we find the representative of a light-skinned active 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 humor and good nature.

¹ *Register*, 19 May 1886, p. 4h.

² *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.

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.¹

However, the work of a modern anthropologist, the late Norman B. Tindale has shown that Rev Taplin's "theory" was no more than guesswork - Tindale's findings were summarised by the late Professor Manning Clark as follows:

The first [arrivals] were the Negrito people - short, dark-skinned, curly-haired and broad-nosed - who were forced to migrate from their hunting grounds in south-east Asia by the movement into those areas of people of a higher material culture, at a time when Tasmania, Australia and New Guinea formed part of the land mass of Asia.

Later another people arrived - the Murrayians, who were related to the Ainu in Japan and either destroyed the Negritos or drove them into valleys behind Cairns, and south to what is now Tasmania, the islands of Bass Strait and Kangaroo Island. Then, in turn, the Murrayians were challenged and displaced by the Carpentarians - a people probably related to the Vedda of Ceylon, who settled in the northern portion of Australia after driving the Murrayians southwards in their turn...²

Tribal Customs and Manners

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 a search for sustenance - the male after animals and the female after plant food; the sick and aged remained at home in the 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 the different tribes. These battles, viewed by bi-partisan 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 a ceremony called *wilya kundarti*. Circumcision was done at the age of twelve and from this time a *wudna* was worn as a pubic 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.

Wilgarra 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.

¹ F.W. Taplin, *An Australian Native Fifty Years Ago*, cited in the *Register*, 24 April 1889, p. 5g.

² C.M.H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, Book One, p. 3.

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 some times 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 waterholes. 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 beings and spirits of the dead.¹

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.

Blood-letting 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 and 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 medicine"... 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

The Coming of the White Man

"The *South Australian Colonisation Act*, which was passed by the British Parliament in 1834, declared the lands of the new colony to be ""waste and unoccupied"". The Act's clear denial of the Aborigines' rights to land met with considerable opposition from humanitarian circles in Great Britain, including Lord Glenelg, Sir George Grey and other influential men in the Colonial Office in London. The Colonial Office subsequently enshrined the principal of Aboriginal land rights by inserting in the Letters Patent, the document issued to the Colonization Commissioners early in 1836 to formally establish the colony of South Australia, a clause which recognized the prior rights of the

¹ Robert Foster & Tom Gara, cited in Rob Linn, *Frail Flesh & Blood*, pp. 9-10.

² Linn, *ibid*, pp. 10-11 and 12.

Aborigines to the land and guaranteed that "any lands now actually occupied or enjoyed by [the] Natives' would not be alienated."

"After protracted negotiations with the Colonial Office, the Colonization Commissioners agreed to the appointment of a Protector to safeguard the Aborigines' interests. Among his duties, the Protector was required to ensure that any land opened up for public sale had been voluntarily ceded and fairly purchased from the Aborigines. The Commissioners agreed to set aside 20% of the proceeds from all land sales in the colony to be used for the benefit of the Aborigines and also committed the South Australia Company to protecting ""the natives in the unmolested exercise of their rights of property should such a right be found to exist""."

"In the new colony, these commitments were soon forgotten and all the lands were declared open for public sale. A few of the more enlightened colonists saw the Aborigines' dispossession as unjust and public debate on the issue occasionally flared in the newspapers. Colonial officials, missionaries and others who had close contact with the Kurna soon became aware that they did have a well-defined system of land ownership.

In 1839, a year after taking up the position of Protector, Moorhouse wrote:

We find - what the Europeans thought the Aborigines of Australia did not possess - territorial rights, families owning and holding certain districts of land which pass from fathers to sons, never to daughters, with as much regularity as property in our own country.

"Similarly, Teichelmann, one of the Lutheran missionaries, observed that:

Each tribe has a certain district of the country as a property received by their forefathers, the boundaries of which are fixed."¹

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!²

In June 1837, following a proclamation by Governor Hindmarsh in respect of the indigenous Aborigines, Sir John Jeffcott, the first colonial judge, delivered a charge to "The Grand Jury of the Province" and in the course of his address suggested that the colonists should 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."

¹ Unpublished paper by Tom Gara, *Thebarton's First Occupants, The Kurna People*; copy held by the author.

² *Southern Australian*, 11 January 1842, p. 4f, *Register*, 4 January 1876, p. 7d.

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.¹

These sentiments echoed the wishes of the Commissioners for South Australia in London who, being aware of the injustice and cruelty meted out to the Aborigines in New South Wales and Tasmania, were determined that the rights of Aborigines would be protected in the new colony, and it was agreed that the following objectives should be sought:

To guard them against personal outrage and violence.

To protect them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary right to soil, wherever such right may be found to exist.

To make it an invariable and cardinal condition in all bargains and treaties entered into with the natives for the cession of lands possessed by them in occupation or enjoyment, that permanent subsistence should be supplied to them from some other source.

To promote amongst them the spread of civilisation and the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion.

In addition, it was enacted that they were to be treated as British subjects and that all aggression upon them would be strictly punished, while an officer of the Crown would be appointed especially to look over their welfare.²

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.³

At times the latter members of colonial society went a little further and pleaded for the Aborigines who were "daily retreating from the footsteps of a race whose arts and powers [were] so much superior... as to leave no chance of their being able to feed or rear their young in peace amidst their accustomed haunts." This aroused the displeasure of the self-centred exploiter whose creed was that "the black brutes know well enough that they can obtain flour or meat by pestering you till you fling it at their heads... They will never rouse themselves from their slothful, dirty and sluggard state... Why do the Government inveigle us to these distant climes without some protection against these wretches?"⁴

¹ *Register*, 3 June 1837, p. 4a.

² Kathleen Hassell, *The Relations Between the Settlers and the Aborigines in South Australia*, BA thesis, University of Adelaide; Geoffrey H. Manning, *Hope Farm Chronicle*.

³ *South Australian Record*, 15 November 1839, p. 270.

⁴ *Southern Australian*, 22 December 1838, p. 4c.

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 colonists 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.¹

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 naturally proud and express themselves perfectly 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 considerable number of women":

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...<P>

Our reporter had 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 unfortunate culprit, if not upon his native companions who witnessed the infliction.³

¹ Hassell, *ibid.*

² *Southern Australian*, 7 June 1842, p. 3c.

³ *Register*, 6 August 1842, p. 2b.

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".¹

Conclusion

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.<P>

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.²<P>

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, Adelaide and contiguous villages grew slowly upon the old tribal land.

Essay No. 6 - Education in Early South Australia

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. He left for the mainland in May 1837 and recalled that "They were taught - and all of them except a wee babe - could either spell or read before I came away. While thus employed I could hardly obtain money enough to purchase bread and cheese, and the weekly pay... not amounting to more than ten shillings a week, so that instead of building a hut, I was obliged to purchase the common necessities of life. I had, therefore, no alternative but to teach the children under a beautiful currant tree, which would have accommodated fifty or more."

¹ *Adelaide Chronicle*, 24 March 1840, p. 2e.

² *Observer*, 4 October 1858, p. 4g (supp.).

Early City Schools

The first school established on the mainland was opened by Mr J.B. Shepherdson who was sent out by The SA School Society which had its headquarters in London. Upon his arrival a public meeting was held, presided over by the Governor, when arrangements were made for commencing a school; according to applications received he anticipated having about 100 pupils. It commenced early in 1838 in a building formerly occupied by the SA Banking Company and within twelve months the Honorary Secretary, Mr Henry Watson, was to report that the accommodation was inadequate for "not only the numbers then attending, but the prospective increase which the swelling tide of emigration would soon create."

At this time the Head Master was pleased to report that "the moral improvement of some of the children is already obvious; some who, when first admitted, were disobedient - frequently absent during the hours of instruction - addicted to lying - profane swearing - and even theft - have become obedient and attentive - regular in their attendance - honest in their habits; falsehoods and improper language are now rarely heard from their lips."

Following the granting of a 21 year lease (subject to a "pepper corn" rental) of a portion of town acre 19 owned by the South Australian Company and fronting North Terrace on Stephens Place, and an advance of #2,000 at 12.5 % per annum from that body, the erection of a new school commenced. In the margin of Kingston's map of Adelaide the front elevation of the intended building is shown, consisting of a two-storey dwelling in the middle, flanked by two large schoolrooms.

Its fate is best told by a report which appeared in September 1841:

Respecting this arrangement, it will not be necessary to say more than it was liberal on the part of the [Company] and that it was hailed by the Society as a benefaction. Here it is natural to ask what has become of this arrangement? and why has the Society not been called together for the second and third anniversaries? One answer will suit both questions; viz, the uncontrollable misunderstandings of the builders and architects. In April 1840 - when the committee should have given in their accounts, they resolved to continue in office until the completion of the buildings... The same delay continued [until] April 1841 when other causes arose to prevent the occupation of the rooms.

The pecuniary difficulties of the colony, the disappointment of our expectations of considerable aid from England, convinced the committee that it would be inexpedient and hazardous to enter the expensive buildings in question...

The building was completed by the SA Company in 1845 and the manager, William Giles, lived in the two-storey home and the company used the other rooms as offices.

In the interim period the school was continued at its original location and in July 1840, because of ill health, Mr Shepherdson left the school to go farming at Nairne; he was replaced by Mr Oldham, "under whose active and able management the school for a considerable time flourished. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of a confined and uncomfortable room, the school was crowded, well ordered, and pleasingly answering its useful purposes."

While the parents were much interested in the erection of the new school they were consequently "wearied with the unreasonable delay... Some of them from this disgust, removed their children." Under these circumstances the school suspended its

operations for four months from May 1841, finally reopening in a "suitable" building in Light Square.

Some families brought governesses with them, but many of them soon married. Miss Amelia Woodruffe was governess to the family of E.B. Gleeson of Clare; she married the Rev J.C. Bagshaw, the incumbent of Saint Mark's Church, Penwortham. Miss Grace Light was governess to the Seppelt family, the Paddock's, the Edward Roberts's and others. Mr William Ross became master of the "native" school on North Terrace. He had been trained in London and "had an admirable way of speaking to and arresting the attention of children."

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. An Education Board was appointed in 1849 and Sir Charles Cooper, Rev T.Q. Stow, Mr Smillie, Mr Farrell and Dr Duncan were the members. Many of the schools were denominational and this led to an opinion that, in fact, such grants were an aid to sectarian teaching; 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.

One of the functions of the Board of Education was 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.

Early Adelaide Schools

Mrs Hillier's Ladies School in Pavilion Cottage, Currie Street, opposite to Gilles Arcade, was advertised in the *Register*, 20 January 1838 and in May of 1838 an address by Mr Bonnar in the Theatre Royal, Franklin Street was mentioned; this gentleman was probably Mr J.J. Bonnar of Mount Barker, a schoolmaster, who became a lawyer and to whom Judge Gordon was articled. In November 1838 the Rev T.Q. Stow's school was advertised and his brother, Samuel Stow, was announced as one of the teachers.

In the same month Miss Holbrook of Carolina Place taught French, music and drawing and by 1839 she was in charge of Trinity School the anniversary of which was noted in the *Register* on 8 June 1839 - the Governor's wife, Mrs Gawler, was mentioned as patron. In 1839 Mr Shepherdson's school was on the Park Lands opposite Trinity Church and Rev Stow's was on North Terrace (moved in 1839 to 4 French Street near Gawler Place), while Mr McGowan's was in Coromandel Place and in 1843 it removed to Stephens Place.

In 1840 the Rev Drummond, in Angas Street, and Rev G. Skey, in Gouger Street, had schools and there were the following ladies' schools: Mrs Yeates, Gouger Street; Mrs Debney, Leigh Street; Mrs MacGowan, Grenfell Street and Mrs Williams, North Terrace. It was recorded in 1840 that #4,000 had been subscribed for a proprietary college but

the collapse which caused the recall of Governor Gawler, and the strict economy of Governor Grey, set back its establishment and it was not until 7 April 1847 that its foundation was announced.

In the *Southern Australian* of 9 April 1841 Mr J. Noonan advertised that, "God willing", he would open an evening school in Trinity Schoolroom and he apparently did so, but in October 1843 relinquished it.

Country Schools

In 1843, Mr A.E. Meyer, a Lutheran missionary, opened a school for "native boys" at Encounter Bay while Mrs Ridgeway Newland opened a night school and "thus assiduously taught many who must otherwise have grown up in ignorance." Mr and Mrs Duke conducted a school at Myponga where they had about 40 children, "a great achievement as Myponga children in those days were very wild and ran into the bush on the approach of a stranger."

In 1851 there was a school at Salisbury with 30 to 40 children in attendance under Mr Kelsall; at that time the village consisted of 50 houses and shops and 200 inhabitants. In 1857 there were 62 children attending the Penwortham school kept by Mr and Mrs Andrews; the school was of wattle and daub and built by Mr John Jacobs. Mrs Pulpitt was the first mistress of Church School, Yankalilla; her husband was a baker and had his oven in the school yard. Many squatters established schools on their stations and in 1864 G.C. Hawker built a school at Anama and for many years there was a school at Bungaree.

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.)

Introduction

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.

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. 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.

In 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.

Sources

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Information on "Education of Women" was gleaned from *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, *Register*, 21 June 1880, p. 4g, *Register*, 16 January 1883, p. 4e, 3 March 1913, p. 9c.

Essay No. 7 - An Anecdotal Essay on Marriage and Divorce.

Marriage

That once venerated shrine, the domestic hearth, consecrated by the eloquence of a thousand preachers and poets, has lost much of its pristine sanctity... What is tending to hasten the change is the multiplication of human desires, which is the result, or the cause, of the growing complexity of civilisation. We want telephones and swimming baths, reading-rooms, billiard rooms - all at hand and in full equipment at a moment's notice... This growing disposition to abandon housekeeping must tend of course to destroy some of the traditions of home life...

(*Advertiser*, 10 July 1902, page 4c.)

According to a code of conduct instituted in Rome in the fifth century "father's consent" had to be obtained by a daughter who wanted to marry before she reached the age of twenty-five years. If the father was deceased approval had to be forthcoming from the mother or near relatives. If a conflict arose between competing suitors and the woman through "modest sensibility" declined to choose "an assembly of relations was ordered. Then the district magistrate had to determine with their help which was the most suitable among the rivals for selection as the husband. Moreover, if father refused his consent on irrational grounds the local magistrate was entitled to dispense with the consent and allow the marriage."¹

By 1844 the institution of marriage was, to some minds, a place within which the happiness or misery of millions was wrapt - "It is the most powerful moral agent in the universe. It produces marvellous results in its subjects, no matter to which sex they belong.... You never see one of the parties happy while the other is wretched... We every day see persons of all ranks of life, and in every diversity of pecuniary circumstance rushing recklessly into it.

"They look upon matrimony as if it were an every day matter, and think no more of approaching the hymeneal altar than they would of entering a place of public amusement. They form a matrimonial contract with much less care than they would exercise in the purchase of a horse or dog... What need is there for wonder that so many matrimonial unions are found to be the prolific source of unspeakable misery."²

In 1896 a sceptical observer of the state of "wedded bliss" passed on the benefits of his observations to interested readers:

The romantic school are content to regard love as the keystone to a happy marriage. But quite a number of writers look upon it as something that ought to be taken and got rid of as soon as possible before the serious business of matrimony is entered upon - as something analogous to measles, chicken-pox, or such-like malady, not exactly dangerous but irritating.³

A comment on "Marriage and Morality" in 1898 was an indictment of the law as seen through the eyes of a perceptive citizen:

The rigid character of the present marriage contract which allows no honourable opportunity of retrieving any mistake that may have been made in the selection of a partner for life, is becoming rapidly intolerable to an increasing number of people, some of whom have adopted the extreme step of forming free unions.

A declining marriage rate was of concern at the close of the 19th century and a bachelor poured forth his woes:

¹ *Register*, 7 September 1918.

² *Observer*, 16 March 1844, p. 3a.

³ *Advertiser*, 7 November 1896, p. 4i.

One reason why men and women do not marry may be on account of the absurd, cruel and wicked contract they are required to undertake in order to get married... Slavery is cruel and martyrdom is cruel, but what slavery is so hard, so degrading and so cruel as the bondage of matrimony under the loathsome conditions we all know frequently exist.

Another young man of the same ilk put the blame squarely at the feet of the female of the species:

[Girls] shine at a musical evening, take a prominent part in the discussion of women's rights, play tennis well, persecute a piano with energy... but of the more useful accomplishments of house-keeping, cooking and dressmaking... they are ignorant.¹

By 1916 a self-proclaimed prophet poured his scorn upon the supposed euphoric state:

If the average marriage of today be made in Heaven, it must have been sadly marred during its importation to earth.²

By 1917, in South Australia the marriage laws were, generally, in favour of men but one cynical member of that species contended that "half the matrimonial misery" was due to the inequality of the law to "the disadvantage of man and the preposterous privilege of women" and went on to say that position had been "repeatedly illustrated in actual experience":

A man may be an ideal husband... but if he has a vindictive or monomaniacal wife he may be relentlessly persecuted with virtually no hope of redress. Without the slightest cause or evidence she may maliciously threaten to sue him for separation; and, although the case may be withdrawn because of his desire for the sake of his children to avoid publicity, he is liable for the legal expenses incurred by his wife as well as for his own obligations to his lawyer, even though his wife may have an independent fortune.

If the case should go to Court, and be decided in his favour, the weight of all costs still falls upon him, and his wife would retain the right to live in the house and incur debts to his detriment... If in the Court the persecuted husband [brought] a counter-claim for separation, the whole burden of the expenses still remains upon him, and added to it may be a heavy award for alimony to enable the persecuting wife to live in luxury at the charge of the man whom she has treated with gross disregard for marital duties and her wedding oath.

If there be no legal decree, or even the slightest possibility of obtaining one with an absolute lack of evidence, she may still worry the husband - trading on his wish to save the name of the children - into agreeing to a private separation. With threats she may secure a large allowance for the term of her natural life, and may even remove property from her husband's house, safe in the knowledge that he can secure redress only by legal processes...³

By 1926 a call, emanating from the Round Table Christian Sociological Society of Parkin College, went out contending that:

The Statutes [accord] little precaution against hasty, improvident, or ill-considered marriages. Many unhappy unions might be prevented if fuller publicity were given of intended marriages, thus affording opportunity for wholesome influence to be brought to bear on those considered undesirable.⁴

¹ *Advertiser*, 9 April 1894, p. 4f.

² *Register*, 11 January 1916, p. 4c.

³ *Register*, 16 March 1917, p. 6b.

⁴ *Register*, 24 and 27 April 1926, pp. 11e and 3e, *The Mail* 4 September 1926, p. 1a.

In 1928, Adelaide Hope, a latter-day feminist with, perhaps, an antipathy to the male of the species, wrote an informative article entitled *Compensating Women for Sacrifice of Matrimony* and in it she also addressed the subject of "equal pay" and ventured an opinion or two on society which, even today, are worthy of repetition:

Owing to the conditions of civilisation a certain proportion of males are acquiring feminine characteristics, and vice versa. To realise this one has only to see the hefty sports-loving girls, and to read of the amazing competition of women in intellectual occupations hitherto considered possible to be grappled with only by the masculine brain.

On the other hand, there are thousands of young men choosing the soft jobs in the cities in preference to any sort of labour outback - even where that labour is rendered interesting by scientific knowledge which leads to remarkable production, or by the spice of adventure to all opening up of the new country.

It is this clinging to the "black-coated" billet, with its moderate remuneration which prevents, or at any rate delays, these men from marrying, and thus forces girls to fight with them in the labour market. The men are often pushed out because the girls are willing to accept less pay for the work which they probably do as well, if not better.

This naturally rouses the indignation of the superseded, who never think of looking within themselves for a possible fault. Occasionally, one with more perspicacity than most asserts - probably in a press letter - that if employers had to pay a woman the same rate as a man they would choose the latter.

But this is by no means certain. Women have so entrenched themselves in the business and professional worlds, into which the exigencies of four years of war impelled them, that even if given this final justice of equal pay for work well done, few of them would be likely to be dismissed merely for the sake of putting in a stranger of the opposite sex.

That if such equality of reward were to become universal it would lessen still further the matrimonial chances of the bulk of city men is undoubted. No ordinary woman employee could perform her daily task in office or shop and look after home and children at the same time.

Once a woman has tasted monetary independence it is hard to give up. During the war thousands of married women obtained that independence. Small though it might have been, they drew their own allowance for every child they possessed, and had the sole right to spend it - wisely or unwisely.

If the foundation of homes and the rearing of families be more necessary to the welfare of the country than the intellectual development or the economic dependence of women as a whole, some way will have to be found by which the wife and mother who has left her outside work for marriage, may still maintain her financial independence.

This can be done only in two ways. Either the husband must give to the wife as her right such a portion of his income as would approximate to that which she has lost by marrying him, or the State must step in and compensate her for the loss in consideration of the fact that it needs her children to increase its own wealth and importance.

Doubtless there are thousands of instances today in which married women do not feel restricted and pinched - in which the bulk of the pay of the husband is handed over to the wife for her wise

use. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the younger generation of both sexes is fighting shy of marriage, although equality of pay is comparatively rare as yet.

But there is nothing surer than it will gradually come about. Then it will be quite common for the income of the bride to have exceeded that of her husband, or, at any rate, to have been so near it that marriage would involve the two, with possible additions, living upon half of the combined amount of their previous incomes. Such a sacrifice as this cannot possibly help but lessen the attraction of matrimony.

The natural instinct of the normal woman for home and children will not assert itself as strongly as in the past, when women had so few mental interests to employ them, and when the thought of such freedom as they now possess was an undreamed of thing...¹

On 19 October 1929, a far-sighted editor of the *Advertiser* published a prophesy on the future of marriage:

Divorce by consent becomes law, and drunkenness, invalidism, desertion and penal servitude are recognised legal causes. The Bishops are so enraged they go on strike and leave their Sees, but since no one takes any notice of them, they return to work within a fortnight.

In 1966, Companionate or Trial Marriage (helped by a Royal experiment) becomes legal and in 1971 the first laboratory-grown child comes into the world. But physiological fitness cannot make up for lack of affection and parental care, and most of the children died in their fifth year... Not till 1981 does sterilisation of the unfit begin.

The monogamy that was never altered when forced upon society has become the majority's voluntary choice. For it is found that a trial marriage robs the permanent one of its glamour and is conducted as a cynical expectation of failure... By 2030 promiscuity has become a fifth-rate pastime practised by lethargic people of small mental capacity or occupation.

In 1936 the Editor of the *Advertiser* took it upon himself to analyse the marriage laws and stated that since the Marriage Bill of 1866 had been refused enactment, because it ignored the "religious element of marriage", the ensuing years had only upheld remarks made by the Chief Secretary in 1866 that "there was no question in any State which was so important as matters connected with marriage."

In respect of a Bill before parliament aimed at making certain "progressive" amendments to existing law he commented as follows, albeit at times with "tongue in cheek":

Humorists, professional and otherwise, have never ceased to rejoice over the open prohibition in the historic "tables of kindred and affinity" - "'A man may not marry his grandmother.'" ... "It goes without saying that no man who has who has not been specially ambitious to marry his grandmother, has ever felt it a grievance that he should be forbidden to do so. The Bill shortly to be presented to ... parliament will break new ground... by setting out the prohibited degrees of consanguinity...

The delightful old phrase, "A man may not marry his grandmother" has not been preserved... but everyone is to be enjoined with equal solemnity not to attempt to marry his grandfather's wife or his wife's grandmother. Similarly, a woman may not marry her grandmother's husband or her husband's grandfather; nor her grandson, whether he be merely her son's daughter's husband or her husband's daughter's son.

¹ *The Mail*, 16 June 1928, p. 16g.

The mind reels over these definitions... Seventy years ago, a member of the State House Assembly (Mr Goode) urged upon that Chamber the wisdom of including... such a list... Mr Goode was in advance of his time... Often though this subject has come before the SA Parliament it has never found either House unmindful of the need to examine each suggested departure from precedent with scrupulous care and an open mind.¹

Divorce

In the days of early Rome the law provided that a woman found guilty of marital infidelity was to lose half her dowry and a third of any other property as well as being transported to an island. Conversely, a man found guilty of such an offence was fined an amount equivalent to the value of half his property and to transportation. "but the guilty parties should not be transported to the same island", the law naively provided.

In those far-off days the grounds for divorce were much the same for men and women and included "a strong suspicion on either side of infidelity or of the party being engaged in criminal or treasonable practices, keeping the company of wicked characters or using or threatening personal violence. The mode of effecting a divorce in early Roman times was nothing more than a mere manifestation of will, testified by such simple words, spoken or written, as ""Manage your own affairs for yourself""." By the fourth century "after Christ" divorce only became valid when the causes were judicially proved.

Divorce was recognised in early Anglo-Saxon law and "in the case of infidelity the husband took all the property. Otherwise the wife, if she retained the custody of the children, took half the property; if she did not retain the children she took the share of a child, and if there were no children she took her own property."²

In the "old days" it was laid down that the husband "hath by law power and dominion over his wife, and may keep her by force within the bounds of duty, and may beat her, but not in a violent or cruel manner. This evidently provided for nice, gentlemanly clouts, which probably developed in power and frequency with time. It was also contended that the male was a much superior creature to the other sex.

It is recorded that he was "stronger in intellect, in force of character, and in physical strength, and, therefore, better able to struggle against the opposing circumstances, both in the winning of foods and attacks of enemies, and so to govern and rule... Nature plainly dictates that it is the duty of the husband to cherish and protect his wife, and that the wife on her part should yield, not only love and tenderness, but even obedience..."³

By the mid-nineteenth century "the law, with great propriety, regarded any attempt to dissolve the marriage tie with great jealousy, but conceded that occasions might arise where parties joined in wedlock could be separated. To meet these cases divorce of two degrees was legalised - a simple separation or absolute dissolution... which left the liberated parties free to marry others.

"The relief thus provided was, however, by no means placed within the reach of all classes... Proof of particular criminality (adultery)... would, with sufficient money, secure

¹ *Advertiser*, 26 June 1936, p. 24e.

² *News*, 9 December 1935, p. 6f.

³ *The Mail*, 6 September 1919, p. 2d.

justice to the rich. The poor might [have] had grievances equally undeniable and intolerable but, not having money, could obtain no redress...¹

"The Law of Divorce" was commented upon in the *Advertiser*, 14 December 1886:

[A] necessity... exists for reform, and as some trouble and probably some obloquy may attach to it, no one is game to help the poor woman whom it chiefly affects, and so year after year passes by, many unsuitable persons continue to marry to fill the ranks of trouble, affliction, misery, and now and then murder, who were dismissed from the altar a short time before...

Essay No. 8 The Alleged Massacre of Aboriginals at Waterloo Bay

For nearly 100 years historians, both amateur and professional, have produced reams of conflicting stories surrounding the murders of Messrs Hamp and Beevor on Eyre Peninsula on 23 June 1848 and 3 May 1849, respectively. Hereunder is another version, abridged from an account of the tragedies by "Betty Mac" who declared that it:

Is as accurate as I can get it after much investigation. Practically all my life I have lived within 20 miles of the scene. I have heard most versions of that day's work and have most vivid recollections of the "sandhill blacks" as this tribe was called.

In what follows it is apparent that after Mr Hamp's murder the so called "massacre" was enacted and within twelve months, in an act of vengeance, the perpetrator of the first murder repeated, according to the white man's law, the offence upon Mr Beevor.

Introduction

Mangultie was seeking his next meal [with his lubra, Poochera] when her shrill voice was a screech and her finger pointed to the west... from the sandhills and from the cliffs those naked savages viewed with superstitious awe the alarming creation as it sheltered behind Waldegrave Island. A new era had begun, although those primitive folk knew it not, for it was the *Investigator* with Captain Flinders on board... the long open bay in which he had sheltered had a new name by which even some of the natives came in time to call it... It was Anxious Bay... The years passed by bringing with them vast changes. White men mounted on strange animals and driving before them other alien creatures, had come from the east...

The white men expected the Aborigines to work for food. But why work? Sheep were more easily killed than a kangaroo or wallaby and the shepherds' wives would always give food if asked. Sometimes, argued the wise old men of the tribe, if they did work they would be whipped, and here would be shown markings on thin, scraggy arms and legs... on half-naked bodies... And so misunderstandings arose. Some unfortunate Aborigines were ill-treated, some innocent white folk were killed, and for this crime the

¹ *Register*, 24 May 1858, p. 2c.

blackfellows paid... Nature and the continual hunt for food had made the Aborigines cunning - and they were content to wait.

The Murder of Mr Hamp

On the shores of Lake Newland was erected a little hut, near the sheoak trees, and in it lived a shepherd and his two sons. Sometimes the boys would guard the sheep, yarding them at nightfall, and the father would have the evening meal ready when the little lads' work was done... One evening... the boys came home ready and hungry for their "tea", but instead of their father they saw a blackfellow at the hut. Mangultie with an exultant gleam in his eye, pointed towards the camp oven. "Tea in there", he said. And on lifting the lid the little lads beheld the head of their father, and some distance away his body...

The police were informed, the troopers from their various far apart posts of duty came together, and the whole district was aroused. Something had to be done. From north and east and south came horseback riders armed with rifles... Separating and moving inland in various directions those riders with their baying and barking dogs set off. Near and far they searched, gathering together from the hills and the little lakes, from the waterholes, and from the wurlies by the sandhills, the hunted Aborigines. Driving ever before them, those frightened men and women and children towards the south, adding a few here and there, the strange journey went on...

Mangultie, with Poochera, hiding in a sandy wombat hole under a ledge of a rock, heard [them]... A trooper came along [and] pulled the matted grey hair of her head, and she, too, joined the hurrying throng of people - blackfellows with but one object, and that to escape from their pursuers... and ever onward were hurried a remnant of a tribe, and up and up, until the blue sea was seen... booming and splashing unceasingly... unheeding the puny dark forms above, and those, too, which clung to the very face of the cliffs. "The blacks have had a great fright - and they will never forget it", agreed that little handful of white folk that night as they dispersed from the cliffs at Waterloo Bay.

When the stars were shining and the curlews, with eerie cries ran over the hills, Mangultie crept out of his hiding place and to the east he sped... From afar he selected a suitable clump of trees, and from these he chose the strongest, straightest bough he could find... Afterwards it was said among the blacks that Mangultie's spear was the best of all, but Mangultie said but little - he would shake his greying head and mutter to himself...

The Murder of Mr Beevor

[Mangultie's] wurlie was apart from the camp and mostly he dwelt alone... near Mount Joy... His chief interest centred round a tiny shepherd's hut in that vicinity... As the white man sat at his little window... a small aperture in one wall... [and] unused to the bush, the shepherd's ear was not attuned to catch a tiny discordant note... But the blackfellow's naked feet touched softly... Mangultie with his bitter memories and with his spear in his hand, a lean and aged figure, crept quietly, softly towards the hut... Mangultie's spear was ever sure... At Parkin, on the shores of Venus Bay, at the gaol to the east of the township, Mangultie was hanged... Parkin is but a memory, for among

the drifting sands of this half-forgotten town the houses have fallen and the old gaol, too, is but a heap of crumbling stone...

Corroborating Evidence

Mr W. A. Barns who retired from pastoral activities on the West Coast in 1920 commented on the 'massacre':

Yes, they were driven over the cliffs. I had one of them in my employ. he was known as Downhip Jimmie. He was only a boy of 12 or 14 at the time and when he went over the cliffs his hip was put out and it never got right again.

In 1868 John Hamp's son, John Chipp Hamp (1835-1905), told of how he discovered his father's body and of "the rally made by the few settlers then in the district and of how they roused up the natives and how they made for the coast, where many of them were driven over the rocks and perished in the sea."

Michael S.W. Kenny went to the West Coast in 1876 and "lived fifty years behind the bar" of the Colton Hotel where he "heard most things". In his reminiscences he recalls talking on many occasions with a former policeman, J.W. Ger(h)arty (1816-1897) - Mr Kenny records the name as "O'Garaghty" - who was a trooper in the district from the 1840s until taking up a pastoral run near Venus Bay in 1856. Mr Kenny concluded that according to this informant:

There was nothing in that yarn about the settlers driving the blacks over the cliffs at Waterloo Bay... One lubra might have fallen over the cliffs, but the wholesale massacre is all moonshine.

Sources

The Mail, 30 April 1932; *Observer*, 12 October 1929; 2 November 1929; *Advertiser*, 4 August 1932.

Part 1V - Tales of Adelaide

Essay No. 1 - 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, page 6a.)

In Light Square, Adelaide lays 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.

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..." "

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]."

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."

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..."

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.

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...'

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."

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

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.

In a complete turn around, some six weeks later he informed the Secretary of State that he intended to recommend that the site of the capital be removed. The evil genius

behind this astounding decision was George Stevenson who, as editor of the *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." This blatant attempt at deception resulted in a demand for land at "Walker's Harbour" and the Governor in a stupid move, albeit with intent to further his own pecuniary interests, intimated that he would take up two sections there once the land had been surveyed.

As previously stated Light was unimpressed with the Encounter Bay area and this move to undermine his surveying authority was repugnant to him and he protested to the Commissioners in London:

So if I now go on this fool's trip, losing perhaps six months of time looking for some place to please these gentlemen, some other drunken sealer, for a lark only, come and say he has seen another harbour as superior as Plymouth Sound is to Goodwin Sands... nothing but self-interest prevails [here], and e'er long we shall witness it too forcibly.

The Governor was not to be denied and aided and abetted by the Resident Commissioner, James H. Fisher, time and money were 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."

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 contemn 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..."

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."

Shortly after his arrival in South Australia the Governor was placed in an embarrassing position when a letter arrived from the Commissioners in London intimating that they had "not considered it necessary to accept [Light's] resignation."

Gawler's reaction must be considered all but dishonourable for he went to Light's home and, finding him absent, wrote the following letter:

The object of my call was to make to you a communication from the Commissioners, which I trust will be gratifying to you, and strengthen the impression which I have endeavoured to convey, that there exists amongst them a most friendly feeling towards you.

It gives me however pain to say that it is not in my power to endeavour to carry their ultimate object into effect, as after waiting for three weeks after my arrival in this colony in hopes of seeing a course by which I might induce you to accept again the office of Surveyor-General, I sent a strong communication with regard to this situation to Captain Sturt, that I could not retract from it. I did not calculate, when I wrote to Captain Sturt, upon having the opportunity which the enclosed expression of the feelings of the Commissioners would have afforded me, if the office had continued open.

In view of the fact that Governor Gawler had chosen 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 essay 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...

Essay No. 2 - 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 that, 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...

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.

In Remembrance

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."

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, apparently 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, 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, F. Burmeister the engraving, while 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."

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 that takes place at the first meeting of the Adelaide City Council in the new municipal year to which ex-City fathers are always invited. The memory of our first Surveyor-General is pledged in colonial wine drawn from a massive silver bowl the gift of George Palmer, who has featured throughout this narrative. He also presented the Adelaide Corporation, through Sir Samuel Davenport, with a portrait of the said

gentleman in uniform, copied in 1876 from a full-length picture in the possession of his grand-nephew, the Rev. William Lewis Mason, British Chaplain at Compiègne.

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 that 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, Fortuitously, a member of the Council, Mr Matters, was in England at the time and with the assistance of an architect inspected the hall that 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.

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.

The primary sources for the above exposition are to be found in Geoffrey Dutton, *Founder of a City*, Chapter XX..

See *Register*, 12 October 1839 for the editorial, an account of Light's funeral and an advertisement in respect of a memorial.. *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.. *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.. *Register*, 21 June 1905, p. 7.. *Register*, 9 February 1928, p. 7d, 8 May 1928, p. 14i, 18 December 1928, p. 23h.. *Register*, 8 August 1927, p. 17b.. Charles Fenner, cited in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, (SA Branch), Vol. 28, pp. 25-45.. *Register*, 12 November 1904, p. 6b.

ESSAY 3 – The Reminiscences of John Chambers is missing from the collection – I was unable to find it in my fathers saved documents, but a hard copy is probably available from the State Library, SA.

Occasional Essays on South Australian History

Researched and Written by Geoffrey H. Manning

Part IV - Essay No. 4 - The Adelaide Gaol

Introduction

There are many stirring tales to be told of the early history of South Australia and one such story surrounds the old Adelaide Gaol or "Ashton's Hotel". William Baker Ashton (1803-1854), the first governor of the gaol had two "hotels", the first being famous for the fact that more prisoners escaped than could be effectively secured even with the aid of armed guards.

While newly arrived settlers battled to establish Adelaide from the chaos of the bush a number of ticket-of-leave men, escaped convicts and other desperadoes from Van Diemen's Land (modern-day Tasmania) and New South Wales, arrived in the new colony where many of them hoped that the long arm of the law would not reach them. Early in 1838 this inflow of "undesirables" culminated in the appointment of a Sheriff who was attacked one night by three of them. He was robbed and shot at and the outrage caused

the Governor to call a meeting of citizens when special constables were sworn in. Two of the three assailants were captured and one of them, Magee, who fired the shot was sentenced to be hanged. On 2 May 1838 he was led to a gum tree at the foot of North Adelaide hill near the modern-day golf links where the hanging took place; the grisly affair was described as follows:

While the hangman was busied in adjusting the rope and greasing it up with his filthy fist, Magee addressed the Sheriff and the assembled multitude in a firm audible voice, confessing the crime of which the jury had found him guilty. As soon as the cap had been drawn over his face and the prayers concluded, a motion was made that all was ready. With a whip or two of the leading horse the cart was drawn away, and many shut their eyes whilst the poor sufferer was launched into eternity.

Here commenced one of the most frightful and appalling sights. The noose had been so badly placed that the knot came right under the dying man's chin, and as the cart was drawn very slowly from under him he did not fall, but merely slid off gradually. There he was hanging in the air, uttering the most excruciating cries - "Oh God, Oh Christ, save me!"

Some spectators cried out "Cut him down!" whilst others with a different kind of consideration, urged the marines to shoot him with their muskets. It was a horrible sight to witness. The twisting of the rope and the man turning around like a joint of meat before the fire, while women were fainting, and the Sheriff attempting to address the crowd amidst fierce cries of "Shame! Shame!". Finally, the hangman made a fiendish leap upon the body of the dying man and all was hushed; Magee's hands could cling no longer to the rope, and his agonised cries were heard no more.

Other notorious characters of the early days were to become familiar with "Ashton's Hotel" - bushrangers, cattle thieves who found refuge in the Mount Lofty Ranges and the horse stealers, some of whom sought sanctuary in the Black Forest. With the building of the Stockade, as Yatala prison was first called, Ashton's Hotel became all but a gentleman's residence in comparison with its early status - from the 1860s it only held petty offenders, prisoners awaiting trial and women.

The First Gaols

Early in 1837 a firm of builders tendered for the erection of a wooden gaol but their submission of #250 was declined, while a few months later a lower figure of #168 met a similar fate. The *Buffalo*, which brought Governor Hindmarsh and other officials to the colony, was used as a prison until she departed after which a tent "with an area of ground in front enclosed with a rope served the purpose", with two "turnkeys patrolling with a Brown Bess musket." The prisoners were heavily ironed and allowed scant exercise; they slept on the ground and even in the coldest weather were not given blankets - they petitioned for relief from this harsh treatment that prompted the Governor to state that he was "daily shocked at seeing the miserable condition in which [they were] placed."

The tent was replaced with a wooden structure in 1838 - it comprised of two compartments each measuring nine feet by ten feet. Later, other buildings were added and the gaol was surrounded by a pine fence; an entrance gate was manned by a sentry. By the close of 1840 it consisted of one stone building, and a wooden structure for female inmates, all of which was in a state of disrepair and generally disowned as a "wretched and filthy house."

In March 1840 it was decided that some use should be made of prison labour outside of the gaol for hitherto it had been confined leisurely to "smoking, sleeping and devouring

comfortable rations..." Chain gangs were formed to commence work on roads within North Adelaide; however, the working parties were not successful because friends came to look on and brought refreshments and sometimes the whole gang, guards included, staggered back to the gaol intoxicated. They were then put to work making tents, corn sacks and ore bags, the necessary material and appliances being supplied by mining and mercantile firms.

The Gaol of 1841

Within four months of Governor Gawler's arrival six prisoners escaped and this resulted in further recruitment to the police force and a concomitant push for the erection of a new gaol. In March 1840 Judge Cooper sent him a copy of the Grand Jury's presentment, "stating that the gaol was totally inadequate for the number of prisoners, that debtors were herded up with felons, that escapes were frequent and recommending the immediate erection of a new gaol..."

A site was selected in July 1840 and by the time of the arrival of Governor Grey in May 1841 it was under construction - the proposed building was planned to hold 116 inmates, with room for a further 25 in case of necessity; indeed, it was considered to be a "bastille large enough for New South Wales" and four times too large for needs for the future.

Its erection "constituted a major catastrophe for the whole population of the State. It led to Gawler's dismissal and to the ruin of the contractors; it was one of the main causes of a depression which bankrupted many of the pioneers and caused hardship to the remainder. Even the prisoners were dissatisfied, for though the new ""hotel"" was no doubt more commodious, it had the grave disadvantage of being secure.

"The cost of the gaol was in the vicinity of \$40,000, which was exactly a fifth of the total sum set aside by the Commissioners for the complete establishment of the new colony. Gawler paid for the work with bills drawn on the authorities at home. These were promptly repudiated and the Governor recalled in disgrace. The contractors were ruined and a wave of panic swept Adelaide. Bills and mortgages were called up and many of the settlers who, by their four year's pioneering, had laid the foundations of the State's future progress were forced into bankruptcy..."

It is interesting that one of the Gaol's towers is not castellated - when Governor Grey arrived following Gawler's recall he called an immediate halt to its construction and "the defect has not since been remedied."

Picking oakum was a major occupation engaged in by the inmates and by September 1848 three cells were filled with a ton or more of it confronted by a glutted market. In 1849 a treadmill was installed and put to use grinding flour; its introduction was opposed both within and without parliament as being "criminally useless torture". The Colonial Chaplain, Reverend Howard, considered it to be a means of applying physical torture and mental degradation and concluded by saying "reform your gaols, down with the treadmill and up with man!"

Hangings at the Gaols

These events were, to some citizens, an occasion for entertainment and Sarah Hannam who lived in Thebarton recalled "as a thoughtless, carefree child racing with her brothers to see [a] hanging... Crowds, she said, were present and such an event was looked upon almost as an outing."

The first hanging in South Australia has been discussed above; by 1840 the first execution at the original gaol took place when two murderers, Curran and Hughes, were hanged on 16 March on a scaffold erected inside the gaol fence. Another execution was described in detail in 1850 - "As he quitted the gaol, he cast a somewhat amazed or terrified look around - first glancing at the coffin beneath the scaffold, then at the horrible engine of death above him. He ascended the ladder firmly... The priest desired him to kneel [in prayer]... Three or four minutes [later] he rose, and the priest continued to read, the prisoner earnestly pronouncing the responses. His hands trembled violently, partly perhaps from the effect of the cold...

"The miserable culprit... employed a few moments which remained to him on earth in rapid and circulatory prayer. ""Lord Jesus have mercy on my poor soul!"" was the last entire sentence he uttered... Spasmodic action was visible for some time, but those who are familiar with such sights say it often continues long after sensation has ceased. The body was buried pursuant to the sentence near the remains of Stagg, Donnelly and other murderers between the inner and outer walls of the gaol, Mr Pardoe having previously taken a cast of the head. It presents the ordinary characteristics of a murderer's skull, the animal organs predominating wholly over the intellectual, which indeed are hardly traceable."

The Gaol in 1867

Recorded descriptions of the gaol at this time, together with information on its inmates, are few; accordingly, the following editorial is an invaluable historical source: "The gaol in its present state exhibits a highly interesting mixture of ancient brick and modern Glen Osmond stone... On approaching from the Thebarton Road a rather dull, antiquated front presents itself, dating from the limestone period.

"It is of very considerable length, having in the centre a two-storey building, which contains the Superintendent's house and office, the prison chapel, etc... On obtaining admission within the gloomy portal you discover wheels within wheels. Within the outer wall, and separated from it by a roadway twelve or fifteen feet wide, is a lower wall which surrounds the several yards... The yard gates are placed in a bay in the inner wall facing the main entrance. Entering them in their order, No. 1, which is the farthest east, is appropriated to male prisoners under sentence. It contains at present thirty, most of whom are at work on the Torrens dam.

"Before that famous Municipal dirtpie was discovered for them they were employed on the young plantations which surround the gaol... 4,000 trees having been planted in one season... and with the aesthetic has been combined... a large vineyard and vegetable garden. Both to the public and to the prisoners this wholesome spadework must be a vast improvement on oakum-picking or the treadmill.

"Neither the yards or the cells can compare with those at the Stockade [Yatala] in respect of convenience or comfort... We can hardly say there are beds at all at the gaol; they are only hammocks hung across the cell at a distance of four or five feet from the floor. No. 2 Yard contains those who are committed for trial... The old colonists in making their penal arrangements showed that ""tick"" was expected to play an important part in colonial life. The provided accommodation, such as it was, was for thirty-two commercial offenders. From the very first, we believe, No. 3 yard must have been the worst in the prison.

"Yards 4 and 5 may be best described together, as they form the female department, and the building which is the most conspicuous feature in them is common property... There is a balcony on each of the upper floors enclosed with Venetian shutters to

prevent female curiosity taking notice of anything that passes in the yards of the male prisoners... They are divided into two classes - known bad characters, who are kept in No. 5 yard... and those who are committed for the first time... In the latter yard we observed a good deal of washing in process...

"A grant of #2,000 was obtained last session, the chief part of which is to be expended on a new range of cells between Nos. 2 and 3 Yards. It is to replace the single row of old cells, part of which is occupied by persons committed for trial and the rest by the debtors... A portion of the grant is to be appropriated to the erection of a new chapel, the present one being a very dingy confined apartment. At present the Sunday services are conducted by the Church of England in the morning and the Wesleyans in the afternoon. The Roman Catholics hold a week-day service...

"The east side is occupied by close-confinement cells... On the west side is first the hospital, then a storeroom, a kitchen, and lastly an oakum depot, which, like the close-confinement cells, is rather out of date... The degree of criminality is indicated in a rough way by the number of repeated committals. Out of the total of 794 only 73, or less than ten per cent, had been previously in gaol; once before, 29; twice, 11; three times and upwards, 43. Educational tests give... very peculiar results. Of the total 794 nearly three-fourths (551) could read and write, 81 could read only, and 162, or a little more than a fifth of the whole, could neither read nor write."

Four Days on Remand

An insight into prison life through the eyes of an inmate is to be found in a prisoner's comprehensive and literate account of a sojourn in the gaol in 1875; it reads in part: "... I was taken into No 4 Yard and placed with a number of other prisoners... their conversation consisted chiefly of crimes and trials... nearly all of them had got into ""trouble"" as they termed it, through drinking... I shall not soon forget their kind endeavours to cheer me up and make my imprisonment as cheery as possible... I hope before long a Society will be formed in South Australia to aid and assist discharged prisoners, to lend them a helping hand...

"To resume my yarn. We were locked up at 5.50 p.m. each evening in a large roomy and clean cell, whitewashed, and having a slate floor. There was a good clean canvas hammock in the cell, a good clean pair of blankets, and a woollen red and yellow rug supplied to each prisoner. There were also in the cell tin vessels for his ablutions, etc, besides which each prisoner was allowed to bring in a tin quart of water for his night use.

"After 7 o'clock the poor incarcerated unfortunates would indulge in a yarn with their neighbours imprisoned in the cells each side of them, and in spite of the misery that must have been felt by the majority... you would now and then hear a song from one of them... I shall not soon forget the touching strains of ""Home Sweet Home"", sung by a poor youth who had got drunk and stole a bottle of rum, or the strains of ""My Pretty Jane"" sung by a veteran of 50 years who had simply signed the name of an opulent merchant to a cheque...

"At 9 o'clock p.m. all would be perfectly quiet, and the stillness of the night would only be broken by the two night guards' solemn and monotonous shrill cry of ""all's well"" mournfully uttered every half-hour until 5 a.m. the next morning. At 6.50 a.m. the guards and headkeeper would come around and unbolt the door and release each unfortunate after 13 hours incarceration; and here let me remark that I think it harsh and very injudicious to keep prisoners awaiting trial locked up in a cell for such a very long period. And while in the fault-finding humour, I think it would be advisable to allow

prisoners awaiting trial the perusal of newspapers, books and periodicals as I cannot see that their knowledge of what transpires in the outer world can prevent or obstruct the administration of justice.

"The first duty of prisoners in the morning was to clean out with a handbrush their cell, air their bedclothes, etc, after which the morning wash and toilet was performed, and then a walk in the triangular yard until breakfast time. Breakfast consisted of dry bread and nearly a quart of tea, a yarn, a smoke, a concoction of an address to the Judge in commutation of sentence, and a stolen smoke or two filled up the time until dinner was ready. Dinner consisted of about a quart of good clean wholesome soup of vegetables, rice, etc, a so called half pound of meat and potatoes of very poor quality... Tea consisted of nearly a quart of very fair tea and the residue of the bread, viz, half a loaf supplied to you in the morning.

"I almost omitted to mention the Visiting-Justice's visit while I was in ""Trouble"". His visit was a very short one. Walking into the yard and getting out of it again as fast as he possibly could seemed the end and aim of the whole."

Sources

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The need for a Prisoners' Aid Society is canvassed in the *Register*, 28 July 1883, page 6f; also see 24 October 1885, pages 4h-6e, 26 January 1886, pages 4g-6f, 29 March 1886, page 4g, 20 July 1891, page 6f, 19 December 1902, page 4e, 27 January 1905, pages 4c-6g, 7 September 1906, page 3d, 14 May 1907, page 7d, 1 March 1912, page 4d, 18 April 1912, page 4d.

Essay No. 5 - A Day in the Life of an Adelaide Suburb in 1907

Introduction

The commercial life of Adelaide suburbs invariably 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 the various community's 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 our suburbs in the days of 1907.

The Housewife

The average housewife 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 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 a fortitude little short of heroism. Our local doctor tells me that a large number of women in our suburb 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 upending 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 Dog Catcher

From the time the first house was built and occupied in the suburbs, "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.

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.

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.

In the course of time the dog became, in number, of plague proportions despite the levying of licence fees; by 1907 most suburbs 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 are 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 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 tip dray 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 barbed wire 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 local dust heaps 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 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.

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.

. *Register*, 25 March 1848, p. 4a. . *Register*, 3 June 1857, p. 3f.. *Observer*, 1 October 1859, p. 6e.. The tales in this essay 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.

Essay No. 6 - Old Time Memories - Amusements

In the times of the early Tudors the clergy, with their choir boys, were the regular actors in the plays or dramas of the day; but since the preachers left the boards of the theatre they have never kindly regarded the auditorium.

(*Register*, 18 September 1897, page 4e.)

Introduction

"The play's the thing", quoth the immortal Bard; and if after enduring the heat and burden of early days I can assist a few old colonists now remaining, and their sons and daughters, to look back, and thereby to some extent live over again old-time pleasures my efforts will not be in vain.

Granted that the appetites of youth, or even middle age, are keener than those of after years, and that we may therefore now be apt to look upon such with too kindly an eye, perhaps to the disparagement of what is now meted out to us, nevertheless I trust that these lines may be favourably received by those for whom they are written.

So spoke a contributor to the *Observer* in introducing a series of articles commencing on 1 August 1891 - his evocative account of Adelaide in its infancy, with particular emphasis on the amusements available to its citizens, have been edited as follows for the

historical enlightenment of today's Adelaideans, particularly those with an interest in theatre:

Early in the fifties, when many of our fathers and elder brothers were tempted or led away by enchantment to the Victorian goldfields, some of whom never returned, the pleasures of those remaining, and, in fact, of the whole colony, were few; but, thank Heaven, after all had suffered a severe recovery, we yet live to tell the tale, gathered partly from the old-time paper, the *Register*, and that of old-time friends and personal memories.

Amusements in Adelaide in the 1850s and 1860s

With this apology I will say that the old Victoria Theatre, Currie Street, now a horse bazaar, greatly assists me in the matter of "memories" now under notice... One of the first records connected with the old theatre at Gilles Arcade which obtains a place in the pages of the paper is dated June 21, 1853 and at that performance Mr and Mrs Lambert appeared in a piece entitled "Sarah and the Jewess", and in the afterpiece Mr Radford introduced his beautiful mare Beda, and went through the performance of the "Arab Steed". The theatre was not then lighted by either camphine gas or the electric light, but only by tallow candles or rushlights, which were not sufficiently illuminous to occasion to men, women, or a mare what is now termed, both in the old country and little Adelaide, "stagefright".

Mr George Coppin, [was] then of the old Exchange Hotel, Hindley Street, whose pictures of Paul Pry I well remember having seen in Professor Hall's studio, just below the Victoria Hotel, after its transference thither from North Terrace... In June 1853 our German friends are noticed... and the then as now much-admired musical institution, the Liedertafel, had been established four years previously. On the date under notice they gave a "most agreeable entertainment" at the Hamburg Hotel, Madame Cranz being the soloist and Herr Linger presided at the piano. The latter, be it remembered, obtained the prize for the music he wrote for the "Song of Australia", the words being from the pen of Mrs C.J. Carleton... In May 1855 we trace the record of the first concert given by the North Adelaide Choral Society, in which we read the names of Miss Chalker and Messrs. J.W. Daniel and G.T. Light as performers, with Mr W. Holden then and now of the *Register* office as Hon. Secretary.

Then we find that the old Pantheon was opened, having been erected in King William Street, near where Mr Nicholas James had an office and a house at the corner where the Bank of New South Wales and D.& J. Fowler's premises now stand... During this period the balls given by the bachelors and Masons afforded infinite diversion to the young of both sexes...

On November 26, 1855, Lola Montez first appeared in the old theatre, and met with, of course, an enthusiastic reception... Her most appreciated performance... was what was called the "Tarantula" dance, wherein the dancer was supposed to have been bitten by

a spider of that name, poisoned thereby. and fell in agony on the stage. The price charged for seeing this well-renowned performer were, 7s. 6d. dress circle, stalls 4s. pit, and 2s. 6d. gallery...

[In 1855] the only circus in Australia known as Burton's was a frequent visitor to Adelaide and the names of Henry and Walter Burton (father and son), Pablo Fanque, Ord Gillham and the mare, Black Bess, may be best remembered by oldsters. They may also not forget that on one occasion the troupe was to make a "triumphal entry" into Adelaide. The papers announced that such was to happen and that one of its members would drive a chariot to which would be attached twelve horses. The spirit of emulation was thereby occasioned in the breast of Mr John Rounsevell, then connected with his father's coaching establishment in Pirie Street, now Hill & Co's, and he yoked up sixteen horses to one of their coaches and with hooks braced to his arms, wherewith to hold some of the ribbons, he successfully drove all through Adelaide, down to the Black Forest, and on his return turned from Currie Street into Leigh Street and thence into Hindley Street. To those who can gauge the turning of such corners with such an elongated team may without fear of "blowing" say that this beat the circus and the record, as far as South Australia is concerned. *[An Editor's note says - "Mr John Rounsevell states that he drove twenty-four greys on this occasion..."]*

After the Indian mutiny, which occurred in 1857, had been quelled,... relief fund were started all over the world... and little Adelaide added a handsome quantum thereto, the amount being greatly augmented by amateur dramatic and musical performances... Just at this time a "Monster Royal Bengal Tiger" was being exhibited at... the Star Hotel at the corner of Rosina Street, and as a boy in my 'teens I was admitted to see it on payment of sixpence... This beautiful specimen, with the elephant I saw at Unley, near the Cremorne Hotel, I think constituted all that the old boys of Adelaide had the privilege of seeing in matters zoological in those days, and with the camel which previously was the cause of the death of Mr Horrocks in the then so-called "Far North", were perhaps the first cattle of "their kind" ever imported to South Australia.

In these memories there is much that may be termed joyous and mingling in its cup much that is sad. I am recounting the old-time amusements of 1858, and this period covers the date of the return of Richard Baxter White from the old country.... a son of Mr G. White who built White's Rooms, within whose walls many happy memories may be recounted... Mr R.B. White, in his first performance in Adelaide on the violin, was considered by many to be quite equal to Miska Hauser, the celebrated Hungarian... As leader of the old Philharmonic band in the Town Hall he will long be remembered. As choirmaster at St. Xavier's cathedral... his memory will likewise be revered. And then his unfortunate death by drowning...

The name of Signor Cutolo will also be remembered... and he was undoubtedly one of the best pianists and teachers of singing... On June 15 [1859] one of the best singing pupils he ever had was announced to make her second appearance at White's Rooms, the speciality apparently being the "Song of Australia", set to music by the Signor... The committee of the Gawler Institute, who offered the prize for music to what is now our

national song, entered a protest against that composed by Signor Cutolo becoming public property until they had adjudicated on the merits of what had been sent in by the several competitors for the prize, and the large audience who had assembled were informed from the platform that consequently it would have to be withdrawn from the programme... I am informed it spoilt the Signor's chance of taking the prize... [later] awarded to Herr Linger.

In November 1859 an amateur performance was given in the theatre in aid of the sufferers by the disastrous wreck of the ill-fated *Admella* by the then Histrionic Class, and the bill of fare was ample, containing as it did "The Merchant of Venice", "All That Glitters is Not Gold" and "The Silent Woman". Owing probably to the title of the latter the whole performances were a success financially and otherwise. This brings me to another record, and although not properly belonging to the heading of old-time amusements, still as it was connected with the theatre it is worthy of mention.

On Sunday, July 15, 1860, the Rev. T.Q. Stow, the father of Congregationalism in South Australia, was announced to make his first appearance before the footlights, and the notice of the performance, if it may so very respectfully be termed, reads somewhat as follows: "The experiment, which originated in the mother country, and which has recently been followed up in Melbourne, of holding divine service in the theatres and other places of amusement for the purpose of proclaiming the truths of the Gospel to those who do not usually attend the ordinance of religion, having been adopted in South Australia, the first of a series of Sunday afternoon lectures took place at the Victoria Theatre, gratuitously lent by the owner, Mr. E. Solomon.

The Rev. Stow preached from the words "Whatsoever breaketh an hedge a serpent shall bite him", and the services having been then initiated for the benefit of the poor, whom we always have with us, were continued successfully from Sunday to Sunday for some time afterwards...

On July 16, 1860, Professor Bushell then appeared in his entertainment 'embracing new and outstanding phenomena in magnetic science, including a practical demonstration of the working of the electric telegraph", and further, "electro-biology, illustrating the professor's wonderful command of the mind and muscles of those selected from the audience." The Professor gave three entertainments, and at their termination was voted as big a humbug as Professor Carr was afterwards. The latter may be best remembered in having been tackled by the late Rev. James Maughan...

During 1858 the quarterly soirees, conversaziones, and concerts were being given in White's Rooms by the Governors of the old Mechanics or South Australian Institute, when, as every one knows, the best talent available, whether musical, dramatic or otherwise, was secured, and many pleasing memories are connected therewith... The middle portion of the programme always consisted of a lecture or lecturette... All [the lecturers] were entertaining and helped us natives unsparingly to intellectual fodder, which was much needed in those days, and perhaps quite as much or more so now.

None of the gentlemen played football or taught us to do so, but their colours were as much appreciated, and those who wore them were perhaps more benefited by so doing than those who now carry the ribbons of the Norwoods, Ports, or any other club...

Yes, the old Mechanics' Institute afforded old boys many treats, intellectually and otherwise. Chess and draughts were games which the Governors permitted to be played in a room set apart for the purpose. This was the occasion of developing the talents of the best chessplayer South Australia has ever privileged to claim... During 1858 Henry Charlick, a mere boy, was in the habit of attending the old Institute in Neales 's Buildings, Gresham Chambers [and there he] was beating the Adelaide veterans... Subsequently he tried his hand at playing two games simultaneously blindfolded... both of which the youth won in brilliant style.

On March 26 [1858] William Abernethy, the Australian giant, or fat boy, started his successful levees at the Masonic Hall, White's Rooms. He was a wonder in the matter of weight for age. Born at Brisbane Water, then New South Wales, he made a successful tour of the colonies, left for England where he died, and a reference to him may be found in Buckland's *Curiosities of Natural History*, a book which might be read with pleasure by all our children; not so much, perhaps, for its reference to fat boys, but for the account it contains of the celebrated Jamrach's establishment, to which at one time our native birds, etc, were exported by thousands.

March 1861 hailed the advent of three Australian crocodiles in Adelaide - stuffed, of course - which had been shot at Port Curtis. They were exhibited in King William Street in a room north of the old Beehive corner, and one of them measured 19 feet... the adventurer - Craig by name - who exhibited them profited considerably by his enterprise in bringing them here. Finding that acting as showman was such a paying game our colonial Barnum was on the look-out for something fresh in the show business and hearing or reading of the petrified native in the caves of Mosquito Plains, near Naracoorte, he betook himself thither, wrapped the native up in blankets, and was transporting its petrified remains towards the border of the colony when he was caught by the police, who took charge of the body, but not the man; returned the former to its resting place in the cave and placed some iron bars around it to keep it from being plucked by other adventurers - but they didn't.

An account of this curiosity, as given in his book on the geology of South Australia, may here be entertaining - "... The history of his coming there is a sad one. The blacks, in addition to destroying 300 sheep by throwing them down the caves and afterwards murdering Mr Brown, caused the white settlers to resolve upon being revenged. They assembled and set out with the significant motto ""Let not your right hand know what your left hand doeth"". The natives resisted desperately and some were shot in every part of the country. One, wandering near these caves, was seen and brought to the ground by a rifle ball. Badly wounded, he managed to crawl away unobserved, and thinking that he would be sought for as long as life was in him, crept down into the

lowest and darkest recess in the cavern, where he rightly judged few would follow him. There he died, uncoffined. Not a tear was shed over him, but drops of water fell upon him from the rocks above and when (a long time after) his remains were discovered the limestone had encased him in a strong shroud, which to this day preserves his remains from decay."

The strong shroud of limestone and iron bars were, however, not sufficient to protect him from the wily showman. He burst the bars, took the petrified one away again in his blankets, supped with the policeman who was after him at a wayside tavern, the swag containing the native being under the table... and got away, exhibited his prize all over England, and finally sold it for #25 - so the story goes. The protective bars may still be seen in the cave...

Notes

Burton's circus is described in the *Observer*, 10 April 1858, page 8c, 8 May 1858, page 1e (supp.), *Register*, 9 January 1863, page 2g; also see *Advertiser*, 12 and 20 March 1877, pages 5f and 6b.

A proposed chess club is discussed in the *Register*, 25 February 1864, page 2e; also see 31 May 1864, page 2h, 16 June 1864, page 2f, 4 July 1864, page 2h, 25 June 1867, page 2g, 10, 15 and 16 July 1867, pages 3f, 2h and 2f, 25 February 1868, page 2f, 9 September 1869, page 2g; also see *Observer*, 18 March 1876, page 7e, *Advertiser*, 15 May 1879, page 6d. A blindfold chess exhibition is reported in the *Advertiser*, 13 May 1885, page 5g; also see 15 September 1886, page 3d.

The obituary of Henry Charlick, a champion chess player, is in the *Register* on 28 July 1916, page 5b. A history of the Adelaide Chess Club is in *The News*, 11 August 1927, page 11a.

Essay No. 7 - The Streets of Adelaide

It is a matter of very serious danger and difficulty to make way at all through the slush and filth which cover the footways of the city, and a fearful catalogue of colds, bruises and damaged boots is already registered for the sole benefit of the medical profession and the leather trade. It may be all very well for the undertakers, but we did not come out to this province to be drowned in the streets.
(*South Australian*, 6 July 1849)

Introduction

When the streets and squares delineated on the first plan of Adelaide were to be named, the duty was entrusted to a competent and influential Committee which introduced a valuable historical element in the performance of its task. Thereafter any person who subdivided a piece of land and established a new street had the privilege of naming the thoroughfare, with the result that, in the absence of official control, the derivation of many of the less important street names is lost in obscurity.

The first Governor (Captain John Hindmarsh, RN) and the Resident Commissioner (Mr J.H. Fisher) each claimed as his special prerogative the duty of naming the original streets and squares, and, according to the letters of John Brown (Emigration Agent), the appointment of the Committee represented a compromise between the opposing factions. That body was comprised of Governor Hindmarsh, Sir John Jeffcott (Judge), Colonel William Light (Surveyor), Mr Robert Gouger (Colonial Secretary), Mr (afterwards Sir) James Hurtle Fisher (Resident Commissioner), Mr John Barton Hack, Mr (afterwards Sir) John Morphett, Mr Edward Stephens (banker), Mr T. Bewes Strangways, Mr Thomas Gilbert (Colonial Storekeeper), Mr John Brown (Emigration Agent) and Mr Osmond Gilles (Colonial Treasurer).

The names for the squares and the original streets delineated on Colonel Light's plan were chosen on 23 May 1837 and gazetted on 3 June of the same year. The following extract from the letters of John Brown makes it clear on whose side he was on in the squabble that occurred between the rival factions: "The Governor brought a pocketful of Royal Navy heroes, but, afraid of proposing them himself, got Sir John Jeffcott to try. King William Street and Victoria Square were assented to by all, but when he got to ""Duncan"" and ""Howe"" as the proposed names of the next streets we divided, and ""Grote"" and ""Wakefield"" reigned in their stead. I am rather ashamed of myself of having any hand in this business, but votes were wanted, or it would have been a journal of our Governor's life and adventures. As to this business, however, he cannot keep quiet. He sent Gouger the other day to Mr Fisher to know whether he had any objections to one of the names ""Willoughby"" being changed to ""Archer"" Street. Fisher objected on the ground that it was trifling with the proceedings of the Committee appointed. Thus he will meddle, let the trifle be what it will. Archer Street is inserted contrary to the vote of the Committee, and contrary to the Colonial Secretary's orders""."

Hindley Street

Many of the doings of the pioneer population of the State are directly connected with Hindley Street. It may seem peculiar at first that the only two members of the British House of Commons who joined the first Board of Directors of the South Australian Company should have given their names to what afterwards became the chief retail business centres of the metropolis. They were Messrs. Charles Hindley and John Rundle.

But in this as in many other matters, what looked like purely fortuitous circumstances was really the result of the energy displayed by the South Australian Company. The road which it constructed from the Port was taken into the city by way of Hindley Street, and as this was in line with Rundle Street, it was natural that the traffic, and therefore the retail business of the city, should become concentrated in the direction of these thoroughfares.

Reminiscences and Prospects

Hindley Street has a splendid past; it has been the "Chief of Streets" and a city historian once said - "Permission was given to the public on March 28, 1837, to cut down and grub trees in the public streets... most of the buildings were erected on the west end of Hindley Street; and after some months the alignment of the street could be judged by the unpretentious cottages and stores that had been built... For many years Hindley Street was the centre of trade and was expected to permanently hold that position."

There were many reasons for that. The settlers all came into the young city from the west and the water was obtained mostly from the River Torrens. However, the principal reason was the fact that immigrants who landed at Port Adelaide travelled to a ford near Hindmarsh, thence up to the place where Morphett Street begins and into Hindley

Street. Immigration Square was situated in the park lands a little to the westward - the first home of many a South Australian - and in the western area business was done for many a year.

With the advent of drays and wagons, the streets became in a dreadful condition. In Hindley Street the wagons would sink to the axles, and the animals which hauled them would bury their legs in the mire. Water gathered in the hollows, the passengers' boots became covered with mud and the footpaths were little better than the roads. The *Register* printed certain impressions of South Australia by Rev J. Maughan made whilst he was holidaying in England; with tongue in cheek he talked of the temperate climate and took a side-swipe at the condition of Adelaide's streets in winter:

A new chum walking [along Hindley Street] saw a good-looking hat in the middle of the road... He... picked it up, when a head was turned up and a voice called out... "that's my hat... and my horse is below me".

On a more serious note residents voiced their disapproval of some "trade" allegedly carried out there:

It is about time that some means were adopted to prevent young girls parading Hindley Street all through the day with the most unblushing effrontery, sometimes drunk or nearly so, but at all times appearing in such guise that, taken together with their conduct, there is no mistaking the life they follow...

Vice stalks abroad in open day, apparently unchecked, while in some of our streets - notably Hindley Street - it is not fit for a respectable woman to walk in broad daylight... I have heard it [said it is] the city of meeting-houses, public-houses and houses of ill-repute.

More specifically, comment was made on a brothel in Hindley Street:

[It] is open all night long and is kept by a notorious woman [who] has been convicted for receiving stolen fowls[!!!]

But Father Time brought a change to the economic condition of Hindley Street. On 21 April 1856 the Port Adelaide Railway was opened and it took most of the traffic away; the suburbs away to the foothills in the east sprung up and eastward went the trade. A special reporter wrote on the streets vicissitudes in 1913 - "The place was a veritable cradle for big concerns. First Ware's Exchange Hotel - a little down from King William Street. It is a history in itself, with its sketches and lingering memories of the pioneering days. To walk through its big low-ceilinged rooms is to think at once of the drovers and farmers who once made merry there. To see the photographs - quaint and laughable - of old George Coppin, the first lessee... when it was built in 1839 is to recall a good comedian of the early years.

"The Almond brothers had shops together there, but the funny part of it was that their establishments were separate. One of the brothers would sit out in front with a concertina and if you asked him who his neighbour was he would reply ""No relation"". Further along just past the Theatre Royal [the site of the modern-day car park], Mr Lever, a hatter, used to do business. Near the Eagle Tavern [today's McDonalds] were some butchers, about whom some good anecdotes are told. One Jack Edwards used to give away a bunch of turnips or other vegetable with a hind or fore quarter of lamb or mutton.

"Opposite the position of Miller, Anderson & Co's shops - the name was Miller and Lucking - was an early printing office of The Register and further down a lane still bears the title of that paper. The Black Bull is an old place... The Concordia Band, which came with Burton's circus, used to play outside and one of the performers - Mr Klauer - afterwards was host of the White Hart Hotel...

"Further along was W.C. Rigby's place, and Mr Haussen owned a potato shop (on the site of Messrs. Davis, Browne and Co's Arcade), which was managed by the veteran Mr J. Chittleborough. Bickford's had two chemist shops in the street... But for all its one-time power, Hindley Street has become, to some extent, obscured..."

"Just a line or two about the railway. When the new platforms are built, the whole of the southern passenger system will have its centre down near the present goods sheds. Thus traffic is likely to be once more diverted into Hindley Street. Now, say some, is the time for the corporation to look ahead. Why not make a broader thoroughfare leading from North Terrace into Currie Street? Property in Victoria Street, for example, is cheap enough, and that could be widened and continued via Rosina Street to the place named. It is worth thinking about. And so is Hindley Street - past, present and future."

Sources

Manning's Place Names of South Australia, City of Adelaide Year Book, 1939-1940, Register, 25 January 1870, p. 6d, 13 June 1874, 6 November 1880 p. 7b, 19 December 1883 at page 7b, 21 June 1913, pp. 11d and 14f.

Essay No. 8 - Street Musicians

There was a time when Adelaide's streets were the regular haunts of itinerant musicians, who in the hope of collecting a few pieces of silver were willing to pour forth the notes of brass instruments at every populous corner... Where are they now?... Nothing is now heard by day in the streets but the hoot of the motor horn, the noisy explosion of the exhaust of a cycle, an occasional much-worn gramophone, or the feeble strains of a blind man's concertina.

(*Advertiser*, 10 June 1925, page 8g)

Introduction

Since Rundle Street was converted into a mall in the 1970s the art of "busking" has been introduced to that thoroughfare. In Adelaide's early days musicians roamed the streets at the mercy of their audiences which, over all but a century, passed varying opinions on their offerings. The following documentation presents a clear picture of the life and times of these itinerant musicians - it is presented in tabular form and in chronological order.

Newspaper References

Under the heading "Street Music" the *Observer* of 28 May 1853, page 5f says, *inter alia*:

We have recently witnessed... a gradual assimilation of South Australia to the England of olden time, and among the rest we may welcome the homely strains of the hurdy-gurdy airs of the barrel-organ.

A correspondent to the *Register* on 20 September 1865, page 3b comments on "Street Bands":

There are very few people who do not with pleasure remunerate those clever performers who for a trifling sum enhance the streets of Adelaide with music equal to any we hear performed at our concerts.

"Blind Musicians" is in the *Chronicle*, 28 December 1867, page 2b.

A letter complaining about street musicians is in the *Register* of 21 October 1867, page 2f:

[They] earn their living by playing hurdy-gurdies... A friend of mine... gave one of them a shilling to go away. The afflicted creature took the shilling and then, in a spirit of generosity (I presume), remained and gave my friend a double dose of discord.

Certainly if the object of the barrel-organ nuisance is to drive people into subscribing towards [an] Asylum the movement ought to succeed, for very few persons could hold out against such an infliction for any length of time.
(*Register*, 6 February 1868, page 2e.)

Every man of business - unless, perhaps, a lolly pop vendor - must have felt how great is the pest of this most inharmonious and untimely grinding, and doubtless many a poor clerk and book-keeper, interrupted by the horrid discord, has felt inclined to do anything rather than "pity the poor blind".
(*Advertiser*, 27 December 1867, page 2f; also see 5 March 1869, page 3b.)

This type of "entertainment" met with disapproval from another correspondent to the *Register* on 2 May 1872, page 5e:

...these infernal [organ-grinding] machines are [all] grinding at the same time, the noise being something frightful. I hope the City Council will see that this awful plague is put a stop to...

On 23 December 1872, page 5d a long suffering citizen implored the authorities to rid the streets of the "nuisance":

If [they] cannot get a honest living... than by annoying other people let them be put in the Destitute Asylum.

Five months later another agitated and concerned rate-payer warned that "young boys are being trained by the organ-grinders to be a future pest to society". (*Register*, 1 May 1873, page 7a.)

Still the problem persisted - "From early morn till dewy eve in Rundle Street is one continual noise..." "I would cheerfully subscribe weekly, monthly or yearly to be rid of them...". (*Register*, 9 and 10 July 1875, pages 6g and 5f.)

No further complaint was made until 15 March 1877, page 5g when a citizen exclaimed:

A short time since a cry was raised against the barrel-organs used by several blind men and the press and police made it too hot for them and they have disappeared, but their place has been filled by some new arrivals - strong able-bodied men...

Another form of "musical" annoyance in the streets is reported in the *Register*, 4 January 1878, page 6c in respect of a band which:

Is taken out for an airing every afternoon... [Its row] is enough to destroy the equanimity of any horse which is desirous of maintaining the credit of his race and of his master's establishment...

On 21 January 1880 at page 6g of the *Register* a correspondent drew attention to:

The frequent disreputable nightly exhibitions of vocal and instrumental effort on the part of a female and four children in our public thoroughfares. The poor blind man who should unwarily be caught playing his organ... is summoned to appear before Mr Beddome [magistrate]... while able-bodied persons are permitted to disgrace the streets of our fair city, spooning upon public charity...

In reply to this epistle another reader mildly chided the author on 26 January 1880 (supp.), page 1b:

He says nothing about the strong able-bodied foreigners who come to our shore and grind from morning up to 11 o'clock at night; nor does he say anything about the fiddlers and harp-players... [who] beg at every shop for a penny or more... Then he says nothing about the German band who... go from house to house and from shop to shop and look very black if you do not give them something above a copper... I am sorry to say that there are many others that are hard up in our fair city who have not got the nerve nor the ability as these people are doing to get a living.

After a three year lull in complaints the following comments were made in the *Register* on 10 March 1883 at page 6a:

I refer, Sir, to two evidently escaped lunatics who perform ancient duets on two seraphic instruments called "cornets" - It is impossible... to concentrate... on work... with a couple of madmen butchering "Home, Sweet Home" and "The Larboard Watch"... (Also see *Register*, 12 March 1883, page 5e.)

On 18 June 1887 at page 6b a correspondent to the *Register* said:

What with jubilee offerings, charitable institutions,... all good in some respect, and then that horror of horrors, the street piano, the barrel organ and the melodeon, with vocal accompaniment...

An irate businessman aired his complaint in the *Register*, 10 July 1889, page 6h:

I beg to enter a protest against the Corporation of Adelaide in permitting that band, German or Austrian, to use the instruments of torture so ferociously wielded by these men. [They] interrupt the whole work of our offices... and disturb one's train of thoughts... (See *Register*, 12 and 15 July 1889, pages 7d and 7h for a defence of the "musicians".)

Another complainant appeared on the scene in the *Register*, 19 September 1889, page 3f:

Is there no law which can be put in force to prevent [organ-grinding] or make the performer "move on". The incessant droning of the "Old Hundredth" and "Over the Garden Wall" is exasperating to the last degree... (Also see *Register*, 20 September 1889, page 6e.)

"Music of the Streets" is in the *Register*, 15 August 1898, page 4g:

Some of these organs are purposely kept in bad repair with the object of exciting the pity of the passers-by. Charitable persons have often offered to subscribe for the purchase of better instruments, but the wily performer has refused to make any change.

"A Plea for the Street Musicians" is in the *Register*, 21 November 1903, page 4f, "Street Music" on 9 April 1920, page 9d:

Returned soldiers are playing in the streets - why? This is a great inconvenience to business people, who cannot hear each other speaking... As these men are returned soldiers, the Government is charged with their keep...

(Also see *Register*, 10 and 15 April 1920, pages 11d and 8f.)

The *Advertiser* of 6 November 1930, page 8e says, *inter alia*:

Penalties are provided for persons who shall "sing, preach or harangue, or make any violent outcry which may cause annoyance or obstruction..." It was also remembered by many that for years Adelaide possessed in Setaro's string band one of the finest combinations that ever engaged in street music... [He] ended his career as leader of a cinema orchestra.

(Also see *The News*, 15 May 1930, page 6e.)

Essay No. 9 - Prostitution

Why should we brand [it] as a sin in woman while we hardly reprove in man? There are those who turn away in haughty scorn from a woman who has lost her virtue, who would nevertheless willingly receive her seducer to their homes and friendship... In the eye of Heaven above us, whatever society may say, the sin is as great in him as in his frail sister.

(*Register*, 20 May 1862, page 2f.)

Introduction

The following extracts and references from newspapers over a period of all but a hundred years will, no doubt, be of interest to those in the community who have expressed opinions for and against the decriminalisation of the "oldest profession in the world".

Newspaper References

Under the heading "What Are the Police About" the *Register* of 15 April 1843, page 3c has a complaint from a citizen:

Can you inform me how long the neighbourhood of Weymouth [*sic*] Street and Light Square are to be infested with brothels, and when the inhabitants are to be rid of the music, dancing,

revelry and the mob of drunken blacklegs who idle about there all day and live on plunder and prostitution at night?

Thanks to the Emigration Commissioners for sending us the scum of the English and Irish workhouses... These unfortunate and degraded beings parade the City in groups by day and night using the most disgusting language... If [convictions] were made here, the nymphs of the pave[ments] would have a wholesome dread of "Ashton's Hotel" [Adelaide Gaol] and rather than enjoy free quarters at that gentleman's establishment they would learn to observe a proper respect towards the public.

(*SA Gazette & Mining Journal*, 2 August 1849, page 3b.)

[An] intolerable nuisance [is] caused by abandoned women who infest the streets of Adelaide... [they] prowl about the streets in groups by day as well as by night and... take a malicious pleasure in insulting the respectable portion of their own sex...

(*Adelaide Times*, 2 August 1850, page 3f.)

An alleged brothel at the "Native Location" is discussed in the *Register*, 21, 24 and 25 January 1850, pages 3e, 2c and 2d, 6 February 1850, page 2e.

The following comment is made under the heading of "Irish Orphans and Their Protectors" in the *Register*, 6 February 1850, page 2e:

A number of pestiferous dens exist in Light-square and its neighbourhood, which may be considered the moral cess-pools of the City of Adelaide. No merciful master would kennel his hounds there. Squalid filth and fetid vice render the atmosphere rank... Guarded by some black evil genius or shrivelled bawd of Christian (!) blood, troops of young girls of all ages, from the all but infant to the full-grown woman, are cooped up or caged together, as so many goods and chattels of the lawful owner, to hire out, to barter, or to sell... The dens of infamy kept by these slaughter-souls are swarming with the poor polluted proteges of the Emigration Board. [Here] rot and die these frail sisters of sin and sorrow.

It [is] well known that emissaries from these hotbeds of vice are ever on the alert to entrap newly-arrived females for the most infamous of purposes, and afterwards using the fallen creatures as means to rob the unwary bushman who are enticed to the dens of wickedness in the vicinity of Light Square.

(*Register*, 16 September 1850, page 3e.)

The fate of a digger's gold is recounted in the *Register*, 15 October 1853, page 3f:

[He] had [about 40 ounces] of gold in his possession [and] suffered himself to be entered into a house of ill-fame at the west end of the city... where he was robbed... There was evidence in the house of recent outlay in several gaudy and expensive articles...

Information on the female proprietor of a brothel is in the *Observer*, 1 April 1854, page 6f.

A report in the *Register* on 20 July 1854, page 3h says under the heading "Disorderly House":

The proceedings in this house were to him, as a father of a young family, very annoying and distressing. The nocturnal rows and tumults there frequently disturbed the whole neighbourhood... [A doctor] had also been called on... to dress broken skulls and other wounds received in brawls there.

The residents of West Terrace and the adjacent parts have long been compelled to take a circuitous route on their way to and from various places of public worship in order to avoid the profane offensive language and conduct of Light Square.
(*Observer*, 17 June 1854, page 9f.)

For an example of the conduct of prostitutes during an election riot see *Register*, 28 September 1855, page 3d.

Under the heading "The Great Social Evil" the *Register* of 19 July 1858 at page 2d says, *inter alia*:

All that we consider either desirable or justifiable is, restrictive and remedial measures, rendering the vice itself shameful by constricting it within its own purview and affording to the miserable victims of its delusive pleasures and impure associations every means of escape and refuge.

(Also see *Register*, 24 July 1858, page 2g.)

The *Advertiser* of 11 August 1858, page 3c says:

Does not crime of every sort, including robbery and murder, fructify in these dens of infamy where indiscriminate sexual intercourse is carried out? And can the police escape their share of the consequence, in peace disturbed, property made insecure, and person endangered?

"The Great Social Evil" is discussed in the *Register*, 3 September 1860, page 3b:

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.

"Houses of Ill-Fame" is in the *Register*, 20 May 1864, page 2g:

The vice itself may be above the reach of human law; but its outward manifestations, which are full of danger to the social health, are not... [we] do not ask the authorities to put down the vice, but to remove it from the public eye, and that we submit is a reasonable request.

(Also see *Register* 21 May 1864, page 3d.)

There is hardly an emigrant ship that enters our harbour but in the course of a few days you will observe some of the newcomers from it pursuing evil ways... You may perambulate the city; no matter in what locality, you will find the same dread curse rampant... The greatest dens of infamy... are certain select dancing rooms.

(*Advertiser*, 7 May 1864, page 2d.)

Parliamentary Paper no. 86 of 1867 says, *inter alia*:

Brothel keeping is carried on in every part of Adelaide and when put down in one locality springs up again at no great distance... The early prostitution of young girls [is] a most deplorable evil and one very difficult to deal with, as the law will not reach the seducer, while the punishment falls so heavily on the seduced... I feel it to be a great injustice to legislate entirely against the woman...

(Also see *Register*, 28 March 1867, page 2h, *Advertiser*, 20 July 1867, page 3g.)

"The Social Evil" is in the *Observer*, 30 March 1867, page 4f (supp.), *Register*, 8 July 1867, page 3h:

It is in our more popular thoroughfares that these most abandoned specimens of the "social evil" become an unbearable nuisance. Flaunting in full-blown insolence, these lost creatures take the call and thrust aside the virtuous and the modesty of their sex, and with reckless audacity openly solicit men and boys, and when repulsed give utterance to the vilest language... Here the public come face to face with unblushing vice...

Under the heading "Bushmen in Town" the *Advertiser* on 29 July 1868, page 2e says:

A correspondent... accidentally heard one of the fallen sisterhood address her female companion thus - "I must try to get hold of a bushman and clean him out"... The great ambition and desire of these men's lives is to "pile up" a cheque for wages, which they may have the pleasure of "knocking down" in a few days of drunken dissipation and debauchery... [they] get drunk and they become the prey of those harpies who prowl about the streets "like roaring lions seeking whom they may devour".

A police raid is reported in the *Observer*, 2 July 1870, page 5b:

The police... have made very strenuous endeavours to lessen the glaring vices of the street... Rundle Street after dark between the Beehive and the Globe... has been for months the recognised rendezvous of our young... of both sexes, and fallen men and fallen women [revel] in conduct and converse which would make the blood of respectable and reputable citizens boil, and the cheeks of women worthy of the name crimson with shame.

"The Dancing Saloons and Nighthouses" of Adelaide is in the *Register*, 28 June 1870, page 6a:

...Vice must be shown to the public in its true colours before it can be corrected... Under the shelter of false delicacy it has grown and festered.

The reporter goes on to describe a bar in a place of public entertainment:

[Young women] bear marks of dissipation in their high colour, which is more purple than ruddy and in the sensuality which is supplanting which may once have been innocent beauty. [In the Shamrock Bar] there are more women - bigger and more brazen, all of them - they have thriven upon [the trade of prostitution], while hundreds with weaker constitutions or finer sensibilities

have sunk under self-consuming sin... The heavy, callous stolidity of their faces is almost brutal. Moral consciousness does not betray itself in a single look or gesture...

"The Evangelical Alliance and the Social Evil" is in the *Advertiser*, 5, 7, 9, 11 and 12 July 1870, pages 3d, 3e, 2g, 3f and 3g.

"Disorderly Houses" and the general morality of the city are the subject of further debate and comment in the *Register*, 26 and 27 March 1872, pages 5f and 5a; also see 3 April 1872, page 6f 13 May 1872, page 4e. Houses of prostitution in Currie Street and their occupants are described on 23 and 28 December 1872, pages 5e and 6b:

Drunken women, nearly nude - blaspheming, fighting and using gestures which defy description... [our] ears [are] constantly outraged by language which even depraved men could not invent...

"Adelaide Street Scenes" is in the *Observer*, 28 December 1872, page 4d.
The *Register* of 12 and 17 March 1873 at pages 6f and 5a concludes that:

It is a deplorable fact that the form of vice known as the social evil [had] attained to huge proportions in the city.

"The Suppression of Open Immorality" is in the *Advertiser*, 30 August 1873, page 3b; also see *Observer*, 30 August 1873, page 7a.

On 13 September 1873 the *Register*, page 6f comes down with a plea for the establishment of a reformatory for "fallen women".

A resident of Hindley Street complains to the *Register* on 13 June 1874:

It is about time that some means were adopted to prevent young girls parading Hindley Street all through the day with the most unblushing effrontery, sometimes drunk or nearly so, but at all times appearing in such guise that, taken together with their conduct, there is no mistaking the life they follow...

In an editorial on 30 October 1874, page 2d the *Advertiser* says:

Like the foul weed *diandragora*, which fattened and flourished in unclean spots, the social evil has grown in Adelaide to dimensions which might appal cities which have grown old in iniquity... The time has come when the rulers of this flourishing land should open the door behind which the skeleton is hidden, and explore that mine of sin and disease which is a scandal and a shame to all.

"Public Houses and Public Morality" is in the *Advertiser*, 23 January 1875, page 3g, 15 March 1875, page 3f.

The prosecution of "six young women... on the charge of keeping a house of ill-fame" is reported in the *Advertiser*, 29 March 1875, page 2d:

From the scenes enacted in this brothel, we do not wonder at respectable people complaining. Drunkenness, filthy talk and fighting were often continued all-night long... The wretched trade is

too profitable for... to retire into private life, and she will have no difficulty in finding poor girls to take the places of those whom Mr Beddome has sent to gaol... This prostitution, with all attendant evils, is supported and paid for by men, and these men go unpunished, while the victims of their lust are made to suffer.

I have heard it said that to go thoroughly into this matter would necessitate the exposure of some of the very heads of the people. [How can the law punish men unless in the pursuit of their pleasures they also offend public decency? ED.]
(*Advertiser*, 1 June 1875, page 3c.)

In 1877 the Editor of the *Register* sent one of his reporters into the lower end of Hindley Street - see 1 October, pages 4d and 5a:

What the drink-debased Helot slaves were to the children of their Spartan masters, the unfortunate creatures, both female and male, who are found crowding these haunts of vice should prove to any one who sees them in their wretched lurking-places.
Here are to be found herded together young girls just entering womanhood, if their life can be called womanhood; vile old haridans worn out in the service of Satan... Men and women sunk to the level of brutes - or rather beneath that level, for no members of the animal kingdom would look so utterly debased...

A self-professed experienced observer of the "social evil" in the United Kingdom makes this observation in the *Register*, 9 February 1878, page 6f:

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...

"A Rampant Evil" is the subject of diverse comment, including the need for legislation to control it, in the *Register*, 31 May 1878, page 7c, 1, 5, 11, 13 and 22 June 1878, pages 7c, 6c, 6g, 6f and 6d.

In a report to the Chief Secretary on page 5b of the *Register*, 24 December 1878 it is said:

Scenes of a demoralising nature are to be witnessed in open daylight and girls of a tender age are engaged in the infamous traffic.
(Also see *Register*, 30 December 1878, page 7d.)

There were at least eighty persons assembled, about thirteen of this number being prostitutes of the very lowest type, the rest young men and boys from 16 years of age and upwards, all more or less under the influence of drink, and making the night hideous with their din and debauchery.
(*Advertiser*, 8 January 1879, page 6d.)

One blousy petticoated personage, who appeared as though she had just awakened from the effects of a severe carousal, was an object of sympathy and enquiry, as the men gathered about her and put strange queries... She gave her replies with an absent, half-distracted air... One of her unfortunate companions had that day died raving mad...

(*Advertiser*, 20 January 1879, page 5e; also see 21 and 25 January 1879, pages 6g and 4d.)

"A Dark Side of Adelaide Life" is the subject of a special report in the *Register*, 20 January 1879, page 6a and became the subject of much comment - see 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 (supp.) and 30 January 1879, pages 6e, 6f, 6f, 6f, 1f and 6f, 6 February 1879, page 6d:

Still the hydra-headed evil remains apparently unchecked - the Augean stable being too large and too foul to be readily checked... The women generally were of the very lowest classes we had seen. Many of them wore black eyes or other discolourations and brutal ill-usage as well as of utter demoralization... I shall not speak of the hansom cabmen and the part some of them play in this repellent drama of real life.

"Immorality in the City" is in the *Register* on 11 February 1879, page 4d.

On 4 February 1880 at page 4f the Editor of the *Register* says:

It is painful to see scores of these young creatures - children just entering their teens - decked in the flaunting livery of vice, and by appearance, gesture and speech boldly proclaiming their trade... Children just ripening into womanhood are too often allowed an amount of freedom which proves destructive to any shreds of moral principle which they may possess.

An editorial on "some haunts of the social evil in Franklin, Grote, Russell and Morney Streets" is in the *Advertiser*, 24 March 1880, page 4d:

It has been suggested that [they] should be compelled to live in certain quarters of the city, where as long as they are not riotous or outrageously indecent they should not be molested... No good purpose can be gained...

On 6 November 1880 at page 7b of the *Register* a correspondent proclaims:

Vice stalks abroad in open day, apparently unchecked, while in some of our streets - notably Hindley Street - it is not fit for a respectable woman to walk in broad daylight... I have heard it [said it is] the city of meeting-houses, public-houses and houses of ill-repute.

(Also see *Register*, 14 January 1881, page 6e.)

"The City Streets at Night" is in the *Advertiser*, 21 January 1881, page 7c.

A heart-rending story of a sixteen year old girl plying her trade in a rented house in Hawdon Street is reported in the *Register*, 25 October 1881, pages 4g-5b.

"Houses Of Ill-Fame" is in the *Register*, 10 March 1882, page 4g, "Public Morality" on 23 June 1882, page 4d-g.

"The Dark Side of Adelaide Life" is in the *Advertiser*, 30 November 1881, page 6a.

The *Register* of 15 February 1883 (supp.) at page 1f carries a complaint about a:

Notoriously low public house, the Shamrock Hotel... Why [do] the police and the Bench allow this foul den, the chief customers of which are thieves and prostitutes, to exist in the centre of a respectable city...

Legislation emanating from the Social Purity Society is discussed in the *Register*, 15 and 16 August 1883, pages 4f and 6g, 6 September 1883, page 6c; also see *Observer*, 8 September 1883, pages 24d-27b, 13 October 1883, page 24e.

Some "houses of sin" were described as of "the filthiest description [and] 50 per cent worse than a black's wurlie". See *Register*, 27 August 1883, page 5b.

Of a brothel in Hindley Street the *Register* of 19 December 1883 at page 7b says:

[It] is open all night long and is kept by a notorious woman [who] has been convicted for receiving stolen fowls[!!!]

"Vice in Adelaide and Suburbs" is in the *Register*, 11 June 1884, page 4e, "The Darker Shades of City Life" on 14 June 1884, page 6b.

Letters in respect of "The Social Evil" are in the *Advertiser*, 5, 11 and 14 July 1884, pages 7a, 6c and 6g:

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...

Several letters concerning "The Social Evil" are in the *Advertiser*, 8 September 1884, page 7a.

[In the 1870s] some quarters of the city were rendered almost impassable even in the day time in consequence of the shameless scenes that might be witnessed... half-naked women... idled about in Currie Street...

(See *Advertiser*, 26 and 29 September 1884, pages 4g and 4d.)

"The Protection of Young Females" is in the *Observer*, 27 September 1884, page 25a, "The Protection of Young Women" in the *Register*, 14 November 1884, page 4f:

So long as the business is conducted in an orderly manner, so it is implied, the police have nothing to do with it. Yet let two or three of the inmates of that same house walk down the street and attempt to practise the arts, which their employer has taught them, and instantly arrest follows... The law on the subject is a most glaring instance of legislation directed only against the poor and unfortunate...

Under the heading "Dissolute Adelaide" the *Register* of 6 and 15 December 1884, pages 6d and 5g says, *inter alia*:

[I] have manoeuvred through all the haunts and dens of the city where the dissipated loose livers of society gather for the purpose of displaying all their animal propensities... Men and women are living amongst us who are thoroughly debauched and are spreading a moral

pestilence; children are to be found in numbers imitating the vicious habits of the most degraded...

Some of the [hotels] I have described should be removed at once... They are spreading their immoral influences as from a centre and the only course open is to bring about good results by wiping them out.

His remarks raised a storm of protest from some quarters and praise from others - see 17, 18, 19 and 23 December 1884, pages 7c, 7c, 6g and 7d. These articles were written by Rev. A. Turnbull - see 8 January 1885, page 7f for a report of a lecture given by him in the Crusaders' Hall.

The Editor of the *Register* on 15 December 1884 at page 4h pronounces, *inter alia*:

To attempt to "regulate" vice by giving it legislative sanction would be to directly encourage baneful notions which strike at the root of social institutions. So far from providing a "safety-valve" it would place a virtuous woman at a disadvantage by discouraging marriage and substituting passion for affection...

The *Register* of 14 July 1885 at page 6g under the heading "The Waifs of the Street" says, *inter alia*:

Ostracised by society, abandoned by their destroyers, shunned by all but their wretched companions in vice, their degradation was terrible and complete... Today, legislators, moralists and philanthropists view with horror the march of immorality... Optimists will tell us with a shrug that the selfish passions of "dissolute man" cannot be checked... There is at present a Bill before the Legislative Council for its object the better protection of young females, but laws can only deal with public offences, and these are merely drops in the stream of vice...

An editorial on prostitution is in the *Advertiser*, 27 July 1885, page 4d and information on the formation of a "Rescue Committee" on 25 September 1885, page 4d.

The Editor of the *Register* on 17 November 1885 at page 4h says, *inter alia*:

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that our streets are thronged by mere children, girls who are living a life of gross immorality... The business of the procuress, if it is not a flourishing one is yet pursued and the malign influence of wretches who make it their trade to minister to the worst passions of the worst men is felt to a most deplorable extent in the ruin of young girls...

A plea for funds by the Salvation Army to "rescue" young girls is in the *Register*, 15 April 1886, page 3e.

Information on a "Rescue Home" in Hurtle Square is in the *Register*, 18 June 1887, page 6b.

Comment on a City Council by-law to suppress "houses of ill-fame" is in the *Register*, 18 May 1891, page 4g.

"Immorality in Adelaide" is discussed in the *Register*, 6 June 1892, page 5a while on 12 August 1897, page 6g a concerned citizen says:

To any one going through the streets after dusk... the sight of large numbers of girls, from the age of thirteen upwards, showy in dress and loose in conduct, presents a very grave aspect...

A report on an alleged procuress is in the *Advertiser*, 24 November 1893, page 7g.

A correspondent to the *Register* on 22 December 1903 at page 3f created a furore when he said:

I have been patiently waiting for some of our city ministers to call public attention to this deplorable state of things. But, no. These sleek, well-groomed, well-attired "Sons of Heaven" are dumb when it is a question of public concern. [This] cowardly attitude... is intolerable... If our spiritual leaders... are so severely fenced off from all contact with the poor, unfortunate woman that seeks her livelihood upon the streets in lieu of being sweated to death by perhaps some wealthy pillar and proprietor of the church, we are not all so advantageously situated. Cannot our cultured and spotless divines exert a little of their holy influence to stem the stream of prostitution that runs through our favoured city like a mighty river.

Also see *Register*, 24, 29 and 31 December 1903, pages 6b, 6g and 7g:

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 2 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?

Also see *Register*, 1 January 1904, page 7g:

The root... of the social evil... is the evil in human nature that we call sin; the remedy is the Divine love that saves from sin... In my opinion tens of thousands are being kept on the paths of virtue and many are being restored to them by the work of the churches.

Also see *Register*, 4 January 1904, pages 6d-7g:

The work of reform... is mainly for the home (which should be made enticing and attractive to the sons and daughters and not merely a place in which to sleep and eat), for the churches and for the schools - with the press, of course, assisting wherever practicable... And, withal, the essential point is to build character - to strengthen the tree; not to fence it off from every risk of contact with storms.

Also see *Register*, 5, 6, 9, 12 and 21 January 1904, pages 5h, 9i, 3i, 8f and 6h, 3 February 1904, page 3h, 25 February 1910, page 8g:

A writer in the *Register* in referring to prostitution says "It is, as every man of sense knows, a necessary evil" and therefore wrong to try to stop it... The increase in the numbers and the decrease of the inmates of our rescue homes is due not to the praiseworthy efforts to mitigate

the evils of prostitution by legislative enactments, but to the lack of parental control... The unrestricted circulation of immoral publications [and] the growing prevalence of French ideas in regard to social purity, of French inventions and French practices, by the employment of which the young of both sexes think they can do wrong, indulge their appetites uncontrolled and yet escape the consequences.

Prostitution was, is, and always will be; it would be far better to have the vice under control than to put a plaster over the sore, roll up your eyes, and say it does not exist... If that were done, there would not be, in the future, be so many bleary-eyed, scrofulous children as we see now...

"The Regulation of Vice" is in the *Advertiser*, 22 January 1904, page 7h, "Immorality in Adelaide" on 22 May 1905, page 9c.

Letters on the "Social Evil" are in the *Advertiser*, 21 December 1905, page 11a:

To cure the evil and eradicate the nuisance it will be necessary to proceed against those who make it possible for these people to carry on their nefarious practice; that is, begin with the landlords of these filthy tenements - mere rookeries in many instances - bringing in more money to their owners than many costly villas.

Also see *Register*, 28 February 1910, page 9a, 2, 3 and 8 March 1910, pages 10d, 6g and 9d:

When a man, parson or judge... tells us that the curfew bell will stop immorality - that is keep the young people at home and give them a sugar lump - will settle this eternal question... they make me wonder, do such people really not know any better? Have they never been young and full of the lust of life?

Also see *Register*, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19 and 23 March 1910, pages 3c, 7h, 10e, 9d, 11f and 8g, *Advertiser*, 1 December 1910, page 10e:

One can walk through the main thoroughfares without being confronted with the traffic in degradation formerly carried on. But that the traffic should exist at all is what distresses and perplexes the moralist and the humanitarian. While it is quite true that the community cannot be made moral by Act of Parliament, at least we may see that the young of both sexes is not led astray by Ignorance, which too often goes hand-in-hand with Vice.

"Immorality in the City" is in the *Register* 28 June 1913, page 14g, 2 July 1913, page 7g, "Suppressing Immorality" in the *Advertiser*, 28 June 1913, page 18e.

An article by a medical practitioner, "The Social Evil - What Can be Done" is in the *Advertiser*, 8 September 1913, page 19a; also see 24 September 1913, page 5a, 20 July 1914, page 14e.

"A Social Pestilence" is the subject of lengthy debate in the *Register*, 25 September 1913, page 9f, 1, 4, 8, 9, 14, 17 and 31 October 1913, pages 15f, 7h, 7f, 9f, 8d, 3g and 3i:

Through the authorities neglecting to afford innocent means of passing their Sunday evenings, hundreds of young people of both sexes have no alternative but to frequent

either the streets or the secluded parts of the park lands and along the Torrens... I may safely describe some of the latter places... as open air brothels.

"The Social Evil" is in the *Advertiser*, 21 July 1915, pages 8d-12h, "Little Hells - Young Girls Led Astray" on 18, 19, 21, 24 and 26 August 1915, pages 8h, 10d, 15a, 5e and 10h, "Keepers of Immoral Houses" on 19 February 1917, page 9a.

Under the heading "A Mother's Sin" a correspondent to the *Advertiser*, 18 April 1921, page 5f says:

A mother, deserted by her husband and unable to find work, went "on the streets" and "sold her soul" for the sake of her three children. A Christian Police Court... rewarded her with 21 days imprisonment and took her babes from her... Why bother a heart and torture a mind... Is there no room for mercy?...

(Also see *Advertiser*, 29 April 1921, page 7e, 10 May 1921, page 9e.)

"State Regulation of Vice" is in the *Advertiser*, 1 March 1932, page 12d, "Cold Shoulder to Fallen Girls" on 25 and 27 June 1932, pages 19b and 15h.

Essay No. 10 - Housing and Domestic Life in Early Adelaide

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.

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."

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.

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."

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."

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:

Take care that the [surveyor/builder] does not persuade
you that the best site is the lowest part of the land.
Insist upon the ground floor being placed at least four
inches above the ground level.
If joists and boards are used, strew quick lime
plentifully between the joints as a preservative
against white ants.

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.

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.

See that your roof exceeds in height one-third of the span, and that your shingles have good overlap.

A wide verandah around your dwelling is an important addition to the personal happiness of its inmates.

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.

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.

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...

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."

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.

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.

act 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.

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", viz, "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.

Homes of the Working Class

The substandard dwellings generally occupied by the working class are the subject of an informative and heart-rending letter written by a Hindmarsh resident in 1868:

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..."

The same correspondent wrote on the subject, with further insight and compassion in 1869 - the comment he makes on "wealth" is more than appropriate today when one considers the plundering of the nation 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 the decade of the 1980s saw social mores 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..."

A decade later it is apparent that the situation had not improved:

They seldom consist of more than one story; the rooms are cramped in area, and the ceilings low. They have small and inconvenient windows, small fire places, and as few as them as it has been practicable to allow, the cost of building chimneys being as far as possible saved. Thus it occurs that the bedrooms can seldom be ventilated without opening the front doors and the windows... The ill-enclosed cesspits [are] so near the doors and windows as to render the air about them quite unfit for breathing.

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.

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 unsuitable 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.

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."

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."

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"!

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 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 the "family joint" into moulds made for the purpose by the "pioneer tinsmith of Hindley Street, which then constituted Adelaide proper". 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.

. *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.. *Register*, 26 June 1910, p. 6c.4. *Observer*, 14 December 1844, p. 3a.. *The News*, 10 April 1929, p. 6c.. *Register*, 8 November 1845, p. 4a.7. *Register*, 9 March 1854, p. 3e.. *Adelaide Times*, 7 May 1849, page 3b.. *Observer*, 30 May 1846, p. 6b, *Register*, 30 January 1858, p. 2g, 24 April 1868, p. 2f.. *Register*, 21 July 1855, p. 2f, 2 February 1856, p. 2b, *Observer*, 6 and 13 September 1856, pp. 6g and 1d (supp.).. 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.. *Advertiser*, 21 February 1878, page 4e.. *Register*, 7 April 1868, p. 3g.. *Register*, 5 June 1869 page 3d. Author's emphasis.. *Register*, 10 May 1877, page 4c.. *Observer*, 23 December 1843, p. 6a, 4 May 1844, p. 3.. *Advertiser*, 14 September 1858, page 3d. 15. *Observer*, 29 December 1849, p. 3b.. *Observer*, 18 July 1874, p. 7c, 22 February 1879, p. 3e.. *Register*, 1 December 1916, page 9e. . *Observer*, 28 September 1889, p. 34a.. See Jennifer Isaacs, *Pioneer Women of the Bush and Outback*.

Essay No. 11 - On the Beaches

There were no trams or trains (except to "Mudholia") and a long wearisome drive to Glenelg or the Semaphore was followed by much discomfort. There were no refreshment rooms; water had to be bought or carried with the party; and bathing was a matter of dressing and undressing on the open beach, with a space of over half a mile separating the men and women's reserves.
(*Register*, 11 January 1928, page 12d)

Introduction

With the advent of summer months the pools in the bed of the River Torrens became an attractive place to cool off for citizens but with the coming of the Port railway citizens of Hindmarsh, Thebarton and other adjacent villages 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.

However, seaside excursions were frowned upon in some sections of Adelaide society one being the hierarchy of the churches and satellites who 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...

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..."

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.

The Evolution of Bathing From Adelaide's Beaches

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":

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...

Opinions From Citizens

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 beaux,
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 "wowsers", pulpit-bashers and referendums I fear it has come to a stop merely because woman says it is good to run thus, for it uplifts and brings to us that homage which the female has always demanded from a servile male opinion. In the meantime society pretends to be shocked...

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.

. *Register*, 14 February 1850, page 3d.. *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.. Mrs Alfred Watts, *Memories of Early Days in South Australia* (Adelaide, 1882), p. 71; cited in John Daly,

Elysian Fields. p. 75.. *Adelaide Times*, 11 March 1850, page 3d.. *Register*, 11 January 1928, p. 12d.. *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.

Essay No. 12 - 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..."

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." Many complaints were made about the lack of fencing around wells and by 1851 one disgruntled citizen was to denounce them as "yawning sepulchres... ready to swallow up alive any unwary mite who chances to stray in the vicinity.

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."

The River Torrens

On a warm summer's day in November 1836 Lt W.G. Field, of the *Rapid*, George S. Kingston and John Morphett were trekking over the Adelaide plain when Mr Kingston's dog got the scent of water and dashed towards it to slake its thirst. Thus, the watercourse was discovered, being named "River Torrens" in 1837 by Governor Hindmarsh.

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...

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.

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.

Some citizens, such as those in Hindmarsh, 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."

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.

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?

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.

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 townspeople were again able to use the river for recreational purposes.

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.

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%.

Among the poorer people living adjacent to the river 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.

As the population of Adelaide 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".

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.

However, this had a harmful effect on residents of Hindmarsh and Thebarton - 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 of Thebarton 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.

Conclusion

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."

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. (*Written in 1994*)

Tales of Adelaide

Essay No. 15 - Alms Across the Sea - A Tale of Two Towns

Introduction

During World War I a form of repartee common among the French people, with whom our soldiers talked that curious language called 'entente', was 'Apres la guerre.' Like many catchwords it expressed, unwittingly, a national attitude. The thing that mattered, it cheerfully implied, was to push on, in spite of wounds and loss towards a goal - Afterwards there would be time again for pleasure, prosperity, and all the lighter sides of life. And after the war - what? <P>

For many of them it was a heartbreaking prospect. Of 6,000,000 acres of devastated land in Northern France, half a million would never again, as suggested in 1920, be fit for cultivation; another million could be used only after great expense. Further, at least a million acres of forest was utterly destroyed.<P>

In important manufacturing districts hardly one stone had been left on another; machinery had been removed, factories dismantled, coal mines flooded. Every establishment that might be considered likely to compete with German businesses was utterly destroyed.

It was one vast picture of desolation with a poignantly human side - the blackened hearths, the ruined farms, the heap of stones where cottages had been. With all the national spirit so splendidly displayed in war, the French quietly set to work to build up their towns and villages again.

Out of their brave efforts arose the proposal that the more prosperous British towns should give organised assistance by 'adopting' a town or village. The idea was enthusiastically received and for months the big British cities rendered substantial help. Late in 1920 the idea spread to Australia.

In the euphoric days following the dawn of 1919, and in common with the rest of the civilised world, Australia, it was said, owed a great debt to France. Glory was shared equally among the allies, but in the great catastrophe that overtook civilisation in 1914, it was France who first bared her bosom to the common foe.

Readily and gallantly Australian men took their places at her side, but - our homes never suffered. We were never to witness the most heartbreaking sight of war - non-combatants taking their poor household goods and leaving their homes, drifting helplessly before a catastrophe entirely beyond their comprehension.

It was in saving those homes that Australian soldiers played one of their finest parts in the war. 'Great was the link thus forged between them and the people of France in the days of the Armistice in November 1918.' At many a French fireside an 'Aussie' was

welcome, many an Australian grave was piously tended by those who had recognised in the boys from over the seas the 'very brothers of their own gay and unconquerable spirit.'¹

Events in England

Following the Armistice on 11 November 1918, M. Marce Braibant, Consul-General of the Ardennes in France, visited London to coordinate individual efforts to help his country, and at whose suggestion a scheme commenced for the 'adoption' of devastated towns and villages.

The object was not to relieve Germany of her obligations by raising money to rebuild shattered France, but to extend from one town to another such personal help and sympathy as are given naturally by friend to friend.

The headquarters of the central committee was in London, where it played the part of liaison officer, placing the God-parent town into touch with its French protege and thereafter taking no part in the arrangement, unless specially asked for its advice or assistance.

At its height the people of Great Britain extended a helping hand to nearly a hundred French towns and, in due course, Dominion 'adoptions' included Poilcourt by Sydney, Villers-Bretonneux by Melbourne and Dernancourt by Adelaide.²

Action in Adelaide

In August 1920 the Editor of the *SA Register* suggested that 'in view of the magnificent part played by Australian divisions on the western front, and the intimate ties which link Commonwealth peoples to that region and its heroic populations, it is highly desirable that Australians should follow the lead of their kindred in the Motherland and render appreciable assistance to our heroic allies.'³

He concluded by saying that: 'This State is quite able to take under its foster care at least one of the considerable towns especially memorable in connection with our boys' brilliant and noble exploits in the decisive arena of the war.'³

At a meeting of the Society d'Assistance Maternelle et Infantile at the Adelaide Town Hall in October 1920, a proposal was made that an endeavour should be made to adopt one of the French towns for which Australians had fought with grim determination and courage to save. Such adoption would provide the means to help clear land for farmers and, when families returned to their former homes, to provide clothes, furniture, one horse and cow and farm implements.

Two French women, Berthe Mouchette and Marie Lion, were the prime movers and said they accepted the responsibility of starting the new activity with the fervent hope that more influential persons within the community would become involved. The towns of Bapaume, Dernancourt and Morlancourt were suggested together with Hamel and Neuville.

The Lord Mayor of Adelaide, Mr. F.B. Moulden, who presided, urged that before putting the matter before the public, it would be wise to find out exactly what the responsibilities of such an adoption would be. His advice was to approach the French government through the Consul-General in Sydney and find out what 'adoption' really meant. In passing he mentioned that the society had forwarded about #600 and eighteen boxes of garments for charitable work in France.⁴

Positive responses emanated from the public following the promulgation of these proceedings. One correspondent, under a *nom-de-plume* of 'Josephine', said that as 'worthy are the many memorial schemes in our own land, it would surely be a fitting method of perpetuating the great deeds of the Australian abroad to help the people reconstruct their homes on some site where the Australians distinguished themselves.

'The scheme is as far removed from mere "charity" as was the great and never-to-be-forgotten kindness of the French people to our men during the war; and those ties of friendship will be drawn closer yet if we can make some small acknowledgment.'⁵

Another correspondent reminded readers that Melbourne had formed a committee, with General Sir John Monash as President, and Villers-Bretonneux was adopted, with enthusiastic support being promised by the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League. Further, it was hoped that many towns in Victoria would follow the example of the metropolis.⁵

Dernancourt, France - South Australia's God-Child

The Adelaide committee, following an exchange of letters with appropriate French authorities, agreed upon Dernancourt as its God-child and proposed to collect funds and forward the money to the Mayor of that village, M. Fernand Belison, who undertook to distribute it among distressed villagers. In a letter the Mayor extolled the courage and morale of Australian troops and his informative, heart-rending remarks are reproduced in an abridged form:

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

Dernancourt, 336 inhabitants, in the valley of the Ancre, was in 1914 to 1916 about six kilometres from the enemy's lines... Dernancourt seems to be the heart of all Australians for it was from here that all the Australian 'waves' started which pushed back the Germans in 1916 and 1917, and had such dire punishment in 1918...

Until July 1917, the Australian troops progressed steadily, but on May 1917, the 4th division left the district to go and share in the attack on Flanders; it came back to Dernancourt in March 1918. Between times, the population, superbly courageous, with their morale well kept up by the Australian officers and soldiers, forced itself to endeavour to cultivate the fields, and restore in a measure the normal state of the land occupied by war materials and 'behind the lines' services which had followed the onward moves.

Dernancourt became a rest camp for the troops. The Australian military authorities offered their help to the farmers who had so little manpower, and the unforgettable spectacle was seen of soldiers, yesterday in the trenches, helping in the work in the fields, carting, sowing, planting and reaping with warm enjoyment. It seemed as if these soldiers were working for themselves.

There was a general joy in the return to our fields at a common table; there was only one family, and this family was complete, for photographs of loved ones passed from hand to hand. What happiness there was for the children who had in each soldier an adopted father to replace the real parent at the front, and which were the happier? Those who received the help, or those who gave it?

History has never recorded in ancient or modern times facts with such deep moral and far-reaching effect. Then came the unhappy events of March 1918; the enemy was 10 kilometres from Dernancourt. For three nights the Boche 'planes shelled the village trying to destroy Dernancourt and its important railway junctions. On the night of March 25 we had to evacuate the town...

Yes, indeed, the Boche tried to advance to Dernancourt... The Australians would not allow it... At last on August 8, the Australian bravery fought against German tenacity, the Boche gave way and from then his retreat was precipitate... The village was but a heap of ruins; 28 inhabitants came back in May 1919.

There are, today, 212 in miserable shanties, made hastily with what materials they could find. There is not a tree in this valley formerly so smiling. The Australians loved it and knew its desolation, because they sent us from Gippsland photographs of our ruins. Frequent letters show that they do not forget us, nor we them, for, alas, we are the guardians of the blood which they have shed on our soil. Out of the 2,250 graves which are in the military

cemetery, there are 361 Australian officers and soldiers, whose names are known, and 40 unidentified.

The village cemetery also has several other graves, Captain Leane and Lt-Colonel Leane, *[sic]* a marble stone on the latter grave bears this inscription - 'Erected by his men and officers.'

On 2 November 1919, the municipal council and the children, in procession, escorted by the populace, placed flowers and crowns on all the tombs, and extolled the valour and heroism of the Australian troops.

No, Dernancourt will never forget, for the municipality has offered its services for the care and upkeep of these graves which are for the present generation what they will remain for those later born, the expression of our gratitude towards Australia and its armies in the great war which has bled, but liberated humanity.⁶

At the foot of this letter in the newspaper is an announcement that the committee had arranged to 'sell badges at the show on Friday in order to raise money... The badge is to be inscribed with neat letters - "Dernancourt, the God-child of South Australia" and is mounted with a French flag.'

Events in South Australia

In May 1921 a dance was organised for the evening of Adelaide Cup Day when Osborne Hall was 'particularly festive' with over 200 people enjoying themselves. The event was organised by Mrs Herbert Rymill and Jack Fewster's jazz orchestra 'played irresistible music', their services being given gratuitously. There were two or three tables for bridge at one end of the supper room that were occupied all the evening.

At 8.45 the Consul for France (Mr Frank Moulden) and Lady Hackett arrived and the 'Marseillaise' was played in their honour and at 10 o'clock 'God Save the King' heralded the arrival of the Governor, Sir Archibald Weigall; Lady Weigall was not well enough to be present.⁷

By June 1921 the sum of £200 and parcels of clothes had been forwarded to Dernancourt and this prompted a gracious letter from M. Belison:

I have the honour to inform you that your kind letter of March 9 last has been communicated first to the municipal council and then to the population of our unhappy village. The news has contributed greatly to the re-establishment of 'morale', which has had many blows from the lack of faith observed by the Germans in keeping their promises.

But the arrival of woollen clothes made by the ladies of Adelaide, the reception of a cheque, the promise of other tokens of your care for us, have greatly increased the grateful feelings of all my fellow citizens.

We loved having your soldiers here for the safety which they guaranteed and we also admire and revere those women who, after long years of uncertainty, while still mourning their dead, so kindly wish to alleviate the immense distress of those who cannot yet foresee the end of their privations.

To all the ladies of Adelaide, to all your fellow citizens, and to your committee, give our most profound gratitude and thanks and our imperishable remembrance.⁸

Fund raising activities continued on a monthly basis and in June 1921 the Queen's Hall was the venue for a musical and/or elocutionary recital. The performers included the pianist, Miss Coralie Goodman, who contributed two instrumental solos 'in pleasing style', Mr E. Fairhurst Derbyshire sang 'The Trumpeter' and 'The Two Grenadiers' 'with marked effect' and Mr Edward Reeves gave the 'Exploits of Brigadier Gerard', by Conan Doyle, in his 'usual masterful manner'.

Miss Lily Butler exhibited a French victory flag, one of 50 issued and the only specimen in Australia, and spoke of the gratification felt by the people of France for what Australia had done during and since the war. The general arrangements were made by Messrs N.H. Taylor and S. Price Weir, assisted by a committee, of which Mrs d'Arenberg was secretary.⁹

A Visit to Dernancourt

Samuel Lunn, MBE, a prolific fund raiser during the Great War, while on a visit to England in 1922, was requested by the South Australian committee to visit Dernancourt, to call on the Mayor, and deliver a box containing children's clothes, boomerangs and sweets. In an interview with the Mayor, 'Sammy' Lunn was told how thankful the people of Dernancourt were, for on that day they had received a further #150. Mr Lunn observed:

With the inspector of police of Albert I reached Dernancourt and went out to the fields. The Mayor was dressed in moleskin trousers and wide-brimmed straw hat and using a coloured handkerchief to mop his face. He was on a load of hay, working very hard. Through an interpreter he said he wished to inform the people of South Australia that although he had been through the university and had plenty of money to live on, he, like many other Mayors of ruined towns, thought it his duty to get out into the fields and help his people.

I also visited the school, where I met the teacher who could speak a little English. The dear little kiddies were so delighted to meet me and saluted me with 'Bon jour, Australien'. Then I gave each of them some sweets... I must say I do love the French people. They seem to be such a pleasant race, and speak very highly of the Australian soldiers...10

Delay in France

Towards the close of 1921 anxiety was felt concerning the fate of a box of presents sent to Dernancourt because it was confiscated by French customs officials pending the payment of duty. However, due to the efforts of the Mayor of Dernancourt and protests by the press and the Minister of Reconstruction the presents were released without the payment of an impost.

Monsieur Belison took up his pen and informed Madame Mouchette of Rose Park of later events:

After many vicissitudes we received on January 3 the box and basket containing the presents collected by you, Mrs A.J. McLachlan, Mrs Gaynor and many other benefactresses of Adelaide. The distribution was made yesterday to our 63 children, including 16 girls, by the Municipal Council and the ladies of the school committee. It was a great success.

It was, indeed, a touching spectacle to see our children, who could not believe their own eyes and who, besides the toys, each received a packet of sweets and a cake. Our 34 returned soldiers - of the 49 who went to war - also participated in the distribution of the gifts. That which caused the greatest sensation was your magnificent oil painting, 'Ecce Homo'.

From the eleven pounds sent for the fete we spent 150 francs for cakes and kept the balance for 'Adelaide Day' of which I spoke in my last letter. We distributed yesterday only the toys, garments, sweets and small objects, keeping the prizes destined for the best scholars of the school.

At the forthcoming fete there will be, in the morning, a solemn commemoration service in honour of the Australian soldiers. In the afternoon every Dernancourt family will go in procession, and will bring flowers and wreaths to be placed on the graves of the soldiers from our antipodes...

My wife and daughter are preparing, with the help of the girls, a quantity of Australian flags to decorate the newly-erected huts and the ruins; but beforehand I am asked to be the medium through which to thank you and your friends who have brought such a wave of joy into their homes.

Our returned soldiers have received the tobacco, cocoa, coffee, biscuits and preserves that you sent. They are sorry that they had not had the opportunity of fraternising more with their Australian comrades in arms during the war, they being on other fronts, but they are conscious of having lived the same life in the trenches...

Yesterday will be an epoch in the life of each one of us. We shall always remember it, and for it I can only say 'Merci'! That word in all its simplicity covers our emotions and our gratitude... We have distributed the seeds so kindly sent by the curator of the Adelaide Botanic Gardens. If they thrive, as we hope they will, we shall plant the shrubs and the trees

on the graves of the Australian soldiers, so that the Australian soul, which hovers over their cemetery, will find an Australian oasis in the midst of France.¹¹

Country Participation in South Australia

Several country towns participated in the 'adoption' and, in March 1922, Mrs E.W. Hawker of 'Calcania', Clare, received a letter from the Mayor of Dernancourt:

Clare is very far from us; too far for our liking, but not far enough, however, to prevent coming to us upon the wings of the wind and the waves of the briny ocean, the echo of the splendid fete organised at Clare... and where the generosity of the people poured out copiously.

How can I express to you effectively and completely our gratitude, and that of your municipal council and the entire population? We owe to Australia an immense sacred debt for the blood that she shed in coming to our help, and you have increased, still further, that debt in aiding us towards the restoration of our ruins.

Being unable for the present to do anything in a material or tangible form, we will endeavour in the near future to prove to you that our heart is full of thought for you, as we intend to transmit to our posterity the precious souvenir of your affectionate sympathy. We will exhibit in a prominent place in the Salle d'Honneur of our new municipal offices your photograph and that of your committee as well as of our benefactors.

This will show to future generations that in the hour of our great distress we found at Clare a source of powerful comfort. We ask you to convey to all those who have been kind enough to second your efforts our deepest gratitude, and to beg you to accept personally the homage of our respectful sentiments and eternal gratitude.¹²

At the same time the Mayor addressed his villagers' benefactors in Adelaide:

It comforts us in our troubles to know that you are thinking of us, for we really have no luck in our farm work. Last year we had only wheat, the dry summer spoiled the oats, the beetroot and the feed for the animals. This year the severe winter has destroyed part of our wheat.

We really need two or three years to allow us to form a little reserve and to ensure feed for our cattle. Still we must not be discouraged and must redouble our efforts in hope of better days. We are passing through troublesome times. A cyclone visited us last week and destroyed much reconstruction work in the fields, already hindered by winter.

It seems as if we are in a place accursed.¹³

Madame Berthe Mouchette Reports

In June 1922 Madame Mouchette informed the daily press in respect of Adelaide's adopted village: 'During 1921, as the result of efforts in the city, £192 was forwarded to the communal authorities and a bazaar and fete at Clare produced £103... In a letter recently received... the Dernancourt authorities said that what was now most needed was a threshing machine to enable the villagers to reap their harvest.

'They have been able to cultivate and sow about 1,600 acres, but have no implements to take off the crop. As the harvest occurs about the middle of August, we have no time to lose if we are to assist them. This need for haste precludes the idea of raising money by the usual methods of sales, fetes, amusements, etc., so it is decided to make a direct appeal...

'Of [Dernancourt's] 110 houses, 107 were completely destroyed and the inhabitants are at present living in huts built from material recovered from the trenches. The population is entirely agricultural and depends on its crops for its livelihood. The fact that there was a number of deserving charities before the public is not lost sight of, but it is hoped that a sufficient number of The Register's readers will be interested enough to assist in raising the desired sum [of about £150 to £200].'¹³

On the same day the Editor of *The Register* lent his support to the appeal and urged former members of battalions that fought in France, and sympathisers, to raise money

by small contributions which could be cabled to Dernancourt in time to purchase the 'needy implement before the harvest is ready'.¹⁴

The Premier Visits France and Belgium

Sir Henry Barwell travelled abroad in 1922 and while in France he and Lady Barwell visited some battlefields, including Amiens, Peronne, Bapaume and Pozieres and other towns and villages, including Dernancourt.

There they were received kindly by the Mayor, who asked him to convey to the people of South Australia the thanks of the inhabitants for the assistance that had already been given.

The Premier said that: 'The village has suffered very considerably as a result of shell fire. The money received has been distributed, firstly in the supply of clothes and the necessities of life, and secondly, in the erection of buildings, including a pavilion, which is used for school and other public purposes.

'The village is still in need of a considerable sum of money for repairing the damage that has been done and for providing the necessities of life for the people, many of whom lost everything they were possessed of. In Belgium we visited the town of Liere, which has been assisted by a grant from the South Australian Belgium Relief Fund.

'Here again we were enthusiastically welcomed by the Mayor... They conducted us over a small model suburb which is being built, partly with South Australian subscriptions, and to which the name of "South Australia" has been given...'¹⁵

A Franco-Australian Fete

A French newspaper sent to Madame Mouchette gave an interesting report of a fete held on 16 June 1922; *La Gazette*, Peronne, stated:

Dernancourt, the little village in the valley of the Ancre, which was completely razed to the ground in 1918, but which has already begun to rise from its ruins, organised on June 16, a manifestation of gratitude in honour of its Australian God-mother, Adelaide

Favored with beautiful weather, the fete attracted visitors from miles around, who were both pleased and astonished at the successful efforts made by the inhabitants to conceal their ruins with foliage and flowers. Every building, broken or whole, was gay with color, the French and Australian flags everywhere floated to the breeze, and all helped to render Dernancourt worthy of the occasion.

M. Belison, the Mayor of Dernancourt, was the originator and moving spirit of the fete, and was ably assisted by the various patriotic and welfare societies in the district.

In the morning a memorial service was held in honor of the 300 Australian soldiers who repose in the military cemetery in the village. Canon Vaquetts of Amiens Cathedral, who was born at Dernancourt, officiated and delivered an eloquent and inspired address. The music was supplied by the Albert Symphony Society. At 1.30 pm the procession formed up in the Place Marshall Foch and moved off preceded by the band.

At the farther end of the Rue Georges Clemenceau the young folk had erected a triumphal arch, decorated with foliage and bearing the words 'Adelaide, Merci'. Here each group of the truly imposing cortege halted for a few seconds to be photographed. First came a body of horsemen, each wearing a special badge, the bridles and manes of their horses bright with ribbons and flowers, then a group of cyclists, also gay with colors.

Then an Australian soldier, mounted and carrying the Australian flag. This was one of the features of the procession. He looked superb in his Australian uniform, carrying his proud flag. A bystander approached him. 'Please sir, your name?' He replied, 'Compris, very well. Je m'appelle, Boucher Alcide, laitier a Dernancourt, of soldat dans la Grand Guerre.' (My name is Alcide Boucher, dairyman, of Dernancourt, and soldier in the Great War.) He was a Frenchman.

Following the Australian(?) came three young soldiers, representing the French army, then the school children, the little girls carrying bouquets, the boys bearing flags. At a short distance followed 'France in Mourning' represented by a charming young girl, who, clad in

the garments of grief, and accompanied by three Red Cross nurses, stirred the emotions of all with memories of our wounded, our mutilated, our dead. 'France Victorious' struck a gayer note.

A young girl, proudly carried the Palm of Victory. At her side walked another handsome girl, portraying 'Australia succouring France.' Next came the group 'On ne passe pas' (no admittance), composed of men of the village who served at Verdun, in the Champagne, in Artois and in Flanders. 'There were more of us in 1914', said one of them. Yes, there were more of them then. Some stayed behind on the field, but they denied admittance to the invader.

Then followed three maidens representing Alsace and three for Lorraine, dressed in the costume of the provinces, then the municipal council and the welfare committee. These preceded a group typifying 'France at Peace and Work' consisting of a decorated waggon containing a little girl dressed as France and bearing a banner inscribed 'Pax'. Accompanying her were children, representing the industries of peace, harvesters, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc. After this group followed the remainder of the inhabitants, all carrying bouquets of flowers.

The procession passed along the Rue Clemenceau to the Military Cemetery which contains some 3,000 graves, and there ranged itself beside the graves of the Australian soldiers. The members of the symbolic groups and the school children placed their flowers on the graves, while the spectators stood in an attitude of reverence. A move was then made to the General Cemetery, where flowers were placed on the graves of French soldiers.<P>

The municipal council proceeded to an Australian grave, the only one in the General Cemetery. Here lies Colonel Leane, brother of Brigadier-General Leane, president of the Dernancourt adoption committee in Adelaide. Here the Mayor delivered a stirring oration in which he thanked his fellow citizens for having placed flowers on all the Australian, English and French graves.

'It is but right', said he, 'to include in your gratitude those who were associated in their sacrifice. And your council have deemed it their duty to assemble at the grave of Colonel Leane May the wreaths of flowers that we place here symbolise our admiration towards those heroes and represent to General Leane, to the Adelaide committee, and to all who continue towards us in peace, that generous assistance they rendered us in war, the assurance of our lasting gratitude.'

The procession returned by the Rue Marechal Petain passing beneath an arch inscribed 'Australia For Ever' and dispersed in the Rue Marechal Foch. At 4 pm a number of gifts, specially sent by the ladies of South Australia, were distributed to the school children and to the mothers of large families to whom they proved very acceptable.

This pleasing ceremony was followed by tea of which all partook with relish. At 6 pm a free lottery enabled each family to obtain a souvenir of the occasion. The fete was a great success and was much enjoyed by all. It was designed to show in some way the lasting thanks of the inhabitants of Dernancourt towards its Australian God-mother, and it will long live in their memory, coupled with the name of Adelaide.¹⁶

A Final Plea

Mrs Eva Roubel d'Arenberg, honorary secretary of the 'adoption' committee put forward a final plea in September 1922 when she said: 'The winter is approaching and clothes, and above all, money will be needed, as the houses are still in a dilapidated condition.

'Mr G. Anstey, Glenelg, as the honorary treasurer, and Miss Macdonald, Grand Coffee Palace will receive any parcels of clothes, new or second hand. Clothes for babies are not required, but men's and women's are, urgently...' ¹⁷

Madame Mouchette - A Biography

Born at Forcalquier, Bas Aples, France, she travelled in her early years with her father who was a civil engineer. While in her teens she passed the examinations qualifying her to hold the position of teacher of painting in the National Art Schools of France.

Her husband, having been ordered abroad for reasons of health, decided to come to Australia and they arrived in Melbourne in the summer of 1881, Monsieur Mouchette having been appointed secretary of the French Consulate. Shortly after their arrival Madame engaged in the teaching of painting and exhibitions of her own and pupils' work earned flattering press notices and, encouraged by this success, she established a college for girls that grew to a flourishing institution, necessitating the employment at one time of thirty teachers.

Monsieur Mouchette, however, became involved in the great land boom and when this collapsed, his health, never too robust, gave way and he succumbed to heart failure. Madame Mouchette found herself practically ruined and with a few meagre possessions arrived in Adelaide in 1891. During her residence here she engaged in teaching painting and French and Spanish languages, ably assisted by her gifted sister Madame Marie Lion. For some years Madame Mouchette conducted the oral examinations in French at the University of Adelaide.

They proved themselves good citizens and lived up to the noblest ideals of their race and upbringing. During the war the sisters proceeded to France where Mlle Lion took up nursing in a military hospital and Madame Mouchette pursued her teaching activities as a means of providing funds to carry on their charitable work. Returning to Adelaide she took an active part in the work of 'Societe Maternelle et Infantile' whose object was to render aid to the mothers and children of France stricken by the war. She also took a keen interest in the village of Dernancourt.

She was one of the promoters and a foundation member of the Alliance Francaise of South Australia. Deeply patriotic, she retained, even in the darkest hours of the war, an unshaken confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Allies. A number of her kinsmen made the supreme sacrifice upon the stricken fields of France.

Mlle Marie Lion died at Rose Park in 1922 and in September of that year her sister left for France to spend the eve of her days with her relatives. Upon her departure the Adelaide press said: 'Though well advanced in years, Madame Mouchette is in full possession of all her faculties; indeed, until a few days ago she was actively engaged in her profession. Her adieu to Adelaide will cause the deepest regret in a wide circle of friends, who honour her for her exceptional gifts, and revere her for her many acts of self abnegation in worthy causes, as well as to assist, in every possible way, in the cultivation of an aesthetic sense in the life of the people among whom she had cast her lot.

'Fais ce que doit, advienne que pourra - "Do your duty come what may" was the motto of "the famille Lion", the remarkably talented members of which came to this State many years ago and entered into the intellectual and artistic life of the community.'¹⁸

<h3>Dame Nellie Melba Intervenes</h3><P>

Madame Mouchette left for France in RMS *Narkunda* in September 1922 and from Bombay she wrote to a friend in Adelaide: 'During the stay... at Bombay I took advantage of the embarkation there of Dame Nellie Melba at the end of her Indian tour, by enlisting her practical sympathy in the organization of a concert for the benefit of Dernancourt...

'Nothing could have been more auspicious than the presence of the diva, and most willingly and graciously she entered whole-heartedly into the arrangements for an entertainment which produced a surprisingly good result for Dernancourt.

'The concert was ably managed by the manager of Mr Charles Workman's Australian D'Oyley Carte Company and a most attractive programme arranged. Dame Melba, who had kindly consented to collect funds, was so pleased with the amount raised, that to

stimulate still greater contribution, graciously sang four songs - "Chanson Triste" (Duparc), "Papillons" (Chausson), "Adieu" (from La Boheme) and "Home, Sweet Home". 'The marvellous vocalization of Melba was a revelation to some who had not heard her before. Dame Melba took up the collection, plate in hand, and she was most ably seconded by the chief officer. They were able to hand one hundred pounds to me, a sum to help increase the amount still wanted for Dernancourt's new tractor...'19 As from this time the newspapers of the day are silent and it must be assumed that Madame Mouchette's visit to France was a finale to the 'adoption' of Dernancourt.

Dernancourt - Adelaide

In 1923, Richard Arthur Hobby, of Campbelltown, created the suburb of Dernancourt within the Hundred of Yatala, the first sale of an allotment being registered early in 1924. While there is no substantive evidence to support the contention, as the name 'Dernancourt' was before the public in respect of fund raising activities over the period 1920-1922, it is reasonable to assume that the nomenclature was suggested to Mr Hobby from a sense of national and civic pride.

Another significant event was the war service of Leslie R. Hobby, a cousin of R.A. Hobby. Aged eighteen years he volunteered for army service and joined the South Australian 27th Battalion that entered the battlefields of Belgium in June 1916. In one of the many battles that followed he won the Military Medal for bravery in action, while the battalion's history says:

Leaving St Laurence Farm at 8 pm on April 16 [1918] we moved into the front line and relieved the 25th battalion in our previously occupied position... Our artillery support was steadily increasing, and from time to time an annihilating fire was brought to bear upon all likely concentration areas from which an enemy attack could be launched, two particularly destructive shoots taking place during the early morning, when daylight disclosed the fact that the remnant of Ville-Sur-Ancre Church tower was missing and the ruins of Dernancourt and Morlancourt were burning...

Leslie Hobby returned to Australia in December 1918 and died at Woodville on 25 November 1976.²⁰

Conclusion

'Charity never faileth' - Rarely has this Biblical truism been so splendidly exemplified nationally as in the provision of practical help to innocent sufferers from the Great War of 1914-1918. Heavier and still increasing burdens of taxation did not prevent South Australians contributing lavishly, again and again, to various war funds.

In view of the magnificent part played by Australian divisions in France and Belgium, the help given to Dernancourt assisted in cementing the Anglo-French Entente into what was hoped, in the 1920s, to be an 'imperishable friendship'.²¹ In some respects this dream has been shattered over past decades! Perhaps it is fitting to close this evocative historical chronicle with a poem entitled 'Children of Dernancourt' that appeared in the Adelaide press in 1921:>

The little gardens bright with flowers
We played in thro' the sunny hours
Are gone! Poor Dernancourt! They say,
How it was pretty! and so gay-
Before They Came.
They came-they shelled our little town,
And all our houses tumbled down-
Our little homes, they were not there;
And we could only stand and stare
At Dernancourt!
But now they say (our mothers say),
That in a land that's far away,

Kind people think of us, and send
Money, to help us mend
Our broken Dernancourt!
Our father's gone! our brothers too-
That died for France! What else to do?-
But France lives! France! What joy to give
To that dear land. And we shall live
Again in Dernancourt! 22

Author's CV

Geoff Manning is a retired banker and since 1982 has devoted his time to the research of SA history. He has had ten books published and is, perhaps, best known for his works on local nomenclature.

Acknowledgment

The research assistance of Mr George Daws in respect of the Hobby family, is gratefully acknowledged.

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Essay No. 16 - Settling in the Mount Lofty Ranges

Introduction

The Resident Commissioner and the Surveyor-General, in opening the work of the new colony, had first to order and arrange the survey of the City of Adelaide and the preliminary districts, extending from the city down to Cape Jervis, in which the preliminary land orders (mostly held by absentees) might be first exercised. No other country land was open for selection until the end of the first quarter of the year 1838, which was two years after the colony was proclaimed.

The size of all sections up to this time was to suit the preliminary land orders, viz., 134 acres.

After the best sections had been chosen, those rejected were cut up into 80-acre sections and 'green slips', as they were called; it was then that the 80-acre land orders could be exercised. As was natural, all the best sections as to quality of land, supply of water, or locality, were absorbed by the representatives of the preliminary land-order holders. The authorities had no power to place *bona fide* farmers on sections, although purchased and paid for in England, until after preliminary selections had been made.

A further great evil arose - the commencement of land speculation by applications for special surveys of 15,000 acres, out of each of which after survey 4,000 acres could be selected and obtained at £1 an acre - thus, the number of absentee proprietors was further increased and the surveying and opening free districts for selection to *bona fide* applicants, for land for immediate agricultural operations, was hindered further. In consequence, the inhabitants were, for the first three years, wholly dependent on importations of flour and grain from Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), at one time at the cost from £80 to £100 a ton. The parliament and government of the Mother Country must be justly blamed for the short-sighted and parsimonious policy they adopted in launching the colony, thereby leading to the most serious of the colony's first troubles.

When the Act of Incorporation was granted it was stipulated that it should not be in force until the sum of £35,000 was realised by sale of land, and an additional of £20,000 by the issue and sale of South Australian bonds, and that amount invested in British funds 'as a guarantee that the colony would at no time be a charge on the Mother Country.' The negotiation of these bonds at such a time was, as a matter of course, a losing transaction. The treatment accorded to us may be termed, justly, as step-motherly.

For such hard terms, the gentlemen on the committee for establishing the colony worked hard for three years, and at last accepted them on finding there was no prospect of obtaining more liberal treatment. Thus arose the necessity for the forced sales of land in London, at a reduced price. The South Australian Company, and a few fortunate private individuals, took advantage of the preliminary sale in England, and thus was created an absentee proprietary. These preliminary sections near Adelaide cost only 12 shillings an acre, with one town acre thrown into each.

No blame could be cast on these fortunate purchasers who came forward to invest their cash in a speculation, which was treated by the authorities as a wild scheme, but the facts need to be aired in order to explain the primary mistakes which resulted in the unfortunate crisis of 1839-40. The early settlers who had invested their capital in legitimate pursuits suffered great losses. The delays in obtaining land suitable for agricultural purposes caused many to adopt other pursuits, but when the crisis approached, and after flour had attained the unheard-of price of £8 to £10 a bag, many of those who had any means left returned to the pursuit they joined the colony to embark in, although in most instances with greatly diminished means.

A Settler's Experiences in the Tiers

A colonist of 1838 has left us with an evocative account of his experiences on a 'selection' 20 miles to the east of Adelaide: 'Having sent on men to prepare timber for building and fencing, I followed as soon as temporary shelter was provided. I give an account of our journey as a fair specimen of what early settlers had to "experience".

'I first dispatched two bullock teams with our furniture and fixings as early in the day as possible, and followed some hours afterwards with my family in a roomy wagonette, to which were harnessed, one in the lead and two wheelers - a dangerous rig for the rough and hilly track we had to pursue.

'In the trap, I being the driver, I had my wife, sister, two sons (three and four year old), one female servant, and our youngest boy in arms; also a man to assist in procuring timber drags, and on fixing them on the hind axle before I ventured to drive down the steep hills which we had to pass - in those days screw skids had not been invented. I must here mention that this great improvement in skids on all other plans which had been previously used in easing loaded vehicles down hills was shortly afterwards invented by one of our earliest colonists, Mr Stephen Hack. The first one which was constructed on his suggestion was made by J. Adamson.

'To pass over the Mount Lofty Range at that time was no easy task. The first ascent was by either of the spurs between Beaumont and Glen Osmond. I fixed on the one nearest Greenhill as being most used and having much more space for making tacks. I had a staunch team and, with many zigzags, I surmounted this first difficulty, my man following behind with chocks to stop the hind wheels when necessary to ease the horses.

'On the top of the brow on the first saddle, to my surprise and annoyance, I overtook the drays. The day being a hot, one of my best leading bullocks dropped, and could not be got up again. I had in consequence to leave my man to assist in yoking up one of the body-bullocks as a makeshift leader in the place of the fallen one, and to continue with the drays to assist the disarranged team; and I had no alternative but to go on the best way I could without help or the use of drays. I could not leave the horses to cut young saplings for that purpose and to attach them to the drag chain.

'My next serious difficulty was Breakneck Hill, rightly named as I can speak from experience of broken necked bullocks in descending, but on this occasion I had to surmount it. When I came to the steep and longer descent at Cox's Creek, on which spur very fine trees had been felled and split into palings and shingles, the stumps of course left standing, and sundry rejected bad splitting pieces of timber lying about, I felt I had arrived at my worst trouble. I pulled up and looked on each side, hoping to find at hand a suitable timber drag, but was disappointed; and with much trepidation I started the team at a foot's pace, but when the pressure became too heavy on my wheelers they began to trot in spite of all my efforts to hold them back and at length they broke into a full gallop.

'By the sagacity and obedience of my leader I was able to clear the stumps and logs without an accident. The females and children fortunately did not scream or utter a word. At the foot of the hill, on pulling up, I found two men on horseback, who had paused in meeting us in astonishment at such a flying descent. Before I could gain my breath or speak to my family they addressed me most abruptly - I could see they were

fresh arrivals. They said, "We wish we could hand you over to the police for driving down such a dangerous hill in such a reckless manner to the risk of your passengers' lives." 'I replied, "I excuse your ignorance, gentlemen; I am driving my wife and family. I have scarcely recovered from my fright. You have interrupted me and all of us in returning silent thanks for our deliverance from so great a danger. Look at my hands, black with the force I have used."

'We continued on the track over the natural surface, now steep sideling, now sharp rise or fall, no pick or shovel having yet been used, and reached the Onkaparinga River without accident. The crossing was too rough and here one of our back springs gave way, after having stood all the heavy jolts and jars we had previously encountered. A cross-bar, cut and fixed, we again passed on and reached the section at sundown. After a picnic supper we turned in on beds of dry grass, as the drays with bedding and food did not arrive till next morning. Poultry and dairy cows had been sent up some time before with a small flock of sheep.

'The kitchen and dairy being finished we soon had our usual comforts. And now the work of fencing was continued, and grubbing trees, and preparing land for corn. An orchard and garden were trenched, to be ready at the right season for planting. I had purchased seed wheat at 15 shillings a bushel and, having to pay that price for seed, and so much to do in clearing, fencing, and erecting farm buildings, I did not crop more land the first season than what I thought might yield me seed for the following year and enough for domestic use.

'At this time, on the first farms established, some of them quite unused to manual labour, might be seen undergoing the heaviest work their powers would admit of, their wives and children engaged in unaccustomed employment and totally unsuited to their strength; a boy of eight or ten years driving bullocks at harrow, occasionally a young girl driving bullocks for her father at plough, or with a sister cross-cutting logs for fencing; then all had to help at odd times of the day, early and late, at log burning. All this toil was necessary, because labour was scarce and wages high, or money wanting, and so a variety of hard shifts had to be adopted to accomplish indispensable work.' ¹

Source

1. *Chronicle*, 29 September 1877, page 17f.

Essay No. 17 - Among the Mountains - The Eagle-on-the-Hill - The First Sixty Years and Tales from Crafers & Bridgewater

Introduction

The Eagle-on-the-Hill Hotel was, in colonial days, more than just a landmark. Perched on the top of that portion of the Mount Lofty Ranges, with the fourth tributary of

Brownhill Creek below, it formed the first real resting place for horsemen, drivers and their cattle, after the long, toilsome climb up the road winding up from Glen Osmond; indeed, it was a distinctive object by day and became a beacon at night.

It commanded a magnificent view of the Adelaide Plains and the gulf and, for that reason was a favourite resort of holiday excursionists and honeymooners, there being, also, a comparatively easy descent into the beautiful Waterfall Gully, lying below the back of it. But it was as a hostelry that the Eagle-on-the-Hill was most famed. Belated travellers, teamsters, sporting men and pedestrians rarely passed its doors without going in for refreshment, or to rest awhile and exchange opinions on current matters.

It was in the 1850s that it became licensed premises. In those days the hills were known as the Stringy Bark Range and associated with them were some notorious men and was the haunt for "Guppy" and "Nicholls", who in the early days were the terror of those who frequented the road - runaway sailors, horse dealers, cattle duffers and such ilk. Nothing could have been arranged more advantageously for them. It was a veritable lighthouse for runaway sailors, for it was asserted they could sit down calmly and watch their ships go out of Port Adelaide.

The locality calls to mind the exciting experience of a trooper who was bringing an Aboriginal down from the River Murray. The blackfellow was handcuffed and everything went well until the steep hill near to the "Eagle" was reached, when the Aboriginal bounded off and the trooper, unable to descend on horseback, and being too slow to pursue on foot, had to allow the prisoner to escape - he was never heard of again.

Then, again, the name of "Spearman" is associated with the locality. He was an "undesirable" of the worst type and gave considerable trouble. His nefarious practices, however, were cut off so far as South Australia was concerned by his transportation to Van Diemen's Land. He had a nice trotting horse that, subsequently, became the property of Mr P.B. Coglein. He was arrested by "Harry" Alford, one of the best police officers in the colony, and the circumstances relating to it is amusing.

A farmer was stuck up and he recognised Spearman's voice. Alford and two troopers were assigned to the case and they lost no time in journeying to somewhere where the "Eagle" stood. They left their horses and crawled up to Spearman's shanty and listened attentively. They were rewarded for their patience when the villain's voice was recognised at asking, "What did you do with the plunder?" and the wife replied, "I have sewn it up in my stays." Alford and his men then retreated and next morning rode up and met their man who said he was off to Mount Barker. Both parties were arrested and the wife, taking umbrage, demanded to know the reason for same - "For having stolen plunder in your possession", she was informed. "May I change my dress before you take us away?", she enquired. Alford, with a wry smile responded, "But, no, I prefer you as you are!"

The Eagle-on the Hill

The structure, subsequently used as an hotel, was built by George Stevenson in 1850 and in the first instance was conducted as an eating house by William Oliver. Its principal patrons were the first toilers of the hills - the bullock drivers. It was first licensed in 1853 to Mr W. Anderson from May to June 1853; he was followed by Mr Gepp, the well known boniface of the Rock Tavern, near Grove Hill. Under Mr Abraham Fordham's proprietorship from 1853 to 1864 it was, in the first instance, christened "Anderson's

Inn". Upon his death in 1864 when "his strength was completely exhausted by a carbuncle in the shoulder", his wife and son carried on the proprietorship until December 1873.

Opposite was the well known estate of the late E.G. Homersham. The locality was known as "Eagle's Nest" which name was given the house by George Milner Stephen; the house was built in 1850 and was the first one of stone between Glen Osmond and Mount Barker; upon its completion the workmen were engaged by Mr Stevenson to build the "refreshment house" opposite. The land connected with the "Eagle's Nest" extended across the tributary of the Brownhill Creek and Mr and Mrs Homersham and Mr F. Armstrong came to live there in 1851 and during that year the first ground was broken up and fruit trees were planted.

During the remainder of the 1870s the licensees were James Tighe and George Sharp and an article, written under the pen name of "Mountaineer", gives an interesting insight into the activity on the Mount Barker road in December 1874:

It is somewhat surprising at first that notwithstanding the large numbers of farmers who have left the hills district for the northern farming areas during the past two or three years the passenger traffic should within that time have nearly doubled. There are now five or six coaches running each way daily and they are generally fairly filled. During the past week they have been crammed and covered on top with heaps of portmanteaus, bandboxes, shoe trunks and other holiday paraphernalia, while additional conveyances have been laid on...

When they are lightly loaded some of the coaches, at times, come down by the old route which, though a venturesome proceeding, saves a good part of a mile and those on the top seat of the big buses have to take very good care of their heads as they pass under the bridge where the new road crosses the old. A good view is obtained of both Stephenson's *[sic]* garden and higher up of the late Mr Homersham's which, with its young orange groves growing up in the well-tilled soil, with the dark heath-covered mountain which forms its background, looks exceedingly picturesque...

As for the hotel, now known as the Eagle-on-the-Hill, "Where a representative eagle-hawk, caged and contemplative, sits in solitary dignity, regretting some far-distant sheep run where he was wont to swoop upon the shepherd's charge and make his meal of raw lamb chops...", our reporter continues:

A few more hundred yards brings us to the Eagle-on-the-Hill, with its memories of olden times, when it was known as Fordham's. The house had recently been improved by the addition of a new bar, dining, and other rooms in front... Here several of the coaches generally collect together... [Here] the mail bags are taken "on board" from a special trap by which they are brought from the post office, thus enabling the coach, with its load of passengers, to start earlier and make the journey more leisurely. It is an excellent arrangement for the five horses attached to the big coach, but very hard on the one who accommodates them...

The other day we had the variety still more extended by a young bridal pair, who afforded some amusement to onlookers through having come away in their buggy with in ignorance of the fact that some of their well-wishers had hitched a pair of old slippers behind the

trap. The articles were removed by a couple of young athletes who got down from the mail coach and carried them away as trophies...

During the 1890s the licensees were Samuel Lewis and William Jones and it was during the latter's tenure that the hotel was razed to the ground; a newspaper report of August 1899 commences with the statement:

The historical hotel known to all old colonists and the present generation as the Eagle-on-the-Hill, because of the captive king of the air caged there, was almost totally destroyed by fire... Since the fifties the hostelry has braved the elements, which are generally severe at this exposed spot, and age made it as dry as tinder, so that when the fire caught it in its fierce embrace it burnt like matchwood... No fire brigade was at hand to check the progress of the flames. Three men alone were on the premises and them, armed with buckets, could not do much against the combination of fire and wind, so they contented themselves with saving the rear of the hotel...

The first decade of the 20th century found six licensees occupying the premises and during the tenure of Emily Small (1903-1905) snow fell on the ranges and in June 1904 they were a mantle of white. To convey the pleasure accorded the local inhabitants and visitors we can do no better than quote extracts from a reporter's eulogy:

On Monday the sun shone intermittently and the glass rose by a few degrees, only to fall with remarkable suddenness on the following day and establish a June record for South Australia... Representatives of the Register drove up to Mount Lofty in the afternoon to get into the heart of the scene ... A hailstorm descended when the wagonette was on Glen Osmond road and the white crystals were swept up inches high against the fences. The schoolboys were in their element. They picked up handfuls of hail and sent it flying through the air at each other. The old toll gate passed and the vehicle fairly in the hills, a delightful sound of rushing water fell upon the air... At the Mountain Hut a little boy had made a great heap of the white mass and an old man from the green lanes of England was telling the child of winters in the old country...

At the Eagle-on-the-Hill the horses were given a blow and the occupants of the wagonette stood in something warm. The mercury under the verandah stood at 40 degrees.... Binoculars were produced and the scene from the dining room window surveyed. The snow region was soon reached. The exquisite purity and beauty of the landscape beggar description. The lawn at Mr Waterhouse's residence was carpeted with white and it was delicious to walk over it. Crunch went the boots through the crusted snow and left perfect prints behind... What a picture for an artist! An English thrush flew from tree to tree uttering notes of a delicious sweetness...

When the snowballing was at its height two girls, whose pink cheeks showed out from under woollen head wraps, joined the fun. They ran from place to place making snowballs and throwing them with a perfect accuracy at the male contingent. Laughter rang through the hills and valleys and everything seemed to sing praises to the joy of living. One man was hard hit by one of the girls and he determined to catch her and pay the penalty with a kiss...

By 1908 the property was owned by William Jones when the licensee was Walter Mitton and a pronouncement in the daily press said, *inter alia*:

[It] was put up for auction at the Town Hall... and sold for £2,770. The property was sold by the Public Trustee under the will of the late Mr William Jones, which formed one of the principal cases at the Supreme Court last year, in respect of the validity of a bequest to the

South Australian Freethought Society. The purchaser... was Mrs Alice E. Stacy, the daughter of Mr Jones.

During its history the hotel has undergone many vicissitudes... It was a halting place for the mail coaches in the pre-railway days when the horses needed a spell after a long pull from Adelaide, and it is still a favourite resort for travellers in the hills, especially on the Onkaparinga Race day (Easter Monday) when thousands of customers flock to its counters. There are 31 acres of land connected with the property...

Sources

Express & Telegraph, 5 August 1864, page 2c, *Register*, 25 December 1874, page 6a, 27 January 1883 (supp.), 11 May 1893, page 6e, 4 August 1899, page 6c, 1 July 1904, page 5c, 25 March 1908, page 4g.

From Crafers

A Railway to Crafers

By the closing months of 1856 the idea of a railway through the "Eastern Hills" was not exactly a new one in the minds of the government and some private citizens, but prior to that time the suggestions made on this subject were not characterised by much practicability. In October 1856 the Editor of the *SA Register* addressed the subject:

Everybody is acquainted with the nature of the road to Crafers; a road presenting a rich variety of scenery, scarcely to be equaled in any of the Australian colonies... A large amount of money has already been expended between Glen Osmond gate and the summit of the adjacent ranges; but, were twenty times as much expended, the road through the district referred to would always be toilsome and laborious in the extreme...

The Eastern ranges are a formidable barrier to that free interchange which would so greatly benefit the interests of town and country; and to many people that barrier appears both impenetrable and insurmountable. But, on the contrary, there are others who maintain the practicability of carrying our traffic either through or over the interposing ranges...

It is well known that canals have been cut through the most hilly and diversified countries, the waters being literally taken along the hillside by a system of locks and intervening levees. On a kindred principle, railways have for many years past been constructed at the great English quarries and collieries... In applying the same principles to the Glen Osmond Road, it would be necessary to adapt it with those modifications suggested by canal contrivances. As the ascending and descending train must be connected by one chain or cable, it follows that the space to be worked must not be too long, or a cable would be required of such prodigious strength that its weight alone would be fatal to the undertaking.

We are informed that a gentleman in Adelaide has so far convinced himself of the practicability of the idea that he would, at his own personal risk, undertake to carry it out for a very moderate sum. He would construct three series of levels, or gradients of an easy application, and the termination of each would be prepared for the ascent of the carriages.

At the top of this incline a drum would be fixed, around which would pass the cable used for connecting the ascending and descending trains. Of course, the trains would both ascend and descend upon the same face of the inclined platform, a double set of rails being laid, with the revolving drum in the centre at the summit.

The descending trains would be laden with wheat and country produce, or with stone and firewood, In some places, where there is no down traffic, the descending force consists of water tanks, which are fixed on carriages and descend full, the water being let off at the bottom of the incline, and the goods taken out of the track at the top. The water tank being lighter than the goods' truck, the latter descends by gravity, bringing up the former.

The gentleman to whom we refer professes his readiness to contract for the execution for a railway of this description for £3,000 per mile, with £3,000 extra for esch lift... Considering the cost of constructing and repairing macadamised roads and considering the utter impossibility of ever having an easy road with such gradients as prevail between Glen Osmond and the top of the south-eastern ranges, we think the suggestion herein advanced may not be unworthy of attention...

Source

Register, 4 October 1856, page 2.

A New and Valuable Industry

In 1856 an "Adelaide capitalist" started a Flower Farm Company and took up land at Crafers for the purpose of growing flowers and establishing a manufactory for the extraction of essential oils and the making of various scents At an industrial exhibition in 1891 the company displayed everything in the way of perfumery. Besides lavender, eau de cologne and the ordinary handkerchief scents, there were hair washes, pomades, vaseline and perfume cases and sachets. All were put up in elegantly labeled bottles and reflected great credit upon the manager, Monsieur D.M. Renaud, who also had on view, of his own manufacture, fruit syrups, preserved fruits and milk preserved for export.

In October 1894 the farm's proprietors, Mrs James Cowan and W.J. Magarey, the trustees of the late Mr Cowan's estate, invited members of the Chambers of Manufactures to inspect the flower farm. About 14 acres were under cultivation, the allotment being approximately roses, eight acres; mignonette, half an acre; lilac, two acres; native peppermint, three-quarters of an acre; violets, half an acre; tuberose, half an acre; and small beds of jessamine, wall-flower and fruit trees. There were 250 acres in the farm property and the land was of the richest description. Samples of scents manufactured were handed around and the visitors were full of admiration for the quality of production.

Sources

Register, 4 October 1856, page 2, 2 July 1890, page 5, *Observer*, 23 May 1891, page 37, 24 October 1891, page 11, 16 July 1892, page 11.

Diphtheria at Crafers

In 1922 much concern was caused to the parents at the Crafers school by the outbreak of diphtheria among the children. In a report to the Central Board Health it was said that the spread of infection was favoured by (a) by the nature of the building, overcrowding and lack of ventilation; (b) to lack of knowledge or neglect of the instructions on the part of departmental officers regarding disinfection, exclusion of contacts and inspection of children; (c) apathy and indifference on the part of the local boards of health regarding their powers and obligations under the Health Act, *etc.*

A damning report concluded by stating that the school was overcrowded, the building uninhabitable, the playground unsuitable and dangerous and the closets unsanitary and it was impracticable to reconstruct the existing building or to erect a new building on the same site in such a fashion to meet the requirements of the current attendance.

Source

Register, 25 May 1922, page 6.

From Bridgewater

The Bridgewater Mystery

In October 1890 a well-developed girl, Jane Cunningham, of about 14 years of age, and the daughter of a widow, disappeared from Aldgate. Sixteen days later a decomposed body was found by Dr Wigg, of Norwood, alongside the Bridgewater Creek. The body was clothed in a night dress and a suggestion was made that she must have been drowned while bathing. When she left home she was wearing her ordinary clothing. Following the inquest the Editor of the *SA Register* said:

Whether or not the mystery surrounding her death will ever be solved still remains a moot point. One thing is certain. The Coroner's inquest, which came to a close during the small hours of yesterday morning, has helped little towards the solution of the problem. The public are as much as ever in the dark as to how the deceased got into the creek, how it was that her body was not found sooner, and as to what has become of her clothes... No other course was, in consequence, open to the jury but to return a noncommittal verdict. The only thing that looms out strongly and unmistakably in the evidence is the wretched and wholesale prevarication of different witnesses. The jury could not do other than censure some of the witnesses and direct the attention of the authorities to the evidence of others as constituting ground for future action ... Testimony more replete with downright contradictions and with deliberate untruths has seldom been presented to a jury... Whether the police will see their way to prosecute those guilty of such transparent perjury we do not know, but it is their plain duty to keep their eye upon the case and endeavour to throw light upon what is now so obscure...

Sources

Register, 4 November 1890, page 7, 1, 2 and 3 December 1890, pages 4, 6 and 4.

South Australia and England Exchange Greetings

In 1927 the postmaster at Bridgewater received the following letter signed by the Mayor of Bridgewater, England:

A pageant of nine episodes setting forth various scenes in the history of the ancient town is to be held here this year. The council, feeling that the love of their old home town which urged the pioneer founders of the newer Bridgewaters to perpetuate the honored old name should be made manifest on the occasion of this pageant, and therefore invite you to give your sympathy and help to further the idea. We are addressing a copy of this invitation to the fourteen Bridgewaters overseas, situated in the United States of America, Canada and Australia.

And we would be glad to receive from such a letter giving, if possible, the following information:-

The name of the founder of your town and its past and present industries.
Present population and rateable value.
The name of the river, hill, or mountain on which it stands.
Name of the present mayor.

This letter would be carefully filed in our town library or the Admiral Binke Museum. Further, for the purposes of our pageant, perhaps the ladies of your town would make a banner which will be carried during the pageant and afterwards be presented to our town... If by fortunate chance any of your townsmen should be in England at the time, the Mayor would be delighted to give them welcome and invite them to enjoy the spectacle with him...

This letter was delivered to the local progress Association and the following reply was sent:

On the upper tributaries of Cox's Creek, amidst stalwart gums and weeping willows, is the fine old residence of Sir R.D. Hanson, a former Chief Justice of South Australia. This property known as Nord House Estate, with an area of one square mile, has long since been cut up into smaller productive holdings having an ingress and egress with Mount Barker and Greenhill Roads.

Immediately adjoining this homestead downstream was erected the Tiers sawmills for the purpose of cutting the local timber into suitable material for buildings in the city of Adelaide and elsewhere. Later, this property was utilised as one of the largest market gardening properties in the district. Then it was converted into a scent farm with a factory to treat its own product and now it is the site of up-to-date golf links.

Next to this property comes a section owned and occupied by a pioneering family, with the residence at the foot of a rugged elevation, rising some hundreds of feet above the creek, known as Mount George. Next comes another beauty spot, with stately gums and weeping willows on either side of the creek. On this property a pioneer home, with a bakehouse, was built, and at this time the price of flour ranged from £4 to £5 per 200 lb. bag.

Later, just below, a large dam was built across the creek for water conservation, covering some 10 to 12 acres, which at that time was considered a large sheet of water. This dam, however, was not of long duration, having met with its fate when the creek was in flood, the sluice pipes being altogether inadequate to cope with the inrush of water in flood time. The whole structure collapsed, carrying everything before it. So great was the volume of water it flooded the Mount Barker road which goes through the Bridgewater township.

Immediately below this dam some more settlers' homes were built on a tributary running through one of the most picturesque valleys. The narrow roads and woodbine hedges, it is said by some, have a striking resemblance to old English scenery. In this valley one of the first pioneer holdings has been converted into the well-known "Karkoo" sweet pea garden.

Farther up stream can be seen the old wine cellars and relics of the first vineyards in South Australia. Owing to the climatic conditions, the fruit was prevented from maturing properly and this venture was not a lucrative one. This tributary, then on a government reserve, received its name from Mr Robert Cock who, with a party of five others, was endeavouring to find a suitable track from Adelaide to Mount Barker in 1838.

On this reserve was built a public house called "The Deanery". Opposite this hotel, on the other side of the creek, another pioneer's cottage was erected and which afterwards became the Bridgewater Institute. Still further down another dam was built to force water round the side of the hill on to a large wheel imported and assembled there in the early sixties to drive one of two mills which worked day and night to grind the corn grown in Mount Barker, Strathalbyn and surrounding districts. Next to this dam, another tributary is met with on which is still standing one of the two flour mills, and is known as the Old Lion Mill. Farther down the creek another residence and butcher's shop combined and a miller's residence was erected. Then came the Bridgewater Hotel.

Perhaps one of the most noted events in the history of this hotel was when, owing to some dispute with the men engaged in constructing the interstate railway, a total number of 700 met there to air their grievances. On the left, next to the hotel, the large wheel may be seen. Then there came the government water reserve and at the eastern side of it was another pioneer's residence, boot factory and Cock's Creek Post Office, owned and carried on by the late Mr William Radford, were erected.

Some years after, Mr Radford being desirous of altering the postal address from Cock's Creek to Bridgewater, in order to perpetuate the name of his birthplace in Somerset, England, got up a petition which was signed by a majority of residents. This was presented to the authorities, with the desired result... In the sixties the land on either side of the creek could have been purchased for £1 per acre, but is now commanding a much greater price.

Some of the resident pioneers were Messrs. Morley, Scott, Ashurst, Russell, Bunce, Batt, Thurston, Woods, Johns, Ellis, Young, J.J. Rudd, Easter, Barton. Welfare, Ware, Curnow, Sisson, Humby, John, Clark, Fife, Wills and Collins.

Source

Advertiser, 22 November 1927, page 14.

(4,643 words)

Essay No. 18 - Mount Lofty and Its Summit

The total maximum thickness is 265,000 feet and consequently if [the ranges] accumulated at the rate of one foot a century, as evidence seems to suggest, 26 million years must have elapsed during their formation...

(*Advertiser*, 14 October 1901, page 14.)

Introduction

On 23 March 1802 the highest point of the range overlooking Adelaide received its name when Captain Matthew Flinders entered the following into the log of *Endeavour*:

Not being able to obtain a distinct view from an elevated situation, I took a set of angles from a small projection near the ship named Kangaroo [*sic*] Head; but nothing could be seen to the north, and the sole bearing of importance... was that of a high hill... and was named Mount Lofty...

The next explorer was Captain Collet Barker who, in April 1831, sailed into St Vincent Gulf in the *Isabella*, attended by Dr Davies and Mr Kent, when his immediate object was to ascertain if there was any communication with Lake Alexandrina from the gulf. On 17 April he landed at the site of present-day Noarlunga having crossed the bar and rowed four miles in his boat up the River Onkaparinga; he camped that night at the head of the inlet where he found an abundant supply of food in the deep pools in the rocky glen at that point.

On 18 April 1831, Captain Barker, accompanied by Mr Kent and a servant, proceeded along the ridge of the range towards Mount Lofty, camping for the night some distance from the summit. On the morning of 19 April they reached it and were surprised by the size of the trees on the brow of the mountain; one was measured and found to be 43 feet in girth. The present-day Mount Barker was for the first time recognised as being distinct from the Mount Lofty of Captain Matthew Flinders, with which mountain Captain Sturt, viewing it from the lakes, had confounded it.

After settlement in 1836 it would appear that the first attempt to reach the summit was undertaken by a party led, ostensibly, by Mr Young B. Hutchinson in 1837:

Our first attempt to gain the summit of Mount Lofty, which was represented to me as an undertaking requiring considerable exertion and perseverance, as well as a night's rest among the hills, was by tracing the course of the brook which flows from a ravine in the direction of the mount... The third and successful attempt... was by following the course of the stream for a short time until it divides into two branches, then by crossing it and ascending a steep hill, we found a ridge which ran nearly in a straight line to the top of the range. We discovered a great many new and beautiful plants; grass trees abounded, but from the ground having been recently burnt, we observed very few whose stalks were above the ground... Being thirsty I ate a portion of the base of the younger flower stalk of a grass tree and found it cool, juicy and of an agreeable flavour...

Two of his diary entries read:

16 April 1837 - Showery. Dined on Mount Lofty. The wood was damp so I could not light a fire.

23 April 1837 - Walked to the top of Mount Lofty in three hours; lighted a fire and made a great smoke with green branches. Shot a black cockatoo with red feathers in the tail. Saw four mushrooms and the first snail.

In an address read at an Adelaide meeting of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science in 1893 Charles Hope Harris said, *inter alia*:

Mount Lofty remained in its primitive state until 1840. In that year a cairn was erected on the summit in connection with the trigonometrical survey commenced by Colonel Light and carried on by Sergeant Forrest.

The cairn which had been a landmark to seamen was replaced in 1865 [*sic*] by [Samuel Tomkinson and others?] an ornamental structure, upon precisely the same spot, capable of affording shelter to tourists. In late years this wooden structure was replaced by a stone obelisk which was [completed] by the Public Works Department in [November] 1885.

[More is said of this matter hereunder in chronological sequence.]

For many years visitors to the summit must have felt the inconvenience on hot days of the want any shade in the immediate neighbourhood of the flagstaff. The desideratum was attended to in 1861 by the courtesy of Mr Arthur Hardy to whom most of the land surrounding the summit belonged. This gentleman erected a neat little rest-house with seats for the excursionists and it could be seen distinctly from Adelaide 'in clear weather by the aid of a good glass.'

In 1868 Samuel Tomkinson said that 'some years ago' [in 1861/1865?] he had assisted by finding funds to erect a neat building on the summit:

The edifice consisted of a large table surrounded by a fence and substantial benches, all roofed in, close to the cairn of stones supporting the weather beaten trig pole. It gave shade to and promoted the innocent enjoyment of many thousand pilgrims and picnickers.

Finally, in 1882 the majority of the above contentions were confirmed when a citizen asserted that 'A cairn was erected many years ago, which has since been covered with a shed.'

A Proposed Monument to Colonel Light

On 11 October 1840 David Crafer of the Norfolk Hotel, 'near Mount Lofty', addressed his proposal for the erection of a 'plain column' at the summit to commemorate the memory of Colonel William Light:

It is proposed to erect upon the summit of Mount Lofty (where there is abundance of stone and other material) a plain column of considerable size and altitude.....

It is not proposed to deprive Light Square of a monument worthy of the name of the great man whose mortal remains are there deposited, but to furnish that part of the city with a mausoleum better calculated perhaps to honor the place of his interment, than a mere mass of masonry, which [if placed] in such a position would soon be comparatively eclipsed.

If the design I have announced should be honoured by the approval of the authorities and influential colonists, I will be at the expense of preparing estimates for publication, and then declare how far I am disposed to assist in the erection.

Some three years later it is apparent that Mr Crafer's suggestion had not been adopted:

I think we might well recall the public attention to one suggested by Mr Crafer as decidedly the best. It was simply to raise a plain column or tower on the top of Mount Lofty. All, I am sure, will agree that it is the most useful, as also the most substantial mode of spending the fund [of £900] - if it ever to be spent - and preserving his memory.

At this time 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 the proposed monument was designed by George S. Kingston in the form of a pentagonal Gothic cross 'in the style of the ancient... crosses, the most admirable of which were raised by Edward the First at places on which the body of his beloved Queen Eleanor rested when being conveyed to Westminster Abbey for interment.'

The tender of a Mr Lewis was accepted for its construction and, early in 1844, he was 'at his post'. However, by June of that year a lack of funds prevented its completion but, never daunted, a 'grand concert' was arranged to augment the working fund. With assistance from government the project was completed in 1846, but there does not appear to have been a formal unveiling ceremony. In 1854, a high fence was erected around it to save it 'from desecration by some ruffians.'

By 1892 the monument was in a parlous condition and, concerned at its decay, the city authorities commissioned an architect, Daniel Garlick, to inspect and report upon its state of repair. He concluded that salt damp was eating it away due to the absence of a damp course; further, he opined that a cement render which had been coated over the whole structure had only hastened its demise and concluded that 'it will crumble into dust in a few years.'

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 were 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 that 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 were amenable to 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 idea foundered quickly.

By 1904 the committee had come to realise that two projects should be undertaken, namely, a replacement memorial in Light Square and a monument to be erected in Victoria Square depicting Colonel Light. 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 the 21st of June of that year.

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 the Franklin Street alignment. In 1919 a wreath from the first Australian Town Planning Conference, held in Adelaide in 1917, was attached to the statue and in 1938 it was shifted to Montefiore Hill to a place now known as 'Light's Vision'; a plaque was added to the pedestal bearing an extract from his journals.

An Interesting Geographical Problem

By 1861, it had long been doubted whether or not the precise geographical position of Yorke Peninsula as laid down in our maps and charts could be relied upon. To determine this the government completed a series of experiments that were carried out under the superintendence of the Surveyor-General. The locality selected from which to lay down the first compass bearings was the apex of Mount Lofty, the latitude and longitude of which had been ascertained with 'sufficient nicety for the purpose.'

The distance of the mount from the nearest point of the peninsula was too great for observations to be taken in the ordinary manner but this difficulty was surmounted by burning Bengal lights at predetermined times upon the top of Mount Lofty in the expectation that they would be clearly visible from the peninsula. An account of their ascent to the summit makes for interesting reading:

We left Adelaide at six o'clock in the evening... We took the Greenhill Road which we found to be in such a villainous condition to render considerable caution necessary even on horseback. Our intention was to have reached the top of the mount by daylight, but before we had made much more than half the way the sun had set. When within a mile of the mount we came upon cross roads and we were fortunate enough to pass two teams and having enquired our way one of the drivers directed us 'to follow the right-hand road right round like, and we should be sure to go right.' About ten minutes afterwards we saw through the spreading tree tops the lofty position which we wished to attain.

The darkness was now fast gathering around us, while at the same time we observed the road to be winding downwards and outwards. There was consequently no time to reconnoitre. We therefore determined to dismount and lead our horses up the precipitous acclivity of the mountain brow as best we could. By dint of some exertion we succeeded in treading our zigzag way amongst the rock and scrub and to reach the top of the mount before it was quite dark...

Precisely at nine pm Sergeant Harris fixed one of his Bengal lights upon the rocks that supported the flagstaff and applied a stick of burning wood to it. The sudden blaze of light

had an extraordinary effect for every object upon the mountain top was visible in a moment as in broad daylight. The light continued to burn for two minutes and in accordance with instructions a further six lights were ignited at five minute intervals.

Upon leaving the party decided not to 'risk their precious necks on the Greenhill Road' but took the Mount Barker Road and found, as expected, 'the farthest way round was the nearest road home.'

Hail the Duke of Edinburgh

Two meetings were held in the Imperial Chambers in December 1867 when there were present - Captain Bagot, John Morphett, Samuel Davenport, William Hanson, W.S. Douglas, Arthur Hardy, H.H. Turton and N. Oldham. The second meeting resolved 'That the Governor-in-Chief, Sir Dominick Daly, be respectfully informed of the formation of the committee and asked if he will consent to become the patron of "The Prince Albert Monument Fund".'

To this proposal there was much opposition as evidenced by the remarks of interested citizens:

I much fear that the proposal to erect a tower on Mount Lofty was made too late. There is a wide difference between voting the money of the general public for their amusement and putting one's hand into one's own pocket in honour of a man who may never be seen again. Had it been done before he came, many nobodies who were so excessively anxious to get up all sorts of supererogatory addresses to the Prince that some man of disreputable antecedents might be thrust in the front, would have had an inducement to show their loyalty when there was a chance of His Royal Highness seeing their names and the sums opposite them; but now that stimulus is wanting.

As a person well acquainted with such matters and in intimate correspondence with the British Ministry, I may state that a contribution of £50 would have ensured a knighthood; £100 secures a hereditary 'Sir', while each additional £100 would have rewarded the happy donor with a step in the peerage. It is too late to try now to get loyal colonists to fork out. There should, however, be a propriety and a consistency in the act, and is that shown in the selection of the site? The Prince did not land there, did not even ascend there. Would not an iron tower, with a 12 inch gun in it, on the spot where he landed be useful, ornamental, and appropriate too, while it would be seen by a larger number of persons?

The pages of history are the best remembrances of worthy men. Posterity are the best judges of merit... Stately pillars, statues, etc., engage the mind for a time and then like the toys of children are neglected or eclipsed by some further fresh novelty. These things are of no practical use to mankind; but good hospitals, schools, churches, roads, fountains, almshouses for the aged, public parks, etc., are a blessing to the people, an honour to the founders and money well spent, because such labours are useful and worthy of an enlightened Christian nation...

The following grandiose suggestion in late 1867 for improvement to the summit was apparently the catalyst for the erection of the Prince Alfred Sailors' Home at Port Adelaide for the inaugural meeting of that body was held in late January 1868:

Some time ago a proposal was made by a worthy captain at Port Adelaide to build a Sailors' Home as a proper memorial of the visit of Prince Alfred to South Australia. Could we not unite and draw the different loyal proposals into one practical plan, and build on the top of Mount Lofty a Hospital, School of Navigation, Sailors' Home and Observatory, combined into one establishment...

The Introduction of Rabbits

Apparently, the first mention of the presence of rabbits in the colony was on 4 October 1840 when the vessel *Governor Gawler*, under the command of Captain Emanuel Underwood, arrived at Port Adelaide from Encounter Bay with '30 trusses of hay, a cask of oil, seven whalers' chests and 16 rabbits [*their place of origin was not stated*].' Later, on 15 January 1841, the *Southern Australian* had an advertisement of M. Evans, Launceston Hotel, Adelaide, 'For sale - 100 rabbits, bucks and does, young and old.'

A few hares were liberated and acclimatised at the Reedbeds in 1862 and an editor of the local press opined:

We hope that a common interest will be felt in saving them from being destroyed until they have so far increased as to render the shooting of one of them now and then as a matter of trifling importance.

In the early history of the colony the domesticated rabbit was a rarity but, by 1864, they had increased to such an extent that complaints about all sorts of depredations in settlers' gardens were abroad.

Samuel Tomkinson, in a letter to the *Register* in July 1871 told of the introduction of the rabbit into the ranges and issued a warning:

Mr Magarey's warning against rabbits should be attended to. I have carefully prevented for years any being turned loose at Mount Lofty, in consideration of the numerous market gardeners around its slopes; but a few weeks ago I saw some running about... and am told that a distinguished summer neighbour of mine also let some go for future sport. If there is sport, depend upon it there will be no cabbages, carrots, turnips or celery...

As to the eradication of the pest a concerned citizen suggested that:

I do not think it has been ascertained that the rabbit can be induced to take poison. But it is nearly an established fact that its deadly enemy is the native cat. I would suggest that the destruction of native cats should cease; on the contrary let [gardeners, etc.] carefully protect it and introduce it to the rabbit warrens.

In 1875 a Bill to provide for the suppression of the rabbit nuisance was introduced into the South Australian Parliament and, in 1887, both the Victorian and South Australian

governments collaborated in building a rabbit proof fence extending for 290 miles. 'Cost and maintenance was considerable and the fence did not do what was expected of it. Gates were left open, and drift vegetation and sand made the netting useless.' To give some idea of the rabbit population, statistics show that in 1932 three quarters of a million carcasses were exported to the United Kingdom from South Australia alone and in the same time 380,000 lbs of rabbit skins were sold at Adelaide skin sales. It took about seven or eight skins to make a pound, so the weight sold represented about 3,000,000 rabbits.

In 1876 the first report of a provincial meeting concerned with the 'rabbit nuisance' was reported in the Adelaide press; this culminated in a deputation to the responsible Minister attended by representatives from the Hundreds of Julia Creek, Neales and English. On the Anlaby Estate from July 1875 until December 1876 139,680 scalps were paid for and £100 expended in digging out burrows.

Following the enactment of the *Vermin Destruction Act* of 1879 official government parties were employed throughout the infested areas of the colony under the command of inspectors. The main method of eradication was the use of bisulphide of carbon which was pumped into warrens; traps, dogs and snares were also resorted to, together with arsenicised sandalwood leaves and phosphorised grain.

During the period from September to April the eradication parties worked upon Crown and leasehold land from 5 to 11 am, rested until 3 pm and worked again from that hour until it was dark, excepting on Saturdays when the hours were from 5 am until 1 pm. By this arrangement the men were employed during the time that the rabbits came out to feed; from May 1 until August 31 the hours were 7 am until 5 pm. At the same time the inspectors in charge were instructed to induce local farmers to institute simultaneous action for the destruction of the rabbits and burrows existing upon their land. Later, the *Jamestown Review* of 30 October 1879 was pleased to report that in surrounding Hundreds - 'The rabbit nuisance is being rapidly abated... they cannot withstand the overpowering influence of the deadly bisulphide...'

A Winter's Delight - A Snow Fall

In August 1872 the *Register* reported:

We have now optical demonstration of the unusually severe weather with which we have been visited for the past week in the shape of large snowballs, which were brought into town by a variety of conveyances. One brought in by the Mount Barker mail was exhibited [at the Exchange] and another, eight inches in diameter, was brought to our office by Mrs G. Ireland of Grenville Glen, Mount Lofty... The children, enjoying the unusual fun, rolled up a snowball for their father, who is a market gardener, to bring into town and he has left it with us... We have seen it at the Stag Inn, another ball measuring three feet in diameter. It was collected, we believe at Lily Valley, near the Government Farm...

The State's record snow fall occurred on 29 August 1905 and was remarkable not only for depth that it attained, but also by reason of the fact that it took most people by surprise.

The day before had been cold and windy, but not unusually so. When the day broke all the summits of the Mount Lofty Ranges were seen to be covered with snow, against which the trees stood out with startling distinction. Before long a procession of horse-drawn vehicles and bicycles with here and there a pioneer motor car, was making for Mount Lofty. Upon arriving they found the summit had taken on the appearance of an old-style Christmas card. Towards the middle of the afternoon a huge slate-coloured cloud swept up out of the south-west and a second and far heavier fall occurred. Some drifts lingered about for days and a snowman built by some children under the shelter of a hedge lasted for nearly a week.

The Dedication of a Flinders Monument

In 1874 a citizen of Adelaide sowed the seeds that culminated in the erection of several monuments in honour of Captain Matthew Flinders:

Surely such a man deserves at the hands of our government a substantial monument or tower on the top of Mount Lofty. The monument need not be too artistic, but of massive proportions, rising to at least 150 feet from the ground... Round the monument a few acres could well be laid off as a garden, with a lodge or monument keeper's home; and a small charge of sixpence each for admission to the grounds... Could be made to defray part of the yearly expenses...

The wheels turned slowly until 1882 when the Editor of the *Observer* put forward his views for consideration by both the government and public at large:

The suggestion that an obelisk should be erected to the memory of Flinders on the summit of Mount Lofty is well worthy of consideration. We are not prepared to recommend it as a land mark, because the mountain itself sufficiently answers this purpose, but South Australians must properly give serious thought to the proposal whether they should not erect such a monument to the discoverer of their country... It is often complained that that native-born Australians are deficient in the sentiment of reverence.... It is said too that Australia has no history and necessarily our annals are less full of thrilling incident or grand achievement than those of older countries...

As said previously an obelisk was erected in 1885 without any public ceremony and it was not until 1902 that its proprietorship was proclaimed:

The column which is 50 feet high was erected many years ago and was originally intended as a monument 'to the illustrious navigator who sighted and named Mount Lofty' but for some reason or another it was never recognised as such. Early in 1902 a suggestion was made that by Mr A.T. Magarey that it should be formally dedicated and named on the 100th anniversary of the discovery of the mount was approved by the SA branch of the Royal Geographical Society and sanctioned by the government.

This was done formally by the Governor, Lord Tennyson, on 23 March 1902, when he unveiled a tablet attached to the obelisk.

A Heliostat Signal Station

In 1880 Lieutenant A. Ringwood of the Battery of Artillery had made to his order and design by Mr Unbehaun of Halifax Street an instrument to which he gave the name of 'heliostat' for signalling by means of the sun and mirrors. A trial took place in the North Parklands on 4 August 1880. It was calculated that when placed on the summit of Mount Lofty it would be seen 90 miles away and it was expected to be of use in signalling shipping in the gulf.

A Weather Observatory

In late 1884, encouraged by 'tentative results of the past month', Mr Clement Wragge, extended his plan of operations on Mount Lofty and established a substantially equipped meteorological observatory there on 1 October 1884, following which he carried out a series of experiments as a tentative measure and in connection with his Torrens Observatory. The barometer was on the Kew pattern and made at Mr Wragge's order by Adie & Wedderburn, of Edinburgh. The observatory was on a government reserve 'within a stone's throw of the summit.'

Mr Wragge came to South Australia in 1883 from Great Britain where he had founded the Ben Nevis Observatory in Scotland. In South Australia he was instrumental in forming the Meteorological Society of Australasia on 14 May 1886. He was appointed Government Meteorologist for Queensland and left the colony in December 1886.

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Part V - Sport in South Australia

Essay No. 1 - Football

A finer sight can scarcely be seen than 60 or 80 impetuous youths contending with earnest emulation to drive the ball home to opposite goals. We hope the ladies will largely grace those matches with their presence and thus lend an impulse to what is considerable importance to the healthy development of the youth of the colony.

(*Register*, 23 July 1861, page 2d)

On Saint Patrick's Day in 1843 a conglomerate of expatriate Irishmen announced that:

A few of the colonists from the Emerald Isle intend this day enjoying themselves in honour of their Saint with a game of football. After which with their friends they hope to regale themselves with a portion of an ox to be roasted whole opposite the Market House, Thebarton, this day at 2 pm.

Ten years later Patrick McCarron, proprietor of the Foresters' and Squatters' Arms Hotel, Thebarton, placed an advertisement in the local press:

CHALLENGE

TWELVE MEN of Westmeath offer to PLAY at FOOTBALL twelve men from any of the counties in Ireland, or six each from two counties, at Thebarton on Easter Monday. Play to commence at 12 o'clock.

This game was, apparently, "Caid", a forerunner to Gaelic football, played by teams of interminable number and with unlimited duration, "or until the players were thirsty", coupled with intermittent violence.

One of the progenitors of the nascent game of "Aussie Rules" in South Australia was John Acraman, a prominent cricketer and Adelaide business man. He had played English football at both Bath and Clifton and, in the late 1850s, sent "home" for a few round balls. In 1860 he convened a meeting in Rundle Street at the Globe Inn; thus the Adelaide Football Club was born.

The first competitive match occurred when those members living on the north side of the River Torrens (blue caps) waged battle with those from the south side (pink caps). The sides numbered 30 each and about 200 spectators were present, comprising many of the elite of Adelaide.

There was not a surfeit of rules and goals were hard to score due to the fact that it necessitated kicking the ball between two upright posts and over a nine foot horizontal bar. The ball "had to be marked before it could be handled"; holding the man and "hacking" were strictly forbidden, but "there was no check on shouldering".

Upon completion of a match a formal presentation of prizes was accorded the winners when smoking caps, hair brushes, handkerchiefs and bootlaces, made or supplied by the ladies, were distributed following a ballot.

At a meeting in April 1869 the club decided that "in future the ball [shall] be kicked over instead of under the crossbar of the goal", while a few months later a "game commenced... with 12 a side, this number being afterwards increased to 16..." It was generally supposed that the "Pinks" would win the day but, unfortunately, the ball burst and the game ended.

Prior to the establishment of the South Australian Football Association in 1877 the Adelaide club held several important meetings in respect of the rules and conduct of the evolving national game:

The code of playing rules passed by the leading Victorian clubs in 1874 was... adopted... [and] delegates [will] confer with representatives of other clubs, with a view of considering the propriety of introducing the code generally throughout the colony.

The chief alterations in the game as hitherto played in Adelaide 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.

As an introduction to the mystiques of the fledgling game a comical farce under the guise of a "monster moonlight" football match was indulged in on the Adelaide Oval:

500 spectators assembled... including about 100 larrikins... On the ball accidentally being driven amongst the spectators, the larrikin element was most audibly and forcibly exhibited, as shouts and yells arose, and the ball was kicked hither and thither by the multitude... [Later] the ball was again seized by the larrikins...

The ball was on recovery handed for safe-keeping to a gentleman on horseback who galloped with it under his arm towards the city, the crowd following, shouting and jeering till the fleet steed left the excited multitude far behind, and the horseman was able to house the ball safely in the Gresham Hotel... The players put on their coats and retired... in a somewhat disappointed mood at the total failure of the monster moonlight match...

In August 1877 the Port Adelaide and South Adelaide teams assembled on Buck's Flat at Glanville and after "the roughest match played this season" the result was a defeat for the Portonians. As the players were leaving the field an angry crowd of over 200 Port supporters assembled and began hooting and throwing stones at the victors and, later, as the visitors departed in their horse-traps for home, and obligatory celebrations of the defeat of the arch-enemy, they were again subjected to loud abuse. Such was the intensity of the uproar, horses "attached to their vehicles... became almost unmanageable."

When a remonstrance from the authorities was conveyed to the club, Mr Lock, a Port representative, hastened to place all blame upon the South Adelaide team and accused them of acting in an unfair manner during the game. In a strain all too familiar today, he went on to complain about the umpire whose performance 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."

Some reporters also ventured opinions on the unnecessary rough play which was becoming all but indigenous to the game:

From start to finish what were intended for playgrounds were converted into... savage battlefields, upon which those who called themselves men tried to injure their fellow-men by all natural means in their power...

With this general mayhem being all but rampant the following description of the gladiators is not surprising :

[He] never wears more than one ear, and about the same number of eyes; his nose looks like a bit of liver stretched across a thimble; one arm is bent backwards at the elbow; he appears to have two left legs and he carries as much scalp to the square inch as a catfish does... It is mostly played by married men, people who live next door to cornet players, and all other persons who are tired of their own existence.

The persistent and one-eyed barrackers, together with their antipathy to the possible superiority of other teams, was also of concern:

I would like to draw attention to the fearful mania that exists... over the game of football... One is everlastingly hearing the sickening and monotonous conversation pertaining to [the game] no matter where you be... This is a growing evil and it is high time it was checked...

The Editor was sympathetic to this complaint and made a prophecy which, alas to some, proved to be false:

It does not speak well for the tastes of the people that this state of things should exist... Football which is at present the fashion, will by-and-by cease to hold such a prominent place in the community...

A parochial letter from a Norwood player accused of rough play gave a classic example of the insularity of opinion in those early days:

My great crime is that I wear red-and-blue clothes on the football field... Innocent or guilty some of the clubs wanted to get me out of the way for a match or so...

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"!

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Essay No. 2 - 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, [had] levanted without taking the small trouble of settling with their creditors, and grave suspicions exist that a noble horse who was safe to take a good position in his engagements has been poisoned by those whose interest it was to have him out of the way."

It was concluded by this observer that:

In personnel our ring is also not what it should be. Keepers of hells, gambling-houses and dancing saloons would hardly be elected members of 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...

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 concluding that very little has changed since the sport was introduced to South Australia in 1837.

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.

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.

Another form of racing at Thebarton was steeplechasing and in 1847 the first of these annual events was held; the course wound through modern-day Mile End and skirted

the rising ground of West Terrace "starting from the section joining Mr Goode's house, running towards the Reedbeds, round by Mr Chambers's, and then to the winning post situated on the Park Lands, in the immediate vicinity of Mr McCarron's house, the Foresters' and Squatters' Arms where the generous landlord had two fat bullocks roasted whole, amidst the joyful acclamations of the cooks and their assistants..."

Six years later the "mine host" was still attracting custom for in the *Register* on 16 March 1853 Mr Peter McCarron advertised another event:

Saint Patrick's Day

The Thebarton Races under the superintendence of the South Australian Jockey Club. **NB.** There will be two bullocks roasted, one in the memory of Saint Patrick, the first who introduced Christianity into the now existing British Dominions; the other in honour of Prince Patrick, youngest son of Queen Victoria.

By 1860 the South Australian Jockey Club had leased land on the corner of Fisher Terrace (South Road) and what was to be Henley Beach Road and the "new" Thebarton Course arrived on the local racing scene. The course stood on section 2030, Hundred of Adelaide, granted to William J. Sayers on 16 October 1840.

According to contemporary reports the course was left-handed and had well-rounded corners; it was one mile, three furlongs and 187 yards in length. The stand accommodated 400 patrons and was situated in the south-west corner of the section and had a refreshment room beneath. It occupied the "U" formed by Henley Beach Road, South Road (formerly Fisher Terrace) and Burbridge Road on the western side of South Road and part of the track on the northern side followed what is now Henley Beach Road.

For many years the Adelaide Cup was decided there, while Adam Lindsay Gordon, the ill-fated poet, took part in many a steeplechase and won the 1866 event on Mr C.B. Fisher's "Cadger". Today many street names bear witness to past events - Ebor and Falcon Avenues, Roebuck and Norma Streets were named after race winners on the old course; Cowra Street honours a grey mare, owned by Mr C.M. Bagot, which twice won the Adelaide Cup; Fisher Terrace after Mr C.B. Fisher, the owner of a racing stud and Tarragon Street commemorating a famous horse imported by a Mr Holland from New South Wales.

A newspaper report compared the race meetings with a Donnybrook fair. Scattered around the grounds were merry-go-rounds and cockshies together with an itinerant circus where tumblers in spangled tights gyrated on strips of matting; there were refreshment bars, raucous "hot dog" vendors, oyster and fruit booths, skittles and boxing tents, in fact anything from "pitch-and-toss to manslaughter".

The publicans took up strategic positions between the saddling paddock and grandstand and, with the only water on the course being available from a well in its north-west corner, they enjoyed a steady and rewarding trade in beer, gin, rum and accompanying soft drinks. They were doubly pleased when the thermometer crept up to and exceeded 100 degrees Fahrenheit!

A favourite rallying point was the water jump and racing enthusiasts never wearied in telling the story of "Bagot's Ditch", "a fearsome mound of sodded wall with a stretch of water back and front." It was used only on one occasion when the field charged the obstacle, pulled up abruptly and deposited the riders into the awaiting ditch.

In 1856 the first South Australian Jockey Club was formed and, in 1861, when "trading under the firm [*sic*] of The Old Race Committee", amalgamated with the managers of the Butchers' Races at Thebarton and "from that year dates the commencement of its financial difficulties."

At this time the West Torrens District Council was concerned at the deterioration of local roads and in August of that year Henley Beach Road was metalled on the northern boundary of the course. In 1863 Mr Bagot expressed the wish that the Council would improve the track from South Road to East Terrace "for the coming steeplechase" but the District Clerk had other ideas:

The Council receives no benefit whatever from the races being held in the district which very much destroy the roads, trusting that in future the Jockey Club will contribute something to the repair of the road. Steps will be taken in the present instant to remedy the evil complained of.

By 1862 an unhappy division existed between Mr P.B. Coglein, a supporter of racing on Victoria Park, and Mr E.M. Bagot who favoured the Thebarton venue. At a meeting of four members of the South Australian Jockey Club, *viz.*, Messrs Bagot, Coglein, Simms and Bennet, the first-named as Chairman, exercised his casting vote in favour of Thebarton.

General dissatisfaction followed this decision and, subsequently, over 350 sporting men and members of the public petitioned the Adelaide Corporation praying for the restoration of racing at Victoria Park. For legal reasons the corporation could not comply with the request and no further action was taken until August 1863 when Mr Coglein presented to the House of Assembly another petition signed by 1,442 citizens praying for the legislature to pass an Act empowering the Corporation of Adelaide to lease a portion of the Park Lands as a public racecourse; an Act to that effect was passed on 30 September 1863, resulting in a lease from the corporation for 14 years, rent free.

"Mr Coglein then, with a public spirit deserving all praise... succeeded in perfecting a course against which no possible objection can be made, unless by the factious and perversely obstinate.

"The Thebarton Racecourse [was] burthened with a rental and expenses of not much less than £200 per annum... There has never been published any balance sheet... [This course] is not so available to the citizens of Adelaide as the old course; and however much Mr Bagot may sneer at the ""Non-subscribing public"", most intelligent persons will admit that all matters of public sport are mainly supported by the countenance given to them by the public...

"As to the adaptability of the respective sites and quality of ground for racing purposes, whatever may have originally been the advantage in favour of Thebarton... there can be no doubt in the unprejudiced minds of those capable of judging that the improvements recently made at the old course give it, at this moment, a decided superiority..."

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

From the outset the venture was doomed to fail due mainly to the fact that the races were held in the heat of summer and the presence of a more pleasant venue at Victoria Park; the day of one meeting was such that:

The clouds threatened rain, but not a drop fell to check the inevitable effects of a stiff breeze upon well-pulverised roads. A blinding cloud met passengers on their way down, jocks in their saddles and powdered everything and everybody insinuating themselves also into the chignons of ladies and into the whiskers of gentlemen.

Thus, racing ceased at Thebarton and on 21 July 1869 the one-acre property passed from the SA Jockey Club to Mr E.M. Bagot who constructed a "boiling-down" works thereon.

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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."
Ingrid Srubjen, *Town of Thebarton* (unpublished manuscript held by the Corporation of the Town of Thebarton), Chapter Three, pp. 8 and 9.
Register, 1 June 1869, p. 2f.
West Torrens Council Minutes of 25 August 1863.
Advertiser, 11 October 1867, p. 2,
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..
See application no. 16306 in the General Registry Office and Certificate of Title, Volume 275, Folio 188..
Register, 1 and 2 January 1869, pp. 3. An advertisement of the newly created subdivision of West Adelaide on
land previously used as the racecourse is in the
Register, 13 September 1882, p. 8d.

Essay No. 3 - 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.

A spectator of one of these so-called sporting events has left a description of the needless slaughter:

A pigeon which had been hit, but not killed, sought shelter in the spreading branches of one of the trees under the shade of which the ladies sat. It was badly wounded and gave a piteous little cry as it alighted. A few seconds suspense, during which the backers of gun or bird anxiously looked upward while making and taking fresh bets as to whether it would die, and their suspense was ended by a mangled mass of palpitating flesh and warm blood and feathers falling plump into a lady's lap...

The feathers of departed birds were floating in the air like moths on a summer's evening, a pile of large hampers was filled with the slain, one wounded bird which had got away was endeavouring to balance its wearied body on the palings, the dog which picked up the fallen was almost beaten with fatigue, and the odds against the birds were going steadily up to the time we left.

The shooting of birds on a Sunday, including pigeon matches, was considered by some to be a desecration of the Sabbath and in 1848 a Walkerville resident aired his opinion:

From the Company's Mill, for several miles around Walkerville, wherever a bird, small or great, presents itself, the deadly weapon is pointed... To the Christian, who wends his way with solemn mien, invited by the church-going bell to come to the house of God, the continuous reports of fire arms are very grievous...

I feel it my duty to direct public attention to the **covert shop-keeping with door ajar** in the village on the Sunday, where powder and shot (not to mention other things) can be purchased all day long.

Register, 25 June 1853, p. 3f, 4 May 1854, p. 3e.. *Advertiser*, 8 October 1868, p. 2e.. *South Australian*, 30 June 1848, page 3a.

Essay No. 4 - 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.

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!

It would appear 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.

To complement (or distract from?) this encounter, Mr Bristow, of the Great Tom o' Lincoln Hotel, 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.

The Thebarton Cricket Club was formed in the early 1840s and at the outset their main rival was to become the Walkerville team. However, on one occasion following a match away from home a newspaper editor expressed some concern as to the conduct of the Thebarton team:

We are assured that there is no truth in the report that [the Thebarton team] did not pay for the dinner, all having done so except three, who had retired early, before the expense was ascertained, and who are not men likely to shirk their responsibility. It will be seen that Captain Litchfield, the secretary of the Thebarton club, who was not one of the players, has called a meeting of members... to enquire into the circumstances.

In April 1862 the third "grand annual match" between teams from "British and colonial descent" was played on the Thebarton Racecourse on a level piece of ground opposite the grandstand, upon which a roller had been used to pulverise a few stray clods of earth. The Brunswick Band played and treated a sparse crowd to music, while a luncheon was provided by Mr G. Aldridge in the grandstand.

Following the end of play on the second day a dinner was held at the Masonic Hall in King William Street when Mr Perryman, a colonial player, told the assembled gathering that he intended to apply to the Adelaide Corporation for a portion of the Park Lands near Montefiore Hill as a permanent ground; he then proceeded to read out a memorial for a grant of sixteen acres.

For many clubs an end of season "treat" of the 1870s was in the form of a sea excursion to Edithburgh aboard the steamer *Eleanor*. Proceeding to Glenelg by rail the players and supporters boarded the ship at 7 a.m. and went across Saint Vincent Gulf arriving at noon. A picnic match was played against a local team and outside the cricket reserve people engaged in varied amusements, while the Concordia Band, brought from Adelaide especially for the occasion, played lively music and "dancing was kept up with spirit." Other more sedate excursioners went for a hike or tried their luck at fishing from the jetty.

The South Australian town of Arno Bay ("Bligh" until 1940) has an interesting association with the origin of "The Ashes" as competed for between Australian and English Teams.

The *Register* of 28 February 1924, page 13d says the town was named in "honour of the Hon. Ivo Bligh who came to Australia with a team of English cricketers a good many years ago".

Sir Pelham Warner in *The Book of Cricket* said, *inter alia*: "After the conclusion of Murdoch's tour [of England in 1882] the Hon. Ivo Bligh - ""St. Ivo "as he was called in Australia - set forth to recover the Ashes, and winning two out of three matches was presented with an urn containing some ashes, which stands in the pavilion at Lord's today... Unfortunately, in a sense, ""St. Ivo"" was persuaded to play a fourth match... which he lost, and the historians still argue as to whether he did in point of fact regain the Ashes."

The English team arrived at Glenelg on Friday, 10 November 1882 in the *Peshawar* and that evening Gov Jervois, patron of the South Australian Cricket Association, entertained them at a vice-regal dinner. On 17 November 1882, in respect of a recently surveyed town to be named in the Hundred of Boothby, Governor Jervois appears to have first written the word "Darnley" on the Government docket, struck that out and substituted "Bligh". The Hon. Ivo Francis W. Bligh was the second son of the 6th Earl of Darnley and in 1900 he himself became the 8th Earl.

Sources

John Arlott, *Concerning Cricket*, p. 8.. *Register*, 8 November 1859, p. 2c, 30 January 1862, p. 3d.

A "single-wicket" match is advertised in the *South Australian*, 24 November 1838.

Advertiser, 1 September 1936 (special edition), p. 56.

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.) *Observer*, 26 April 1862, p. 7a. *Register*, 17 January 1876, p. 6g..

"How the Ashes Originated" is discussed in the *Advertiser* on 12 January 1933 – "A party of Melbourne women put some ashes into a small black urn and gave it to...[H]Ivo Bligh]... On [his] death [it] became the

property of the MCC and is now in the pavilion at Lord's..."Ivo Bligh's marriage in Victoria is reported in the *Advertiser*, 15 February 1884, p. 7f.

Essay No. 5 - Boxing and Wrestling

Boxing

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."¹

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.

¹*Register*, 22 November 1845, p. 2e, *Observer*, 22 January 1848, p. 2c.

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.¹

Wrestling

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.²

Essay No. 6 - Beauty Contests

Introduction

Melbourne girls might be the well-dressed people of the Commonwealth - I think they are - but they are careless in make-up and fretful in gait... The Sydney girl throws her clothes on, she adorns her face in a hurry... Adelaide has the best type... Our girls dress deliberately, their manner is serene, their gait good, character shines in their faces... Perth girls... cannot compare with Adelaide...

So spoke James Ashton, the well-known artist in October 1923 on the eve of a beauty contest launched by *The News*. He and two other citizens, one of whom was a woman, were appointed judges of the competition, the winner of which was announced in late December of that year.

It has been said that there are varying degrees of courage. Indeed, only the bravest can be induced to act as judge of a baby show and, in 1902, a male judge was to observe that coming under fire from Maxim guns at the Boer War was mere child's play when compared with a running of a gauntlet of disappointed mothers. A severer test, however, was to be encountered in pouring over photographs of pretty women when, in the halcyon days of the early 1900s, social custom frowned upon parades of contestants which are the fashion today.

One report of such a contest traversed the risks involved in the naming of "the most comely belle". The dauntless three men who acted as judges set a bad example by quarrelling among themselves. They subjected the photographs to the most careful analysis and compared them with reference to the art canons of beauty: and then a deadlock occurred." Each judge resorted to many impatient gestures and scornful references to the taste of his fellow arbitrator.

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Register, 7 February 1894, p. 5c.

²*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.

At the same time each proclaimed that his own choice was "incomparably the loveliest." The first was to say: "Look at her eyes - that droop with modesty of summer flowers; her ears shaped like the petals of a delicate rose; her nose fit study for a Grecian sculptor; her cheeks, that a Gainsborough might envy."

And so each of them expounded the points of his favourite. Ultimately, as no headway could be made, a special jury was called in, but wisely they declined to act except on the condition that the entrants' names were kept secret. Finally, the fateful decision was made known and, with one exception, "all the beautiful women had the supremest contempt for those selfsame judges."

"The most beautiful woman, when her identity was disclosed was carefully measured, her weight was taken to the fraction of an ounce and the colour of her hair", the special features of her "apple blossom" complexion, her graceful gait, what she liked to eat for breakfast, and other incidentals were, once put abroad, all matters for national debate.

South Australian Contests

What is believed to be the first beauty contest in Adelaide commenced on 22 February 1911 at the Olympus Theatre where the cinema's patrons were given the opportunity to decide the winner. Photographs of the heads and shoulders of many unnamed women, each designated with a number, were projected on to the screen and such was the success of the venture that many would be "judges" could not obtain admittance.

Naturally, with an eye to profits, the management extended the competition for a further five nights. Following its closure on 7 March, Miss Darton-Iredale of Norwood, who "worked for a prominent accounting firm in the district", was declared the winner with 6,444 votes over Miss Jones (6,306) and Miss J. Dale (3,142).

A bathing beauty contest was reported in February 1914 when Miss Betty Ballantyne won the Wondergraph Lady Bathers' Competition. This was the catalyst for an acceleration of "women's liberation", for at this time women commenced to bob their hair, adorn themselves with lipstick, smoke cigarettes and imbibe alcoholic liquors in public, kiss men publicly and dance cheek to cheek with them.

The 1920s was the decade of the Charleston, a frenetic dance imported from the United States of America, jazz music and the proliferation of bathing beauty contests. A dissenting citizen declared his opinion of such events:

It is difficult to endow with the proper qualities of a queen of beauty a young person who openly attributes her complexion to a specific brand of soap, her shapely neck to excessive indulgence in some magical patent medicine and the strength and straightness of her nether limbs to Sandow's developer...

Although the beauty competition cult will probably face this under the weight of the dollar, there are more cogent reasons still why it ought not to continue to demonstrate the uglier truth of the remark "beauty is but a vain and doubtful good".

Criticism was to continue into 1927 when Rev. John Blacket, theologian and historian, wrote a censorious letter to the morning press in respect of perceived evils of the era:

The desecration of the Lord's Day, the growth of the gambling mania, the hunger and thirst for the merely sensuous, a disregard for the moral law, a loss of modesty on the part of women, upon whom really the future of society depends, are painful and admonitory

features in our national life. To the list of evils that threaten to carry us over Niagara must now be added so-called "beauty contests".

Beauty contests... contribute to the vitiation of beauty itself by encouraging among the lightly clad contestants the special weaknesses to which the fairest sex is heir, of which the greatest is vanity and the worst immodesty.

Sources and Notes

Beauty contests are the subject of comment in the *Register*, 10 April 1902, p. 4d.

A beauty competition conducted by West's Theatre is reported in the *Advertiser*, 23 February 1911, p. 6e. Photographs of entrants are in the *Chronicle*, 11 March 1911, p. 37.

A photograph of Miss Betty Ballantyne, the winner of the Wondergraph Lady Bathers' Competition, is in the *Chronicle*, 21 February 1914, p. 30.

A beauty contest conducted by *The News* is reported upon on all but a daily basis from 16 October 1923, p. 1b until late December 1923.

"Beauty Unclothed" is in the *Register*, 26 October 1926, p. 8c: also see 10 and 11 March 1927, pp. 5e and 11e.

A photograph of "Miss Adelaide", Jean Armstrong, is in the *Chronicle*, 28 August 1926, p. 38, "Miss South Australia" is in *The Mail*, 21 May 1927, p. 1c.

"A Search Begins for Adelaide's Loveliest Beach Girls" is in *The News*, 18 January 1935, p. 1a; also see 27 April 1935 (supplement).

Essay No. 7 - Roller Skating

Introduction

In the French Patent Office there is recorded under the date of 12 November 1819, and credited to one Pettibled, a device involving the principle of the roller skate. About the same time an Englishman named Tyers invented a skate with five narrow wheels in a single row, so arranged that but two of them were on the floor at the same time.

The next skate was made in 1828 and patented in France while, in 1849, another was brought before the public, being first exhibited at the Paris Opera. The next year one Sidmon produced a somewhat different style of roller in London. None of these, however, served to attract more than passing notice.

It was reserved for an American, James L. Plimpton, to perfect the roller-skate, to develop a system of rinks and to obtain the patronage of the best classes of society. He patented his invention in the USA in 1863 and in England two years later. The sport, in the course of time, came to be known as "Rinking".

Rinking in South Australia

Coppin's skating rink was opened in Hines Assembly Room in Adelaide on 21 May 1868 where "a moderately good attendance" had "to undergo the fixing of a pair of false soles" which had under them two pairs of small wooden wheels. The scene was described as "decidedly a novel one" and most participants agreed that it was a "capital exercise".

Such was the popularity of this new pastime in some quarters, in July 1868 a dozen gentlemen interested in the formation of a skating rink, the venue of which was to be the Town Hall, met at the Gresham Hotel, with J.L. Ebsworth in the chair. A committee was elected comprising Messrs G.M. Turnbull, W. McMinn, Moles, C. Young, S. Schank and H. Stodart. After lengthy negotiations they were debarred the use of the hall

because "upon trial the floor was unsuited for the purpose." They then applied for a lease of the Exhibition Building but were denied that venue following government intervention.

A reminiscent report in 1888 said:

The facilities then afforded for the exercise were not good, and there existed a sentiment that such skating was only a parlour game, well enough perhaps in its way, but something to be considered as effeminate by the lover of genuine sports. The idea of hobbling and shuffling around a small dark hall on a set of little wheels was an object of ridicule for the paragraphers of the time...

By 1878 a new wave of enthusiasm hit Adelaide when Peter Bastard, "son of the enterprising lessee of the city baths", had the northern side of his premises floored with kauri pine. When completed it measured 75 by 25 feet with extra space around the rink covered with Indian matting upon which seating was provided for interested spectators.

In June 1878, "the craze for skating on wheels" having taken a firm hold on many Adelaideans, Mr H.J. Rice opened a rink in Bent Street. The floor was made of "white cement" and covered a little in excess of 2,000 square feet; two neat and comfortable dressing rooms were provided, between which a boarded promenade was provided for onlookers. "Football matches" were played on the rink and patronage was such that in 1879 the proprietor decorated the walls with paintings representing skating in other countries and kindred subjects.

The "craze" waned in the early 1880s but was revived in 1887 when a private club engaged the St Peter's Town Hall for rinking purposes while, in June 1887, the City Baths proprietor converted portion of his premises for prospective patronage during the winter months.

By mid-1888, an enterprising American, A.N. Ridgley, had opened the Columbia Elite Roller Skating Rink in the Exhibition Building on North Terrace, with a seating accommodation for upwards of 3,000 patrons and a rink measuring 195 by 95 feet. The rental for the premises was 30 pounds a week for twenty weeks from 1 May 1888. At this time rinks were also operating in both Norwood and Port Adelaide.

Its opening prompted some of the local "wowsers" to raise objections to ladies being permitted entry without a male escort and one of the ilk suggested that if the proprietor complied the "objectionable female element would be excluded" thereby conveying "a very wholesome and much-needed lesson to the daughters of South Australia."

One aggrieved "Daughter of SA" took umbrage and said: "Would it not be more reasonable instead of chastising us with whips for our misfortune, to chastise with scorpions those of his own sex who so selfishly ignore the claims of their female friends and leave them to go out unescorted or stay at home?"

The Columbia Rink took fifty carpenters to lay the floor and upon completion was described as "a masterpiece of joiners' skills". The skate room boasted 2,000 pairs of American skates - sixteen varieties to choose from - and twenty youths were employed to attend to them while a large corps of "gentlemanly attaches" instructed beginners and a band supplied music. Experts skimmed round on the wooden-wheeled variety, but beginners used brass wheels to get a better grip.

A special event in aid of St Matthew's parsonage at Norwood was conducted in July 1888 and among the performers were "a number of little sailor boys from the hulk Fitzjames" who "executed a military march and gymnastic exercises with a preciseness..."

The next revival of rinking came in August 1893 when Syme and Sison (lessees) and Messrs Hamilton and Morris (Managers) opened at 190 Pirie Street which "had been transferred into a spacious rink" measuring 110 by 35 feet. This venue was still being conducted in 1922 when attendances were "almost as large as the pre-war days."

In 1904 a Perth resident, E.G. Webb, leased the Exhibition Building for four months from 1 May, when he advised that "over 3,000 pairs of skates" had been acquired and that "expert roller skaters from Melbourne" were to be engaged to act as instructors; this venue, known as "Webb's Olympia", was opened by the Lord Mayor, Lewis Cohen, on 13 April 1904.

Fun was the keynote and the management had a slick slogan: "Why live and be miserable when you can live and be happy by visiting Olympia - two hours fun for sixpence." The promoters organised monster masquerade carnivals, when everyone on the floor had to wear fancy or evening dress.

For one carnival the Olympia brought a really unique attraction to Adelaide. Billed as "Five baby incubators, greatest scientific advancement for saving infant life." It came direct from the World's Fair, St Louis, USA. A leading Adelaide maternity home supplied three babies and two attendant nurses to demonstrate these machines.

On a Saturday night, spectators could watch 300 to 400 skaters moving on whirring wheels in an unending procession. A set programme was often arranged and this gave all classes of skaters an opportunity to have the floor for a period.

Its demise was hastened by the coming of the silent movies when a company erected a canvas theatre opposite the Exhibition Building to seat 3,000 people; its new American projecting machine was the best in the city. The new movies quickly captured the enthusiasm of the public and, although other skating rinks operated for a few years longer, the old Columbia had to close down permanently.

By 1949 Our Boys' Institute in Wakefield Street conducted Adelaide's only roller skating rink. Its floor of the latest style granilific cement eliminated dust and noise, contrasting strongly with the floors of the 1880s. "But youngsters still go through the same paces as their grandparents as they learn to master the wheels. Their tunes are different, and so are the skates, but they waltz in the same old way."

Sources

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Part V - Tales of Port Adelaide and LeFevre Peninsula

Essay no. 1 An Unjust Law

The roots of a call for a system of State interference in the conduct of industrial relations can be gleaned from the attitude of the employers and capitalists towards the labour force of the infant colony of South Australia. In 1837 this colonial class prevailed upon the newly constituted Government to pass its first law directed at oppressing the protest and dissent of labour.

The Masters and Servants Act was a draconian law which provided that any worker, deemed by the employer to have shown neglect of duty or disobedience, would be liable to six month's imprisonment and the forfeiture of wages. The Act was rejected by the British Government as too repressive but, during its short period of operation, the records show:

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 were chained to trees in the Parklands.

The fact that such a law existed, and was to return in a modified form in 1841, indicates that the foundations of the colony were not always laid in harmony.

The Act was still on the Statute Book when, in August 1882, 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 Masters and Servants 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 sympathy with the words of James Penn Boucaut, a former three-times Premier of the colony - "Our legislation and system of government studies entirely too much the interests of capital..."

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.

Sources

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Register, 17 August 1882, page 4f, 23 August 1882 (supp.), page 2a, 15 April 1887, page 7b (poem).
Boucaut Papers, Mortlock Library, no. 97/379, 28 August 1874.€

Essay No. 2 - A Burning in Effigy

John Dunn arrived in South Australia in the *Lysander* in 1840 with his wife and children and settled at Hay Valley near Nairne where he built a flour mill; other ventures followed in the course of time and by mid-1866 his son, John Dunn, junior, was managing a newly-erected mill at Port Adelaide. In a munificent gesture in January 1867 he invited the whole of the firm's colonial employees to a dinner "with the double purpose of promoting good feelings between employer and employee" and to "afford the hands, many of whom are ""true blue Australians"", an opportunity of visiting the seaport of the colony."

These fine sentiments were abrogated when, in September 1867, John Dunn informed his Port Adelaide employees that it was his intention to reduce their wages and "it was further asserted that he had endeavoured to persuade other employers at the Port to adopt the same course."

Within a few days handbills were being circulated among the labouring class advising that an effigy, supposedly representing John Dunn, was to be exhibited at the Peninsula Bridge and, at the nominated time, duly burned with appropriate ceremony and incantations against his firm's miserly capitalistic edict. However, the proposed conflagration was snuffed out before a match could be applied to the effigy of the beleaguered employer; the police moved swiftly and took possession of it.

This act added fuel to the incipient anger of the workers for they marched in force to Mr Dunn's residence where, in an act of contrition, he attempted to appease them with an account of the economic woes of his company and the absolute necessity for the proposed wage cuts. During his plea "mud and stones were thrown by some cowardly fellows" at his person, while kerosine and gunpowder were propelled into his house.

After the angry mob had withdrawn to plot and plan future incursions a local Council meeting was called, when the Town Clerk was instructed to write to the Commissioner of Police expressing regret that the ringleaders of the near riot had not been arrested.

An uneasy peace existed between labour and capital until the morning of Saturday, 23 November 1867, when Portonians were awakened by an acrid smell of smoke in their nostrils - Dunn's Mill was a blazing inferno with no prospect of it being brought under control. The embers of the gutted building remained smouldering over the weekend, while the outcome of an inquest held on Monday, 25 November was inconclusive, but there was "a very strong feeling... that it was the work of an incendiary".

The implication of this open verdict is that a disgruntled employee was the culprit; if such is the case it was an act of a deranged man because the employees' "reduced" wages then became non-existent and remained in that parlous state until the mill was rebuilt and reopened in February 1868.

Sources

Register, 3 January 1867, page 3f, 11, 16 and 23 September 1867, pages 2e, 26 November 1867, pages 2f-3c, 29 February 1868, page 2g.

Essay No. 3 - The Glanville Truant School

The village of Glanville was created by John Hart in 1865 "on what had been a swamp at high water spring tides", the necessary reclamation being achieved by embankments. By 1873 "whole streets had arisen" and the sand and seaweed which once "owned the ground" had given way to houses and shops.

"Buck's Flat, where the races used to be held, [was] approached by a well-made embankment, forming a thoroughfare for [the villagers]." However, northwards and opposite North Parade the area "appears literally cursed by sand... At one time the thick scrub to a great extent prevented the drift but of late years the timber has been cut down and scrub destroyed to such an extent that the whole place resembles a sandy desert..."

One of the residents of Glanville in the 1880s was Mr F.R. Burton, Clerk of the Court at Port Adelaide, who had studied the subject of treating truant and uncontrollable children. He contended that a large number of those committed for serious offences would never have reached the gaol stage if a more judicious mode of treatment had been available at the commencement of their "career".

He was firmly of the opinion that instead of sending first offenders to the reformatory hulk, *Fitzjames*, where they would mix with those convicted of grave offences, the community would be best served if they were confined to a truant school where they "could be diligently employed".

Accordingly, in 1887 he drafted and submitted a scheme to Government in which he intimated that he would conduct the scheme at his own expense (once operating the school cost Mr Burton 200 pounds per annum). Not surprisingly, those in power readily agreed to the proposal and the "Home" was duly established near the Port River "where the boys bathe daily". Apart from the dwelling house there were two cottages, one used as a school and the other as sleeping quarters; a vegetable garden was also maintained by the inmates.

In 1889, a reporter eulogised the establishment:

The undeniable fact is that the majority of those lads who have been under Mr Burton's management are now either attending school regularly and obedient to their parents or are earning their daily bread at honest labour. The Magistrate at Port Adelaide instead of committing boys to the hulk or gaol now hands them over to Mr Burton - he is much pleased at the progress.

Sub-Inspector Doyle, of the Police Department, says that wonderful changes have been effected and several boys, previously uncontrollable and truant, and fast developing into the larrikin type, were now well behaved... Mr Burton is reclaiming boys who otherwise were on "the high road to ruin".

In June 1890 another reporter visited the institution and was full of praise with what he saw; he concluded that juvenile delinquency was "a serious question for young Australia - one that needs to be tackled and not shirked."

In the year of our Lord 1991 we might be excused for uttering the present-day colloquialism - "What's New" - when it is realised what the aftermath of the abuse of drugs and lack of employment has inflicted upon our "enlightened" society.

It is apparent that Mr Burton encountered some government interference for in June 1891 it was reported :

When a man feels that he has a work to do for which he seeks neither money or renown, and proves that he can perform it, it is a scandal to civilisation that he should be hampered in carrying out his work...

However, by December 1891 the troubles were behind him when it was reported that:

The inmates are not confined as prisoners, but they learn to take an interest in their new home and after a few months most of them are prepared to return to their parents with the resolve to avoid evil ways. During the time Mr Burton has been engaged in the work 68 boys have passed under his care... An extra allotment of land, 150 feet by 50 feet, has been acquired and laid out as a vegetable garden, providing employment for the young inmates.

Early in 1893 further storm clouds gathered when the State Children's Council proclaimed that it considered Mr Burton's work was "an unnecessary expenditure of time and labour on his part" and that it preferred "the establishment of a probationary institution for the treatment of uncontrollable boys...". This unperceptive and unwarranted proclamation was too much for Mr Burton's sensitive nature and, early in February 1893, aggrieved at such bureaucratic treatment he closed the establishment, to which a number of "old boys" expressed their disappointment that such a "step had been necessary".

Sources

Register, 6 January 1872, page 5c, 3 April 1873, page 6e, 4 December 1888, page 5c, 17 April 1889, page 6d, 18 October 1889, page 5d, 28 June 1890, page 5h, 17 October 1890, page 4g, 8 June 1891, page 6c, 12 December 1891, page 5c, 11, 12, 16 and 17 January 1893, pages 6h-7f, 5c-7f, 4h and 5d, 14 February 1893, page 7d, 8 March 1893, page 6d.

- Essay No. 4 - Mudholia - A Place of Pestilence

Anthony Trollope, the English author, during his sojourn in Adelaide in the early 1870s, in his oft-quoted narrative extolled the beauty of Adelaide and environs but it is apparent that he was led away from the prevailing misery, want and degradation of the lower classes of colonial society. Further, at this time the infant death rate in the city was more than 40 per cent higher than in the remainder of the colony and the highest of any provincial city in Australia - mute evidence of the lack of action by government and councils in the area of public health.

If the evidence of newspaper reports of the day is to be believed Port Adelaide was no better than its city counterpart. In 1873 a colonist visited Port Adelaide after many years absence and under the heading "Drops of Ink" discussed the settlement in the *Register* - "Any returned absentee [must] remember [it] when it really deserved the title of ""Mudholia""." To him it seemed strange to see vehicles rolling safely over the town's thoroughfares where "once upon a time sailors or some other erratic wanderers were occasionally found literally drowned to death in mud".

However, he hastened to add that many "old relics of barbarism in the shape of rows of venerable tumbled-down shanties" still disfigured the landscape:

Many such places can may be seen (and smelt) even in the principal streets about the Port... It will be seen that as the roads are raised on either side the houses get sunk in a hollow, which becomes a reservoir of stagnant water, household rubbish and animal matter, frying in the summer sun, and stewing in the winter until, by Nature's perverted cookery, it becomes a feast of fever and a flow of smells.

He was impressed with "its social improvement" because "if any of our Adelaide sirens who flaunt about the city at all hours by day or night attempt to exhibit their free-and-easy manners in the Port they are speedily recommended to transport themselves elsewhere."

There was one factor of life, however, which was a source of annoyance - "the evil doing of droves of calfish youths who think it needful to moon about the bridge... till it develops itself in spiteful and often-times disgusting remarks upon passers-by...

Occasionally these swains get a thrashing from some long-suffering individual and then for a while they are awed into a sort of doltish harmlessness."

The above quoted comments were made in April 1873 but, earlier, in February of that year a correspondent to the *Register*, reflecting upon the hazards of the previous winter, and with "tongue in cheek", opined:

It is suggested in winter-time, when the now dust-filled holes [of the Port Road] are brimming with water, a chart of line showing shoals and mudbanks be furnished to every driver...

By 1875 the accumulation of offal on the streets and in the backyards of the inhabitants was of concern:

The absence of vigorous efforts of scavenging causes the watertables to be filthy and the contents putrid during hot weather. A radical change in these affairs is desirable... also typhoid fever and other malignant diseases may break out and become rampant.

With the economic growth of the Colony, and a concomitant increase in population, Port Adelaide made no advancement in respect of community awareness of the hazards of an unhealthy environment; take, for example, the following opinion expressed in 1880:

I hope the Port of bygone days smelt a little sweeter than the Port of today does. There are gutters full of unmentionable filth which lies sweltering in the sun... There are miserable hovels that are a disgrace to South Australia and there are dirty, bare-footed children running about who appear neither to regard God nor fear man; if any place invited fever and cholera and made their work easy for them, that place is Port Adelaide.

Finally, in 1880 a citizen put to rest any suggestion that Port Adelaide had improved its public carriage-ways over its formative years - "Any visitor... cannot fail to see to see how apparent the satirical title of Mudholia is... the roads are perfect quagmires".

Sources

Register, 25 February 1873, page 5f, 3 April 1873, page 6e, 23 July 1875, page 5d, 8 May 1877, page 4, 17 February 1880, page 5f, 24 March 1880, page 5d.

Essay No. 5 - The Birkenhead Ferry

The township of Bridgewater was created by Alfred Watts in 1855 on "the nearest high ground to the Port" which he declared possessed an "unlimited supply of fresh water...", while its neighbour, Birkenhead, was the joint creation of Thomas Elder and John Hart in 1861. They claimed it to be a "healthy site" in the immediate vicinity of Port Adelaide.

In 1875 a disgruntled citizen suggested that "this part of Adelaide is nothing more than a long, narrow estuary creek of shallow water" and went on to have a tilt at the authorities in the City for their lack of interest in the Port:

It is the old story of "vested interests". The wealth of the colony is centred in Adelaide... These are not at all interested in the old Port... and their unanimity for one object influence the Government and are predominate in the House of Assembly, and so it is they have kept things as they are and oppose all change...

However, some Portonians with an eye for business, profit and incidental progress had different ideas for, by 1877, it became obvious that some cheap form of transportation was necessary across the river to Port Adelaide for the convenience of residents of the two towns. Accordingly, on 4 January of that year a meeting took place at the Ship Inn under the presidency of the Mayor, Mr David Bower. Thirty interested people attended and Mr Christie explained the origin of the scheme and referred to recent Government promises to erect approaches on both sides of the Port River. In addition to Mr Christie other foundation members of the proposed company were Messrs J. Walker, D. McKendrick, R. Lindsay, W. Harris and J.M. Sinclair.

Within a short time the Port Adelaide Ferry Company was founded and a tender accepted for the construction of a ferry boat by Messrs McCallum (or McAllan) Smith and Co. The specifications provided for a vessel 40 feet long, 10 feet abeam in the midships diminishing to six feet. Seats were to be fitted on both sides to accommodate 60 passengers and, to avoid the need for turning the ferry, it was to have a screw propeller and rudder at each end.

To provide access and egress the existing landing steps at the end of Commercial Street were extended and at Birkenhead a 200 feet long pier was constructed. The one-way fare was set at one penny per trip.

The trial run of the ferry, appropriately called *Unique*, took place on 26 October 1877 and a few days later the ferry service was formally opened by the former Colonial Treasurer, Mr R.D. Ross.

From the start it was well patronised and, in June 1878, a dividend of two shillings a share was declared. Earlier, on New Year's Day, 1878, the ferry's resources were "severely taxed" for 4,300 passengers were accommodated and:

The man in charge appears to have been roughly handled and in the rush he was forced under foot and bruised; his watch was damaged and the chain lost... [After this unfortunate event] a policeman was stationed on the steps to prevent overcrowding.

In later years the company was plagued with problems until, finally, due to lack of patronage the company was wound up in 1890 when, in a reflective statement, it said that the service was "at first conducted by steam ferry but latterly by boats."

Sources

Register, 4 September 1875, pages 5e-f, 5 January 1877, page 5d, 25 June 1877, page 5c, 30 August 1877, page 4g, 27 and 29 October 1877, pages 5a and 5c-6a, 4 January 1878, page 5b, 13 June 1878, page 5d, 18 December 1890, page 5a. The ferry continued under the auspices of the Marine Board - see *Register*, 26 and 28 December 1895, pages 3h and 5b, 11 December 1896, page 5b, 29 January 1897, page 3d, 6 August 1897, page 4h. Also see 3 January 1900, page 4i, 24 February 1900, page 10i, 2, 16, 21, 22 and 26 March 1900, pages 5a, 5b, 3g, 4g and 3d.

Part VII - Flora and Fauna of South Australia

Essay No. 1 - The Rabbit Pest

Introduction

An account of Governor Phillip's voyage to Australia in 1787-88 says that five rabbits accompanied him, while in 1836 "the harmony of the little settlement [of Melbourne] was disturbed by a dispute between Henry Batman and John P. Fawkner in connection with the destruction of rabbits". In December 1859 the clipper *Lightning* sailed into Port Phillip Bay, Victoria, with a consignment of hares, partridges and 24 wild rabbits destined for Mr Thomas Austin of Barwon Park; it is believed that these were the ancestors of the pest which now overruns much of Australia.

In 1875 a Bill to provide for the suppression of the rabbit nuisance was introduced into the South Australian Parliament and in 1887 both the Victorian and South Australian governments collaborated in building a rabbit proof fence extending for 290 miles - "Cost and maintenance was considerable and the fence did not do what was expected of it. Gates were left open, and drift vegetation and sand made the netting useless." To give some idea of the rabbit population, statistics show that in 1932 three quarters of a million carcasses were exported to the United Kingdom from South Australia alone and in the same time 380,000 lbs of rabbit skins were sold at Adelaide skin sales. It took about seven or eight skins to make a pound, so the weight sold represented about 3,000,000 rabbits.

The Rabbit in South Australia

There is a report of the cutter *Governor Gawler* arriving at Port Adelaide in October 1840, supposedly from an eastern colony, and having among its cargo 16 rabbits, while early in 1841 Mr Evans of the Launceston Hotel advertised "100 rabbits, consisting of bucks and does, old and young, all alive, and all for sale."

In 1871 a Hills resident told of the introduction of the rabbit into the Mount Lofty Ranges:

I have carefully prevented for years any [rabbits] being turned loose at Mount Lofty, in consideration of the numerous market gardeners around its slopes; but a few weeks ago I saw some running about... and am told that a distinguished summer neighbour of mine also let some go for future sport. If there is sport, depend upon it there will be no cabbages, carrots, turnips or celery...

In 1876 the first report of a provincial meeting concerned with the "rabbit nuisance" was reported in the Adelaide press; this culminated in a deputation to the responsible Minister attended by representatives from the Hundreds of Julia Creek, Neales and English. On the Anlaby Estate from July 1875 until December 1876 139,680 scalps were paid for and £100 expended in digging out burrows.

Following the enactment of the *Vermin Destruction Act* of 1879 official government parties were employed throughout the infested areas of the colony under the command of inspectors. The main method of eradication was the use of bisulphide of carbon which was pumped into warrens; traps, dogs and snares were also resorted to, together with arsenicised sandalwood leaves and phosphorised grain.

During the period from September to April the eradication parties worked upon Crown and leasehold land from 5 to 11 a.m., rested until 3 p.m. and worked again from that

hour until it was dark, excepting on Saturdays when the hours were from 5 a.m. until 1 p.m. By this arrangement the men were employed during the time that the rabbits came out to feed; from May 1 until August 31 the hours were 7 a.m. until 5 p.m. At the same time the inspectors in charge were instructed to induce local farmers to institute simultaneous action for the destruction of the rabbits and burrows existing upon their land. Later, the *Jamestown Review* of 30 October 1879 was pleased to report that in surrounding Hundreds - "The rabbit nuisance is being rapidly abated... they cannot withstand the overpowering influence of the deadly bisulphide..."

Sources

The News, 12 December 1932, p. 4e; *Southern Australian*, 10 October 1840, p. 2a, 15 January 1841 and 5 February 1841, pp. 2c and 2e (supp.), *Register*, 26 July 1871, p. 6b, 7 August 1871, p. 7b, 27 July 1876, p. 5b, 10 February 1877, p. 6c, 8 May 1924, p. 12g, 24 and 26 December 1925, pp. 9c and 12d, 27 January 1926, p. 15a, *Observer*, 4 September 1875, p. 9a, 28 October 1876, p. 6f.

Part VIII - Random Notes on Politicians

Essay No. 1 - Sir Henry Ayers

Historians and biographers have all but extolled universally the public service proffered by this gentleman to South Australia and present him as a statesman and munificent benefactor, but many newspaper comments from both the public and newspaper editors during his lifetime suggest a different story may be waiting to be told.

For example, the following opinions are presented as a random, unbiased selection and it must be noted that none of them are appreciative of either the late Sir Henry's alleged perspicacity or pretensions to bonhomie.

In 1848 he was accused of "grinding the faces of the poor" when, as Secretary of the Burra Mining Co, he upbraided the local mine manager and accused that worthy of being a fool to pay ore dressers thirty shillings a week - "If you cannot procure men at twenty-one shillings I will send you as many as you require, for there are hundreds of men starving in Adelaide..."

The editor of the *Register* made the following comments on 5 October 1868, page 2f:

It was said, among other unpleasant things, that the Ayer's ministry had been "hardly more successful as critics than as constructors". Their Treasurer has given us posthumous evidence that the remark was far more than true than we could have ventured to suspect.

A correspondent to the *Register* on 28 December 1875 at page 5e opined:

After watching [his] career for many years I have come to the conclusion that as he has always been a waiter upon other people's enterprises, having as far as is publicly known never done anything to assist in developing the resources of SA. So also in politics, he is a waiter upon other people's ideas... like most men of detail, he is deficient in any work requiring originality of thought or boldness of conception... As to land reform; anyone who has studied our Parliamentary proceedings must know that Sir Henry Ayers held out against liberalising our system until resistance was no longer possible if he would win or retain office, and then life-long convictions gave way to love of power...
(Also see *Register*, 30 December 1875, page 6b.)

This expressed opinion is given further credence, for on 14 June 1876, page 5f another correspondent under the heading "Hansard - A Cure for Sciatica" said:

I laid my hand on Hansard and began to read the speeches of Sir Henry Ayers to satisfy myself of his consistency and in less than 20 minutes was comfortably asleep. I slept fully six hours, so powerful had been the dose; result - sciatica all but gone and I am now quite free from the plague. It has been spitefully said that Sir Henry Ayers is not a consistent man, but this is a libel. Hansard proves the very reverse of this. It is therein shown that during the whole of his career he has ably and consistently opposed every move forward, every progressive tendency, until the exigencies of office have compelled him to respect public opinion... He has told us that public opinion must be totally disregarded when the question affects the propertied class...

Had the Legislative Council not been blinded by their overweening conceit they would have seen, when the Bill was before them, how necessary were the [land] transmission clauses to prevent a possible or even probable injustice being done... Yet the Council, led on by Sir

Henry Ayers, pooh-poohed the whole thing... Without their opposition the law would have been altered to meet the case in point...
(*Advertiser*, 25 February 1876, page 2f.)

If they read [his] speech ... they will rise from the process with an unsatisfied feeling. He has stated very little that they can understand, that is worth understanding, and, as a matter of fact, very little which will help them... He has told them much indeed that they did not know before, and much more than they will care to receive at his hands when they understand the full force of his benevolent intentions on their behalf. His speech was evasive in all its moods and tenses... what the country has got is a baby of Sir Henry Ayers's, which can neither walk nor talk, nor be brought into any useful condition by its nurse... his only wish is to make the Bill workable. If it ever becomes so his share in it will be very small indeed. With all his ingenuity... he has only succeeded in spoiling it... the ill-considered mash... owes its present state to Sir Henry Ayers himself...
(*Advertiser*, 21 September 1876, page 4d.)

We deemed it most pernicious that one man should have such an all-powerful sway over either branch of the legislature as Sir Henry has acquired, and in proportion to the strength of his position and the extent to which it was abused, was necessarily the vigour with which an independent Press exposed and discussed such a disastrous condition of things. As a private member, Sir Henry Ayers, if he chooses, can be of some service to the country and may to some extent make atonement for his past errors.
(*Advertiser*, 26 July 1877, page 4e.)

On 8 March 1877 at page 6a the *Register* reproduced a letter from James P. Boucaut protesting against Sir Henry Ayers's untruthful statements, while on 9 March 1877 at page 6b it was said:

The sooner the present government gets out of office the better for the working class and the country at large... Sir Henry Ayers ought to lose [his seat]... lets have some better men in... not men who profess one thing and do another; we have had enough of them...

The Editor of the *Register* on 18 July 1877 at page 4e offered the opinion that:

Unless different tactics are speedily adapted he will find his co-members in such open revolt that he will be utterly unable to carry on the business of government... and will be forced into an ignominious retirement from the leadership of the Council - a position for which he has of late shown so little aptitude.

Again, on 22 August 1877 at page 4b the Editor said:

[He] is capable of descending to a lower deep of political juggling than the lowest deep which it was thought he had reached.

A concerned voter informed the *Register* on 25 August 1877 at page 7b that in his opinion Sir Henry Ayers had:

Not been true to any principle he started with, except that the labouring classes shall pay the taxes and property go free.

The Editor of the *Register* again expressed concern at Sir Henry's apparent self-interest and lack of political aptitude - see 22 September 1877, page 4d:

We are constrained to come to the conclusion that he is only glorying in his shame when he in effect boasts that he has been for the last twenty-one years what he is today... **We are afraid Sir Henry Ayers will require only a very small piece of paper upon which to inscribe all the work originated and carried out by himself for the good of the country.** [Author's emphasis]

Essay No. 2 - George Witherage Cotton

This gentleman was a member of the Legislative Council from 1882 until 1892 and it was said that his motto was "to legislate so that the welfare of all parties might be equally promoted". Anything which "tended to benefit the working classes received his most earnest attention" as is evidenced by the following notes.

"Mr Cotton and the Military" is in the *Chronicle*, 25 June 1870, page 6d:

The belief is daily gaining ground that war is legalised murder, except in extreme self-defence, scientifically devised to kill the greatest number of persons in the shortest time, and that in times of peace a standing army is a great mischief, because it keeps men in enforced idleness...

A letter concerning the proposed working men's blocks sponsored by G.W. Cotton is in the *Register*, 30 August 1884, page 7e; also see *Observer*, 30 August 1884, page 24e, *Advertiser*, 4 September 1884, page 4e, *Register*, 4, 5 and 7 November 1884, pages 4e, 7e and 4f, 10 and 14 January 1885, pages 4f and 6f, 20 November 1885, page 3e, 3 March 1886, page 7g, 10, 13 and 23 March 1886, pages 7h, 7e and 3g, 2, 9, 21 and 23 April 1886, pages 7e, 7g, 7f and 7a, 15 and 19 May 1886, pages 4g-7a and 6e, 16, 18, 19 and 23 February 1887, pages 7e, 7g, 6a and 5a, 7 May 1887, page 7c, 18 June 1888, page 7c.

Two letters written by Mr Cotton on the subject "What Can be Produced from Twenty Acres" are in the *Advertiser*, 13 and 20 July 1885, pages 7b and 7c.

A state-wide report on working men's blocks is in the *Register* on 9 July 1889, page 6f; also see 20 February 1895, page 4f for editorial comment and 23 November 1896, pages 4f-6c.

His comments on the "Chinese Question" are in the *Register*, 16 May 1888, page 7h.

Following spirited public debates on unemployment Thomas H. Smeaton, under the heading "Delusive Demagogues", fired the following shot across Mr Cotton's and a compatriot's bows:

Dangerous men these at the present. Discard them working-men; they will fool you and nothing more...
(*Register*, 31 March 1886, page 7f.)

A fortnight later another opinion was forthcoming :

He is a secret enemy, not an open foe, and in future it is the duty of all right-thinking men to treat his wordy vapourizings with the select contempt they deserve...
(*Register*, 13 April 1886, page 6h.)

The maligned politician sprang to defend himself on 13 April 1886, page 6f:

Any man speaking of me as attempting to "gull" anybody can only be measuring me by some standard of his own to which course I respectfully demur to have judgments passed upon me...

Another correspondent to the *Register* on 16 September 1886 at page 7h complained:

If [he] wishes his 300 to 400 pioneers on labourers' blocks to succeed he had better abstain from inflaming their zeal with misleading statements, but rather ought to preach to them uninterrupted industry (no eight-hours system), the strictest of economy and an unlimited amount of self-denial.

A further unsolicited opinion was given in the *Register* on 27 October 1886, page 7h:

[He is] a gentleman who works hard in writing and speaking to educate South Australians in finance, and yet every effort he makes seems to increase the fog through which we have to discover his meaning...
(See 4 November 1886, page 6g for a defence of Mr Cotton.)

A letter from Rev Honner is in the *Register*, 15 February 1888, page 3g:

If I may judge of those blocks by some I have seen, then they must be intended blockheads, for no sane man would live on them, unless he was seeking a wilderness for the occupation of meditation.

This suggestion was castigated by Mr Cotton on 17 February 1888, page 7f:

I hope when the historian has to look back at the difficulties small holdings had to encounter... that there will not be "perils among false brethren" to be received as amongst the bitterest opposition.

Another citizen entered the fray on 22 February 1888 at page 6b:

For some years past Mr Cotton has been energetically blowing his own trumpet from the homestead blocks. Some of us working men are growing tired of [it]:

Cotton's the man for all jobs,
He scowls on all the nobs,
He winks and shouts at the snobs,
And he sighs for the Government's bobs.

On 25 June 1888 on page 7g of the *Register* he proffered the following advice to the world:

If it is good to listen to the counsel of an enemy much more should it be tried to profit from the well-meant advice of a friend. But when these kind words come from numerous quarters, as they often do, one may well feel perplexed...

In the heat of a public debate on the "land question" a correspondent to the *Register* on 31 July 1888, page 6d put the following to Mr Cotton:

Must a man be a landjobber before he can honestly propose land reform? And is the only honest politician the land agent who opposes land nationalisation? And, pray, what right have you to say that all but yourself are catering for the votes of the working

men?... You may vaunt as much as you like your love for the "poor man"; there is one thing you dare not do... you dare not be an honest politician.
(Also see 20 August 1888, page 3f under "Cotton and the Deluge", 24 August 1888, page 7g.)

An editorial on the Block system is in the *Register*, 16 March 1888, pages 4h and 6f:

Taken at its best it seems to us that it is more a hindrance than of a help to the establishment of a sound and rational system of land tenure...

Mr Cotton's spirited defence appeared on 19 March 1888, page 7c while on 21 March at page 7f a correspondent said:

That he is sincere does not admit the question, but why the continual proclamations, why always clamour for the expected chorus of applause?...
(Also see 19 April 1888, page 6c.)

Two correspondents to the *Register* on 28 August 1888 at page 7c-e passed judgement on Mr Cotton:

[It would be] much more worthy of a man who is privileged to write the prefix Honourable to his name if he were as particular in retailing slanderous statements...

You will have observed long ago that Mr Cotton never gives a straight-forward answer however called for by nasty innuendoes, falsehoods and misrepresentations which he slips into his communications...
(Also see *Register*, 30 August 1888, page 7g.)

Mr Cotton dissertated on "Christianity in Politics" in the *Register*, 2 January 1889, page 7h while on 17 January 1889 at page 6g he opined that "Justness towards one another is the first faculty in man that is worth the trouble of being cultivated by civilised beings..."; also see 22 January 1889, page 7e.

On the subject of "Workers" he said in the *Register*, 31 December 1889, page 7h:

I believe that the wage-receivers are quite as anxious for fair play as those who have to pay the wages. But who is to decide what is fair? Governments shirk the responsibility and cry delusively "It is a matter of open contract". and so it will remain... till it is realised that it is the function of every Government to be a great arbitration and conciliation Association - nothing more and nothing less. In the meantime Trades and Labour Councils must act for the workers...

His views on women's suffrage in respect of municipal elections were expressed in the *Register*, 29 January 1890, page 7g, while on 10 February 1890 at page 6g he aired some misgivings under the heading "The Parliament and the Adelaide Club":

What I hold is wanted is a fair representation of each class and not a packed chamber that can only legislate for the country from the standpoint of its own class interests... For several years past South Australia has progressed in one direction only and that is in rapidly adding to its indebtedness to foreigners...

The following opinion was expressed in the *Register*, 4 August 1890, page 6e:

...They distrust him; they do not know in what category of politicians to place him; he really stands alone. Sometimes he seems radical and appears to be the advocate of thorough reform; at others he opposes the very things which would more than any other benefit the workers...

(His defence appears on 8 August 1890, page 3d.)

His obituary is in the *Register*, 17 December 1892, page 6c:

Anything which tended to benefit the working classes received [his] most serious attention... There has been no man who has been more straight forward and endeavoured to do good in the community... The good acts of some men are far above their failings and [his] little faults could well be overlooked... The working men's block system [has] been a moral lesson to all the world... The tide of wealth had been heaped against him, but he had never shrunk from his duties.

At his funeral, which was reported in the *Register*, 19 December 1892, page 6h, a wreath from some "blockers" bore the inscription - "In loving gratitude to [our] father, friend and champion"; also see 27 December 1892 (supp.), page 2c for another eulogy accorded him. Biographical details are in the *Observer*, 27 October 1888, page 33b.

The *Register* of 3 February 1893, page 7d has a proposal for a "Cotton Memorial Homestead Institute" and at the same time the author unwittingly penned an appropriate epitaph for a man of compassion and Christian principles:

He it was who trod that broader path of humanity, revelled in those broader views that teach us there is a temporal as well as a spiritual side to questions concerning man's salvation...

Essay No. 3 - Ebenezer Ward

A letter from Mr Ward defending his conduct as an "officer of the Northern Territory" is in the *Chronicle*, 4 February 1865, page 1c (supp.).

"Mr E. Ward and the *Register*" is in the *Observer*, 29 July 1871, page 13b, "Mr Ward and the Press" in the *Chronicle*, 1 September 1877, page 5a. "Days of 1868 - An Old Newspaper" is in the *Observer*, 2 February 1915, page 11e, 9 February 1918, page 11e.

"Public Men and Private Character" is in the *Observer*, 31 May 1873, page 12f; also see 7 June 1873, page 13e, 11 and 18 October 1873, pages 17a and 13d, *Chronicle*, 11 October 1873, pages 5c-12b.

"Collapse of the Ward Testimonial" is in the *Observer*, 17 April 1875, page 12f; also see 1 May 1875, page 4f, 28 August 1875, page 11a.

In an editorial headed "A Parliamentary Retrospect" on 23 October 1875 the *Observer* said :

Mr Ward has often reminded us of a faithful bulldog who follows submissively at his master's heels, while at the same time you have an uneasy feeling that at the slightest sign from the master there is nothing he would enjoy so much as pinning you by the leg.

An editorial entitled "The Ministerial Knight Errant" is in the *Register*, 24 August 1877, page 4d; also see 25 and 27 August 1877, pages 6b and 4d, *Advertiser*, 24 August 1877, page 4f:

He certainly is consistent in one thing, for he never fails to exhibit the most boundless admiration for himself. He is the central orb around which the whole political system must revolve. He is the incarnation of unselfish patriotism, of unswerving fidelity to principle. A faithful representative of the people is one who supports Mr Ward, in office and out of it; all his opponents are traitors to their country, wretched tricksters, miserable conspirators, fossils, tools of the squatters, bloated capitalists, and in fact everything that is contemptible, vile and abominable.

"Mr Ward and the Press" is in the *Chronicle*, 1 September 1877, page 5a.

An interesting letter from Mr Ward headed "Who Stopped the Cash Sales of Crown Lands?" is in the *Chronicle*, 6 October 1877, page 12e.

A public banquet given to Mr Ward at the Warooka Hotel is reported in the *Chronicle*, 25 May 1878, page 8c; "A Great Reformer" on 24 August 1878, page 5b.

A variety of opinions on his parliamentary expertise are in editorials in the *Observer* on 13 and 20 September 1879, pages 12b and 13d:

There is probably no member of the house who is able to take a more complete and comprehensive view of intercolonial questions, or to present them in a clearer and more forcible manner than the hon. gentleman...

[He] is an exceedingly "streaky" politician. It is impossible to predict with any accuracy the comparative value of any of his deliverances... Sometimes his remarks are characterised by sound common sense and at other times they are mere rhapsodies destitute of almost every quality except sound and fury.

Following his retirement from politics the *Register* on 1 April 1880 at page 4c said:

The member for Gumeracha is superior to the impulses of modesty and the restraints of good taste. The effrontery which has stood him such good stead throughout his career may well sustain him to the last... In spite of many vagaries, much slipperiness and many changes of front, he has played no mean part in beneficially revolutionizing our land system... The ruling motive of his career has been selfishness. The glorification of Ebenezer Ward has been the key to his action, the substance of his patriotism.

For further illuminating comments see *Register*, 1 April 1880, pages 4c and 1a (supp.), 8 and 12 April 1880, pages 6d and 5c, 6 May 1880, page 4d.

An editorial on a libel case, in which he was the plaintiff, is in the *Advertiser*, 6 May 1880, page 4d; also see *Observer*, 24 April 1880, page 692b, 1, 8 and 15 May 1880, pages 727-732, 764c and 816a.

Information on his insolvency is in the *Observer*, 21 August 1880, page 296e, 6 November 1880, page 798c, *Register*, 28 October 1880, page 4f:

The late member for Gumeracha is free to indulge fresh parliamentary aspirations and enter upon a fresh political career, while his creditors may console themselves with his cheering assurance that he "quite expects his estate will pay two shillings in the pound."

Also see *Register*, 2 November 1880, page 6d, 16, 18 and 19 April 1881, pages 5a-6a, 6f and 7e, 16 March 1887, page 5a.

Election advertisements "pro and con" Mr Ward are in the *Observer*, 19 April 1884, page 22b. His second excursion into bankruptcy is reported in the *Register*, 1 June 1887, page 5a.

Biographical details are in the *Observer*, 26 November 1887, page 33b. "Sued for the Support of His Children" is in the *Advertiser*, 12 December 1895, page 6f and "The Irrepressible Mr Ward" on 27 November 1896, page 4h.

On 27 November 1896 at page 4f the Editor of the *Register* ventured the following opinion:

The enviable mental gifts of the hon. member have not, in spite of his undoubted patriotism, been employed in the public service to the extent to where they ought to have been, and his unenviable defects have been too sadly apparent... One thing at least may be said in his favour. He is not a hypocrite, even if he is exasperatingly stubborn; he does not hide his errors, he does not whine, and he is fairly consistent - even in his inexcusable follies.

"Charges Against a Legislator" is in the *Advertiser*, 10 September 1898, page 10c.

A letter from Ebenezer Ward objecting to the tenor and validity of a report of his appearance in court on a charge of drunkenness is in the *Register*, 7 May 1904, page 3h. A case for maintenance against Mr Ward is reported in the *Observer*, 7 December 1895, page 30a.

"My Note-Book in the West" is in the *Advertiser*, 9 July 1912, page 13c, 26 October 1912, page 21h, 23 January 1913, page 11a; also see *Observer*, 8 September 1917, page 28c.

An obituary is in the *Register* on 9 October 1917, page 4g.

Essay No. 4 - Thomas Reynolds

The *Register* of 13 February 1862, page 2f carries a report of a libel case - he lost and was forced to resign as Treasurer of the Colony.

An editorial headed "Mr Reynolds and His Friends" is in the *Register*, 25 February 1865, page 2f. "Political Pugilism at the Hotel Europe" is in the *Register*, 27 January 1868, page 2d.

Under the heading "Chaos in East Adelaide" the *Register* of 3 April 1868 at page 2c said:

... East Adelaide has made repeated attempts to explain to Mr Reynolds the altered state of her affections... she called him out a few weeks ago for a special parade... when he and his disaffected constituents abandoned the affairs of State for a little game of dirt-pies. Two mortal hours were spent in turning up old sores and smearing each other's faces with the bad blood drawn from each other's noses... To exchange Reynolds for Cottrell - a financier for an "old hat" - would be an unquestionable mortification of the flesh... they have looked out for an Issaachan to represent them - "a strong ass crouching down between two burdens...". If the lost tribes be serious in their opposition to him they are making a mistake, for he is a hopeful proselyte, but an ugly antagonist...

Under the heading "Mr Reynolds and the Victorian Land Act" the *Register* of 5 October 1868, page 2e said, *inter alia*:

Here is a woeful effect of the adjournment. Mr Reynolds... has resumed his pen as a newspaper correspondent... he still calls a spade a spade and considers the whole human race to be out of temper with himself... He needs the inspiration of figures to raise him to the height of genius.

(Also see *Register*, 16 October 1868, page 2c.)

"Mr Reynold's Retirement" is in the *Observer*, 26 July 1873, page 10g; also see 30 August 1873, page 3b, 27 September 1873, page 8c. An obituary is in the *Observer*, 13 March 1875, page 11a; also see *Observer*, 18 January 1902, page 2c.

Essay No. 5 - Sir John Colton

A summary of John Colton's parliamentary career is in the *Observer*, 7 September 1878, page 11g; also see *Register*, 25 March 1868, page 2d under "An Honest Press":

It appears that Mr John Colton has suddenly discovered a new mission for himself - the censorship of the Press... colonial editors... should pass through a course of moral lectures under Mr John Colton...

On 4 December 1876 at page 4e the Editor of the *Register* castigated Mr Colton:

To say that he spoke with a consciousness of his sayings of last session is to charge him not only with inconsistency but with a grave dereliction of principle. It is charitable to believe that... when he soared into the butterfly life of the Premiership, and was free to flit here and there sipping the intoxicating sweets of power, he lost all knowledge of what belonged to that lower and grublike state of existence when he was simply Treasurer... What a fortuitous thing it is for SA that at this momentous crisis her fortunes are guided by him of such accurate information, sound judgement and comprehensive views!

(Also see *Register*, 22 February 1877, page 4c - Mr Colton and The Register.)

Continuing his attack on 17 March 1877 at page 4f the lamenting editor delivered another broadside:

The Premier has now grown so accustomed to the habit of political inconsistency that it has long ceased to be matter of surprise to us that he should unsay at one time what he has most emphatically asserted on a previous occasion.

(Also see *Register*, 20 March 1877, page 5g for a satirical comment on the beleaguered gentleman.)

Upon his retirement from politics the editor printed the following eulogy on 27 January 1887, pages 4f-6a:

In spite of stubbornness and that absence of conciliatory spirit which has alienated support, he has never ceased to command respect in parliament... We have never ceased to recognise the fact that he has in him stuff of which statesmen are made [and] that his influence upon legislation has been for good and not evil...

(Also see *Register*, 2 January 1892, page 5f. His obituary appears on 7 February 1902, pages 4f-6g.)

Biographical details of John Colton are in the *Observer*, 9 January 1892, page 33a.

Essay No. 6 - Samuel Tomkinson

"Mr Tomkinson's Protest" is in the *Observer*, 29 August 1868, page 2g.

The *Advertiser* of 7 October 1885, pages 4d-5c said of him:

His curiosity as to why every man charged with an offence is not proved guilty has indeed appeared insatiable. He has a terrible fear that our judges do not know their business, and that juries are led by the nose, to the great scandal of the administration of justice.

(Also see *Advertiser*, 10 and 28 October 1885, pages 4d and 4b, 3 November 1885, page 6c.)

He is noted for his resistance to reforms, for his incapacity to perceive the direction and gauge the strength of public opinion and for his prejudicial views on all public questions. (*Observer*, 13 April 1889, page 22b.)

Biographical details are in the *Observer*, 12 November 1887, page 33c, 5 June 1897, page 16d; an editorial and obituary are in the *Advertiser*, 31 August 1900, pages 4e-6c.

Essay No. 7 - John Baker and Richard Chaffey Baker

Following John Baker's death in 1872 it was said of him that he had held an eminent position amongst the squatters of Australia; he was elected to the Legislative Council in 1851 where "he was always careful when on the unpalatable side to let his opinions be known." He fought fiercely to carry a clause in the new Constitution Act to provide for terms for life of members of that chamber. An obituary concluded by stating that "it may appear strange that one who has taken so important a part in the politics of the country should only have held office for eleven days, but Mr Baker was not of that stuff of which Ministers are too often made..."

George F. Loyau, in his works, which tend to glorify the men under scrutiny, opined that he possessed great ability and, accordingly, the reason(s) for his conspicuous absence from the government benches may be found in the newspaper columns of his lifetime. For example, in June of 1861 the Editor of the *Chronicle* said, *inter alia*:

We really fear that "The King of Morialta" must have suffered in health since he reached the latitude of London... He is most decidedly suffering from the "blues". This is the mildest construction we can put upon that gentleman's extraordinary efforts to run down the colony in which he has feathered his nest - pretty considerably.

Further, a correspondent to the *Register* and the Editor of that conservative daily expressed certain opinions in the decade before his death which clarify the situation:

...Power is the commodity Mr John Baker wants most. He feels in the high road to it now. Happily for the country he is too impatient to conceal his designs...

In truth, Mr Baker is never happy in his attempts at the sensational. Whenever he goes out of his way to perpetuate his name by some brilliant achievement, he is sure to lead his followers into the mire and leave them there. Anything he attempts is pretty sure to exhibit

in its details a singular combination of adroitness without judgement and ingenuity... We can call to mind no instance in which he has, even by accident, deviated into success.

His son, Richard Chaffey Baker (1841-1911), also entered politics and if newspaper reports are to be believed he was cast in a similar mould to that of his father:

[His] real complaint against the newspapers, we suspect, is that they do not see their way to recognise his talents or to feed his vanity by indiscriminate adulation.

[He] is always to the front when a snubbing of the Assembly is on the board. By previous training and hereditary prejudices he is well qualified for this sort of thing. He has always been a minority man. He has never sought to represent the majority of the people, because he believes minorities should always rule... If blame there be it rests with ourselves for selecting him to represent us.

Sources

Chronicle, 15 June 1861, p. 1e (supp.); *Register*, 31 August 1863, p. 3f; 17 December 1867, p. 2d; *Observer*, 25 October 1879, p. 3b; *Register*, 29 November 1887, p. 7g.

Part IX - Transport in Early South Australia

Essay No. 1 - The Beginnings

Introduction

Within the colony of South Australia in the 1840s the creaking bullock dray was the sole transport available and by the turn of the century many colonists in the prime of life could remember the days when railways and sleeping cars were unknown and where "the cloud of dust, which was the herald of a coach-and-four, was to be seen on every country road, through cloud or sunshine, across rivers, and over hills, that would appal many a modern driver; often with axles afire, these antiquated vehicles carried their living load ^[1]from the city to the outermost fringe of settlement. They were guided by men who knew nothing of fear..."

Reminiscing in 1898 a colonist proclaimed "that we have moved so quickly in these new lands, that the present generation, accustomed to travel in every direction by means of the ""iron horse"", are apt to forget or despise the methods which were the glory of their father's day..."¹

The First Public Venture

To James Chambers belongs the honour of pioneering the colony's first public conveyance, a "modest venture" comprising a spring cart drawn by two horses which conveyed people to and from Port Adelaide; he also owned the pioneer cab of the colony, having a stand in Hindley Street.

As his business grew he ran coaches to Gawler and in April 1846 he advertised the introduction of a service to Burra following the opening of the "monster mine". Leaving the post office in Adelaide at two o'clock in the afternoon the coach proceeded across a bridge at Thebarton to the Grand Junction, crossed the Gawler Plains and arrived at Gawler at seven o'clock in the evening where passengers put up for the night at Calton's Old Spot Hotel.

At daylight the next morning a three-horse cart drove via Templers, Forresters (a former hotel near modern-day Tarlee), past the "Stone Hut"², Black Springs, Dan O'Leary's "Sod Hut" and then to Mr Charles Ware's Burra Hotel. This 100 mile journey was, under normal circumstances, accomplished in daylight. The return journey commenced on Friday mornings at 10 a.m. and was completed "by an early arrival in Adelaide on Saturday night;" the business was finally closed as a result of the opening of the Port Adelaide and Gawler railways.

Some of the "staging posts" could only be described as primitive, one being described as follows: "Fancy a little pine hut divided into a kitchen and three bedrooms, the cob [*clay mixed with gravel and straw used for building walls, etc*] a great deal broken away from between the slabs, and the chimney persistently smoking as to decline to draw at all

¹ • *Observer*, 12 February 1898, p. 34.

² The *Register* of 28 November 1846, page 4a says, *inter alia*:

Passing north of Mr Master's stations... we reached the before-mentioned incipient tavern, first known as the "Stone Hut" then as the Saddleworth Hotel... and now appropriately called the Miners' Arms by those jolly operatives going to or returning from the Monster Mine. The main building... is ready to receive the roof... In the meantime the business is carried on in the extensive lean-to at the back...

unless all the doors were open. No woman's face brightens the scene; no woman's hands to battle with the dirt... The venerable cook smokes as he prepares the supper and bears relics of many a former feast upon his shiny trousers. Those who are the most impudent get the beds, those who are honest get the floor..."¹

Coaching Companies

By the close of the 19th century the largest and oldest surviving establishment of its kind in Australia was Hill & Company, whose Adelaide headquarters were in Pirie Street and originally opened by William Rounsevell in 1844. "Day by day for half a century from those gates flowed a steady yet immense stream of every description of vehicle from the spring cart to the coach-and-eight... In its palmy days as many as 1,000 horses were required to carry on its enormous traffic."

At the outset "Serpent" buses plied between Adelaide and Kensington then the firm took over Mr McDonald's "Rose and Shamrock" Scotch coaches then traversing the Glenelg Road, on which "the traffic became so great that twenty coaches per day were required to cope with it".

The coach of the 1860s differed very materially from that of later years and, up until the early 1870s, it provided accommodation for a mail guard, who was in the employ of the Postmaster-General. He occupied a seat at the rear of the coach, similar to a driver's seat behind a hansom cab but by about 1872 "his warpaint was then considered by an impecunious government to be unnecessary and his services were dispensed with."

One of the longest and most difficult of the many lines was that of Adelaide to Port MacDonnell, a distance of some 600 km (about 350 miles). Accordingly, it was little wonder that some people "could not muster the courage to undertake the journey more than once in a dozen years", for by the time they reached their destination "every bone in their body must have been shaken." To the north of the city the longest route went to Yudnamatana, via Kapunda, Melrose and Nuccaleena, from whence a packhorse completed the final 100 miles of a 400 miles journey.²

It was no light responsibility to be the driver of a team of six or eight horses attached to a crowded coach through the Adelaide hills and across the sprawling plains of the north; one such trip was described by a passenger in 1870:

By Coach From Pekina to Aberdeen (Burra)

We left Pekina at 3.45 p.m. on Tuesday, September 6 by McDonald & Hoskin's coach, carrying, besides Her Majesty's mails, nine passengers, exclusive of the driver and guard. The first stage was accomplished without anything to mar the enjoyment of a drive of some 18 miles over what is known as the Pekina Plains; but as evening set in the sky appeared overcast, heavy clouds hung about the ranges of hills on either side, the lightning became more vivid, and the peals of thunder, which were at first scarcely perceptible, increased with such vehemence that we no longer entertained any doubt of an approaching storm. Looking southward the "windows of heaven" had already opened, and at a considerable distance ahead the rain appeared to be falling in dense masses.

At 6.16 p.m. we changed horses, and had not proceeded more than two or three miles when our predictions were verified. The ground on either side of the track was covered with water to the depth of from 6 to 30 inches, and varying in width from 1 to 800

¹. Ibid; *Register*, 25 April 1846, p.3c, *Observer*, 5 September 1974, p. 4g.

². Ibid; *Register*, 16 July 1921, p. 4g.

yards... The ground was saturated to such a depth as to make it terrible work for the horses, whose steaming sides and panting breath told too plainly the severe work they had to do. On, however, they went, the driver keeping them as near the track as possible. The rain fell faster and faster, the coach rolled, the passengers held on...

Six or seven miles of such travelling, with occasional plunges through a creek or watercourse, when the horses got their backs washed, and we are on comparatively dry land. The rain has now ceased, the clouds are dispersing, another fresh team, and at 9.30 p.m. we reach Canowie. A cheerful fire, a supper... and we again proceed - this time on foot, for the road has been partially fenced just after leaving Canowie, and is so contrived that a heavily-laden coach is more likely to come to grief than not. However, the skilful driver manages to turn a sharp angle on a sideling, and, sliding down a steep hill without any accident, picks up his passengers, who have been trying the depth of mud and water.

The weather is again changing, the clouds blacker and heavier than ever, the rain drops full, thick, and fast, and the moon struggles in vain to show us our way... Another half-hour and we come to a standstill. "Gentlemen, it's no use", says the driver, "we shall knock up the horses. I'll carry you on my back to that fence, and you must try and get on the high ground." Some of us submit ourselves to the sturdy back of the coachman, while others wade through the water, and pick out the hardest of the mud to walk on...

We are on what is known as the Booborowie Flat, and the flood is perceptible some miles ahead, and where we are standing a mile in width. The horses, now relieved of part of their load, are again moving... Presently we hear a plunge, and turning to look, we see the horses struggling to get the coach out of a hole. They succeed, but not till the water has found its way over the footboard... A little further, and the light of Booborowie Dining-hall is seen at a distance of some three miles. The guard blows his horn, the horses plunge forward, apparently conscious that they are approaching the end of their stage, when the driver again stops them to "wind" and we all listen to the strange noise some 50 yards on our right.

"Do you hear that?", exclaimed guard and driver in one breath; and we do hear it, and are informed there is the head of the Broughton, and within a short distance of us 15 feet of water; the depth where we are is some four feet, and the flood is rushing through the wheels like a sluice... the lighthouse at Booborowie becomes visible and we step out into a foot of water, and thus ends another stage at 2 a.m. Some coffee and a change of horses, and we make a fresh start now in total darkness... on we go through holes and creeks, across swamps and morasses, now uphill and again down an incline. The night, or morning, is as black as the grave... The guard alights and is instantly lost in the fog. Some minutes of suspense, and then a loud "cooey"... More dashing and rolling [and] we reach Copperhouse - for the last two hours and a half rain, merciless and pitiless, blackness and darkness.

We have still two miles or more, and it must be done. Again we push on, and in ten minutes have turned the corner of a fence. Once more we hear the sound of many waters, broken only by the sharp crack of the driver's whip. We sit with bated breath, waiting for the finale. The water deepens, now it is up to the horses' backs; a telegraph post within a foot of the wheels tells us we are near the road, and also near a smash. A few more plunges and a dim light in the distance. We breathe again more freely, and by the time we feel secure and are rousing the landlord of the Aberdeen Hotel - at 5 a.m.

And so it came to pass we reached our destination. No bones were broke, nor was anyone drowned, although if either of these contingencies had happened none need have felt surprised. The wonder is why it was not so.¹

¹. *Register*, 18 October 1870.

Essay no. 2 Coaches and Omnibuses in Adelaide

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)

Coach driving and work in livery stables were among those engaged in by the working-class of Adelaide 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 hansoms 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."¹

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."¹

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.¹

Essay No. 3 - Tramways to Thebarton and Henley Beach

By the 1870s it had become apparent to the authorities that rail communication was an efficient way of conveyance and by 1877 horse trams had arrived on the local scene and services plied to and from nearby suburbs, Thebarton being serviced as from 23 October 1880 when a line was opened running from Hindley Street, across the Park Lands along Mile End Road "where it crossed over the Holdfast Bay and Nairne railway lines close to their junction". It then took a northerly course to the Hindmarsh Bridge and, after crossing same, ran "down to the Hope Inn" and turned off to the depot.

Another line along Henley Beach Road opened on 13 February 1883 and was more convenient for the residents of Thebarton.

However, all was not smooth running for the patrons because many complaints were forthcoming about the uncomfortable trips, the dilatory manner of drivers and the cheekiness of tramboys:

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...>

A complaint about drunkenness and larrikinism together with a novel remedy by invoking the use of trams was forthcoming from a concerned citizen:

[The trams] carry dozens of larrikins to Henley Beach regularly every Sunday, who make a practice of going there purely to get drunk; and the result is they disgrace their manhood and offend women and children, not only by a grievous exhibition of intoxication, but also by resorting to the most obscene and revolting language.

The evil can be easily remedied... Carry out the same policy as adopted by the Railway Commissioner towards the Semaphore, and Henley Beach will be free from visitors. Give them slow trams, put on some old horse cars, and do not dust them more than once a day in summer; charge 1/6 [15 cents] return, and never allow passengers to arrive at the tabulated time, and even drunks will seek fresh places for their weekly spree.

The electrification of tramways came to the district in December 1909 with a double track line to Thebarton from Adelaide and a single track to Henley Beach; the latter section was completed first so four cars were transported from the Hackney Depot to Thebarton and a passenger service inaugurated on 23 December 1909 with horse cars carrying out the former until 9 March 1910.

To give passengers better access the former horse tram route was altered and a new one built along Parker, Albert and Holland Streets to take passengers into Hindmarsh via a reinforced concrete bridge built across the river at the end of Holland Street and then along Manton Street.

This was to change in January 1923 when a new line opened which went down the south side of the Port Road and down George Street to connect with the former line at Albert Street. The return route crossed the river on a new bridge built from Manton Street to Cawthorne Street (since demolished) and on into Light Terrace, Port Road (then Shierlaw Terrace) and the north side of the Port Road.

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.

Essay No. 4 - Horse Trams, Tram Drivers and 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.¹

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.¹

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.¹

Essay No. 5 - Horse Tram Boys

Many youths from working class families 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.¹

Essay No. 6 - Tram Horses

Essay No. 7 - 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."¹

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.¹

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.¹

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!¹

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."¹

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...¹

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.¹

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.¹

Essay No. 8 - 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 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.¹

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.¹

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.¹

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...¹

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.¹

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.¹

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. Kuhnel 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...¹

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.¹

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.¹

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.¹

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.¹

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 #2,032.¹

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